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# Literary Tourism: Linking Cultural Capital, Tourist Experiences and Perceptions of Authenticity

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**UNIVERSITY OF  
PLYMOUTH**

**LITERARY TOURISM: LINKING CULTURAL CAPITAL, TOURIST EXPERIENCES AND  
PERCEPTIONS OF AUTHENTICITY**

by

**ZOE EMMA ROBERTS**

A thesis submitted to the University of Plymouth

in partial fulfilment for the degree of

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### **Author's Declaration**

At no time during the registration for the degree of *Doctor of Philosophy* has the author been registered for any other University award without prior agreement of the Doctoral College Quality Sub-Committee.

Work submitted for this research degree at the University of Plymouth has not formed part of any other degree either at the University of Plymouth or at another establishment.

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## Abstract

### LITERARY TOURISM: LINKING CULTURAL CAPITAL, TOURIST EXPERIENCES AND PERCEPTIONS OF AUTHENTICITY

ZOE EMMA ROBERTS

This thesis aimed to critically synthesise the relationships between cultural capital and perceptions of authenticity in literary tourism experiences. Whilst authenticity is a central theme in literary tourism research, few studies have explored authenticity and Bourdieusian cultural capital concurrently. Thus, this thesis investigates the two concepts and proposes new theory which elicits an in-depth understanding of individual perceptions of authenticity. The study adopted an interpretivist qualitative approach, using an ethnographic research strategy. Ethnographic fieldwork was conducted in Cornwall, UK. In total, 16 face-to-face semi-structured interviews were conducted with literary tourism stakeholders at selected Cornish locations associated with Winston Graham and *Poldark*. Additionally, the researcher performed a close reading of the twelve *Poldark* novels and two associated non-literary texts to determine their value as semiotic markers of authenticity. Interview data were analysed using Reflective Thematic Analysis and Framework Method. Findings from this study revealed a nexus between an individual's cultural capital and their perceptions of authenticity. The participant's dominant cultural capital stock was variable, although graduate qualifications were the most influential on those who possess these credentials. Thereafter, embodied cultural capital holds the greatest influence on stakeholder perceptions.

New tourism knowledge in the form of the *authentic gaze* was proposed, which conceptualises the relationship between stakeholder cultural capital and their perceptions of

authenticity. The *authentic gaze* offers an explanation of why certain lexical semantics were used by participants to describe the meaning of the concept and how this informs their overall perceptions. Additionally, a nexus between the *Poldark* tour guide's cultural capital and their interpretive forms, including the semiotic and photographic markers used within their interpretation was also established.

The theoretical contributions of this study present a number of managerial implications and as such, the thesis provides valuable practical recommendations. The first, centres on those stakeholders responsible for the supply of literary tourism experiences conducting the necessary research for eliciting data that can be used to assess the authentic gaze of stakeholders including tourists. Another centres on the provision of markers in marketing and interpretation that satisfy the tourist's authentic gaze. Lastly, Destination Management Organisations (DMOs) and production companies must work in partnership to determine the market for literary adaptations and film-induced literary tourism experiences.

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## Chapter 1: Introduction

Full Research Title: Literary Tourism: Linking cultural capital, tourist experiences and perceptions of authenticity.

### 1.0 Introduction

This research is particularly interested in understanding the potential relationship between the cultural capital of literary tourism stakeholders and perceptions of authenticity, since it endeavours to reveal the presence or absence of a nexus between the two within the literary tourism phenomenon. In doing so, it attempts to uncover a dialogic between literary-induced television series and the original novels, using the detailed examination of *Poldark* and Cornwall, UK as the example. Succinctly, the study selected this data because the body of novels (Winston Graham's *Poldark* novel saga, 1945 – 2002) (see Appendix 1) and the TV adaptations (BBC adaptations 1975-1977; 2015-2019) (see Appendix 2) intersect in a dialogic way and provide an axiological point whereby the aforementioned potential relationship can be explored and understood. 'Literary tourism is, axiomatically, about creativity and imagination, there is an 'emotional engagement' (Robinson & Andersen, 2002a, p.17) and creation of special meanings for the individual (Squire, 1994a)' (Busby, 2018, p.62). Further justification of the novel and destination selection are included in section 1.5.

The relationship between literature and tourism is cemented through literary tourism (Ghetau & Esanu, 2011). As this introductory chapter and the literature review chapter that follows (Chapter 2a) will demonstrate, it can be observed that literary tourism has received academic attention in both research and practice. Even so, the discourse has not yet been fully understood and many questions remain unanswered. The relationship between

literature and tourism exists on multiple levels (Hoppen, Brown & Fyall, 2014; Robinson & Andersen, 2002b) including:

- tourism stimulated by the lives of authors or their literary works (Hoppen, Brown & Fyall, 2014; Robinson & Andersen, 2002b)
- tourism as a characteristic of informal as opposed to formal literary study (performed by readers as opposed to critics), transmitted via tourist attractions and events that form both a specific type of cultural tourism, and a fundamental part of tourism in the general sense (Hoppen, Brown & Fyall, 2014; Robinson & Andersen, 2002b)
- fundamentally, literature promotes sustainable tourism development in the context of culture and heritage tourism and is indicative 'of the wider links between tourism, culture and society' (Squire, 1994b, p.104).

Simply put, literary tourism emerges when the popularity of authors or their works provide the impetus for visitation to locations either associated with the author, or those that rose to prominence within said author's writings (Brown, 2016b; Busby & Klug, 2001). That said, the phenomenon is not 'simply a function of "literary" influences' (Squire, 1994b, p.104). Literary tourism also serves as a medium whereby a variety of cultural meanings and values are transmitted (Squire, 1994b); a medium that affords people the opportunity to fulfil specific fantasies – that extend further than those about favourite authors or literature – to a myriad of alternative culturally constructed attitudes and values (Squire, 1994b), including, as this research will argue, perceptions of authenticity. Thus, literary influences are a catalyst for different forms of introspection (Squire, 1994b).

This study applies a qualitative methodology as recommended by Brown (2016b) to elicit more interpretive data that could be used to understand the relationships between cultural capital and perceptions of in literary tourism experiences. In doing so, this study's methodological (see Chapter 4) and thematic choices exhibit its originality within the literary tourism discourse and will help foster awareness of what motivates and satisfies literary tourists to Cornwall (Brown, 2016b).

This introductory chapter discusses early research on literary tourism. Additionally, a section is provided which highlights the research gap (section 1.3), followed by the presentation of the theoretical and practical contributions of this research to the field of study (section 1.4). This study's research aims and objectives are presented in section 1.4. The selection of Cornwall and Winston Graham's *Poldark* is presented in section 1.5. Section 1.6 summarises the purpose, content and structure of the thesis' chapters. Conclusions are drawn in section 1.7.

### 1.1 Early research on literary tourism

Prior to the late 20th century, academic literature only marginally considered literary tourism (Beeton, 2006). The lack of isolated academic attention to the phenomenon witnessed in extant literature is attributed to its habitual placement within the wider fields of cultural and heritage tourism (Agarwal & Shaw, 2018; Amey, 2015; Brown, 2016b; Gentile & Brown, 2015; Herbert, 2001; Hoppen, Brown & Fyall, 2014; Laing & Frost, 2012; Le Bel, 2017; O'Connor & Kim, 2014; Orr, 2018; 2002b; Robinson & Andersen, 2002a; Squire, 1994b; Squire, 1996; Stiebel, 2004; Timothy, 2011). The debate surrounding literary tourism's placement is further discussed in Chapter 2a section 2.2.

At the inception point of this research, it is worth noting that the impact of the literary tourism placement debate is thought to contribute to the lack of literary tourism statistics (Gentile & Brown, 2015; Hoppen, Brown & Fyall, 2014). Watson (2009) reasons that literary tourism's veritable invisibility (Smith, 2012) can be attributed to the juxtaposition of connotations each term is thought to possess:

‘The embarrassment of literary tourism is encapsulated in the very phrase, which yokes ‘literature’ – with its longstanding claims to high, national culture, and its current aura of highbrow difficulty and professionalism – with ‘tourism’, trailing its pejorative connotations of mass popular culture, mass travel, unthinking and unrefined consumption of debased consumables, amateurishness, and inauthenticity’ (Watson, 2009, p.5).

The problem seems to arise, in one's effort to marry the perceived disparate nature of the two entities together, to produce and subsequently incite a demand for the coherent whole. Bourdieu's (1984; 1986) concept of cultural capital provides a helpful distinction here. Separating the two, cultural capital imbues literature. It requires from the reader embodiment in order to support and facilitate the consumption of such a cultural good, of which consumption of literature is, in fact, a way in which is cultural capital is expressed and transmitted (Bourdieu, 1984; 1986). Comparatively, as Watson (2009) inferred, tourism doesn't require the tourist possession of a particular stock of cultural capital in order for it to be consumed. What pre-20<sup>th</sup> century scholars seem to have overlooked within their early conceptions is the enabling function of tourism to serve as a vehicle through which conventional cultural capital can be earned (Knox, 2016). Academics should be warned against perpetuating the pejorative connotations of tourism (Watson, 2009) or run the risk of undermining the cultural values and meanings attributed to these experiences (Squire,

1994b). '[A]s a practice that tries to make the emotional and virtual realities of reading accountable to the literal, material realities of destination, it is bound to make literary specialists uneasy' (Watson, 2009, p.6). Post-20<sup>th</sup> century literary tourism specialists have, can and should circumvent this uneasiness by considering the spatial, temporal, cultural and humanistic elements of the discourse concurrently – 'the consumption, production, re-production, commodification, transformation, communication, and distribution of literature for tourism purposes' (Robinson & Andersen, 2002a, p.2).

The various forms of literary tourism (see Chapter 2a section 2.4) 'are socially constructed [and] are in a sense typical of the packaging ideology which Busby and O'Neill (2006) determine to be consistent with modern tourism' (Busby, 2018, p.62). It is this packaging of the imaginative, emotional, virtual and material realities of a destination (Watson, 2009) – the commodification of a destination's latent and potential destination-based cultural capital (Busby & Meethan, 2008) – on which literary tourism centres.

Since the 1960s, a long tradition of geographical analysis mapping the nexus between literature and place was thoroughly acknowledged within cultural studies and geographical literature (Connell, 2012; O'Connor & Kim, 2014). However, the potential value of the geographical study of literature was witnessed in earlier studies of humanistic geography (Busby & George, 2004; Squire, 1991). Squire (1991) cites John Kirkland Wright (1924) as the scholar who provided one of the initial exhaustive statements in this field in his article *Geography in Literature*. Despite Wright's continued reiteration of the theme, he was often discounted (Squire, 1991). Recognition was eventually witnessed in Lowenthal and Bowden's

(1976) significant geographical text, *Geographies of the Mind*; one of the earliest to stress the value of literature as source material (Squire, 1991). The 1970s and 1980s saw the connection between literature and geography defined within a broader humanistic agenda (Squire, 1991). Yi-Fu Tuan was a key commentator of humanistic geography (Tuan, 1974; 1976) who 'defined the approach as the geographic study of human beings' experiences and understandings of space, place, and the natural world' (Seamon & Lundberg, 2017, p.1).

Academic interest in literary tourism also gained momentum and continued in the 1990s (Amey, 2015). Despite the successive nature of his publications, Pocock (1979; 1981a; 1981b) is considered a prime stimulus of this momentum, through his mapping of literary expressions of place, space and landscape, and analysis of the extent to which they provide a pronounced insight into the world's social, cultural, economic and political order (O'Connor & Kim, 2014; Robinson & Andersen, 2002a); including a cognisance of identities, cultural constructs, 'and the dynamics of landscape change' (Robinson & Andersen, 2002a, p.3). His editorial publication (Pocock, 1981b) was one of the first to express the revivification of literature – when viewed as a work of the heart and emotion (O'Connor & Kim, 2014) – in the reader's mind, via their own imaginations and emotional reactions (O'Connor & Kim, 2014). Hence, literary landscapes assume landscapes of imaginative reflection, whereby the setting is not always genuine. Rather, these landscapes are constructed as fictional representations within literary works (O'Connor & Kim, 2014). These hyper-realities (Eco, 1983) or simulacra (Baudrillard, 1983; 1994) are interpreted by the reader. By this distinction, contemporary literary 'countries' (e.g. Hardy Country, Dorset) are also landscapes of imaginative reflection (Rojek, 1999). Pertinent to this study is Pocock's (1981b) acknowledgement of the real versus imaginary landscapes and their interpretation. This generates more questions than answers

surrounding the subjectivity of these interpretations and the implications of this subjectivity on the supply and demand of authentic literary tourism landscapes and experiences.

Over the last two decades, two seminal literary tourism publications have emerged: Mike Robinson & Hans-Christian Andersen's editorial collaboration, *Literature and Tourism – Reading and Writing Tourism Texts* (2002c) and Nicola Watson's *The Literary Tourist: Readers and Places in Romantic and Victorian Britain* (2006) (Ghetau & Esanu, 2011; Hoppen, 2012; Hoppen, Brown & Fyall, 2014; Reijnders *et al.*, 2015; Smith, 2012). The former, provides an explicit analysis of the nexus between literature and tourism and illustrates the significance of literature in the design and development of tourism, and by extension, tourist behaviour (Smith, 2012). The authors synthesised the protean literary tourism phenomenon from a contemporary perspective (Smith, 2012). This analysis extended to tourism's commodification of literature, and literature's function as a vehicle for tourist inspiration and motivation, in the context of tourism decision making (Smith, 2012). It examines literary tourist motivations and behaviours, comparing their past behavioural patterns with their contemporaries.

Watson's (2006) landmark publication (Orr, 2018) – the first unabridged academic inquiry of literary tourism – traced the phenomenon's launch and development, via predominantly British locations, throughout the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries (Orr, 2018; Smith, 2012). Smith (2012) suggests Watson's publications (2006; 2009) are indicative of the establishment of the modern, interdisciplinary literary tourism field within tourism studies and the wider academic community.

Despite the aforementioned literature, a surge of attention on literary tourism in the academy has only recently been witnessed (Le Bel, 2017). Over the last three decades (Hoppen, Brown & Fyall, 2014) scholars have risen to the challenge, elaborating numerous books and scientific articles dedicated to the importance and validity of the literary tourism concept (Ghetau & Esanu, 2011). Hoppen, Brown and Fyall (2014) provided a taxonomy of literary tourism literature (Carson *et al.*, 2016), that cites the following scholars including some, but not all, of the following research:

<b>Author(s)</b>	<b>Publications</b>
Lorraine Brown and associates	(Brown, 2016a; Brown, 2016b; Gentile & Brown, 2015; Hoppen, Brown & Fyall, 2014).
Graham Busby and associates	(Busby, 2004; Busby, Brunt & Lund, 2003; Busby & Deveraux, 2015; Busby & George, 2004; Busby & Hambly, 2000; Busby & Klug, 2001; Busby, Korstanje & Mansfield, 2011; Busby & O'Neill, 2006; Busby & Shetliffe, 2013)
David Herbert	(1995a; 1995b; 1996; 2001)
Mike Robinson and Hans Christian Andersen	(2002b; 2002a)
Shelagh Squire	(1988; 1991; 1993; 1994b; 1994a)
Nicola J. Watson	(2006; 2009)

*Table 1. Prolific literary tourism authors and publications*

In 2004 an international research conference curated by the Centre for Tourism and Cultural Change at Leeds Metropolitan University was themed “Tourism & Literature: Travel, Imagination & Myth”, with the aim of facilitating critical discussions of the nexus between tourism, tourists and literature (Hoppen, Brown & Fyall, 2014). Furthermore, in 2011 the market research company Mintel (2011) published their first literary tourism report (Hoppen, Brown & Fyall, 2014). Despite the growth of literary tourism (Brown, 2016b; Croy, 2012), and the view that the phenomenon remains underused by DMOs (Brown, 2016b; Mansfield, 2015), Aitchison, Macleod and Shaw (2000) and Busby and Klug (2001) cite the British Tourist



Authority's (BTA) (1983, cited in Squire, 1994b) map campaign, including 'Literary Britain' and 'The Movie Map' as demonstrative of the commodification of Britain's literary heritage and thus, the provision of literary tourism. More recently, VisitEngland (2017) commissioned literary research that coincided with the DMO's "Year of Literary Heroes". These marketing and promotion strategies are indicative of literary tourism's perceived practical importance within the context of the British tourism industry. Although this study does not approach literary tourism from the perspective of the DMO, it will nevertheless, be valuable to Visit Cornwall and DMOs generally as the findings of the study generated management implications and recommendations (see Chapter 7 section 7.2).

Notwithstanding the wealth of literary tourism studies included within this thesis, largely, literary tourism is perceived to be under-researched (Brown, 2016b; Busby & Hambly, 2000; Hoppen, Brown & Fyall, 2014; Laing & Frost, 2012; Macleod, Hayes & Slater, 2009; Robinson & Andersen, 2002a; Smith, 2003; Tetley, 1998). Recently, Brown (2016b) suggested that literary tourist's motivations and experiences still warrant further attention. Comparatively, film tourism, to which literary tourism shares some common linkages i.e. 'as a form of tourism-induced by a secondary, autonomous (Gartner, 1993) and cultural source' (Connell, 2012, p.1010) which shares 'narratives that appeal to the emotions of the viewer/reader, and induce a desire to travel and to experience the place' (Brown, 2016b, p.136-137), has received notably more attention (Hoppen, Brown & Fyall, 2014). This is confounding, particularly considering three fundamental realities, viz, first, that exceedingly tourism is built on the written word; secondly, that tourists consume and find inspiration in literature, and thirdly, that literary tourism is encouraged by the distribution of narrative through film and television – most of which owe their existence to literature to begin with (Busby & Hambly, 2000; Macleod, Hayes & Slater, 2009). This is particularly important in the authenticity debate. As

Luke (1999, cited in Robinson & Andersen 2002b) acknowledged '[w]hat exists for human beings is mostly disclosed by words'. However, as Denzin (1992, p.65) eloquently writes:

'Arguing from a literary criticism (Derrida) and interactionist perspective [Fine and Kleinmann 1986] suggested that readers construct the meaning of a text, employing conventions of interpretation which shape the perspectives and meanings brought to a text. Texts themselves are open to multiple readings, are often rhetorical in nature, and are filled with ambiguous passages, contradictions, and gaps. Hence there can never be "true" reading or "true" meaning of a classic. There are only multiple interpretations; the "best" interpretation is simply the one that is the most persuasive, given current conventions'.

As such, this study postulates that literature serves as a medium for the creation and conformation of the authentic. Furthermore, the cultural capital held by the individual, relative to the literature they consume, constructs the authentic: in the context of tourism, 'literature can initially be seen broadly as a fundamental reservoir of words that can inform, envision, stimulate, motivate and inspire' (Robinson & Andersen, 2002a, p.4). This is further explored in Chapter 2a.

At this juncture, it is helpful to acknowledge that literary tourism studies draw upon multiple disciplines, methods and theoretical perspectives (i.e., geography, sociology, cultural studies, heritage studies, literary criticism etc.) (Crouch, 2009; Orr, 2018) to analyse the relationship between tourism and literature. That said, Yu and Xu (2016) recognise the narrow lens with which literary tourism studies focus: the majority extend to investigations of an individual author and their residences. In their later research, the colleagues suggest 'temporally speaking, most studies involved literary figures and works in the modern era' (Yu & Xu, 2018,

p.293). This research differentiates itself from the academic majority by focussing on the historical novel series *Poldark* by Winston Graham, set in the 18<sup>th</sup> and early 19<sup>th</sup> centuries.

Hoppen, Brown and Fyall (2014) surmised the location in which the phenomenon and its subsequent research is witnessed tends to be concentrated in Europe and Northern America (Yu & Xu, 2016). Undoubtedly, literary tourism research to date is concentrated within the West. However, the quantity of emerging studies from China, Australia and elsewhere are increasing (see Table 2):

<b>Africa</b>	7	Egypt	Dunn (2006)
		The Republic of South Africa	Fairer-Wessels (2005); Fairer-Wessels (2010); Smith (2012); Stiebel (2004); Stiebel (2007); Stiebel (2010)
<b>America</b>	17	Canada	Cohen-Hattab and Kerber (2004); Fawcett and Cormack (2001); Gothie (2016); Lerena (2015); Squire (1996)
		Central America	Dym (2004)
		USA	Cassell (2016); Chiang (2004); Delyser (2003); Hazard (2016); Jortner (2013); McLaughlin (2016); Santos (2006); van Es and Reijnders (2016a); van Es and Reijnders (2016b); Watson (2013); Waysdorf and Reijnders (2016)
<b>Asia</b>	21	China	Cater (2001); Chen, Li and Joo (2021); Jia (2009); Jiang and Xu (2016); Jiang and Xu (2017); Robertson and Yeoman (2014); Ryan <i>et al.</i> (2009); Wang and Zhang (2017); Yu and Xu (2016); Yu and Xu (2018)
		Hong Kong	Wong and Liu (2011)
		Indonesia	McGregor (2000); O'Connor and Kim (2014)
		India	Bhattacharyya (1997)
		Iran	Beigi, Ramesht and Azani (2014); Johnson (2010); Torabi Farsani <i>et al.</i> (2017)
		Israel	Cohen-Hattab and Kerber (2004)
		Japan	Nishimura, Waryszak and King (2006)
		South Korea	Lee and Weaver (2014)
<b>Europe</b>	92	Tajikistan	Bidaki and Hosseini (2014)
		Albania	Erkoçi (2016)
		Croatia	Fox (2008)
		France	Brown (2016a); Brown (2016b); Herbert (1996); Mansfield (2015); McClinchey (2015); Petroman, Petroman and Brătulescu (2008); Robertson and Radford (2009)
		Greece	Busby and O'Neill (2006); O'Neill, Butts and Busby (2005)
		Ireland	Alghureiby (2015); Ashworth and Ashworth (1998); Johnson (2004); O'Connor and Kim (2014); Wallace (2009)
		Italy	Gentile and Brown (2015); Rossetti (2016); Stiebel (2013)
		Netherlands	Busby and Deveraux (2015); Hartmann (2013); Reijnders (2009)
Portugal	Marques and Cunha (2013); Quinteiro, Carreira and Rodrigues Gonçalves (2020)		

		Romania	Cosma, Pop and Negrusa (2007); Light (2007); Muresan and Smith (1998); Petroman <i>et al.</i> (2016); Reijnders (2011); Tolić <i>et al.</i> (2009)
		Russia	Wallace (2009)
		Serbia	Ilić <i>et al.</i> (2021); Ingram <i>et al.</i> (2021)
		Slovenia	Majerič (2020); Ousby (1990); Topler (2016); Topler (2017)
		Spain	Busby, Korstanje and Mansfield (2011); Ruiz Scarfuto (2013)
		Sweden	Jenkins (2011); Müller (2006); Reijnders (2009); Ridanpää (2011); van Es and Reijnders (2016a); van Es and Reijnders (2016b)
		Switzerland	McLaughlin (2016)
		Turkey	Çevik (2018); Çevik (2021); Otay Demir, Yavuz Görkem and Rafferty (2021); Tekgül (2015)
		UK	Bhandari (2008); Booth (2008); Busby, Brunt and Lund (2003); Busby and George (2004); Busby and Hambly (2000); Busby and Klug (2001); Busby and Meethan (2008); Busby and Shetliffe (2013); Cohen-Hattab and Kerber (2004); Cooper and Gregory (2011); Donaldson, Gregory and Murrieta-Flores (2015); Earl (2008); Easley (2006); Frost and Laing (2014); Gibson (2006); Gilbert (1999); Gould and Mitchell (2010); Herbert (2001); Lee (2012); Macleod, Hayes and Slater (2009); Martin-Jones (2014); McLaughlin (2016); Nixon (2014); O'Connor and Bolan (2008); Orr (2018); Philips (2011); Plate (2006b); Pocock (1987); Pocock (1992); Reijnders (2009); Robb (1998); Robertson and Radford (2009); Santesso (2004); Seaton (1999); Smith (2003); Spooner (2014); Squire (1988); Squire (1993); Squire (1996); Ulin (2009); van Es and Reijnders (2016a); van Es and Reijnders (2016b); Watkins and Herbert (2003); Westover (2009); Young (2015); Zemgulys (2000)
<b>Oceania</b>	19	Australia	Beeton (2010a); Carson <i>et al.</i> (2016); Carson <i>et al.</i> (2013); Driscoll (2015); Driscoll (2016); (Frost, 2006); Johanson and Freeman (2012); Laing and Frost (2012); Nishimura, Waryszak and King (2006); Robertson and Yeoman (2014); Stewart (2010); Yiannakis and Davies (2012)
		New Zealand	Buchmann, Moore and Fisher (2010); Carl, Kindon and Smith (2007); Croy (2010); Pan and Ryan (2007); Peaslee (2011); Tzanelli (2004)
		Pitcairn Islands	Amoamo (2013)

Table 2. Research areas chosen by literary tourism studies (adapted from Çevik, 2020; Hoppen, Brown & Fyall, 2014; Yu & Xu, 2018).

Perhaps predictably, history plays a particularly cogent role in earlier literary tourism studies (Robinson & Andersen, 2002a). Researchers have pursued explanations of the evolution of literary sites, including regions and nations as tourist destinations, concentrating on past portrayals in literary works and the manner in which these portrayals shape contemporary perceptions and images (Robinson & Andersen, 2002a). The connections between a place as an origin of literary inspiration and a place meriting touristic visitation are thought to be usually transparent (Robinson & Andersen, 2002a). This study explores the potential relationship between cultural capital and perceptions of authenticity in literary tourism experiences. The distribution of literary tourism research, including the key themes are included in Chapter 2a section 2.7.

## 1.2 Research gap

Existing research highlights authenticity as a salient feature of the literary tourism phenomenon (Busby, 2018; Fawcett & Cormack, 2001; Herbert, 2001) (see Chapter 2a section 2.7.1). Previous literary tourism studies do not explore the concept of cultural capital as a way in which to provide an in-depth understanding of perceptions of authenticity. This thesis' conceptual framework fills this gap and the analysis provides valuable conceptual and theoretical contributions to the management and practice of literary tourism that are lacking in extant literature.

## 1.3 Theoretical and practical contributions of study

The research submits that the empirical findings of this study will elicit both theoretical and practical contributions. These contributions centre on the provision of a more nuanced

understanding of literary tourism stakeholders' perceptions of, authenticity. The study will contribute to the field of Tourism Management theory by offering an explanation as to why stakeholder perceptions of, authenticity differ by analysing the former and Bourdieusian cultural capital theory (1984; 1986) concurrently. In doing so, it will synthesise the function of stakeholder cultural capital as a catalytic variable which can be used to explicate heterogeneous and divergent perceptions of authenticity. The study suggests the measurement of stakeholder cultural capital will provide useful insights into how perceptions of authenticity are formed and why? Hence, it will provide practical recommendations as to how this theoretical knowledge can inform the provision of authenticity in literary tourism, relative to tourist demand including motivations and expectations and the supply of authentic literary tourism sites and experiences, including stakeholder interpretation.

#### 1.4 Research aim and objectives

The prominent research aims of this thesis are now presented. To facilitate the achievement of these specific aims, the following objectives have also been established. In doing so, they rationalise the need for this research, relative to its theoretical contributions and practical industry benefits, respectively:

**Aim 1: To explore the relationships between cultural capital, perceptions of authenticity and literary tourism experiences**

Objective 1: To evaluate the nature and role of cultural capital in literary tourism experiences from a tour guide and tourist perspective

Objective 2: To examine the formation of perceptions of authenticity in literary tourism experiences from a tour guide and tourist perspective

Objective 3: To assess the influence of cultural capital on perceptions of authenticity in literary tourism experiences from a tour guide and tourist perspective

Objective 4: To ascertain similarities and differences between tour guides and tourists' cultural capital, perceptions of authenticity and literary tourism experiences

**Aim 2: To develop an understanding of semiotics in the provision of authentic literary tourism experiences**

Objective 5: To examine the signs and markers which contribute to tourists' perceptions of authentic literary tourism experiences

Objective 6: To evaluate *Poldark* guides' use of markers and signs in literary tourism experiences

Objective 7: To assess the extent to which *Poldark* guides' use of markers and signs contribute to tourists' perceptions of authentic literary tourism experiences

**Aim 3: To contribute to evolving debates on the relationships between cultural capital, perceptions of authenticity and literary tourism experiences**

Objective 8: To develop new knowledge and understanding of the role, influence and importance of cultural capital on perceptions of authenticity of literary tourism experiences

Objective 9: To highlight practical implications of the role, influence and importance of cultural capital on perceptions of authenticity in the supply of literary tourism experiences.



### 1.5 The choice of Cornwall and Winston Graham's *Poldark*

English novelist Winston Graham (1910-2003) is the author of the historical novel series *Poldark*. Written over four decades (1945 – 2002) (Busby & Hambly, 2000) the saga is set in Cornwall, UK. Although he was not Cornish Graham did however proclaim to understand Cornwall and often disparaged authors who used the county merely as a setting (Busby & Laviolette, 2006). Millions of copies of the *Poldark* novels have now been sold (Busby & Laviolette, 2006) due in part to the media adaptations that helped it reach the 'full audience' (Sinfield, 1997, cited in Busby and Laviolette, 2006). Appendix 3 illustrates the number of editions published of each novel in the twelve-part saga. BBC series broadcasts in the 1970s (1975-1976) and more recently (2015-2019) have undoubtedly influenced Graham's *Poldark* oeuvre on Cornish tourism (Busby & Laviolette, 2006). As Busby & Hambly (2000, p.199) note, 'Lowerson considers that the constructed appeal of modern Cornwall is dependent on: 'media exploitation of [...] the Poldark sagas, and the production of such local guides as "Poldark Country"'.

There are multiple examples of the ways in which Cornwall's associations with *Poldark* has been commodified into tourism products. For example, Visit Cornwall published the 'Poldark Filming Locations' map (see Figure 1) and launched a free 'Experience Poldark' app (see Figures 2 and 3), although the latter is no longer available to download.

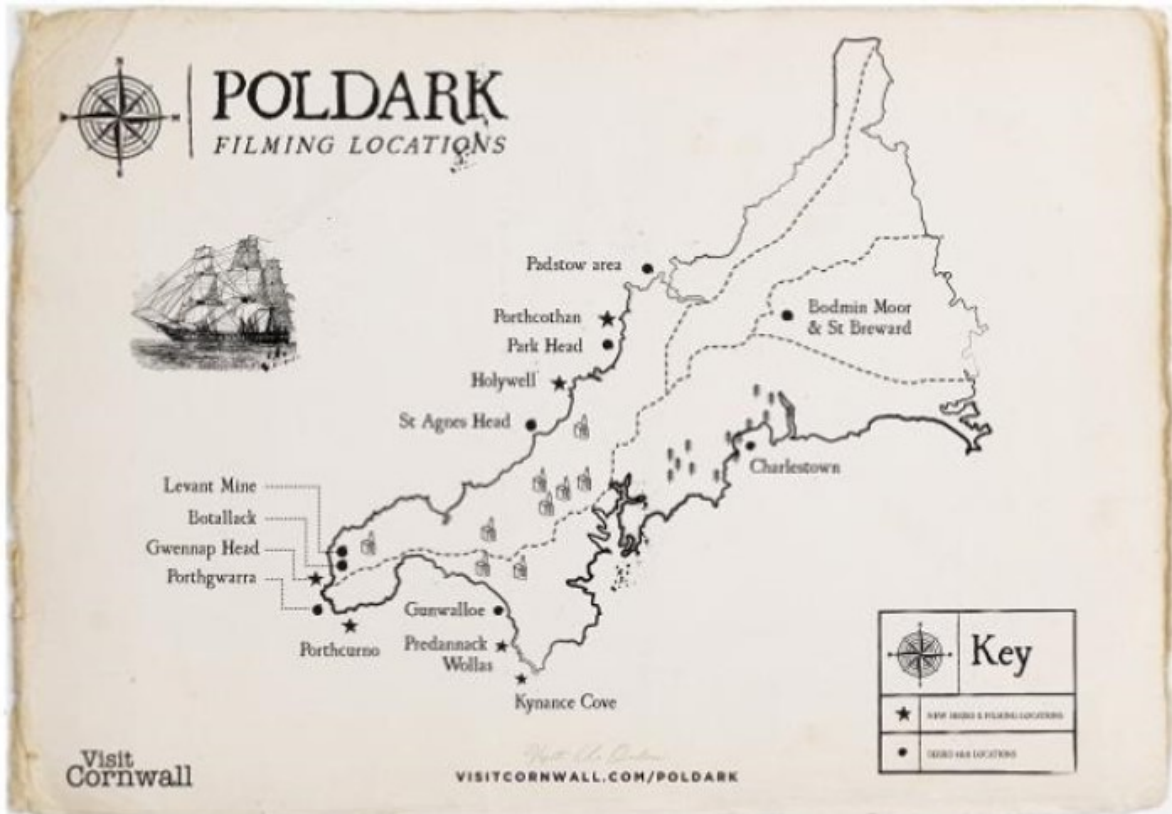


Figure 1. Poldark filming locations map (VisitCornwall, n.d-a).



Figure 2. Visit Cornwall 'Experience Poldark' app (APKPure, n.d).

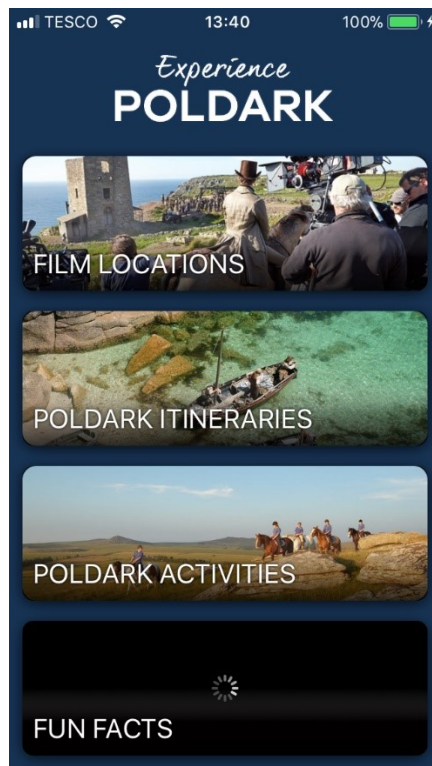


Figure 3. Visit Cornwall 'Experience Poldark' app homepage (APKPure, n.d).

As Kennedy and Kingcome (1998) acknowledge, both the Chambers of Commerce for the town of Perranporth and the village of St Agnes previously marketed their destinations as 'Poldark Country'. For the scholars, it is here where Cornwall itself edges into a simulacrum where it is possible that the real can become confused with the literary representation (Kennedy & Kingcome, 1998). Other *Poldark* related tourism products include *Poldark* tours. The search term "Poldark tour Cornwall" retrieved approximately 613,000 results (Google, 2021a). As Table 3 demonstrates, the majority of the tours centre on Poldark filming locations:

Search result	Organisation/webpage	Description of tour and <i>Poldark</i> products	Literary locations included	Filming locations included
1	poldarkscornwall.com (2021b)	Offers private <i>Poldark</i> themed tours and holidays (poldarkscornwall.com, 2021c). The first page on the website claims to have 'Exclusive access to Nampara' (poldarkscornwall.com, 2021a), the fictional home of the novels' protagonist Ross Poldark. Also offers a "Poldark Pass" for £35 that grants visitors discounts to services and places of interest across Cornwall (poldarkscornwall.com, 2021d)	✓	✓
2	VisitCornwall (2021a)	DMO provides a three day itinerary of south Cornwall locations associated with <i>Poldark</i> . Webpage also links to DMO's 'Three day Poldark inspired tour of the north Cornish coast and Bodmin Moor' (VisitCornwall, 2021b)	✓	✓
3	tourcornwall.com (2021)	Offers two private day <i>Poldark</i> tours in Cornwall		✓
4	britmovietours.com (2021)	Tour of Cornwall filming locations		✓
5	cornwalls.co.uk (2021)	Complete guide to film locations 2015-2018		✓
6	poldarktours Cornwall.com (2021a)	Bespoke filming location tours ranging between 1-5 days (poldarktours Cornwall.com, 2021b)		✓
7	selectsouthwesttours.com (2021)	Customisable tours of <i>Poldark</i> filming locations		✓
8	cornishcyclingtours.co.uk (2021)	8 day cycle tour of 'historic landmarks of Poldark's Cornwall' (cornishcyclingtours.co.uk, 2021)	✓	✓
9	travelenglandtours.com (2021)	1 and 2 day tours of <i>Poldark</i> filming locations		✓
10	experiencecornwalltours.co.uk (2021)	Scenic location tour		✓

Table 3. Top 10 results for Google search using phrase "Poldark tour Cornwall" (Google, 2021a).

In 2017 Truro's Royal Cornwall Museum (RCM), working closely with Graham's son, Andrew Graham, created a 'Poldark's Cornwall' exhibition (Figure 4). The exhibition included a combination of 18<sup>th</sup> century objects (Figure 5), a drawing of the *Poldark* family tree by Winston Graham (Figure 6) and exhibits from the latest *Poldark* TV adaptation including a signed script (see Figure 7).

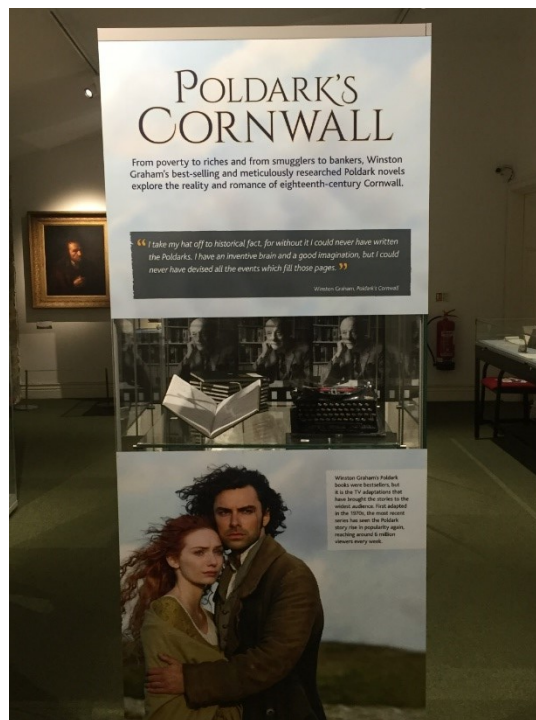


Figure 4. RCM Poldark's Cornwall Exhibition (Source: Author)



*Figure 5. 18th century objects included within RCM's Poldark's Cornwall exhibition (Source: Author)*

Accompanying labels and interpretive texts highlight the great lengths Graham went to meticulously research his novels and ensure a sense of the authentic. As is described within Figure 8, although the novels are perceived to be historical fiction, 'Graham used this museum's library and collections to carefully research his subjects. His approach was to be as accurate as possible in his descriptions, using a wide range of sources to inform and shape his unique stories. The novels are littered with references to objects', many of which were included in the collection on display within the exhibition. Additionally, quotes from the novels were also included alongside the exhibits.

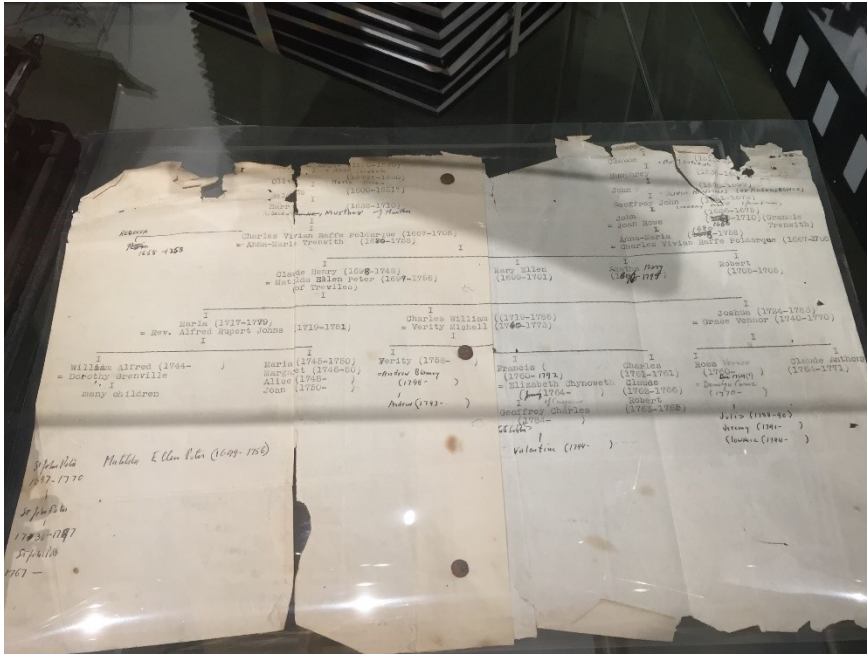


Figure 6. Winston Graham's drawing of Poldark family tree included within RCM's Poldark's Cornwall exhibition (Source: Author)

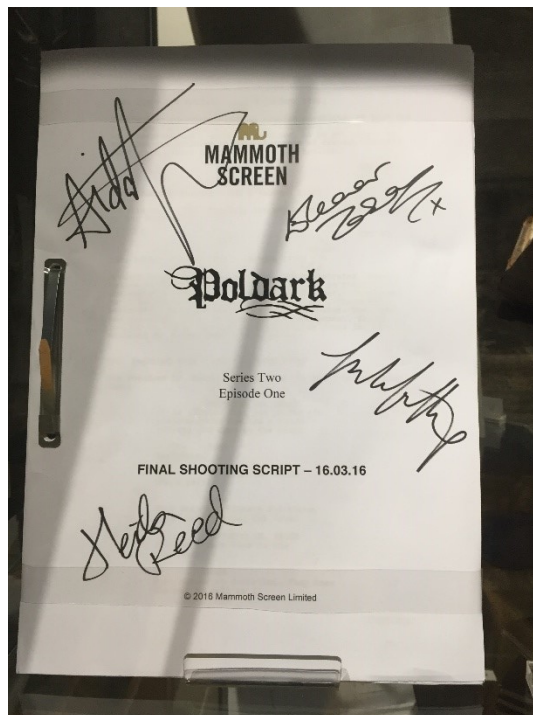


Figure 7. Signed script from RCM's Poldark's Cornwall exhibition (Source: Author)



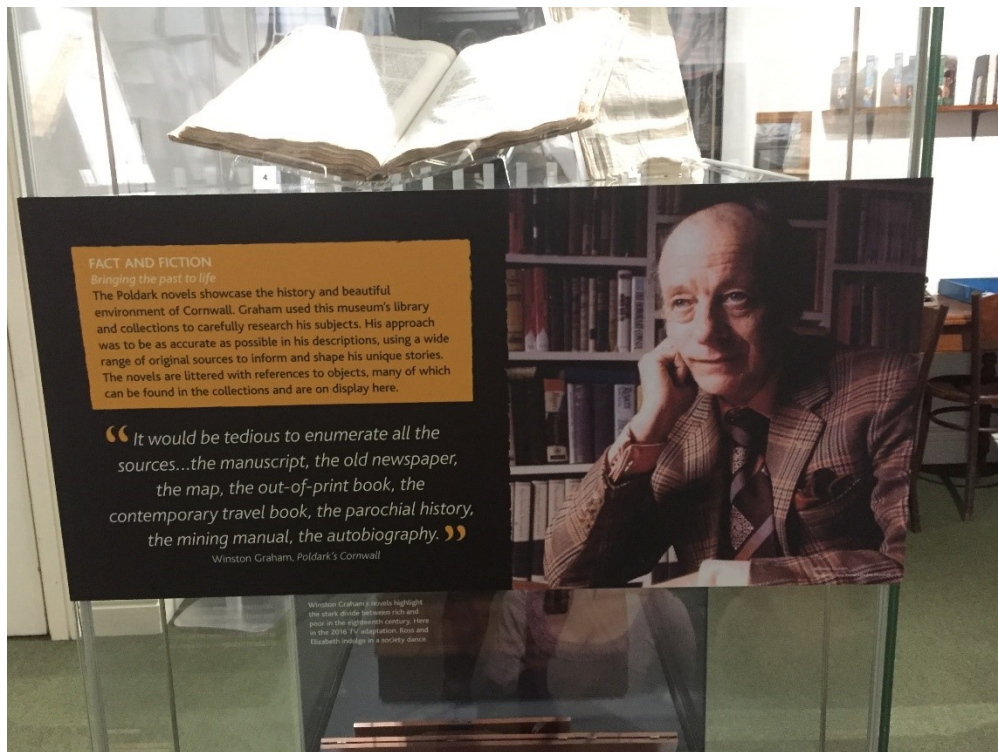


Figure 8. Interpretation board from RCM's Poldark's Cornwall exhibition (Source: Author)

In their article on Cornish literary tourism, Busby and Laviolette (2006) postulate the forms of literary tourism associated with Winston Graham's *Poldark* saga both prior and post data collection (by way of online message board respondents). They suggest, several literary tourism forms (see Chapter 2a section 2.4) are illustrated in Cornwall.

	Forms of Literary Tourism					
	1st	2 <sup>nd</sup>	3rd	4 <sup>th</sup>	5 <sup>th</sup>	6 <sup>th</sup>
Prior data collection	✓	✓	✓	✓?	✓	✓?
Post data collection	✓	✓	✓?	✓	✓	✓?

Table 4. Forms of literary tourism associated with Poldark prior and post data collection (adapted from Busby & Laviolette, 2006, p.152).

Cornwall provides fertile ground in which to conduct literary tourism research, as does its associations with *Poldark*. Following contemporary tourism trends, notably, the decline of traditional bucket and spade holidays, and the adverse impacts of seasonality, Cornish tourist officials aspire to emphasise culture and heritage tourism via the creation of unique selling points to gain competitive advantage and distinctiveness, and in turn, attract visitors (Busby & Laviolette, 2006; Hale, 2001). Literary tourism befits this wider tourism landscape (see Chapter 2 section 2.2) and is thus an appropriate solution to changing market trends in the destination.

<b>Statistic</b>	<b>Value</b>
Domestic tourism day visits to Cornwall in 2019	Approx. 24.8 million (Statista, 2021b)
Expenditure on tourism day visits to Cornwall in 2019	£872 million (Statista, 2021a)
Inbound visits to Cornwall & Scillies in 2019	353,400 (VisitBritain/VisitEngland, 2021)
Total expenditure (GBP) of inbound visits to Cornwall & Scillies in 2019	£168.34 million (VisitBritain/VisitEngland, 2021)
Total nights spent in 2019	2.4m (VisitBritain/VisitEngland, 2021)
Average length of stay (Nights) in 2019	6.82 (VisitBritain/VisitEngland, 2021)
Average spend per visit (GBP) in 2019	£476 (VisitBritain/VisitEngland, 2021)

Table 5. Cornwall visitor and expenditure statistics (Statista, 2021a; Statista, 2021b; VisitBritain/VisitEngland, 2021)

Cornwall is one of Britain’s most popular tourist destinations (Busby & Laviolette, 2006). This is evidenced in the value generated by tourism in the county (see Table 5). Busby and Laviolette (2006) suggest literature has indisputably shaped the image of Cornwall. The Cornish landscape has served as literary inspiration for many, prompting rich portrayals of the county by writers of fiction (Busby & Laviolette, 2006). Interestingly, the VisitBritain (2019 [Updated December 2020]) ‘Activities in Britain’s nations and regions’ report revealed ‘[T]he South West literary offer was the strongest outside of London with 6% of visitors to the South West including a literary/music/TV or film location visit during their stay’ (VisitBritain, 2019 [Updated December 2020], p.6). With its rich literary heritage, Cornwall provides a suitable destination for examining the literary tourism phenomenon. As such, this research will focus on the relationship between Cornwall and Winston Graham’s *Poldark* novel series to analyse whether literary tourism stakeholder perceptions of authenticity are influenced by their stock of cultural capital (Bourdieu, 1984; 1986; Busby & Meethan, 2008).

Interestingly, Winston Graham and his novels were omitted from VisitEngland’s (2017) ‘Year of Literary Heroes’ research, with only du Maurier and Hardy representing authors associated with Cornwall included. That said, this research acknowledges the popularity of Graham’s *Poldark* saga, the adaptations of the novels and its associated tourism products and as such considers the author and his literature viable case material.

### 1.6 Thesis structure: synopsis of chapters

Table 6 presents a synopsis of this thesis’ chapters. It highlights the structure of the thesis, along with the purpose of each chapter and their content:

Chapter	Description
Chapter 1: Introduction	Chapter 1 provided an introduction to the thesis. It began by discussing early literary tourism research and its origins which are rooted in humanistic geography. Following this, the research gap was identified along with this study’s proposed theoretical and practical contributions. Three distinct research aims and nine research objectives that informed the present study of the literary tourism phenomenon were then presented. Additionally, the appropriateness of the selected literary destination (Cornwall) was described, along with the selected author (Winston Graham) and his literary works under investigation ( <i>Poldark</i> ).
Chapter 2a: Literature Review – Literary Tourism	The study’s scope, established aims and objectives required the critical review of interdisciplinary academic literature. Therefore, the literature review was divided into three areas, one phenomenological, and the other two conceptual, signposted by chapter headings. Specifically, 2a reviewed the historical emergence of the literary tourism phenomenon. It discussed literary tourism’s habitual placement within the broader fields of cultural and heritage tourism and discussed the position this study takes. Ultimately, this research concurred with the academic majority that literary tourism is a niche within cultural tourism. Thereafter, an exploration of the definitions and forms of literary tourism are reviewed. The literary tourist and the debate surrounding the literary pilgrim-tourism dichotomy are reviewed, in addition to the review of literary places, including their qualities, categories, and the function of tour guides who routinise these places and the markers they use to disseminate information

	and sacralise sights. The chapter then presented the distribution of literary tourism research by theme including a discussion of authenticity and cultural capital.
Chapter 2b: Literature Review – Authenticity	Chapter 2b critically assessed the various conceptualisations and theoretical approaches of authenticity in the literature, along with the discourse of authenticity in tourism, which highlighted the Boorstin-MacCannell debate. The theoretical approaches to authenticity are reviewed at length.
Chapter 2c: Literature Review – Cultural Capital	Chapter 2c provided a critical assessment of the conceptualisations of cultural capital in academic literature, including its definition, forms of differentiation and measurement. Variables that contributed to the measurement of an individual's cultural capital are reviewed to inform the design of the research instrument. Popular culture and popular cultural capital are also discussed.
Chapter 3: Conceptual Framework	Chapter 3 presents this study's conceptual framework. First, the elements of the conceptual framework are discussed which informed the initial design. A discussion of the post-data analysis revision of the conceptual framework is also discussed.
Chapter 4: Methodology	Chapter 4 details this study's methodology including all aspects of its design and implementation. This extends to this study's interpretivist approach, its use of an ethnographic research strategy, research instrument design for primary data collection (semi-structured interviews) and analysis techniques (thematic analysis/framework method). The researcher's positionality statement is also included which charts her influence over the entire research process.
Chapter 5a: Analysis – The Semiology of Literary Tourism	Chapter 5 and its subsections disseminate the findings and subsequent analysis of the primary data. This chapter is divided into four sections, each which reflect the research aims and objectives. Chapter 5a provides an analysis of semiotics in literary tourism experiences and the markers of author and fiction-related literary tourism sites. This thesis' first theoretical contribution emerged from this analysis – the authentic gaze.
Chapter 5b: Analysis – Tour guide interpretation	Drawing on the study by Fawcett and Cormack (2001), Chapter 5b provides an analysis of the <i>Poldark</i> tour guides' interpretive forms. The relationship between tour guide cultural capital along with other macro and micro-environmental factors which informed their interpretation are discussed at length.
Chapter 5c: Analysis – The Lexical Semantics of Authenticity	Chapter 5c investigates the potential nexus between the semantics used by tourists to describe authenticity and their cultural capital.
Chapter 5d: Analysis – The Relationship Between Tourist Cultural Capital and	Chapter 5d analyses guided and recreational tourists' cultural capital in order to determine the potential relationship between the former and tourist perceptions of authenticity.

Perceptions of Authenticity	
Chapter 6: Synthesis	Chapter 6 presents the synthesis derived from the analysis presented in Chapter 5a, b, c and d. It introduces new tourism knowledge in the form of the authentic gaze and discusses the dominance of cultural capital stock. It also synthesises the semiotic markers of authenticity in literary tourism, along with a discussion of the pilgrim-tourist dichotomy.
Chapter 7: Management Implications, Limitations and Conclusions	The management implications, limitations and conclusions of this thesis are presented in Chapter 7. Based on the findings of this study, practical recommendations are made. Also, suggestions for future research are included based on what the researcher considers to be potentially fruitful lines of inquiry. More specifically, the need for tourism studies to adopt a cross-disciplinary approach with Film Studies when investigating the audience gaze and the potential in using the serious leisure perspective to explore autodidactic tour guides and 'expert tourists'.

Table 6. Title and description of thesis chapters

## 1.7 Conclusion

This introductory chapter discussed the theoretical origin of the literary tourism phenomenon – humanistic geography. The theoretical and practical contributions of the study research outlined. The study's selection of Winston Graham and *Poldark* were synthesised on the basis that Cornwall's *Poldark*-centric literary heritage has been commodified and commercialised for tourism. Therefore, the author and his novels provide the opportunity to address this study's research aims and objectives.

## Chapter 2a: Literature Review – Literary Tourism

### 2a 2.0 Introduction

Herein a critical discussion of the academic literature is presented that serves to ground this research phenomenologically. The first logical step in this literature review chapter is to explore the history of the literary tourism phenomenon (section 2.1). Thereafter, literary tourism's placement within wider tourism fields are discussed (section 2.2). Following this, definitions of literary tourism are considered (section 2.3) and the relationship between literatures, authors, places and tourism are explored by way of a critical discussion of the forms of literary tourism (section 2.4), including the definition operationalised within the context of this study (section 2.4.1). The literary tourist (including the pilgrim-tourist dichotomy) are discussed (section 2.5) in addition to literary places, including their promotions and preconditions for development (Hoppen, 2012) (section 2.6). Special consideration is given to literary tours and the role of the tour guide in section 2.6.2. Section 2.7 present this chapter's conclusions.

### 2a 2.1 The history of literary tourism

As Chapter 1 section 1.1 demonstrated, investigations of the nexus between literature and place are rooted in humanistic geography (Busby & George, 2004). Humanistic geographers engendered early examples of literary tourism, leading many to suggest that the literary tourism phenomenon is by no means new (Agarwal & Shaw, 2018; Busby & Hambly, 2000; Busby & Laviolette, 2006; Çevik, 2020; Smith, Macleod & Robertson, 2010). This is exemplified by Ian Ousby who recalls how Alfred Tennyson visited Lyme Regis because of its use by Jane Austen as a setting for an episode of *Persuasion*:

[...] proper consideration of Jane Austen's novel depends hardly at all on familiarity with Lyme Regis . . . Yet Tennyson's attitude remains a popular one. To the common reader, and to those who get their reading from television serials, a large part of literature's appeal is its connection with place – real places that can be visited by car over a sunny Bank Holiday' (Ousby, 1990, p.22 cited in Busby & Hambly, 2000).

Fox (2008) and Stiebel (2007) suggest the genesis of literary tourism is believed to have originated in the fifth century BC with the publication of Herodotus' *The Histories* that fuelled affluent Greeks (and later Romans) to travel to the Nile. Comparatively, Santesso (2004, p.379) suggests, 'It is a truism that literary tourism as we know it was initiated in England by David Garrick's Stratford Jubilee in 1769'. An alternative suggestion is that literary tourism can be traced to the Grand Tour – the route of which was established in part to accommodate travel to locations with literary connections (Santesso, 2004) - when young aristocrats, predominantly male, embarked on pilgrimages across Europe (Le Bel, 2017) in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries (Buzard, 1993; Connell, 2012; Le Bel, 2017; Macleod, Hayes & Slater, 2009; O'Connor & Kim, 2014; Orr, 2018; Smith, Macleod & Robertson, 2010; Towner, 2002).

Geographically, the United Kingdom is observed as the architect of the art, or culture of, literary tourism (Devashish, 2011), traceable to the promotion of imagined territories including Wordsworth's Lake District and Dickens' London (Devashish, 2011). This promotional strategy has been successful for other locations, including Cornwall, which provides the setting to Winston Graham's *Poldark* saga and novels by Daphne du Maurier. Watson (2006, p. 5) observed that 'literary tourism is so naturalised as a cultural phenomenon



in the British Isles that one sees literary sites detailed in guidebooks and marked on the road map, and expects (and feels expected) to visit the museum shop and to buy the soap, the postcard and the bookmark'.

Presently, literary tourism can be viewed as an element of the postmodern (Urry, 1990 cited in Agarwal & Shaw, 2018). 'As Uriely (1997) mentioned, [...] changes in the field of tourism are basically handled in two dimensions. These two dimensions in postmodern tourism are explained as "simulation" and "other" (Munt, 1994). The simulation dimension deals with themed postmodern areas (imitation of reality) associated with the upper reality, while the other dimension emphasizes the natural and rural areas (reality). This two-dimensional structure of postmodern tourism (imitation of reality - reality) fits the condition of juxtaposition of opposites' (Nalçacı İkiz, 2019, p.62). This juxtaposition is heavily present in literary tourism experiences, particularly when one considers the complexity of literary places and their various categorisations (see section 2.6). Postmodern thinking renders immanence (Altieri, 1973), that is, personal experience is all we have. When individuals embark on literary tourism, informed by their varied textual readings (Squire, 1994b), they take their own individual response to the literary text and seek to go out into the world to accumulate personal experience. These two practices, the small individual response and the personal experience, are both features of postmodernism: 'postmodernism makes individuals and their own experiences the locus of authority or at most a group of individuals and their collective experience. In other words, no single truth or fixed standard exists; rather, what becomes accepted as true emerges from what a group experiences as true for itself, aware that another group might have different experiences and thus advance a different truth' (Lippy, 2009, p.261).

Literary resources are purposefully commodified to create and satisfy contemporary consumption, culminating in the development of diverse landscapes of postmodern attractions (Agarwal & Shaw, 2018). That said, it is important to acknowledge here that the production and subsequent consumption of contemporary literary tourism can also be attributed to the 'shift from Fordism to post-Fordist forms of production (Ioannides & Debbage, 1997), which created the need to capture the 'increasingly complex and diverse needs of demand' (Fayos-Sola, 1996: 406)' (Agarwal & Shaw, 2017, p. 11).

#### 2a 2.2 Tourism landscapes: culture, heritage, or other?

Literary tourism shares many characteristics with other wider tourism landscapes. Whilst this in itself does not seem problematic, it is necessary to consider the implications and shared characteristics that are encompassed within these landscapes, some of which are particularly relevant to discussions of authenticity (e.g. heritage dissonance and the staged authenticity of cultures). There is much academic debate and no general consensus on literary tourism's placement. Gentile and Brown (2015, after Smith 2012) suggest the myriad of literary tourism definitions are indicative of the tourism discourse's lack of formalisation. As such, definitions of literary tourism represent a collection of intuitive ideas submitted by various scholars (Gentile & Brown, 2015). It appears earlier considerations of the discourse are based on ideas about literary tourism, rather than generated theory grounded in methodological findings. Literature's position as an inherited object of culture (Amey, 2015) lends to its placement within the wider fields of cultural and heritage tourism. The wider fields in which literary tourism is placed are conceptualised in Figure 9:

# Cultural and Heritage Tourism

## HERITAGE TOURISM

*sense of place rooted in the local landscape, architecture, people, artefacts, traditions and stories*

## CULTURAL TOURISM

*visitors identifying with, discovering, and creating signifiers of cultural values, with those people who have become part of the cultural mythologies of places*

## Creative Tourism

*'tourism that embraces the creative arts, such as design, architecture, music, film, media, music and literature'* (Hoppen, Brown & Fyall, 2014, p.40)

*Tourism Embracing Creative Arts:*

*design, architecture, music, film media, music and literature*

## Media-Related Tourism

*'tourism involves visits to places celebrated for associations with books, authors, television programmes and films'* (Busby & Klug, 2001, p.316)

### **Literary Tourism**

Visitors to places celebrated for associations with books and authors

### **Film Tourism**

Visits to places celebrated for television programmes & films

Figure 9. Classification of literary tourism within the field of cultural and heritage tourism (adapted from Hoppen, Brown & Fyall, 2014, p.40).

Richards (1996b) asserts that definitions of tourism and culture are constantly in flux, and thus, defining them is difficult. As a result, definitions of tourism and culture are often divided (see Table 7) into the conceptual and the technical (Richards, 1996b):

<b>Conceptual</b>	<b>Technical</b>
<p>[T]he Tourism Society in the UK defines tourism as:</p> <p>The temporary short-term movement of people to destinations outside places where they normally live and work, and activities during their stay at these destinations; it includes movement for all purposes, as well as day visits and excursions (Quoted in Holloway 1985:2-3).</p>	<p>The WTO (1993) definition of tourism includes:</p> <p>The activities of persons during their travel and stay in a place outside their usual place of residence, for a continuous period of less than one year, for leisure, business or other purposes.</p>

*Table 7. Conceptual and technical definitions of tourism (Richards, 1996a, p.20).*

Regarding culture, Richards (1996b) argues attempts to define the term exhaustively therefore creates a level of generalisation that renders it useless. This generalisation extends to the observation of culture as a “whole way of life” (Richards, 1996a; Williams, 1976). As Smith (2012) notes, to combat this issue, Richards (1996b) employs a strategy which sees the focus shift to modern uses of the concept. He therefore differentiates culture between two uses: culture as process and culture as product (see Table 8). Although Richards (1996b) acknowledges that these approaches to culture seldom overlap, within tourism, a certain degree of integration is witnessed. ‘Culture as process is the goal of tourists seeking authenticity and meaning through their tourist experiences (MacCannell, 1976, Cohen, 1979). However, the very presence of tourists leads to the creation of cultural manifestations specifically for tourist consumption (Cohen, 1988). In other words culture as process is

transformed through tourism (as well as other social mechanisms) into culture as product’ (Richards, 2005, p.22).

<b>Culture</b>	
<b>As ‘Process’</b>	<b>As ‘Product’</b>
Derived from anthropology and sociology which regard culture mainly as codes of conduct embedded in a specific social group. Culture designates the social field of meaning and production, or those processes through people make sense of themselves and their lives.	Derives particularly from literary criticism. Culture is regarded as the product of an individual or group of activities to which certain meanings are attached. Thus ‘high’ culture might be used by some to refer to the products of famous artists, whereas ‘low’ culture might refer to TV soap programs.

*Table 8. Concept of culture in literature (Mousavi et al., 2016, p.71 after Clarke, 1990 and Richards, 1996).*

In cultural tourism, defined by Hoppen, Brown and Fyall (2014) in Figure 9, culture serves a contextual role, shaping general tourist experiences (Dahles, 2001), i.e. those without specific focus on the uniqueness of a particular cultural identity (Wood, 1984, cited in Dahles 2001). Laing and Frost (2012) argue literature is an effective agent for cultural change, via its influence on theories of travel – how we experience travel and the potential behaviours, including motivations it elicits as a result. In response to Laing and Frost’s (2012) call for warranted research on the relationship between books and travel, and Richards’ (1996b, p.25) suggestion that ‘in the new culture of tourism, specially created consumption areas have been created, which are designed to aid tourists in their search for authenticity and meaning’, it would be useful to explore the importance of literature and tourism – manifested through literary tourism – within the broader contexts of culture (Smith, 2012) and authenticity. This research will achieve this by employing Bourdieusian cultural capital (Bourdieu, 1984; 1986) and the concept of authenticity concurrently in its examination of literary tourism in Cornwall.

The roles of cultural capital and authenticity in literary tourism are reviewed in sections 2.7.1 and 2.7.2.

Table 9 illustrates the position of literary tourism within wider and narrower fields as indicated in selected literature. The majority attribute literary tourism's location within the wider field of cultural tourism:

Source	Cultural Tourism	Heritage Tourism	Cultural & Heritage Tourism	Media-related Tourism	Creative Tourism
Squire (1991)	✓				
Squire (1994b); (1996)		✓			
Richards (1996a)	✓				
Busby and Klug (2001)				✓	
Herbert (2001)		✓			
(Robinson & Andersen, 2002b; 2002a)	✓				
Stiebel (2004)	✓				
Fox (2008)	✓				
Mintel (2011)					✓
Schaff (2011)		✓			
Timothy (2011)	✓				
Laing and Frost (2012)			✓		
Carson <i>et al.</i> (2013)					
Hoppen, Brown and Fyall (2014)		✓			
O'Connor and Kim (2014)	✓				
Gentile and Brown (2015)	✓				
Brown (2016b)			✓		
Baleiro and Quinteiro (2018)	✓				
Orr (2018)		✓			
<b>Total:</b>	<b>9</b>	<b>5</b>	<b>2</b>	<b>1</b>	<b>1</b>

Table 9. Literary tourism placement in wider fields in academic literature.

Academic literature suggests literary tourism phenomenon is largely regarded as a niche (Brown, 2016a; Brown, 2016b; Hoppen, Brown & Fyall, 2014; McGuckin, 2015; Smith, 2012) within the broader landscapes of cultural and heritage tourism (Brown, 2016a; Brown, 2016b; Busby & Shetliffe, 2013; Herbert, 2001; Hoppen, Brown & Fyall, 2014; Le Bel, 2017; Mintel,

2011; Robinson & Andersen, 2002b; Robinson & Andersen, 2002a; Squire, 1994b; Squire, 1994a; Tetley, 1998). Added to this are the suggestions by Busby and Klug (2001) and Mintel (2011) that literary tourism befits media-related tourism and creative tourism, respectively (see Figure 9).

Like Hoppen, Brown and Fyall (2014), this research questions what characteristics differentiate these tourism landscapes. Regarding cultural and heritage tourism, their analysis extends to the view of the National Trust for Historic Preservation (2011, cited in Hoppen, Brown & Fyall, 2014), who suggest the two partly converge and therefore cannot be entirely differentiated (Hoppen, Brown & Fyall, 2014). However, they do submit that heritage tourism has a heightened association to place, in that it embeds a unique sense of place in local landscapes, architectures and peoples, including their traditions and stories (Hoppen, Brown & Fyall, 2014). Cultural tourism meanwhile, although predominantly concerned with similar experiences as heritage tourism, is comparatively less concerned with the significance of place (Hoppen, Brown & Fyall, 2014). Thus, comparisons between the two can be drawn via the following example: witnessing an artist's work in their home or studio can be cast as a heritage tourism experience whilst witnessing their work when featured in an exhibition elsewhere (not place of work or residence) is categorised as a cultural tourism experience (Hoppen, Brown & Fyall, 2014).

The interrelationship of literary tourism, its niches and wider fields is conceptualised in several contemporary figures (Agarwal & Shaw, 2018; Hoppen, Brown & Fyall, 2014). Hoppen, Brown and Fyall (2014) present a visual representation of literary tourism's classification in cultural and heritage tourism, with the addition of Busby & Klug's (2001) proposed media-



related tourism and Mintel's (2011) creative tourism (reproduced in Figure 9). One could postulate that Mintel's definition is derived from the United Nations Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organization's (UNESCO) (2004) attempt to somewhat formalise the literary tourism concept (Mintel, 2011), that prompted the launch of the UNESCO Cities of Literature network (Mintel, 2011). When considering all the wider fields in which some studies position literary tourism, the phenomenon can be regarded 'as a niche (media-related tourism) within a niche (creative tourism) in the wider field of cultural and heritage tourism' (Hoppen, Brown & Fyall, 2014, p.40). This research concurs with those studies that attribute literary tourism's location within the wider field of cultural tourism by reasoning of its inclusivity. Cultural tourism is not restrictive in its locations, and therefore encompasses the entirety of literary tourism forms discussed in Chapter 2a section 2.4.

### 2a 2.3 Defining the literary tourism phenomenon

This omission of a definitional consensus is a result of the phenomenon's ambiguity (Westover, 2009). Nevertheless, the definitions of literary tourism discussed herein, which are considered by Gentile and Brown (2015) to be the most representative of the phenomenon, are included to illustrate the paucities of focus in the literature relative to the power and iconicity of literary tourism language. Such power, in their view, is derived from literary tourism's capacity to amalgamate words and images and shape language into spectacle, which in turn allows literature and art to be increasingly accessible to wider audiences (Gentile & Brown, 2015). Due to her contribution to the construction of the concept of literary tourism (Quinteiro, 2021) the point for departure for most literary tourism studies are the definitions offered by Shelagh Squire (1993; 1996):

‘[...] travel to places famous for associations with books or authors’ (Squire, 1993, p.5).

‘[...] that associated with places celebrated for literary depictions and/or connections with literary figures’ (Squire, 1996, p.119).

Unsurprisingly, some have found Squire’s definitions limited in their explanation of the phenomenon (Gentile & Brown, 2015). Despite its reference to the physical manifestations of literary tourism, Amey (2015) and this research, have taken issue with her initial definition, due to its restrictive nature (i.e. focussing solely on books). Poems, short narratives and travel writing – in its multiple forms – are all literary texts addressed in literary tourism endeavours. Although Squire’s second definition appears more inclusive and provides an appropriate representation of the phenomenon, its omissions are twofold: (i) the relationship between real and fictional places, and (ii) the relationship the phenomenon creates between the author, the text and the visitor (Gentile & Brown, 2015). Comparatively, both Robinson and Andersen (2002a, p.3) and Watson’s (2009, p.2) definitions highlight the centrality of this connection:

‘[literary tourism is the] tripartite relationship between authors, their writings and the concept of place and landscapes, which can over time transform the space and how it is perceived by visitors’ (Robinson & Andersen, 2002a, p.3).

‘the business of literary tourism [as] the interconnected practices of visiting and marking sites associated with writers and their work’ (Watson, 2009, p.2)

What is evident from these definitions is the ubiquitous emphasis on sites and places (Smith, 2012). However, they do not acknowledge the gradual widening of literary tourism’s range

(Selberg & Alempijević, 2013), which includes temporary literary attractions – events (Smith, 2012). In this regard, William Shakespeare and Agatha Christie serve as illustrative examples (Smith, 2012). Both are famous, respected literary figures whose narratives have been distributed through television and film adaptations (Smith, 2012).

#### 2a 2.4 Forms of literary tourism

The evolution of the subject literature now supports the presence of nine forms of literary tourism. Published in 1986, Richard Butler's often-cited typology identified four forms of literary tourism (Table 10). Butler's typology is also recognised as 'one of the few to make explicit reference to literary tourism and implies that it might not be only the classic literary texts which are shaping popular landscape values' (Squire, 1991, p.27). Mansfield (2015) also deduces this from his empirical research data. Later, Dr Graham Busby and associates (Busby & Klug, 2001; Busby & Laviolette, 2006), in support of Butler (Brown, 2016b) extended this typology, providing three additional forms. Furthermore, Mintel (2011) proposed two further forms (Brown, 2016b). Thus, these nine forms of literary tourism, along with Hoppen et al.'s (2014, p.39) descriptions are identified in Table 10. Though the typologies included herein are useful for the differentiation and categorisation of literary tourism activities and visitor types (Brown, 2016b), Brown (2016b) observes, they lack supporting empirical data:

Source	Form	Description
Butler (1986)	Aspects of homage to an actual location	To see the background against which a work was produced to gain new insights into the work and the author. This form involves the emergence of the literary pilgrim (Butler, 1986)
	Places of significance in the work of fiction	The novel <i>Tarka the Otter</i> by Henry Williamson brought tourists to the rural part of North Devon where it was set (Wreyford, 1996)
	‘The appeal of areas because they were appealing to literary (and other) figures’ (Butler 1986, 118)	The form of tourism which is connected with literary figures (Squire, 1996). Widely used by the private and public sector to promote areas and to gain economic benefit (Busby & Hambly, 2000)
	The work of the writer is so popular that the entire area becomes a tourist destination per se	This form is illustrated by Charles Kingsley’s <i>Westward Ho!</i> Which resulted in the creation of the eponymously named seaside resort in north Devon (Busby and Hambly, 2000). On a greater scale, “Agatha Christie Country” (Busby, Brunt & Lund, 2003)
Busby & Klug (2001)	Travel Writing	A vehicle through which places and people have been reinterpreted and communicated to wider audiences, illustrated by the work of Bill Bryson
Busby & George (2004)	Nostalgia!	Nostalgia is an element in literary tourism reflecting deeper cultural sensitivities, a level where tourist spaces created from literature convey meanings that exist beyond the text but which are fundamental to our cultural understanding of literary tourism (Robinson & Andersen, 2002)
Busby & Laviolette (2006)	Film-induced literary tourism	Predicated by film-induced tourism, whereby the visitor has read the author’s works after viewing what may well have been changed by the screenplay
Intel (2011)	Literary Festivals	According to Intel (2011), the emphasis at literary festivals was once on serious literature, but has widened considerably and nowadays includes other related events – usually from the wider field of arts – such as films, TV documentaries, audio books etc., as those are part of contemporary culture
	Bookshop Tourism	Bookshop tourism tends to be the domain of independent, often small book retailers, which might specialise in certain literature genres. An example is the Shakespeare and Company bookshop in Paris, which specialises in books written in English. Coughlan (2012) describes how, as part of a creative writing course at NYU, the shop is used by tutors for readings and discussions.

Table 10. Forms of literary tourism (adapted from Hoppen, Brown & Fyall, 2014, p.39).

Butler's (1986) first form is incited by varied motivations: for some literary tourists, resolute pilgrimage is made whilst for others, visitation to a literary site may be incidental (Brown, 2016b). The differentiation in motivation is attributed to the type of literary tourist – be that the literary pilgrim or the general tourist both of which are described in section 2.5. Squire (1994b) suggests the development of literary places engenders that the personal can become objects for public scrutiny (Brown, 2016a). Busby and Laviolette (2006) offer Daphne du Maurier's homonymous novel (Hoppen, Brown & Fyall, 2014) *Jamaica Inn* (1936) as an example. In visiting Jamaica Inn, tourists pay homage to the 'old coaching house on Bodmin Moor in the UK that inspired' (Hoppen, Brown & Fyall, 2014, p.40) du Maurier. Butler (1986) attributes pseudo-pilgrimage as the literary tourist's rationale behind embarking on this particular form of literary tourism (Busby & Laviolette, 2006) 'to see the backcloth against which a work was produced to gain new insights into the work of the author' (Busby & Laviolette, 2006, p.147). Whilst exploring the findings of two seminal literary tourism studies (Herbert, 2001; Pocock, 1992), Busby and Laviolette (2006) concur that the novelist's popularity serves as the key criterion for visitor motivation. What Busby and Laviolette (2006) fail to synthesise here are the external forces, unrelated to the writer and their works, that contribute to said popularity. For example, the popularity could be attributed to the investment the rights holder has made in promoting the book or the author. Hence, it does not necessarily reflect the admiration of the author by the masses, but their exposure to the author and their literary works by way of marketing and promotion.

The second form, places stronger emphasis on the works of fiction as opposed to the author. Here a shared characteristic of literary and film tourism is illustrated: just as film tourists seek places promoted on TV and film, literary tourists seek those promoted in literature (Brown,

2016b). Watson (2006) suggests the literary tourist experience is intensified when that of the fictional setting and place of composition are synchronous (Brown, 2016b) – like that of Winston Graham’s *Poldark*. As Table 10 indicates, Henry Williamson’s *Tarka* epitomises this form (Busby & Laviolette, 2006). However, it is important to note that visitors may experience difficulty when attempting to identify fictional locations (Busby & Laviolette, 2006). To illustrate this point, Busby and Laviolette (2006) offer a Cornish comparison between the relative ease of identifying locations from the romantic fiction of Rosamunde Pilcher’s best seller, *The Shell Seekers* (1987) as opposed to those locations of the *Poldark* series. Moody (1997, cited in Busby & Laviolette, 2006) remarks ‘*Poldark Country* is a composite creation and a certain level of geographical knowledge is required to identify many of the locations, even though two publications assist in this task’ (Busby & Laviolette, 2006, p.147). It could be argued, that tourists’ cultural capital plays a role here. Tourists will either have either the gratuitous knowledge to identify these *Poldark* locations or the cultural competence to seek out and decode (Bourdieu, 1984) sources that do – including the novels and other associated non-literary works – for example Winston Graham’s *Poldark’s Cornwall* (Graham, 1983).

Butler’s third literary tourism form is focused on the development and promotion of sites based on their appeal to literary figures (Brown, 2016b). The tenuous relationship between the appeal of locations because of their appeal to authors and other figures exhibits a more specialist literary tourism form (Busby & Hambly, 2000; Busby & Laviolette, 2006) which nonetheless, is supported by multiple examples (Busby & Hambly, 2000) many of which are assembled in books and literary guides (e.g., *The Oxford Literary Guide to Britain and Ireland*, first published in 1977) (Busby & Hambly, 2000).

The fourth form applies when a place becomes a tourist destination by reason of an author's popularity (Brown, 2016b). As Table 10 indicates, the concept of the literary country (section 2.6) employed by tourism authorities globally is a manifestation of this literary tourism form (Busby & Laviolette, 2006). Within these general literary topographies, or image geographies (Pocock, 1992), some receive heightened recognition over others (Busby & Laviolette, 2006), much of which is contingent on levels of marketing investment. As mentioned earlier, popularity is not a strong enough concept on its own, when one considers the variable pre-conditions for popularity (i.e. investment from the rights owner and tourism stakeholders, including the DMO) and the subsequent encouragement of commodification. 'In any given area of translation to the mass media, the small screen frequently being as effective as the large' (Busby & Laviolette, 2006, p.148). Previous research have not elicited sales figures from publishers. Hence, discussions of author popularity are questionable as academics have not sought to define all the parameters from which popularity can be determined. Whilst this study was unable to obtain accurate sales figures for the *Poldark* novels, the number of editions printed (see Appendix 3) are indicative of the saga's popularity.

The fifth form of literary tourism, travel writing (Busby & Klug, 2001), holds agency and influence on tourism decision-making, and is therefore a vehicle for destination marketing, promotion (Brown, 2016b) and image formation. Norman (2011) warns against overlooking travel writing's influence on tourism trends and fashions. Some scholars have explored the topic (Hsu & Song, 2013; Meneghello & Montaguti, 2014; Meneghello & Montaguti, 2016; Pan, MacLaurin & Crotts, 2007; Seraphin, 2012; Sun, Ryan & Pan, 2015; Wenger, 2008), which lends to both the theoretical and practical legitimacy of the form. As Busby and Klug (2001)

argued, this form encompasses a vast category, ranging 'from guide-books to semi-fictionalised descriptive accounts – literature nonetheless' (Busby & Laviolette, 2006, p.148).

The sixth form, proposed by Busby and George (2004) is nostalgia: an element within the phenomenon that 'reflects deeper cultural sensitivities' (Busby & George, 2004, p.7). Nostalgia plays a climacteric role in the appreciation of the phenomenon: '[...] it implies the existence of extra-textual meanings (Busby & George, 2004), the idealisation of the past (Laenen, 1989), and its dramatic discordance with the present (Belk et al. 2003): factors which ultimately contribute to the attractiveness of literary places (Herbert 1995a)' (Gentile & Brown, 2015, p.32). The review is unsure as to why this form seems to be consistently omitted in the wider literature's surveys of literary tourism forms (Çevik, 2020; Hoppen, Brown & Fyall, 2014).

Film-induced literary tourism (Busby & Laviolette, 2006) is established from film-induced tourism, through which tourists consume literature as a result of viewing a film adaptation (Brown, 2016b). Mintel (2011) drew two further forms from their market research report, literary festivals, and the final literary tourism form, bookshop tourism. The former, in which emphasis was once placed on serious literature, has broadened considerably, and presently encompasses supplementary events, typically from the wider field of arts (Brown, 2016b). In addition to noting the social construction of authenticity, Herbert (2001, p.313) claims literary places are also social constructs, 'created, amplified, and promoted to attract visitors'. Here, Brown (2016b) suggests, the creation of literary festivals is an example of such a social construct that satisfies tourist consumption of literature. This satisfaction, in some cases, is heightened by the presence of the author, within their capacity to explain their literary works,



and in the process, humanise themselves in the eyes of their audience, through their physical presence (Robinson & Andersen, 2002a). Of course, this is not always possible. The latter of Mintel's forms, satisfies the bookshop tourists' wanting to widen their literature consumption to include titles by local authors, or literature relating to the destination to which they have travelled (Mintel, 2011). For tourists, the book serves as a souvenir, a permanent reminder of having watched the film (Busby & Laviolette, 2006).

#### 2a 2.4.1 Operationalised definition of literary tourism

After the above discussion which highlighted the tangible and experiential aspects of literary tourism and its various forms, it would be apposite to operationalise a definition of literary tourism that is more comprehensive than those included herein. The operationalised definition of literary tourism below encompasses the various forms of literary tourism (see section 2.4). Thus, this research defines literary tourism within the context of this study as:

*Literary tourism is a form of cultural tourism that encompasses travel to permanent and temporary places and events connected to writers, their works, presentations of new writing, and real and imagined depictions that hold gratuitous symbolic place value (Bourdieu, 1977). Such travel, induced by the medium of literary texts, fosters on those whom choose to engage, the opportunity for emotional engagement and imaginative reflection from which the individual, intentionally or otherwise, derives value and meaning.*

#### 2a 2.5 Literary tourists

While an all-encompassing definition of the term is desirable (Cooper, 2008) in practice, tourists represent a heterogeneous, as opposed to a homogenous group (Cooper, 2008; Dolnicar, 2008; Mason, 2003; 2006), with differing personalities, demographics and

experiences (Cooper, 2008; Torkildsen, 2011). Thus, literary tourists are too, heterogeneous (Agarwal & Shaw, 2018), particularly regarding the varied meanings they attribute to and derive from literary works (Brown, 2016b). Herbert (2001), in his survey of Jane Austen's literary tourists, asserts that whilst generalisations can be valid, each visitor has some idiosyncratic chemistry with a literary place (Brown, 2016b): 'many were able to combine interest and relaxation in ways they found to be acceptable and pleasurable and these were not mutually exclusive features of the visit' (Herbert, 2001, p.326).

The heterogeneity of literary tourists are conceptualised within the pilgrim-tourist dichotomy. Generally, 'the term 'literary tourists' logically applies to those practicing tourist activities' (Amey, 2015, p.29) cued by 'the sensibilities implied by texts [and by extension, authors] which readers then endeavour to recapitulate through the protocols of tourism' (Watson, 2009, p.12). Pilgrimage, initially relating to religious journeys, or those trips of spiritual significance, have manifested into touristic experiences (Amey, 2015; Fairer-Wessels, 2005). The literary pilgrimage – 'pilgrimage within a literary context' (Fairer-Wessels, 2005, p.2) – has led to appraisals of the particular interests of these resolute literary tourists culminating in the emergence of the concept of the literary pilgrim (Busby & Shetliffe, 2013). Thought to be a salient feature of the phenomenon (Watson, 2009), somewhat predictably, academic literature has dedicated a great deal of attention to the concept (Brown, 2016b; Herbert, 2001; Pocock, 1987; Stiebel, 2007; Walton, 2009). Pocock (1987) was the first to introduce the concept (Amey, 2015), in his survey of visitor experiences to Haworth, home of the Brontës. Thus, the concept of literary pilgrims has existed over a considerable period (Herbert, 2001) and can be defined as a devoted scholar, prepared to travel large distances to experience locations associated with writers (Herbert, 2001). Literary pilgrims then, are

erudite, learned, well-educated tourists, boasting the cultural capital to appreciate, understand and enjoy literary places (Brown, 2016a; Herbert, 2001). Research that pays particular attention to literary pilgrims invariably stresses the importance of cultural competence (Herbert, 2001). For sociologists such as Pierre Bourdieu (1984), these pilgrims belong to the dominant classes, loosely defined as those individuals who possess high cultural and economic capital (Riley, 2017), 'with tastes and preferences that served as markers of their social position and with patterns of consumption that set them apart' (Herbert, 2001, p.313). These markers are indicative of an individual's cultural capital, a concept later discussed in Chapter 2c. For Smith (2003, cited in Ridanpää, 2011) literary pilgrims can be differentiated into those who exhibit a love for an author, and those who hold more academic interests. Although Eagle & Carnell (1977, cited in Herbert, 2001) suggest a reader's fascination about places connected with authors has prompted them to become pilgrims, contemporarily, these visits can be incidental, as part of a more general tourist itinerary (Herbert, 2001); literary destinations are targets for a majority (Robinson & Andersen, 2002a) who have a general interest in the heritage attributed to a place (Herbert, 2001). Presently, those tourists who visit literary sites to experience pleasure and enjoyment supersede the pilgrims (Jia, 2009). In response to this touristic trend, literary sites are no longer restricted to accidents of history, locations of an author's birth or death (Herbert, 2001). Therefore, the manufacturing of literary sites, is the process of creating a constructive authenticity (Jia, 2009). This idea, along with other conceptualisations of authenticity will be further explored in Chapter 2b.

In light of this changing trend, researchers experience difficulty when making general assumptions about literary tourist characteristics (Smith, Macleod & Robertson, 2010).

However, Smith, Macleod and Robertson (2010) do assume some certainty when labelling the original Grand Tourists as pilgrims, as they were willing to journey long distances to follow their favourite writers. They go on to suggest that scholars, namely Herbert (1996) have found evidence to suggest that some contemporary tourists exhibit similar levels of dedication (Smith, Macleod & Robertson, 2010). This is further synthesised in relation to qualities of literary places in section 2.6.

Within the contemporary practice of literary tourism, the literary pilgrim is still thought to exist due to the continuation of worship of some literary figures, or at least the veneration of these authors, which can be thought of as the secular equivalent of sacred saints (Seaman, 2016). That said, as synthesised herein, the academic consensus submits the hypothesis that the practice now involves a more casual enterprise that requires the traveller to have little, if any, specialised knowledge or motivation (Seaman, 2016). Rather, visitors to literary places are viewed as literary tourists despite their motivation for participation or their familiarity with an author and their literary works (Seaman, 2016). In their survey of the Daphne du Maurier Festival, Busby and Hambly (2000, p.203) intended to 'create a composite picture of what has been termed a 'literary pilgrim''. Their results indicated that 'ultimately, for the festival, only 12 per cent of the visitors could be categorised as 'literary pilgrims' – with just one particular respondent scoring the maximum 13 points' (Busby & Hambly, 2000, p.204).

MacLeod, Shelley and Morrison (2018) suggest numerous literary tourism studies that define and differentiate literary enthusiasts, literary tourists and literary pilgrims have been conducted (Brown, 2016a; Busby & Shetliffe, 2013; Gothie, 2016; Herbert, 2001; Smith, 2003). As will be demonstrated in 2.7, several studies used the term literary pilgrim in their

descriptions of tourists who are motivated to visit both author and fiction-related locations (Çevik, 2020). The types of literary places are now discussed.

## 2a 2.6 Literary places

For Herbert (2001) the heterogeneity of literary tourists is matched by a multiplication of literary destinations. Within the UK, the lucrative literary tourism market has developed into a commercially significant phenomenon (Busby & O'Neill, 2006; Hoppen, Brown & Fyall, 2014). This is not to say that the phenomenon is isolated to British waters. On the contrary, there are a wealth of literary tourism destinations across the globe (see Chapter 1 section 1.1).

These literary places are a class of valuable landscapes, appreciated in the first instance, due to their associational qualities that vary 'from fictional narrative anchored in concrete localities to those related to actual place of birth, sojourn, or visitation by a particular writer' (Pocock, 1987, p.135), as opposed to their intrinsic beauty (Pocock, 1987). Hence, certain literary places 'may be approached in a heightened state of expectation' (Pocock, 1987, p.135) and can be plausibly described as "Cultural Property" (Weir, 2002, after Tomaszewski, 1993) as they assume part of a destination's potential destination-based cultural capital (Busby & Meethan, 2008) (see Chapter 2c, section 2.1.1.4). An element that contributes to the expectation of a literary place is authenticity. As will be discussed in detail in Chapter 2b, '[i]t is only recently that in the light of constructivist theories, authenticity has been understood in its full complexity' (Schaff, 2011, p.169).

An often-cited definition of a literary place is that of Herbert (1995a, p.33): ‘both those places associated with writers in their real lives and those which provide the settings for their novels’ (Herbert, 1995a, p.33). Herbert (2001) suggests tourist visitation to literary places is motivated by multiple factors. The first, closely aligned with Butler’s first form of literary tourism (see Table 10), concerns the draw of a place due to its personal connections with an author’s life (Beeton, 2006; Herbert, 2001), such as their former homes (which often served as the location for their literature production). Such places, can evoke feelings of nostalgia (Busby & George, 2004; Herbert, 2001), ‘inspire awe of reverence’ (Herbert, 2001, p.314), in allowing visitors the opportunity to satisfy their interest by walking in the footsteps of an author, into landscapes that largely remain unaltered (Marsh, 1993 cited in Herbert, 2001): we ‘see through their eyes when we enter these spaces’ (Marsh, 1993, p.xi cited in Herbert, 2001). Norkunas’ (1993) description is worth quoting at length here:

‘[An author’s home, is not simply the structure itself] but the furniture it contains, the marker announcing that the house is noteworthy, the guided tour that occurs within it, the tourist literature that describes it, and the group(s) of people who cause the house to be seen as valuable. It is partially through this manipulation of artifacts that value is socially created. The powerful amass as array of artifacts that purport to tell the actual story of the past. Through this process these artifacts become socially valued’ (Norkunas, 1993, p.95).

Norkunas (1993) considers the social construction of value in the manipulation of artefacts. Hence, it would be remiss not to question the implications of such manipulation to the concept of authenticity. Socially constructed authenticity can blur the boundaries of objectivist authenticity chiefly because, as Norkunas (1993) suggests, it allows for selectivity on behalf of those who construct it.

The second motivation to visit literary places included within Herbert's (2001) article centres on the draw of places that serve as settings for literature (Herbert, 2001). Fiction may be set in locations familiar to writers, and here, temporal examples of the blend of the real and illusory, or pseudo, is witnessed (Norkunas, 1993). This fusion attaches special meaning to the location (Herbert, 2001) and thus, imputes value (Pocock, 1987). Herbert (2001), drawing on the work of Pocock (1987) to illustrate his point, suggests fictional, as opposed to real characters and events, foster the strongest imagery. Pocock's (1987) research on Hawthorne demonstrates that despite Heathcliff's fictionality, tourists sought out the moors to satisfy their excitement to see him, rather than tread in the Brontë's footsteps (Pocock, 1987). Smith, Macleod and Robertson (2010) use L. M. Montgomery and her novel *Anne of Green Gables* (1908) as an example of how the life and 'real' home of the author becomes confused with their characters. They suggest this may result in the visitor's disappointment when in fact they are unable to encounter the romanticised settings created in their imaginations, and are left facing mundane reality (Smith, Macleod & Robertson, 2010).

Referencing the similarities between the findings of Squire's Hill Top research (1993; Squire, 1994b) and Davies' (1995) Acadian Evangeline myth study, Herbert contends the third reason that tourists visit literary places is that they appeal to them 'for some broader and deeper emotion than the specific writer or the story' (Herbert, 2001, p.314): they evoke childhood memories and emotions, though, not always positive (Davies, 1995), but significant nevertheless. This aligns with Busby & George's (2004) form of literary tourism - Nostalgia! (see Table 10). It would be remiss to not question the how previous research arrived at the language used to explain emotions attached to literary tourism experiences. Critically, these previous studies lacked the methods to investigate emotion. Nor, did they equate the

emotional reactions of tourists to their tourist experience of which to perceptions of authenticity plays an important role. This study, by way of its use of an interpretivist paradigm, endeavours to investigate whether emotional reactions to experience can be attributed to the notion of authenticity.

The fourth motivation Herbert (2001) provides is less concerned with the works of the author. Rather, it focuses on a dramatic event a writer experienced in their lifetime. Although an artist, Herbert uses the manner of Van Gogh's death, to illustrate his point, as this, rather than Van Gogh's art, has prompted visitation to Auvers-sur-Oise (Herbert, 2001). Herbert (2001) divides literary places on account of their exceptional or general qualities, of which the four reasons listed above relate to the former. In both senses, these qualities are used for literary place promotion. These are demonstrated in a reproduction of his conceptualisation (Figure 10):



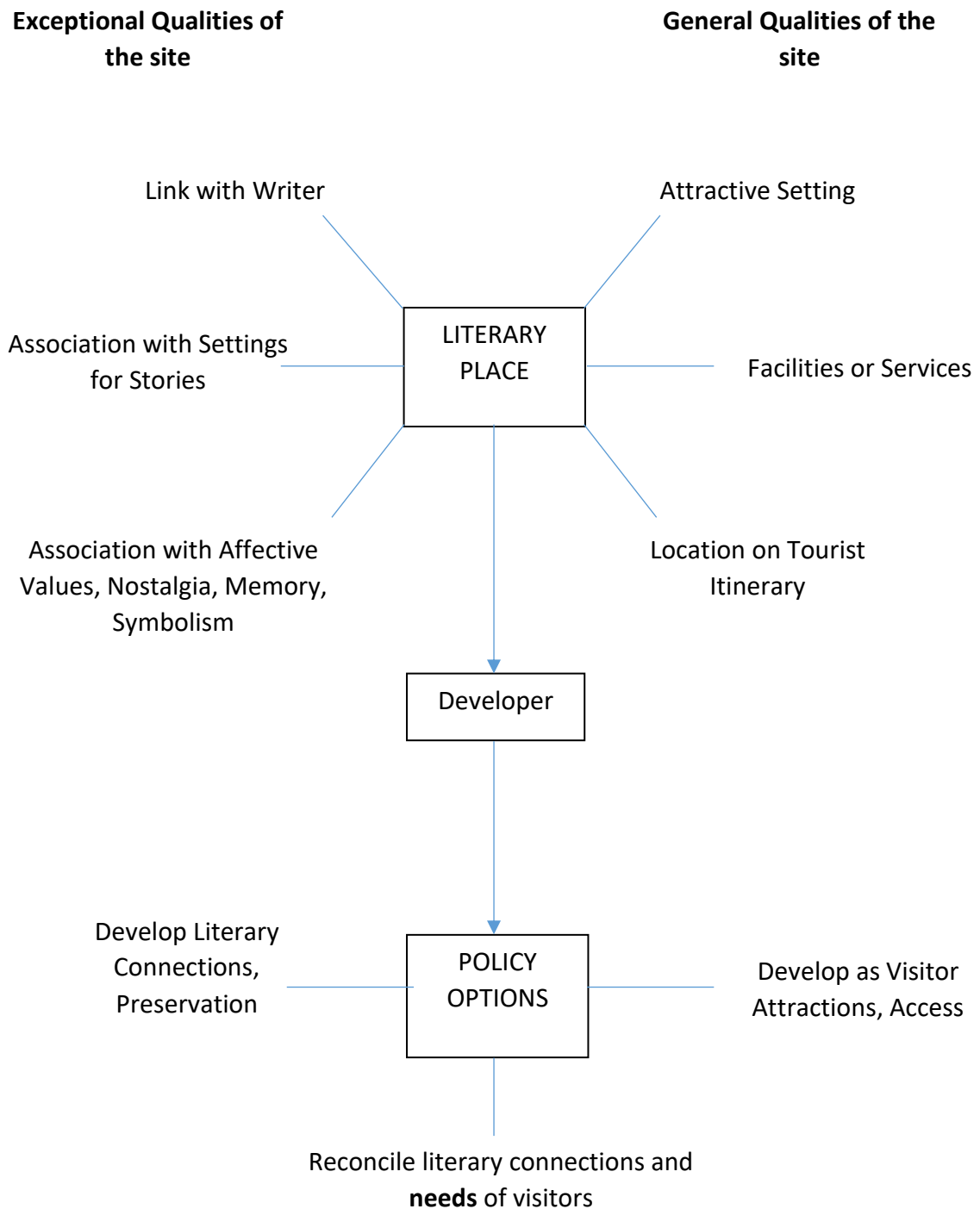


Figure 10. The qualities of a literary place (Herbert, 2001, p.315).

The general qualities refer to the appeal of literary places along a more general, as opposed to specialist, tourist itinerary (Herbert, 2001; Smith, Macleod & Robertson, 2010), like those on a literary tour. Such appeal, 'is, at least in part, one of geographical convenience' (Herbert,

2001, p.315), a location that fits neatly into a route involving attractive environments, other tourism attractions and facilities and services for the procurement of souvenirs and such like. That said, these general visitors are thought to 'have an emotional or imaginative link with these places, as – albeit if they have little in the way of biographical insight into the author's life – they will no doubt have absorbed associations through film, television and other media' (Smith, Macleod & Robertson, 2010, p.109).

#### 2a 2.6.1 Tourist visitation, places and authenticity

'Authenticity is [...] a fluid concept that on the basis of different textual readings, individuals adapt and redefine to suit their own purposes' (Squire, 1994b, p.116). The subjectivity of these textual readings, as will be discussed in this section, has implications for literary places. The academic consensus, as reported by Smith, Macleod and Robertson (2010), suggests literary tourism sites fall into three broad categories:

Site	Description	Example(s)
The Factual Site	Factual sites have a real connection to a writer's life and are usually places where authors were born, lived, produced their works, died and were buried	Jane Austen's house at Chawton in Hampshire Robert Burns' birthplace in Alloway, Scotland Perranporth, Cornwall – home of Winston Graham
The Imaginative Site	Imaginative sites which provides the setting for the novels, plays or poems	The Dublin streets of James Joyce's <i>Ulysses</i> 221b Baker Street in London, fictional home of Sir Arthur Conan Doyle's Sherlock Holmes Nampara – the home of the <i>Poldark</i> family
The Socially Constructed Site	Socially constructed sites represent those that have been deliberately created in order to attract visitors	<i>Dickens World</i> in Chatham, Kent The World of Beatrix Potter in Windermere, Cumbria Poldark Mine, Cornwall

Table 11. Literary tourism site categories (adapted from Smith, Macleod & Robertson, 2010, p.110-111).

#### 2a 2.6.1.1 Factual sites

At factual or 'real' sites, the immediate appeal for the tourist seems uncomplicated – 'to see the actual desk where favourite novels were written, or to witness the humble beginnings of a writer's life' (Smith, Macleod & Robertson, 2010, p.110). Researchers have attempted to de-problematize the tourist's desire to see the actual spot which holds significance because of their association with a writer's biography or their literature. Some (Brown, 2016b; Plate, 2006b; Ridanpää, 2011; Schaff, 2011; Stiebel, 2007) have arrived at the conclusion that tourists seek to establish a connection with the writer, walk in their footsteps and experience the same sites and landscapes as the writer did, or those which were present in their works. The problem with this seemingly uncomplicated explanation of the appeal of factual sites however, is the absence of recognition of the possible attempt of tourist's to arrive at a state of intrapersonal existential authenticity (Wang, 1999) through self-making (Robinson & Andersen, 2002a). This concept is explored in detail in Chapter 2b section 2.3.

### *2a 2.6.1.2 Imaginative sites*

Imaginative sites, provide the setting for literature. However, as indicated earlier, in some cases the home of the author serves as the inspiration of the landscape or setting of the work. Here, authenticity is blurred as real and romanticised imagined places merge (Smith, Macleod & Robertson, 2010). As Table 11 illuminated, literary places are amalgamations of both the realities in which the writers lived, and the imaginary worlds depicted in their stories (Timothy & Boyd, 2003). As such, the distinction between the two may be difficult for tourists to comprehend (Timothy & Boyd, 2003). As the earlier example of Haworth demonstrated, a landscape can be the home and serve as the setting in literature. Through the writer's infusion of a place in their narratives, they in turn, attach meaning to place (Timothy & Boyd, 2003). Timothy and Boyd (2003, p.40) suggest the distinction between real and illusory is not essential as the majority of literary tourists are more concerned with 'what stimulates their imaginations and nurtures their interest in literature'. This correlates with Herbert's belief 'that, for most visitors, the world of the novel is more pervasive than the world of the writer' (Busby & Hambly, 2000, p.204). Contradictorily, if we are to consider the myriad of types and genres of literature that are commodified for literary tourism, for example, author biographies and travel writing (Busby & Klug, 2001), these literature(s) which interpret the life of the writer and their world are surely important too.

The reconstruction of the imaginary transcends the real (Norkunas, 1993). This is the case of Cannery Row, the fictionalised landscape created by American author John Steinbeck, in so far that the Row is legitimated, and becomes acceptable in the eyes of the tourist, once it has been caricatured (Norkunas, 1993). 'Yet there are contradictions, instances that resist

hegemonic codification. John Steinbeck's literature exists in permanent form, however much has been altered on Cannery Row' (Norkunas, 1993, p.97).

### *2a 2.6.1.3 Socially constructed sites*

Socially constructed literary sites then, are deliberately created to attract tourists (Smith, Macleod & Robertson, 2010). Indeed, a destination's literary connections, be that with a famous author, or character, enables it to develop and promote a broad range of themed attractions (Smith, Macleod & Robertson, 2010). At one end of the spectrum, as is the case in Stratford-upon-Avon, there are informal attractions (i.e., souvenir shops and tea-rooms) and at the other, there are officially sanctioned attractions (e.g. the Royal Shakespeare Company) (Smith, Macleod & Robertson, 2010).

Literary trails, festivals and tours fall within this category of literary sites, all of which are created to encourage tourists to journey to biographical and illusory sites (Smith, Macleod & Robertson, 2010). Apposite to this study is the argument put forward by Johansen and Freeman (2012, p.312 cited in Rossetti & Quinn, 2019) that literary festivals 'confer cultural capital on attendees'.

A marker of the phenomenon's popularity is the multitude of literary guidebooks (Hoppen, Brown & Fyall, 2014). There are also however, other examples of literary trails at a regional or local level, such as the Agatha Christie Literary Trail in Torquay, promoted by the English Riviera Tourism Company and the Thomas Hardy Trail in Dorset (Smith, Macleod & Robertson, 2010). These literary trails generally subsume a biographical focus, but others have been developed that interpret the literary works themselves (e.g., the Da Vinci Code trail based on

the best-selling novel by Dan Brown) (Smith, Macleod & Robertson, 2010). The film adaptations of Brown's novels and the novels of other authors have undoubtedly heightened the appeal of these literary trails.

A destination's pride in their literary heritage has fostered the creation of literary festivals (Smith, Macleod & Robertson, 2010). Literary festivals, as we have come to know them today (i.e., 'with an emphasis on living writers and a more broadly-based agenda') (Ommundsen, 2000, p.175), by and large, began as appendages to larger arts festivals (Ommundsen, 2000). Tourists attend these festivals and their associated locations to participate in literary activities and visit specialist bookshops (Smith, Macleod & Robertson, 2010). 'Thus, it can be seen that [both the private and] the public sector has developed literary tourism on the basis that a 'place product can be sold in more than one tourism market'; and that, according to Ashworth, the 'same resources can be used in the production of a wide variety of place products serving an equally wide variety of consumer markets' (Busby & Hambly, 2000, p.198). Quinteiro, Carreira and Rodrigues Gonçalves (2020, p.364) identify 'the development of experiences in which the literary tourist might actually be involved' (see Table 12). These experiences include all of the sites described in section 2.6.

<b>Literary tourism products and experiences</b>	<b>Description</b>
Visits to authors' houses	Travel to visit the houses where authors were born, lived or died, the places where they wrote, the schools where they studied, the cafe's, restaurants and hotels they went to, the churches where they were baptized, got married or had their funerary ceremonies and their graves
Visits to the places of the literary texts	Travel to visit the places where the action unfolds, to see the statues of the characters, to visit the places where the work was written or the places where texts were staged
Literary walks	Tours through the authors' and/or the characters' places/routes. These tours can either have a guide or be self-guided. In these situations, tourists have a map-brochure that helps them follow the right route (sometimes there may be signs at each stopping point on the literary walk). These walks may include, amongst others, visits to libraries, visits to literary pubs, visits to bookshops or the participation in literary competitions
Visits to literary festivals	Travel to participate in literary festival activities (lectures, dinners, walks and many other creative activities with writers and performers)
Visits to literary parks	Visits to parks, whose design was inspired by literary texts and/or their authors. Most of these parks are associated with children's literature, although parks for adults are increasingly common
Stays in literary hotels	Stays at hotels that are somehow related to literature, an author, a work or a character
Stays in library hotels	Stays in hotels that have a strong literary connection because they place a vast book collection at the disposal of their guests. These spaces are meant to be privileged reading places, where guests can go on a literary retreat
Visits to literary cities/villages/towns	Visits to the UNESCO cities of literature and others that because of their strong association with literature can be classified as literary cities/villages/towns (such as the Book Town of Hay-on-Wye in Wales)
Participation in literary dinners	Participation in dinners where an author, work or character is celebrated. The dishes that are served, the guests' outfits and the readings are all literary inspired
Participation in lectures and reading sessions	Participation in reading sessions or lectures where an author, a text or a character is discussed and celebrated. In these sessions, the tourist can actively participate or just attend
Attendance of literary text staging/performances	The staging of texts in places associated with the text and/or the author. In these sessions, the tourist can actively participate or just attend

*Table 12. Literary tourism products and experiences (Quinteiro, Carreira & Rodrigues Gonçalves, 2020, p.365 after Baleiro and Quinteiro, 2018).*

### 2a 2.6.2 Literary walks and tours

The presence of the literary walk has risen throughout Europe over the past decades (Plate, 2006a). Defined in Table 12, literary walks and tours are an example of one of the wide range of literary tourism activities (Çevik, 2020). 'The literary tour sets up an imaginative pull which connects the tourist to [an author], or [their] 'heroes' and heroines', relation to specific locations through sentimentalism' (Spooner, 2014, p.46). Pertinent to the commentary of literary tours is the role of the tour guide and the methods they adopt to in their interpretation of literary places, along with the sources of information they utilise within their interpretation.

#### 2a 2.6.2.1 Tour guide functions

The application of Cohen's (1985) model provides a useful structure to the analysis of the tour guide's roles in this study, as it has done for a number of tourism studies generally (Galí & Camprubí, 2020) and niche tourism studies specifically, including: indigenous tour guides (Howard, Thwaites & Smith, 2001), trekking tourism (Poudel, Nyaupane & Timothy, 2013) and aspects of tourism planning and management including tourism development (Látková *et al.*, 2017). In an effort 'to develop a composite analytical conceptualisation of the tourist guide's role (Cohen, 1985, p.9). Cohen (1982; 1985) developed 'a general dynamic model' that presents four 'analytically separable spheres' of guidance which comprise the role of a tour guide and their major functions (Cohen, 1982, p.235) (see Figure 10). Cohen's review of the existing tour guiding literature, revealed two principal conceptualisations of the guide's role: 1) leader and; 2) mediator. The former derived from the term's definition and reminiscent of '[t]he antecedent role of the pathfinder, or the geographical tour guide who leads the way through an environment in which his followers lack orientation' (Cohen, 1985, p.7). The



pathbreaker refers to the success of the initial tour that prompts others to follow, and the subsequent mapping on new toured routes (Cohen, 1985). The latter, relates to the conceptualisation of guides as cultural brokers (Bryon, 2012; Cohen, 1985; Feldman & Skinner, 2019; Holloway, 1981; Nuryanti, 1996), mediators (Feldman & Skinner, 2019; Jennings & Weiler, 2006; Nuryanti, 1996; Weng, Liang & Bao, 2020) and interpreters (Rabotić, 2010).

In their Foucauldian observation of power and tourism, Cheong and Miller (2000, p.abstract) conceptualise power 'as omnipresent in a tripartite system of tourists, locals, and brokers' and suggest 'all tourists are captives to a wide variety of agents including brokers and guides' (Cheong & Miller, 2000, p.381). Tour guides are examples of public/private sector brokers, which 'compel the tourist to function in a certain way' (Cheong & Miller, 2000, p.381) by way of their instrumental and social leadership (Cohen, 1985). In applying the Foucauldian perspective, brokers are not considered to be weak intermediaries (Cheong & Miller, 2000). Rather, they are regarded as the most important – they play a pivotal role between destinations and tourists (Zhu & Xu, 2021). Tour guides 'intervene and constrain tourism activities generally for the sake of profit and public service (Cheong 1996)' (Cheong & Miller, 2000, p.381). The specific functions of the tour guide are now discussed, with specific reference to Cohen's (1985) articulation of the tour guide's origins, structure and dynamics:

	Outer-Directed	Inner-Directed
(A) Leadership Sphere	(1) Instrumental	(2) Social
(B) Mediatory Sphere	(3) Interactionary	(4) Communicative

Figure 11. Schematic representation of the principal components of a the tourist guide's role (Cohen, 1985, p.10).

The guide's prioritisation of each of these spheres and components can be used to characterise the role of certain types of tour guides (Cohen, 1982). Similarly, any changes witnessed in the guide's role is indicative of a change in their prioritisation (Cohen, 1982).

	Outer-Directed	Inner-Directed
(B) Leadership Sphere	(2) Original Guide (instrumental primacy)	(3) Animator (social primacy)
(C) Mediatory Sphere	(4) Tour-leader (interactionary primacy)	(5) Professional Guide (communicative primacy)

Figure 12. The dynamics of the tourist guide's role (Cohen, 1985, p.17).

<b>Sphere</b>	<b>Component</b>	<b>Interrelated elements</b>	<b>Description</b>
Leadership Sphere (A)	The Instrumental Component	Direction Access Control	The complexity of the tour guides instrumental leadership task consists of sundry interconnected elements, namely, <i>direction</i> , <i>access</i> and <i>control</i> (Cohen, 1985). The responsibility to supply and smoothly execute a tour is at the core of the guide's leadership role (Cohen, 1985). The complexities of a guide's instrumental leadership extends further, to their spatiotemporal direction, orientation skills, navigational expertise, access to geographical space and their level of control over the safety, security and comfort of their tourists (Cohen, 1985). Whilst their performative function of leading the way (Cohen, 1985) is instrumental to their leadership, the guides often need to educate tourists on the geography of the destination.
	The Social Component	Tension- Management Integration Morale Animation	The social component of the guide's leadership role is strikingly different to that which is included within the instrumental leadership component (Cohen, 1985). The social leadership of the guide centres on their responsibility for the management of emergent tensions between group members, group cohesion and high morale (Cohen, 1985). Cohen (1985) suggests that tension management is a concrete element of the social component of their leadership role. Animation is the final element of this component, which centres on the guide's efforts to "animate" his party to undertake activities during the tour itinerary (Cohen, 1985).
Mediatory Sphere (B)	The Interactional Component	Representation Organisation	The interactional component of the guide's role centres on their function as an intermediary between the host population, the toured sights, tourist facilities and his party and represents the party within the setting and vice versa (Cohen, 1985). The guide's role as an intermediary is further extended being that he/she is 'responsible for the provision of services and amenities to his party during the tour' (Cohen, 1985, p.14), including food and beverages, accommodation and health and safety provisions/medical care (Cohen, 1985).
	The Communicative Component	Selection Information Interpretation Fabrication	This component involves the guide's selection of objects of interest, including their ability to disseminate correct and precise information within their methods of interpretation. This component also includes the guide's mediating cultural

	(principle component)		encounters. The final element centres on the lengths guides will go to fabricate information during their tour.
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Table 13. Principle analytic components in Cohen's (1985) scheme

Whilst the components and interconnected elements of the guide's role have been established, Cohen's (1985, p.14) emphasis on the communicative sphere warrants further investigation, since it is 'the principal component of the guide's role'. Here, MacCannell's (1976) triadic semiotic system of tourist attractions (Culler, 1981; Roesch, 2009) in which he 'defined a tourist attraction as an empirical relationship between a *tourist*, a *sight* and a *marker* (a piece of information about a sight)' (MacCannell, 1976, p.41) is particularly useful, as is his theory of sight sacralisation (MacCannell, 1976).

#### 2a 2.6.1.2.1 Markers and sight sacralisation

'Enjoying a literary tourism experience implies that tourists recognise literary markers on the ground (Baleiro and Quinteiro, 2018; Müller, 2001; Rojek, 1997), but this does not necessarily imply prior knowledge of the texts and the authors' (Quinteiro, Carreira & Rodrigues Gonçalves, 2020, p.366). Onsite markers at literary tourism sights include site guides/maps, brochures and signage (Quinteiro, Carreira & Rodrigues Gonçalves, 2020; Waterton & Watson, 2014). Roesch (2009) conceptualises the tour guide as a mobile marker and suggests '[a]s opposed to all other markers, the mobile marker 'tour guide' actually mediates between the toured object and the tourist by directing, commanding, narrating and re-enacting' (Roesch, 2009, p.185). The mobile marker (tour guide) then, contributes to the various stages of "sight sacralisation":

Stage	Description	Tour guide example
Naming	‘The first stage of sight sacralisation takes place when the sight is marked off from similar objects as worthy of preservation. This stage may be arrived at deductively from the model of the attraction or it may be arrived at inductively by empirical observation’ (MacCannell, 1976, p.44).	‘[T]he naming phase of sacralization is what people most associate with the role of the tour guide. One expects the guide to impart knowledge about a sight’s features’ (Fine & Speer, 1985, p.90).
Framing and elevating	‘Elevation is the putting on display of an object – placement in a case, on a pedestal or opened up for visitation. Framing is the placement of an official boundary around the object’ (MacCannell, 1976, p.44).	‘While the naming stage might be said to encompass the substance or content of a tour, the framing and elevating stage embodies its style [...] One would expect that the framing style of tour performances will vary with the nature and ethos of a sight’ (Fine & Speer, 1985, p.91).
Enshrinement	‘Enshrinement, the pivotal phase of sight sacralization, occurs when a tourist attraction contains within its boundaries an even more valuable attraction. The notion of shrine further suggests a necessity for pilgrimages and rituals to be performed upon arriving (for example, the kissing of the Blarney Stone)’ (Fine & Speer, 1985, p.82).	‘More than any other phase of sacralization, the enshrinement phase accomplishes a ritual transformation of socially segregated tourists into a community who share experience with the [tour guide], the tour sight, and each other [...] Revealing valued objects and stories is not automatic, but must be negotiated through subtle communication between tour guide and tourists. The mutually reinforcing eye contact and body language of the participants, coupled with the guide’s seeking permission to continue a line of narrative, and the tourists’ validating responses, help bind the guide and tourists together in a mutually satisfactory state of communication’ (Fine & Speer, 1985, p.92).
Mechanical reproduction	‘The creation of prints, photographs, models or effigies of the object which are themselves valued and displayed. It is the mechanical reproduction phase of sacralization that is most responsible for setting the tourist in motion on his journey to find the true object. And he is not disappointed.	‘The only stage of sacralization without a spoken correlate is mechanical reproduction. But the printed brochure seems to serve as a written analogue to the guided tours. Yet the brochure lacks an enshrinement stage’ (Fine & Speer, 1985, p.92).

	Alongside of the copies of it, it has to be The Real Thing' (MacCannell, 1976, p.45).	
Social reproduction	'[O]ccurs when groups, cities, and regions begin to name themselves after famous attractions' (MacCannell, 1976, p.45).	

Table 14. Phases of sight sacralisation

Fine and Speer (1985, p.abstract) suggested 'these stages of sight sacralization should have spoken correlates in the performances of tour guides' and criticise MacCannell for largely ignoring 'the role of speaking in the sacralisation process. Instead, he focuses on physical displays, markers, and boundaries' (Fine & Speer, 1985, p.75).

## 2.7 The distribution of literary tourism research

Çevik (2020) presented a review of literary tourism studies focused within the publishing parameters 1997-2016. Table 15, reproduced from Çevik (2020, p.13-15) demonstrates the themes and sub-subjects of the studies reviewed. A number of papers centred of the theme of authenticity. However, this study differentiates itself from these studies by investigating the potential relationship between perceptions of authenticity and cultural capital.



Literary Tourism Themes	Sub-subject Related to Theme	Relevant Papers
<b>Authenticity</b>	A number of literary tourism studies addressed the issue of authenticity by evaluating literary places regarding authenticity. These studies are particularly relevant to the first category of Butler's literary tourism classification which includes actual places associated with an author. The objective authenticity is the research topic. The objects exhibited in author-related houses serving as a museum were examined whether they were indeed the objects used by the authors and the effect of authenticity degree of these objects to literary tourists' experiences were investigated.	Bhandari (2008); Booth (2008); Brown (2016b); Fawcett and Cormack (2001); Gentile and Brown (2015); Hazard (2016); Herbert (2001); Jia (2009); Petroman, Petroman and Brătulescu (2008); Ridanpää (2011); Santesso (2004); Stiebel (2013); Wallace (2009); Watson (2013); Young (2015)
	Many papers focused upon the characteristics of destinations in fictional or non-fictional texts in the context of authenticity and tried to explore the effect of these texts to travel decisions, experience quality or satisfaction levels of literary tourists.	Cohen-Hattab and Kerber (2004); Delyser (2003); Fairer-Wessels (2010); Johnson (2010); Kilbride (2011); Lerena (2015); McGregor (2000); Mulligan (2016); Plate (2006b); Ridanpää (2011); Ryan <i>et al.</i> (2009); Spooner (2014); van Es and Reijnders (2016a); van Es and Reijnders (2016b)
	A number of papers focused on the authenticity issue in terms of destinations which are popular through a movie and included in the film-induced literary tourism categorization.	Buchmann, Moore and Fisher (2010); Busby and O'Neill (2006); Frost (2006); O'Neill, Butts and Busby (2005); Peaslee (2011); Reijnders (2011); Tzanelli (2004); Waysdorf and Reijnders (2016)
	Some of the studies analysed the motivations and experiences of literary tourists visiting an actual literary site or travelling to a literary tourism destination. These studies represent the first and third categories of Butler's classification. These sites and destinations are attractive for tourists because of their connection with authors, literary figures or fictional characters, the authentic objects they contain, and the emotional connections are established.	Amoamo (2013); Busby and Deveraux (2015); Busby and Shetliffe (2013); Carson <i>et al.</i> (2016); Driscoll (2016); Erkoçi (2016); Fairer-Wessels (2010); Herbert (2001); Jia (2009); (Jiang & Xu, 2016); Lee and Weaver (2014); McClinchey (2015); Ryan <i>et al.</i> (2009); Wallace (2009); Watson (2013); Young (2015); Yu and Xu (2016)

<b>Motivations and Experiences of Literary Tourists</b>	In many of the papers published of film-induced literary tourism type, the experiences of tourists visiting film locations are the topic of the research.	Beeton (2010a); Buchmann, Moore and Fisher (2010); Busby and Klug (2001); Busby and O'Neill (2006); Carl, Kindon and Smith (2007); Croy (2010); Frost (2006); Lee (2012); Martin-Jones (2014); Muresan and Smith (1998); O'Connor and Bolan (2008); Peaslee (2011); Reijnders (2010); Reijnders (2011); Waysdorf and Reijnders (2016)
	In a number of papers, the researchers conducted their research as part of the experience with a literary pilgrim point of view. In most of these studies, the autoethnographic approach was preferred.	Booth (2008); Brown (2016a); Brown (2016b); Earl (2008); Gentile and Brown (2015); Plate (2006b); Robertson and Radford (2009); Spooner (2014); Tolić <i>et al.</i> (2009); van Es and Reijnders (2016a); van Es and Reijnders (2016b)
<b>Management issues</b>	Some of the papers addressed management issues as spatially. These studies mostly discussed the strategies, decisions and choices about the management of the literary place and the responsibilities and characteristics of the managers in the management process.	Fawcett and Cormack (2001); Fox (2008); Hartmann (2013); Herbert (2001); Jia (2009); Jiang and Xu (2017); Santesso (2004); Smith (2003); Topler (2016); Young (2015)
	The papers addressing the sustainable development of touristic destinations generally focused on the role of literary figures in the destination in this development and investigated issues such as planning, policymaking, strategies, partnerships on the destination basis.	Bidaki and Hosseini (2014); Chiang (2004); Cosma, Pop and Negrusa (2007); Delyser (2003); Driscoll (2016); Lee and Weaver (2014); Light (2007); Marques and Cunha (2013); Müller (2006); Ridanpää (2011); Seaton (1999); Watkins and Herbert (2003); Yiannakis and Davies (2012)
	Few studies addressed the issue of event management within the scope of literary festivals.	Cassell (2016); Robertson and Yeoman (2014); Rossetti (2016); Stewart (2010)
	The majority of the studies are related to destination marketing. Amongst these papers, according to the third category of Butler's classification, some of the papers are about marketing destinations through literary figures whilst the remaining papers are related to issues such as destination image, destination branding, cultural identity.	Alghureiby (2015); Beeton (2010a); Bhandari (2008); Bidaki and Hosseini (2014); Busby, Brunt and Lund (2003); Busby and Klug (2001); Busby, Korstanje and Mansfield (2011); Busby and O'Neill (2006); Carson <i>et al.</i> (2016); Cohen-Hattab and Kerber (2004); Cosma, Pop and Negrusa (2007); Croy (2010); Driscoll (2016); Erkoçi (2016); Frost (2006);

<b>Marketing issues</b>		Frost and Laing (2014); Gothie (2016); Hoppen, Brown and Fyall (2014); Light (2007); Macleod, Hayes and Slater (2009); Marques and Cunha (2013); Martin-Jones (2014); Nixon (2014); O'Connor and Bolan (2008); O'Connor and Kim (2014); O'Neill, Butts and Busby (2005); Petroman <i>et al.</i> (2016); Tzanelli (2004); Wallace (2009); Watkins and Herbert (2003); Watson (2013); Yu and Xu (2016)
	The papers on literary place marketing addressed issues such as marketing strategies of the places, place promotion and promotional tools.	Fawcett and Cormack (2001); Hartmann (2013); Jiang and Xu (2017); Muresan and Smith (1998); Topler (2016)
<b>Interpretation</b>	The majority of interpretation strategies research is based on evaluating these strategies in terms of site management or investigating how these interpretation decisions affect the literary tourists' experiences.	Ashworth and Ashworth (1998); Booth (2008); Fawcett and Cormack (2001); Fox (2008); Gothie (2016); Hartmann (2013); Herbert (2001); Jia (2009); Marques and Cunha (2013); Muresan and Smith (1998); Petroman, Petroman and Brătulescu (2008); Ruiz Scarfuto (2013); Santesso (2004); Tekgül (2015); Wallace (2009); Waysdorf and Reijnders (2016); Young (2015); Yu and Xu (2016)
<b>Literary Trails &amp; Literary Tours</b>	In a number of literary tourism studies, the researchers conducted research on literary trails developed or intended to be developed in literary tourism destinations.	Carson <i>et al.</i> (2016); Carson <i>et al.</i> (2013); Erkoçi (2016); Macleod, Hayes and Slater (2009); Nixon (2014); Petroman <i>et al.</i> (2016); Ruiz Scarfuto (2013); Stiebel (2007); Stiebel (2010); Stiebel (2013); Topler (2016)
	Some of the studies chose guided literary tours organized in literary tourism destinations as a research topic.	Beeton (2010a); Buchmann, Moore and Fisher (2010); Carl, Kindon and Smith (2007); Earl (2008); Fairer-Wessels (2010); Lee (2012); Light (2007); Muresan and Smith (1998); O'Connor and Kim (2014); Peaslee (2011); Plate (2006b); Reijnders (2011); Ridanpää (2011); Spooner (2014); van Es and Reijnders (2016a); van Es and Reijnders (2016b)

<b>Commodification</b>	Although in fact the majority of literary tourism studies indirectly involve the topic of commodification, only a few studies focused primarily on the commodification processes.	Amoamo (2013); Bhandari (2008); Delyser (2003); Fox (2008); Gothie (2016); Kilbride (2011); Marques and Cunha (2013); Plate (2006b); Reijnders (2010); Ridanpää (2011); Stiebel (2004); Watson (2013)
<b>Literary Pilgrimage</b>	In many of the literary tourism studies, 'literary pilgrim' term was used for tourists who travel to find the traces of the authors they admire and who have a motivation to visit the places where the authors live or work, to see the objects the authors used or to take a trip to the landscapes or settings in the writings of the authors for reliving them.	Booth (2008); Brown (2016a); Brown (2016b); Busby and Shetliffe (2013); Delyser (2003); Donaldson, Gregory and Murrieta-Flores (2015); Fawcett and Cormack (2001); Fox (2008); Gothie (2016); Herbert (2001); Jia (2009); Marques and Cunha (2013); Perkin (2008); Petroman <i>et al.</i> (2016); Philips (2011); Reijnders (2010); Ridanpää (2011); Robertson and Radford (2009); Robinson (2002a); Smith (2003); Spooner (2014); Stiebel (2007); Stiebel (2013); van Es and Reijnders (2016b); Wallace (2009); Westover (2009); Young (2015); Zemgulys (2000)
<b>Literary Awareness</b>	A number of studies were conducted on prior knowledge of literary tourists concerning the authors and their literary works.	Busby and Deveraux (2015); Busby and Shetliffe (2013); Carson <i>et al.</i> (2013); Fairer-Wessels (2010); Gothie (2016); Herbert (2001); Muresan and Smith (1998); Ryan <i>et al.</i> (2009); van Es and Reijnders (2016b)

Table 15. Literary tourism themes (Çevik, 2020, p.13-15)

### 2.7.1 The notion of authenticity in literary tourism research

Particularly salient to the theory and practice of literary tourism is the notion of authenticity (Busby, 2018; Fawcett & Cormack, 2001). Authenticity is a social construct (Herbert, 2001), a production of various stakeholders or mediators (Hoppen, Brown & Fyall, 2014). Authenticity ought to be scrutinised by those responsible for developing literary tourism sites (Hoppen, Brown & Fyall, 2014). Tourists view literary places comprehensively and as such, they search for cultural and literary authenticity, that is, conformation of the imaginative in the reality (Hoppen, Brown & Fyall, 2014).

Questions of authenticity are routinely asked of literary places (Herbert, 2001), prompted by the blurred lines of imagined worlds and real-world experiences (Herbert, 1995a) – a characteristic of which differentiates literary tourism from other contemporary tourism forms (Light, 2012) – extending to whether they are faithful representations of reality; are they or are they not in fact genuine (Herbert, 2001). Herbert (2001) argues that at best the answer is ambiguous and synthesises his answer on the basis that although literary places may emerge from incontrovertible facts, thereafter, presentations, interpretations and commodification may embrace both reality and myth. Here, Herbert echoes Pocock's (1979; 1981a; 1981b) earlier sentiment. Thus, authenticity in literary tourism, as in all discourses, is a subjective and negotiated concept (Agarwal & Shaw, 2018; Herbert, 2001; Squire, 1991) which leads to subjective experiences (Herbert, 2001). Surprisingly, Ridanpää (2011) observes the speculation that the staged authenticity of purposely designed literary places is seldom questioned. Fawcett and Cormack (2001, p.689), drawing on the research of postmodern theorists (Cohen, 1988; Handler & Gable, 1997; Hughes, 1995; Tye, 1994) argue that

‘authenticity can no longer exist in the sense of the “real” or “original” thing standing outside of cultural interpretation [...] mass-produced images of touristic objects and experiences always pre-exist the “real”’.

Literature inhabits what Gunn (1972, cited in Robinson and Andersen 2002b) dubs “organic information sources”, a vehicle through which we learn of tourism – of destinations, landscapes, cultures and peoples – and ways in which to interpret and understand them (Robinson & Andersen, 2002a). Naturally, not all literature is charged with landscape imagery to cajole tourists to destinations, or boasts compelling themes and characters to prompt the creation of commodities such as the literary theme park (Robinson & Andersen, 2002a). Nor do all authors volunteer that richness of personality and lifestyle that might induce tourist visitation to their preserved literary homes (Robinson & Andersen, 2002a). However, generally speaking literature as accumulated cultural capital does provide tourists with a entropy of information, information on destination-based cultural capital (Busby & Meethan, 2008) (see Chapter 2c section 2.1.1.4) and points of imaginative departure and inspiration (Robinson & Andersen, 2002a). As Gentile and Brown (2015, p.26), citing Müller (2006) acknowledge, ‘literature is the *sine qua non* for arousing interest among tourists and for imparting meaning to place’. Thus, it can be understood that a tourist’s consumption of literature has a bearing on the extent to which they perceive authenticity at literary tourism sites.

Some literary tourism studies have emerged – rooted in the argument between Boorstin (1961) and MacCannell (1973); MacCannell (1976) and later intervened by Urry (1995) – facilitating a valuable discussion of the debate surrounding the relevance of this dimension of

the literary tourism experience (Middleton, 2017). The findings from Tetley's (1998) study on Haworth, UK, a literary destination associated with the Brontës, indicated variable results relative to both visitor perceptions of authenticity at the destination and its markers. Shelagh Squire (1991) questions the mythology of authenticity, postulating that it is posited upon certain elitist hypotheses about high and mass culture. Drawing on research by Buck (1977); (1978) and Moscardo and Pearce (1986), Squire (1991, p.37) suggests 'these papers raise questions about how authenticity is to be defined, and by whom'. A recurring theme within her own research findings suggest the literary tourist visit gave tangible expression to a previously imaginary entity and were ignorant to, or unaffected by, the inherent artificiality of Beatrix Potter's home (Squire, 1991): when respondents were asked what they liked the most about a site, it was a sense of authenticity; with 42% mentioning authenticity or atmosphere. However, these tourists were not deceived by the Hill Top's staged authenticity (MacCannell, 1973) or 'pseudo' experience (Boorstin, 1964). Rather, they actively negotiated the meanings of authenticity to satisfy their expectations and imaginings about how Potter's home, the setting for some of her novels should be (Squire, 1991). Squire's conclusions could be considered as providing some emergent empirical support for Cohen's (1988) idea of authenticity as a social, negotiable construct (Tetley, 1998) and provides fertile ground for this research to investigate whether cultural capital has a bearing on the literary tourist's negotiation(s) of the meaning of authenticity.

Fawcett and Cormack (2001) suggest authenticity extends further than a latent straightforward idea animating touristic locations. For them the concept incorporates a complicated set of themes and ideas formed by a myriad of elements that site guardian's face. For example, 'personal commitments, bureaucratic mandates, and entrepreneurial

interests/economic necessities' (Fawcett & Cormack, 2001, p.687). The pair's research indicates that literary tourism is fashioned by the convergence of the author '(biographical facts and real places associated with the author) and fiction (settings and characters)' (Fawcett & Cormack, 2001, p.687). In doing so they observe the fluidity or hybridity of authenticity meanings (Agarwal & Shaw, 2018; Squire, 1993). Their results indicated the way in which site guardians define and construct authenticity differ: not all determine the authentic as the real, or that which cannot be reproduced. Rather, these guardians construct authenticity by framing their perceived truths about Montgomery and her associated literary products and locations (Fawcett & Cormack, 2001). Personal commitments of site guardians along with resource limitations contribute to their acuity of authenticity (Hede & Thyne, 2007). Fawcett and Cormack (2001, p.700) suggest their three case studies exhibit how diverse 'versions of authenticity are manifested in the modernist, rationalist, and eclectic interpretive forms of the sites'. The extent to which this is true within literary tourism experiences in Cornwall will be explored within this study (see Chapter 5b).

### 2.7.2 The notion of cultural capital in literary tourism research

Although alluded to, or included within descriptions of literary pilgrims (Brown, 2016a; Herbert, 2001) cultural capital it is seldom referenced as an influential variable that contributes to perceptions of authenticity at literary tourism sites. In their book *Tourism and Sustainability*, Mowforth and Munt (2003, p.125) synthesise the applicability of cultural capital theory to tourism studies (Hannam & Knox, 2010). They explain:



‘Unlike economic capital, cultural capital is not something that can be strictly bought, but instead relies on the ability of individuals to join the game of being able to ‘know’ and ‘appreciate’ what to eat, drink, wear, watch and what types of holidays to take. In other words, it requires the skill of reading the cultural significance of certain types of consumption’.

Using cultural capital theory, Hannam and Knox (2010) argue the similarities shared by middle-class social groupings and other groups, namely mass tourists, in their patterns of consumption. Using tourist biographies of those who would visit certain destinations: those with positive connotations i.e., because of their cultural heritage attractions (e.g., Prague, Rome, Barcelona) and those with negative connotations i.e., because of mass tourism appeal (Benidorm, Faliraki, Magaluf) they state that the former ‘enables the tourist to accrue layers of cultural capital that function either as shared experiences or aspirational goals for other members of their social grouping’ (Hannam & Knox, 2010, p.96) whilst experiencing tourist products in the latter destinations ‘functions as a marker of social distinction within the social groups of the mass tourist’ (Hannam & Knox, 2010, p.96). They do acknowledge that while the mass tourist may ‘accidentally’ visit Prague, for example, on a weekend break, they will usually guarantee no conventional cultural capital stock is earned by eschewing cultural attractions in favour for primarily entertainment-based venues (Hannam & Knox, 2010). That said, to lambast such visitors because of their avoidance of cultural tourism is to disregard the value of the hedonistic visitor to Prague on account of an entrenched perception of what types of tourism should be conducted where (Hannam & Knox, 2010).

Bourdieu’s (1984) theory of cultural capital may have been used implicitly a literary tourism context, although not explicitly, to determine how tourists arrive at their interpretations and subsequently their perceptions of authenticity. For example, Mansfield (2015) employed

cultural capital theory in his research as a way in which to investigate the identity of literary tourists. In doing so, he constructed grounded proposals that centre on how literary tourists derive value and meaning in their literary tourism experiences, and implicitly, their perceptions of authenticity. Within this, Mansfield (2015) explores emotional intentions and responses to literary sites, including desire and pleasure. This study differs from Mansfield (2015) by explicitly investigating the potential relationship between cultural capital and perceptions of authenticity in literary tourism experiences.

## 2a 2.8 Conclusion

Chapter 2a reviewed a broad range of literary tourism studies to gain an explicit understanding of the phenomenon. The review confirmed the influence of authors and their writings, illustrating how literature can often act as a catalyst for travel and how the tourism industry commodifies and subsequently supplies products and services to meet this demand with the deliberate marketing and promotion of a destination's literary heritage. Despite not having dedicated sections of the review within this chapter to authenticity and cultural capital, the concepts have often penetrated its discussions: the former, in relation to the authenticity of literary places and the latter, in reference to the characteristics of literary tourists.

## Chapter 2b: Literature Review – Authenticity

### 2b 2.0 Introduction

This literature review chapter presents the theoretical understanding of one of the two central concepts of this thesis, authenticity. The chapter is organised in the following fashion: First, conceptualisations of authenticity in both the tourism and wider literature are considered (section 2.1). This extends to efforts of definition. Second, the discourse of authenticity in tourism is reviewed (section 2.2), paying particular attention to the Boorstin-MacCannell debate. Third, theoretical approaches to authenticity are described (section 2.3), namely: *objectivism*, *constructivism*, *postmodernism*, and *existentialism*. Then, conclusions from the review are drawn in section 2.4.

### 2b 2.1 Conceptualisations of authenticity

The issue of '[a]uthenticity is a central meta-narrative in tourism' (Noy, 2009, p.291), and as such, 'runs, like an obligato, through' (Hughes, 1995, p.781) academic studies of the discourse. The task of designing a conceptual framework which examines the perceptions of authenticity relative to visitor stock of cultural capital commences by investigating the definition of the term *authenticity* (de Zilwa, 2014). There is much difficulty experienced when attempting a definition of the concept, difficulty, that has been attributed by some, as centring on authenticity's polymorphic and multifaceted nature (Safaa, El Housni & Bedard, 2017) and its subsequent ambiguity (Tetley, 1998; Wang, 1999). Scholars conceptualise authenticity in a myriad of polarized, disparate, and often discordant ways (Bruner, 1994; Chhabra, 2010; Handler & Saxton, 1988; Tetley, 1998; Wang, 1999). Rickly-Boyd (2012a) suggest, although the various conceptualisations of authenticity in tourism can be ontologically troublesome: frequent usage of the term by its stakeholders, including tourists

and marketers, suggests the concept warrants further investigation. Hence, as a prerequisite to the analysis of the concept's relationship with tourist experience (Tetley, 1998), it is crucial to clarify the various ways that authenticity is approached theoretically within the wider disciplines to which it is linked. Tourism's relationship with authenticity is not new (Safaa, El Housni & Bedard, 2017). This study looks to Wang's (1999) genealogical meta-analysis that surveys the conceptual developments of authenticity over the last four decades (Belhasson & Caton 2008), to inform this discussion, along with the wider literature.

Etymologically, the English word 'authentic' can be traced to the Latin 'authenticus', a derivative of the Greek 'authentikos' (i.e., principal, genuine) (Oxford Dictionaries, 2013, cited in de Zilwa, 2014). The English word is defined by the *Oxford Dictionary of English Etymology* (1996, cited in Knudsen & Waade, 2010, p.8) as 'authoritative; entitled to acceptance or belief as being reliable; and actual, not imaginary, genuine, not counterfeit'. Within these definitions, three emergent perspectives are witnessed that can clarify the principal aspects of the word:

'Authentic can mean credible, reliable (i.e. something is true and not a lie); it can have material existence (it is materially real and not imaginary [tangible as opposed to intangible]); and it can in itself be an original (it is genuine and not a copy)' (adapted from Knudsen & Waade, 2010, p.8).

The essentialist understanding of authenticity boasts inherent qualities including truth, material existence and originality (Knudsen & Waade, 2010). However, one could experience difficulty in strictly adhering to the concept in the presence of what Knudsen & Waade (2010, p.9) dub 'heavy etymological baggage'. The narrow focus of Knudsen & Waade's (2010)

aforecited definition i.e. authenticity being attributed to solely tangible entities, restricts its application in the inquiry of experience. Thus, consideration of a wider, more holistic interpretation of the concept is necessary within the context of this investigation.

Terziyska (2012) notes, discussions of authenticity have been witnessed within two major scientific fields: *psychology and existentialist philosophy*, and *art*, whilst Safaa, El Housni and Bedard (2017) contend *anthropology* and *marketing* are the two scientific disciplines that predominate in their imposing approach to authenticity. Regarding *psychology and existentialist philosophy*, authenticity is appropriated to human existence (Steiner & Reisinger, 2006; Wang, 1999), relating to the ability of a person to remain true to themselves, their personality, when questioned or hindered by external pressures. Thus, this interpretation is linked to relationships between an individual and society. Authenticity in the context of art however, concerns a work of art's possession of a set of qualities that are considered authentic (Terziyska, 2012). The distinct treatment of both of these phenomenological concepts of authenticity is witnessed in tourism studies, rooted in the work by MacCannell (Cohen, 2007), relating to two discrete 'levels of reality: as quality of the lived-in world or of an experience' (Cohen, 2007, p.75). These are further discussed in section 2.2.1.

#### 2b 2.1.1 Definitions of authenticity

For Cohen (2007), authenticity promised to grow into the sociological paradigm for the study of tourism's basic concept. However nowadays, the term comes to the tongue so readily that it withstands efforts of definition (Trilling, 1972): authenticity is a 'heteroglot' (Olsen, 2002, p.163), a slippery polysemic concept (Belhassen, Caton & Stewart, 2008; Cohen-Hattab & Kerber, 2004; Cohen & Cohen, 2012; Fillitz & Saris, 2013; Pearce, 2012; Yang & Wall, 2014),

with multiple connections and connotations (Cohen, 2007; Trilling, 1972). Notwithstanding the 'definitional deficit as well as a fragmentation of the definition of authenticity, which is characterized by a split between intrinsic signals (experiences and characteristics of objects, etc.) and extrinsic signals (explicit messages and discreet signals, etc.)' (Safaa, El Housni & Bedard, 2017, p.597), authenticity assumes a critical concept in tourism literature, generating multiple, diverse dialogues (Reisinger & Steiner, 2006b). These dialogues include, but are not limited to, the concept's origins (Trilling, 1972) and theoretical approaches (Wang, 1999). Yet, these discussions did not result in a commonly accepted definition (Cohen, 2007).

Similarly, in the wake of their extensive literature review, and subsequent attempt to stabilise the definition and application of authenticity in tourism, in addition to facilitating negotiations of its meaning and significance within the discourse, Reisinger and Steiner (2006b) advance the pessimistic inference that one should abandon the concept due to its instability (Chhabra, 2010; Cohen, 2007). The authors submit that 'when referring to judgements that tourists and scholars make about the nature and origins or artifacts and tourism activities', the term should be substituted for increasingly explicit, less affected terms 'like genuine, actual, accurate, real and true' (Reisinger & Steiner, 2006b, p.66). However, as Cohen (2007) considered, these terms are marred by the same problems that faced the term authenticity relative to their alternative connotations. Having endorsed the renunciation of the concept, somewhat paradoxically, the authors pursued, and accomplished, its reconceptualization over the course of two articles (Reisinger & Steiner, 2006b; Steiner & Reisinger, 2006), to object and existential authenticity (Cohen, 2007). This reconceptualization is discussed in detail in section 2.4. As Amey (2015, p.48) notes, Belhassen and Caton (2006) challenge Reisinger & Steiner's (2006b) inference and suggest the concept of authenticity 'remains "highly functional" by facilitating the discourse on the topic and bringing together varied

approaches to the phenomenon'. Moreover, the pair suggest the issue of authenticity still maintains its relevance, in part via its wide usage (though its applications are varied) by different groups of tourism stakeholders (Amey, 2015). To avoid confusion, Belhassen and Caton (2006) contend the author's should operate with caution when using the concept and clearly articulate the position they take on the concept (Amey, 2015).

Returning to authenticity's definition, Lionel Trilling did attempt his own, originating in the context of museums, which is often cited in tourism studies (Cohen, 1988; Reisinger & Steiner, 2006b; Tetley, 1998; Wang, 1999). Trilling (1972) proposed that the concept of authenticity is polemical, in so far as it fulfils its nature through aggressively dealing with both received and habitual opinion: firstly, aesthetic opinion, and secondly, social and political opinion. His definition is as follows:

'Where persons expert in such matters test whether objects of art are what they appear to be or are claimed to be, and therefore worth the price that is asked for them—or, if this has already been paid, worth the admiration they are being given' (Trilling, 1972, p.93).

Trilling's definition generates questions pertinent to this research specifically (i.e. how does one become an expert? Also, what feeds this expertise? Does this expertise afford presumed authority?) Bruner (1994, p.408) suggests '[t]he concept of authority serves as a corrective to misuses of the term authenticity, because in raising the issue of who authenticates, the nature of the discussion is changed. No longer is authenticity a property inherent in an object, forever fixed in time; it is seen as a struggle, a social process, in which competing interests argue for their own interpretation of history'. This research, in its attempt to meet research aim 1,

endeavours to understand the relationships between cultural capital and perceptions of authenticity in literary tourism experiences.

Even though authenticity's application to tourism stems from its museum-linked usage (Wang, 1999), Trilling's definition of authenticity and usage of the term within the context of museums was critiqued by Tetley (1998) for its apparent naivety on the basis that there is no concrete method to assess the authenticity of items aside from the reliance on the appraisal of "experts". Nonetheless, Ashworth and Tunbridge (1990), although making no specific reference to Trilling, agree with his theory that authenticity is derivative from the conserved object, and explain that an object may be judged and justified as 'authentic' based upon the 'purity' of its 'intrinsic aesthetic or historic qualities' (Ashworth & Tunbridge, 1990, p.23). Yet, some commentators would argue for the adoption of a more flexible concept, as it is quixotic to assume a stringent and objective measure of authenticity exists (Tetley, 1998). Thus, presently, scholars now increasingly view authenticity from a constructivist perspective; a perspective that views authenticity as a socially constructed concept (Cohen, 1988; Herbert, 2001; Sharpley, 1994; Tetley, 1998), whereby its meaning is subjective and thus negotiable for each individual tourist (Busby, Hunt & Small, 2009; Cohen, 1988; Smith, 2003; Tetley, 1998) – that is, 'the modern tourist as observer' (Cohen, 1989, p.374). This is the perspective adopted in this tourism study, fuelled by the researcher's perspective (arguably fuelled by her own personal cultural capital) which considers the cultural capital held by the individual influences perceptions of authenticity at literary tourism sites.

## 2b 2.2 Discourse of authenticity in tourism

Since its introduction to the tourism lexicon, the concept of authenticity has become a crucial agenda, catalysing voluminous scholarship in the context of tourism studies (Belhassen &



Caton, 2006; Belhassen, Caton & Stewart, 2008; Chronis & Hampton, 2008; Cohen, 1988; Getz, 1994; Lowenthal, 1990). In the 1970s, Dean MacCannell (1973; 1976) provided the impetus for the sociological study of toured objects, tourism sites and tourist motivations and experiences (Jia, 2009; Wang, 1999). Two decades later, MacCannell (1992, p.169-170) suggested that there still remains an 'enormous desire for, and corresponding commodification of, authenticity'. Phenomenologically however, difficulty still remains; this difficulty is rooted in the subjectivity of the concept as authenticity is open to multiple interpretations (Busby, Hunt & Small, 2009). Ergo, 'what may be interpreted by one visitor as authentic may not be so interpreted by another and, because of this, there is a necessity to investigate the attitudes, opinions and requirements of individual visitors and of visitor types with respect to the authenticity of holiday areas' (Shaw, Agarwal & Bull, 2000, p.276).

Tetley (1998) observes that conceptualisations of authenticity in tourism literature can be positioned into three categories that often overlap: 1) authentic as 'primitive'; 2) authentic as a 'social construct' of 'modern' society, and 3) authentic as a 'social construct' or negotiated construct'. Authentic as 'primitive' follows Trilling's (1972) origination of 'authentic' in the museum context, whereby curators and the like have tended to judge the concept as a facet of pre-modern life, and of cultural products created prior to modern western influences and experiences (Tetley, 1998): that which lies in the absence of industrialisation, mass production and mass communication and that which can thus be described as primitive and then regarded as authentic (Tetley, 1998). As Tetley (1998) observes, many scholars (MacCannell, 1973; MacCannell, 1976; MacCannell, 1999; Redfoot, 1984) follow Trilling's line of reasoning that "'authenticity' is a 'primitive' condition'. In a tourism context, Cohen (1988) argues that the estranged modern tourist searches for that which is yet untouched by

modernity – ‘the pristine, the primitive and the natural’ (Tetley, 1998, p.35) – in their quest for authenticity (Tetley, 1998).

For Tetley (1998, p.36), it follows that authenticity can be interpreted as a distinctly modern value, whose emergence is fostered by the influence of modernity ‘upon the unity of social existence’. Namely, only objects created in the absence of modern materials (i.e., tools or machinery) are authentic (Tetley, 1998). This concept can be extended to include society (as well as physical objects), if through modern Western world adaptations, influences, alterations or ‘contaminations’, authenticity is lost (Olsen, 2002; Tetley, 1998). Hence, authenticity conveys a feeling of the real, genuine or unique and is often attributed to traditional cultures (Tetley, 1998), and everything comprised within them, such as ‘products or works of art, cuisine, dress, language, festivals, rituals, architecture’ (Sharpley, 2018, p.250). Furthermore, in tourism authenticity is used to differentiate types of travel and can be further extended to entire holidays (Tetley, 1998). The term is frequently employed to differentiate specialist or niche tourism products with mass tourism products (Tetley, 1998). The implication here is that mass tourism is in some way inauthentic (Sharpley, 2018) as it intentionally created for the mass market (Tetley, 1998).

Cohen (1988, p.374) argued authenticity is a ‘socially constructed concept and its social connotation is, therefore, not given, but ‘negotiable’. That is, authenticity is not merely a construct referring to primitive or pre-modern objects (Tetley, 1998); mass tourism succeeds because the tourist entertains looser concepts of authenticity, as opposed to those stricter concepts entertained by intellectuals or experts (Cohen, 1988). It could be argued, based on educational attainment, some literary tourists, assume intellectual status with the gratuitous knowledge and cultural capital to decode meanings of authenticity at sites more so than the

secular, or ‘mass’ tourist. Getz (1994), in support of Cohen’s argument, conceptualises authenticity as ‘a measure of the tourist's perceptions’, inferring the divergence between one tourist’s satisfaction and another’s disappointment (Tetley, 1998). Hence, a tourist’s judgement of authenticity is unique to the individual (Tunbridge & Ashworth, 1996). These two idiosyncratic perspectives ‘on authenticity epitomise the modernist and postmodernist phenomenological approaches respectively’ (Ivanovic, 2011, p.23). Agarwal and Shaw (2018, after Timothy and Boyd 2003) summarise the categories of authenticity described above, which is now reproduced in the following table:

<b>Categories of authenticity</b>	<b>Meanings</b>
Authentic as primitive	Primarily adopted in a museum context to describe ancient objects which are what they appear to be or are claimed to be. This meaning generally tends to refer to objects that are pre-industrial or pre-modern; objects which are not influenced by the modern west.
Authentic as a social construct of modern society	It is a modern value whose emergence is closely related to the impact of modernity upon the unity of social existence. An object is only authentic if it is created without the aid of modern tools, materials or machinery. This concept can be stretched to include not just physical objects but also societies but only if they haven’t been influenced or altered by the modern Western world.
Authentic as a social or negotiated construct	Its meaning differs between individuals, types of tourists and intellectuals and experts alike. It is a measure of the tourists’ perceptions as what one tourist may be satisfied with, may cause another dissatisfaction or disappointment. Perceptions of authenticity are dependent also on the relationships that tourists have with people in tourist settings (Pearce and Moscardo 1986). For example a tourist in an inauthentic environment such as a Western style hotel may still have an authentic experience by interacting with a local person who works in the hotel

*Table 16. Categories and meanings of authenticity (Agarwal & Shaw, 2018, p.172 adapted from Timothy and Boyd, 2003)*

Selwyn (1996) and later Cohen and Cohen (2012) offer an intriguing extension to Cohen’s idea, by differentiating authenticity into two distinct senses, ‘hot’ and ‘cool’ authenticity

(Tetley, 1998). Selwyn (1996) relates 'authenticity as feeling' to the experience of the 'real' self (i.e., 'hot authenticity') and links 'authenticity as knowledge' to the experience of the 'real' world (i.e., 'cool authenticity') (Wang, 1999). For Selwyn, 'hot authenticity' refers to tourism contingent on fiction and myths (Agarwal & Shaw, 2018; Tetley, 1998). It can be further demarcated into a mythical society's general authenticity (Agarwal & Shaw, 2018), labelled by Selwyn (1996, p.21) as 'myths of the authentic other and the authentically social', and the more distinct authenticity of those individual tourists within said mythical society, to which Selwyn refers, 'myths of the authentic self' (Selwyn (1996, p.24). For Selwyn (1996, p.23) authentic as 'primitive' is paralleled by 'myths of the authentic other' and the 'authentically social' in so far as they rest on the tourist's quest for a pre-modern, pre-commoditised world (Agarwal & Shaw, 2018; Tetley, 1998). Selwyn proceeds by suggesting 'what makes a tourist destination attractive is that it is thought to have a special characteristic, which derives from the sociability of its residents' (Selwyn, 1996, p.23). Thus, destinations are authentically social because they resist external forces (and their associated anti-social influences), and generally boast close-knit host communities (Agarwal & Shaw, 2018). Selwyn's sub-category of 'hot' authenticity is premised upon which tourists can identify with members of host communities, including their reciprocal desire to identify with tourists, the greater the perception of authenticity (Agarwal & Shaw, 2018). Thus, Selwyn's theory of 'hot' authenticity is tantamount to the experience obtained (Lau, 2010) 'by tourists in MacCannell's implied concept of relationship authenticity' (Lau, 2010, p.482). In literary tourism, hot authenticity relates more to fiction-related experiences whereas cool authenticity is more evident in places associated with authors (McGuckin, 2015).

'Cool authenticity' then, includes societal qualities and products that can be subject to heightened, increasingly stringent, scientifically based investigations (Agarwal & Shaw, 2018).

As Agarwal and Shaw (2018, p.195) describe, Selwyn contends:

'[...] the construction of such scientifically-based investigation is subject to historical, economic and political forces which influence the knowledge offered to the tourist. In this way, cool authenticity is based on the tourist's search for knowledge and the object will be perceived as authentic if the tourist's hunger for information is satisfied. Cool authenticity is thus achieved if the information offered matches the historical, economic and political beliefs of the tourist'.

At first glance, the equivalence between Selwyn's 'cool' authenticity and MacCannell's implied, object authenticity, may appear (Lau, 2010). However, although 'cool' authenticity does relate to objective authenticity, it is not its equivalent (Lau, 2010). Another resemblance of Selwyn's theory and the wider literature can be drawn (Cohen, 2007), of Brown's (1996, p.39) distinction 'between a tourist's quest for the authentic 'Other', and a quest' for the authentic 'Self'. However, these theories are not identical (Cohen, 2007). As will be synthesised in section 2.3, Wang (1999) provided the first coherent narrative of objective and existential (subjective) authenticity (Cohen, 2007). The third type in Wang's taxonomy, 'constructed' authenticity, assumes a combination of both sub-discourses, as it refers to an individual's use of subjective criteria in their determination of the 'objective' authenticity of products, locations and experiences (Cohen, 2007). Again, Agarwal and Shaw (2018) argue another resemblance: the parallels held by Selwyn's theory and Cohen's (1988) theory of authenticity as a negotiated social construct. The pair justify this argument on the basis that they are both distinctive to the individual (Agarwal & Shaw, 2018).

For Tetley (1998, p.38), the previous discussion on the hot and cold dichotomy signifies the development of the authenticity concept into a means of describing ‘the extent to which societies have ‘modern’ characteristics’. As such, she suggests, ‘if the origin of strictly authentic products lies in pre-modern societies then by implication modern Western society with all its characteristics of industrialisation is inauthentic’ (Tetley, 1998, p.38). Emphasising her point in the context of tourism, Tetley (1998) suggests if pre-industrial society is discerned as authentic, then Lowenthal’s (2015, p.11) suggestion that ‘the past is not simply foreign but utterly estranged, as if on some remote planet’ holds much truth. To summarise the various forms and meanings of authenticity, Agarwal and Shaw’s (2018) table is now reproduced:

<b>Alternative forms of authenticity</b>	<b>Meaning</b>
Subjective (Cohen 1988)	Individuals may differently perceive the authenticity of a place or activity
Hot authenticity (Selwyn 1996)	Based on fiction and myths (Cohen 2011); fake (Cole 2007); ‘an emotional alienation-smashing’ experience (Cohen 2011, 3). Consists of: (1) myths of the authentic other or the authentically social (Cohen 2011, 21), in other words the pre-modern; and (2) myths of the authentic self (Cohen 2011, 24).
Cool authenticity (Selwyn 1996)	Real, original or genuine (Cole 2007); cognitive knowledge about objects or experiences (Cohen 2011).
Objective (Wang 1999)	Originality established by pre-determined criteria (Wang 1999)
Constructive / symbolic (Wang 1999)	Personal perceptions and interpretation of authenticity (Wang 1999); something that can emerge or acquire social recognition
Existential (Wang 1999)	Derived from the experience itself (Wang 1999); a special state of being in which individuals are true to themselves (Wang 1999, 56); ‘provide tourists with an authentic sense of Being’ (Cohen 2011).

*Table 17. Examples of alternative forms and meanings of authenticity (Agarwal & Shaw, 2018, p.194)*

Following the discussion of the discourse of authenticity in tourism and prior to the review of the various theoretical approaches to authenticity, the review discusses the Boorstin-

MacCannell debate. Despite the perception that the debate is somewhat dated (Sharpley, 2018), it remains fundamentally relevant to the study of the concept in tourism (Sharpley, 2018).

### 2b 2.2.1 Boorstin-MacCannell debate

MacCannell (1973; 1976) and Boorstin (1961; 1964) are two influential contributors to the theoretical understanding of authenticity although they represent competing perspectives on the relationship between authenticity and tourism (Tetley, 1998; Uriely, 1997). Although their arguments both begin with reference to modern society's inauthenticity, this culminates in conflicting conclusions (Tetley, 1998). Boorstin (1964) considers 'modern (American) society [to be] contrived, illusory and unreal' (Sharpley, 2018, p.253). He reproached mass tourism, suggesting people seldom like authentic tourist experiences in favour of 'pseudo-events', those created by the commodification of culture (Nicolaidis, 2014). These 'pseudo-events' then, satisfy the gullible mass tourist (Tetley, 1998; Wang, 1999). In Boorstin's (1964) view, the tourist believes he can experience:

'[...] a lifetime of adventure in two weeks, with all the thrills of risking his life without any real risk at all. He expects that the exotic and the familiar can be made to order... expecting all this, he demands that it be supplied to him. Having paid for it, he likes to think he has got his money's worth. He has demanded that the whole world be made a stage for pseudo-events' (Boorstin, 1964, p.80).

This research agrees with MacCannell (1999, p.103) in his appraisal of Boorstin; whilst it is acknowledged that Boorstin provides some useful insight 'as to the nature of touristic arrangements', he fails to see the potential value of developing his synthesis 'into a structural

analysis of sightseeing and tourist consciousness' by reverting back to 'individual-level interpretations before analysing fully his "pseudo-event"'.

The tourism products supplied by the industry (i.e., events, attractions and destinations), images of which are created and distributed by the media, encompass concentrated efforts to ensure the tourist is contented, as if at home (Tetley, 1998). The tourist is thus, isolated from the host environment, including its culture and society, absorbed within what Cohen (1972) entitled an 'environmental bubble' (Tetley, 1998). Expanding on Cohen's idea, Turner and Ash (1975, cited in Tetley 1998) suggest those tourism stakeholders on the supply side, serve as surrogate parents for the tourist, extricating them from their responsibilities (Tetley, 1998). It is the psychological comfort of Cohen's environmental bubble that the mass tourist seeks (Lee & Wilkins, 2017). On the other hand, MacCannell positions the modern tourist parallel to the traditional pilgrim (Dann, 2004; Tetley, 1998), whose basic travel motivation stems from their attempt to accumulate 'a more profound appreciation for society and culture' (MacCannell, 1976, p.10). As such, for MacCannell, the crux of tourism rests on the quest for the authentic, viewed as a reflection of modernity's inadequacies (Tetley, 1998). Developing an organisation of social activities between front and back operations of the industry, MacCannell (1973), offered his theory of 'staged authenticity'. MacCannell's 'stage' can be seen as the front region where social interactions between tourism stakeholders on the supply side and those on the demand side (tourists) occur, within the tourist experience; the latter, being those attuned to judging the performance as real or false, authentic or inauthentic (Tetley, 1998). MacCannell's (1973) theory of staged authenticity indicates that 'real' culture is increasingly obscured from the tourist's view, in favour of artificial stories and experiences. In a later publication, MacCannell (1992) suggests modern tourists seek genuine experiences that they assume lie outside the realm of the environments of their everyday



lives (Cohen, 2007), and it is this search that culminates in victimisation and contrived experiences (Cohen, 2007). Thus, MacCannell submits that real authenticity does exist, but is hidden (Cohen, 2007).

The publication of MacCannell's theory of authenticity has generally been met with two types of response (Lau, 2010): first, some commentators, chiefly Erik Cohen, seek refinement, modification or redevelopment of MacCannell's concept (Lau, 2010) and second, contemporary scholars either totally reject it, or solicit its replacement with substitutive concepts (Lau, 2010). Bruner's (1994) critique of MacCannell, and indeed other postmodern theorists including Jean Baudrillard, Umberto Eco and Richard Handler, centres on their retention of 'an essentialist vocabulary of origins and reproductions' (Bruner, 1994, p.409). The issue Bruner takes with such essentialist vocabulary is twofold. First, 'despite claims to the contrary, there frequently is an implicit original, an authenticity in the third sense' (Bruner, 1994, p.409). Second, is the inherent bias that views one side of the dichotomy as better, resulting in the other side being disparaged. The implication of this binary logic, depending on the postmodernist to which one subscribes, is that originals are better than copies, or the inverse (Bruner, 1994). But, if one adopts a constructivist perspective like Bruner (1994) the process of differentiating between originals and copies based on originals is seldom that simple. 'Sometimes an object is constructed in the contemporary era and then an older form is somehow "discovered" as a hypothetical original to add historic depth and legitimacy' (Bruner, 1994, p.409).

Cohen's (1988) critique of MacCannell (and by extension those scholars who adopted his line of enquiry e.g., Redfoot 1984), stems from their resolution to illustrate the quest for authenticity, as a primitive concept, yet leave it undefined (Cohen, 1988; Lau, 2010).

Nevertheless, Cohen (1988) does acknowledge his intuitive understanding of MacCannell's theory, insofar as:

'It is a quest for that unity between the self and societal institutions, which endowed pre-modern existence with "reality" (Berger 1973: 85). The alienated modern tourist in a quest for authenticity hence looks for the pristine, the primitive, the natural, that which is as yet untouched by modernity' (Cohen, 1988, p.374).

Thus, Cohen (1979a) accepts both positions hold elements of truth (Dann, 2004) and attempts to reconcile MacCannell and Boorstin by way of his 'phenomenology of tourist experiences' (Lau, 2010). In agreement with Boorstin, he includes both recreational and diversionary modes (Dann, 2004), those which, 'provide a tension relieving escape from an alienated world view' (Dann, 2004, p.64). Yet, he adds to these three additional types of tourist experience that are congruous with MacCannell's search for authenticity and meaning (i.e, the experiential, experimental and existential modes) (Dann, 2004). In doing so, both theorists 'contributed valuable insights into the motives, behaviour and experiences of *some* tourists' (Dann, 2004, p.4).

Elaborating on Cohen's phenomenology, recreational tourists can thus be considered as those for whom touring serves to relieve tension (Lau, 2010). These tourists have little concern for authenticity and hence, entertain much more lenient criteria for the concept (Tetley, 1998). The diversionary tourist is thought to be centreless (Lau, 2010): touring serves as a diversion from routine as opposed to recreation. These tourists are those critiqued by Boorstin, as they are unperturbed with a destination's culture or spiritual meaning (Lau, 2010).

Tourists in the experimental, experiential and existential modes are isolated from the centre of their own societies (Lau, 2010). The experiential tourist is content simply observing the authentic lives of others, the experimental tourist actively engages in said authentic life, hoping to discover one for himself (Cohen, 1979b). Comparatively, at the opposite end of the spectrum, the existential tourist hopes to experience a destination's reality, or 'real-life', and will consequently hold the firmest criteria for authenticity. The 'elective' spiritual centre is only discovered by the existential tourist (Lau, 2010). Thus, Cohen's experiential tourist is frequently viewed (including by Cohen, himself) as the equivalent of MacCannell's tourist (Lau, 2010). However, for Lau (2010), this is not strictly true as MacCannell's tourist seeks to share in local life, as well as observe it. For Tetley (1998, p.46), a continuum of tourist evaluations of authenticity may exist 'from complete authenticity, through various stages of partial authenticity to complete falseness (Cohen 1979)'. This research will contribute to this debate, using Smith's (1992) pilgrim-tourist continuum to see whether generalisations can be made about the type of literary tourist (relative to stock of cultural capital) and their perceptions of authenticity.

### 2b 2.3 Theoretical approaches to authenticity

Wang (1999) suggests the summary of viewpoints on authenticity can be divided into four main approaches: objectivism, constructivism, postmodernism and existentialism. And thus, tourism literature, after Wang (1999), has positioned authenticity in the context of three main types (Cohen & Cohen, 2012; Yang & Wall, 2014), each of which are 'as discreet from and oppositional to one another' (Belhassen, Caton & Stewart, 2008, p.669): 1) Objective; 2) Constructive (or symbolic); and 3) Existential. In his meta-analysis, Wang (1999) infers that a taxonomy of the multiple paradigmatic approaches of authenticity in tourism research is

possible (Belhassen, Caton & Stewart, 2008), to which he later adds his existential approach.

This is reproduced in Table 18:

<b>Object-Related Authenticity in Tourism</b>	<b>Activity-Related Authenticity in Tourism</b>
Objective authenticity refers to the authenticity of originals. Correspondingly, authentic experiences in tourism are equated to an epistemological experience (i.e., cognition of the authenticity of originals).	Existential authenticity refers to a potential existential state of Being that is to be activated by tourist activities. Correspondingly, authentic experiences in tourism are to achieve this activates existential state of Being within the liminal process of tourism. Existential authenticity can have nothing to do with the authenticity of toured objects.
Constructive authenticity refers to the authenticity projected onto toured objects by tourists or tourism producers in terms of their imagery, expectations, preferences, beliefs, powers, etc. There are various versions of authenticities regarding the same objects. Correspondingly, authentic experiences in tourism and the authenticity of toured objects are constitutive of one another. In this sense, the authenticity of toured objects is in fact symbolic authenticity.	

*Table 18. Three types of authenticity in tourism experiences (Wang, 1999, p.352).*

Objective and constructive authenticity are widely recognised to be object-related, in so far as they consider the authenticity of toured objects (Wang, 1999). As aforementioned, in their reconceptualization of authenticity, Reisinger and Steiner (2006b) justify the separation between object and existential authenticity, and argue that each demand distinct treatment (Cohen, 2007). Comparatively, existential authenticity prioritises human experiences in tourism – it is subject or activity related, rooted in first-hand experiences (Wang, 1999). Wang, provided further demarcation of existential authenticity, dividing the concept between intra-personal and inter-personal (Wang, 1999). This is described in section 2b 2.3.4.

### 2b 2.3.1 Objectivism

In his examination of mass tourism, Daniel J. Boorstin (1961; 1964) was one of the first tourism commentators to embrace an objectivist approach (Amey, 2015), with his concept of 'pseudo-events' implying objective authenticity (Wang, 1999). The objectivist approach to authenticity involves a museum-linked usage, concerning the extent to which toured objects are perceived to be authentic and original (Brown, 2013; Jia, 2009; Wang, 1999). 'It implies all that is genuine, unadulterated, without hypocrisy, honest and real' (Zhu, 2012, p.1496). Thus, objectivists perceive authenticity as 'an inherent property of toured objects' (Jia, 2009, p.71), measured, and objectively verified by an absolute criterion, in the same way there exists such a criterion to appraise museum collections (Amey, 2015; Jia, 2009): 'only authentic objects are worthy of tourist attention' (Amey, 2015, p.40).

As Brown (2013) observes, Cohen (1979b) argues the *sine qua non* of the tourist experience is that of object authenticity. For MacCannell (2001) in the wake of an accrescent homogenisation of destinations and experiences, object authenticity is increasingly hard to come by (Brown, 2013). The wealth of literature dedicated to the concept has exposed its ambiguity and limitations, leading critics to question its functionality and validity (Mkono, 2013; Wang, 1999). This criticism stems from the inability to explain tourist motivations and experiences with regard to the conventional concept of authenticity (Wang, 1999), leading to the issue being dubbed a 'red-herring' (Bruner, 2005). In his article, Wang (1999) queries the centrality of authenticity's importance in tourism research, because, as it will come to be synthesised, it is of limited applicability. To solve this problem within the context of his investigation, Wang sought to re-evaluate the meanings of authenticity assigned by existential philosophers in their usage of the concept. In review of the two conventional meanings of authenticity, as described in the literature (namely, objective and constructive

authenticity), he proposes a third usage: existential authenticity as an alternative (Wang, 1999) (see section 2b 2.3.4).

### 2b 2.3.2 Constructivism

The constructivist approach is not a coherent doctrine or an ontological condition (Wang, 1999; Zhu, 2012). Rather, it is a label or perceived status of reality governed by socially constructed criteria, subject to hegemonic voices of stakeholders (e.g., cultural markers, academics, local authorities) and cultural selectivity (Kim & Jamal, 2007; Zhu, 2012): it is a consequence of a society's projection of signs and symbols (Zhu, 2012). Thus, in the absence of an absolute or objective position, we should understand authenticity as a social construction. Hence, it could be argued that the concept of authenticity is arbitrary as it is dependent on the beholder's viewpoint and thus differs within people, times and places (Backhaus, 2005): 'Constructivists argue the basis is social or personal and hence, unfixed, subjective and variable. They note that authenticity can be negotiated and deny any fixed, objective reality to which people can appeal' (Reisinger & Steiner, 2006b, p.66). What needs to be understood then, is the factors that contribute to the negotiation of the authentic on behalf of those to which it appeals.

### 2b 2.3.3 Postmodernism

Postmodernists, extending their argument further than that of the constructivists, unreservedly deny the existence of original authenticity (Jia, 2009). Postmodernists argue that the issue of authenticity is seldom relevant to many tourists, as they either marginalise it, treat it with suspicion, are complicit in its construction or are aware that it serves merely as a marketing tool (Apostolakis, 2003; Chhabra, 2010; Cone & Snell, 2013; Reisinger & Steiner,

2006b). Thus, as opposed to modernists or realists, they are highly doubtful that any distinct, objective reality underpins the concept of authenticity and its perceptions (Reisinger & Steiner, 2006b). In comparison to constructivists, postmodernists stress that tourists do not care enough about authenticity to attempt to construct its myth, or that blurred lines between the real and manufactured renders the argument pointless (Reisinger & Steiner, 2006b).

Umberto Eco's (1986, cited in Wang 1999) theory of 'hyperreality', in which he deconstructs the conceptualisation of authenticity through disassembling the parameters between copy-original, or sign-reality (parameters on which Boorstin's and MacCannell's concept of objective authenticity are dependent), typifies a typical postmodernist perspective of the concept of authenticity in tourism (Wang, 1999). For Eco, Disneyland or Disney World exemplify the archetypal model of hyperreality (Wang, 1999), 'for they were born out of fantasy and imagination' (Wang, 1999, p.346). Thus, whether it is real or false is irrelevant, inasmuch as there is no original that can be used as a frame of reference (Wang, 1999). However, if we extend the conversation to include literary tourism, literature is born out of the writer's imagination in its production and is similarly born out of imagination in the reader's consumption. Hence, in this instance, the literature itself is used by the tourist as a frame of reference.

#### 2b 2.3.4 Existentialism

To alter the perspective of authenticity in tourism research from the predominant object-related approach, towards an emphasis on tourist personal investment and experiences, Wang (1999) introduced the theory of 'existential authenticity' (defined in Table 18). This theoretical shift from the former to the latter is representative of a significant departure from

the essentialist perspective to one of centralising the existential personal quests of tourists (Knudsen & Waade, 2010). In doing so, Wang separates 'existential state of being and the objective surroundings' (Knudsen & Waade, 2010, p.11).

In his conception of the approach, he differentiates two types or dimensions of existential authenticity: intra-personal and inter-personal (Wang, 1999). The former dimension relates to bodily concern and feelings, viewed as an important facet of tourism (Wang, 1999). Intra-personal authenticity 'is the sensuous and symbolic bodily display of personal identity' (Knudsen & Waade, 2010, p.11) and the quest for bodily feelings pleasure, relaxation, spontaneity, and control, all of which are touristic contents that can only be explored in short periods of time (Olsen, 2002; Wang, 1999).

Intra-personal authenticity also involves 'self-making', touristic experiences that radically differ from the mundanity of everyday life (Olsen, 2002). Added to this are joint tourist experiences that achieve a sense of togetherness within families and constructed "communitas" among tourists groups that result in the interpersonal experiences of authenticity (Olsen, 2002). This research suggests literary tours represent an example of such a community, as they are characterised by "liminality", defined by Turner (1974, p.74 cited in Wang 1999) as 'any condition outside or on the peripheries of everyday life'. Both these types of authentic experience do not exhibit quests for authenticity of 'the Other'. Instead, the quest takes place within and between tourists themselves (Wang, 1999). For Olsen (2002), Wang, in his explanation of existential authenticity succumbs to some of the pitfalls MacCannell (1999) did. Mainly, he omits the fact that ideas of bodily feelings of pleasure are attributes of contemporary culture, of certain people in certain places (Olsen, 2002). He also



fails to acknowledge the embodiment required to fully embrace these bodily feelings per Bourdieu's (1984) embodied state of cultural capital.

## 2b 2.4 Conclusion

This literature review chapter, like that of Reisinger and Steiner's (2006b) literature review centring on the issue of authenticity in the context of tourism confirms that whilst many perspectives exist, as has been repeatedly observed in this chapter, they contradict each other, rendering the act of proposing a generally accepted perspective or definition of authenticity near impossible (Nunes, Ordanini & Giambastiani, 2021). Nevertheless, the conceptualisations of and theoretical approaches to authenticity discussed within this chapter provide a useful theoretical underpinning for the application of the concept in this literary tourism study.

## Chapter 2c: Literature Review – Cultural Capital

### 2c 2.0 Introduction

This chapter begins constructing the concept of cultural capital. Conceptualisations of the Bourdieusian theory are discussed (section 2.1), including its definitions and states. Popular culture and popular cultural capital are also introduced (section 2.1.1.5). Cultural capital's potential measurement is then explored (section 2.2). Thereafter, conclusions are drawn (section 2.3). The content included within this chapter serves to inform the design of the conceptual framework presented in Chapter Three.

### 2c 2.1 Conceptualisations of cultural capital

Cultural capital is widely known to be one of French sociologist's Pierre Bourdieu's signature concepts (Lareau & Weininger, 2003). Although it was first expressed by Bourdieu & Passeron (1973), it did not reach a wider audience until the publication of Bourdieu's *Distinction* (1979, [trans. 1984]) (Busby & Meethan, 2008). 'Since then, the concept of cultural capital has become part of the sociological lexicon' (Prieur & Savage, 2013, p.248). Originally conceptualised to decipher class differences within the context of his educational research (Lareau & Weininger, 2003), the concept provides clarification of social stratification mechanisms (Kamphuis *et al.*, 2015; Lareau & Weininger, 2003), that can be applied to tourism. This has been witnessed in the research by Macbeth, Carson and Northcote (2004), Karlsson (2005), Busby and Meethan (2008) and Mansfield (2015). As Gaddis (2013) summarises, academic debate on cultural capital stems from enquiries into the operationalisation and interpretation of the term (Kingston, 2001; Lareau & Weininger, 2003; Wildhagen, 2010), its reproductive influence on social structure and mobility (DiMaggio, 1982; DiMaggio & Mohr, 1985), whether omitted variable bias has overemphasised its effects

(Gaddis, 2013), and whether definitional expansions help or hinder our understandings of the concept (Kingston, 2001). Thus, while Bourdieu did not construct his concept distinctly, it is thought to be useful to researchers (Sullivan, 2002). As it relates to this study, cultural capital refers to 'personal' cultural capital, as defined by Busby and Meethan (2008) (see section 2.1.1.4).

#### 2c 2.1.1 Definitions and forms of cultural capital

As indicated by Lareau and Weininger (2003), cultural capital has been defined in a myriad of ways. Lamont and Lareau (1988) performed a close reading of Bourdieu and Passeron's work in an effort to disentangle the concept. They suggest that Bourdieu did not retain its definition or explanations over the course of his publications, and thus lacked clarity (Kingston, 2001). This ambiguity has led to disparities in the definition and measurement of cultural capital in studies employing the concept thereafter (Dumais, 2006; Kingston, 2001; Lamont & Lareau, 1988). Cultural capital is defined by some as the familiarisation with linguistic and cultural competence or signals of dominant cultures and societal status (Dumais, 2002; Eitle & Eitle, 2002; Kalmijn & Kraaykamp, 1996; Katsillis & Rubinson, 1990; Robinson & Garnier, 1985; Sullivan, 2001), good or prestigious tastes (De Graaf, 1986; Mohr & Dimaggio, 1995); and recognised for its influence on culture, tradition and the development of education, tourism and sociology (Karlsson, 2005). As Kingston (2001) alludes, the definitional expansion of the concept into a broad spectrum of markers, risks it becoming distinctly unrecognisable. For Hannam and Knox (2010), the term serves as a metaphor for the explanation of consumption choice as a marker of membership within specific socio-cultural groups. Thus, the accumulation of cultural capital over time, through accrued experiences, differentiates individuals from their peers and the associated groupings.

For Bourdieu however, cultural capital ‘is convertible, in certain conditions, into economic capital and may be institutionalised in the form of educational qualifications’ (Bourdieu, 1986, p.47). To provide some clarity, Bourdieu later refined his concept of cultural capital, providing a threefold axiomization (see Table 19): the *embodied* state, the *objectified* state, and the *institutionalised* state.

<b>The Embodied State</b>	<b>The Objectified State</b>	<b>The Institutionalised State</b>
i.e., in the form of long-lasting dispositions of the mind and body.	i.e., in the form of cultural goods (pictures, books, dictionaries, instruments, machines), which are the trace or realisation of theories or critiques of these theories, problematics.	i.e., a form of objectification which must be set apart because [...] it confers entirely original properties on the cultural capital which it is presumed to guarantee.

Table 19. Forms of cultural capital (Bourdieu, 1986, p.47).

#### 2c 2.1.1.1 Embodied cultural capital

Cultural capital in its embodied state (Bourdieu, 1986) refers to the culture that individuals have assimilated into their personalities and bodies, such as mannerisms and idiosyncrasies (Wildhagen, 2010). The acquisition of cultural capital in its embodied state occurs in primary socialisation in the beginnings of early childhood (Dumais, 2006; Swartz, 1997). It necessitates pedagogical action: ‘the investment of time by parents, other family members, or hired professionals to sensitise the child to cultural distinctions’ (Swartz, 1997, p.76). For Bourdieu, embodied cultural capital holds the most importance (Hampton-Garland, 2015; Throsby, 2001). This is because fundamentally, cultural capital is connected to the body and requires embodiment (Bourdieu, 1986). Thus, it implies a labour that personally costs the investor time (Bourdieu, 1986). Bourdieu (1986) offers the procurement of a suntan to exemplify how embodied cultural capital cannot be acquired at second hand, and thus, precludes delegation.

Additionally, cultural capital in the embodied state assumes an essential part of a person that disallows immediate transmission 'by gift or bequest, purchase or exchange' (Bourdieu, 1986, p.48). One's accumulation of embodied cultural capital, and the formation of habitus – '[a] system of lasting, transposable dispositions which, integrating past experiences, functions at every moment as a matrix of perceptions, appreciations, and actions and makes possible the achievement of infinitely diversified tasks, thanks to analogical transfers of schemes permitting the solution of similarly shaped problems' (Bourdieu, 1977, p.95) - are identical; they both exhibit the harmonious integration of the body and mind when adapted to specific fields (Moore, 2014).

#### *2c 2.1.1.2 Objectified cultural capital*

Cultural capital in the objectified state refers to physical objects or cultural goods that demand specific cultural competencies to use, appreciate and understand (Dumais, 2006; Reay, David & Ball, 2005; Swartz, 1997). Objectified cultural capital 'is transmissible in its materiality' (Bourdieu, 1986, p.50). Literature is an example of such a cultural good (Bourdieu, 1986). In order to be appropriated, these objectified cultural goods require embodied cultural capital (Lamont & Lareau, 1988).

#### *2c 2.1.1.3 Institutionalised cultural capital*

Cultural capital in its institutionalised state then, refers to academic qualifications (Bourdieu, 1986) that are thought to signify or indicate the cultural competence (Wildhagen 2010) and educational attainment (Kraaykamp & van Eijck, 2010) of individuals who possess academic credentials (e.g. degrees) (Wildhagen, 2010). This then, enables the comparison of qualifications holders (Bourdieu, 1986).

#### *2c 2.1.1.4 Personal and destination-based cultural capital*

In their article 'Cultural Capital in Cornwall', Busby and Meethan (2008) analyse the potential existence of a nexus between two types of cultural capital – 'personal' and 'destination-based'. These forms were derived from the work of Bourdieu (1984) and Richards (1996b), fuelled by the emphasis of other studies (Britton, 1991; Harvey, 1989; Munt, 1994; Zukin, 1991) that sees cultural capital not only serve as a means of personal distinction, but also as a quality of place (Richards, 1996b). From Busby & Meethan's (2008, p.146) analysis, one can deduce the following definitions: 'Personal' cultural capital 'refers to an individual's ability to 'understand' what they are looking at, based largely on their level of education, which will predispose them to value and interpret certain forms of culture above others'. This is linked to the embodied state of cultural capital (Bourdieu, 1986). Thus, cultural capital can be used as a variable to explain why individuals boast divergent interpretations of the same place (Busby & Semley, 2013). An individual's possession of graduate qualifications almost certainly confers some level of 'personal' cultural capital, however, this is not to say, that other forms of 'uncertificated' education are not of equal importance (Busby & Meethan, 2008). The pair argued that through membership of learned bodies and societies (e.g., the National Trust) individuals can gain a significant stock of personal cultural capital, as through these memberships, contextualised and subliminal learning occurs (Busby & Meethan, 2008). Yet, notwithstanding the potential flexibility of its acquisition, the most reliable marker of an individual's ability to develop the capacity for personal cultural capital stems from their socio-economic profile (Busby & Meethan, 2008). Mansfield (2015) notes it is imperative that DMOs acknowledge the value of personal cultural capital of potential tourists as a marker for demand and consumption. The importance of personal cultural capital to DMOs is intensified further when one considers the increase of higher education enrolment as a marker to guide

new knowledge societies (Mansfield, 2015). Thus, the 'new' tourism consumer will have a higher stock of personal cultural capital through their experiences in higher education and so warrants the attention of DMOs responsible for cultural tourism sites (Mansfield, 2015).

'Destination-based' cultural capital then, is concerned with 'the potential economic value which may be derived from the inventory of cultural 'assets' at a given destination' (Busby & Meethan, 2008, p.146). This form of cultural capital exhibits both tangible and intangible features which are readily detected by persons and can often be exploited for touristic purposes (Busby & Meethan, 2008). Richards (1996b, p.268) hints at 'destination-based' cultural capital in his description of the symbolic capital of place: that which includes emphasis of 'the aesthetic qualities of material commodities and services'.

#### *2c 2.1.1.5 Popular culture and popular cultural capital*

As was noted in Chapter 2 section 2.2, literary tourism befits many wider tourism landscapes. Omitted from the aforementioned discussion however, is the notion that literary and film tourism are a forms of popular culture tourism (Larson, Lundberg & Lexhagen, 2013) or popular media-induced tourism (Iwashita, 2006). The nexus between literature and screen and popular culture (hereafter pop culture) are well established (Agarwal, Busby & Huang, 2018; Agarwal & Shaw, 2018). Lundberg and Lexhagen (2014) characterise tourists that engage with this type of tourism as fans.

The visibility of Cornwall in pop culture can be attributed to television literary adaptations (Moseley, 2018). Undoubtedly, the most recent TV adaptation of *Poldark* (2015-2019) has thrust Cornwall back into pop culture (Robinson, 2017). The '*Poldark effect*' (Moseley, 2018;

Orange, 2020), is a phrase used to describe the public's increased interest in Cornwall (Orange, 2020). 'Poldark Country' now represents a simulacrum (Baudrillard, 1994; Kennedy & Kingcome, 1998). Interestingly, postmodern interpretations of the concepts previously discussed (see Chapter 1, section 1.1) in relation to literary tourism (e.g., authenticity, hyperrealism and simulacra) are also the focus of current research on pop culture and tourism (Lundberg & Ziakas, 2019). Hence, the discussion is extended beyond simplified explanations of film as a tool for place marketing (Lundberg & Ziakas, 2019). Within his elaboration of hyperrealism, Baudrillard (1994) suggests the boundaries between the real and the simulated is erased (Lundberg & Ziakas, 2019) 'and that simulacra are simulated codes (substitutes for reality) that are communicated via consumption of the media (Baudrillard, 1994)' (Lundberg & Ziakas, 2019, p.2).

Owing to the discord regarding the term's definition and the 'methodologies for its study' (Long & Robinson, 2009, p.98), pop culture has been described as an amorphous (Milestone & Meyer, 2021), ubiquitous (Schultz & Throop, 2010) and contested concept (Dittmer, 2009; Fedorak, 2019; Long & Robinson, 2009; Milestone & Meyer, 2021). The phrase "popular culture" was first coined in 1784 by Johann Gottfried Herder (Parker, 2011). Herder, among others, situates pop culture (entertainment) against high/fine culture (art, the culture of learned) suggesting the difference between the two and the inferiority of the former in relation to the latter (Heilbrun, 1997 cited in Fedorak, 2019; Lundberg & Ziakas, 2019). Storey (2010) asserts that pop culture is the residuary category (i.e., it is the culture that remains) once we have determined what is high culture.

Conventionally, pop culture refers to facets of entertainment that are consumed by the social majority (Lundberg & Ziakas, 2019) including but not limited to, literature, film, television



programmes, music and fashion (Lee, 2017; Lee & Bai, 2016; Lundberg & Lexhagen, 2012; Strinati, 2004 cited in Lundberg & Ziakas, 2019). Long and Robinson (2009, p.99) acknowledge the inextricable link between ‘the concept of the popular and the idea of “mass culture”’. Hence, pop culture can evoke the idea of a common or mass culture (Kidd, 2007; Lee & Bai, 2016; Lundberg & Ziakas, 2019). The expansion of the notion of ‘culture’ can be linked to the dissolving of the barriers between ‘high’, ‘popular’ and mass culture’ (Richards, 1999). Parker (2011, p.161) argues that ‘[p]opular culture consists of the productions of those *without* cultural capital, of those without access to the approved means of symbolic and cultural production’. Hence, as cultural capital is not required to produce or consume pop culture, this has led to its accessibility and subsequent popularity (Reichenberger, 2021).

#### 2c 2.1.1.5.1 Popular culture and tourism

The nexus between pop culture and tourism is becoming increasingly apparent and important (Reichenberger & Smith, 2020). As Long and Robinson (2009, p.103) acknowledge, ‘[t]ourism is a key element of popular culture, and is fed and feeds from, the media which both circulates and produces culture’. Traditionally, research on pop culture tourism has focused on either the perspectives of the destination or the tourist/fan (Geraghty, Ziakas & Lundberg, 2019; Lundberg & Ziakas, 2019). The former explores topics such as commoditization, staged performance and authenticity (Geraghty, Ziakas & Lundberg, 2019; Lundberg & Ziakas, 2019) and examines the extent to which a tourist experience is organised for visitors and to what degree it can be regarded as ‘genuine’ (Geraghty, Ziakas & Lundberg, 2019; Lundberg & Ziakas, 2019). Some studies examine the influence of pop culture on destination perceptions and image (Bolan, Boy & Bell, 2011; Hudson, Wang & Gil, 2011; Juškelytė-Bocullo, 2016; Kim & Richardson, 2003; Lee & Bai, 2010; Lee & Bai, 2016; Xu & Ye, 2018). Others demonstrate tourists’ perceptions of destinations can be influenced by celebrities’ associations with the

place (Lee, Scott & Kim, 2008; Yen & Croy, 2016). The majority of research has been conducted from a film tourism perspective (Lundberg & Ziakas, 2019).

#### 2c 2.1.1.5.2 Fandom

Popular cultural tourism can be studied as a type of fan practice (Lexhagen, 2018). Fans is a term used to describe those who participate in pop culture (Sandvoss, 2013). The state of being a fan (i.e. fandom) is generally associated with pop culture rather than high culture (Hills, 2007). Fans endeavour to develop extensive knowledge/expertise about “their” object of fandom and in doing so characteristically feel and demonstrate behaviour of perceived/psychological ownership toward their chosen object (Cocieru, Delia & Katz, 2019; Hills, 2007). Fandoms are communities characterised by and built around common interests in an expression of pop culture (Reichenberger & Smith, 2020). They are subcultures (Reichenberger & Smith, 2020; Tsay-Vogel & Sanders, 2017) characterised by an idiosyncratic mix of cultural determinations (Fiske, 1992). ‘On the one hand it is an intensification of popular culture which is formed outside and often against official culture, on the other it expropriates and reworks certain values and characteristics of that official culture to which it is opposed’ (Fiske, 1992, p.34).

Literary and film tourists have been described as fans (Agarwal & Shaw, 2018; Busby & Klug, 2001; Herbert, 2001; Michopoulou, Siurnicka & Mosia, 2022; Roesch, 2009; Timothy & Boyd, 2015) although much more in relation to the latter. To a certain extent within pop culture tourism the terms fan and tourist are used interchangeably or simultaneously. For example, Geraghty, Ziakas and Lundberg (2019, p.1243) refer to ‘[f]an tourists [who] make up a specific form of tourism and a target group that builds on people’s deep involvement with various’ forms of popular culture’. The fandom associated with literature stands in contrast to the

solitary process of reading (Storey, 2010). 'Fan culture is about the public display and circulation of meaning production and reading practices. Fans make meaning to communicate with other fans. Without the public display and circulation of these meanings, fandom would not be fandom' (Storey, 2010, p.154).

Fiske (1992) explores what he describes as the three generalised characteristics of fandom: 1) Discrimination and Distinction; 2) Productivity and Participation, and 3) Capital Accumulation (this is discussed in section 2.1.1.5.3. He declares that fans are fiercely discriminatory (Fiske, 1992) and goes on to suggest that 'the boundaries between the community of fans and the rest of the world are just as strongly marked and patrolled' (Fiske, 1992, p.34-35). Fiske's assertion represents a shared assumption among many fan studies scholars (Chin, 2018). Put simply, fans make value judgements about which objects are worthy or unworthy of fandom (Mazzarella, 2005). Furthermore, they discriminate between those who are and are not considered to be "true fans" (Mazzarella, 2005). Fiske offers a tripartite typology of fan productivity although he acknowledges these are not mutually exclusive and fans 'may well span all categories' (Fiske, 1992, p.37). The first is *semiotic productivity*, which is when fans make meanings 'of social identity and of social experience from the semiotic resources of the cultural commodity [this is] essentially interior'. *Enunciative productivity* includes when meanings are publically verbalised and shared either face-to-face or within an oral culture (Fiske, 1992) an example of which is "fan talk" i.e., 'the generation and circulation of certain meanings of the object of fandom within a local community' (Fiske, 1992, p.38). The production of texts written by fans that are then circulated within the fan community is what Fiske refers to as *textual productivity* (Fiske, 1992).

### 2c 2.1.1.5.3 Popular cultural capital

Extremely relevant to this study is Fiske's capital accumulation category. "Popular cultural capital" sometimes referred to as "fan cultural capital" (Hills, 2007) is a term coined by television and Fiske, derived from Bourdieu, used to describe the 'meanings and pleasures available to the subordinate to express and promote their interest' (Fiske, 1987, p.509). Fiske's extension of the Bourdieusian cultural capital metaphor (Fiske, 1987), captures his view that television is a cultural commodity, a cultural agent (Fiske, 1991; 2010), 'a provoker and circulator of meanings' (Fiske, 1987, p.1) and perhaps most importantly, an increasingly popular cultural medium (Fiske, 1987; Lotz, 2008). Fiske (1992, p.30-31) employs and subsequently develops 'Bourdieu's metaphor of describing culture as an economy in which people invest and accumulate capital'. He differentiates official (Bourdiesian) culture from popular culture, due to pop culture's lack of social legitimation and institutional support (Fiske, 1992) and provided a two-fold critique of the weaknesses in Bourdieu's cultural capital theory.

Firstly, Fiske critiques what he believes to be Bourdieu's underestimation of the 'creativity of popular culture and its role in distinguishing between different social formations within the subordinated' (Fiske, 1992, p.32). Secondly, he argues that Bourdieu 'does not allow that there are forms of popular cultural capital produced outside and often against official cultural capital' (Fiske, 1992, p.32). For example, Parker (2011) amalgamates Bourdieusian cultural capital within one of his tentative definitions of popular culture. He argues that extensive training (embodiment) is not a prerequisite of popular culture, in the way that it is for embodied cultural capital (Parker, 2011), nor does it require 'investment in acquiring objectified cultural capital' (Parker, 2011, p.161). Chiefly, popular culture is positioned 'explicitly outside the blessing of institutionalized capital' (Parker, 2011, p.161). Parker goes

on to suggest that whilst the production of television necessitates certain cultural and technical competencies, its consumption requires virtually no official cultural capital (Parker, 2011).

Fiske (1992) presents a dichotomous view of cultural capital, whereby popular cultural capital is contrasted against those states which assume Bourdieusian cultural capital (i.e., high culture) (Chin, 2018). Drawing a comparison between popular cultural capital and what he describes as official cultural capital (Bourdieuian cultural capital), Fiske (1992) argues that whilst the latter has the capacity to be converted into economic capital (Bourdieu, 1986), the former (although there are some exceptions) 'is not typically convertible' (Fiske, 1992, p.34). Rather, '[i]ts dividends lie in the pleasures and esteem of one's peers in a community of taste rather than those of one's social betters' (Fiske, 1992, p.34). Fiske argues that fans exemplify Bourdieu's autodidacts (Fiske, 1992) – 'the self-taught who often use their self-acquired knowledge and taste to compensate for the perceived gap between their actual (or official) cultural capital, as expressed in' (Fiske, 1992, p.34) the currency of cultural capital stock presented in Table 20. It is worth quoting Fiske (1987, p.18) at length here:

'Popular cultural capital is an accumulation of meanings and pleasures that serves the interests of the subordinated and powerless, or rather the disempowered, for few social groups are utterly without power. Popular cultural capital consists of the meanings of social subordination and of the strategies (such as those of accommodation, resistance, opposition, or evasion) by which people respond to it. These meanings of subordination are not made according to the dominant value system, they are not ones that make a comfortable sense of subordination and thus work to make people content with their social situation. Rather they are meanings made by a value system that opposes or evades the dominant ideology: they are meanings that validate the social experience of the subordinate but not their subordination'.

For Fiske, popular cultural capital 'is not a singular concept, but is open to a variety of articulations, but it always exists in a stance of resistance to the forces of domination' (Fiske, 1987, p.314). Arguably, the acquisition of capital from non-dominant culture is extremely relevant given Storey's (2010, p.9) assertion that '[t]elevision is *the* popular cultural form of the twentieth and twenty-first centuries'. The media play a crucial role in the distribution of popular culture (Long & Robinson, 2009) 'and the cumulative construction of touristic mobilities' (Long & Robinson, 2009, p.101). Netflix and other Internet entertainment services (IES) including Amazon Prime Video, Hulu, Apple TV, Disney Plus and HBO Max (UNWTO & Netflix, 2021) are facilitating the ongoing streaming of popular TV programmes and films (including literary-adaptions) and are fuelling popular culture fandom in the process. As original creators and distributors of renewed content they are acutely aware of pop culture trends and have at their disposal, a vast amount of information to produce suitable content (Blanchet & Fabry, 2020). IES' and other media owners and controllers have the power to create and sustain "mass culture" (Long & Robinson, 2009).

In 10 years, Netflix has changed the TV landscape (Guardian, 2022). The Netflix effect on tourism is perhaps most clearly evidenced in the partnership between the UNWTO and Netflix and the subsequent publishing of their report titled 'Cultural Affinity and Screen Tourism – The Case of Internet Entertainment Services' (UNWTO & Netflix, 2021). Within the report, the authors highlight:

'[t]he distribution model and global reach of IES [...] In 2015, Netflix had presence in 50 countries. Two years later, it had viewers in over 190 countries, with 73 million people watching content from outside the United States of America. Amazon Prime Video has also surged in viewership as it continues expanding audiences. In 2019, Amazon Prime

Video had 100 million more viewers than the previous year, with a forecast to reach one third of the population in the United States of America' (UNWTO & Netflix, 2021, p.18).

The report examines how Internet entertainment services (IES) such as 'Netflix, Amazon Prime Video, Disney Plus, HBO Max contribute 'towards cultural affinity and screen tourism' (UNWTO & Netflix, 2021, p.16). *Poldark* has and continues to be available to stream on some of the aforementioned IES'. Ward (2019) describes the *Poldark* fan base as dedicated and fractious and suggests the divide within *Poldark* fandom is threefold: first, there are those devotees of the author's novels for example, those who are members of the Poldark Literary Society. Then there are the loyalists to the first BBC series (1975-1977) and the fans of the most recent BBC series (2015-2019). Fandom, which can be created and sustained through Netflix and its contemporaries 'offers ways of filling cultural lack and provides the social prestige and self-esteem that go with cultural capital' (Fiske, 1992, p.33).

## 2c 2.2 Measuring cultural capital: A priori currency and stock

'Although Bourdieu suggested a range of indicators of cultural capital that he used in his empirical work (Bourdieu, 1973), there are no established "gold standard" indicators of cultural capital (Kingston, 2001; Dumais, 2006)' (Sieben & Lechner, 2019, p.2). For Gaddis (2013, p.2) the dominant operationalisations of the concept in quantitative research include: 'high-arts participation (such as museum visits, play attendance) and time spent reading'. Lareau *et al.* (2004) criticised this approach for its narrowness (Jæger, 2009). However, Gaddis (2013), along with Lareau and Weininger (2003) and Jæger (2009) do acknowledge its expansion. Table 20 presents the forms of cultural capital and associated currency highlighted in the literature:

Form of cultural capital	Associated currency of cultural capital stock	Source(s)
<b>Embodied cultural capital (Bourdieu, 1986)</b>	Pedagogical action by parents/caregivers in childhood	Swartz (1997)
	Normative behaviours (e.g. manners, dress, use of language)	De Graaf (1986); Farkas <i>et al.</i> (1990); Kravatz (2007)
	Cultural classes or lessons	Aschaffenburg and Maas (1997); Dumais and Ward (2010); Dumais (2002); Eitle and Eitle (2002); Gaddis (2013); Roscigno and Ainsworth-Darnell (1999); Wildhagen (2009)
	Extracurricular activities	Cheadle (2008); Covay and Carbonaro (2010); Jæger (2011); Kaufman and Gabler (2004); Lareau and Weininger (2003); Sullivan (2001)
	Discussions about aspects of culture between child and parent	Cheung and Andersen (2003); Downey (1995); Jæger (2009); Tramonte and Willms (2010)
	Attitudes and interests towards, and knowledge about, culture	DiMaggio (1982); DiMaggio and Mohr (1985); Mohr and Dimaggio (1995)
	Parent and child reading habits or literary climate	Bodovski and Farkas (2008); Cheung and Andersen (2003); De Graaf, De Graaf and Kraaykamp (2000); De Graaf (1986); Gaddis (2013); Sullivan (2001)
	Parent and child participation in cultural visits/trips (e.g. museums, art galleries, theatre)	De Graaf, De Graaf and Kraaykamp (2000); DiMaggio (1982); Dumais (2002); Eitle and Eitle (2002); Gaddis (2013); Jæger (2009); Kalmijn and Kraaykamp (1996); Katsillis and Rubinson (1990); Kaufman and Gabler (2004); Nagel, Damen and Haanstra (2010); Robinson and Garnier (1985); Roscigno and Ainsworth-Darnell (1999)
	Teacher perceptions of habits and skills	Farkas (1996); Farkas <i>et al.</i> (1990)
	Expansive views of concerted cultivation	Bodovski and Farkas (2008); Cheadle (2008); Cheadle (2009); Georg (2004); Lareau and Weininger (2003); Lee and Bowen (2006)
	Educational resources in the home	Downey (1995); Roscigno and Ainsworth-Darnell (1999); Teachman (1987)
	Parental encouragement of childhood reading	Aschaffenburg and Maas (1997)



	Leisure time (e.g. holidays, hobbies and sport)	Winkle-Wagner (2010)
<b>Objectified cultural capital (Bourdieu, 1986)</b>	Possession and consumption of art	
	Number of books in the household	Hong and Zhao (2014); Sieben and Lechner (2019)
	Cultural assets	Ganzeboom, De Graff and Robert (1990)
	Purchasing and borrowing books	Robinson and Garnier (1985)
	Reading habits	
<b>Institutionalised cultural capital (Bourdieu, 1986)</b>	Educational attainment and academic qualifications	Busby and Meethan (2008); Robinson and Garnier (1985)

*Table 20. Forms of cultural capital and associated currency*

## 2c 2.3 Conclusion

Tourism has emerged as a cultural good, through the consumption of experiences and symbols (Munt 1994). Literature is also a cultural good, and its consumption 'is in itself a marker of class' (Baudrillard, 1997, p.59). This is promoted by Bourdieu's suggestion that 'of all the objects offered for consumer's choice, there are none more classifying than legitimate works of art' (Bourdieu, 1984, p.16). Thus, one can postulate that participation in literary tourism practices heavily engenders the individual's objectified and embodied cultural capital, and tourist participation in literary tourism experiences can be perceived as a measure of this stock. That said, as a form of popular culture, it must also be recognised that unofficial popular cultural capital could also influence the consumption of literary tourism experiences. A priori currency of cultural capital stock, relative to each form of cultural capital were presented, which serves to inform the research instrument design and address this study's research aims and objectives.

## Chapter 3: Conceptual Framework

### 3.0 Introduction

Chapter 2a section 2.5 highlighted the academic consensus that tourists are heterogeneous (Cooper, 2008; Dolnicar, 2008; Mason, 2003; 2006), and the suggestion that tourist perceptions, by extension, are also heterogeneous (Ardissono *et al.*, 2003; Le Pira, Marcucci & Gatta, 2021; Ruiz-Meza & Montoya-Torres, 2021; Spooner, 2014). The strong heterogeneity in demand for literary tourism experiences is, to some extent, conceptualised within the pilgrim-tourist dichotomy (see Chapter 2a, section 2.5). The literary pilgrim is a dominant trope in literary tourism studies (MacLeod, Shelley & Morrison, 2018), with some authors citing cultural capital within their definitions of literary pilgrims (Brown, 2016a; Herbert, 2001). Thus, studies that investigated cultural capital as an influential variable in literary tourist perceptions are, to some extent, present in the literature, their application of the concept was limited. The potential relationship between cultural capital and perceptions of authenticity has not been previously explored.

The chapter begins by presenting the elements of the conceptual framework that were grounded in the inductive logic applied to the primary data and academic literature (section 3.1). This section is subdivided into the two key concepts employed in this literary tourism study, cultural capital (section 3.1.1) and authenticity (section 3.1.2). Thereafter, the conceptual framework is described (section 3.2) and presented in Figure 13. The post-data analysis revision of the conceptual framework is discussed in section 3.3 and presented in Figure 14.

### 3.1 Elements of the conceptual framework

To gain an understanding of patterns of consumption it is imperative that researchers do not focus their investigations solely on the choices made by consumers (Ahmad, 2014). They must also examine ‘the underlying mechanisms that guide these preferences’ (Ahmad, 2014, p.487). Thus, this research broadly studies ‘the dynamics of tourism consumption within Bourdieusian sociological framework’ (Ahmad, 2014, p.487-488). The focus of the study centres on the relationship between cultural capital and the concept of authenticity, specifically, the impact of the former on perceptions of the latter.

#### 3.1.1 Currency and stock of cultural capital

As demonstrated in the literature reviewed in Chapter 2c, cultural capital can be differentiated by way of a twofold typology: 1) an individual’s personal attributes and knowledges which function as a mark of distinction and signify their familiarity with, and understanding of, society’s legitimate culture (Bourdieu, 1984) and; 2) a destination’s potential and latent attributes (Busby & Meethan, 2008). Personal cultural capital (Busby & Meethan, 2008) encompasses Bourdieu’s (1986) embodied, objectified and institutionalised states. Hence, these two “types” of cultural capital identified by Busby and Meethan (2008), derived from Bourdieu (1984); (1986) form the basis of the conceptual framework. The potential relationship between cultural capital and perceptions of authenticity will be explored using this framework in order to address the research aims and objectives.

A destination’s cultural capital (Busby & Meethan, 2008) can be commodified for tourism. Ultimately, the capital is part of the destination however, those tourism stakeholders involved in the development, management, marketing, and promotion of the destination are also

responsible for converting the potential destination attributes into latent cultural capital (Busby & Meethan, 2008). Arguably, the stakeholders need to hold the requisite personal cultural capital to see the value in these potential attributes and operationalise these within the interpretation of the destination. A destination's potential cultural capital remains dormant until the stakeholder evaluates for example, the value of a destination's literary heritage, and engages in the processes whereby it can be converted into a valuable commodity.

Despite Bourdieu's assertion that embodied form is the most important form of cultural capital (Hampton-Garland, 2015; Throsby, 2001), the extent to which each form of cultural capital informs an individual's interpretation and consumption of these potential and latent destination-based attributes is unclear. It is also unclear which of the forms holds the most importance on in terms of the influence they have on an individual's perceptions of authenticity.

### 3.1.2 Authenticity in literary tourism experiences

Authenticity is commonly explored in literary tourism studies (see Chapter 2 section 2.7.1). The conceptual framework for this current research addresses the gap in the literature which centres on the potential influence of cultural capital on the fluidity of meaning relative to authenticity. Whilst the study acknowledges the argument that the fluidity of authenticity in literary tourism can be attributed to the subjective symbolism of texts and different textual readings performed by individuals – which results in them actively negotiating authenticity (Squire, 1993) – this study suggests the fluidity of meaning can be conceptualised using Bourdieusian cultural capital (1984; 1986). Hence, this chapter presents this study's

conceptual framework designed to address the study's research aims and objectives (Chapter 1 section 1.4) and to capture the potential relationship between cultural capital and perceptions of authenticity in the literary tourism experiences.

### 3.2 Conceptual framework

The conceptual framework was originally designed during the initial data analysis stages informed by the researcher's abductive reasoning. Whilst the initial conceptual framework differentiated between the forms of cultural capital (Bourdieu, 1986; Busby & Meethan, 2008), all forms were treated equally, with equal weighting given to each in terms of their potential influence on perceptions of authenticity. Cultural capital 'emphasises the *socially* mediated nature of demand for cultural consumption' (Ahmad, 2014, p.489). The conceptual framework will test whether the concept also emphasises the subjectivity and social construction of authenticity in literary tourism experiences.

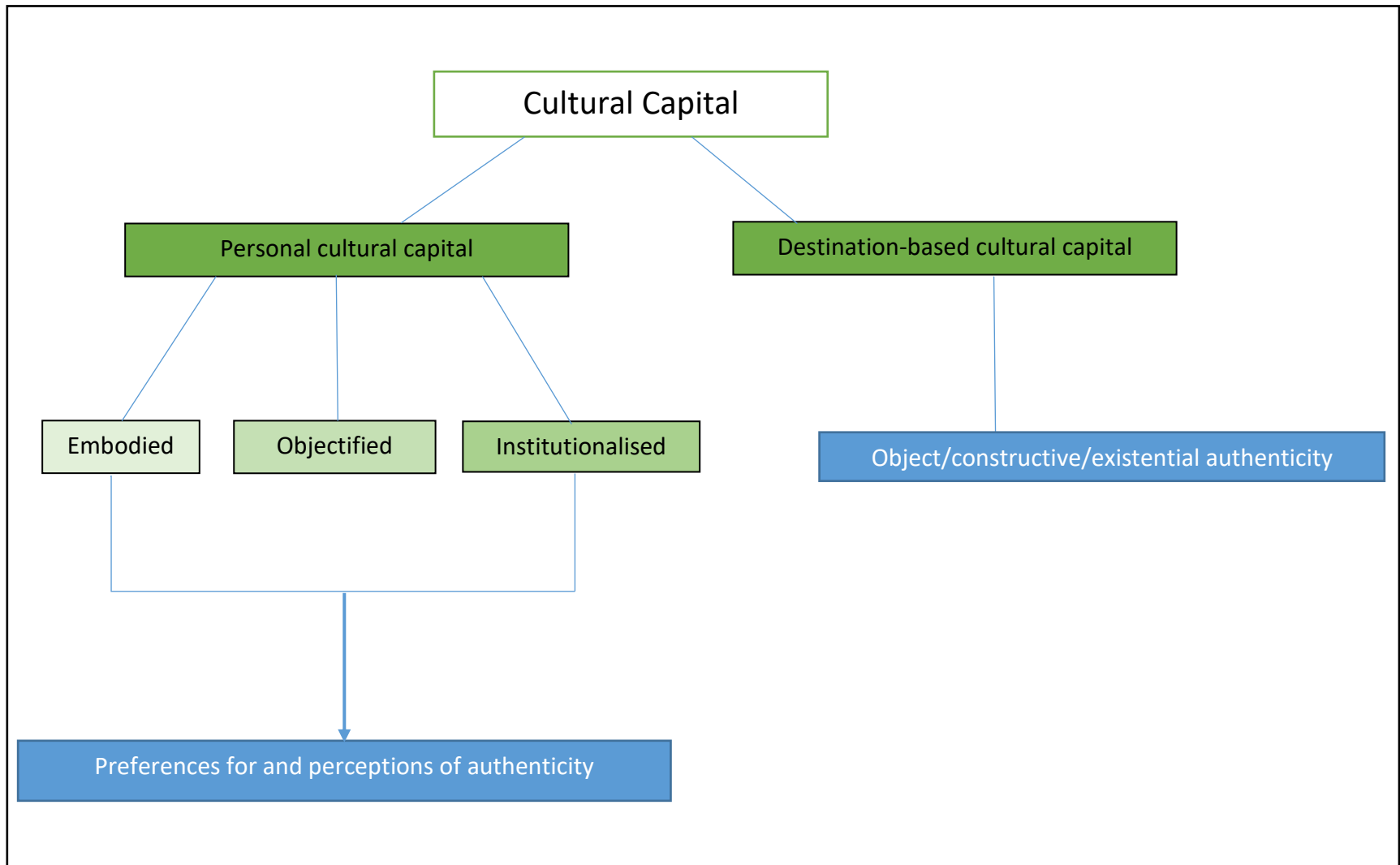


Figure 13. Initial conceptual framework

### 3.3 Post-data analysis revision of conceptual framework

Once the entire corpora of primary data were collected and analysed and the researcher progressed from inductive and deductive logic to abductive reasoning (Charmaz, 2006; Charmaz, 2008), it became evident that the heterogeneity of tourists could also be identified in terms of their dominant stock of cultural capital. A participant's dominant stock of cultural capital ultimately shapes their perceptions of authenticity. Therefore, as informed by the thematic analysis of primary data, ethnographic observations and abductive inference (Charmaz, 2006; Charmaz, 2008), the study's conceptual framework was redesigned. The study's emergent theory, the *authentic gaze* (see Chapter 6, section 6.1), highlighted that the heterogeneous perceptions of authenticity were provoked by a bias that was attributed to an individual's dominant stock of cultural capital. Thereafter, the dominant stock also offered a theory to explain the semantic heterogeneity of authenticity (Dammann *et al.*, 2021) (see Chapter 6, section 6.1.2).



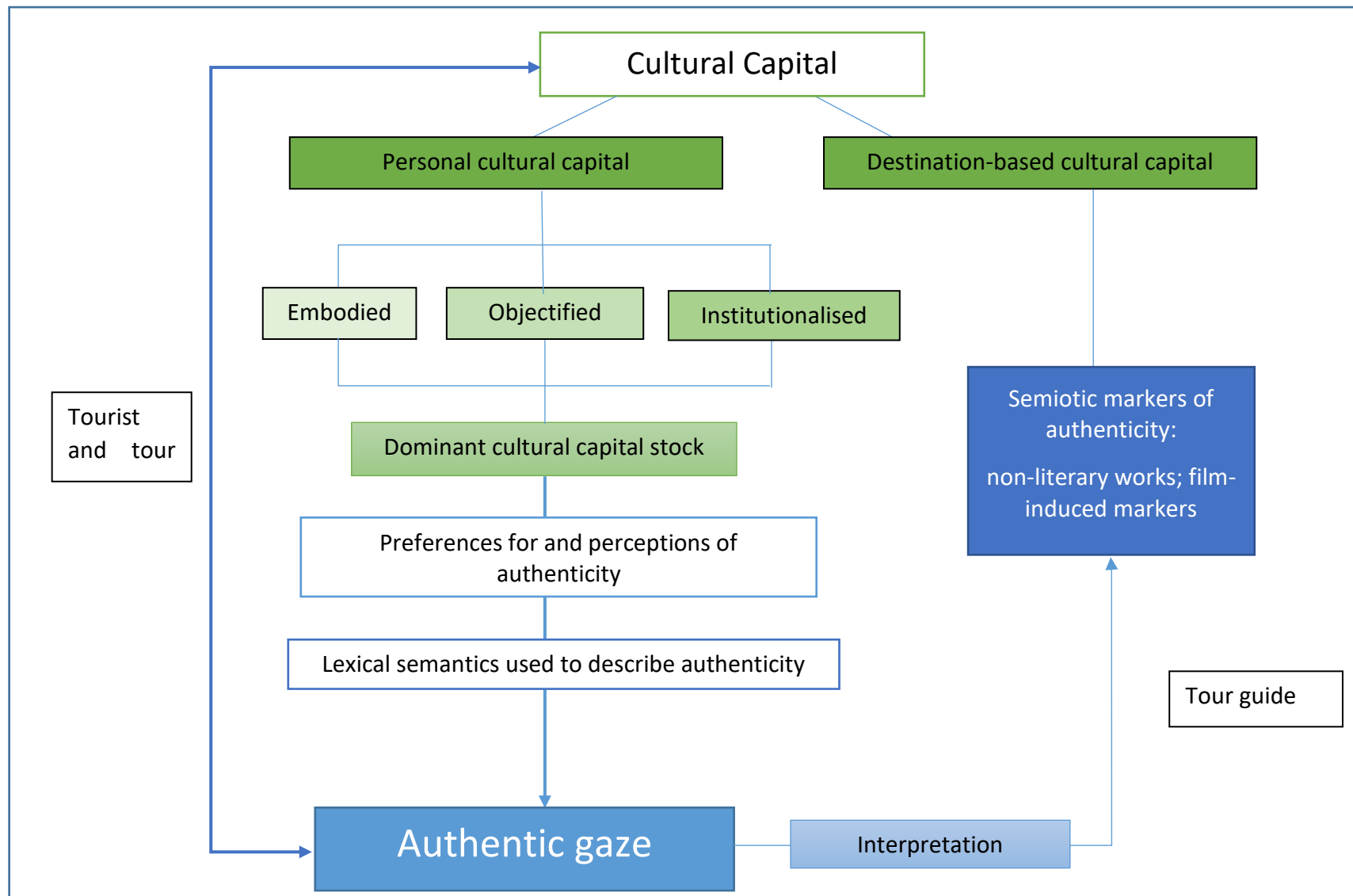


Figure 14. Post-data analysis revision of conceptual framework

This study's emergent theory, conceptualised within the amended framework presented in Figure 14, illustrates how an individual's dominant stock of cultural capital can have a reproductive influence on their perceptions of authenticity, in addition to the lexical semantics used to describe the meaning of the concept. Fundamentally, this encompasses an individual's *authentic gaze* (see Chapter 6 section 6.1).

An individual can accumulate cultural capital from the tourism experiences they choose to participate in (Knox, 2016). Arguably, this accumulation of cultural capital is magnified in literary tourism experiences specifically, since literature – an objectified cultural good (Bourdieu, 1986) – is an is the object of interest. As cultural capital circulates within literary tourism experiences, this influences how an individual gazes on an object, sight or experience and results in either the individual's acceptance, negotiation or denial of the truth claims made by tourism stakeholders including tour guides. The *authentic gaze* of the tour guide was also found to have a direct influence on their methods and styles of interpretation, including the semiotics markers used to "legitimise" authenticity (see Chapter 6, section 6.3).

## Chapter 4: Methodology

### 4.0 Introduction

Following the development of the conceptual framework, Chapter 4 explores this study's methodology and research design. Broadly speaking, the purpose of this study is to gain a greater understanding of the central phenomenon being studied, literary tourism. It serves as an exploration of the potential relationship between cultural capital, perceptions of authenticity and literary tourism experiences and subsequently contributes to evolving debates that consider the phenomenon and two concepts concurrently. Hence, this study attempts to develop new theory that contributes to the field and management of literary, cultural and heritage tourism. Additionally, the study endeavours to develop an understanding of semiotics in the provision of authentic literary tourism experiences. In order to address the research aims and objectives outlined in Chapter 1 section 1.4, it is imperative an appropriate methodology is designed and implemented. Chapter 4 is organised in such a way as to provide clear rationale and synthesis of all aspects of the research design, implementation and analysis. The preceding literature review chapters function within the study's emergent research design process (Denscombe, 1998; Roberts, 2016), as the research attempts to 'accommodate realities that cannot be predicted *a priori*' (Riley & Love, 2000, p.168).

Chapter 4 begins by introducing the methodological approach and research design (section 4.1). Within this section, a discussion of the underpinning philosophical position and paradigm of inquiry is presented (section 4.1.1). Here, a discussion of this study's research aims and objectives in relation to interpretivism is witnessed. This includes reference to the relativist ontology and subjective epistemology employed, along with the exploration of the appropriateness of the paradigm within the context of this investigation. Thereafter, the

rationale for the mono-method qualitative (Saunders, Lewis & Thornhill, 2019) approach is provided (section 4.1.2) along with the approach to theory development, abduction. Section 4.2 details the selected research strategy, ethnography including a discussion of researcher reflexivity and positionality (section 4.2.1). Details of the ethnographic contact zones are also provided (section 4.2.2). The design and administration of the primary data collection is detailed in section 4.3. This section is subdivided into the following: section 4.3.1 presents the corpora of data collected for this study. Section 4.3.2 provides a description of the researcher's close reading of *the Poldark* novels and associated literature. Thereafter, the selection of semi-structured interviews is documented in section 4.3.3. This includes details of the research instrument design (section 4.3.3.1), sampling method (section 4.3.3.2), the administration of primary data collection (section 4.3.3.3) including the pre-pilot and pilot studies and ethical considerations. Data analysis techniques are then discussed (section 4.4), namely the framework method (section 4.4.1) and thematic analysis (section 4.4.2). Additionally, the role of NVivo in the data analysis process is described (section 4.4.3). The researcher's lengthy positionality statement is presented in section 4.5. The challenges faced by the researcher are discussed in section 4.6 before a concise summary of the methodological work reviewed and completed in this study is presented along with the conclusions drawn (section 4.7).

## 4.1 Methodological approach and research design

This section captures this study's ontological, epistemological and methodological choices, and provides a discussion of how the research aims and objectives have driven these choices. The study's use of interpretivism is discussed in detail in section 4.1.1, as is its adoption of a relativist ontology and subjective epistemology. Thereafter, section 4.1.2 provides a discussion of the study's methodological choice, mono-method qualitative (Saunders, Lewis & Thornhill, 2019).

### 4.1.1 Philosophical position and paradigm of inquiry

Ultimately, this study adopts the epistemological perspective of interpretivism, as it seeks to interpret and secure a greater understanding of the literary tourism phenomenon. This extends to the analysis of literary tourist perceptions of authenticity and the exploration of the potential relationship between perceptions of authenticity and an individual's stock of cultural capital. This will be achieved through the researcher's concurrent attempt to view the social world and reality through the participant's lens, as well as her own (Khan, 2014). The researcher acknowledges her own agency and understanding in the analysis of literary tourism experiences insofar as, research that adopts an interpretivist paradigm 'is guided by the researcher's set of beliefs and feelings about the world and how it should be understood and studied' (Denzin & Lincoln, 2005, p.22).

Similarly to MacLeod, Shelley and Morrison (2018), observations of the researcher's own predilections and experiences of literary tourism influenced this study's research design insofar as they illuminated the possibility of nexus between literary tourist perceptions of authenticity and their stock of cultural capital to the researcher. This cognizance induced a research design which included recreational tourists, literary tourists and tour guides alike,

who were selected to explore and subsequently this study's address research aims and objectives (MacLeod, Shelley & Morrison, 2018). This study's approach to new literary tourism knowledge can be considered interpretive when, for brevity, one considers Veal's (2006, p.37) explanation of the paradigm:

'The interpretive model places more reliance on the people being studied to provide their own explanations of their situation or behaviour. The interpretive researcher therefore tries to 'get inside' the minds of subjects and see the world from their point of view. This of course suggests a more flexible approach to data collection, usually involving qualitative methods and generally an inductive approach'.

The overarching aim this research centres on gaining a more nuanced, richer understanding of the literary tourism phenomenon. The use of the interpretivist paradigm has gained acceptance in tourism studies over the last two decades (Mansfield, 2015). As Mansfield (2015, p.108) notes, this is largely in part to the commentaries put forward by 'Riley and Love (2000), Echtner and Jamal (1997) and Crang (2003)'.

Tourism studies over the past 20 years have experienced what has been dubbed a "critical turn" (Ateljevic *et al.*, 2005; Ateljevic, Morgan & Pritchard, 2012; Bianchi, 2009; MacLeod, Shelley & Morrison, 2018; Wengel, 2020). This critical turn extends to a shift in the attention of tourism researcher's 'toward the use of new, creative, dynamic and multifaceted methods to address wider array of issues (Ateljevic *et al.*, 2012; Lugosi *et al.*, 2009; Altinay and Taheri, 2018; Ryan, 2018)' (Wengel, 2020, p.1606). Many literary tourism studies have adopted an interpretivist paradigm (Gentile & Brown, 2015; Hoppen, 2012; MacLeod, Shelley & Morrison, 2018; Mansfield, 2015). Like the study conducted by MacLeod, Shelley and Morrison (2018, p.392), this study adopts the interpretivist philosophy as it 'is focussed on the meaning

created by respondents and is informed by the researchers' own experience'. Moreover, as Chapter 2b indicated, authenticity is viewed by some as a social construct: 'interpretivism emphasises relativism: reality is not objective, single and divisible but socially constructed, multiple, holistic and contextual' (Decrop, 2004, p.157).

#### *4.1.1.1 Relativist ontology and subjective epistemology*

Succinctly, interpretivism's ontological position is relativist (Decrop, 2004) with a subjectivist epistemology (Levers, 2013; Scotland, 2012), 'based on real-world phenomena' (Scotland, 2012, p.11) and 'aligned with postmodern thought' (Levers, 2013, p.3). The ontological and epistemological principles of interpretivism are applicable within the context of this study since it argues that literary tourists' and tour guides' realities are, to a great extent, informed by their constructed experiences (Robinson, Solnet & Breakey, 2014) and cultural capital. The stakeholder's cultural capital and experiences are enacted within tourist communities.

#### *4.1.2 Mono-method qualitative*

Given the interpretive, exploratory nature of this study, and to ensure the fulfilment of its research aims and objectives (see Chapter 1 section 1.4), the selected methodological choice is that of mono-method qualitative (Saunders, Lewis & Thornhill, 2019). This decision was based on the following discussion of the appropriateness and applicability of qualitative research, including its associated strengths and limitations. Moustakas (1994) argues that, fundamentally, investigations of human experiences are not attainable via quantitative methods (Moustakas 1994). Whilst this research doesn't entirely agree with Moustakas (1994), being that quantitative and mixed method studies have been employed to measure literary tourist experiences, including their motivations, expectations and satisfaction (Busby

& Deveraux, 2015; Busby & Klug, 2001; Busby & Shetliffe, 2013; Fairer-Wessels, 2010; Herbert, 2001; Wang & Zhang, 2017), this research is concerned with the meanings attached to experiences. 'Maxwell (2013) advocates that qualitative research works with the universe of meanings, motives, aspirations, beliefs, values and attitudes, which corresponds to a deeper space of relationships, processes and phenomena that cannot be reduced to the operationalization of variables' (Queirós, Faria & Almeida, 2017, p.370).

Qualitative research is routinely linked with interpretivism as a general philosophy (Decrop, 2004), as 'by its nature, interpretivism promotes the value of qualitative data in pursuit of knowledge' (Kelliher, 2005, p.123). The absence of research investigating the literary tourism phenomenon using the combination of the two theoretical concepts employed herein, namely cultural capital (Bourdieu, 1984; 1986) and authenticity, has resulted in this study's inability to verify its research aims and objectives through previous literary tourism studies (Roberts, 2016). Therefore, this study is concerned with knowledge generation as opposed to theory verification, and therefore employs an inductive and then abductive qualitative approach to its research design. The researcher engaged in abductive reasoning to account for the potential relationship between cultural capital and perceptions of authenticity as described in the participant narratives in order to address the research aims and objectives and ultimately, advance theory construction (Charmaz, 2011).



<b>Strengths</b>	<b>Weaknesses</b>
<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• View of homogenous exploration</li> </ul>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• No objectively verifiable result</li> </ul>
<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Raise more issues through broad and open-ended enquiry</li> </ul>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Skilful requirement for interviewers</li> </ul>
<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Understanding behaviours of values, beliefs and assumptions</li> </ul>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Time consuming during interviewing process and intensive category process</li> </ul>

Table 21. Strengths and weaknesses of qualitative research (Choy, 2014, p.101)

As was presented in Table 21, one of the primary strengths of adopting a ‘qualitative approach to cultural assessment is the ability to probe for underlying values, beliefs, and assumptions’ (Choy, 2014, p.102). The majority of literary tourism studies to date employed qualitative methodologies (Arcos-Pumarola, Marzal & Llonch-Molina, 2020; Çevik, 2020). The most prevalent qualitative research design used was case study (Çevik, 2020). Thereafter, examples of ethnographic literary tourism research include Earl (2008) and Reijnders (2010), including autoethnographies (Brown, 2016b; Gentile & Brown, 2015; Mansfield, 2015; Middleton, 2017; Ridanpää, 2011; Spooner, 2014; Stiebel, 2013). This study’s adoption of ethnographic research strategy is discussed in section 4.2.

Whilst ‘[t]he use of qualitative methods in literary tourism research indicates that the results of studies cannot be generalised and can vary depending on literary figures, literary places or destinations’ (Çevik, 2020, p.8), this study justifies this selection by way of the ability of qualitative research to achieve a greater understanding of the beliefs, perceptions and attitudes of literary tourism stakeholders. More specifically, this study seeks to understand if there is a relationship between stakeholder cultural capital and their perceptions of authenticity.

## 4.2 Research strategy – Ethnography

In order to address this study's research aims and objectives, ethnography was the selected as the research strategy. The rationale behind this choice, the strengths and limitations of the strategy and an in-depth consideration of researcher reflexivity and positionality are now discussed.

Ethnography is a qualitative research approach (Mason, 2002; Reeves *et al.*, 2013; Suryani, 2008) used to explore social and cultural phenomena (De Costa, Kessler & Gajasinghe, 2022; Matthews, 2018; Reeves *et al.*, 2013; Suryani, 2008). Derived from sociological and cultural anthropology (Adams, 2012; Brown, 2009; Draper, 2015; Eriksson & Kovalainen, 2015; Matthews, 2018; Reeves *et al.*, 2013), ethnography does not besit 'a clear and systematic taxonomy' (Hammersley, 2006, p.3) largely in part, to the duality of its use and meaning (Adams, 2012; Mahonty, Malik & Kasi, 2008). Ethnography is a both a process (i.e., a fieldwork method) and a product of that process (i.e. one writes an ethnography) (Campbell & Lassiter, 2014). The researcher – an ethnographer – studies social interactions, behaviours, and perceptions that occur within social/cultural groups (Reeves *et al.*, 2013) in order to 'yield rich and nuanced understandings of how people make sense of and engage with the world' (Adams, 2012, p.343). Hence, Adams (2012) suggests ethnographic methods are apposite within the context of tourism research as they strive to understand 'cultural practices, human beliefs and behaviours' (Adams, 2012, p.339). Hence, ethnographic research strategies 'are valuable for understanding tourists' perspectives on their travel experiences' (Adams, 2012, p.343-344). Table 22 lists some of the strengths and limitations of the strategy:

<b>Strengths</b>	<b>Limitations</b>
'In-depth approach to conducting research, and therefore the contribution of rich insight to the subject being studied' (Nixon & Odoyo, 2020, p.52).	Time consuming (Iacono, Brown & Holtham, 2009; Jeffrey & Troman, 2004; Nixon & Odoyo, 2020).
'It's based on observation and interviews with direct involvement of the authors' (Nixon & Odoyo, 2020, p.54).	Lacks validity and generalisability (Iacono, Brown & Holtham, 2009; Jeffrey & Troman, 2004; LeCompte & Goetz, 1982; Nixon & Odoyo, 2020).
'Is suitable for exploring new lines of research' (Nixon & Odoyo, 2020, p.54).	'It's difficult to get concise and precise conclusions' (Nixon & Odoyo, 2020, p.54).
	'The researcher needs to have a deep knowledge of the problem domain' (Nixon & Odoyo, 2020, p.54).

Table 22. Strengths and limitations of ethnography

In the past literary tourism scholars have drawn on ethnographic methods (Earl, 2008; Reijnders, 2010). Whilst 'there are those that insist that ethnography must involve [...] participant observation [...] Others however, insist that what is essential to ethnography is a concern with capturing participants perspectives [...] And they argue that interviews are a peculiarly effective means for realising this ethnographic principle' (Hammersley, 2006, p.9). This researcher's position aligns with the latter. As such, the choice to adopt semi-structured interviews as the data collection method within this study is discussed in section 4.3.3

An ethnographic approach was incorporated into this research design to facilitate a nuanced understanding of the literary tourism phenomenon. The researcher (ethnographer) studied the social group (tour guides and tourists) in an effort to better understand those who participate in literary tourism experiences or visit locations imbued with literary heritage (i.e. potential destination-based cultural capital) (Busby & Meethan, 2008). The emic perspective (Eriksson & Kovalainen, 2015; Given, 2008; Holmes, 2020; Matthews, 2018) of the

aforementioned stakeholders were of particular importance, in terms of the ability of the ethnographic strategy to examine the meanings behind their behaviours, preferences and perceptions, and by extension, to meet the established research aims and objectives (see Chapter 1 section 1.4). To this end, ethnographic fieldwork was carried out in situ at five contact zones (Frohlick & Harrison, 2008; Pratt, 1991) (see section 4.2.2). The emic perspective adopted in this study is discussed further in section 4.5.

Interpretive ethnography stresses the importance of subjective impressions as opposed to perceived objectivity (Saunders, Lewis & Thornhill, 2019). A distinctive characteristic of interpretive ethnographic approaches is that they view the interpretations, perceptions, meanings and understandings of people as primary data sources (Mason, 2002). The interpretive ethnographer looks 'for the meaning of cultural practices' (Clair, 2003, p.14) and believes that rather than being able to identify a single, true meaning, multiple meanings are likely (Saunders, Lewis & Thornhill, 2019) and are 'located in the socially constructed interpretations of the different participants. This suggests a more pluralistic approach, in which the interpretive ethnographer focuses on understanding meanings, with those being observed treated as participants rather than subjects' (Saunders, Lewis & Thornhill, 2019, p.200). Details of the study's participant sample are included in section 4.3.3.2.

#### 4.2.1 Reflexivity and positionality

Ethnography is unavoidably intrusive (Addeo *et al.*, 2019; Hall, 2011; Smith, 2017). Hence, the influence of the researcher is a key principle within the strategy (Draper, 2015). In ethnographic research, the researcher never adopts a position of neutrality (Brooks, 2013; Draper, 2015). They cannot avoid the existential fact that they are part of the world they study

(Hammersley & Atkinson, 1983). To this end, Ormston et al. (2014, cited in Holmes, 2020, p.4)

‘suggest that researchers should aim to achieve ‘empathetic neutrality’:

‘ i.e., that they should strive to avoid obvious, conscious, or systematic bias and to be as neutral as possible in the collection, interpretation, and presentation of data...[while recognizing that] this aspiration can never be fully attained – all research will be influenced by the researcher and there is no completely ‘neutral’ or ‘objective’ knowledge’.

Reflexivity is the process through which researchers reflect on their positionality (Hammett, Twyman & Graham, 2015; Sanyal, 2020). ‘[S]ubjecting the researcher's positionality to critical scrutiny is important in understanding the conditions of knowledge production’ (Corlett & Mavin, 2018, p.385). Researchers engaging in ethnographic methods must be cognizant of their own potentially misleading perceptions and preconceptions (Adams, 2012; Malterud, 2001 cited in Holmes, 2020) that they bring to the research project (Holmes, 2020) ‘concerning the motives underlying human behaviour. Long-term immersion in the research setting inevitably forces the researcher to reassess his or her prior understandings of the dynamics at play in the cultural setting under study’ (Adams, 2012, p.342-343). These preconceptions represent ‘previous personal and professional experiences, pre-study beliefs about how things are and what is to be investigated, motivation and qualifications for exploration of the field, and perspectives and theoretical foundations related to education and interests’ (Malterud, 2001, p. 484 cited in Holmes, 2020, p.2).

Reflexivity and positionality are basic tenets of qualitative research (Corlett & Mavin, 2018; Crossley, 2021; Matthews, 2018; Reyes, 2018; Walsh & Downe, 2006). In ethnographic

research practices, reflexivity is a central principle (Davies, 2008; Draper, 2015) by reason of the typically more intimate, long-term and multifaceted relationship between the researcher and the “objects” of their study (Davies, 2008). In its most transparent and broadest sense, reflexivity can be understood as the researchers’ awareness of their connection to the research situation and those conditions that ultimately enable and constrain their effects on the research processes (Crossley, 2021; Davies, 2008) ‘in order to contextualize and qualify findings (Ateljevic, Harris, Wilson & Collins, 2005)’ (Crossley, 2021, p.207). The researcher understands in being reflexive she should become a bricoleur who:

‘understands that research is an interactive process shaped by his or her personal history, biography, gender, social class, race, and ethnicity, and those of the people in the setting. The bricoleur knows that science is power, for all research findings have political implications’ (Denzin & Lincoln, 2000, p.3).

Reflexivity should span the breath of research process (Dodgson, 2019; Finlay, 2002), from the pre-research stage, where the motivations for conducting the research are synthesised, through data collection where ‘the research relationship shapes the findings produced’ (Finlay, 2002, p.539) and data analysis. Hence, the following sections provide a reflexive account of the researcher’s positionality during the research process. This study, like Cohen (2013, p.334) benefits from an increasing number of tourism studies ‘that engage with issues of reflexivity and researcher positionality to demonstrate how the “researcher self” can play a critical role in the nature of the knowledge that she/he helps to construct’ (Cohen, 2013, p.334). More specifically, Benjamin Earl’s (2008) reflexive account of his ethnographic literary tourism research includes aspects that are not dissimilar to those methodological issues the researcher faced in this study. To minimise the risk of any potential bias (Holmes, 2020), the

researcher must remain cognizant of her own assumptions included within the positionality statement below and aim to achieve empathetic neutrality (Ormston *et al.*, 2014). As Brink (1993, p.36) suggests ‘the first step in decreasing bias is to be aware of the possibility of introducing bias at various points of the research process’. As to not detract from the flow of remaining content in this chapter and to provide some necessary context, the researcher has chosen to present her positionality throughout the research process in section 4.5 prior to a discussion of the research challenges (section 4.6).

#### 4.2.2 Ethnographic contact zones

Multiple ethnographic fieldwork episodes were conducted at seven ethnographic contact zones (see Table 23). The tour itineraries for contact zones 4, 5 and 6 are mapped in Table 24.

<b>Contact zone</b>	<b>Description</b>	<b>Date(s)</b>
1. Poldark Exhibition, Royal Cornwall Museum, Truro	The researcher visited the <i>Poldark</i> Exhibition. Although no data was collected from this fieldwork, the researcher was able to gain an insight into the interpretation methods used by the museum.	22/12/2017
2. 'Winston Graham and Poldark at Perranporth', Heritage on the Beach event, Perranporth Inner Green and Beach, Cornwall	The researcher attended the talk given by participant KE. The aim of this research was to	27/05/2018
3. Perranzabuloe Museum, Perranporth	The researcher visited the museum's Winston Graham memorial exhibition	27/05/2018
4. Self-guided <i>Poldark</i> walk, designed by participant LM	The self-guided walk designed by participant LM on behalf of Perranzabuloe Museum, Perranporth	18/06/2018
5. <i>Poldark</i> guided tour ran by participant KC	The researcher participated in this tour with two other tourists.	19/08/2018
6. <i>Poldark</i> guided tour ran by participant PS	The researcher participated in this tour with six tourists.	19/09/2018
7. Perranporth Beach, Cornwall	The researcher selected this contact zone as Perranporth has both author-related and fiction-related associations with Winston Graham and his <i>Poldark</i> novel series.	Multiple dates between August 2018 – February 2020

Table 23. Ethnographic contact zones for this study



#### 4.2.2.1 Mapping ethnographic fieldwork

Whilst the researcher only attended one day of each respective guided *Poldark* tours (contact zones 5 and 6), it should be noted, both itineraries extended over several days. This inhibited an extended case approach (see Chapter 7, section 7.4). Nevertheless, whilst this study was not designed to be autoethnographic, the researcher was able to draw on these ethnographic experiences to inform her knowledge and understanding of the literary tourist experiences had during these tours. During her ethnographic fieldwork, the researcher observed numerous semiotic markers used by some of the tour guides. She was able to draw on this experience (including evidentiary images taken) to inform her analysis of the semiotics presented in Chapter 5a and address research aim 2 and objectives 5, 6 and 7.

Tour	Tour itinerary/locations visited
Participant KC's <i>Poldark</i> guided tour, West/North Cornwall	<ol style="list-style-type: none"> <li>1. Penberth Cove</li> <li>2. Minnack Theatre (Porthcurno)</li> <li>3. Portgwarra</li> <li>4. Gwennap Head</li> <li>5. West Wheal Owles and Crown Mine</li> <li>6. St Agnes Head</li> <li>7. St Michael's Mount</li> </ol>
Participant PS' <i>Poldark</i> guided tour, Cornwall	<ol style="list-style-type: none"> <li>1. Holywell Bay</li> <li>2. Perranzabuloe Museum, Perranporth (talk given by participant KE)</li> <li>3. Perranporth Beach</li> <li>4. St Agnes</li> </ol>
Participant LM's self-guided <i>Poldark</i> walk, Perranporth, Cornwall	<ol style="list-style-type: none"> <li>1. Perranzabuloe Museum</li> <li>2. Nampara Row</li> <li>3. Site of 'Treslow' (Winston Graham's first home in Perranporth)</li> <li>4. Coastguard lookout</li> <li>5. Site of 'Lech Carrygy' marked by granite memorial bench</li> </ol>

Table 24. Mapping ethnographic fieldwork: *Poldark* tours

One observation made by the researcher on the Poldark tour conducted by PS centred on the content of the talk given to PS' tourists by participant KE, on behalf of Perranzabuloe Museum. The content, including the semiotic markers (photographs) mimicked her 'Winston Graham and Poldark at Perranporth' talk given at the Heritage on the Beach (HoB) event (see Figure 16):



Figure 15. Heritage on the Beach, Perranporth

The researcher attended the second HoB event (Figure 16). Ran by Perranzabuloe Museum, in association with the University of Exeter and Perranzabuloe Parish Council (Parish Clerk, 2019a), the event involved expert speakers giving a series of talks on the history and heritage of Perranporth Beach (Parish Clerk, 2019b). One of the talks, titled "Winston Graham and Poldark at Perranporth", was delivered by participant KE. Fortunately, as a result of the

researcher's attendance to the HoB talk, she was able to access a number of willing research participants. After the talk, the researcher was invited by KE to visit Perranzabuloe Museum to view the permanent Winston Graham exhibition. During this visit, KE confirmed her willingness to participate in the study and recommended others that might also be willing to participate, including *Poldark* tour guide PS and LM, the person responsible for the designing the museum's self-guided *Poldark* walk (see Figure 17). It was at this time, the researcher purchased the walk for £1. Hence, even at this relatively early stage in the research, the ethnographic fieldwork yielded access to potential participants that ultimately contribute to the study's sample.

The researcher, accompanied by two others undertook the self-guided *Poldark* walk in Perranporth, Cornwall. Initially designed as a Doctoral Study day, the self-guided *Poldark* walk also served as the contact zone for a pilot-test for research instrument (see section 4.3.3.3).

# POLDARK WALK

Distance: approx 2.75 miles

Moderate: some steep uneven paths, steps & beach walking

The author Winston Graham lived in Perranporth for thirty-four years from 1925. It was here he wrote some of the early Poldark novels. He was President of Perranzabuloe Museum from 1985 until his death in 2003.

This walk takes in places around Perranporth where Winston Graham lived, worked, wrote & played.

**From the Museum, walk to the main street & turn right. Walk along the main street & through the Clock Garden & the Boating Lake park. Take exit next to St Michael's Church.**

If you wish to visit the site of Winston Graham's home, **cross the road with care & continue right & then immediately left into St Michael's Road. Continue for approx 100yds (take care as no pavement). Nampara Row now stands on the site of Treberran** Winston Graham's home for much of his time on Perranporth and is in the area of Perranporth historically called 'Nampara' (Cornish 'bread valley')



Treberran, now Nampara Row

Tennis Club founded in 1896

**Retrace your steps to opposite the church & turn left into Perrancoombe. Enter lower path behind fence (Railway Walk) & continue until you are opposite a bridge over the stream with a view of the tennis courts. Cross with care & enter Bolenna playing field.**

('Treslow', Winston Graham's first home in Perranporth is 2/3 mile further along Perrancoombe). Winston Graham was a member of the tennis club, serving as a trustee, chairman & player.

**Walk through the field, leave the tarmac path & walk uphill between a hedge & an ivy-covered building to exit onto road. Cross this busy road & enter Tywarnhayle Road as indicated by YHA sign. Continue until you reach Tregundy Lane on your left, following YHA signs to end of road ahead. Immediately after you pass through the kissing gate there is a steep path down on your right. This leads down to the site of the Coast Guard lookout station where Winston Graham was on duty during the war & where he wrote 'Ross Poldark'. Sit here & admire the view.**



Coast Guard lookout (lower building)



Site today

**Retrace your steps to the car park, follow the coast path sign down to cliff path and turn right.** Look directly across the beach. The first low headland is where the wooden bungalow Legh Carrygy was situated. It was here that Winston Graham wrote the next 3 Poldark novels.



View from lookout



Legh Carrygy

**To reach Legh Carrygy site walk past the sundial & walk down Cliff Hill & across beach to reach steps at Flat Rocks. Walk up to information board & continue ahead for approx 50yds. The site of Legh Carrygy is on your left. Perranzabuloe Museum Trust placed a granite seat here in memory of their President.**



View from seat

**Retrace your steps to village.**

[www.perranzabuloeamuseum.co.uk](http://www.perranzabuloeamuseum.co.uk)

Figure 16. Self-guided *Poldark* Walk (Perranzabuloe Museum, 2018)

### 4.3 Primary data collection

This subsection presents the corpora of data collected for the research project (section 4.3.1) and close reading performed by the researcher (section 4.3.2) before providing a detailed exploration of the primary data collection method selected for this study of literary tourism, namely, semi-structured interviews (section 4.3.3). It is postulated that semi-structured interviews will allow the researcher to gain a deeper understanding of the literary tourist experience to ascertain judgements and perceptions of authenticity at the *Poldark* sites in Cornwall, including those featured within *Poldark* tours. The researcher anticipates that semi-structured qualitative interviews will necessitate both individual participants and groups, due to the literature on tourist behaviour that indicates tourist clusters (Capone, 2016; Fan *et al.*, 2019).

This study's theoretical synthesis are grounded in the data collected from 15 interviews and are presented in Chapters 5a, 5b, 5c, 5d and 6. The research instrument design is discussed in section 4.3.3.1, followed by the sampling technique employed (section 4.3.3.2) and the administration of primary data collection (section 4.3.3.3), which includes discussions of the pre-pilot and pilot-tests and ethical considerations.

#### 4.3.1 The collected corpora of data for this research project

The collected corpora of data for this research project consists of a substantial body of knowledge the researcher acquired and considered. In total, the interviews yielded approximately 20 hours 21 minutes of audio recordings which, when the narratives were transcribed, equated to approximately 194,598 words. Multiple tour guides were contacted by the researcher to determine their willingness to participate in the study. Guided tourists

were accessed through the researcher's ethnographic fieldwork in contact zone 6 and recreational tourists in contact zone 7 (see section 4.2.2).

Corpus of data	Size in word-count* and number of respondents	Total interviews in length	Data collection Method	Data analysis method	Research objective addressed
Tour guides	5 = 94,078 words	9hrs 41mins Approx. 9.83 hours	Face-to-face semi-structured interview	Thematic analysis / Framework method	1, 2, 3, 4, 5, 6, 7, 8, 9
Guided tourists	3 = 31,682 words	3hrs 30mins Approx. 3.5hours	Face-to-face semi-structured interview	Thematic analysis / Framework method	1, 2, 3, 4, 5, 6, 7, 8, 9
General tourists	7 = 68,838 words	7hrs 10mins Approx. 7.17hours	Face-to-face semi-structured interview	Thematic analysis / Framework method	1, 2, 3, 4, 5, 6, 7, 8, 9
Heritage on the Beach 'Winston Graham and Poldark at Perranporth' Talk	3,467 words	20.20mins Approx. 0.33hours	Attended (and recorded) by the researcher	Thematic analysis / Framework method	5, 6, 7
Fictional locations (Appendix 4)	1835 1	N/A	Close-reading of the <i>Poldark</i> novels to extract quotations	Thematic analysis	5, 6, 7
Real locations (Appendix 5)	3052 1	N/A	Close-reading of the <i>Poldark</i> novels to extract quotations	Thematic analysis	5, 6, 7
Reading of <i>Poldark's Cornwall</i> (See Chapter 5a, section 3 Table 35)		N/A	Close-reading of the novel to extract quotations	Thematic analysis	5, 6, 7
<b>TOTAL:</b>	202,970	Approx. 20hrs 41mins			

Table 25. The collected corpora of data for this research project

\*including questions from interview schedule, interviewer prompts and responses

The researcher spent a total of approximately 42 hours watching the latest *Poldark* TV adaptation. Included within Appendix 6 is the running time for each episode of the 2015-2019 BBC Mammoth Screen *Poldark* series. As is discussed in section 4.3.2, the researcher performed a close reading of kindle editions of the 12 *Poldark* novels, in addition to Winston Graham's *Poldark's Cornwall* (1989). Appendix 1 demonstrates the context of the scope of the *Poldark* novels read by the researcher, including their historical periods.

#### 4.3.2 Close reading

The researcher performed a close reading of the *Poldark* novels and associated literature to better understand the *Poldark* country simulacrum and the way in which Winston Graham imagined and presented Cornwall to the reader (Mansfield, 2015). 'Close reading as a method of enquiry [...] can reveal what effects a particular text can have on the visiting reader' (Mansfield, 2015, p.138) including their cognition and subsequent knowledge and understanding of, real and fictional locations woven into the narratives. The researcher performed a close reading, to extract quotations, in addition to watching the latest *Poldark* TV series. This served to inform the analysis of the ability of the content to serve as potential semiotic markers of the authenticity of fictional and real sights associated with Winston Graham and *Poldark*. This, then, informed the analysis included in Chapter 5a and addressed research aim 2 and objectives 5, 6 and 7.

#### 4.3.3 Semi-structured interviews

A favoured tool of the interpretivist approach (Decrop, 2004), qualitative interviews were selected as to allow for the exploration of the link between literary tourist cultural capital and



perceptions of authenticity, and thus, address research aims and objectives. As Jones (1985, p.46 cited in Punch 2014) acknowledges:

‘[i]n order to understand other persons’ constructions of reality, we would do well to ask them ... and to ask them in such a way that they can tell us in their terms (rather than those imposed rigidly and a priori by ourselves) and in a depth which addresses the rich context that is the substance of their meanings’.

Qualitative interviews are defined by Kvale (1983, p.174) as ‘[interviews], whose purpose is to gather descriptions of the life-world of the interviewee with respect to interpretation of the meaning of the described phenomena’. As Clark *et al.* (1998, p.132) state: ‘The interview [...] is at its most useful when it gives us insight into how individuals or groups think about their world, how they construct the ‘reality’ of that world’.

Interviews represent one of the most important and popular qualitative data collection methods employed in the social sciences (Edwards & Holland, 2013; Punch, 2014; Qu & Dumay, 2011). The majority of the literature indicates that the concept of the continuum is useful in elucidating types of qualitative interviews, based on the degree of structure they include (Edwards & Holland, 2013; Fontana & Frey, 2005); from structured, through unstructured, with semi-structured occupying the continuum’s centre (Bernard, 1988; Diccio-Bloom & Crabtree, 2006; Edwards & Holland, 2013; Jennings, 2005; Knox & Burkard, 2009; Miller & Crabtree, 1999; Qu & Dumay, 2011). Interviewing is one of three modes of ethnographic data collection (Sangasubana, 2011). The most frequently adopted data collection methods in literary tourism studies include interviews and observations (Arcos-Pumarola, Marzal & Llonch-Molina, 2020; Çevik, 2020).

As aforementioned, this research adopts an interpretivist approach, which along with its abductive orientation, warrants the collection of in-depth, nuanced data that requires subsequent analysis to involve thematic coding as opposed to numerical. The remaining two types of interview on the continuum, occupied by qualitative researchers and characterised by their flexibility and subsequent lack of structure, are that of *semi-structured* and *unstructured* interviews (Edwards & Holland, 2013). Aligning with Mason's (2002) reasoning for using qualitative interviewing, this research's choice to employ semi-structured interviews as a primary data collection method was governed by its research aims and objectives and its subsequent ontological and epistemological position; that endeavours to explore the social reality experienced by the tour guide and tourist, in the context of literary tourism, placing specific emphasis on the link between cultural capital and perceptions of authenticity. Semi-structured interviewing is closely linked with the interpretivist tradition in social science research (Jennings, 2005; Mason, 2004) and 'reflects an ontological position that is concerned with people's knowledge, understandings, interpretations, experiences, and interactions' (Mason, 2004, p.1020).

Pragmatically, the decision to employ semi-structured interviews was prompted by the depth of the data required to meet the research aims and objectives, depth which is not feasibly available via any other method (Mason, 2002). The researcher is mindful on the pitfalls associated with qualitative interviewing (Myers & Newman, 2007). She endeavoured to mitigate these by gaining the skills necessary through training sessions hosted by Plymouth University, namely, *Introduction to Qualitative Research Methods* (1 May 2018), which covered interviews and basic data analysis.

#### 4.3.3.1 Research instrument design

The research looked toward Mason's (2002) instruction surrounding the planning and procedures from the conduct of its semi-structured interviews. Hence, the following subsections relate to each of her facets of the planning process, relative to participant selection, pilot testing, constructing effective research questions and ethical considerations. The employment of semi-structured interviews is also rationalised on the basis that the researcher will potentially only have one opportunity to interview each interviewee and, as Bernard (1988) indicated, a semi-structured interview approach is best in such situations.

Three interview schedules were designed for each type of literary tourism stakeholder 1) *Poldark* tour guides (see Appendix 7), guided tourists (see Appendix 8) and recreational tourists (see Appendix 9). The interview schedules was based around three foci, all of which correlate with the three theoretical themes of this study: (1) literary tourist experience, (2) authenticity, and (3) cultural capital. Patton (2015) suggests that a minimum, "good" qualitative interview questions should be open-ended, neutral, singular and clear. The qualitative interview can commence with questions placed to explore the background information of the participant (Taylor, 2005), due to the relative ease they experience answering these types of questions, before progressing to more complex questions as the interview relationship evolves (Taylor, 2005). That said, Patton (2015) cautions against this, acknowledging that this background demographic questions are perceived as boring. Instead Patton (2015) suggests these questions should be spaced strategically and unobtrusively throughout the course of the interview, as to ensure the interviewee becomes actively involved in the process, providing descriptive information from the outset, as opposed to 'becoming conditioned to providing short-answer, routine responses to uninteresting questions' (Patton, 1987, p.121). Whist Patton acknowledges that it may be necessary to

commence with questions of background to inform the remaining portion of the interview, he suggests that wherever possible these should relate to descriptive information about the interviewee's present life experience. Alternatively, he instructs that socio-demographic inquiries should be saved until the interview's conclusion (Patton, 2015). Questions in the interview schedule pertaining to the cultural background of the participant provided an unobtrusive opportunity for socio-demographic variables to be divulged.

Questions can further be distinguished by Patton's (2015) typology: (1) Behaviours; (2) Opinions; (3) Feelings; (4) Knowledge; (5) Sensory data; and (6) Background demographics. If the researcher provides clarity about the nature and purpose of each question, this will enable the participant to respond appropriately (Taylor 2005). 'Interview questions were also modified to follow emerging themes (Spradley, 1979)' (Szmigin *et al.*, 2017, p.5). Questions that pertained to the measurement of participant cultural capital (see Chapter 2c, section 2.2) were included within the interview schedule, as were questions to elicit responses relative to their perceptions of authenticity.

#### *4.3.3.2 Sampling*

This study's primary data collection was directed by purposive sampling, a type of non-probability sampling characterised by sampling units that are not chosen at random (Smith, 2017). As the literature indicates, resolving an appropriate sample size for qualitative interviewing cannot be dealt with formulaically (Edwards & Holland, 2013). Rather, it is ultimately 'dependent on the nature and design of the study, the aims and research questions and the underlying philosophical position adopted. It is also a characteristic of qualitative research that the sample is built as the research progresses' (Edwards & Holland, 2013, p.5).

'In the case of GT, the sample is suggested by the phenomenon being studied' (Castellanos-Verdugo, Caro-González & de los Ángeles Oviedo-García, p.118). To ensure that the interview sample provides the in-depth, nuanced, complex and rounded (Mason, 2002) data warranted to meet the needs of the research aims and objectives, a convenience or purposive sample, that is, those 'available by means of accessibility' (Edwards & Holland, 2013, p.6) was necessary. The population of the sample of tour guides and guided tourists were homogenous, in that they were chosen to give a detailed pictures of the literary tourism phenomenon by those who supply and demand literary tours.

The researcher approached tour guides who run *Poldark* tours in Cornwall. To avoid drawing on a very homogenous sample and to promote variation, the researcher settled on approaching guided tourists who participated in *Poldark* tours in Cornwall and recreational tourists to Perranporth Beach (contact zone 7). The latter was selected as, to a certain extent, the researcher wanted to incorporate some element of randomness into the convenience sample (Smith, 2017) 'to increase the potential of the convenience sample being more representative of the study population' (Smith, 2017, p.108).

In total, six tour guides, three guided tourists and seven recreational tourists indicated they would be willing to participate in the study. 'Notwithstanding the small number of [Poldark tour guides] interviewed, their stories were deep and comprehensive enough to warrant comparison with the interview responses obtained from [guided and recreational] tourists' (Kithila & Reilly, 2016, p.2) (see Table 25). The strengths and limitations of the sampling strategy are included in Table 26.

Strengths	Limitations
<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Provide researchers with the justification to make generalisations from the sample that is being studied, whether such generalisations are theoretical, analytic and logical in nature.</li> <li>• Provides a wide range of non-probability sampling techniques for the researcher to draw on.</li> </ul>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Highly prone to researcher bias.</li> <li>• Judgements can be ill-conceived or poorly considered; that is, where judgements have not been based on clear criteria, whether a theoretical framework, expert elicitation or some other accepted criteria.</li> <li>• The subjectively and non-probability based nature of unit selection (i.e. selecting people, cases/organisations etc.) in purposive sampling means that it can be difficult to defend the representativeness of the sample.</li> </ul>

Table 26. Strengths and limitations of purposive sampling (Sharma, 2017, p.751-752).

#### 4.3.3.3 Administration of primary data collection

Participants CaB and ChB, a couple who operate a *Poldark* tour together, were interviewed in the presence of one another. The researcher chose to conduct the interview with both participants simultaneously to provide a ‘common reflective space’ with corroborations, extensions and disagreements contributing to rich data’ (Edwards & Holland, 2013, p.39). Similarly, whilst not interviewed at the same time, participants AP and LE, were both present when each respective interview was conducted. This accounts for the interjections recorded particularly in LE’s narrative.

Also, the guided tourists were interviewed in situ (i.e. whilst on tour) or at their accommodation (see Table 27). Some of the interviews were interrupted due to either arriving or leaving the sites included in the *Poldark* tour itinerary. Hence, multiple recordings were made for one participant (see Table 27).

Participant initials	Role	Date of interview	Interview location	Interview length
AP	Guided tourist	21/09/2018	Whilst on <i>Poldark</i> tour (variable locations during transit to <i>Poldark</i> sights) and at participant's Air B&B accommodation, Cornwall	00.35.53 00.26.06 <b>T=1.02.35</b>
CaB/ChB	<i>Poldark</i> tour guide	11/10/2018	Home of CaB/ChB, Cornwall	<b>T=03.51.39</b>
DR	Leisure tourist	03/09/2018	Perranporth Beach, Cornwall	00.39.16 00.09.57 <b>T= 0.49.13</b>
JaC	Leisure tourist	07/05/2020	Perranporth Beach, Cornwall	<b>T=0.31.08</b>
JuC	Leisure tourist	12/05/2020	Perranporth Beach, Cornwall	<b>T= 1.16.02</b>
JM	Leisure tourist	26/01/2020	Perranporth Beach, Cornwall	00.52.23 00.07.37 <b>T=1.00.00</b>
KC	<i>Poldark</i> tour guide	14/08/2018	The Green Parrot Pub, Perranporth, Cornwall	<b>T=02.19.07</b>
KE	<i>Poldark</i> tour guide	13/08/2018	Perranzabuloe Museum, Perranporth, Cornwall	00.16.50 00.34.34 <b>T= 0.51.24</b>
KP	Guided tourist	21/09/2018	Whilst on <i>Poldark</i> tour (variable locations during transit to <i>Poldark</i> sites)	00.14.47 00.00.54 00.03.35 00.04.32 00.15.40 <b>T= 0.39.46</b>
LE	Guided tourist	21/09/2018	Whilst on <i>Poldark</i> tour (variable locations during transit to <i>Poldark</i> sites) and at participant's Air B&B accommodation, Cornwall	00.27.15 00.18.49 01.03.19 <b>T=1.49.23</b>
LM	<i>Poldark</i> tour guide	13/08/2018	Perranzabuloe Museum, Perranporth, Cornwall	<b>T= 00.39.34</b>
MC	Leisure tourist	12/05/2020	Perranporth Beach, Cornwall	<b>T=01.38.21</b>
PS	<i>Poldark</i> tour guide	31/08/2018	Penryn Campus Library, Falmouth University and the University of Exeter, Cornwall Campus	<b>T= 02.01.02</b>
PGC	<i>Poldark</i> Location Manager	18/06/2020	Zoom	<b>T=01.01.59</b>

RC	Leisure tourist	09/08/2018	Perranporth Beach, Cornwall	00.15.15 00.53.22 <b>T=1.09.37</b>
SM	Leisure tourist	11/02/2021	Perranporth Beach, Cornwall	<b>T=00.47.02</b>
KE - Heritage on the Beach "Winston Graham and Poldark at Perranporth"		27/05/2018	Perranporth Beach, Cornwall	<b>T=00.20.20</b>

Table 27. Actual primary data collection

The recording equipment used to was the researcher's personal mobile phone using the audio recording mobile application. This accounts for the multiple recordings for individual participants, where the researcher wanted to confirm the recording device was working correctly.

### Piloting

The research ran a pre-pilot study to allow reflection and scrutiny surrounding the social interaction skills of the researcher and the suitability of the interview type and questions to ensure they sufficiently addressed the research aims and objectives. Additionally, the pre-pilot test was conducted to determine a reasonable time for interview completion (Dikko, 2016), establish whether adequate responses were elicited from the interview schedule to measure the concepts included and to highlight any ambiguities that would result in the discarding or modification of certain questions (Dikko, 2016). The pre-pilot results indicated, that indeed, semi-structured interviews is a suitable format in which to collect the primary data. The interview schedule was adjusted slightly to ensure the inclusion of effective interview questions.



The pilot study was conducted with two tourists in contact zone 4 (see section 4.2.2). One thing that the researcher did not take into consideration was the academic status of the pilot participants. As such, when collecting the primary data some participants did not understand the terminology used. Subsequently, the researcher had to explain the meaning of the terms used before an adequate response was elicited.

### Ethical considerations of qualitative interviews and ethnography

By virtue of the in-depth nature of a qualitative study, 'ethical considerations have a particular resonance' (Mohd, 2018, p.30). As to adhere to Plymouth University's Research Ethics Policy, ethical approval was sought prior to primary data collection, by way of an application submitted to Plymouth University Business School's Research Ethics Committee. Ethical approval was granted. Ethical considerations relative to qualitative data collection will include those aspects contained within an informed consent form, created from, and therefore adhering to, the Plymouth University Ethical Consent Template. Within an information sheet (see Appendix 10), details about the researcher and the nature and the purpose of this study, including the research aims and objectives. Written informed consent was required of all participants (Mohd, 2018). Consent was recorded using the informed consent form (see Appendix 11). The participant's signature was confirmed in the interview's entry phase and subsequently recorded in the interview audio recordings. An information sheet was also designed and given to the participants prior to their interviews.

Confidentiality and anonymity, along with right to withdraw were also included within this form. Although all participants waived their right to anonymity, the anonymity of the interviewees will be preserved; only the researcher will know the identities of the participants and will refer to them using initials through the data analysis process.

#### 4.4 Primary data analysis: framework method and reflective thematic analysis

Within this study, a combination of data analysis methods, including the Framework approach, reflective thematic analysis were used in conjunction to facilitate the achievement of the study's research aims and objectives. Justification of these choices, along with the strengths and limitations of each method is described in the following subsections.

##### 4.4.1 Framework method

Framework method is a well-defined analytical process that supplies a thematic framework or matrix for the classification and organisation of qualitative data (Bryman, 2016; Rabiee, 2004; Ritchie & Spencer, 1994; Ritchie, Spencer & O'Connor, 2003). Whilst it fails to provide the user with instruction on how to identify themes (Bryman, 2016), it does provide them one way of conceiving the management of themes and data (Bryman, 2016); 'this process is likely to reflect the analyst's awareness of recurring ideas and topics in the data' (Bryman, 2016, p.585) developed from both the research questions, aims and objectives and from the participant narratives (Rabiee, 2004). A strength of the Framework method is the ability to 'reconsider and rework ideas precisely because the analytical process has been documented and is therefore accessible' (Ritchie & Spencer, 1994, p.177). Table 28 illustrates and describes Framework analysis' 'analytical hierarchy' (Ritchie, Spencer & O'Connor, 2003) 'which involves a number of distinct though highly interconnected stages' and 'facilitates rigorous and transparent data management (Ritchie, Spencer & O'Connor, 2003, p.220). The five key stages include: 1) familiarisation; 2) identifying a thematic framework; 3) indexing; 4) charting; and 5) mapping and interpretation (Ritchie & Spencer, 1994):

Stage	Description
1. Familiarisation	Immersion in the data (listening to tapes, reading transcripts, studying notes etc.) to get an initial feel for the key ideas and recurrent themes'
2. Identifying a thematic framework	The process of identifying key issues, concepts and themes and the setting up of an index or framework. This can be used for sifting and sorting data including a priori issues (used to inform the focus of the research and the data collection guides), emergent themes raised by respondents and analytical themes which are evident through recurring patterns in the data.
3. Indexing	The process of systematically applying the index or framework to the text form of the data, by annotating the text with codes in the margin.
4. Charting	Data are 'lifted' from their original context and rearranged according to themes in chart form. There may be separate charts for each major subject or theme and they will contain data from several different respondents. This process involves considerable synthesis and abstraction.
5. Mapping and interpretation	The charts are used to define concepts, map the range and nature of phenomena, create typologies, and find associations between themes in order to find explanations for the findings. This process is guided by the original research questions as well as themes and relationships emerging from the data.

Table 28. Five key stages of data analysis in the 'Framework' approach (adapted from Lathlean, 2015, p.478).

#### 4.2.2 (Reflexive) thematic analysis (TA)

'Thematic analysis (TA) is a method for identifying, analyzing, and interpreting patterns of meaning ('themes') within qualitative data' (Clarke & Braun, 2017, p.297). Kiger and Varpio (2020, p.847) suggest 'In many interpretivist orientations (e.g. constructivism), thematic analysis can emphasize the social, cultural, and structural contexts that influence individual experiences, enabling the development of knowledge that is constructed through interactions between the researcher and the research participants, revealing the meanings that are socially constructed (Braun and Clarke 2006). Many literary tourism studies have adopted thematic analysis (Brown, 2016a; Ingram *et al.*, 2021; Jiang & Xu, 2016; Jiang & Xu, 2017; MacLeod, Shelley & Morrison, 2018) which suggests the appropriateness of this data analysis

method for qualitative literary tourism studies, including the present study. The advantages and limitations of the method are summarised in Table 29:

Advantages	Pitfalls
<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>Flexibility</li> </ul>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>Failure to analyse the data at all</li> </ul>
<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>Relatively easy and quick method to learn, and do</li> </ul>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>The using of the data collection questions (such as from an interview schedule as the ‘themes’ that are reported</li> </ul>
<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>Accessible to researchers with little or no experience of qualitative research</li> </ul>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>Weak or unconvincing analysis, where the themes do not appear to work, where there is too much overlap between themes, or where the themes are not internally coherent and consistent</li> </ul>
<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>Results are generally accessible to educated general public</li> </ul>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>Mismatch between the data and the analytic claims that are made about it</li> </ul>
<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>Useful method for working with participatory research paradigm, with participants and collaborators</li> </ul>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>Mismatch between theory and analytic claims, or between the researcher questions and the <i>form</i> of thematic analysis used.</li> </ul>
<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>Can usefully summarise key features of a large body of data, and/or offer a ‘thick description’ of the data set</li> </ul>	
<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>Can highlight similarities <i>and</i> differences across the data set</li> </ul>	
<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>Can generate unanticipated insights</li> </ul>	
<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>Allows for social as well as psychological interpretations of data</li> </ul>	
<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>Can be useful for producing qualitative analyses suiting to informing policy development</li> </ul>	

Table 29. Advantages and pitfalls of TA (Braun & Clarke, 2006, p.94-97)

Braun and Clarke (2019a, p.594) suggest ‘[q]uality reflexive TA is not about following procedures ‘correctly’ (or about ‘accurate’ and ‘reliable’ coding, or achieving consensus between coders), but about the researcher’s reflective and thoughtful engagement with their data and their reflexive and thoughtful engagement with the analytic process’. Nevertheless, this study followed Braun and Clarke’s (2006) widely adopted analytical procedure (Table 30)

which extends over six recursive phases (Braun & Clarke, 2021), assisted by computer-assisted qualitative data analysis software (CAQDAS) NVivo (see section 4.4.3). To a certain extent, the phases of thematic analysis mimic the stages involved in Framework analysis' analytical procedure. To ensure quality thematic analysis, and avoid the common problems observed by Braun and Clarke (2019b) (see Table 30), the research adhered to the author's TA evaluation tools and criteria (Braun & Clarke, 2006; 2019b).

<b>Phase</b>	<b>Description of the process</b>
1. Familiarisation with the data	Transcribing data (if necessary), reading and re-reading the data, noting down initial ideas.
2. Generating initial codes	Coding interesting features of the data in a systematic fashion across the entire data set, collating data relevant to each code
3. Searching for themes	Collating codes into potential themes, gathering all data relevant to each potential theme.
4. Reviewing themes	Checking if the themes work in relation to the coded extracts (Level 1) and the entire data set (Level 2), generating a thematic 'map' of the analysis.
5. Defining and naming themes	Ongoing analysis to refine the specifics of each theme, and the overall story the analysis tells, generating clear definitions and names for each theme.
6. Producing the report	The final opportunity for analysis. Selection of vivid, compelling extract examples, final analysis of selected extracts, relating back of the analysis to the research question and literature, producing a scholarly report of the analysis.

Table 30. Phases of thematic analysis (Braun & Clarke, 2006, p.87)

### *Coding*

An example of the researcher's charting matrix and line-by-line coding (Castellanos-Verdugo, Caro-González & de los Ángeles Oviedo-García, 2010) are included in Appendix 12 and 13.

Semantic themes (Kiger & Varpio, 2020) were coded in-vivo to 'address more explicit meanings of data items' (Kiger & Varpio, 2020, p.3). Additionally, latent themes were also included 'which reflect deeper, more underlying meanings, assumptions, or ideologies (Boyatzis 1998; Braun and Clarke 2006)' (Kiger & Varpio, 2020, p.3).

#### 4.4.3 NVivo

The use of NVivo during primary qualitative data analysis, in both the thematic analysis and framework processes, will help the researcher manage, query, visualise and report from the data, along with helping to manage ideas (Bazeley & Jackson, 2013). To ensure the appropriate use of the software in the context of this study, the researcher will undergo training, hosted by Plymouth University's Researcher Development Programme, namely 'NVivo for Beginners', 19<sup>th</sup> March 2018 and 'NVivo Users Workshop (intermediate)', 25<sup>th</sup> June 2018.

#### *Preliminary analysis*

Once the transcription data was imported into NVivo, the researcher began the rapid reading of the data. Due to the researcher's personal preference (Bazeley & Jackson, 2013), cases and attributes were created 'as part of the preliminary construction of the database' (Bazeley & Jackson, 2013, p.123). The intended outcome was threefold: (1) to allow for closeness to the data (Guthrie & Thyne, 2006), (2) for organisational purposes – to 'facilitate interrogation across individual cases or categories of respondent' (Silver & Lewins, 2014, p.no pagination) and, (3) to promote reflection, by way of a systematic approach that fosters transparency and enhanced rigour (Guthrie & Thyne, 2006).

However, an unintended consequence of this preliminary analysis was that whilst the use of NVivo allowed for relative ease of coding and retrieval of data segments (Guthrie & Thyne, 2006), it did identify sources of error (Guthrie & Thyne, 2006). The scope of the nodes created (14, number correct 18/01/2021), although directed by the research aim and objectives, extended beyond those necessary to sufficiently develop the descriptive classifications to purposeful analytical coding. The generosity of the researcher in her preliminary codification led her over-code and resulted in her losing the drive of interpretation (Richards, 2002). This warranted further refinement, merging of codes, and in some cases, deletion (Bazeley & Richards, 2000). The flexibility and exploratory nature (Hutchinson, Johnston & Breckon, 2010) of the ethnographic strategy employed in this research did however, permit the researcher to engage in the in-depth analysis of categories (Charmaz, 2003) before the final coding process was conducted.

To provide more clarity, the preliminary coding involved the researcher coding in the broadest sense of the term. The preliminary coding process extended to the following: The transcriptions were first marked with annotations (Bazeley & Jackson, 2013) to serve as reminders (Bazeley & Richards, 2000) in relation to the significance of these excerpts; firstly, as a record of the researcher's initial thoughts, secondly, to the interview questions, and thirdly, to the research objectives. This served to remind the researcher of aspects of each respective text that she would need to revisit as the analytical process progressed.

#### 4.5 My positionality

Before the researcher positions herself within the research, it is necessary to elaborate on the researcher's choice to approach the study from an emic perspective. An emic approach was

adopted to explore the experiences of the stakeholders who produce and consume literary tourism experiences. The researcher will present data from the emic perspective with the belief that this insider view of reality will provide rich data regarding the meanings behind their engagement in cultural practices and a more nuanced understanding of their beliefs and their subsequent behaviours. The main principle of interpretivism is that 'research can never be objectively observed from the outside rather it must be observed from inside through the direct experience of the people' (Mack, 2010, p.8). Even so, the researcher recognises that the boundaries or separation between the emic and etic perspectives are not fixed (Merton, 1972 cited in Holmes, 2020); many academics submit that rather than viewing emic and etic perspectives as binary oppositions, the dichotomy is in reality a continuum (Hoare *et al.*, 2013; Holmes, 2020; Zhu & Bargiela-Chiappini, 2013) in which researchers may occupy multiple positions at once (Holmes, 2020). Therefore, the researcher acknowledges that she may straddle both positions and that she may be both an insider and an outsider at the same time (Holmes, 2020).

#### 4.5.1 Finding my positionality: pre-research

Through exploring my positionality I endeavoured to become increasingly aware of areas where I may have potential bias so that I may take account of them throughout the research process (Holmes, 2020). Hence, rather than silencing, omitting or implying my multiple constructed selves (Day, 2002), the reflexivity I present in this positionality statement extends beyond a few demographic characteristics and brings these multiple voices to the fore (Day, 2002). In doing so, I am attempting to openly and honestly disclose and expose my position (Smith *et al.*, 2021) within the research process.



Taken together, Bourdieu's cultural capital and habitus (Bourdieu, 1977; Bourdieu, 1984; Bourdieu, 1986; Bourdieu, 2016) (see Chapter 2c section 2.1.1) along with my socio-cultural characteristics are used to further explicate my positionality. It seems appropriate to position myself using the same theory employed to try to understand the research participant's practices, beliefs and behaviours and how they ultimately make sense of the world (Adams, 2012). In doing so I acknowledge how my positionality, which is inclusive of my cultural capital and habitus (although not exclusively) has impacted 'all aspects and stages of the research process' (Holmes, 2020, p.3).

#### *4.5.1.1 My biography*

I grew up on the outskirts of Plymouth, Devon in the 1990s and 2000s. Hence, I have somewhat of a connection to Cornwall as for the majority of my life I lived in the neighbouring county and towards the end of my research, I moved to Cornwall to live. Admittedly, I was not overly familiar with *Poldark* until I began the research however, I was aware that it was part of contemporary pop culture (although I would not have referred to it as such until now). I was familiar with Cornwall's literary and mining heritage and I was aware that Cornwall was a popular tourist destination. I was raised in a working class family. My mother, was a Personal Assistant at a Banking Consultancy firm and my father, a Fitter and Turner in the Dockyard. My parents both worked extremely hard to provide for my younger sister and me. They led by example and taught me what it is to have a solid work ethic. My parents invested in my education and extracurricular activities; from memory, the majority of my sister and I's toys were educational. They encouraged us to read, purchasing numerous books and educational resources. Our extra-curricular activities were somewhat limited although we did attend classes to learn the Japanese martial art Aikido. I did learn how to play the flute although not

very well. As a child, I was fortunate enough to go on annual holidays abroad with my family. I was exposed and sensitised to different cultures and have continued my love of travel into adulthood. As an 11 year old, I received tutoring for the non-compulsory 11 Plus, 'an examination used in areas that have retained state-funded grammar schools' (Bond11+, 2022). Ultimately, I did not achieve the pass rate to enter my chosen grammar school. Instead, I attended a Community College in Plymouth where I remained for Sixth Form. Following this, I studied tourism at both undergraduate and postgraduate level in an English university. I was at the time, and remain, the first and only member of my family to pursue a higher education. During the course of my PhD, I worked as an Associate Lecturer. Hence, I am a female, white British early career academic and researcher in her early thirties.

Somewhat similarly to Newsome-Magadza (2020) and Day (2002) I have identified myself through my age and gender and expose glimpses of my self-construction in referring to my relational roles of daughter and sister; through race and social class, as a white British working class person; and with reference to my educational background and occupation. My habitus and cultural capital 'dictates, some of my ideas, expressions and actions may be partly shaped by my exposure to a western frame of reference, schooled in western theory and research methods; others from my [working class] upbringing, parental values, peer influences and life experiences [...]'(Davis, 2018, p. 11, cited in Davis, 2020). I also acknowledge my own investment and the investment my parents made in my embodied, objectified and institutionalised cultural capital (Bourdieu, 1986). These experiences and characteristics will influence my research in a number of different ways.

#### *4.5.1.2 The influence of my cultural capital*

Through my own higher education experience, I am acutely aware of embodiment required to secure currency of institutionalised cultural capital (Bourdieu, 1986). This, coupled with the fact that I was the first member in family to go to university is conceivably why my habitus is linked to the physical embodiment of my institutionalised cultural capital (Bourdieu, 1986) and why it features so readily within my own self-identity (Wang, 1999). The decision to undertake my PhD was undoubtedly influenced by my aspiration to further accrue legitimised cultural capital although I would not have explicitly referred to it as such until now. To a certain extent, I share Bourdieu's (1986) perception that academic qualifications signal a degree of competency on behalf of the qualified and that they confer personal cultural capital (Busby & Meethan, 2008) and are institutionally legitimated (Fiske, 1992). However, rather than this perception being rooted in egocentrism, it is relative to my own social and cultural reality, whereby the most readily available distinction between myself and those within my social and cultural groups is our educational attainment. That said, as aforementioned, my working class upbringing somewhat contradicts this perception, as I have not and would never call into question the legitimacy of my family and friend's competencies. I believe this speaks to my own internal debate regarding self-identity. Yes, I am an academic however, I feel much less self-conscious and much more myself within my social group as opposed to when I am with my academic peers. Conversations with my Director of Studies, Dr Charlie Mansfield throughout my higher education experience had often centred on how our paths had led us to academia, with a great deal of time spent fondly discussing our working class backgrounds and feeling of distance between the two.

I acknowledge how my parent's pedagogical action (Swartz, 1997); their investment in my education; my extracurricular (Cheadle, 2008; Covay & Carbonaro, 2010; Jæger, 2011; Kaufman & Gabler, 2004; Lareau & Weininger, 2003; Sullivan, 2001) and leisure activities (Winkle-Wagner, 2010); them encouraging me to read as a child (Aschaffenburg & Maas, 1997); providing educational resources (Downey, 1995; Roscigno & Ainsworth-Darnell, 1999) and their positive attitudes and interest in culture (DiMaggio, 1982; DiMaggio & Mohr, 1985; Mohr & Dimaggio, 1995) have shaped who I am as a person and my perceptions and preconceptions about the world and the people within it. I also acknowledge that the majority of cultural capital currency I have just described are not institutionally legitimated (Fiske, 1992). Yet, my time spent in higher education has become part of me; part of how I identify myself and how others describe me. However, I find my relational roles hold much more importance and I attribute much more of *who I am* to my upbringing and experiences rather than my educational attainment or academic qualifications. 'Perhaps this is why I have always been subtly enticed by' (Davis, 2018, p. 11, cited in Davis, 2020) how people construct their own identities and the influence of their cultural capital on who they are and the types of experiences they choose to engage with. This internal debate may present in the research as I navigate my own cultural positioning throughout the research process and this may manifest in my collection, interpretation and analysis of the data. However, I endeavour to mitigate this impact by being completely honest about my position herein and by attempting to achieve empathetic neutrality (Ormston *et al.*, 2014, cited in Holmes, 2002) although I also acknowledge that this is not fully attainable (Ormston *et al.*, 2014, cited in Holmes, 2002).

#### 4.5.1.3 My interest in the topic

When asked to explain why I chose to conduct research based on the literary tourism phenomenon, my response usually remains the same – it combines two of my favourite things, books and travel. This piece of research is not the first I have conducted on literary tourism, nor is it the first that features Bourdieusian cultural capital theory. My undergraduate dissertation centred on both. Although this research project was my first experience conducting research, it served to inform my initial understanding of cultural capital. I have also been taught and subsequently supervised by two tourism academics (Dr Graham Busby and Dr Charlie Mansfield) with a keen interest in literary tourism and who have themselves, included reference to Bourdieusian cultural capital in their own research (Busby & Laviolette, 2006; Mansfield, 2015). As was knowledged in Chapter 1, section 1.1 Dr Graham Busby is a renowned literary tourism scholar. Whilst he did not remain on my supervisory team for the duration of my PhD journey, he was present for the initial and formative stages when the study was first designed. It might be somewhat unsurprising then, that Busby and Laviolette’s (2006) chapter in the fourteenth addition of Phillip Payton’s *Cornish Studies*, and their exploration and extension of Bourdieusian cultural capital became one of the key literature sources that underpinned my research. I feel I should also mention that Graham is from Cornwall, and that his gratuitous (and academic knowledge) of the county, including its literary heritage is in my opinion, extensive.

#### 4.5.1.4 My philosophical approach

As an interpretivist, I believe that ‘knowledge is relative to particular circumstances—historical, temporal, cultural, subjective—and exists in multiple forms as representations of reality (interpretations by individuals)’ (Benoliel, 1996, p. 407 cited in Levers, 2013, p.3).

Additionally, due to my relativist ontological and subjectivist epistemological position I believe 'that reality is a finite subjective experience (Denzin and Lincoln, 2005) and nothing exists outside our thoughts [...] reality *is* human experience and human experience *is* reality' (Levers, 2013, p.2). To that end, the paradigm adopted in this study is matched and inextricably linked to my worldview. My philosophical position and paradigm were discussed in section 4.1.1 although here I acknowledge that my a priori philosophical assumptions in relation to my positionality as this will influence my understanding 'of what counts as data, and how data are 'collected', interpreted and presented (James and Vinnecombe, 2002)' (Corlett & Mavin, 2018, p.383).

#### 4.5.2 Locating the influence of my positionality: data collection

Within the data collection phase, I inhabited multiple positions along the insider-outsider continuum concomitantly (Holmes, 2020). Balancing insider-outsider positionality brings both advantages and challenges (Chavez, 2007; Naaeke *et al.*, 2011). This is perhaps most readily expressed in relation to my participation in the guided tours.

##### 4.5.2.1 Tour guides and guided tourist data collection

Here, I acknowledge not only my own position but also the position of two of the tour guides in the research process. The latter is considered in relation to the process of gaining access to participants. As Frohlick and Harrison (2008) suggest, one of the main challenges facing ethnographers studying tourists is how to access them and how the ethnographer can strategically and unobtrusively situate themselves in a 'contact zone' in order to facilitate meaningful and sustained (to some degree) encounters with the tourists. The power relations between the tour guides and myself were negotiated over the course of the data collection.

Initially, my position as the researcher was felt when I recruited them as research participants and when I conducted the interviews (which took place prior to my participation in their tours). Once they had agreed to participate and the interviews were conducted, the power relations shifted as I enquired about the possibility of my participating in their tours in order to establish contact zones and gain access to more participants for the primary data collection (guided tourists). Hence, similarly to Earl (2008, p.406), 'instead of me being the one who contacted the group for interviews, the power relations [between myself and the tour guides meant that it was their] choice to' grant me nonspontaneous access to the contact zone over a relatively short period of time (Thomson, 2018) (see Chapter 4, section 4.3.3.3). This exemplifies the often necessary relationship between the researcher and access providers who may exhibit some degree of control over other research participants (Lal, 1996 cited in Earl, 2008). I now turn my reflexivity to how my position operated in the field.

#### Joining the guided tours as an 'outsider':

Despite being granted access to the field site (i.e., ethnographic contact zone 6, see Table 24), I was an 'outsider' when I joined the group midway through the tour. They had established relationships with one and other within the two days prior to my participation through their collective fandom for *Poldark* and to a certain extent, Winston Graham. As a result I was initially positioned somewhat on the periphery of the social group. By virtue of an informal introduction, my status as researcher/academic – and my inferred institutionalised cultural capital (Bourdieu, 1986) – contributed to my cultural positioning (Earl, 2008) that was disseminated to the guided tourists by the guide upon their collection. Without prior discussion with myself, he announced to the group the nature of my participation on the tour and provided a short introduction to me and the purpose of the research. Hence, whilst

researcher positionality affected the entirety of the research process (Holmes, 2020), my positionality as a researcher was readily discernible to the guided tourists from the outset of the ethnographic data collection process as initially, 'it was *my* story that was accrued by the group' (Earl, 2008, p.406). This could and did have some methodological implications as subsequently, my presence was overt as opposed to covert. This, along with '[t]he importance of my own cultural positioning as an academic' clearly 'skewed my relationship with the group. However, the relationship offered' (Earl, 2008, p.405) me access to an important contact zone (Frohlick & Harrison, 2008; Pratt, 1991) whereby the *Poldark* guided tourists could be accessed, and a sample drawn.

#### Transitioning to an 'insider':

Some time after my initial introduction to the group had passed I transitioned from the position of an 'outsider' to an 'insider' (Berger, 2013). For some (though not all of the tourists) I, like Earl (2008) became somewhat of a fascinating person to meet. I positioned myself as an 'insider' when I was able to draw on my own knowledge and consumption of *Poldark* to contribute to group discussions throughout the tour. My status as a *Poldark* "fan" was somewhat legitimated in these conversations. This was advantageous as I was able to establish rapport with the tourists. Hence, as opposed to experiencing what Coffey (1999, p.5 cited in Earl, 2008) described as 'the potential alienation and isolation of remaining on the edge of culture', I, like Earl (2008, p.405) was immersed in the particular setting and 'taste-culture'. I too, was a literary tourist, part of the milieu, one of them. Hence, I was integrated into the group rather than assuming a passive role on its margins (Earl, 2008). '[C]oming from the 'shared experience' position, I was better equipped with insights and the ability to understand implied content, and was more sensitized to certain dimensions of the data' (Berger, 2013, p.223).



It occurred to me when interacted with the group that I had developed preconceptions about the types of people that actively engage in literary tourism experiences and how these preconceptions differed for those participants who I interacted with in each ethnographic contact zone. I assumed, through my reading of literary tourism that literary pilgrims (as the guided tourists could be considered) could be characterised by their education, cultural capital, a keen interest in *literature* and who demonstrate their autodidacticism (although I wouldn't have referred to them as such as the beginning of my research) of the culture they choose to consume and their resultant serious leisure (Stebbins, 2001). Despite my awareness that tourists are heterogeneous (see Chapter 2a section 2.5) I assumed that literary pilgrims would be somewhat homogenous based on these characteristics. It wasn't until my immersion in the field and within the cultural group that my initial preconceptions about those who would choose to engage in guided literary tourism experiences gradually changed. This 'forced me to reexamine some biases [...] that colored my study in light of my new [immersive] experiences' (Berger, 2013, p.226).

For example, in making the aforementioned assumptions, I did not fully consider the extent to which *Poldark's* position in contemporary popular culture would influence its consumption within the literary tourism phenomenon. Perhaps, I have unintentionally mimicked Herder's aforementioned positioning of popular culture (see Chapter 2c section 2.1.1.5) in contrast to 'culture of the learned' (Fedorak, 2019, p.9) and this offers an explanation as to why the research instrument design and subsequent analysis is devoid of any explicit consideration of popular cultural capital. It occurred to me that I initially viewed the guided tourists as literary pilgrims rather than as literary fans or popular culture tourists. There are of course, detectable differences regarding the cultural capital of these types of tourists. As was discussed in

Chapter 2c, section 2.1.1.5, cultural capital is not a prerequisite for the consumption of popular culture (Reichenberger, 2021). This 'affected my construction and theoretical conceptualisation of the narratives told to me by the study participants' Berger (2013, p.226) as my analysis was not inclusive of both Bourdieu's (1984; 1986) and Fiske's (1992) cultural capital theories. Although, already aware of my potential bias, and in an effort to combat it, the first question I asked all participants in relation to their cultural capital was intentionally broad (see Appendix 7, 8 and 9). I wanted to understand how they construct their own identities (Holmes, 2020) before I asked specific examples relating to their cultural capital currency that may have required more interpretation.

Within the ethnographic fieldwork, I also struggled to maintain what Berger (2013, p.225) describes an 'empathetic distance'. I tried to use this 'as a vehicle to establish rapport, yet as much as possible, not disclose personal material to avoid getting involved to a degree that may compromise [my] researcher perspective'. However, this distance was not fully realised as in order to establish rapport and ensure participants felt comfortable sharing personal details about their experiences and their cultural capital our relationships were somewhat informed by our commonalities and shared experiences. Also, 'coming from the 'shared experience' position [both generally and specifically in relation to the tour], I was better equipped with insights and the ability to understand implied content, and was more sensitized to certain dimensions of the data' (Berger, 2013, p.223).

I felt affinities with all of the tour guides and guided tourists who participated in the research for various reasons. My academic status (although this was never explicitly confirmed) appeared to create an affinity between myself, two of the tour guides (KE and PS), and two guided tourists (AP and LE) who at the time of data collection, also held postgraduate degrees

(see Appendix 16). This inference in itself could be indicative of my personal bias yet I also felt a close affinity toward the other participants who did not hold these qualifications. The latter centred on personal experiences and similarities in family background and socio-economic status. The existential divide within myself became apparent once again, as I studied the relationships I had formed with the participants and the commonalities we shared which facilitated both familiarity and rapport which ultimately resulted in rich data (Davis, 2020).

#### Intrusion:

At this juncture, it would be remiss not to consider the ethical dilemma of disrupting the participants in the cultural setting. For all research participants, the intrusiveness of my presence within the contact zones was unavoidable (Addeo *et al.*, 2019; Hall, 2011; Smith, 2017). Of course, 'the very act of interviewing the [participants] and expecting them to voice their opinions risked disrupting their experience' (Earl, 2008, p.402). This could have resulted in resentment among the participants (Wolf, 1992, cited in Earl, 2008). Although my position as an outsider was not entirely sustained by all tourists within the group, I observed a degree of resentment toward myself on behalf of those guided tourists who expressed their unwillingness to participate in the research. Said tourists avoided any intimacy or close contact with me, which further signalled their unwillingness to participate. Retrospectively, I could have asked the tour guide not to reveal my researcher/academic self to the tourists in order to remain covert and mitigate the affects of my skewed relationship (Earl, 2008) which did bring some challenges regarding resentment however, this would have been deceptive tactic that would have had ethical implications.

Upon reflection, particularly in relation to the interview locations of two of the guided tourists (KP and LE) some of the intrusiveness I caused could have been mitigated. As is acknowledged in Table 29, I conducted interviews with two of the tour participants (KP and LE) in variable locations during transit to toured *Poldark* sites. This inevitably caused a degree of disruption to the participants' tour experience. The rationale behind this decision was informed by the my attempt to collect as much data as possible given that I was only granted access to the tour for one day. This was also one of the main reasons why I decided not to adopt an extended case method (ECM) approach (see Chapter 7, section 7.4). Furthermore, I made this decision in order to not impede on the tour guide's delivery once we arrived at the toured sites. The choice to interview the participants somewhat in the presence of others not only enhanced the intrusiveness of my presence and could have impacted the research process by creating other methodological issues and limitations. For example, the interview participants may have not felt comfortable to speak freely about their experiences on the tour or respond to what may have been considered somewhat intrusive questions about their stock of cultural capital in the presence of other group members. Nonetheless, I did observe on multiple occasions, some of the guided tourists, perhaps unconsciously, describe themselves by way of their cultural capital stock and share personal details to others in the social group. This is noteworthy, as it appears these guided tourist's self-identity (although not necessarily an internal debate) was ensconced in their cultural capital. That said, if I were to conduct the research again, I would have decided against conducting these two interviews in transit in order to mitigate the aforementioned intrusion.

#### *4.5.2.2 Recreational tourists data collection*

When I approached the general tourists in Perranporth, my role as the researcher was acutely overt as our relationship was limited to our interaction during the interview. Whilst we were

immersed in the same setting, the interaction was short-term. This presented a challenge, as over a short period I had to demonstrate my trustworthiness in order for them to feel comfortable responding to my probing about their experiences and cultural capital. This is arguably, why the length of the narratives elicited from these tourists were shorter (although not exclusively) in comparison to the guided tourists. Irrespective of their length, these narratives did yield rich data.

I have visited the Perranporth Beach (contact zone 7, see section 4.2.2) many times over the course of my life prior to the data collection. From my own prior experience, I had not been aware of Winston Graham's connection to the town. Therefore, I assumed that whilst these tourists may have heard of the *Poldark*, they might have also been unaware of the destination-based cultural capital (Busby & Meethan, 2008) and subsequently their motivation for visiting Perranporth might not have been based on this connection and that these recreational tourists were engaged in casual as opposed to serious leisure (Stebbins, 2009). My preconceptions about the type of tourists who I accessed in this contact zone was not influenced in the same way as was the case with the guided tourists. My assumption that cultural capital was not a prerequisite of these tourists' experiences led me to analyse this data in what may be perceived as a more unbiased way. The dissolving of this bias facilitated an increasingly revelatory analysis whereby I was able to gain a more nuanced understanding of how people describe and perceive authenticity that is not necessarily objectively attributable to their education. When interviewing these tourists I began to understand how my bias provided a narrow lens that did not take into account the subjectivity of life experiences, habits, and embodied practices and how they in turn, influence people's cultural practices and tourist experiences. This undoubtedly shaped the data analysis that followed.

#### 4.5.3 Locating the influence of my positionality: data analysis

When embarking on the data analysis phase, I was once again forced to reconcile my positionality and interrogate my effect on the research rather than trying to erase it. It wasn't until the end of the previous data collection did I truly appreciate the effect of my own preconceptions and apperceptions on the research process and understand 'how crucial my own positionality is to the knowledge I help to construct' (Cohen, 2013, p.334). The onus is on me to explicitly discuss the process of analysis (Davis, 2020). Using a charting matrix and line-by-line coding (Castellanos-Verdugo, Caro-González & de los Ángeles Oviedo-García, 2010), I searched for semantic and latent themes (Braun & Clarke, 2006) in order to develop theory (Davis, 2020). In being reflexive in the data analysis, I left my footprint in the coding journey (Davis, 2020) which is unique to me (Holmes, 2020).

Earlier in section 4.5.1 I indicated my personal and positional perceptions and proclivities (Davis, 2020). Hence, throughout the phases of reflexive thematic analysis my subjectivity and reflexivity is central (Braun & Clarke, 2019a). As Braun and Clarke (2019a, p.594) acknowledge '*Quality* reflexive TA is not about following procedures 'correctly' (or about 'accurate' and 'reliable' coding, or achieving consensus between coders), but about the researcher's reflective and thoughtful engagement with their data and their reflexive and thoughtful engagement with the analytic process'.

Following my immersion in the ethnographic contact zones (Frohlick & Harrison, 2008) both within and at the end of the data analysis, it occurred to be that the my potential bias, aside

from being linked to my positionality and my own internal debate, was also informed by the objectivity of institutionalised (Bourdieu, 1986) and personal cultural capital (Busby & Meethan, 2008). It is differential, discernible and far less subjective than the other forms even when I was performed in-vivo semantic coding. Perhaps, I have over explained my bias in the previous sections and that it is this objectivity in combination with my positionality that has coloured my interpretation. Nevertheless, despite my attempt to capture the narratives of the participants (including presenting excerpts from the interview transcripts), my presence invariably influenced both the construction of their narratives and the construction of my interpretation (Davis, 2020).

My treatment of popular cultural capital and fandom was sparse and never explicitly stated. The thematic coding of the interview transcripts was not inclusive of this type of cultural capital. If I conducted this study again I would have explicitly analysed the embodiment required to consume popular culture as a cultural good (Swartz, 1997) as this would have elicited a more nuanced understanding of the tourist's motivations for engaging in such experiences by way of the inclusion of the fandom attributed to the literature and its media adaptations. In addition, questions pertaining to tourist consumption of popular culture would have been included in the research instrument.

I agree with Davis' (2020) labelling of the reflexivity process as a 'perilous activity'. I have felt the same challenges trying to balance the self-analysis and confess 'to the methodological inadequacies without jeopardising the outcome' (Davis, 2020, p.40). My positionality changed during the research project (Holmes, 2020) as I negotiated my preconceptions based on the data I collected and analysed. Despite my attempts to engage in reflexive practice throughout

the research and my interrogation of positionality to promote transparency and rigor, 'there will always still be some form of bias or subjectivity' (Holmes, 2020, p.4).

#### 4.6 Research challenges

Lubbe, Worrall and Klopper (2005) list numerous challenges faced by doctoral researchers. The researcher experienced some challenges of her own throughout her doctoral research, which are presented in Table 31:



<b>Challenges faced by the researcher</b>	<b>Description</b>	<b>Outcome</b>
1. Enforced breaks/ interruptions	Due to personal circumstances, the researcher had to interrupt her PhD twice over the course of her research. The first interruption dated: 18/06/2019 – 19/01/2020; The second interruption dated 14/09/2020 – 18/10/2020 was subsequently extended by the researcher (18/10/2020 – 10/01/2021). Both interruptions were approved by Plymouth University’s Doctoral College, including the Director of Studies, Research Co-ordinators and Graduate Sub-committee Representative.	The lapse in time between when the primary data was collected and analysed was lengthy.
2. Multiple changes to supervisory team	Over the course of the doctoral research, three change of supervisors were made and approved by the Faculty Committee.	
3. Change from fully-funded to self-funded	The researcher was in receipt of a three year full-time fully-funded scholarship (including stipend) awarded by the Department of Tourism and Hospitality, Plymouth University. The doctoral research extended beyond the parameters of the scholarship.	As a result of challenge 1, in the final year of her doctoral research, the researcher was not in receipt of the stipend that accompanied the three year funded scholarship.
4. Change from full-time study to part-time		As above; The researcher had to seek alternative income streams to support herself throughout the remainder of her study.
5. COVID-19 restrictions	Impact on analysis and writing	

Table 31. Challenges faced by the researcher during the doctoral research

#### 4.6 Conclusion

This chapter has served to synthesise the mono-method approach employed in this study of literary tourism, to meet the needs to the research aims and objectives. The applicability and suitability of interpretivism as an underpinning philosophy was explored, and as such, adopted. The importance and significance of adopting a mono-method qualitative approach in the context of this study was analysed. Thereafter, the strengths and limitations of the selected primary data collection method, semi-structured interviews were explored. This included details of the semi-structured interview participant sample, the outcomes of the pre-pilot and pilot tests and the ethical considerations associated with qualitative interviewing. The researcher provided a lengthy discussion of her positionality in an effort to be completely transparent about her influence throughout the research process.

## Chapter 5a: The Semiology of Literary Tourism

### 5a1.0: Introduction

The functionality of Cohen's (1985) Original Guide as a 'pathfinder' and then 'pathbreaker' (see Chapter 2a, section 2.5.2) can be linked to the *Poldark* tour guides' engagement with all of Butler's (1986) forms of literary tourism and film-induced literary tourism (Busby & Laviolette, 2006). However, the researcher argues that the role of 'pathbreaker' is evidenced principally in relation to Butler's (1986) second form of literary tourism which is inherently fiction-related (Brown, 2016b; Hoppen, Brown & Fyall, 2014).

By selecting specific sites that tourists themselves may experience difficulty identifying (Busby & Laviolette, 2006), the *Poldark* tour guides deploy their high cultural capital and in-depth knowledge of Cornwall's geography, history and culture (Larsen & Meged, 2013) to construct the spatiotemporal direction of their tours (Cohen, 1985) (routinized within the tour itineraries usually designed in advance). The guides assume the role of 'pathbreakers' (Cohen, 1982; 1985), as they compensate for their tourist's lack of geographical knowledge and orientation in their routinization (Cohen, 1982), thus increasing the accessibility of sites to tourists (Reisinger & Steiner, 2006a).

The tour guides claim to have the requisite geographical knowledge of Cornwall to identify many of the real and fictional *Poldark* locations. They lead tourists to Cornwall's lesser known – although not necessarily peripheral (Cohen, 1985) – fiction-related locations (Brown, 2016a; Hoppen, Brown & Fyall, 2014). Hence, they become 'pathbreakers' when the success of the initial tour prompts others to follow, resulting in the mapping of new (in this case fiction-related) areas and expanding toured routes (Cohen, 1985). Overend (2012) cites MacCannell's

(1989) analysis of Mark Twain's *The Innocents Abroad* (1966) to explicate this notion: 'without the information supplied by Ferguson [tour guide], this tree is simply another tree. It requires the tour guide's story for the tree to acquire the status of a tourist attraction' (Overend, 2012, p.48). The same can be said for toured *Poldark* sites, especially those whom are fiction-related. Without the information (including stories) supplied by the tour guides, they may not earn tourist attraction status (Overend, 2012). Nor, do they warrant the tourist's "authentic gaze" (see Chapter 6, section 6.1), that which can be contested or undisputed. Consequently, select fiction-related literary tourism sites included within the guide's itineraries gradually form distinct new attractions, whilst others, thought to be of little touristic interest are excluded (Cohen, 1985). Cohen's (1985) differentiation of well-developed central regions and poorly developed peripheral regions within a tourist system can be applied within the context of real and fiction-related literary tourism sites. The former, are visited by literary tourists because of their accurate portrayal in literature or biographical link to the author. The latter, refers to those places that provided the inspiration for literary geographies (Smith, 2012). Similarly to central regions, real locations possess developed infrastructure, satisfactory signage and communication which is lacking in marginal areas (Cohen, 1985) and fictional locations. In both the presence (but particularly the absence) of infrastructures, signage and communication, the *Poldark* tour guides serve as mobile markers through their mediation of their tours (Roesch, 2009). Roesch's (2009) use of the term *marker* is derived from MacCannell (1976) and refers to one of three components assembled in a tourist attraction's semiological system: a tourist, a sight and a marker (information about a particular sight). The semiology of tourism, evidenced in the concepts of two seminal tourism theorists are useful to the analysis of the *Poldark* tour guide's roles (Cohen, 1985); namely, Dean MacCannell's concepts of sights as signs (1976), authenticity (1976) and tourism as pilgrimage (1973) (Lau, 2011) and John Urry's (1990; 2002) tourist gaze. Hence, Chapter 5a is dedicated to the analysis of the

semiology of literary tourism and its associated concepts, along with the ways in which markers are used by tour guides to authenticate author-related and fiction-related sites. Preceding this discussion however, is the brief theoretical classification of literary destinations that reflect the diversity of *Poldark* sites toured by guides.

#### 5a2.0: Literary destinations

As reviewed in Chapter 2a, many scholars note the complexity of the relationship between real and fiction-related literary places (Schaff, 2011). Schaff (2011, p.169) provides a typology of literary destinations which reflects the diversity of *Poldark* sites (see Table 32) and considers the 'consequences for their perception in terms of authenticity'. If one applies Wang's (1999) rubric of objective, constructive, and existential authenticity (as described in Chapter 2b) the potential overlap of these categories becomes apparent (Schaff, 2011). The application of Wang's (1999) rubric and Schaff's (2011) typology of literary destinations (Table 32) has proved useful in order to understand the authenticity of *Poldark* sights, including their markers (MacCannell, 1976) and the guides that tour them, in a more nuanced way.

Literary destination	Schaff 2011 example(s)	Poldark example(s) (Cornwall)
a) A place connected to an author's biography (e.g. birthplaces, houses or graves)	Shakespeare's Stratford; The Brontës' parsonage at Haworth; Oscar Wilde's or Jim Morrison's graves in the Père Lachaise cemetery	Granite seat at the site of Lech Carrygy; site of Tresloe, Winston Graham's first home in Perranporth; site of Trebarran, Winston Graham's home for much of his time in Perranporth; Droskyn Point, site of Coastguard lookout
b) a location in a work of fiction which also exists in the real world (a place described in a work of fiction that has a counterpart in geography)	London in the novels of Dickens; The moors around Haworth, which figure as locations in the works of the Brontës	Bodmin, Camborne; Cusgarne; Damsel Point; Falmouth; Looe; Mellin; Mingoose; Newquay; Padstow; Penzance; Plymouth; Redruth; Roskear; St Dennis; St Erme; St Ives; St Michael; St Minver; Stippy Stappy Lane; Truro; Wadebridge (see Appendix 5)
c) a place which is completely imagined (simulacra)	Middle Earth in <i>The Lord of the Rings</i>	Hendrawna Beach; Nampara; Sawle; St Ann's (see Appendix 4)

Table 32. Typology of literary destinations (adapted from Schaff, 2011, p.169).

Schaff's (2011) first type of literary destination is closely aligned with Butler's (1986) first form of literary tourism (Çevik, 2018) (see Chapter 2a, section 2.4) and arguably his fourth, which are both author-related. Schaff's second type is akin to Butler's (1986) second form. As Chapter 2a identified synchronous literary tourist experiences are intensified when fictional locations and places of composition are synchronous (Watson, 2006). This is very much the case with respect to Winston Graham and his *Poldark* novel saga. As the analysis in section 5a3.2 illustrates, an overlap of Schaff's second and third literary destination types is evident. Therefore, the next section of this analysis chapter provides a critical evaluation of the

markers used by tour guides to convey information about *Poldark* sights and their gazes that inform these selections.

### 5a3.0: Markers and Gaze

Over the last 30 years the “Tourist Gaze” has remained a central concept in academic tourism research. The concept first entered tourism lexicon in sociologist John Urry’s seminal homonymous book (Urry, 1990) whereby Urry applied the Lacanian and Foucauldian “gaze” to the field tourism (Feldman & Skinner, 2019; Smith, Macleod & Robertson, 2010) ‘to describe the power of the tourist gaze: how it is propagated through media images, itineraries, and discourses; how it changes as a result of socio-historical processes in the touring society, and how it affects the toured culture’ (Feldman & Skinner, 2019, p.5). In essence, the tourist gaze refers to the influence of the tourism industry on the ways in which tourists see places and people (Smith, Macleod & Robertson, 2010). Urry (1990, p.3) argues that ‘[t]he gaze is constructed through signs’. Therefore, tourism involves the quest for and collection of signs (Culler, 1981; Urry, 1990). Tourists then, are semioticians (Culler, 1981; MacCannell, 1989; Santos & Marques, 2011) who use signs to construct their gaze and ultimately, their consumption of tourism experiences (Santos & Marques, 2011). Urry (1990, p.1) argues that ‘no single tourist gaze’ exists. Rather, ‘gazes are constructed through difference’ (Urry, 1990, p.1) – they vary, similarly to tourist imaginaries (Urry & Larsen, 2011). The *markers* (MacCannell, 1976) supplied by tour guides also vary (Feldman & Skinner, 2019) and impact the guide’s persona (Feldman & Skinner, 2019) not only in terms of their interpretation, but also their existential authenticity (Wang, 1999). This research argues, that said difference is constructed by tour guide and tourist personal cultural capital (Busby & Meethan, 2008), along with the variety of gazes that Urry attributes to societies, social groups and historical periods (Urry, 1990).

The use of signs enhance the guide's role as *in situ* didactic information disseminators (Feldman & Skinner, 2019). Tour guides, in their role as brokers (Cheong & Miller, 2000) select, construct, stage-manage and direct tourist's consumption of sights (Smith, Macleod & Robertson, 2010). This '[c]ommodification replicates gazes that are shaped by tour agents' itineraries' (Feldman & Skinner, 2019, p.8). Human guide's gazes are perceived as enhanced (Feldman & Skinner, 2019); their performative labour and interpretation perceived as more "real" than comparative sources of mediation (e.g. guide books) (Feldman & Skinner, 2019). Despite the perception that guides boast an enhanced gaze (Feldman & Skinner, 2019) tourists all over the world are thought to appropriate a 'controlling gaze' (Schaff, 2011, p.166) as they engage in semiotic projects (Culler, 1981) and close readings of literature and its landscapes (Schaff, 2011). Like all tourism, literary tourism sites and experiences are subject to the tourist gaze, and '[a]s part of the tourism product, guiding is open to the larger debates over commodification and authenticity' (Feldman & Skinner, 2019, p.8).

Both Culler (1981) and Urry's (1990) sight-as-sign theory are derived from MacCannell (1976) (Lau, 2011). Lau (2011) observes that MacCannell did not link his concept of sights and signs to his concepts of authenticity and tourism as pilgrimage, although he does link the latter two. Lau (2011, p.711) attributes this to the incompatibility of sights and signs and authenticity, 'since the former is apparently an anti-essentialist concept, the latter an essentialist one'. Comparatively, other scholars have operationalised the two concepts in their tourism studies (Culler, 1981; Roesch, 2009; Schaff, 2011). Culler (1981, p.5) argues '[t]he authentic is a usage perceived as a sign of that usage' and 'the proliferation of markers or reproductions confers an authenticity upon what may at first seem egregiously inauthentic'. Marrying the concepts of guiding and authenticity, Roesch (2009, p.185) suggests the role of the guide is threefold:



1) prove objective authenticity; 2) provide constructive authenticity; and 3) convey existential authenticity. The *Poldark* tour guides uses markers to inform their interpretation of *Poldark* sights, which involves the confirmation of object authenticity and interpretation of constructive authenticity (Roesch, 2009).

Arguably, Winston Graham, like Thomas Hardy, 'was fully aware of the complexities of authentic representation' (Schaff, 2011, p.170). To some extent, *Poldark's* Cornwall is not completely elusive. Therefore, Graham doesn't seem to share Hardy's desire 'to frustrate the contemporary urge towards authenticating realist fiction by reference to topography' (Watson, 2006, p.175) to the same extent as Hardy and his literary Wessex. Cornwall is not 'purely fictional in interest' (Watson, 2006, p.172) as is, for example, 'Dickens's London' (Watson, 2006). The first edition of Winston Graham's semi-autobiographical book *Poldark's Cornwall* (Graham, 1983), published thirty eight years after the first novel in the *Poldark* series, *Ross Poldark* (Graham, 1945), identifies real locations and film-induced literary tourism sites and describes those locations that served as inspiration for his imaginative and cinematic geographies (Urry & Larsen, 2011).

Although Graham (1989) himself recognises some of *Poldark's* Cornwall né County (e.g. Nampara) as complex composite constructions (Moody, 1997; Schaff, 2011), he, like Hardy, emulates a guidebook rhetoric (Schaff, 2011), in the evocative descriptions (Moody, 1997) included within the *Poldark* novels, his autobiography (Graham, 2004), and *Poldark's Cornwall* (Graham, 1983). The latter, serves as a marker (MacCannell, 1976) in itself – for both the guide and the tourist – of *Poldark* sights. For example, Graham includes markers of objectified and symbolic, constructed authenticity of literary and film-induced sights (Table 33). Included within *Poldark's Cornwall* is a considerable amount of annotated image content, consistent

with guidebooks (Snavey, Seitz & Szeliski, 2006), furnished by photographs taken by Simon McBride. Graham extends this further by including a Map of *Poldark's Cornwall* (Figure 18) drawn by Peter Wrigley, within the final two pages of his book (Graham, 1989). Whilst some tour guides make explicit reference to *Poldark's Cornwall* (Graham, 1983), for others, their acknowledgement and use of the book is identified in the researcher's close reading. Table 33 demonstrates the wealth of authenticity markers included within *Poldark's Cornwall* (Graham, 1983). The content included demonstrates Winston Graham's narration of the real locations that served as inspiration for his Poldark's Cornwall simulacrum (e.g. the fictional Hendrawna Beach inspired by Perranporth Beach). He provides detailed descriptions about some of the 1970s filming locations (e.g. Doyden Point), including information about episodes and specific scenes and also includes those locations that were biographically significant (e.g. Mousehole). Thus, the non-literary text serves as a valuable resource to inform the guide's selection of sights to include within their itineraries, along with content to include within their interpretation.

Graham's autobiography naturally serves as a marker for biographical sights - even the index (pages 313-324) make for interesting reading. *Memoirs of a Private Man* (2004) details aspects of Graham's ancestry/family background, his birth (and the associated secrecy surrounding his birthdate), his childhood and early youth, teenage illnesses and schooling, his relationship with his parents, including the death of his father, the Graham family's relocation to Cornwall, his courtship and marriage to Jean, his time spent in the Coastguard service, various travel anecdotes, the arrival of his children, Andrew and Rosamund, his writing career, including his published works and adapted television series and films and sources of fictional characters. Undoubtedly, in the absence of physical author-related literary places, the guide's interpretation of the sites are contingent on their knowledge and recounting of stories told

by either Graham himself, or from another source (including the Perranporth community). As Chapter 5b illustrates, participant LM particularly values local knowledge as a marker of authenticity. The excerpt below from KE's HoB talk (Contact Zone 2), reveals a similar sentiment:

“And more, more tennis pictures and we've got coffee morning coming up and I'm going to pass them round to see if anybody recognises any of the other people in the pictures, because we've got local people here who hopefully can can recognise some” (HoB St. 9: 00:07:23 Speaker 1).

Sight	Marker	Photo marker
Boconnoc	<p>‘When the second series was mounted it became necessary either to have the builders apparently working on and repairing the fire-damaged Trenwith or to invent a new house. Since Aunt Agatha Poldark had not appeared in the first series – although she was very much in the books – it was decided to give her a house of her own to which George and Elizabeth could move, and this got over the problem of the gutted Trenwith. To portray this new house Boconnoc was chosen, much farther east in the county, near Lostwithiel’ (Graham, 1989, p.137-138).</p>	
	<p>‘It made a most handsome house for Aunt Agatha (who in the novels hasn’t a bean) and lit up superbly for a number of great occasions’ (Graham, 1989, p.140).</p>	
Botallack Manor Farm		<p>‘Botallack Manor Farm – used as Nampara in the first Poldark television series’ (Graham, 1989, p.137).</p>
Demelza’s Cove		<p>‘Demelza’s Cove, near Seal Hole Cave. The scene of Demelza’s meeting with Hugh Armitage’ (Graham, 1989, p.144).</p>
Doyden Point	<p>‘Nearby is a Gothic folly, built like a miniature castle on Doyden Point, which was used for the Gatehouse in the novels, where Dwight Enys lived and illegally loved Karen Daniel’ (Graham, 1989, p.169).</p>	<p>‘Doyden Point near Port Quin, used in the first series of <i>Poldark</i> as Dwight Enys’ house, where Karen Daniel came visiting’ (Graham, 1989, p.173).</p>
Goldolphin Hall	<p>‘Godolphin Hall near Breage was used for Trenwith’ (Graham, 1989, p.130).</p>	<p>‘Godolphin Hall – used as Trenwith in the first Poldark television series’ (Graham, 1989, p.139).</p>
	<p>‘Script writers looking for a bit of melodrama at the end wrote into the last episode of the first series a scene in which miners went on the rampage and burned down Trenwith. This was staged at Godolphin Hall with the permission, but to the understandable consternation, of the present owner’ (Graham, 1989, p.137).</p>	

Lamorna Cove		'Lamorna Cove. The fishing village at Lamorna is typical of communities on the Penwith coast. Sawle Village in the <i>Poldark</i> novels is a similar community' (Graham, 1989, p.120).
Lanhydrock	'Tehidy, the home of Sir Francis Basset, was burned down in 1919, and only a few of the ruins and a part of the orangery remain. Shortly afterwards it was rebuilt as a sanatorium. So Lanhydrock – another National Trust property – near Bodmin was used in the film in its place' (Graham, 1989, p.182).	'Lanhydrock used in the second BBC series as Sir Francis Basset's house' (Graham, 1989, p.185).
	'This time, 1977, while filming was taking place in the [Lanhydrock] gardens' (Graham, 1989, p.185).	
	'In the gardens of Lanhydrock Demelza and Hugh Armitage walked together at the beginning of their ill-fated love affair' (Graham, 1989, p.206).	
Lundy Bay area		'The Lundy Bay area where Ross broke down the Warleggan fence in the second Poldark television series' (Graham, 1989, p.95).
		'Lundy Bay. Scene of one of the shipwrecks in the first BBC television series' (Graham, 1989, p.210).
Mousehole	'We spent a few days of our honeymoon at Mousehole' (Graham, 1989, p.118).	'Mousehole. The village was used for the march of the rebellious miners in the first Poldark television series' (Graham, 1989, p.118).
	'Mousehole was used for the scene of a miner's riot' (Graham, 1989, p.130)	
Nampara	'It was this cove, and the headland that juts out beyond it making the western claw of Crantock Bay, and the further bay beyond of Porth Joke – or Polly Joke, as it is known locally - which helped most to make up a composite picture of the Nampara of the Poldark novels' (Graham, 1989, p.99)	

	<p>'Nampara is most like an old manor farm in the parish of St Endellion, miles to the north. (This house was actually used as Nampara for the second series of Poldark on television.)' (Graham, 1989, p.99).</p> <p>'Two houses – the back of one and the front of the other – were utilised for Nampara. One was Botallack Manor Farm, the other Pendeen Manor Farm, both near St Just in Penwith' (Graham, 1989, p.130).</p>	
Pentireglaze		'Pentireglaze. Used in the second Poldark television series for the scene with Hugh Armitage and Demelza' (Graham, 1989, p.95)
Perranporth	'Perranporth has one of the finest beaches in the world – I call it Hendrawna in the <i>Poldark</i> novels, Hendrawna being the name of a small area of the hinterland adjacent to the beach' (Graham, 2004, p.49).	
Porthcurno	'Porthcurno was used for the final scenes in Episode 16 where Ross and Demelza walk the beach together' (Graham, 1989, p.130).	'The sandbar at Porthcurno, the scene of Demelza's solitary landing in a boat. The tidal currents made filming here too dangerous and an alternative location was found at Prussia Cove' (Graham, 1989, p.138).
Portholland Beach	'Portholland Beach near to Porthluney was chosen to be Roscoff in Brittany' (Graham, 1989, p.182).	'Portholland used as Roscoff in the television series' (Graham, 1989, p.184).
Porthluney Beach	'Porthluney Beach was to be used in May '77' (Graham, 1989, p.178).	'Porthluney where Ross galloped across the beach when returning to Nampara at the beginning of the second series' (Graham, 1989, p.181).
	'Porthluney Beach, then, below Caerhays, May '77. The beach was to be used for two scenes: one when Ross (the splendid Robin Ellis) is returning from the wars and gallops across the beach from one side to the other, his black cloak flowing in the wind. The other was for when Morwenna and her young charge Geoffrey Charles are playing on the beach and Drake Carne comes across and speaks to them	

	and they go to the Holy Well together' (Graham, 1989, p.182).	
Port Isaac	'This inlet was used extensively by the BBC in the first Poldark series and the second. In the second it was completely transformed in the course of two days into Sawle village' (Graham, 1989, p.165).	'The harbour at Port Isaac – used in the first series of <i>Poldark</i> ' (Graham, 1989, p.157).
	'In the first series it was the locale chosen for the famous wrecking episode, when hungry miners spill upon the beach and fight over the brandy and the silks and the provisions being washed inshore from the wreck' (Graham, 1989, p.169).	
Port Quin		'Quin Cottage, Port Quin – used in the first BBC television series as Captain Blamey's house' (Graham, 1989, p.190).
Prussia Cove	'Prussia Cove was taken for Nampara Cove' (Graham, 1989, p.130).	'Cudden Point, Prussia Cove, where some of the early Poldark scenes were shot' (Graham, 1989, p.29).
		'Prussia Cove – used in the first Poldark television series' (Graham, 1989, p.132).
Roscarrock	'And nearby too, of course, is Roscarrock, which to me has always been partly Nampara, even though it sits in a shallow fold of land overlooking the sea and not at the foot of a valley' (Graham, 1989, p.169).	'View from Roscarrock. Ross used to ride across the hilltops in the background' (Graham, 1989, p.169).
	'It was here that the Poldarks almost made themselves a home. Apart from its alias as Nampara, the outbuildings were used for Sawle Feast, for the capture of Ned Hoskin and a number of other unrelated scenes' (Graham, 1989, p.170)	'The grain barn at Roscarrock – where Jud Paynter ran when the dog bit him' (Graham, 1989, p.169).
	'I remember the day in early 1977 when I first took the producer of the second series and the production manager to see the [Roscarrock] farm [...] We arrived in the cobbled yard outside the front door- where Ross and Demelza were to greet each other so often' (Graham, 1989, p.175).	'Roscarrock – scene of the hanging of Ned Hoskin' (Graham, 1989, p.170).

		‘The front of Roscarrock – used in the second series for the opening picture where Ross and Demelza greeted one another’ (Graham, 1989, p.204).
		‘The back of Roscarrock – the scene of Sawle Fair in the BBC television series’ (Graham, 1989, p.206).
		‘Roscarrock – the house that Ross gave to Demelza’s two brothers to renovate in the second BBC television series’ (Graham, 1989, p.206).
		‘The wall at Roscarrock where Ross was taken out to be shot’ (Graham, 1989, p.208)
St Enodoc Church	‘Not far from here – though actually in the parish of St Minver – is the ancient church of St Enodoc, where Arthur Solway (in the series) married Rowella Chenoweth’ (Graham, 1989, p.175).	‘St Enodoc Church. Used for the wedding of Rowella Chynoweth and Arthur Solway’ (Graham, 1989, p.173).
St Ives/Carbis Bay	‘It was at St Ives – or next door Carbis Bay – where the BBC television crew and actors made their home during most of the shooting of the first sixteen episodes of Poldark. As a consequence many of the early scenes were taken in this general area’ (Graham, 1989, p.130).	
St Mawes Castle	‘Filming the French sequences presented an obvious problem of logistics. (These were the sequences in which Dwight Enys is rescued from a prisoner-of-war camp) [...] it was decided that for these scenes parts of Cornwall must be turned into France [...] eventually St Mawes Castle was picked on and renamed for the purpose Fort Baton’ (Graham, 1989, p.175-177)	‘St Mawes Castle used in the Poldark television series as Fort Baton in Brittany’ (Graham, 1989, p.27)
St Winnow	‘I mentioned to Foy Quiller-Couch that we had recently been filming a wedding scene at St Winnow on the River Fowey’ (Graham, 1989, p.188).	‘St Winnow Church – used in the second BBC television series for the wedding of Dwight Enys and Caroline Penvenen’ (Graham, 1989, p.188).
	‘The wedding of Dwight Enys and Caroline Penvenen at St Winnow was one of the highlights of the second series, for	



	everyone had to be there, almost all the main members of the cast, in gay wedding attire' (Graham, 1989, p.190).	
Trerice	'I think particularly of Trerice, near Newquay, the house I used as a model for Trenwith, where the main family of the Poldarks lived' (Graham, 1989, p.87).	'Trerice Manor used as a model for Trenwith in the Poldark novels' (Graham, 1989, p.87).
Trelissick	'Another such house is Trelissick – which I mention under its own name in the Poldark novels' (Graham, 1989, p.87).	'Trelissick House, the home of Ralph Allen-Daniell in the Poldark novels' (Graham, 1989, p.90).

*Table 33. Markers of authenticity in Poldark's Cornwall (Graham, 1989)*

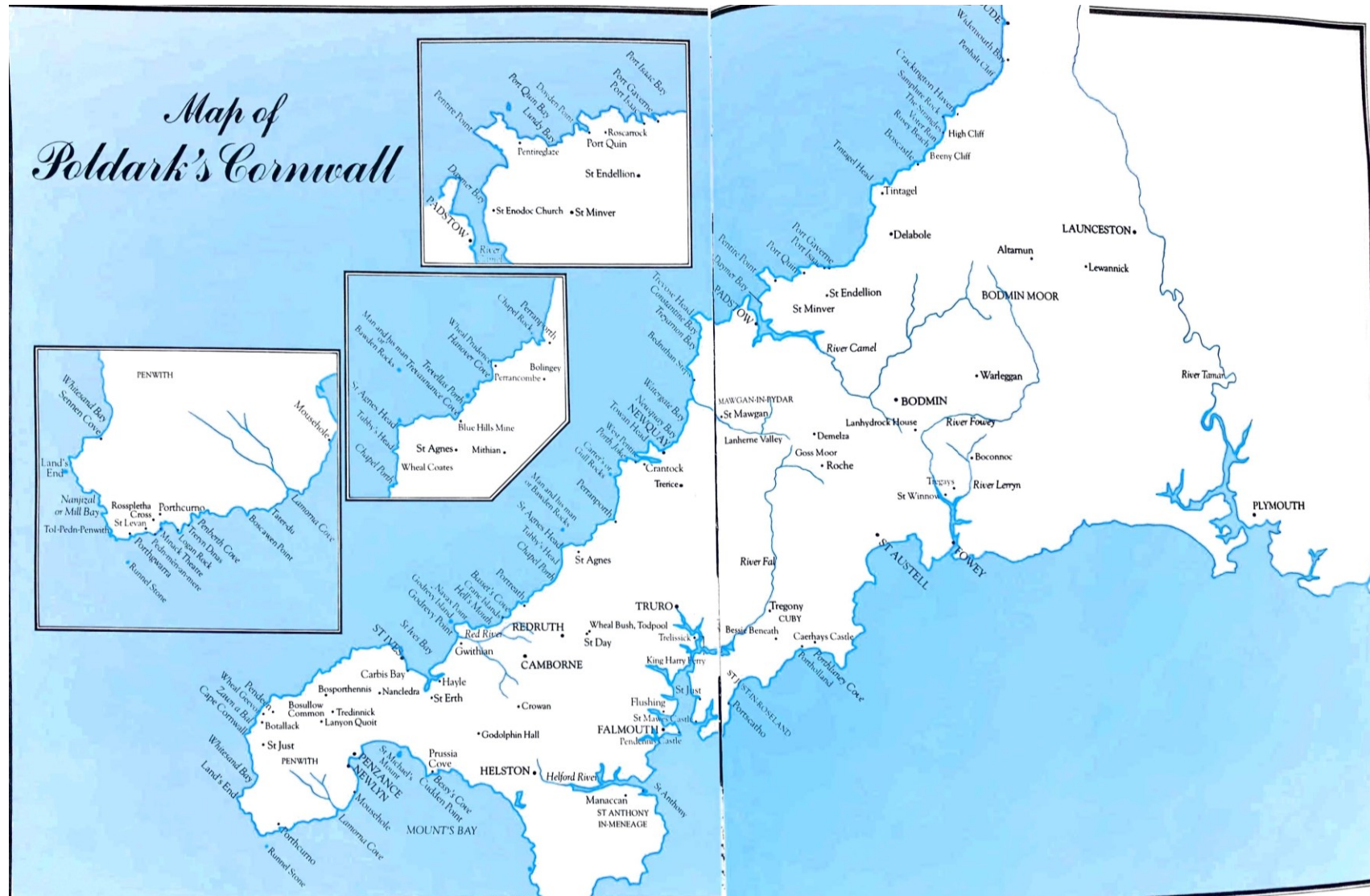


Figure 17. Scanned image of Graham's Map of Poldark's Cornwall (Graham, 1989, p.222).

Noticeably absent throughout participant KC's narrative were references to any sort of interpretive materials or techniques she includes within her tour. Upon reflection, the researcher did not observe, nor did she record KC's use of photographs within the tour that the researcher participated in (Contact Zone 5). KC considers herself to have an eidetic memory (KC St. 28, 0.35.20). Seemingly, KC relies solely on her verbal storytelling and her memory of reading the novels and watching the TV adaptations to interpret sites associated with Winston Graham and *Poldark*. Whilst she is able to recall photographs, she does not include them as tangible markers or signifiers of her authentic interpretation. The only markers KC refers to explicitly are Winston Graham's map of Poldark's Cornwall (KC St. 26, 0.31.51) and a photograph of the author (Figure 19), both of which were published in *Poldark's Cornwall* (Graham, 1989). KC describes the photograph (Figure 19) in detail and demonstrates her use of the photograph as a marker in her interpretation of Perranporth Beach: "There's a lovely photograph of Winston, you've probably seen it, he's walking across the beach towards the chalet and it's obviously a winter day and he's hunched up and he's got an overcoat and he's sort of [inaudible] across the beach and when I do that walk, I always pull out that" (KC St. 44, 0.55.51). KC's initial reference to the map appears in Stanza 26. KC's narrative indicates that she does in fact use the map as a marker for *Poldark* sights, and uses this to inform her itinerary:

"So yeah, I'll take them round the corner to where on, Winston Graham's done a hand drawn map so and he's written where his places are so I take them. And they go "oh ok well that makes sense because that means when I read that, that, oh that's where they would've been" (Excerpt from KC 2018 St. 26, 0.31.51).



Figure 18. 'The author on Perranporth Beach. In the background is a wooden bungalow he rented and walked to each day to write the novel *Demelza*' (Graham, 1989, p.34-35).

The stanza below demonstrates the guided tourist's certitude of the location of Nampara Cove, by way of KC's confirmation that the locale was indeed as Graham had drawn it on his map, suggesting the tourist's authentic gaze is rooted in the literary marker (map) and further intensified by the mobile marker's (KC) confirmation.

"So we did, we climbed this cliff and she came out [inaudible] and she said "I've never really visualised Nampara Cove as being so steep. But this is where he wrote it, this is where he drew it on that map". I said "Yeah". She said "Well, this is where it is then" (Excerpt from KC 2018 St. 48, 0.58.12).

The researcher observed participant PS' use of a map as a marker for his interpretation (Figure 20). Seemingly, the map serves a marker of authenticity for the tourist as well as the tour guide.



Figure 19. Participant PS interpreting Poldark's Cornwall map whilst on tour (Source: author)

Participant KE makes explicit reference to, and demonstrates her familiarity with, *Poldark's Cornwall* and Graham's autobiography (2004) in her interview narrative, her HoB talk, and in her article published in *Old Cornwall*, *The Journal of the Federation of 'Old Cornwall' Societies* (Easton, 2015). Thus, the researcher suggests both books serve as marker that informs her interpretation. KE came prepared for the interview with an annotated copy of the former, illustrating her deployment of the book as a marker for her toured and interpreted *Poldark* sights:

“So I brought the book to show you because I've erm you would know as a student I just put lots of lots of notes in there [Zoe interjects: that's exactly what mine looks like. I found it a very interesting read] he's a lovely writer isn't he? And have you read Poldark's Cornwall that he wrote as well?” (KE St. 23, 0.14.12).

Like KE, participant PS came prepared for the interview with markers that he uses on his tour. This included, but are not limited to, a large amount of laminated TV stills (which he took personally), maps (geographical, geological and fictional), tourism brochures, and quotes from the *Poldark* novels. Throughout his interview, PS continuously showed the researcher a number of these markers and described how he uses them throughout his tour. Seemingly, PS concurs with Culler's (1981) afore-cited assertion that authenticity is conferred by a proliferation of markers. Additionally, the researcher postulates his inclusion of these resources within the interview and his tours can be attributed to 1) his self-identity as researcher (PS St. 17, 0.16.25) and the inferred prerequisite of needing to investigate key elements and provide evidence to support or substantiate his statements or choices; 2) they serve as a marker to legitimise his selection of locations and; 3) they foster his ability to stage experiences in specific locations and animate (Cohen, 1985) his tourists. The influence of PS' institutionalised cultural capital is analysed in Chapter 5b and the *Poldark* tour guide's use of markers to facilitate animation (Cohen, 1985) is considered in section 5a3.2.2. Interestingly, in his first stanza, PS equates photographs and maps to authenticity:

“Authenticity is the actual photographs and maps of how work is carried out in certain areas [...] and then on the other side [...] is certain quotes of actual places he uses” (Excerpt from PS St. 1, 0.10.04).

What PS is referring to here, perhaps unknowingly, are the semiotic markers of authenticity. For PS, photographs serve as markers of the three theories of authenticity (i.e. objective, constructed and existential). The ocularcentrism of PS' interpretation of authenticity (i.e. his reliance on visual markers of authenticity) and his interpretation of *Poldark* reflects 'how within tourism the organising sense within the typical tourist experience is visual' (Urry, 1990,

p.146) and the perceptual and epistemological Western cultural bias that ranks vision over other human senses (Chandler & Munday, 2011).



*Figure 20. Participant PS interpreting film still on location (Source: author)*

Similarly, participants CaB & ChB use photographic markers as their principal means of researching the authenticity of film-induced literary tourism sites (section 5a3.2.1). This can be attributed to ChB's institutionalised cultural capital (see Chapter 5b) i.e. his education in photography.

### 5a3.1: Authenticity and biographical sites

As aforementioned (section 5a2), the types of literary sites and destinations included within this section reflect Butler's (1986) first form of literary tourism and Schaff's (2011) first type of literary destination (Table 32). Çevik (2018) suggests places associated with an author's biography are extremely attractive to literary tourists who seek authenticity, nostalgia, intimacy and insight, their primary objective being to connect with the author. Schaff (2011,

p.169) suggests author-related sites (Table 32) ‘fall under the rubric of objective authenticity’ and the consumption of these sights accounts for existential authenticity (Schaff, 2011).

As is discussed in detail in Chapter 5b, the title of participant LM’s self-guided “Poldark Walk” is misleading since, the sites included are predominantly connected to Winston Graham, as opposed to his literary works. She clarifies her walks orientation:

“if they’re that interested in the author of the Poldark books they’d be quite interested just to see where he lived and worked. Erm and where he wrote the books I guess I mean Lech Carrygy’s gone of course but yeah the seats there” (LM St. 40, 0.23.38).

By dint of the self-guided orientation of her *Poldark* walk, participant LM relies on the photographs included within her interpretive media to serve as markers for authenticity in the absence of tangible locations and first-person interpretation. The lack of LM’s first-person interpretation and physical literary places (Stiebel, 2007) inhibits her ability to prove object authenticity (Roesch, 2009) and to achieve existential authenticity (Roesch, 2009). Therefore, LM is only able to project symbolic or constructed authenticity (Schaff, 2011) onto the landscape and locations with former connections to the author.

Participant KE’s *Poldark* tour and her HoB talk (Contact Zone 2) are more concerned with the first of Schaff’s typology – those sites, destinations and experiences that are predominantly author-related. At KE’s HoB talk, KE distributed a number of photographs to the audience. KE’s narrative indicates that she utilises these markers in other *Poldark*-centric tourism activities, including her tour and talks given to the local community (Excerpt from KE2 St. 9, 0.04.02):



“And so I take people to the pub which is still there and then I show them a picture of the pub in the 1920s [...] a picture of the shop as it was there and so it's as the pic- the pictures you saw, but actually on the site of where, where they stood” (KE St. 17, 0.10.31).

In addition to using the photographs as markers for sights, KE, like participant LM uses photographs in lieu of the physical presence of author-related sites. In her narrative (and HoB talk), she describes how many of the author-related sites are no longer present at Perranporth. She states: “there's very little round here, to show people what it was like other than the photographs we've got in the museum [...] there's very little else is still there Perranporth is so different” (Excerpt from KE2 St. 50, 0.33.17). The absence of physical literary sites (Stiebel, 2007) connected to Graham's biography, those sites which provide the literary pilgrim closeness to the author (Brown, 2016a; Çevik, 2018), including burial place (Watson, 2006) or the house where Graham was either born or lived (Brown, 2016a), nullifies the opportunity to attribute authenticity in the objectivist sense. They can no longer be toured, and thus, the application of this theory of tourism authenticity is rendered useless.

### *5a3.1.1 Birth and burial*

Before the First World War, Winston Graham was born in Victoria Park, Manchester (Graham, 1989; Graham, 2004). Humorously, it seems the author was slightly economical with the truth regarding his date of birth, although he admits to being secretive about his age (Graham, 2004). Upon his death in July 2003 Graham was buried in Buxted, East Sussex (Independent, 2013). Hence, these sites are out of reach of those *Poldark* guided tours that are concentrated in Cornwall. Nevertheless, biographical facts are included within with the *Poldark* tour guides

interpretation. Both KE (in her HoB talk) and PS (within his interview narrative) comment on Graham being a Mancunian.

### *5a3.1.2 Winston Graham's homes*

In her journal article (Easton, 2015) KE describes how Graham and his parents were reported to have rented a home in Perrancoombe, Perranporth for one year. Thereafter, Winston Graham lived in Tresloe, a bungalow without electricity, piped water or a telephone, located a mile from Perranporth (Graham, 1989). Treberran, the house whose quality hypnotised Graham, his wife Jean and his mother, and that which served as a guest house and finally, the Graham family's private residence (Graham, 2004). Recalling their departure from Treberran, Graham writes: 'If we left Treberran we ought to leave England, at least for an experimental period. We put Treberran up for sale with that in mind. Again it was a trough in house prices, and it took over a year to sell. But it happened in the end' (Graham, 2004, p.124). Thereafter, Treberran was ran as a hotel, under the name Nampara Lodge, although the connection to the author was marked with a metal plaque about the door (Dring, n.d-a) that read 'Nampara Lodge Hotel, former home of novelist Winston Graham, Author of Poldark novels'. The plaque now resides at Perranzabuloe Museum as Nampara Lodge Hotel (formerly Treberran) was demolished (Dring, n.d-a). In her HoB talk, participant KE's describes the Graham family's residence, in an effort 'to convey a fuller appreciation and understanding of' (Çevik, 2018, p.118) the site where Treberran once stood:

"Now, like a lot of these things, it's not there anymore, but this is what was in the paper when the guest house was put up for sale [...] So that was called Trebarran, which, if you're from Perranporth perhaps you know where it was, but its err near where the boating Lake is up from St Michael's Church. So that's where he lived" (Excerpt from Hob St. 7: 00:05:19 Speaker 1).



Figure 21. 4 St Michaels Road, Perranporth after the Grahams left it. Formerly Treberran, the property is here named the Nampara Lodge Hotel. The metal plaque above the door reads: Nampara Lodge Hotel, former home of novelist Winston Graham, Author of Poldark novels (Dring, n.d-a, p.no pagination)



Figure 22. Nampara Lodge (formerly Treberran) (Dring, n.d-b, p.no pagination)

Participant LM includes the location within her self-guided *Poldark* walk, using photographs to illustrate the sight in the past, versus the present, using the photo marker “Treberran, now Nampara Row” (Figure 24). In her narrative, LM describes how her photographic markers are reviewed prior to the beginning of the summer season, to reflect any changes to the landscape or toured sites:

“we’ve changed the photos as things have changed for example Winston Graham’s Treberran was not down, which is where he lived and then they built Nampara Row and so we changed the photograph” (Excerpt from LM St. 39, 0.22.46).



Figure 23. Excerpt from participant LM's self-guided Poldark walk



Figure 24. Nampara Row (Source: Author)

### *5a3.1.3 Winston Graham memorial bench*

The earlier reference to Graham’s secrecy regarding his age was prompted by the inclusion of the next author-related site: a granite bench (Figure 28) which pays homage to the actual location (Butler, 1986) of Lech Carrygy (Flat Rocks), the wooden bungalow where Graham

penned the second instalment (Graham, 2004) of the *Poldark* novel series, *Demelza* (1946). In her HoB talk, KE (Speaker 1) – with support from her husband (Speaker 2) – describes the tangible absence of the wooden bungalow, Lech Carrygy (Figures 26 and 27) where Graham began to write the *Poldark* novels.

“But it was wooden. They probably had to use paraffin lamps, candles, it burned down. So, we haven't got the- evidence here of where Winston Graham wrote and started his *Poldark* stories. So quite a group of people from the museum got together and subscribed to provide a seat. And they thought granite would be good coz it won't you know wear out and so on” (Excerpt from HoB St. 29: 00:15:02 Speaker 1).



Figure 25. Lech Carrygy in May 1980 (Dring, n.d-b, p.no pagination)



Figure 26. Lech Carrygy (Flat Rocks) the wooden bungalow Winston Graham (Source: Perranzabuloe Museum cited in Easton, 2015, p.no pagination)

In Stanza 32, Speaker 2 (KE's husband) shares a story of how, it was later revealed by Andrew Graham, that the author's birthdate was inscribed incorrectly on the memorial bench (see Figures 28 and 29):

“Okay, so we looked around, we wanted a Cornish granite so we went to a quarry and we found somebody would think scribe the granite and they they carved the initial- the the date of his birth and the date of his death on the cut piece of Granite 2010 to to to sorry 1910 to 2003, off the top of my head. And and then, his son was clearing out his papers, came across Winston's birth certificate. He was born in 2008, [KE interjects: 1908] 1908, so he lied about his age. So then we had to get a plaque put on the end of the seat, which which his son Andrew worded for us and he said something like “he was ever the storyteller” [audience laughs] (HoB St. 32: 00:16:13 Speaker 2).

The memorial bench was featured in two of the *Poldark* tours the researcher participated in (Contact Zones 5 and 6). Perhaps unsurprisingly, it was featured in the self-guided *Poldark* walk designed by participant LM (Contact Zone 4), a volunteer at Perranzabuloe Museum. The guide of the second tour (PS) in which the site was visited, has a working relationship with the

museum and participant KE. KE's interpretation of the site in her tour and HoB talk, then, serves as a marker of constructive, as opposed to the objective authenticity that Schaff (2011) attributes to biographical sites. Authenticity (in the objectivist sense) is not an inherent property (Jia, 2009) of the site of Lech Carrygy, since the bungalow is no longer able to be toured. Rather, the granite bench serves as a marker of constructive authenticity, as it was produced by Perranzabuloe Museum. Similarly to the lipstick marks on Oscar Wilde's tomb and the CDs on Jim Morrison's grave (Schaff, 2011) and the miscellaneous offerings witnessed by Brown (2016a) at the gravestones of Jean-Paul Sartre and Simone de Beauvoir, the granite bench identifies the location as a signifier 'for a community to experience site as a situation for social interaction, collectively and self-expression' (Schaff, 2011, p.169). As noted in KE's HoB talk "wreathes and flowers and things are put up there" (HoB St. 31: 00:16:01 Speaker 1). The bench still serves as a place of pilgrimage where tourists can 'look at, and feel in awe of, the setting in which they find themselves and the "meanings" which that place possesses' (Herbert, 1995b, p.13). Intra-personal authenticity is achieved by the guided tourist by experiencing the place through senses (Wang, 1999). Inter-personal authenticity is achieved, then, through the shared experience of visiting the sight as part of a tourist community (Turner, 1969).

Nevertheless, participant KE (Speaker 1) uses the photograph as a marker (MacCannell, 1976) of the original site (wooden bungalow) to mitigate the negotiation of perceived object authenticity, and ends Stanza 29 with the certitude: "We know particularly that Demelza was written there, we do know that for sure" (HoB St. 29: 00:15:02 Speaker 1). This is confirmed by the interpretation included within Figure 29. Here, KE demonstrates how the site of the bench is connected to Graham's life but also with *Poldark* (Çevik, 2018).



Figure 27. Winston Graham Memorial Bench (source: author)



Figure 28. Plaque on Winston Graham Memorial Bench (Cornwalloncamera, 2018)

The guides use markers of *Poldark* sights (including photographs), and photographic storytelling (Hannam & Ryan, 2019) as a means of interpretation. We can, then, think of their photographic storytelling as markers of time and space – a nostalgia for Perranporth's and



Cornwall's past. 'Authenticity then becomes not just important in terms of places and experiences but also in terms of an ongoing story about time' (Hannam & Ryan, 2019, p.445). KE ends her *Poldark* tour at the museum (KE2 St. 11, 0.05.06). PS includes a museum visit within his tour itinerary, specifically this includes a talk delivered by Participant KE, suggesting that the museum's markers are complimentary to their mobile marker (Roesch, 2009).

### 5a3.2 Geographical counterparts

Semiotically, the second of Schaff's groups is more complex (Schaff, 2011). 'Narrative places, as mediated through literary texts, do not of course constitute reality, but are themselves complex constructions' (Schaff, 2011, p.169). Winston Graham's *Poldark's Cornwall* (Graham, 1983) and David Clarke's *Poldark Country* (Clarke, 1977) are cited by Busby and Laviolette (2006) as two publications that can be used to assist readers in the geographical knowledge necessary to identify many of the locations included within the composite (Moody, 1997). In her comparison of holidaymakers and aficionados (i.e. *Poldark* tourists, presumably literary and film-induced), Nikkianne Moody (1997) employs the idiom "leave the beaten track" in reference to the latter's obligation to do so, versus the rarity attributed to the former. Winston Graham himself acknowledges the 1970s Ross Poldark actor Robin Ellis' *Making Poldark* (1978) as a third assistive publication. Emma Marriot's *The World of Poldark* (2015), 'The Official Companion to the BBC Television Series' is possibly a fourth.

In this sense, Winston Graham, and by extension *Poldark*, resists Ridanpää's (2011, p.106) assertion that imagined or fictional literary places 'are not meant to be found from a map of the real world', as Graham highlights 'the exact congruence of the literary place and the geographical space' (Schaff, 2011, p.171). Whilst the researcher acknowledges that literary tourism is intrinsically chronotopic, as fiction-related sites are difficult to identify as they are

disguised (Robinson, 2002b), markers, including photographs and maps (MacCannell, 1976) serve as means by which some of the *Poldark* tour guides represent sights to tourists. They also serve as a means by which the guides animate their tourists (Cohen, 1985), stage authenticity through re-enactments and are used as a means of interpretation. The guides co-opt fiction into commerce (Schaff, 2011). The pseudo-reality of *Poldark's* Cornwall then, represents both reality and simulacra (Baudrillard, 1983; 1994) as Schaff's second and third types of literary destinations merge.

Schaff's second type of literary destination can be applied to *Poldark* and Cornwall, as Appendix 5 illustrates. Graham included real geographical locations and place names. He states in *Poldark's Cornwall*: 'If I describe a town in the eighteenth century – Truro or Redruth or Falmouth – it is I hope as accurately described as if you have in front of you a town map of the time' (Graham, 1989, p.99). The author borrowed the names of local villages for several of his characters (e.g. Demelza, Warleggan), although the villages bear no relation or connection to *Poldark* (Moody, 1997). However, as Moody (1997, p.134) suggests, 'many of the placenames in the novels, beyond the centres of St. Austell, Truro and Redruth, are fictitious. Nampara, Ross' home, is actually the name of a district at the centre of Perranporth. But the image of Nampara retained by so many viewers is a little more tangible'. The tangibility of fictional sites, including Nampara, are fostered by the markers produced by the author (Table 33) and tourism stakeholders, including the *Poldark* tour guides and Cornwall's DMO Visit Cornwall. Examples of how Visit Cornwall have commodified these locations due of their association with the novels, and provide markers for their consumption, include, but are not limited to, various blog posts and maps. A cursory search of Visit Cornwall's website (VisitCornwall, n.d-c) using the search term "Poldark" retrieves 163 results. The Poldark page on Visit Cornwall's website (VisitCornwall, n.d-d) provides an interactive map which 'shows

all the locations used for filming [...] as well as some notable locations from which Winston Graham drew both his inspiration and historical accuracy' (Figure 30).

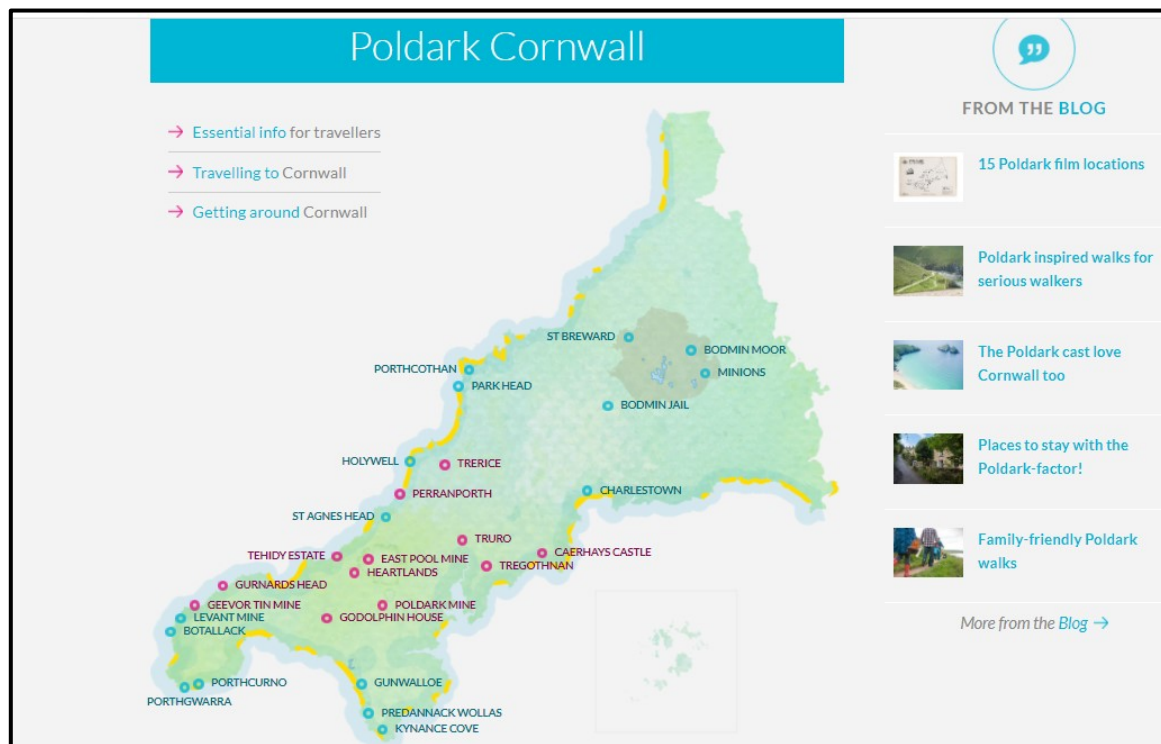


Figure 29. Poldark Cornwall interactive map (VisitCornwall, n.d-d)

The Poldark page provides link to Visit Cornwall's blog and subsequent blog posts that include, as was shown in Chapter 1 section 1.6, a map of '15 Poldark filming locations' (VisitCornwall, n.d-a). Visit Cornwall commodify these locations because of their association with the novels. For example, a Visit Cornwall blog post (VisitCornwall, n.d-b) serves as a marker for 'the real places behind the names'.

Poldark Country has returned to the official tourist map – both literally and figuratively - its contemporary relevance is largely due to the success of the latest BBC series. 'The recent adaptation pulls in around eight million viewers per episode, helping to boost BBC One's overall ratings for the first quarter of 2015' (BBC, 2015). Arguably, Poldark's Cornwall no

longer proves 'notoriously difficult to market' (Moody, 1997, p.134) due to the proliferation of markers utilised by tourism stakeholders, including tour guides to attribute symbolic, constructive authenticity (Wang, 1999).

The sense of place in Winston Graham's *Poldark* series, subtitled *A Novel of Cornwall*, contributes to the hyper-reality of the county, in a similar vein to Daphne du Maurier and her Cornish novels (Busby, 2004 cited in Hoppen, Brown & Fyall, 2014). Graham transfers real places into his fictional *Poldark* plots, simultaneously advertising Cornwall (Gentile & Brown, 2015) and providing readers (and viewers) 'vicarious emotional experiences' (Gentile & Brown, 2015, p.30). 'Cornwall itself verges into the *simulacrum* and the representation may get confused with the real' (Kennedy & Kingcome, 1998, p.52).

### 5a3.2 Hyper-reality and Simulacra

Literary tourism blurs the nebulous division between fact and fiction, reality and fantasy (Gentile & Brown, 2015). Hence, postmodern concepts of hyper-reality (Eco, 1983) and simulacra (Baudrillard, 1983; 1994) can be linked to literary tourism (Agarwal & Shaw, 2018) – that which purposively maintains the illusion of fiction in reality to attract tourists (Lipovšek & Kesić, 2015). The nexus between the hyper-reality and simulacra is relatively uncomplicated (Buchmann, Moore & Fisher, 2010). Eco's (1983) 'hyper-reality' is derived from Boorstin's (1961; 1964) 'pseudo-event' (Buchmann, Moore & Fisher, 2010) and 'describes the hypothetical inability of consciousness to distinguish reality from fantasy especially in technologically advanced postmodern culture' (Agarwal & Shaw, 2018, p.80). Buchmann, Moore and Fisher (2010, p.231) suggest '[a]s places become 'attractions' [...] and as every facet of the real is reconfigured for the 'tourist gaze' reality becomes one with hyperreality—at least for the tourist'.

Like *The Lord of the Rings*' fictional Middle Earth, Poldark's Cornwall has been factualised (Schaff, 2011) and commodified by tourism stakeholders including the *Poldark* tour guides. Poldark's Cornwall is presented as authentic, in the constructivist sense, as the guides use markers (MacCannell, 1976) to project symbolic, constructed authenticity onto Cornwall's landscape (Schaff, 2011). Nevertheless, tourists will achieve existential authenticity in their experiences (Schaff, 2011). In this sense, 'there is more to [the Poldark tours] than the strained concept of Baudrillardian entanglements in hyperreal and simulated places. The sites may be imaginary, but they are real places as well and they can be signified by tourists by performative articulations of all sorts of imagined connections between text, place and author' (Schaff, 2011, p.179). Graham provides markers for hyper-reality and simulacra, in *Poldark's Cornwall*:

'But the north coast – and Nampara and St Ann's and Sawle – all composite pictures giving the right impression but seldom keeping to exact topographical detail. Hendrawna Beach is more like Perranporth Beach than Crantock Bay' (Graham, 1989, p.99)

In the introduction to the latest edition of *Poldark's Cornwall* (2015b), Graham's son, Andrew writes: 'So, beware anyone in Cornwall who says with apparent total authority that 'This is Demelza's Cove' or some other certitude' (Graham, 2015a, p.15-16). The warning expressed by Andrew Graham is seemingly unheard by the tour guides, in their certitude of interpretation. Although not specifically referred to, some of the guide's interview narratives demonstrate their use of such publications as markers for genuine fact. Participants PS and KC provide constructive authenticity by deconstructing the hyper-real. For example participant KC signals her knowledge Graham's inspiration (Trece) for the Poldark's family home (Trenwith):

“But by the time we got back here, erm, having gone via Trerice, you know and I had to be really really very clear about “No, this was Winston’s inspiration for Trenwith, this house. Not in this location, but when he was writing about it this was the house he was considering would be his ideal Trenwith” (Excerpt from KC St. 48, 0.58.12).

“But if you can then tell a story that links it together or gives these places individual credibility once they’re there for instance once you arrive at a location that’s been used as a film shoot which is lovely and you might explain part of the story that takes place there I never just do it that though, I will say, well actually their not talking about here, it’s going to be such and such a place, and in a couple of days’ time I’ll take you there so you can compare the two, this is where they chose it and this is why” (Excerpt from KC St. 11, 0.07.12).

In reference to his characters, Winston Graham writes: ‘People often ask where I found the names used in the novels. Poldark – unlike most of them – is pure invention. When I was in my early twenties my best friend was a young chemist called Ridley Polgreen [...] When I wished to choose a name, I thought first to use the name Polgreen. Then it seemed better to me that I should use a name no one else had ever had; also Polgreen seemed not quite strong enough. So the name Poldark came into being’ (Graham, 1989, p.190-191). At the end of his first stanza, participant PS remarks: “There is no Poldark it was Polgreen” (PS St. 1, 0.10.04) indicating his knowledge of Graham’s narration of his best friend. Although the researcher did not press PS to divulge his source that informed this statement, he repeats his knowledge of the main character’s appellation a further two times in his narrative, (PS St. 47, 23.34; PS St. 95, 1.03.32). The third and final time, is perhaps the most significant:

“Well, now that’s the thing I don’t verify them to be authentic because I actually play that game where I say that’s impossible they couldn’t physically get on a horse and go from here to Truro via the North Coast The Lizard so we play a game so we deconstruct authenticity because that is part of the game” (Excerpt from PS St. 95, 1.03.32).

Participant PS provides constructive authenticity (Roesch, 2009) relative to aspects of the novels including the names of the characters. He believes this to be particularly important and seems to recognise that 'because they are hermeneutic spaces, these textual locates cannot be objectified, but are to be regarded as symbolic instruments for making a text meaningful' (Schaff, 2011, p.169). He acknowledges his 'toured object includes both the real-place features as well as the absent, imaginary objects [and geographies] (Roesch, 2009, p.186) and uses his third-person interpretation to contextualise the hyper-real or simulacra for his tourists:

'erm with places like Nampara, so [laughs] which doesn't exist erm but he's put it somewhere near St Anne's which is St Agnes erm there is Mongoose House and then he has got Redruth and Illogan, yes he talks about that Truro and Falmouth and all that but er so he's actually mixing in the map fact and fiction' (Excerpt from PS St. 1, 10.04).

### *5a3.2.1 Film-induced sacred sights*

Literary topographies are complicated by film locations as very often directors select a location which in reality represents somewhere else (Bolan, Boy & Bell, 2011) , or select either multiple locations to represent a single hermeneutic space (Schaff, 2011). Examples of the former, include the literary-induced film adaptations Arthur Golden's *Memoirs of a Geisha*, set in Japan and filmed in USA and Alexandre Dumas' *The Count of Monte Cristo*, set in France and Italy, and filmed in Ireland (Bolan, Boy & Bell, 2011). Examples of the latter in Poldark include Trenwith House, which was set in Cornwall although filmed in Gloucestershire (PGC St. 56, 00.42.20).

This notion of displacement has implications for authenticity (Bolan, Boy & Bell, 2011), as does Schaff's (2011) assertion that when novels are adapted for film (and television), literary places are superseded by the film locations; filmic representations replace the imagined geographies that exist in the readers mind. Buchmann, Moore and Fisher (2010, p.233) suggest 'films [...] are understood inherently as representations, simulations and contrivances. They are emblematic of the proliferation of simulacra and the hyperreal'. Beeton (2015) suggests that to a certain extent, anecdotal evidence supports MacCannell (1976), in that tourists to film sites are disappointed where the reality of place does not exactly match the locations portrayal on screen. Film-induced tourists then, are presented with an 'inauthentic' experience as they are not experiencing the 'reality' they saw on screen (Beeton, 2015). Whilst Agarwal and Shaw (2018, p.214) argue '[e]ven the most staged environments which may be dominated by hyper-reality and simulacra [...] do not necessarily make the experience any less authentic or genuine'. According to Roesch (2009) there are various components that render a film sight – and by extension a film-induced literary tourism sight - as sacred: 1) the perception that the experience of the sacred sight is objectively authentic; 2) the presence of 'attractive physical features'; 3) 'recurring scene appearance and' 4) 'involvement of key characters and key scenes' (Roesch, 2009, p.208). Buchmann, Moore and Fisher's (2010, p.243) research findings 'strengthen the argument that film tourists seek authentic experiences and that any such authentic experiences depend on place as well as upon the wider processes in which any interpretations of the experience take place'.

The *Poldark* tours guides go to varying lengths, using somewhat similar means, to attribute objective authenticity to their toured film-induced literary tourism locations. Whilst the guides do not retain the film sets, by virtue that it is set in the natural Cornish environment,



they do animate their tourists by recreating scenes - they build simulacra 'to retain more essence of film authenticity' (Bolan, Boy & Bell, 2011, p.113).

The researcher considers the objective authenticity of these sights, using participant PGC's interview narrative. PGC was the Location Manager for BBC's latest *Poldark* series. In her narrative, PGC acknowledges that whilst markers of *Poldark* filming locations were "out there", she suggests there were also a lot of misinformation. She also acknowledged the safeguarding of some of the locations, which can be attributed to the pre-empting and mitigating the negative impact of an influx of tourists. Table 34 presents excerpts from participant PGC's interview which now, theoretically serve as markers for authentic *Poldark* filming locations.

<b>Filming location</b>	<b>Poldark location</b>	<b>Excerpt from PGC interview</b>
Botallack Mine	Grambler; Wheal Leisure	“No, that was Botallack as well [Zoe says: Oh that was Botallack as well? Okay] The same mine we just changed them around. Nobody – we just used the same one but just changed the dressing on it, so it looked a bit different [laughs]” (PGC St. 52, 00.39.11)
Chavenage House, Gloucestershire	Trenwith	“Trenwith was in Gloucestershire”(PGC St. 56, 00.42.20); “Err no. No Chavenage House in Gloucestershire” (PGC St. 75, 00.50.31)
Church Cove and Dollar Cove at Gunwalloe	Night-time wrecking scenes	“Yep” (PGC St. 53, 00.40.17)
Frome, Somerset	Truro	“No we didn’t use Truro err, they used Frome in Somerset as err Truro” (PGC St. 76, 00.50.48)
Gwennap Head/ Lellizzick	Coastal route between Trenwith and Nampara	“Err no I mean yes and no, we mixed it all up, so there were various different locations we never erm we never could agree on the routes like he would leave his house and sometimes he would be on Gwennap Head and other times he would be at Lellizzick or somewhere else” (PGC St. 55, 00.40.53)
Holywell Bay	Hendrawna Beach	“No. Hendrawna was Holywell [Zoe says: Ok, what exclusively or?] Yeah yeah” (PGC St. 63, 00.46.26)
Poldark Mine, Helston	Wheal Leisure interior shots	“In err yes, yes it was used for Wheal Leisure. It was used in one series in Series 1 that was the only time it was used” (PGC St. 64, 00.46.40)
Porthcothan	Scything scene	“They did use erm the scything scene when he takes his top off. That was on the cliff top, in a field, at Porthcothan. But that’s it” (PGC St. 66, 00.47.28)
Porthcurno	Dream sequences	“Yeah” (PGC St. 67, 00.47.54)
Porthgwarra	Ross Poldark skinny-dipping scene; Landing of the pilchards	“Yeah and that’s where they land the pilchards” (PGC St. 69, 00.48.54)
St Agnes Head		“Yeah, so we shot there for most of, when when, Demelza’s, I think when Demelza’s daughter dies, I can’t remember Sarah is it? I can’t remember now, and she throws a bracelet away. Yeah, that’s St Agnes Head and then we used the mine there Wheal Coates as in Series 5 as where

		there sort of smuggling and where the French are hiding out and where he gets thrown down the mine shaft” (PGC St. 73, 00.49.41)
St Breward	Nampara	“Err it was a house near St Breward yeah” (PGC St. 51, 00.38.52)
Turnaware Point	France	“Oh yes. Yes we used Turnaware Point as erm France. Yep” (PGC St. 77, 00.51.02)

*Table 34. Markers of authentic filming locations derived from participant PGC's interview.*

PS uses photographs as a marker to interpret film-induced Poldark sights. Images from the televised version of *Poldark* complete the picture and supply souvenirs. As Lechte notes, '[i]t is an emanation that the photograph has such power to fascinate' (Lechte, 2008, p.263). Furthermore, visual aids (including film stills) contribute to the objective authenticity and recognition of value of locations (Roesch, 2009). Hence they are viewed as considerable assets to literary and film tours (Roesch, 2009). PS uses the films still as a marker of authenticity:

“But the verification is more about showing them the photos from the television series and taking them to there and then telling them the stories of what actually happened” (Excerpt from PS St. 96, 1.04.27).

Participants ChB and CaB also use photographs as markers of the objective authenticity of film-induced Poldark sights. ChB states: “we pride ourselves on, when I take photographs of everyone on tour, they get to stand on the exact spot to the nearest inch, where the actor stood” (ChB St. 8, 0.09.55). The emphasis placed on “the exact spot” is repeated in this stanza. Later, ChB justifies his statement by they use multiple sources of information including “Google Maps, we use stills from Mammoth Screen, we freeze frame, we print it all out” (ChB St. 8, 0.09.55). It was obvious to the researcher that ChB takes great pride in efforts to confirm the locations, and even goes as far to say that “Nobody else can do that” (ChB St. 8, 0.09.55). However, as PS’ aforementioned narrative indicates, this seems to be a tool used by both tour guides, to serve as verification of tourist visitation to objectively authentic *Poldark* filming sites.

### 5a3.2.2 Animation

Animation is a social component of a guide's leadership sphere (Cohen, 1985). An "Animator" is a guide who is primarily concerned with social activities (Cohen, 1985). Participants KC, KE, PS and Cab/ChB are "Animators" (Cohen, 1985) by way of the social function of inter-personal interpretation (Reisinger & Steiner, 2006a; Weng, Liang & Bao, 2020), they interact and socialise with their tourists (Reisinger & Steiner, 2006a) and attempt to induce their tourists to participate in 'various activities by the touristic facilities encountered on the itinerary' (Cohen, 1985, p.13). In their role as Animators, the *Poldark* tour guides supply 'postmodern cultural experience[s] (MacCannell, 1976), where enjoyment derives from experiencing and enjoying markers, signs and symbols of a social-construction, place and the hyper-real (Eco, 1986)' (Connell, 2012, p.1013). The principal activity some of the *Poldark* guides employ to animate their tourists is the re-enacting of scenes and shots from the latest BBC *Poldark* series. The guides supply and participate in these re-enactments, proving objective authenticity of the sights whilst serving as mobile markers through their mediation of their tours (Roesch, 2009).

'Yeah and we go and stand there and I get two of us to stand like Ross and Enys in the actual where you can go which is Church Cove down on the Lizard so you walk in there' (Excerpt from PS St. 23, 0.18.30).

Shortly thereafter, PS described this as "a bit of fun" (PS St. 25. 0.18.49). Within the same stanza, PS states that he has yet to complete the task of photographing stills of *Poldark* Series 4 and acknowledges that there is one location that he is yet to confirm. PS includes in his tour serve as signs and signifiers of authenticity – a way in which to confirm the object authenticity of his selection of sites associated with the TV series.

The extent to which CaB & ChB pursue objective and existential authenticity permeates their entire interview narrative. The guided tourist and the guide (ChB in the interview narrative) are able to re-enact a line from Series 1 Episode 1 verbatim:

“we did videos of Americans where you got one woman talking to another woman and she says to the other woman “How was the war sir?” And then the other one would say, “As any war ma’am. A waste of good men” (Excerpt from ChB St. 39, 0.36.22).

“It’s even got- to tell you a little bit about the way we come to detail, Charlestown and the wall with the Harbour wall down there, I freeze-framed that place where Ross is sat every time and I’ve got it in my head exactly, down to, where he sat to the nearest inch, down to its the third mortar line of cement, on the top of that wall that he sits on and its bang on, it’s gotta be. When they know he has sat on that very spot, they seem to get something, I don’t know what it is, whether they get a buzz” (ChB St. 97, 1.25.54)

The researcher argues that the “buzz” ChB refers to in the excerpt above is the tourist’s achievement of existential authenticity (Wang, 1999).

#### 5a4: Conclusion

This chapter provided an analysis of the semiotics used by tour guides to legitimise the toured sights included within their *Poldark* tour itineraries. The majority of tour guides included semiotic markers within their interpretations, chiefly photographic images of both the author-related and film-induced sacred sights. Thereafter, non-literary markers were also included within the tour guides’ interpretation. Both markers were found to be extremely influential on the tour guide’s authentic gaze – a new theoretical concept introduced in this chapter and synthesised in Chapter 6 section 6.1 – used to conceptualise the differences in

an individual's perception of authenticity. Photographic semiotic markers were found to hold most importance when guides attempted to animate their tourists (Cohen, 1985).

## Chapter 5b: Tour Guide Interpretation

### 5b1.0 Introduction

As will be demonstrated within this section, whilst the researcher agrees with Fawcett and Cormack (2001, p.687) assertions that 1) 'authenticity is more than a simple idea underlying and animating tourist sites', and 2) that the formation of what is authentic can in some cases, be attributed to macro and micro-environmental factors faced by site guardians, this research extends this further by asserting that authenticity is shaped by the interpretation of the site guardians (designated hereafter as "tour guides") informed by their cultural capital (Bourdieu, 1984; 1986; Busby & Meethan, 2008).

Whilst the majority of tour guides that participated in this study are not bound, nor influenced by the macro-environmental factors described by Fawcett and Cormack (2001), such as bureaucratic mandates, they are nevertheless, influenced by personal commitments, entrepreneurial interests and undoubtedly economic necessities (Fawcett & Cormack, 2001). The complexity of the set of ideas and themes involved in the authentic interpretation (Fawcett & Cormack, 2001) of *Poldark* extends beyond the conventional division and convergence of the elements present at literary tourism sites: first, those elements which are author-related, including biographical truths and actual geographic locations connected to the author and second, those elements that are text-related including fictional characters and settings (Amey, 2018; Fawcett & Cormack, 2001). In the context of *Poldark*, the division is further complicated although reflected in Schaff's (2011, p.169) typology of literary tourist destinations. The second group 'a place described in a work of fiction which has a counterpart in geography' reflects the real Cornish locations that are interwoven in Winston Graham's historical novels and then, the BBC TV adaptations. Graham drew his inspiration from real



geographical locations, owing to his time spent living in Cornwall and used these as settings as both fictional and non-fictional places in his novels. Therefore, a clear distinction using the aforementioned division is difficult as toured sites associated with *Poldark* present a fusion of the imaginary and the real (Amey, 2018; Busby & Klug, 2001; Herbert, 2001; Joliveau, 2009; Laing & Frost, 2012; Watson, 2006). Although the synchronicity of the place of composition and fictional settings intensifies the literary tourist experience (Watson, 2006), the hyper-reality (Eco, 1983) and simulacra (Baudrillard, 1983) of *Poldark* and by extension Cornwall (as discussed in Chapter 5a) contributes another aspect to its authentic interpretation.

In the same way that Fawcett and Cormack (2001) illustrated the interpretive forms of site guardians at touristic sites associated with LM Montgomery and her novel *Anne of Green Gables* (1908), the tour guides demonstrated their dissimilarity in their forms of interpretation. This research argues that the truth claims made by the tour guides, fuelled by their cultural capital and the other macro-environmental factors suggested by Fawcett and Cormack (2001) (e.g. bureaucratic mandates; personal commitments) not only reveal their interpretive forms, but are indicative of what they consider to be important about Graham, his literary products, the TV adaptations and thus, the authenticity of their tour experiences (Fawcett & Cormack, 2001).

Conceivably, for all of the tour guides their tours/walks are a labour of love and entrepreneurial interest (Fawcett & Cormack, 2001); love for the author, the novels, and for Cornwall. However, the tour guides can be differentiated by way of their motives for commodifying *Poldark*. Their experience of leading tours and learning about sites associated with Winston Graham and *Poldark* differ when the researcher considers their explicit or

implicit transactional labour (Walcott-Wilson, 2017). As will be demonstrated in the following analysis, two interview participants (LM and KE) do not commodify Winston Graham and *Poldark* out of economic necessity or personal gain. As volunteers, 'their labour is not explicitly transactional' (Walcott-Wilson, 2017, p.37) although, there commodification and interpretation is rooted in the paternalism of the museum for which they volunteer.

The remaining four tour guides, for whom their tours can be considered as (among other things) explicitly transactional, can be further differentiated: 1) those for whom revenue generation is fundamental (KC) and; 2) those whom revenue generation is beneficial (CaB/ChB; PS), although not fundamental.

#### 5b 2.0 Participant PS

At this juncture, the researcher asserts it would be useful to alert the reader to reality of PS' interview process. The first 30 minutes (65 stanzas) of PS' interview transcript was not in response to any of the questions contained in the interview schedule. That said, the researcher considers some of the information PS described during this initial exchange as valuable as unknowingly, PS includes aspects that directly relate to the questions included within the interview schedule. Therefore, the researcher decided to include this within the transcription and subsequent analysis to avoid limiting the depth of discussion of the answers given by PS to the questions posed by the researcher.

The designation of participant PS' interpretive form and as such, his version of authenticity, is not explicit per Fawcett & Cormack's (2001) tripartite distinction. Initially, PS displays characteristics of a modernist interpretive style, fostered by his moral obligation to preserve Cornwall's heritage through his commodification of *Poldark* and his predisposition to use

academic and non-academic literature to justify the authenticity of that which he interprets. As will be demonstrated in the following discussion, PS' own existential authenticity (Wang, 1999) is inextricably linked to his institutionalised cultural capital (Bourdieu, 1986) and his modernist interpretive form. His institutionalised cultural capital (Bourdieu, 1986) is presented to the tourists and serves as a connotation to the legitimacy of his position as a tour guide. However, whilst he constructs a modernist story of Cornwall's heritage and how the county's 'pre-modern past is linked to the modern present' (Fawcett & Cormack, 2001, p.694), with respect to *Poldark*, his interpretation is indicative of an eclectic interpretive form, whereby he invites tourist interpretations (Fawcett & Cormack, 2001). Evidence of PS' separation of *Poldark* (including the author) and Cornwall is both implicit and explicit in his narrative. He explicitly refers to the separation in Stanza 66:

“authenticity and context I think that is important. Authenticity is the okay there's two maybe ideas on authenticity it is what the author gave us so I have to repeat that and authenticity also means whether he got it right to historically or geographically or anything he is trying to – was it right? So for me I separate those out by showing them okay here are the places that they've done, here's what he wrote about, was it true? And for me the reason why I chose to do *Poldark* and not *Daphne du Maurier* is because he is historically accurate, erm he understands the processes for mining and for what was going on with the class system, the church system erm, banking systems [...] so for me the authenticity is actually listening to what he [Winston Graham] said, trying to grow that and also whether it was accurate historically” (PS St. 66, 0.31.02).

### 5b 2.1.1 Modernist turn

The researcher, like Fawcett and Cormack (2001, p.687) employs the use of the term “modernist” ‘in both its aesthetic and theoretical senses’. In doing so she recognises that PS seems to be in agreement with Moseley's (2013, p.218) assertion that: ‘*Poldark*, then, is predicated upon the question of Cornwall's peripheral relationship to the rest of the nation, and the issues of rural poverty and class relations haunt the text and its images’. PS displays

an earnest interest in the historical accuracy of *Poldark*, predicated by his knowledge of the novels and the social, political, religious, industrial and geological history of Cornwall both contemporarily and at the time in which the novels were set. In Stanza 4, PS refers to the dominant theme of his tour, which centres on the amalgamation and contextualisation of Cornwall's heritage using *Poldark* as a vehicle in which to construct his interpretation. His dominant theme reflects the attributes that he perceives to hold most importance in his authentic portrayal of Cornwall and subsequently the novels themselves. Throughout his narrative he demonstrates how he prioritises fact over fiction, where he allows the interpretation and authenticity of *Poldark* to be negotiated, but demonstrates the truth claims he makes about Cornwall to be non-negotiable, for they are supported by fact. Here, the researcher can make the connection between PS' dominant theme and his commodification of Cornwall's destination-based cultural capital (Busby & Meethan, 2008). PS includes Cornwall's latent cultural capital resources (Busby & Meethan, 2008) – the real geographical locations and historical facts within this tour. Arguably, PS and the other tour guide participants operationalise Cornwall's potential cultural capital (Busby & Meethan, 2008) – the less tangible, but nevertheless valuable, connection between the Winston Graham and particular places.

By way of his dominant theme (i.e. the holistic interpretation of Cornwall), PS' tour demonstrates how 'connections between an author and a locale can also be juxtaposed with other heritage' (Busby & Meethan, 2008, p.150). Through his commodification of Cornwall, PS actively reifies the author-related intangible cultural heritage from potential cultural capital to latent destination-based cultural capital (Busby & Meethan, 2008).

Throughout the course of his narrative PS reveals himself as a literary tourist who is more concerned with the author and his approach to his writing (which PS considers to be heavily researched and based on fact), than the fiction. The researcher suggests the tour guide demonstrates characteristics of a literary tourist that engages in Butler's (1986) first and third form of literary tourism; both of which reflect the author's connection with a place (Hoppen, Brown & Fyall, 2014). PS identifies with the author on multiple levels. He draws parallels between himself and Winston Graham, and the shared emphasis he believes they place on the accurate and holistic portrayal of Cornwall's heritage. PS frequently uses the terms "layers", "background" and "context" in his description of Cornwall and his interpretation of the county and the novels.

"[...] you know there's the Methodism, the mining, fishing farming erm there's the geology, there's the myths and legends all these kind of things and he [Winston Graham] does that exactly as well" (PS St. 4, 0.04.00).

In some ways, the tour guide's proclivity for historical authenticity mimics Graham, in his efforts to research his novels. This is evidenced in excerpts from his semi-autobiographical book *Poldark's Cornwall* (Graham, 1989), that which has been subtly reproduced in his autobiography *Memoirs of a Private Man* (Graham, 2004) (Table 35):

Quotes from <i>Poldark's Cornwall</i> (Graham, 1989)	Quotes from <i>Memoirs of a Private Man</i> (Graham, 2004)
<p>“Of course, historical novels as such divide easily into three classes. First, there are those actual historical personages as the chief characters of the books. Such as Robert Graves’s <i>I Claudius</i>, and Helen Waddle’s <i>Peter Abelard</i>. Second is the class in which historical personages are substantial figures in the story but have as their main characters fictitious persons – very often, as it were, standing beside the historical characters. Such as Rose Macaulay’s <i>They Were Defeated</i> and on a more personal note, <i>The Grove of Eagles</i>. Thirdly there are those which use entirely, or almost entirely, fictitious characters set in a recreated historical time. Such are Stevenson’s <i>The Black Arrow</i>, or H.F.M. Prescott’s <i>The Man on a Donkey</i>, or –again to be personal – the Poldarks” (Graham, 1989, p.148).</p>	<p>“Historical novels as such divide easily into three classes. First, there are those actual historical personages as the chief characters of the books, such as Robert Graves’ <i>I, Claudius</i>, and Helen Waddle’s <i>Peter Abelard</i>. Second, there are those in which historical personages are substantial figures in the story but have as their main characters fictitious persons – very often, as it were, standing beside the historical characters. Such as Rose Macaulay’s <i>They Were Defeated</i>, and my own <i>The Grove of Eagles</i>. Third, there are those which use entirely, or almost entirely, fictitious characters set in a recreated historical time. Such are Stevenson’s <i>The Black Arrow</i>, or H.F.M. Prescott’s <i>The Man on a Donkey</i>, or the <i>Poldarks</i>” (Graham, 2004, p.253).</p>
<p>“Indeed, I need to take off my hat to historical fact, for without it I could never have written the Poldarks” (Graham, 1989, p.149).</p>	<p>“I believe it to be most important in the third category (where all of the characters are fictional) to deal as much as possible in historical fact. I have an inventive brain, but could never have devised all the events which fill the pages of the <i>Poldark</i> novels. It would be tedious to enumerate all the sources – indeed it would means hours of research in reverse, tracing the origins of this event and that, back from the novel to the manuscript, the old newspaper, the map, the out-of-print book, the contemporary travel book, the parochial history, the mining manual, the autobiography” (Graham, 2004, p.254).</p>

Table 35. Quotes from *Poldark's Cornwall* (Graham, 1989) and *Memoirs of a Private Man* (Graham, 2004)

The same sentiment is repeated in Andrew Graham’s introduction to the latest edition his father’s semi-autobiographical book *Poldark’s Cornwall* (Graham, 2015a):

'You will also find described within this book what every good historical novelist much rely upon. The first is deep, hard, painstaking research. Every detail of the mining and the smelting, every apparently fictional description of a shipwreck or a doctor's treatment of lung disease from the foul air of the mines, or the conditions inside Launceston prison, or the history of banking, is based on actual accounts by those who lived in Cornwall as the eighteenth century turned into the nineteenth. Turn to page 149 onwards to see what I mean' (Graham, 2015a, p.16).

Interestingly, in his first stanza, PS acknowledges Graham's veracious efforts to research the period and Cornwall respectively. Within his narrative, he recounts the same excerpts (Table 35) from the Graham's autobiography and described how this in turn, influences his interpretation of the novels in his tour:

"So it is an actual idea that I am portraying is that he is based, he is very good at his research, he has based it all on what goes on, what is actually there, what has actually happened and historically correct as well you know [...] he himself in his autobiography said that I think there are four different types of stories and the one he has chosen is the one that is based with characters that, some do exist, Lord Falmouth does exist but Poldark does not" (PS St. 1, 0.10.04).

"I give them the background of Cornwall, its context of why Poldark works and secondly okay it's a bit of fun it doesn't work here's the continuity here's the reality erm so there's all those different angles I'm given them, hopefully I'm giving them as opposed to being a sensationalist I'm putting it in context and I want it to be, because I'm a researcher and all that and I appreciate him [Winston Graham], I have chosen him [Winston Graham] [...] because I appreciate he's done his work and I like the characters or hate the characters [laughs]" (PS St. 17, 0.16.25).

Statements such as these confirm PS' familiarity with, and his appreciation for, Winston Graham and the *Poldark* novels. Furthermore, it demonstrates his reiteration of his tour's dominant theme and the emphasis he places on the authentic portrayal of Cornwall's heritage, through the medium of *Poldark*. For this tour guide (PS), the accurate portrayal and 'preservation of past becomes a moral project of distinguishing the essential from the

inessential in a constantly shifting world' (Fawcett & Cormack, 2001, p.689). As does, the holism of his interpretation of Cornwall's heritage, as opposed to simply its literary heritage. For him, *Poldark* plays only a small role in his contextualisation and promotion of Cornwall:

"All the time it has to be. And in that word is authenticity and context for me erm Poldark is a small part of the context of what I do [...] how do I do it well lets carry on with the way I promote Cornwall and add Cornwall as the whole area with Poldark as one little part of it so they see that I'm not just talking about Poldark as though it's the whole thing its where it fits in" (Excerpt from PS St. 89, 0.57.40).

The causality of PS's interest in historical accuracy could be attributed the nature of the *Poldark* saga – being that they were historical novels set over the course of the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries – that Winston Graham extensively researched. He seems to identify with Graham and appreciates his almost academic approach that contributed to the creation of the *Poldark* plots and settings.

"[...] and the important think that I do stress is that we're going to scratch the surface and go under the layers of what he's [Winston Graham] written so I'm going to give you a much more detailed whereas some of my competitors just go here's where they did this here's where they do that and they could even make it up and just you know, whereas I'm going no its based on fact cus you know I've done research like he did so I just lay it out [...]" (Excerpt from PS St. 118, 1.28.05).

Here a connection can be made to PS' postgraduate education, in which he studied for an MA Cornish Studies, University of Exeter. The tour guide's discourse practices and knowledges of research seem fundamental to his interpretation of Cornwall and *Poldark*. Although, PS' self-identify and existential authenticity are contrasting when the researcher separates his narrative of Cornwall and then of *Poldark*.



By way of his postgraduate degree – which confers his ‘personal’ cultural capital (Busby & Meethan, 2008) PS demonstrates a high level of expertise in his chosen field of study (Cornish Studies) and his familiarity with research processes. The researcher is reminded of PS’ self-identity – that of an “academic” – from the outset of his narrative (PS St. 5, 0.07.27). Later, the researcher is reminded again of his self-identified academic status (PS St. 72, 0.38.72). Although PS’ verbiage differed slightly, from *academic* to *researcher*, nevertheless, the researcher inferred a similar sentiment was intended. Consciously, subconsciously or perhaps unconsciously, his intention was to demonstrate his conversion of embodied cultural capital to institutionalised cultural capital (Bourdieu, 1986; Dumais, 2002), in which his cultural competence is certified and non-negotiable (Bourdieu, 1986).

The rationale for his pursuit of a postgraduate degree and his subject choice appears to be two-fold: 1) fuelled by his relocation to Cornwall from London and his aspirations to deliver walking tours in the county and; 2) to mitigate the potential negative impact of his other self-identity – that of an Emmet – in terms of tourist perceptions of his ability to authentically interpret Cornwall. Within this narrative, PS seems to identify with Winston Graham by dint of their non-Cornish descent:

“[...] and me being an outsider, I’m an Emmet so I’m aware of coming in and seeing what Cornishness is about. I think that’s why I did the Masters in the end is to say okay that I know a bit about geology and flowers and things like that but I want to understand what Cornishness is about that’s very important, for me to come out with an interpretation of Cornishness from an Emmett is quite interesting I’m sure but then I’ve read, I’ve experienced a lot of people know who have their own interpretations of what Cornishness is and I think that’s important. Don’t know if that answers the question” (Excerpt from PS St. 77, 0.44.42).

PS' perception of 'Cornishness' seems to align with Ireland's (1998, p.abstract) 'argument that Cornishness is not just an expression of cultural and ethnic identity put forward by Cornish people to mark a boundary between themselves and the other. Cornishness is a deeply emotional and personal statement about being part of a living culture'. Over the course of three stanzas PS responds to the researcher's enquiry into his tourist's perception of him as a non-Cornishman. He describes how he candidly communicates his Emmet status to his tourists (PS St. 105, 1.15.09). Although PS did not specify at what point in the tour process (pre tour, during or post tour) he tells his tourists he is an Emmet, he did state that he includes a marker of his institutionalised cultural capital (Bourdieu, 1986) in his email correspondence (PS St. 106, 1.15.21). Thus, implying that potential tourists are aware of this from the outset of the planning and decision-making process. The latter, in his view, imbues a certain level of credence on himself and the tour he delivers and although not firmly convinced that that his MA trumps this Emmet status, he does suggest that it helps.

In Stanza 159, he emphasised his desire to gain an academic perspective of Cornwall and how, by way of his degree, he has accumulated a vast quantity of books (PS St. 100, 1.09.52; PS St. 159, 1.50.54). Hence, his interpretation of sites associated with Graham and *Poldark* is supported by his objectified cultural capital, and is transmissible not only in materiality (Bourdieu, 1986), in that he distributes a number of resources – including books and a geological map - to his tourists to look at whilst on tour (see AP1 St. 31, 0.22.30), but also by way of his interpretation and the information he disseminates. His consumption of objectified cultural goods appear to be fundamental to PS' interpretive form; the deliberate inculcation of which, can be attributed to his institutionalised cultural capital (Bourdieu, 1986). The tour guide reveals his cultural capital owing to all three forms as determined by Bourdieu (1986)

and demonstrates his perception of the intrinsic value of his discourse practices and knowledges gained from both his postgraduate education and his consumption of objectified cultural goods and the extrinsic value this has on the authentic interpretation of sites associated with Winston Graham and *Poldark*.

“you know things that went on and I tell them that and that’s where because I’ve done the research in history that I can embellish and add to their experience of it” (PS St. 116, 1.26.23).

Again, either consciously, subconsciously or unconsciously PS demonstrates his prioritisation of fact over fiction in his contextualisation of Cornwall and *Poldark*. He uses his knowledge of Cornwall’s cultural heritage to actively deconstruct the authenticity of the novels. PS considers this to be advantageous, as he becomes more believable in the eyes of his tourists, as the lines between fact and fiction become increasingly unambiguous. In Stanza 90, PS employs the solar system as a metaphor for Cornwall and asserts that *Poldark* is a planet within that solar system. PS’ dominant theme is once again evident.

The importance of the authenticity of the interpretation and representation of Cornwall’s landscape is reaffirmed throughout PS’ narrative. He demonstrates his frustration with what he perceives to be inauthentic interpretations of Cornwall. In Stanza 74, he describes some clichés that he finds particularly irksome:

“I get teed off so many times with reading people’s interpretation of what Cornwall is about [...] I think everyone wants to the original or the southernmost or you know you hear this, you go down to the Lizard, to the southernmost this so I think there’s there’s there’s quite a lot of that around erm people trying to be authentic so I think that’s I heard it blatant because then you will be setting yourself up. I don’t use it at all. If I do I should be shot because I don’t say it’s authentic I just say it’s an

interpretation and that's why I think I put, it's being honest" (PS St. 74, 0.41.45).

Towards the end of the stanza, PS demonstrates his slight aversion to the word "authenticity" as it seems to represent to him some negative connotations attached to the effort of tourism suppliers to extract money from tourists. Again, the researcher is reminded of PS' efforts to contextualise the novels using his knowledge of Cornwall, Winston Graham and *Poldark*.

"these things that popping up is my interpretation so I've constructed the whole theme for them saying this is my interpretation and I do say to them please feel free to say I don't believe that and I ask them, I'm not an expert on- you have probably read more novels of his [Winston Graham]" (Excerpt from PS St. 70, 0.35.51).

#### 5b 2.1.2 Relational processes in the Eclectic Turn

Whilst PS' modernist interpretive form is evidenced in his narrative, his eclectic (Fawcett & Cormack, 2001) turn is also revealed. PS' eclecticism (Fawcett & Cormack, 2001) can be linked to his role as an 'Animator' (Cohen, 1985). Ferguson, Walby and Piché (2016) consider animators as those typically witnessed in sight-seeing and all-inclusive resorts. The authors consider these types of experiences to be less focused on the supply and demand of authentic experiences and genuine spaces (Ferguson, Walby & Piché, 2016).

PS' eclecticism does not subject his tour participants to his modernist disciplinary gaze (Larsen & Meged, 2013) when interpreting *Poldark*. Although he continues to 'suggest photo opportunities, provide scripted commentary, choreograph movements along prescribed paths and define normalizing behaviour' (Larsen & Meged, 2013, p.88), his role and dissemination of information no longer 'takes on an almost academic character' (Cohen,

1985, p.15). This less institutionalised interpretive form in comparison to his modernism 'leaves a wider scope for interpretation and negotiations of roles and power' (Larsen & Meged, 2013, p.92). PS' modernism is inherently linked to his self-identity as an academic. The subversion of this identity is evidenced in his narrative, whereby he refers to himself as an "enthusiast" as opposed to an "expert". The inference here is that tourist interpretations are equally as valid as his own. Also, one could speculate that he is implying that potentially, his tourists may be better versed in *Poldark* than he. Candidly, he revealed to the researcher that at the time of interview, he had not read all twelve novels in the saga:

[...] I've gotta hold my hand up haven't read every single of the novels I'm up to about 9 or 10 erm the 9<sup>th</sup> one so I'm sure there will be more and I could do a lot better and a lot more context as well I'm sure" (Excerpt from PS St. 99, 1.08.15).

In adopting an eclectic interpretive form PS values tourist interpretations of *Poldark*. In doing so, he creates a Turnerian "communitas" whereby he 'creates a setting where open, eclectic constructions of past and present are encouraged' (Fawcett & Cormack, 2001, p.702). PS considers the role of a guide to be one of providing their own interpretation. His interpretation of *Poldark* remains fluid, sometimes changing with insight he gains from his tourists:

"I'm as interested in them and what they their interpretation because I think it's just a genuine thing just because I read them doesn't mean that I know more and I emphasise that I am an enthusiast just as much as you what do you think? Okay and sometimes I say "yeah that's interesting I'm going to use that next time I'm going to be more intelligent than I was last week" (PS St. 119, 1.29.35).

The excerpt above illustrates Bruner's (2005, p.166) explication of the dialogic interaction of the guided tour, 'where tourists bring their concerns and interests to the interaction. The result is a very open format, more like a discussion than a lecture, one that allows improvisation and that facilitates the constructivist process'. The concerns and interests of the *Poldark* tourists is that of authenticity. Hence, within his eclectic interpretive form, PS facilitates an open format (Bruner, 2005) whereby he and his tourists construct the authenticity of *Poldark* fuelled by their cultural capital, in both the Bourdieusian sense and that of Busby and Meethan's (2008) derivative. In doing so he avoids power contests (Larsen & Meged, 2013) 'over knowledge based on the actors' cultural capital – a contest where the authority of the guide is being negotiated' (Larsen & Meged, 2013, p.96) as he actively negotiates his authority prior to the influence of the tourist's participatory tactics (Larsen & Meged, 2013). Ultimately, PS welcomes the participatory tactics of his tourists to co-produce *Poldark*-related aspects of the tour. As a result, his tourists' cultural capital influence his eclectic interpretation.

PS recognises the impact of his own personal agency on the experiences he creates for his tourists and discusses this at length in his narrative (PS St. 70, 0.35.51; PS St. 72, 0.38.72). He frequently refers to interpretation and the subjectivity of interpretation in relation to the reading of the *Poldark* novels. In doing so, PS acknowledges that 'what may be interpreted by one visitor as authentic may not be interpreted by another' (Shaw, Agarwal & Bull, 2000, p.276).

Ultimately, PS returns to his modernist interpretive form later in his narrative when he demonstrates his desire to counter the misappropriation of Cornish themes for their inclusion in tourism activities, experiences and Cornwall's marketing and promotion.

### 5b 3.0 Participant KC

In comparison to PS, participant KC's interpretive form was explicit: KC adopts a modernist interpretive form whereby she presents 'only one unambiguous and "true" touristic interpretation' (Fawcett & Cormack, 2001, p.687) – that of her own. KC's vehement truth claims are informed by (among other things) her knowledges gained from living in Perranporth, Cornwall for a number of years, her autodidacticism and other relevant sources including (but not limited to) Mammoth Screen and the Graham Estate. KC sagaciously identified *Poldark* as "the biggest free marketing opportunity that had ever been delivered to Cornwall" (KC St. 13, 0.09.57). As the following analysis illustrates, her decision to create a business that centres on *Poldark* was motivated by her nostalgia (Busby & George, 2004), her intellectual acuity and her predisposition to include authenticity as a central theme within her tour offering. Similarly to participant LM, KC does not consider authenticity to be a social construct: "No, but I think it's something that we if we're smart use having identified it I don't think it's a creation I think by definition it can't be" (KC St. 4, 0.03.31). This aligns with her modernist approach to interpretation, which is 'based on ideas of origin, beginning, truth and unreproducibility' (Fawcett & Cormack, 2001, p.700).

The dominant theme of participant KC's *Poldark* tours centres on immersion. For KC, immersion provides her tourists with a more "rounded perspective" of the county, including its literary heritage. Her use of the term "Cornishness" in Stanza 1 is illuminating.

"[...] I immerse them in the Cornishness of their experience so they go away having, having come with probably um one vision of what they were going to come here for and going away with a more rounded perspective of everything that came to deliver that experience [...]" (Excerpt from KC St. 1, 0.00.48).

The researcher argues that KC uses the term similarly to tourism scholars (Busby & Laviolette, 2012; Kennedy & Kingcome, 1998; Westland, 2002): to demonstrate ‘perceptions of ‘otherness’ which are synonymous with ‘Cornishness’ (Busby & Laviolette, 2012, p.166). As Busby and Laviolette (2012, p.167) argue, ‘[h]owever defined, Cornishness permeates the landscape, highlighting the view that place is a socio-cultural construction rather than merely physical (Busby, 2002; Pritchard and Morgan, 2001, 2003)’. The researcher argues that Cornishness is an inherent resource of Cornwall’s destination-based cultural capital (Busby & Meethan, 2008). KC, by way of her personal cultural capital, identifies, deploys and commodifies this latent and potential resource (Busby & Meethan, 2008). For KC, *Poldark* constitutes a historical and cultural anchor with preindustrial Cornwall (Fawcett & Cormack, 2001). Within her interpretation, she becomes an ambassador for Cornwall (Pond, 1993).

The notion of ‘Otherness’ is a salient feature of Cornwall (Busby & Laviolette, 2012) as the county is often perceived ‘as distinct – inferior and subordinate – to the rest of England’ (Busby & Laviolette, 2012, p.166). This is a view that was shared by KC’s grandfather, of whom was a great influence on her. His perception of Cornwall was that of “an industrial wasteland”. KC does compare Cornwall to its only neighbouring county however, ultimately she challenges her grandfather’s perception: “I remember arriving and thinking, nope doesn’t look like an industrial wasteland to me, and so I set about getting to know where I lived, not with the degree of curiosity that I’ve had in the last 12 years since I’ve been here [Perranporth]” (KC 2018 St. 13, 0.09.57).



KC's narrative illustrates her romantic gaze (Herbert, 1995a; Urry, 1995) of Cornwall, fuelled by her comparison of her childhood place of residence (Devon) (KC St. 13, 0.09.57) and her consumption of literature including *Poldark*. KC's romantic gaze of Cornwall intensified once she re-read the novels in adulthood and was struck by her ability to recognise the real geographical locations Winston Graham had included within the *Poldark* saga.

“So, I, I'd already read most of the books when I was little. I'd read all the ones that had been written and I read the odd one through adulthood. But I had never finished the whole saga, so I started again, and that was the point [exhales] hang on one second, and I started to recognise minute places he was talking about. I thought “I know that stream, I know this, I know, oh my god, I'm actually surrounded with it”. I knew it was written here [Perranporth], I didn't realise it was written in my road, and I had to start doing the joining up the dots” (Excerpt from KC St. 13, 0.09.57).

KC employs the use of informal phrases "stripping away veneers and facades" and "showing things warts and all" (KC St. 1, 0.00.48) to imply a removal of something to reveal something else - the authentic. In this vein, it seems KC's view of the concept aligns with those that view authenticity as the token of unadulterated otherness (Safaa, El Housni & Bedard, 2017), a concept that represents a 'connection between truth, intimacy and sharing the life behind the scenes' (MacCannell, 1976, p.95). Although she is not explicit in her explanation, KC's choice of phrase(s) implies that authenticity is in some way hidden; it is something that takes work to be found or that there is an action to be taken in order to reveal and understand it. This aligns with Goffman's (1959) and later MacCannell's (1976) front stage-backstage dichotomy, used to 'classify environments [and people] as authentic or inauthentic' (adapted from Pearce & Moscardo, 1985, p.158). KC's use of aforementioned phrases are indicative of the importance she places on the omnipresence of Cornwall's tangible and intangible cultural heritage (Busby & Laviolette, 2012), that which indicates 'continuity with a specific cultural

landscape as well as the social construction of the past and the future (Busby et al., 2009; Harvey, 2001)' (Busby & Laviolette, 2012, p.166). Herein, the researcher argues that literatures including the *Poldark* contribute to the socio-cultural construction of Cornwall and a suppositional sense of Cornishness by way of their vicarious immortalisation of aspects of Cornish culture and heritage, including Cornish communities (Laviolette 2011, cited in Busby & Laviolette, 2012).

The translation of *Poldark* to television has reinforced some of the familiar myths associated with Cornwall (Busby, 2013), including 'ancient customs and notions of Celticity' (Busby, 2013). Though not entirely, former notions of Cornishness have been largely displaced (Kennedy & Kingcome, 1998). Literature such as *Poldark* hold increasing resonance as the world responds to globalisation and cultural homogeneity and their associated challenges (Robinson, 2002a). *Poldark* arguably assumes 'great literature' in so far as it reifies Cornwall's nationalist boundary (Robinson, 2002a) and perpetuates 'hegemonies that are not only located in the developed west, but also seem to be fixed within a hyper-nostalgia for an uncritical past' (Robinson, 2002a, p.20).

Within her interview, KC demonstrates her perception that *Poldark* is a "digestible" narrative of "the socio-economic political history of Cornwall" (KC 2018 St. 41, 0.52.50) that she further extricates through her interpretation. Her use of the phrase "digestible" is illuminating. It reflects the stories told by entrepreneurial guides identified by Bryon's (2012, p.28) 'tentative taxonomy of storytelling, which reflects recent dynamics in the industry'. Digestible stories are the most striking element of stories told by entrepreneurial guides, and are considered to be the most appealing (Bryon, 2012). KC's personal cultural capital disentangles elements (Busby, 2013; Busby & Meethan, 2008) of Cornwall's heritage. Her interpretation of *Poldark*

and Cornishness provides a de-blurring of fact and fiction, myths and truths. KC navigates her romantic gaze of Cornwall and Cornishness by returning to her authentic interpretation of Cornwall's culture and heritage, which the researcher argues is wholly modernist (Kennedy & Kingcome, 1998). KC's *Poldark* tours are a vehicle through which Cornwall's history and Cornishness is centred, renewed, and exceeds functionalism (Kennedy & Kingcome, 1998). Paradoxically, although KC demonstrates attributes of an entrepreneurial guide per Bryon's taxonomy, her emphasis of glocality (Bryon, 2012) and Cornishness is indicative of the main characteristic of the most recent category of guides: a relational guide (Bryon, 2012) and opposed to entrepreneurial. KC demonstrates relational guide characteristics in relation to her online presence and the amount of tourists she guides on her *Poldark* tours: "I would rather have three really happy clients than 50 going away thinking that they've been showed a bit of something of nothing" (KC St. 19, 0.21.35).

She has multiple social media pages that are used both to attract tourists and serve as a channel of communication (Bryon, 2012), She has created various communities within her social media network that through e-WOM, promote her tours and is able to confidently identify the type of tourist and pre-conceptualise the individual tour (Bryon, 2012) based on the methods used to contact her (KC St. 26, 0.31.51). In doing so, she evaluates her audience 'in the opening moments of contact, to sense the mood of the group and select appropriate appeal' (Holloway, 1981, p.389).

### 5b 3.1.1 Modernist turn

Coincidentally, KC uses the same expression as PS – "levels" – to describe her efforts to interpret Cornwall holistically. Her use of the terms "rounded perspective" and "whole view" (KC St. 39, 0.48.20) suggest that whilst *Poldark* may have been the main motivation for her supply of

her tour and the demand for such a commodified experience, tourists leave with a more contextualised and complete understanding of Cornwall and Cornishness. KC described her tour experiences as being “multi-levelled” (KC St. 11, 0.07.12) and “multi-sensory” (KC St. 26, 0.31.51). KC makes the link between the holism of her interpretation and the subtitle of the original novels *A Novel of Cornwall*. For KC the subtitles reveal the prominence of place, along with the characters.

“when when he titled it *A Story of Cornwall*, in his original edition, I think that was very key, that’s what they’re after and that’s, it’s to do with the characters, the place, the socio-economic political history of Cornwall that’s in an understandable digestible form” (Excerpt from KC St. 41, 0.52.50).

KC assumes the role of a cultural broker (Bryon, 2012; Cohen, 1985; Feldman & Skinner, 2019; Holloway, 1981) and mediator (Cohen, 1985; Feldman & Skinner, 2019; Weng, Liang & Bao, 2020). Her brokerage of Cornwall’s culture and heritage can be linked to her transactional labour (Walcott-Wilson, 2017). The researcher can draw parallels between KC’s transactional labour (Walcott-Wilson, 2017) and her main objective as an entrepreneurial guide which is fundamentally driven by profit-generation (Bryon, 2012). KC exhibits many characteristics of Bryon’s (2012) entrepreneurial guide. She is demand-orientated and constantly searches for new marketing opportunities (Bryon, 2012). Within her narrative, KC demonstrates her planned diversification of her tourism product that is linked to her target group (Bryon, 2012) – Americans (see Stanzas 34, 65 and 66).

Of all of the tour guide interview participants, KC is perhaps the one who explicitly employs authenticity the most within her tour and subsequently her narrative. For KC, the use of the concept is deliberate: “it’s an upfront marketing tool for me” (KC St. 3, 0.02.16). She considers

it as fundamental to her interpretation and the success of her business (KC St. 13, 0.09.57).

Although KC does not explicitly refer to herself as an expert, she does implicitly illustrate her perception that she is a Cornwall polymath:

“[...] I suddenly realised that whenever anybody asked me a question, there was a really good chance I knew the answer. So I thought actually, [inaudible] might be a little bit of a clever sticks, really maybe I should, why are you learning so much? Why are *you* this knowledge sponge and other people asking you for things” (Excerpt from KC St. 13, 0.09.57).

Conceivably, by dint of her *Poldark* tour which is located in Cornwall, KC, along with the other tour guides (CaB/ChB, KE, LM and PS) engages in Butler’s (1986) first and second forms of literary tourism. The researcher submits that all the tour guides pays homage to Cornwall (Butler, 1986). Whilst the second form of literary tourism is inherently fiction-related (Busby, 2004; Butler, 1986; Hoppen, Brown & Fyall, 2014) the guide’s *Poldark* tours are complicated by the fact that real locations were included within Winston Graham’s fictional novels. Touring *Poldark Country* requires the tour guides to have knowledge of Cornwall’s geography. The tour guides and their tourists must also accept that *Poldark Country*, like other literary countries is a ‘composite creation’ (Moody 1997 cited in Busby & Laviolette, 2006, p.147). Literary countries can also be linked to Butler’s (1986) fourth form of literary tourism (Busby, 2004; Busby & Laviolette, 2006). Early in her narrative, KC demonstrates her confidence in her knowledges of *Poldark*: “Erm and set about that I was *the* person that anybody would come to for it. And now I am” (KC St. 13, 0.09.57).

KC’s knowledge is fuelled by her exposure to the 1970s BBC adaptations in childhood, the latest BBC adaptation in adulthood, her reading of the novels and that Cornwall is her place of residence. Precisely, KC lives in Perranporth, Cornwall, which is where Winston Graham

also lived (though not at the same time). Within her narrative, KC attributes the appeal of Cornwall to her nostalgia, fostered by her reading and watching *Poldark* and the less poetic but nevertheless important issue of financial viability. KC's relocation to Cornwall prompted her to obsessively research the county to expand her existing knowledge: "I set about getting to know where I lived, not with the degree of curiosity that I've had in the last 12 years since I've been here [Perranporth]" (KC St. 13, 0.09.57).

KC demonstrates her nostalgia, in the modernist sense (Fawcett & Cormack, 2001) and as an well-documented element and form of literary tourism (Busby & George, 2004; Gentile & Brown, 2015; Herbert, 1995b; Herbert, 2001; Robinson & Andersen, 2002a; Squire, 1993; Squire, 1996). For KC, *Poldark* has extra-textual meanings (Busby & George, 2004; Gentile & Brown, 2015) and reflects her deeper cultural sensitivities (Busby & George, 2004; Robinson, 2002a). Although it is unlikely that most people were first exposed to *Poldark* in their childhood, this was the case for KC. She recalls watching the original 1970's TV series as a teenager in a convent boarding school (KC 2018, St. 13, 0.09.57) and reading the books at a child: "[...] So, I, I'd already read most of the books when I was little. I'd read all the ones that had been written and I read the odd one through adulthood [...]" (KC St. 13, 0.09.57).

She identified with the character Demelza Carne (later Poldark), being that they were of similar age when she watched the 1970s adaptation. She desired to be rescued from her convent boarding school (KC St. 13, 0.09.57), in the same way that Ross rescued Demelza from abuse and poverty. KC goes as far to say she attributes the genesis of her tour to her nostalgia:

"So, initially it came from erm a connection with something that was to do with my childhood erm and erm a natural inclination to follow historical drama and also you know, having worked in in that industry, erm, you

know in theatre and in erm film and everything, I knew the process, so I know how that all works” (Excerpt from KC St. 13, 0.09.57).

KC demonstrates that she tells a story of Cornwall and believes that the explanations of sites that she includes within her interpretation is what allows her tourists to gain a “full picture” (KC St. 11, 0.07.12). In Stanza 11, KC employs “painting by numbers” (KC St. 11, 0.07.12) as a metaphor for the holism of her interpretation. Later in Stanza 13 she employs a similar metaphor in her description of how she contextualises the human stories attached to aspects of Cornwall’s heritage (e.g. mining heritage) and Cornishness to “colour the map” (KC St. 13, 0.09.57) of her interpretation.

“So the explanation is what gives them a full a full picture, so it’s a bit like painting by numbers I won’t leave the grey out you know it’ll be easy the shading needs to be there so it’s a multi-levelled experience” (Excerpt from KC St. 11, 0.07.12).

During her touring of film-induced *Poldark* sites, KC’s interpretation is influenced by author-related truth claims and her modernist interpretation of historical fact. Here, the line between fact and fiction becomes unblurred as KC’s separates her truth claims from possible tourist perceptions. The excerpt below illustrates KC’s realisation that per her understanding, authenticity is fundamental to her interpretation.

“Yeah, they like to, they like to take rocks home with them. They will kind of go “I’ll just take this” or a little pot of sand. I mean the sand that they will pick will be from Holywell because that’s what they’ve seen on the screen, but my daughter makes seagrass jewellery that is all from the real Hendrawna Beach – which is Perranporth. We don’t go to Holywell and do it, we don’t say oh this is Holywell because that’s what you’ve seen on screen you want, you want Perranporth glass then you’ll get glass that Winston Graham may have stood on, maybe not Aiden but you never know and all of those kind of things, and you think oh okay that kind of thing, so it becomes again, its pulling them back to, always pulling them back to an authenticity and I don’t think I really realised until this conversation

potentially how important that is to me, other than I have a complete acceptance of that automatically you know, if it's not authentic it's not worth doing, erm but maybe it's got more implications that I've ever really thought about so thank you for the questions [laughs]" (Excerpt from KC St. 40, 0.51.23).

In reference to authenticity, KC links her "going under the levels" to repeat visitation. KC endeavours to ensure her interpretation is "revelatory" (KC St. 48, 0.58.12). For KC, her revelatory experiences are a function of her authentic interpretation of *Poldark* and Cornwall: "[...] People are if they get straight away in their face what they think they were looking for and they're not prepared to go under the levels they will not come back. So you in order to um engender um a deeper understanding [...]" (KC St. 3, 0.02.16).

She demonstrates her objectified cultural capital (Butler, 1986) by drawing comparisons between the characters in *Poldark* and the characters in the classic novels *Wuthering Heights* and *Lorna Doone* (KC 2018 St. 95, 2.11.01). It is illuminating that KC repeats these examples that were given earlier in her narrative, which is perhaps indicative of not only her familiarity with the novels and its characters but also a reiteration of her identifying with the characters.

KC is certainly not pliant in her interpretation of authenticity. As the excerpt from Stanza 21 illustrates, KC's perception of authenticity as twofold: 1) her own existential authenticity and; 2) the authenticity of the knowledges included within her interpretation. Within Stanza 21 she describes the issue of becoming fatigued with the tour process and how this results in inauthenticity of her interpretation: "Now it is you know what you see is what you get I will tell them the complete unvarnished truth" (KC St. 11, 0.07.12). The researcher can make the connection here between KC's existentialism and her modernist interpretive form, of which



the former extends to both KC's intra-personal and inter-personal authenticity (Wang, 1999). KC's intra-personal authenticity is evidenced through her self-making and self-identity (Wang, 1999).

The morality of KC's obligation (Fawcett & Cormack, 2001) to supply an authentic experience permeates the entirety of her narrative. She endeavours to construct her self-identity to the audience as a morally conscious, authentic individual. Poignantly, she constructs her moral self from the outset of the interview in her responses to questions relating to authenticity. For example, as aforementioned she emphasises the importance of showing the tourism industry "warts and all". The lines here are blurred between morals and ethics. One could interpret that this statement is fuelled by her modernist interpretive form which is fuelled by her ethical position whereby she, as a tour guide, feels it is her responsibility to be completely candid with her tourists. She rationalises her approach by explaining that her choice to be "upfront" (KC 2018 St. 11, 0.07.12) instils trust and exemplifies her desire to foster good interpersonal relationships between her and her tourists fuelled by her own moral reasoning:

"Um [pauses] with me, I'm very err I'm very upfront, people know what they're going to get very quickly, um I don't pull my punches, say what I mean um and they they will very quickly trust that with you, they may not like it but they'll certainly trust it" (Excerpt from KC 2018 St. 11, 0.07.12).

Thus, KC's inter-personal authenticity is particularly important as she creates "communitas" within her tours, in the Turnerian sense (Wang, 1999). However, KC's role in her "communitas" differs from the those tourists whom are levelled and 'stripped of structural attributes' (Turner 1973 cited in Wang, 1999, p.364) for she is the facilitator of the "communita", not a participant. Rather, her intra-personal and inter-personal authenticity are

consolidated as she narrates her conventional morality (Kohlberg, 1958). In doing so she reinforces her authority; that which is internalised but not questioned, based not only on the perceived norms of the group to which she belongs (i.e., tour guide vs tourist), but also her post-conventional morality; her self-driven principles that facilitate the unspoken contract she enters into with her tourists, to be as transparent and authentic as possible. Both her conventional and post-conventional morality can be linked to the modernism and existentialism of her interpretation. For KC, the preservation of the past and her interpretation of *Poldark* and by extension Cornishness, is a moral project that involves her differentiating 'the essential from the inessential' (Fawcett & Cormack, 2001, p.689). 'Significantly, this observation again recalls a crucial Goffmanian point about social life, that all performances are at bottom moral claims to the truth and value of the social reality being enacted' (Fawcett & Cormack, 2001, p.689).

KC's modernism is evidenced in her appraisal of the BBC adaptations, to which she dedicates an entire stanza (Stanza 95). Although, she demonstrated her negotiated acceptance of the TV programmes inaccuracy of the adaptations of some of the *Poldark* characters, she did not accept the inauthenticity of some of the historical and geographical truths. KC accepted that the hair colour of characters Demelza, Elizabeth and Caroline differed in the TV adaptations from how Winston Graham described them in the novels. Although she would have preferred them to have remained authentic she is able to rationalise the choices by offering her own explanation of why the production company had made that decision. Although some might claim KC's negotiation of the authenticity of certain character traits in the adaptations versus the novels may be indicative of her eclecticism, the researcher argues this is not the case. Rather, it serves as a marker of her institutionalised and personal cultural capital (Bourdieu, 1986; Busby & Meethan, 2008) as opposed to her interpretive form.

In her pursuit of a successful application to Drama School, KC studied from a BA (Hons) Expressive Arts. The course involved subjects including “Fine Art, History of Art, Theatre Design, Drama and Music” (KC St. 78, 1.57.57.27). Although KC did not graduate from this undergraduate degree programme, the researcher argues that the knowledge gained prior to her premature departure contributes to her institutionalised and personal cultural capital (Bourdieu, 1986; Busby & Meethan, 2008). Her knowledge of the industry is further cemented by her previous employment: “having worked in in that industry, erm, you know in theatre and in erm film and everything, I knew the process” (KC St. 13, 0.09.57). Her gratuitous knowledge of drama and television production is evidenced in her narrative, both in her interpretation of the sites and her appraisal of the TV adaptations faithfulness to their literary origins:

“More revelation. I think sometimes there is a little disappointment in the size of locations that they use erm because, something that comes out a lot is “Oh my god I didn’t realise it was going to be so small”. You know that’s movie magic, that’s what happens with cameras. “Oh my god it’s so much smaller than I thought”. Now whether that’s a disappointment thing or whether that’s just a revelation, I think varies with the person actually” (KC St. 45, 0.57.21).

“As much as they can be. Yeah, they are both of their time without a shadow of doubt. You know of you look at the 70s series now it’s excruciating to watch because it is a 1970s series with 1970s makeup and hair and costumes and they stand there and they do a stage performance and then they film it” (KC St. 93, 2.10.36).

5b 3.1.2 Paternalistic influence of Graham family and Mammoth Screen (production company)

Within her narrative, KC describes her relationship with Mammoth Screen, the production company of the latest BBC *Poldark* adaptation and the Graham Estate. KC initiated communication with Mammoth Screen and the Graham Estate soon after she purchased [www.poldarkscornwall.com](http://www.poldarkscornwall.com). She describes how her relationship with Mammoth Screen led to her receiving invitations to set (KC St. 14, 0.18.28) and them granting her “latitude” with respect to the knowledges she includes within her tour’s interpretation. With respect to the Graham family, over the course of two stanzas (15 and 16) participant KC describes her acquaintance with the author’s son Andrew Graham and his daughter Rosamund Graham (now Barteau) by way of chance encounters:

“within 24hrs of buying the website I’d contacted the production company and everybody and Winston Graham’s family and said “I now own poldarkscornwall.com do you have a problem with this? Because I want to do this with it” and everybody said, “Well I don’t see why we’d have a problem, but you know let’s keep talking”, and I’ve always gone back and talked to them [...] so they give me latitude to do stuff” (KC St. 15, 0.18.41).

In response to the researcher’s enquiry into the metaphorical weight of both the production company and the Graham Estate as sources of information, KC argues that the latter are most important with respect to authenticity. KC employs the use of the metaphor “rubber stamp” to describe how familial anecdotes (although not necessarily in-depth) can confer authenticity. That said, KE describes how she avoids referencing the Graham Estate too frequently throughout her interpretation as their anecdotes serve as a vehicle from which greater authentic interpretation can be sought. For KE, their childhood anecdotes implicitly serve as verification of many aspects she includes within her interpretation. The influence of the Graham Estate is much lesser in its extent for KC than other interview participants. They are but a means of verification of her authentic interpretation.

“In terms of authenticity, yes obviously. Erm, but I don’t think it needs to be massively in depth. I think what needs- if you have one or two little anecdotal things that come from them that is a bit like a rubber stamp to other stuff. So you don’t want to always be referring back and saying “Well the Estate of Winston Graham says this and that”. [...] they will quite often just expand on you know, aspects of their childhood that validates it without it being a direct question. So, I think it’s sort of natural exploration instead of an interrogation that really helps with that. I mean, I know that they’re happy with what I do and I also know that they’re happy with everything that Mammoth Screen are doing” (KC St. 19, 0.21.35).

#### 5b 4.0 Participant LM

Due to the self-guided orientation of participant LM’s walk, the researcher is unable to analyse her interpretive form with respect to her interaction with tourists. However, borrowing again from Fawcett and Cormack (2001), the researcher is able to analyse LM’s interpretive form in relation to her design of the walk itself. By way of her volunteer status at a non-profit organisation, LM (and by extension her walk) is governed by the paternalism of Perranzabuloe Museum Trust and its Management Committee. According to the Charity Commission for England and Wales (CCEW) (n.d), the Trust’s charitable object is ‘to educate the public in the Cornish heritage by the provision of a museum at Perranporth’. The area of benefit (CCEW, n.d), Perranporth, being Winston Graham’s place of residence for 34 years. It would be remiss of the researcher not to consider the paternalistic influence of Perranzabuloe Museum on LM’s interpretive form and by extension, her version of authenticity. The Management Committee of Perranzabuloe Museum is particularly relevant to this study not only in terms of the influence it has on the interpretation of literary tourism sites, but also the relationship the museum had with the author himself – Winston Graham, was once the museum’s President – after his death in 2003 his son, Andrew Graham assumed this role.

The researcher argues that LM's interpretive form exhibits that of a both a modernist and a rationalist, both of which can be linked to the paternalistic influence of the museum. The former, in which LM 'presents only one unambiguous and "true" touristic interpretation' (Fawcett & Cormack, 2001, p.687) reflecting objective authenticity involving the museum-linked usage (Wang, 1999). The latter, is linked to the Trust's charitable objective in which she imparts knowledge of Cornwall's heritage on the public, using its peoples as a source in of information. Perhaps unsurprisingly, LM did suggest that her approach to the design of her walk was informed by her perception of museums (i.e. that they are based on fact) (LM St. 16, 0.10.49). Arguably, her position as member of Perranzabuloe Museum's volunteer committee fostered her desire to provide objective authenticity in relation to the genuineness of the sites that she included in her walk.

LM narrates the creation of her "Self-guided Poldark Walk" over several stanzas. She, on behalf of Perranzabuloe Museum was responsible for creating a series of walks that began and ended at the museum. The researcher suggests that although not specified by LM, the intended purpose of the walks were to interpret Cornwall's literary heritage and educate the public, thus reflecting the Trust's charitable objective.

"Well just simply because we wanted some walks in Perranporth we haven't we haven't really really got any walks to sell to people to to show people we did have a set of them but they're not very accurate [laughs] in places shall we say, or the directions weren't very clear so we just wanted to have a series of walks, so it was just one of a series of 6 that I just did. It's about 10 years ago I'd forgotten all about it [laughs]. And they also had to fit on an A5 sheet [...] there's a limit to how much you can put on it" (LM St. 36, 0.20.52).

In Stanza 13, LM reveals her walk's appellation was not originally intended. LM curated the walk's content to map biographical as opposed to fictional locations associated with Winston Graham, a "Winston Graham Walk":

"Well erm, initially it wasn't a Poldark Walk, it was written as a Winston Graham Walk. So it doesn't include places with the names that are in the books, it just include places where he either lived or worked or played and it was because I was writing a series of walks from the museum that all started and ended here. Erm and it was one of 6 that we just did around the local area where you could start here and just walk round. So yes I did try and make it authentic in that I knew he lived in this house, he'd been involved with the tennis club, he was the coastguard and that he had written up at Lech Carrygy erm so it was just a case of trying to link them in a logical way really" (LM St. 13, 0.08.37).

Later, in Stanza 22, LM described that her self-guided walk was rebranded by an individual responsible for printing the A5 laminated sheets, in which the sites associated with Graham are interpreted. She attributes the rebranding of her self-guided walk to a marketing tactic, used to capitalise on the appeal of *Poldark* presumably after the success of the recent BBC series. She recognises that "you have to hype things up to sort of, to appeal to sell them" (LM St. 3, 0.02.59).

In Stanza 23, LM suggests that the poetic license taken by the relevant party was displeasing, although in a seemingly self-contradictory statement in the following stanza, she refers to the rebranding as "such a minor thing within the thing that I didn't get fussed about it but" (LM St. 24, 0.15.00). However, had a "Poldark Walk" been her original intention, she suggests she would have included other sites that were subsequently omitted, including fictional locations. Therefore, LM's walk represents an example of an author-related literary tourism experience despite its name indicating a fiction-related experience. Therefore, those tourists who

participate in the self-guided walk are engaging in the first and the third form of literary tourism as identified by Butler (1986) by way of the homage paid to actual locations connected to the author and the appeal associated with Perranporth because of its connection to Graham (Agarwal & Shaw, 2018).

Perhaps only marginally, LM's eclectic interpretive form is evidenced in her attitude to her walk's interpretation, whereby she was amenable in allowing another person to contribute to its authentic interpretation, even if it was only in respect to her walk's name. She demonstrates her acceptance that authenticity can be used as a marketing tool however, she does not view authenticity as a social construction, as "if it's truly authentic it shouldn't be something that is created should it" (LM St. 4, 0.03.36). Her perception of and preference for objective authenticity is cemented throughout her narrative. LM repeatedly demonstrates her cognition of the authenticity of objectivism, whereby there are objective criteria to evaluate authenticity and authentic tourism experiences, including fact and documentation.

LM was met with difficulty with interpreting the objective authenticity of those sites associated with the author. Whilst 'the subject of authenticity of tangible heritage might be perceived as a bit less complicated because the issue of subjectivity of the assessment regards only the demand side, and the toured object is the same for all visitors' (Żemła & Siwek, 2020, p.5), the majority of the author-related sites included in her walk are no longer tangible nor visible, due to modern residential and infrastructure developments. Nevertheless, LM includes this within her interpretation. Her modernist interpretive form is evidenced, whereby her 'nostalgia for an apparently "authentic" or "real" past [...] is the result of the modern replacing the traditional' (Fawcett & Cormack, 2001, p.687). As Figure 17 (see



Chapter 4 section 4.2.1.2) illustrated, she includes images of the original author-related sites alongside the modern locations.

When the researcher enquired about how much she considered authenticity is the planning of her walk, LM did state that she endeavoured to make it authentic. Her narrative demonstrated her intention to logically connect the locations associated with certain biographical facts she knew about Winston Graham including; the house he lived in, his involvement in the local tennis club, his previous employment in the Coastguard and the location where he wrote some of the *Poldark* novels (Lech Carrygy). Her response prompted the researcher to further enquire where she gained such knowledge:

“well is suppose because some of it was local knowledge, some of it was because of the records in the museum and erm and because I’m involved in the tennis club I knew that side of him there. So yeah just that local knowledge and records in the museum. I never knew him or you know I don’t remember him. I’d written to him but erm as secretary but I hadn’t had any involvement with him [pauses] other members like Harold who is on duty today remembers him, they’d have known him” (LM St. 14, 0.09.40).

LM’s constructed authenticity is perhaps more convincingly demonstrated in her description of the knowledges that informed the curation of her walk. Although as aforementioned, LM does not consider authenticity to be a social construction, she does, by way of her incorporation of local knowledge to make truth claims about the sites in her walk, demonstrate how her version of authenticity is constructed ‘as a result of joint interpretation and construction by stakeholders’ (Zhang & Yin, 2020, p.3). Local people within the Perranporth community are frequently referred to a source of information that LM interprets to be authentic. The value LM attributes to local knowledge is a theme throughout her narrative. The researcher suggests local knowledge is used by LM to supplement her own lack

of author-related knowledge. She admits “I don’t know enough and I haven’t read a lot about him you know” (LM St. 16, 0.10.49).

LM’s interpretive form therefore represents an amalgam of the modernist and the rationalist. Her modernist rationalism is linked to the Trust’s charitable objective that centres on educating the public on Cornwall’s heritage. Her choice to include the local community’s truth claims about Graham and author-related sites can be linked to the charitable objective, if one views, as LM clearly does, the local peoples as part of Cornwall’s heritage. Within her narrative LM reconciles that whilst the memory of local people cannot always be considered accurate, the truth claims made about sites associated with the author can be authenticated by multiple persons. This provides the rationale for her inclusion of these sites in her walk.

#### 5b 5.0 Participant KE

As was described in Chapter 4 section 4.2.2, the initial meeting of the researcher and KE took place when the researcher attended the second HoB event, 27<sup>th</sup> May 2018 (Contact Zone 2). Throughout the course of her narrative it became clear that KE’s role within Perranzabuloe Museum and her/their commodification of Winston Graham and *Poldark* extended beyond her “Winston Graham and Poldark and Perranporth” talk. KE held the position of Honorary Secretary at the museum for five years (KE2 St. 18, 0.10.10). She is now a volunteer on the Management Committee (KE2 St. 18, 0.10.10). KE, on behalf of Perranzabuloe Museum, delivers talks which are included as part of another research participant’s (PS) *Poldark* tour itinerary and runs her own talks and tours of Perranporth, based on the town’s association with the author. KE also has a personal connection to the museum, for her husband was one of the individuals responsible for establishing the museum more than thirty years ago (KE2 St. 18, 0.10.10).

### 5b 5.1.1 Paternalistic influence of museum

Volunteers have a significant presence (Walcott-Wilson, 2017) on Perranzabuloe Museum's interpretive staff, with interview participants LM and KE representing two of twelve volunteers who serve on the museum's Volunteer Committee. Walcott-Wilson (2017, p.37) argues that the experience of volunteers and paid guides differ significantly since 'their labor is not explicitly transactional'. Academic literature on tour guides as mediators of meaning (Cohen, 1985; Jennings & Weiler, 2006) and interpreters of historic sites and histories (Walcott-Wilson, 2017) is also applicable within the context of literary tourism, with KE's voluntary labour in Perranzabuloe Museum offering a useful example of how Cornwall's literary heritage is reimagined and negotiated by the volunteers (Walcott-Wilson, 2017). The researcher argues that the paternalistic influence of Perranzabuloe Museum on its volunteers is significant, as it determines their commitment to, and interpretation of, authenticity. Unlike the site guardians examined by Fawcett and Cormack (2001), volunteer tour guide KE stakes the museum's identity and professional reputation first and foremost, and then her own. The motivations, attachments and positions of volunteers are thought to influence their interpretations of historic sites (Walcott-Wilson, 2017). The researcher argues this is also a truism for literary sites. As the following analysis demonstrates, the paternalistic influence of the museum, KE's attachment to and connection with Cornwall and her cultural capital (Bourdieu, 1984; Busby & Meethan, 2008) all affect what she considers to be authentic about Winston Graham, *Poldark* and Cornwall.

Similarities are witnessed with respect to KE's interpretive form and that of other interview participants. The researcher argues that the paternalist influence of Perranzabuloe Museum, as discussed in reference to participant LM, is also shared by KE. Participant KE, as a proxy for

Perranzabuloe Museum, demonstrates a rationalist interpretive form in that she 'channels imagination toward discrete layers of meaning. Part of the reason for this approach is rooted in the' (Fawcett & Cormack, 2001, p.697) the museum's objective to offer an education of Cornwall's heritage. KE's "Winston Graham and Poldark at Perranporth" talk represents a formal environment in which she serves a representative of the museum and their HoB project. As a volunteer on Perranzabuloe Museum's Management Committee KE was involved in the planning of the HoB event and suggested she would be willing to give a talk about *Poldark* (KE2 St. 16, 0.08.39). However, KE's talk had its genesis before the event. As her narrative demonstrates, her association with participant PS and her involvement in his tour is what provided the original impetus for KE to develop her talk.

"I'm trying to think when my first one was. Oh I'll send you a link to Paul Simmons and it started with him because he'd found our museum on it in on the website and because he does tours of the locations he actually relates it to the original books, which is why I like working with him and he'll take people and actually read bits from the books in the locations and so on but he brings people here and he then led a tour- asked me to go 'cause he wanted to do a tour around for his, his people and so I went with him and worked with him and then my talk has has developed from there, working with him. Umm and I do it all for the museum, I don't do it for personal gain and I've spoken to Andrew, I've emailed Andrew Graham and err he said "Oh its fine if you're doing it for the museum, that's fine"" (KE St. 19, 0.12.07).

The paternalistic influence of Perranzabuloe Museum is evidenced in KE's narrative and somewhat intensified in comparison to participant LM. Whilst LM did not mention Andrew Graham, son of the *Poldark* author and President of the museum, KE references him multiple times over the course of her narrative. KE describes how she corresponded with Andrew Graham via email about her intention to conduct the talk. Although she did not specify, the researcher suggests that KE sought consent from Andrew Graham both in his capacity as the

museum's President and a representative of Winston Graham, his family and the Graham Estate.

The museum's (and by extension KE's) connection to the Graham family is rare although not exclusive in literary tourism. The unmediated link may be considered a valuable asset whereby Winston Graham's primogeniture connects the museum to the object of the authentic interpretation. This reveals another definition of authenticity, that which is determined by legitimacy, where Andrew Graham, as the son of the author, is able to qualify or disqualify authenticity. He is also, as the President of Perranzabuloe Museum, able to permit or prevent interpretation. In doing so he demonstrates his personal and professional paternalistic influence over the volunteers and their interpretation of Winston Graham and *Poldark*. The unmediated link may also be considered a barrier to the volunteer's individual interpretation of Winston Graham and *Poldark*. The potential despotism of the unmediated link may impede the volunteers' reimagining and negotiation of authenticity in their interpretations of authors and their novels as they reject their own interpretation and accept those of the museum.

As the stanza above illustrates, KE emphasised that all her contributions are on behalf of and for the benefit of the museum. In the following stanza, KE indicates that she does not charge people for her tours. Rather, she asks "for a donation for the museum" (KE St. 20, 0.13.05). Thus, the influence of the museum is again demonstrated in KE's avoidance of personal financial gain, and her preference for the museum to benefit from her tours. Although KE's name isn't mentioned by name, the researcher suggests KE can be considered one of the museum volunteers referred to on the outreach page on the museum's website, which

promotes the provision of ‘talks and guided walks on a variety of subjects’ (Perranzabuloe, n.d).

Earlier in her narrative, KE demonstrates the influence of the museum when the researcher enquired about her perception of authenticity and whom the responsibility of judging authentic objects and experiences is attributed to:

“yes just things that are genuine and definitely connected with what they’re related to and not [...] something that’s exaggerated for a bit of fun or erm to to erm to appeal to sort of a slapdash approach. You know it’s got to be you know thorough and rigorous” (KE St. 1, 0.01.36).

“Who is responsible? Well it's got to be err whoever lays claim to ownership or connection or inheritance with whatever the product is [...] So it depends who who who what body or organization or person lays claim to what it is you’re giving the experience for” (KE St. 11, 0.06.09).

Her use of the phrase “lays claim to” suggests that she equates ownership, connection and inheritance as qualities of a persons, official bodies or organisations who have legal or proper ownership or possession and can thus, authenticate it. Therefore, in order for authenticity to be attributed to a site, product or experience, KE believes consultation with the relevant persons, bodies or organisations must take place (KE St. 4, 0.02.43). The researcher asserts the emphasis KE places on consultation with relevant stakeholders is drawn from her own experience, whereby Perranzabuloe Museum is connected to and seeks advice from various peoples and organisations within Cornwall’s larger museum network. The museum is involved in Cornwall Museum Partnership and the Cornwall Museum Group, to which KE attends meetings (KE St. 13, 0.07.42). The reciprocity of the partnership is illustrated in KE’s discussion of how Perranzabuloe Museum loaned books signed by Winston Graham to the Royal Cornwall Museum, Truro for their “Poldark Exhibition” (Contact Zone 1).

KE considers Perranzabuloe's local community to be of equal importance with respect to consultation, as the museum by virtue of its status as "a Parish Museum based on this area" (KE St. 13, 0.07.42). Local people are contributors to the museum (KE St. 14, 0.08.19). KE views the responsibility of the museum is that of guardianship, whereby they care for and preserve the objects donated by the local people for their families and the future (KE St. 14, 0.08.19). Here, the researcher can reiterate the earlier connection made between museums and object authenticity. Within her narrative KE describes how her own tourism experiences are influenced by the paternalism of the museum:

"Well we always visit museums when we're on holiday and we always go to museums 'cause we look at it from a professional point of view as well now although we're volunteers do you know to mean? We look, I look at how they've done things, how they've displayed things as much as the information they give" (KE2 St. 36, 0.21.24).

KE's appreciation of local people is particularly evident in her description of how she gained the knowledge that informed her talk. Winston Graham's connection to Perranporth remains through his son and the donations he made to the museum after the passing of his father (KE St. 15, 0.08.55). Although it does not appear she knew the author personally, KE is also able to draw on stories told by their mutual friends, who remember the author and his family (KE St. 15, 0.08.55).

### 5b 5.1.2 Discourse practices

For KE, authenticity should be approached thoroughly and rigorously (KE St. 1, 0.01.36). Although not explicit, it can be understood that KE's understanding of authenticity and her accentuation of rigor is driven by two influences, that of the museum and that of her

postgraduate education. Although to some the etymology of the term rigor may be misleading (Biggs & Büchler, 2007), the researcher argues that for KE it is not, as on account of her MA Cornish Studies, she understands that 'rigor is perhaps best thought of in terms of the quality of the research process' (Saumure & Given, 2008, p.795).

KE's discourse practices were explicitly learned during her time spent as a volunteer at the museum. She furthered her education and knowledge of the routines associated with accurately recording, accessioning and archiving museum objects by attending various training courses (KE2 St. 18, 0.10.10). Although KE did not explicitly state as such, the researcher asserts that it would not be a fallacy to suggest that her training in such processes has also influenced her interpretation of such objects.

### 5b 5.1.3 Personal connection to Cornwall

KE's connection to Cornwall is axiomatic. Her dedication to educating the public on Cornwall's heritage (as discussed with reference to participant LM) can be attributed to the museum's charitable objective. The objective does, in essence, centre on the Cornwall's destination-based cultural capital (Busby & Meethan, 2008), whereby KE's tours and talks, including her HoB talk (Contact Zone 2) are examples of how the museum have commodified Cornwall's literary heritage for tourism promotion (Busby & Meethan, 2008). That said, KE's connection to Cornwall extends beyond her work with the museum. Her appreciation for Cornwall and Cornish people continues to be engendered by the pride with which the county and its people celebrate their heritage and their identity (KE2 St. 21, 0.13.13). Although she did not explicitly say as much, the researcher argues that KE is essentially describing Cornishness. Her perception of Cornwall aligns with the perceptions of others; that it is 'different' (Busby &



Laviolette, 2012, p. abstract). Her implicit emphasis of Cornishness is similar to PS and KC's tour interpretations.

KE claims to understand the Cornish way of life, although by her own admission she was not born in Cornwall. She attributes her understanding of Cornwall to her husband and his family. Upon moving to the county, she became totally "absorbed in all things Cornish" (KE2 St. 19, 0.11.08). Recounting an interaction with a local where she was mistakenly recognized as an individual the local went to school with, KE describes her pride at the thought of her being considered a Cornishwoman (KE2 St. 20, 0.12.09).

She read the *Poldark* books once she had moved to Cornwall. KE read Winston Graham's *Poldark* novels in lieu of any historical books that would afford her the knowledge of Cornwall's pre-modern past and how it is connected to the county's modern present (Fawcett & Cormack, 2001). In this sense, KE used the *Poldark* novels as a resource to construct her modernist interpretation of Cornwall and her version of authenticity.

KE's fascination with Cornwall and Cornish identity is perhaps most evident in her narrative when she responds to the researcher's enquiry into her educational credentials and the rationale behind her subject choice. Coincidentally, KE also studied for an MA Cornish Studies, University of Exeter – the same postgraduate degree as participant PS. Her subject choice was predicated by the degree programme's comprehensiveness. The topic of her thesis centred on Cornish Identity (KE2 St. 31, 0.18.45). KE's personal cultural capital (Busby & Meethan, 2008) is prosaically accumulated through her participation in the museum's Management Committee and membership of a number of learned societies and bodies including the National Trust, Cornwall Wildlife Trust, Penlee Art Gallery Museum, and Royal Cornwall

Museum, Truro (KE2 St. 32, 0.19.05). Although KE did reference her involvement with the Federation of Old Cornwall Societies, it wasn't until the researcher began researching the Federation that she learned KE is listed as President on their website (kernowgoth, 2021). Hence, it is relevant to consider the influence of the Federation, since it contributes to KE's accumulation of personal cultural capital (Busby & Meethan, 2008). The objectives of the Federation mimic that of Perranzabuloe Museum's in so far as they aim to preserve and share knowledge of Cornwall's cultural heritage (kernowgoth, 2021).

KE narrates how her perception of authenticity has changed during the course of her life. In response to the researcher's enquiry into whether she believes authenticity is a social construction, KC recounts a memory from her childhood:

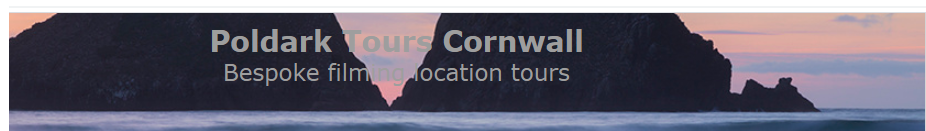
I suppose it is 'cause it can change through time. I remember when I did history at school I thought that's it you know set in stone it's history it's got to be factually correct and now I've found that there can be different interpretations and so I suppose it is yes" (KE St. 5, 0.03.23).

KC's perception then, is that history can be open to different interpretations. This aligns with Cohen's (1988) theory that authenticity can be considered as gradually emergent. 'In other words, a cultural product, or a trait there of, which is at one point generally judged as contrived or inauthentic may, in the course of time, become generally recognized as authentic, even by experts' (Cohen, 1988, p.379).

#### 5b 6.0 Participants CaB & ChB

Tour guides CaB and ChB (and by extension their tour participants) are film-induced literary tourists (Busby & Laviolette, 2006). Their *Poldark* tours centre exclusively on the latest BBC TV series and its Cornish filming locations. Although the researcher did not participate in CaB

and ChB's tour, she was able to access a sample itinerary from their website (Figure 31). Similarly to participant KC, CaB and ChB's tours attract a global market, including tourists from America, South Africa, Germany, Holland, Australia, Egypt and the UK (CaB St. 1, 0.00.47; CaB St. 7, 0.09.26).



### What We Offer

All our Tours begin and end at your holiday accommodation within Cornwall.

We offer a range of Tours from a one day to a maximum of 5 days at a cost of £135.00 per person per day which does not include food or refreshments.

We can take you to all of the location sites used in Cornwall for the filming of Poldark . Due to the wide spread area of the locations we can only fit 5, possibly 6, in on one day. We will furnish you with a list of locations and leave the choice to you.

We also supply photographs of you at the locations so that you have a full record of your visit with us.

A sample itinerary for one day could include:

Pick up from holiday accommodation

Holywell Bay which featured many scenes involving Drake, Morwenna, Ross and Demelza to name just a few

Gunwalloe. The wrecking scene in series one

Break for lunch

Penberth Cove. Used as Sawle in the series

Portgwarra. Marks escape and the Pilchard harvest. Ross took a swim in the bay

Gwennap Head. Many scenes were shot here including Drake and Morwenna's first meeting

Botallack. The site of Wheal Leisure

Return to holiday accommodation

We will liaise with you as to your preference of locations and at each location we will point out the scenes that were performed and by whom.

*Figure 30. Sample tour itinerary from participants CaB/ChB (poldarktourscornwall.com, 2021a).*

A theme throughout CaB and ChB's narrative is their use of friends, locals and other personal communications with people to gain insight and knowledge about Poldark, which they then include within their tour product. It is pertinent to point out that this information was disseminated by the participants in a long narrative to answer the question put forth by

the researcher: 'could you just give me a bit of a background on your Poldark tours and how you came to offer this?'

They are friends with an actor who starred in the first series of the latest TV adaptation (ChB St. 8, 0.09.55). They spoke to a lady from the National Trust (ChB St. 8, 0.09.55) who was able to verify the location. They use Google Maps (ChB St. 8, 0.09.55). They draw some knowledge from their experience watching the Poldark filming (CaB St. 16, 0.18.12). They are friends with the manager from St Aubin's estates (CaB St. 19, 0.20.52). They create a "dossier" (ChB St. 25, 0.30.50) based on information disseminated through social media and road closure signs (CaB St. 29, 0.30.55) which indicate filming locations and dates. They know people who work in the hospitality industry who give them information on where the actor(s) are staying (ChB St. 27, 0.31.10). Conversations with car park attendants who tell them, times of arrival and departure, what restaurants they visit (ChB St. 28, 0.31.25). They befriended the owner of the horse which starred as Seamus in the latest adaptation (CaB St. 33, St. 0.33.27). They have a friend who is a mine engineer (CaB St. 62, 0.46.03). They also draw from their experience of living in Cornwall.

The inclusion of various stakeholders who participate in their film-induced Poldark experiences and inform their interpretation suggests CaB and ChB's interpretive form is eclectic (Fawcett & Cormack, 2001). They, like participants PS and KC, have created a Turnerian communitas with various stakeholders; and it is this community of knowledge sharing, along with their consumption of *Poldark* TV series that informs their guided interpretation of *Poldark* and Cornwall. A summary of tour guide interpretive forms and factors that influence their interpretation are included in Table 36:

<b>Tour guide(s)</b>	<b><i>Poldark</i> tour key themes</b>	<b>Interpretive form</b>	<b>Paternalism/macro and micro environmental factors that influence interpretation</b>
CaB/ChB	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Filming locations</li> </ul>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Eclectic</li> </ul>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Stakeholders in Cornwall</li> </ul>
KC	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Cornishness</li> <li>• Author related sites</li> <li>• Fiction-related sites</li> <li>• Filming locations</li> </ul>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Modernist</li> </ul>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Mammoth Screen</li> <li>• Graham Estate</li> </ul>
LM	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Author-related sites</li> </ul>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Modernist when interpreting <i>Poldark</i></li> <li>• Rationalist</li> </ul>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Perranzabuloe Museum, Perranporth</li> <li>• Graham Estate (specifically Andrew Graham)</li> </ul>
KE	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Cornishness</li> <li>• Author-related sites</li> <li>• Fiction-related sites</li> </ul>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Rationalist</li> </ul>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Perranzabuloe Museum, Perranporth</li> <li>• Graham Estate (specifically Andrew Graham)</li> <li>• Federation of Old Cornwall Societies</li> <li>• Institutionalised cultural capital (see Appendix 16)</li> </ul>
PS	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Cornishness</li> <li>• Cornwall's non-literary heritage</li> <li>• Author-related sites</li> <li>• Fiction-related sites</li> <li>• Film-induced sites</li> </ul>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Modernist when interpreting Cornwall; Eclectic when interpreting <i>Poldark</i></li> </ul>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Perranzabuloe Museum, Perranporth (although only marginally by way of the inclusion of KE's talk within the tour itinerary)</li> <li>• Institutionalised cultural capital (see Appendix 16)</li> </ul>

Table 36. Summary of tour guide interpretive forms and factors that influence their interpretation

## 5b 7.0 Conclusion

The analysis provided herein demonstrated the similarities and differences in the *Poldark* tour guides interpretive forms. Some of the guides demonstrated the holicism of their interpretation and their efforts to use *Poldark* as a vehicle through which aspects of Cornwall's heritage could be told. The paternalism of Perranzabuloe Museum, Perranporth

was discussed in relation to two tour guides (KE and LM) and was ultimately found to influence the interpretive forms of these guides. Thereafter, the film-induced *Poldark* guides were found to enhance their interpretation by including a number of perceived valuable sources of information that were thought to contribute to the authenticity of the experience.

## Chapter 5c: The lexical semantics of authenticity: tourist perceptions

### 5c1.0: Introduction

As demonstrated in Chapter 2b, the concept of authenticity has been described in the literature as elusive (Newman & Smith, 2016), polysemic (Belhassen, Caton & Stewart, 2008; Cohen-Hattab & Kerber, 2004; Cohen & Cohen, 2012; Fillitz & Saris, 2013; Pearce, 2012; Yang & Wall, 2014), polymorphic (Safaa, El Housni & Bedard, 2017) and semantically heterogeneous (Dammann *et al.*, 2021). Chapter 5c analyses tourist participant perceptions of the lexical semantics of authenticity and their responses to what is considered ‘one crucial classification, that of a preference for or indifference to authenticity’ (Pearce & Moscardo, 1985, p.158). Butler and O’Donovan (2012, p.73) suggest ‘[t]he concept of authenticity covers a lot of semantic territory, encompassing not only the criterion of factual accuracy — that is, of telling it like it is (or was) — but also the questions of who is doing the telling, and how and why’. The researcher conducted a thematic analysis of the tourist interview transcripts to identify the lexical semantics of authenticity. This was complemented by NVivo text search queries performed by the researcher (Appendix 14). Predominantly, the terms used by the participants as substitutes for authenticity reflect those described generally in Chapter 2b and specifically by Reisinger and Steiner (2006b). The substitution of the term for various synonyms (a branch of semantics) is intrinsic to the analysis of tourist perceptions of authenticity and provides fertile ground to the work in Chapter 5d which centres on the analysis of the influence of cultural capital on tourist perceptions. The ‘semantic heterogeneity’ (Dammann *et al.*, 2021, p. no pagination) of authenticity is evidenced in the tourist participant’s narratives and presented in Table 37:

Participant initials	Lexical semantics of authenticity								
	Accurate and/or Accuracy	Genuine	Fact and/or Factual	Integrity	History and/or Historical	Original	Real and/or Reality	Sincere and/or Sincerity	True, Truth and/or Truthful
AP			✓		✓		✓		✓
DR									✓
JaC			✓				✓		✓
JuC							✓		
JM		✓							✓
KP		✓		✓			✓	✓	
LE	✓				✓				
MC		✓	✓	✓		✓			
RC							✓		✓
SM						✓	✓		✓

Table 37. Participant use of synonyms for authenticity



As demonstrated in Table 37, all guided tourists and the majority of recreational tourists (with the exception of DR) expressed multiple lexical items either in lieu of, or in conjunction with, authentic and authenticity. Each lexical item used by the participants is semantically different, and carries with it implications for their understanding and perception of authenticity. The majority employ the adjectives “real” (n= 6) and “true” (n=6) with stemmed words (i.e. reality, truth, truthful), suggesting the philosophical and phenomenological value of each, per the tourists’ perceptions.

### 5c2.0: Profile of tourists

The researcher accompanied two *Poldark* guided tours (see Chapter 4 section 4.2.2). It should be noted that the researcher only attended one day of each tour, although both itineraries extended over several days. Each tour covered various *Poldark* locations (Chapter 4, section 4.2.1.1). Similarly to Buchmann, Moore and Fisher’s (2010, p.235) sample of film tourists to New Zealand, the guided tourists who indicated they were willing to participate in the research (three in total), ‘came from Western and English-speaking markets’. The three guided tourists were accessed by way of their participation in PS’ *Poldark* tour (Contact Zone 6). Two participants, one male and one female, were from Saskatchewan, Canada, and the third, a female was from London, United Kingdom (Table 38). Although the remaining five guided tourists declined to participate in the study, it is worth mentioning that they were all female and had travelled from the USA. The researcher surmises that all guided tourists were middle aged and above. The researcher also participated in a third tour, the self-guided walk designed by participant LM (on behalf of Perranzabuloe Museum). The researcher was accompanied by two others, although no interview data was collected from these participants as this tour served as a pilot study for the research instruments (the implications of which

were discussed in Chapter 4). All of the recreational tourists (seven in total) were from the United Kingdom. The sample can be differentiated by gender: four male, three female (Table 40). Nevertheless, the researcher surmises that participants JaC and RC were in their late twenties, the remaining participations were in their 50s and older.

<b>Participant initials</b>	<b>Tourist type</b>	<b>Location of origin</b>	<b>Destination</b>	<b>Distance travelled (m)</b>	<b>Distance travelled (km)</b>
AP	Guided	Saskatchewan, Canada	Cornwall, UK	3969.3	6388
DR	Recreational	Plymouth, Devon	Perranporth, Cornwall	58.4	93.98
JaC	Recreational	Callington, Cornwall	Perranporth, Cornwall	44.4	71.45
JuC	Recreational	Callington, Cornwall	Perranporth, Cornwall	44.4	71.45
JM	Recreational	Plymouth, Devon	Perranporth, Cornwall	58.4	93.98
KP	Guided	London, UK	Cornwall, UK	261.6	
LE	Guided	Saskatchewan, Canada	Cornwall, UK	3969.3	6388
MC	Recreational	Callington, Cornwall	Perranporth, Cornwall	44.4	71.45
RC	Recreational	Plymouth, Devon	Perranporth, Cornwall	58.4	93.98
SM	Recreational	Plymouth, Devon	Perranporth, Cornwall	58.4	93.98

*Table 38. Distance travelled by guided and recreational tourists (google, 2021b)*

Despite the suggestion by Pearce and Moscardo (1985, p.158) that ‘since there may be social desirability effects operating in relation to the concept of authenticity, it can be considered inappropriate to ask directly for authenticity preferences’, the researcher included such a question within the interview schedule. Question 1c of the interview schedules designed for both guided and recreational tourists (see Appendix 8 and 9) – pertaining to the participant’s preference for authenticity in their tourist experiences – were included within the research

instruments to explicitly identify their preference from the outset of the interview and to preface further depth of discussion. The rationale behind this decision centres on the ability of other questions, to reveal much more about the individual's preferences (including the tourism experiences they choose to engage in), in addition to examples offered to evidence or explain answers given and statements made. Also, the question was included to see if in their wider narratives, their responses would confirm or contradict the response to the initial authenticity question. Hence, the findings and respective synthesis, are informed by the responses to all questions posed, and are not limited to those that by virtue of the verbiage used, directly related to authenticity preferences.

### 5c3.0: Guided tourists

All guided tourists demonstrate their preference for authenticity, although there are some notable differences in their perceptions. Participant AP provides moderate narrative detail about his perceptions of authenticity when prompted by multiple audience requests. He succinctly constructs the initial portion of his narrative however, he does employ the use of appropriate examples to synthesise his reasons for arriving at his various conclusions. Participant AP's response to Q1 (Appendix 8) was concise, within which, he emphasises *truth*:

“That's erm so authenticity it means that erm to me authenticity means that erm what I am hearing or being told is erm **truthful to the facts** that are coming into play in whatever I'm being told or explained so **truth**” (AP1 St. 1, 0.00.17).

Here the audience is left to infer very little, as is the case in his response to audience enquiry into his perception of authenticity as a social construct: “I mean from what I answered before you’re kind of asking me if I think that **truth** is a social construct and I think that the answer is no. **Truth** is erm **fact based**” (AP1 St. 4, 00.01.55). AP’s reiteration of “truth” as an inherent quality of authenticity reveals his essentialist understanding (Knudsen & Waade, 2010), that is, authenticity as an ‘essentialist, objective quality’ (Rickly-Boyd, 2013, p.abstract). The results of an NVivo text search query (Appendix 14) performed by the researcher suggests AP uses the words “truth”, “real”, and “fact” interchangeably in reference to authenticity. AP concurrently illustrates the semantic flexibility and conceptual rigidity of authenticity per his understanding: he illustrates the concept’s flexibility by way of his use of multiple substitutive semantic units however, the rigidity of meaning is fostered by his presentation of absolutes, those truth claims which are based on fact:

“you know either something was [laughs] at the Battle of Hastings or it wasn’t or this church either was built in the time of William the Conqueror or it wasn’t I mean those are **facts**” (Excerpt from AP1 St. 4, 00.01.55).

Participant AP emphasises authenticity primarily in the context of history, and employs multiple artistic and cultural examples (e.g., the Parthenon, the Pyramids and Machu Picchu) to explicate his preference. Interwoven within the context of his examples is the notion that object authenticity (Wang, 1999) is inferred due to historical status. AP defines ‘historical authenticity as objective reality’ (Wiles & Stoep, 2008, p.294):

“so to me authenticity means I mean there’s there’s a **history** to erm something if it is authentic or if it’s a **true part of the historic the history** of that place” (AP1 St. 3, 00.01.02).

AP intensifies the thematic importance of authenticity in his own tourism experiences by citing his preference for “the real thing” as opposed to “replica” (AP1 St. 6, 00.02.57). In doing so, AP reveals his preference for object versus staged authenticity (MacCannell, 1973):

“Erm because erm I for one would be willing to go and see the **real** pyramids or erm the **real** Mona Lisa whereas I would not be that keen to go to erm Las Vegas and see the **fake** pyramids I wouldn’t bother to go out of my way and if they are I mean the Rialto is is is **replicated** in Las Vegas I don’t think I’d go to Las Vegas to see that whereas I would go to Venice to see it” (AP1 St. 3, 00.01.02).

“so erm if it was to me that or Hagia Sofia in Istanbul that’s a very fifteen hundred year old church that I find very interesting whereas I would not find erm a **replica** no matter how well it was done all that interesting” (Excerpt from AP1 St. 4, 00.01.55).

In Stanza 7, AP employs the term “real” to describe the authenticity of experiences. He, likens being in Cornwall’s physical environment as authentic. In doing so, he demonstrates his position in Pearce and Moscardo’s (1985) self-esteem and self-actualisation career level which includes the ‘preferred authenticity of the visited environment’ (1985, p.164). AP’s reference to human senses is significant here, as implicitly he describes intra-personal authenticity, which centres on bodily feelings and sensual experiences (Wang, 1999).

“see just what we’ve done here in Cornwall wandered round and felt the wind and the salt water and seen the heard the waves and seen the waves and the cliffs and so on and so forth **I mean that’s a real authentic**

**experience** that you could not **replicate** in film because or or any other way because it involves all of your senses so that may come into play as well!" (AP1 St. 7, 00.03.57).

In response to audience enquiry into whether or not he has or is planning to pursue authenticity in his experience in Cornwall, and by extension his *Poldark* guided tour, AP states: "Why we're doing well I would say erm everything we did pursued authenticity in the sense that we erm went to places that were **real**" (AP1 St. 16, 00.10.38). As the researcher attended the day in which AP is referring too (Contact Zone 6), she can provide some insight into the toured *Poldark* sights. Additionally, some of tour guide PS' verbal interpretation of these locations was captured in the recording of participant LE's interview:

*PS: "Folks, this is St Agnes, this is St Anne's. We're going around the back of St, St Agnes. This is what he [Winston Graham] based it on. Very old again, based on farm- erm on mining around here specifically. You'll see a lot of err chimneys and things like that"*

*LE: "And Stippy Stappy Lane"*

*PS: "Err Stippy Stappy, just down there is Stippy Stappy Lane. To the left. Ok, so Stippy Stappy Lane-*

*LE: "Print makers left"*

*PS: "Which they mentioned in the book is down there"*

This is also evidenced in the mapping of this particular tour in (see Chapter 4 section 4.2.1.1). AP refers to the real locations (i.e. the geographical counterparts) that provided the inspiration for Winston Graham's fictional settings. The researcher did not prompt AP to expand on this or query his knowledge of the hyper-reality of the *Poldark* simulacrum, although it is important to note his knowledge and perceptions of the toured sights are informed by PS' mobile marker (Roesch, 2009).



Figure 31. Interactive tour map of Poldark Country (Commerce, 2021)



Figure 32. Stippy Stappy, St Agnes Village (Commerce, 2021)

For AP, authenticity is clearly a valuable commodity. AP's appraisal of Cornwall suggests he believes that there is still 'potential' destination-based cultural capital (Busby & Meethan, 2008) that could be commodified to satisfy tourist's pursuit of authenticity within the context of mining:

“Well I think there's the dance between opportunity and doing something to enhance that and the authenticity part right so you if you can manage to not lose the authenticity then I think there's an opportunity **but I think if you ruin the authenticity then you've killed the goose that might lay the golden egg**” (AP2 St. 24, 00.08.11).

His use of the aforementioned idiom is telling of his perception of authenticity and its value. Religious tourism, of which literary tourism shares some characteristics (i.e. pilgrimage) and tourism attractions have also been described using the idiom by Chili and Ndolvu (2018) and Valiente and Romero (2011) respectively. Taylor (2010, p.33) also uses the idiom in reference to authenticity in cultural tourism: 'the oft-cited, apparent, and clearly debatable paradox that is faced by those involved in both the production and analysis of cultural tourism: that like the goose that laid the golden egg, the decontextualizing, commercializing and management processes of cultural tourism production are seen to kill the very authenticity that is required by that industry for the creation of value'. As was discussed in Chapter 2a section 2.2, literary tourism is considered a form of cultural tourism in this research, along with the wider academic literature (Fox, 2008; Gentile & Brown, 2015; O'Connor & Kim, 2014; Stiebel, 2004; Timothy, 2011). Thus, the paradox is applicable within the context of this study. For AP, authenticity is the goose, the valuable commodity that motivates tourists (including



himself) and is worthy of commodification. He, like many critics laments (Heitmann, 2011) 'the loss of authenticity' (Heitmann, 2011, p.46).

Participant LE provides slightly more narrative detail than AP when describing her perception of the meaning of authenticity however, similarly, the audience is left to infer very little. LE adopts the use of the noun "accuracy" in her description and includes multiple accuracies of which she believes authenticity encompasses (Appendix 14). For LE, 'authenticity relates to the verisimilitude of the accuracy' (Saxton, 2020, p.128) of her object of interest:

**"Authenticity – accuracy, accuracy on many levels, so historical accuracy, social-political accuracy, geological accuracy, costume especially, costume accuracy erm language, use of language"** (LE St. 1, 0.00.22).

Her use of the term 'accuracy denotes the extent to which [the object of interest] is consistent with available evidence' (Saxton, 2020, p.abstract). To a certain extent, accuracy is measurable (Saxton, 2020). Individuals 'can compare the details found in novels', their TV adaptations and the information disseminated by the tour guide, 'to details that have been uncovered by historical research' (Saxton, 2020, p.128). In this sense, indexical authenticity (Grayson & Martinec, 2004) can be measured against spatiotemporal facts (Newman & Smith, 2016) and iconic authenticity (Grayson & Martinec, 2004) is measured by 'the degree to which the item satisfies one's prior expectations about how something about to be, which can be reflected in terms such as 'authentic reproduction' (Bruner 1994; Crang 1996; Peterson 1997). This distinction also helps to explain perceptions of authenticity for entities that are not 'real' for instance, objects that belonged to fictional characters such as Sherlock Holmes (Grayson and Martinec 2004)' (Newman & Smith, 2016, p.no pagination).

The researcher performed an NVivo text search query for the term “accuracy” with generalisations (Appendix 14). The results indicated nine references, six exact matches (LE St. 1, 0.00.22), and three generalisations: *exact*, *exactly* and *truthful*. The semantic units used by LE, although slightly different to AP, reflect similar meaning in terms of the influence authenticity has on their tourism experiences:

“For me err I’m very much about it being **exact** cos if it isn’t I’m not pleased and I won’t come back and I won’t recommend it to other people” (LE St. 2, 0.01.25).

LE acknowledges: “authenticity is something that really I really appreciate” (LE St, 9, 0.07.31). As will be discussed in Chapter 5d, LE rationalises her appreciation for authenticity by way of her cultural capital (Bourdieu, 1984; 1986). LE’s stock of cultural capital is a means by which she can measure the accuracy né authenticity of objects, culture and history. In her narrative, she describes her negotiation of the constructed authenticity (Wang, 1999) of objects:

“if I wanted to purchase something I am more likely to do it if I know well it really depends on what it is err because I’ve bought stuff that I know is just a **replica**, but it’s done so well that it’s close to what would have been used and so that’s okay I’m okay with that because I am going into it knowing that that’s what it is. If I were to buy something [exhales] and the person had said well it’s **an authentic reproduction** of this or that and then to find out that it isn’t, then I would be upset. Not so much because, it would be because they have misguided me into purchasing something” (Excerpt from LE St. 7, 0.04.38).

Although she does not elaborate on the replica she is referring to, the previous excerpt illustrates LE was content ‘with the symbolic nature of the object’ (Schwan & Dutz, 2020, p.219). Primarily, her concern is attributed to the verisimilitude of interpretation then the

constructed authenticity (Wang, 1999) of the object itself. Using the example of the television drama 'Rome', aired on BBC 2 and HBO, LE acknowledges the continuum within which her perception and acceptance of authenticity exists. She states:

“then I sometimes will allow err what you call it erm, liberties to be taken depending on [laughs] how much other stuff authenticity they’ve done so I know there was a little piece where Titus Pullo who’s one of these, he’s the lower-class Roman, hasn’t had a fling with Cleopatra and I’m going okay that probably never would happen but okay they’ve done everything so well that alright I can live with that cos they did it in a fairly entertaining way so you know I do have, **I do make allowances for some things** anyway yeah” (Excerpt LE St. 10, 0.08.26).

Using this example, LE demonstrates that her perception of authenticity is, depending on the subject matter, akin to a process of negotiation (Schwan & Dutz, 2020). However, this is not due to ‘the widely interpretable and fluid nature of truth, reality, genuineness and meaning, as well as their dialectics of untruth, unreality, ingenuine and meaningless’ (Schwan & Dutz, 2020, p.3), rather, allowances to authenticity are made on balance of LE’s appraisal of the weighting of programme’s authenticity in its entirety, with respect to its historical representation. Like AP, LE’s perception of authenticity is linked to truth. “Truthful” is used to describe LE’s appraisal of the faithfulness – the authenticity – of the BBC TV adaptations of the *Poldark* novels:

“Because they didn’t need to do that err and that’s why I was reading the books sort of at the same time because I wanted to see how **truthful** they were too the books” (LE3 St. 60, 0.56.29).

LE is, per Pearce and Moscardo’s (1985) traveller’s career level model, a tourist ‘at the self-esteem and self-actualisation career level’ (Pearce & Moscardo, 1985, p.159) as within her

narrative she describes the importance of authenticity with respect to people and the environment (Pearce & Moscardo, 1985). That which is omitted from Pearce and Moscardo's (1985) model, (i.e. the objectivism of authenticity), is of crucial importance to LE. LE's cognition of authenticity is articulated first, in terms of objects, then in terms environments and experiences, the latter two of which include persons. LE acknowledges the heterogeneity of the authenticity: "Maybe it isn't maybe that's authenticity too right? Because they, it have many definitions" (LE2 St. 8, 00.05.43). She also recognises that there may be a demographic bias towards authenticity, "if you don't use authenticity you're only reaching a certain demographic" (LE St. 2, 0.01.25). Her perception aligns with Cohen's (1979b; 1988) suggestion that 'not all tourists seem to seek authenticity, or to pursue it to the same degree of intensity'.

Navigating KP's understanding the meaning of authenticity and her subsequent perception is slightly more complex in comparison to the other guided tourists, as a poignant dissimilitude was witnessed in KP's narrative. She describes authenticity within the context of her consumption of literature, and her preference for historical authenticity in fiction (KP St. 1, 0.00.07). KP's perception of authenticity as "genuine" is linked to the term's etymology (as described in Chapter 2b), and derivation of the Greek 'authentikos' (Oxford Dictionaries, 2013 cited in de Zilwa, 2014). Initially, KP's understanding of authenticity appears to be, to a certain extent, rooted in existentialism and 'the existential state of Being' (Wang, 1999, p.352). She describes authenticity's 'philosophical cousin' (Taylor, 2001, p.8), sincerity, that which 'offers the basis for a shift in moral perspective: away from that which would locate touristic value in the successful re-production of 'objective truths' – authenticities – and towards a view of tourism as embodying communicative events involving values important both to the social actors involved, and in themselves' (Taylor, 2001, p.8-9).

“Erm, I suppose the easiest way to explain it erm keeping it as **real** as possible erm so even if it is fiction I like my fiction to have some **historical facts**. Erm I don’t mind reading fantasy stuff I like you know I read all the Harry Potters but they’re **not real they are not reality** they’re a story erm so I suppose that what authenticity and I like I think what authenticity is about being **genuine** as well and **sincere** that’s the probably the explain I’d explain it” (KP St. 1, 0.00.07).

Taylor (2001) argues authenticity should be substituted for sincerity (Buchmann, Moore & Fisher, 2010). Sincerity can be both a quality of objects, places and people. Hence, KP, like the other two participants is at the career level of ‘self-esteem and self-actualisation’ (Pearce & Moscardo, 1985, p.159). Interestingly, when the researcher performed an NVivo text search query (Appendix 14) on the words “genuine” and “sincere” with exact matches, only 1 reference was coded for each, that which can be attributed to KP’s initial description located in her response to Q1 (see excerpt above). Thus, KP does not consistently substitute authenticity for sincerity. Throughout the remainder of her narrative, KP uses the words “authentic” and “real”. The NVivo text search query for “real” with exact matches retrieved 12 references.

KP describes the maps in the Kindle editions of *Poldark* (KP5 St. 5, 0.02.42) and reveals her uncertainty about the authenticity of *Poldark* locations. She describes the role played by PS’ mobile marker (Roesch, 2009) in her acceptance of the authenticity of some of the *Poldark* sights: “there was a few places that I wasn’t sure if they were **real** or not, Paul’s kind of explained that they are and then there’s the others like erm St Agnes we’ve had this afternoon which they call St Anne’s” (Excerpt from KP5 St. 5, 0.02.42). She also described how PS’ interpretation enhanced the authenticity of the experience: “stuff that Paul’s covered that is

added in and a bit of a surprise as well which I think makes it even more authentic” (KP St. 17, 0.10.00). Interestingly, KP’s response to audience enquiry about whether authenticity is something she looks for in her tourism experiences demonstrates that she equates authenticity with the mobile marker (Roesch, 2009):

“Not always I mean there’s some places I would go to and wanna actually see a place and learn about the place and it doesn’t matter, it doesn’t matter if I don’t know a lot about it erm I’m happy to learn and be open to learning. If I am going on a particular tour to see a particular thing, like Poldark I wanted to do a walking tour and someone like Paul is ideal for me cos as he says add the DNA to it so if I went to Bath and I was looking at history there I’d want somebody who knew their stuff but I could quite happily walk round somewhere Rome and look at the sights and learn about it from a guidebook as I was going I wouldn’t need a tour guide for that” (KP St. 5, 0.01.43).

KP recognises the conceptual and semantic heterogeneity of authenticity: “I think we all have our own definition of what is authentic” (KP St. 10, 00.05.03). In this sense, KP’s perception mimics that of guided tourist LE.

#### 5c4.0: Recreational tourists

The saliency of authenticity is apparent in some of the recreational tourist participant’s responses; those who, by virtue of the sample, did not endeavour to pursue a guided experience based on sights associated with *Poldark*, nor those responsible for commodifying the experience (i.e. the tour guide). ‘As Herbert (2001) observes, the literary place may be a stopping point. Collins-Kreiner (2010) notes that varying motivations of visitors coexist at a site: many tourists visit heritage sites without being pilgrims’ (Brown, 2016a, p.170-171).

Participant DR provides moderate narrative detail about his understanding of the meaning of authenticity and his subsequent perceptions. Like guided tourist AP, DR's perception of authenticity centres on inherent truths, suggesting his perception of authenticity is rooted in essentialism (Knudsen & Waade, 2010). However, a dissimilarity is witnessed; DR demonstrates his position as a tourist 'at the relationships career level' (Pearce & Moscardo, 1985, p.159) as for him, the authenticity of people is particularly important (Pearce & Moscardo, 1985).

"Erm authenticity to me, I think is 1) telling the **truth**; 2) being **truthful** with what you do, and expecting others to do, to be the same. We all tell a little white lies erm sometimes for a joke, sometimes have to get us out of trouble, but the the deep lies I don't like never have liked them. What I would like to see is people telling the **truth** all the time, if possible" (DR1 St. 1, 00:00:54)

'The view of integrity expounded by Harter (2002, p. 382) relates to authenticity on an interpersonal level, in other words being honest and truthful in one's actions and interactions as opposed to being, inter alia, "concealing . . . charading . . . faking, and hiding behind a façade . . . elusive, evasive . . . two-faced, manipulative . . . deceitful"' (Barnard, Schurink & De Beer, 2008, p.44). For DR, the crux of authenticity seems to lie in integrity. Barnard, Schurink and De Beer (2008) view honesty as a competency of integrity. They define the competency as 'Truthfulness with oneself and others about one's intentions and capacity. This includes telling the truth and declaring one's intentions. It manifests in transparent and open communication in sharing information proactively' (Barnard, Schurink & De Beer, 2008, p.48). In this sense, DR views authenticity as a human attribute, an existentialist quality that can be linked to intra-personal and inter-personal authenticity (Wang, 1999). The NVivo text search query for "truth" with exact matches retrieved 27 results (Appendix 14).

For DR, the semantics of authenticity reflect a certain demographic or socio-economic status: 'Erm I think so many people don't use the word authentic, they they use the word truth, don't they? Erm, authentic is erm there's just something that will say the erm working class person, middle class person don't use very often. What they're asking is for the truth, not authenticity, the truth" (DR1 St. 7, 00:06:04). When the audience enquired into whether authenticity is something he responds to in his tourism experiences, he answers yes. Again, his narrative demonstrates the importance placed on the authenticity of people (Pearce & Moscardo, 1985), particularly tourism intermediaries:

"Yeah, because if what you're you're meaning is erm if I went into a shop, to a travel shop to get details on something abroad then I I would expect those to tell me the **truth** that what's going on, that is it. That's what it should be and that's what it is. Erm sometimes they bend the **truth**, but I think everybody bends the **truth** anyhow, so yeah. I think its part and parcel of social life" (DR1 St. 6, 00:05:14)

DR demonstrates his negotiation of authenticity in reference to the accuracy of the historical novels by Douglas Reeman and the information disseminated by guides on board HMS Victory. The mobile marker (Roesch, 2009) is complementary to his negotiation of authenticity, that which is informed by consumption of Reeman's novels and thus, his objectified cultural capital (Bourdieu, 1986):

"Yeah erm the way it was, the way it was said and the actual being on the boat it couldn't be any other, to me, I couldn't be any other, I'm not saying they were telling the truth, but to me it had to be that way because I wanted to be that way (DR3 St. 11, 00.07.40).



Participant JaC provides minimal narrative detail about his understanding of the meaning of authenticity. After a number of audience prompts to expand on his point, JaC succinctly describes authenticity as:

“It’s authentic [Zoe asks: what does authentic mean?] Erm it's hard to explain that. Erm, it means that it's **legit**. [Zoe asks: What do you mean by legit?] The same is what you mean by authentic, that it’s **true** to what it is. [Zoe queries: So truth, authenticity means truth?] yeah, normally. **If something’s authentic its real, its fact**” (JaC St. 1, 00.01.11).

Although JaC did not offer the same narrative detail or examples as guided tourist AP, their perceptions of authenticity are nearly identical. JaC, like AP, equates authenticity to fact, that from which certitude can be derived. The researcher performed an NVivo text search query for the words “fact” and “true” with stemmed words, 4 and 5 references were retrieved respectively (Appendix 14). When asked if authenticity is something he responds to in his tourist experiences, again, JaC reiterates fact “Yes because I like to learn and I would like to learn about real facts instead of made up fiction” (JaC St. 6, 0.03.46).

Participant JuC provided good narrative detail about her understanding of authenticity and her subsequent perceptions. JuC’s response to Q1 (Appendix 9) is somewhat lengthier than the other participants. As will be discussed in Chapter 5d, the influence of her embodied cultural capital (Bourdieu, 1986) on her perception of authenticity is discernible:

“Oh I don’t know really. Erm, I suppose it means that it’s erm that is about the **integrity** really of whether something is actually **real** or it isn’t and whether it can actually be **evidenced** in anyway. So I think you know, with what is going on at the moment, it does make you wonder whether, there is the **integrity** there and we are being told what we need to know so. So yes I look at it like that really. I suppose with the work I do it’s also about authenticity in terms of people’s work, whether it is their work or whether

it's just that they've **copied** something [laughs] and sort of used it as their own, so I think it's just knowing that erm, that things can be **evidenced** so that it is correct" (Excerpt from JuC St. 1, 00.01.17).

The researcher performed an NVivo text search query for the term "integrity" with exact matches. 2 references were retrieved, those which can be attributed to JuC's response to Q1 (see excerpt above). Wang, Huang and Kim (2015, p.1468) suggest 'In the tourism academic literature, the relationship between the concept of authenticity and that of integrity seems to be less clearly defined'. The majority of consideration of integrity is focussed on culture and heritage sites. As outlined in Chapter 2a, some scholars classify literary tourism under the umbrella of heritage tourism (Herbert, 2001; Hoppen, Brown & Fyall, 2014; Schaff, 2011; Squire, 1994b; Squire, 1996). In the literary tourism academic literature, the protection of the integrity of cultural assets is discussed in reference to commodification and value creation (Fox, 2008) and the integrity of the scene in which literary tourists are observed for research purposes (Brown, 2016a). McGuckin (2015, p.no pagination) argues '[a] balance must be struck between developing literary tourism products to make them commercially viable whilst protecting the authenticity and integrity of the writer's legacy.' Wang, Huang and Kim (2015) argue the epistemological developments of authenticity and integrity are skewed. Whilst the literature has witnessed an emergence of new approaches that contribute to the understanding of integrity, discussions of authenticity have not yet resolved the concept's many issues (Wang, Huang & Kim, 2015). Wang, Huang and Kim (2015, p.1472) argue that 'the dialectic and inter-dependent relationships between the two concepts has been neglected'. The epistemological view proffered by Wang, Huang and Kim's (2015, p.1469) framework 'treats authenticity and integrity as complementary to, or even inseparable from, each other, as contrast to regarding them as two independent principles'. Seemingly, JuC's perception of authenticity aligns with Wang, Huang and Kim's (2015) framework.

More often, JuC's preference for truth is evidenced in her narrative. An NVivo text search query for the term "true" with exact matches retrieved 12 references (Appendix 14). She explicitly states her preference in Stanza 8: "I prefer to know that I am being told the true really" (JuC St. 8, 00.06.02). Similarly to guided tourist LE, JuC explicates her preference for authenticity using media examples and illustrates her preference for historical accuracy and temporality:

"Well to be honest I would rather just watch the **true** events because otherwise you don't know what has been, unless they come up with like a little sort of you know, a flashing [laughs] this isn't **real** so don't believe it, you know this has been added in. So I suppose in terms of tourism I would want to know that it is actually as **accurate to the times** as it could possibly be" (Excerpt from JuC St. 2, 0.02.15).

In Stanza 4, JuC, like the other participants, recognises that the authenticity of objects and experiences is not necessarily preferred by all tourists, although she does reinforce her own preference:

"Yeah, yes I suppose it could and I suppose it would be that some people it you know it doesn't bother them that they're sort of you know maybe having the **wool pulled over their eyes** in one way or another or whether it is actually **true** and **factual**. **I suppose I prefer things that are a bit more factual really**" (JuC St. 4, 0.03.41).

Her use of the phrase "having the wool pulled over their eyes" suggests that she views the inauthenticity or staged authenticity (MacCannell, 1973) of objects and experiences as a form of deception and clearly indicates her preference for fact. An NVivo text search query on the word "real" with exact matches retrieved 10 references (Appendix 14). Interestingly JuC also

emphasises the rhetoric of ethics, which is salient in tourism.

“Yes I would say, I would say that I would prefer to erm to do something that and go somewhere that was a bit more, **not only just authentic but ethical** as well so, yeah yeah I think it is something that I would consider” (JuC St. 6, 00.04.39).

Whilst JuC did not expand on the scope and nature of her use of the term “ethical”, the researcher argues that engaging in ethical tourism experiences can potentially be attributed to JuC’s existential authenticity, her self-making as a tourist who consciously chooses to engage in ethical experiences as opposed to its dialectic, unethical.

For the sake of clarity, recreational tourist JM provides a somewhat detailed description of his perception of the lexical semantics of authenticity. JM’s response to Q1 was concise (Appendix 9). He refers to the authenticity of objects and experiences simultaneously, and thus implies the similitude of authenticity whatever the subject matter:

“Erm I guess authenticity is the same for me in- on any subject matter and everything. It just means that something is **genuine as opposed to real**, as I think there could be a distinction between the two so for me it is anything that is **genuine would therefore be authentic and therefore authenticity**” (JM St. 1, 00.01.06)

Similarly to guided tourist KP, JM attributes authenticity to something as “genuine”. The researcher performed an NVivo text search query for the word “genuine” with exact matches and retrieved 12 references (Appendix 14). JM differs slightly from KP as he does not equate “genuine” with “real” (JM St. 2, 00.01.34). His rationale stems from his view that the term “real” is subjective – that it is open to individual perception and interpretation, whereas if

something is purported to be “genuine” it is therefore absolute. When prompted by audience enquiry to elaborate on his aforementioned distinction, JM responded:

“I think people's perception more than anything. Real can be quite a wide sort of aspect of an answer for any question whereas **genuine** for me personally sounds like, you know, **there is no other option, there can only be a genuine article or a genuine whatever**, whereas real can perhaps be a bit more perception based” (JM St. 2, 00.01.34).

That said, JM himself substitutes the word “genuine” for “real” in Stanza 3. When his semantic slippage – used by the researcher to describe semantic substitution as opposed to the usage described in Fife (2004, p.63) which relates to the ‘process by which an original artefact or sign justifies the authenticity of a “similar” reproduction’ – was questioned by the audience, JM confirmed that he in fact, meant genuine. In response to audience enquiry about his predilection for authenticity in his tourism experiences, JM states:

“Possibly not, erm [pauses] I haven't really had many tourist experiences that perhaps would lead to erm an authentic experience. Erm, my idea of tourism or a holiday is to just enjoy the time I've got erm. **Yes if I'm going on an experience where I'm being told the history of something then I would expect it to be authentic.** Erm I don't want somebody just making stuff up because I like to learn about things and I'd like to tell people about my experiences, I wouldn't want to be telling people stuff that is **not true** so in that respect yes, but that perhaps is not what I always look for in a holiday anyway” (JM St. 7, 00.04.14).

Initially, JM demonstrates his relative ambivalence to authentic tourism experiences and thus, his position at the lowest career level (Pearce & Moscardo, 1985). However, whilst authenticity might not be his primary motivation, his narrative does emphasise the importance of authenticity in reference to history. Later in JM2 St. 5, when discussing the film adaptations of Robert Ludlum's *Bourne* novels he substitutes the word authentic for

“true” (Appendix 14). The researcher performed an NVivo text search query on the word *true* with exact matches, 6 references were retrieved. Crucially, 4 matches were included in reference to the film adaptations of novels:

“Erm there were in most films there’s a thread that is **true and authentic** to the book there’s an awful lot of if you like poetic licence goes on erm and that’s inevitable” (Excerpt from JM2 St. 6, 0.03.26).

“I think although historically films never, ever go **true** to the book, erm more often than not you come away having seen the film slightly disappointed erm but I think the Bourne films in particular, whilst **they weren’t 100% true to the book**, I thought they were very very good, there was no disappointment” (JM2 St. 5, 00.02.34).

“I suppose it’s very **difficult to make a film and have it so true to the book**, probably not possible” (JM2 St. 7, 00.04.19)

Participants MC’s and SM’s understanding of authenticity are rooted in objectivism. Both participants view authenticity as a quality of an object (MC St. 6, 00.05.06) and frequently refers to ‘the authenticity of originals’ (Wang, 1999, p.352), that which ‘is thought not to be a copy or an imitation’ (Grayson & Martinec, 2004, p.297). In doing so, their perceptions seem to align with Walter Benjamin’s (1969, p.220) assertion that ‘the presence of the original is the prerequisite to the concept of authenticity’. In response to Q1 (Appendix 9), SM’s response is succinct:

“Authenticity means to me, **truth**, its **real** erm and **original**. That's what it means to me” (SM1 St. 1, 00:01:15)

The NVivo text search query for the terms “real”, “truth” and “original” with exact matches retrieved 17, 5 and 2 references respectively (Appendix 14). In Stanza 30, SM further synthesises her perception of authenticity by stating: “that's what I class is authentic,

something that is old, not new” (SM St. 30, 00:24:28). At first glance SM’s perception of authenticity seems to extend to the ‘iconicity with old things’ (Grayson & Martinec, 2004, p.300). Although, as Grayson and Martinec (2004, p.301) note a participant’s ‘belief that something looks old might indicate a perception of indexicality rather than iconicity (Lowenthal 1985)’. Later in her narrative, SM contradicts herself slightly by suggesting that authenticity does not solely equate to the age of an object or attraction. When the audience enquired as to whether she attributes authenticity to history, SM responded: ‘Not necessarily erm, I mean there are authentic new stuff erm for instance the thing down in Cornwall the dome things, The Eden Project, that's authentic but it's not old. But it is authentic because it's real, it's the original. That's- so not necessarily to history’ (SM1 St. 5, 00:03:39). Hence, whilst SM’s use of the term original retrieved the least number of references in the NVivo text search queries performed by the researcher (Appendix 14) the analysis indicates her perception of authenticity is similar to that of guided tourist AP – both are informed by an essentialist understanding of the concept (Knudsen & Waade, 2010). This was also evident in respect to participant MC.

MC’s narrative indicates his perception that conceptually and semantically, authenticity and originality are one and the same: “To me I guess, originality and authenticity are pretty interwoven” (MC St. 35, 00.35.12). He states: “I don’t know if it’s the right word derivation of that would be original” (MC St. 4, 00.03.00). The researcher performed an NVivo text search query for the word “original” with stemmed words which retrieved 15 matches, 9 exact (Appendix 14). In response to Q1 (Appendix 9), MC states:

“Well I suppose authenticity means that it’s something’s **original, genuine** err **without any kind of erm distortion from the facts**” (Excerpt from MC St. 1, 00.01.13).

His preference for authenticity is exemplified in his collecting of automobilia. The value he attributes to authenticity demonstrated in his use of the antonym “pointless” (see excerpt below). In Stanza 4, he states: “it’s the authentic original that I would buy every time” (MC St. 4, 00.03.00).

“I like– **I like things to be authentic**. So for example some of the things that I sort’ve collect erm memorabilia I suppose you’d call it, mostly automotive memorabilia, it has to be authentic. So if there was a copy of a brochure that I kind of aspired to that was a fiver or the **original** one was £35.00 then I’d sort’ve probably buy the **original**, ‘cause to me there are certain things were **unless something’s authentic it’s pointless**” (Excerpt from MC St. 3, 00.01.58).

In Stanza 7 MC uses the phrase “peripheral authenticity” in his discussion of the authenticity of experiences. MC illustrates his preference for authenticity and his perception that authenticity is of critical importance:

“Yeah and I think any experience if you say for example, in tourism, you’d expect- you’d be disappointed if something wasn’t authentic and was **contrived** and I can think of holidays where as a family we’ve taken a day excursion that was just frankly put, **a con**, and with a little bit of **peripheral authenticity** and that’s more disappointing you know to me I would rather again, it’s not a material thing so we are talking about a different aspect of it, but sometimes **yeah I think authenticity is critical** even it means that the experience is slightly disappointing at least it’s you know, as it should be” (MC St. 7, 00.06.45).

When the audience enquired about the aforementioned phrase’s meaning, MC clarified (see excerpt below). The inference of MC’s use of the informal verbs “con” (MC St. 7, 00.06.45) and “conned” (MC St. 8, 00.07.39) is that in some way, he has been deceived. In questioning an individual’s ability to “plagiarise authenticity” (MC St. 8, 00.07.39), and his frequent use of



the word “contrived”, MC although implicitly, demonstrates his cognition of the staging of tourist experiences and thus, staged authenticity (MacCannell, 1973)

“Well so that, let’s say for example and I can cite one particular trip that we took where ah **I wouldn’t say we were particularly conned** but there was an element of authenticity but it had been, what’s the word, **I don’t know if you can plagiarise authenticity?** But maybe that’s a way of looking at it, but let’s say it was adapted, so it was not quite so authentic. Now some people might’ve kinda looked at it and thought “Yeah, god that’s you know chapter and verse that’s exactly how it is”, but, me being a bit more cynical, you could kind of see that it was **contrived** and created for a tourist market and that is sometimes disappointing really” (MC St. 8, 00.07.39).

Throughout his narrative, he uses the word “contrived” both as an antonym for authenticity “something wasn’t authentic and was contrived” (MC St. 7, 00.06.45) and a description of staged authenticity. The researcher performed an NVivo text search query on the word contrived with exact matches, 6 references were retrieved (Appendix 14). Interestingly, MC employs the same informal phrase as tour guide KC (see section 5a) “warts and all” in his description of authenticity suggesting, his desideratum for a more accurate portrayal of a place, its past and its people when he engages in tourism experiences (Timothy, 2014). He also mimics JuC’s aversion to staged authenticity (MacCannell, 1973).

Participant RC provides a good deal of narrative detail surrounding her perception of authenticity, drawing from her own tourist experiences. In response to Q1 (Appendix 9), RC states:

“Erm authenticity is about the **realisticness** of something, how **real** is it to what it’s to its **truest form** I think is the best way I can describe it (Excerpt from RC St. 1, 00.01.00).

Participant RC's narrative is complicated by her often contradictory discussion of her indifference to authenticity. As Pearce and Moscardo (1985, p.158) note 'tourists who are indifferent to authenticity will be positive to experiences that meet their needs'. RC seems to exhibit this aforementioned indifference to authenticity in her interview responses. Her succinct and unabashed "No" (RC St. 5, 00.03.28), when asked if authenticity is something she responds to when choosing her own tourist experiences, is at first glance, indicative of her position as a tourist at the lowest career level (Pearce & Moscardo, 1985), in so far as her answer described the insignificance of authenticity in her tourism experiences. When probed by the audience to expand on her answer, she stated the following:

"Erm when we choose a touristy experience well when we go anywhere erm when we go on holiday erm **we try and do think culturally and history is a big part of what we look at when we go on holiday so therefore there is something authenticity** in it but we don't look for it we don't go oh we really want to erm feel that time or feel part of that presence **we tend to look at is from an historical point of view where we just want to know what happened sort of thing so I don't think authenticity comes into that because I think authenticity is an experience**"(RC St. 6, 0.3.32).

However, as the excerpt above illustrates, RC begins to contradict herself and then returns to her original position. The researcher argues her contradictory answer can be attributed to RC's understanding of the term 'authenticity'. It seems that RC's pursuit of authenticity is implicit. For her, visitation to a location centres on culture and history – two concepts that are interwoven with authenticity.

Although implicitly, within her narrative RC demonstrates her cognition of existential authenticity (Wang, 1999). She continuously argues that her perception of authenticity is contingent on the emotional connection she either gains or is left wanting from her tourist

experiences. In one of her initial stanzas (RC St. 6, 0.3.32), RC states that when embarking on tourist experiences, she wants to “feel that time or feel part of that presence” and that a “real experience” evokes an emotional response (RC St. 7, 0.4.40). RC’s frequent consideration of emotion can be linked to bodily feelings - existential authenticity (Wang, 1999). She emphasises the importance of emotional evocation as something that exceeds her desire for factual information, citing that emotional connection “lends to the authenticity of the place”.

A summary of the participants perceptions of authenticity, derived from this analysis in this chapter are summarised in Table 39. The extent to which their cultural capital informs these perceptions are discussed in Chapter 5d.

<b>Participant</b>	<b>Perception(s) of authenticity</b>	<b>Preference for authenticity in tourist experiences and aligning theoretical approaches</b>
AP	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Essentialist understanding</li> <li>• Authenticity is not a social construct, nor is it negotiable</li> <li>• Authenticity is fact-based; objective reality</li> <li>• Authenticity is a valuable commodity</li> </ul>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Preference for objective and existential authenticity</li> <li>• Avoids constructed or staged authenticity</li> </ul>
DR	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Authenticity centres on integrity</li> <li>• Emphasises authenticity is an existentialist quality</li> <li>• Unsure if authenticity is a social construct</li> </ul>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Preference for existential (and by extension) object authenticity although the former is paramount</li> </ul>
JaC	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Authenticity is fact-based</li> </ul>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Preference for objective authenticity</li> </ul>
JM	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Modernist understanding</li> </ul>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Preference for objective authenticity</li> <li>• Preference for authenticity is dependent on the type of tourism experience</li> </ul>
JuC	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Essentialist understanding</li> <li>• Authenticity is fact-based; objective reality</li> </ul>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Preference for objective and existential authenticity</li> <li>• Avoids constructed or staged authenticity</li> </ul>
KP	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Existentialist understanding</li> <li>• Authenticity is semantically heterogeneous</li> </ul>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Preference for authenticity is dependent on the type of tourism experience</li> </ul>
LE	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Emphasises authenticity as accuracy</li> <li>• Authenticity is semantically heterogeneous</li> </ul>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Preference for objective and existential authenticity</li> <li>• Can measure indexical authenticity and negotiate iconic and constructed authenticity</li> </ul>
MC	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Essentialist understanding</li> </ul>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Preference for objective authenticity</li> <li>• Avoids constructed or staged authenticity</li> </ul>
RC	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Centres on emotional connection</li> <li>• Authenticity is an existentialist quality</li> </ul>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Preference for objective and existential authenticity</li> </ul>
SM	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Essentialist understanding</li> </ul>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Preference for objective authenticity</li> </ul>

*Table 39. Summary of tourist participant preferences for and perceptions of authenticity.*

## 5c5.0: Conclusion

The purpose of this chapter was to analyse the lexical semantics of authenticity, specifically in relation to the semantics used by guided and recreational tourists to describe their preferences for and perceptions of authenticity in their tourism experiences. The participant's narratives analysed in this chapter reaffirmed the heterogeneous nature of authenticity. Notably, the influence of the guided and recreational tourists' cultural capital could be linked to their perceptions of authenticity. The analysis suggests that an individual's institutionalised cultural capital holds the greatest influence on perceptions of authenticity on those who possess such stock. Hence, for these participants, institutionalised cultural capital is their dominant stock. Thereafter, in the absence of graduate qualifications an individual's embodied cultural capital holds the most influence on perceptions of authenticity.

## Chapter 5d: The relationship between tourist cultural capital and perceptions of authenticity

### 5d1.0 Introduction

One of the research aims of this study was to explore the relationship between cultural capital, perceptions of authenticity and literary tourism experiences (see Chapter 1 Section 1.4). 'Pierre Bourdieu's (1984) theory of cultural capital and taste offers the most comprehensive and influential attempt to develop a theoretical framework to plumb the social patterning of consumption in an increasingly mystified social world' (Holt, 1998, p.1). As discussed in Chapter 2c section 2.1, contributing to the development and understanding of Bourdieu's (1984; 1986) threefold axiomization of cultural capital (i.e., embodied, objectified and institutionalised), Busby and Meethan (2008) offered their derivative, personal cultural capital, as a means by which tourism consumption can be understood. An individual's stock of cultural capital can be determined by a number of variables (hereafter referred to as currency). *A priori* currency of an individual's stock of cultural capital were deduced from both cultural capital theories (Bourdieu, 1984; 1986; Busby & Meethan, 2008) (see Chapter 2c section 2.2). Thus, both are be useful in the evaluation of the nature and role of cultural capital in literary tourism experiences, including its influence on perceptions of authenticity. Hence, the analysis presented in this chapter addresses research aims 1 and 3, and research objectives 1, 2 and 3.

Following Bourdieu (1977) and DiMaggio (1982) the researcher measured participant cultural capital 'using self-reports' (DiMaggio, 1982, p.191) contained within their interview narratives. 'An important implication of Bourdieu's concept of cultural capital is that people need to accumulate knowledge about art and culture in order to be able to participate

effectively. Lack of cultural capital therefore becomes a barrier to participation. The most effective means of increasing participation is to raise general levels of cultural capital through education' (Richards, 1996a, p.49). Additionally, such currency also serves as an indicator of the participant's placement in the tourist-pilgrim dichotomy (see Chapter 6, section 6.4). The data that accompanies the analysis included within this chapter is presented in Appendix 15-21. Appendix 22 details the participant's consumption of *Poldark* and Appendix 23 includes interview participant preference for engagement with the various forms of literary tourism (see Chapter 2a, section 2.1).

In synthesising the symbiotic relationship between cultural capital and perceptions of authenticity, it is important to reinforce that '[a] person's position in social space is determined both by the value and the weight of their capital portfolio' (Zschomler, 2019, p.2). It is argued that the tourist's perceptions and versions of authenticity can be analysed by way of the opposition and resemblance of their cultural capital currency.

The majority of interview narratives demonstrate, to a certain extent, the influence of pedagogical action taken by parents or caregivers and thus, their embodied cultural capital (Bourdieu, 1986). Whilst it is likely that as children, the participants will have had some cultural experiences, it is unlikely that their access to cultural experiences will be one and the same. Similarly, it is unlikely that they will have investment of time from parents to the same extent. This then, impacts their embodied cultural capital (Bourdieu, 1986) and the experiences they choose to engage with in later life. As demonstrated in Chapter 2c, of Bourdieu's three forms of cultural capital, the embodied state holds the most significance

(Bourdieu, 1984; Hampton-Garland, 2015). Embodied cultural capital (Bourdieu, 1986) and existential authenticity's intra-personal dimension (Wang, 1999) are both fundamentally connected to the body; the body assumes an expression of self-identity (Wang, 1999) and a means of distinction (Bourdieu, 1984). It 'refers to a set of internalized dispositions that enable people to appreciate artistic and cultural items (Hanquinet, 2016, p.67).

'By conferring institutional recognition on the cultural capital possessed by any given agent, the academic qualification also makes it possible to compare qualification holders and even to exchange them (by substituting one for another in succession). Furthermore, it makes it possible to establish conversion rates between cultural capital and economic capital by guaranteeing the monetary value of a given academic capital' (Bourdieu, 1986, p.21). As outlined in Chapter 2c, educational credentials are indicative of institutionalised cultural capital (Bourdieu, 1986) currency, and graduate qualifications are thought to endow those that possess them with personal cultural capital (Busby & Meethan, 2008). As Appendix 16 demonstrates, four out of the ten guided and recreational tourists hold either an undergraduate or postgraduate degree. Further differentiation is illuminating: two of the three *Poldark* guided tourists have postgraduate degrees. Only two of the seven recreational tourists have higher education qualifications. The remaining five either have tertiary, secondary or A-Level qualifications, or none at all (see Appendix 16).

As noted in Chapter 5b, coincidentally, two *Poldark* tour guides were awarded the same postgraduate qualification for the same degree programme (see Appendix 16). Ostensibly, the data presented in Appendix 16 aligns somewhat with the suggestion by Cohen (1988,



p.376) that 'intellectuals and other more alienated individuals will engage on a more serious quest of authenticity than most rank-and-file members of society'.

## 5d2.0 Guided tourists

### 5d2.1 Participant AP

Participant AP's narrative provides ample evidence that cultural capital (Bourdieu, 1984) was directly transmitted to him from his family. He frequently refers to the unconsciousness and impalpability (Bourdieu, 1984) of his mother's influence on his reading habits (AP2 St. 25, 00.08.52), which serves as an empirical measurement of cultural capital's various operationalisations (Gaddis, 2013). In AP2 Stanza 10, he states: "So our mother was very very a reading person and we kind've followed in her footsteps" (AP2 St. 10, 00.03.19). He repeats this sentiment again in AP2 Stanza 25: "my mother just kind've erm led by example and we just kind've followed along so there were relentless streams of new books coming into the house and we were always encouraged to read all the time" (AP2 St. 25, 00.08.52). Later in his narrative, when the audience enquired into the influence of his mother's avid reading on himself, he contradicts himself slightly by stating: "By osmosis not by a directive or anything" (AP2 St. 41, 00.27.35). Nevertheless, AP's mother's embodied cultural capital (Bourdieu, 1986) 'functions as a sort of advance (both a head-start and a credit) which, by providing from the outset the example of culture incarnated in familiar models, enables the newcomer to start acquiring the basic elements of the legitimate culture, from the beginning, in the most unconscious and impalpable way' (Bourdieu, 1984, p.70-71).

AP's narrative illustrates that throughout his childhood and adulthood, he has participated in high arts (Gaddis, 2013) (see Appendix 17), that which required his parents investing their time in order to sensitise AP to various cultural distinctions (Swartz, 1997). In *Distinction* Bourdieu (1984, p.18-19) writes: '[...] nothing more clearly affirms one's "class", nothing more infallibly classifies, than tastes in music'. Ashwood and Bell (2016, p.625) argue that '[h]omology and the naturalised habitus most recognisably culminate in Bourdieu's conception of musical taste'. AP attributes his active consumption of music, that which represents intangible cultural capital (Throsby, 2001), and passive accumulation of 'musical culture' (Bourdieu, 1984, p.19) primarily to his father: "that's what we did or listened to music all the time my dad was Columbia Record Club so he got records and we erm heard all kinds of music you know especially on the weekends when he was home and not working" (AP2 St. 25, 0.08.52). In the same stanza, AP describes the diversity of his taste, which includes many music genres (e.g. Heavy Metal, Rap, Country and Western, Classical and Operas) (AP2 St. 25, 0.08.52). In doing so, AP reveals himself as a cultural omnivore (Maguire; Peterson, 1992; Peterson, 2005; Peterson & Simkus, 1992; Savage & Gayo, 2011), who enjoys 'a pluralistic range of cultural activities drawn from both elite and popular culture' (Savage & Gayo, 2011, p.337). Whilst 'Bourdieu [...] does not regard a taste for classical music as necessarily 'highbrow', or a marker of cultural capital' (Savage & Gayo, 2011, p.341), classical music is nonetheless a popular prestigious art form (DiMaggio, 1982). Lareau and Weininger (2003, p.568) argue 'cultural capital is assumed to denote knowledge of or competence with "highbrow" aesthetic culture (such as fine art and classical music)'.

AP recognises his parents' influence on his embodied and objectified cultural capital (Bourdieu, 1986): "I was very lucky that way because of my mum and dad they had walls of records and walls of books in their house" (AP2 St. 25, 0.08.52). Whilst AP did not provide a numerical figure to quantify the number of books in his childhood home (Hong & Zhao, 2014; Sieben & Lechner, 2019), the previous excerpt does, nonetheless, indicate his stock of embodied and objectified cultural capital (Bourdieu, 1986). AP has read and in some cases reread, "every Agatha Christie book" (AP2 St. 25, 0.08.52), Shakespeare (AP2 St. 25, 0.08.52), Mark Twain (AP2 St. 42, 00.27.42), Jane Austen (AP2 St. 43, 00.29.44) Charles Dickens and JK Rowling's *Harry Potter* series (AP2 St. 44, 00.29.53). AP states: "Daphne du Maurier was always a presence in our house" (AP2 St. 10, 00.03.19). Regarding non-literary texts, AP states: "I read the internet I read CNN, BBC the Canadian broadcasting, a couple of Chilean newspapers I mean I read that kind of stuff every morning on my phone or on my laptop" (AP2 St. 46, 00.31.24). AP's reading habits not only demonstrate what Busby and Meethan (2008, p.153) describe as a 'symbiotic link between educational attainment [...] and an individual's reading habits', but also, his active and passive inheritance of embodied cultural capital (Bourdieu, 1986). The non-literary texts AP consumes directly correlate to his embodied cultural capital (Bourdieu, 1986). Although AP did not reveal this in his narrative, participant LE noted that AP "goes to Chile once a month for err because he's on the board of a company down there" (LE2 St. 29, 0.23.51). Thus, his consumption of Chilean newspapers can be attributed to his embodied cultural capital (Bourdieu, 1986).

As presented in Appendix 16, AP's educational credentials extend to his BSc Engineering, MSc Geophysics and PhD Geophysics (AP2 St. 33, 00.18.08). AP's graduate qualifications guarantee (Bourdieu, 1984) both his institutionalised (Bourdieu, 1986) and personal cultural capital

(Busby & Meethan, 2008), and presupposes his maintenance of the embodied cultural capital acquired within his family (Bourdieu, 1984):

“Well I followed my actually my family’s footsteps in pursuing mining, so my dad was a Mining Engineer my grandfather Austrian grandfather was a Surveyor in a coal mine and my great grandfather so my my grandma’s father in Austria was coal mine shovelling so I ended up carrying on that tradition” (Excerpt from AP2 St. 33, 18.21).

It can be deduced that AP’s current and previous occupation (Appendix 18) depended on his institutionalised cultural capital (Bourdieu, 1986) and provided him access to both an academic and industrial social space (Bourdieu, 1984). In addition to his previous occupation as the “Vice President of Technical Services [...] for all Potash mines in in in Canada” (AP2 St. 26, 0.12.41), he is “a distinguished Lecturer for the Canadian Institute of Mining” (AP2 St. 36, 00.22.15).

Interestingly, the academic subjects studied by AP in higher education and his subsequent occupations lends toward his consumption of *Poldark* (i.e. novels based on a Cornish mining family) and his existential authenticity (Wang, 1999). AP twice refers to himself as “a mining person” (AP1 St. 14, 00.07.37; AP1 St. 30, 20.07) in response to questions that do not intend to centre on personal characterisation. An interdependence does exist between AP’s graduate qualifications and his occupation, his cultural capital currency serves as a label that he attaches to himself, a part of his self-identity that he readily presents to the audience. In doing so he engages in self-making (Wang, 1999) and demonstrates his interpersonal existential authenticity (Wang, 1999) to the audience. However, AP deviates from Wang’s (1999) theory somewhat as he does not pursue self-realization due to the monotony or

routinization of everyday life that restricts his authentic self. Rather, his engagement in the *Poldark* guided tour reaffirmed his self-identity: in everyday life, in higher education and in previous (and current) occupations, he is ‘in the state of being [his] “real-self” (Jia, 2009, p.72) that which encompasses and signifies his cultural capital (Bourdieu, 1984; 1986). In leisure, AP further extracts and achieves existential authenticity (Wang, 1999) by participating in PS’ guided tour, which as described in Chapter 5b section 2.0, reflects a holistic interpretation of Cornwall through the medium of *Poldark*. AP’s participation in the *Poldark* tour satisfies his interest in geology and mining history (AP1 St. 31, 00.22.30), of which he has extensive background knowledge, fostered by his currency of embodied and institutionalised cultural capital (Bourdieu, 1986). AP’s membership (see Appendix 19) to learned bodies (Busby & Meethan, 2008) associated with mining provide the opportunity to enhance and arguably, disseminate, his subject specific knowledge. Additionally, AP is “the President of the non-profit group called the Jack Millikin Centre and that’s a group trying to build a 4000sq art centre in the Boreal Forest of Northern Saskatchewan” (AP2 St. 36 00.22.15). His participation is indicative of his appreciation for, and consumption of, art.

Crucially, AP’s perception of authenticity can be linked to his institutionalised and thus embodied cultural capital (Bourdieu, 1986). As demonstrated in Chapter 5c3, AP’s perception of authenticity centres on *truth, fact, and the objective reality of historical authenticity* (Wiles & Stoep, 2008). *Truth* is featured in his narration of his time spent writing mining accident and fatality reports:

“I was I wrote a lot I mean I wrote well bad thin- well fatality report right accident in the mine I’d have to actually put together a legal document that then goes to the mines inspector from which charges will be later you know

so I had to become very cognisant of legal things, law, the law, and things like that but throughout all of that I mean if you're writing technical stuff about a bad thing that happened you're **telling the truth truth is key and being precise about what you say is also really really important**" (Excerpt from AP2 St. 42, 00.27.42).

Aged nineteen, AP went travelling around Europe with a friend (AP2 St. 29, 0.14.55). Whilst in Europe he visited a number of museums, which constitutes his participation in high arts (Gaddis, 2013) and serves as a measurement of his embodied cultural capital (Kisida, Greene & Bowen, 2014) (see Chapter 2 section 2.2). He states: "I went to erm Paris and went to every museum the Louvre the other museums erm we went to Munich we went to the Vienna we went to big cities in Europe and London Tate British museum we travelled through Europe the two buddies and we went to many museums" (AP2 St. 29, 0.14.55). AP's middle-class upbringing (AP2 St. 25, 0.08.52) is relevant here, 'since art museum attendance remains influenced by social position and more particularly by educational attainment' (Hanquinet, 2016, p.66). Additionally, AP in his rationalisation for his visiting museums, yet again recognises the influence of his mother on his embodied cultural capital (Bourdieu, 1986):

"now why did we do that? I think because my mother in particular basically I was kind've taught that that was a good thing to do and Joel my pal his parents kinda taught him that too or his mother probably so that's what we did" (AP2 St. 29, 0.14.55)

AP's mother initiated him to highbrow culture in his childhood (see Appendix 17) and this fostered AP's strong 'appetite for cultural participation' (Hanquinet, 2016, p.67). His cultural participation is also evidenced in the artistic, cultural and historical examples he provided within his narrative to explicate his preference for authenticity (see Chapter 5c) including: the Mona Lisa, the Giza Pyramid Complex, the Greek Orthodox Cathedral of Divine Wisdom (Hagia

Sofia), the Parthenon and Machu Picchu. All of these tangible cultural artefacts and attractions have historical provenance, that which contributes to AP's acceptance of their authenticity.

## 5d2.2 Participant LE

In comparison to AP, Participant LE's narrative reveals a marked absence of embodied cultural capital (Bourdieu, 1986) that can be attributed to parental investment of time or the provision of experiences that would have fostered her sensitivity to culture (Swartz, 1997). Although LE was conceivably unaware of her childhood social class, or reticent to divulge this to the audience, within his interjection to her narrative, AP juxtaposed LE's current and previous socioeconomic status:

“[AP interjects: now we're very well-off, but when you were a kid you were not] No we didn't have a lot, I mean we nev- we never [AP interjects: working I mean you were bordering on working-poor] yeah” (Excerpt from LE3 St. 27, 0.16.54).

In response to audience enquiry into her childhood cultural experiences, LE succinctly responded: “No there were none” (LE3 St. 36, 0.32.14). Later, she adds: “I had no TV virtually, no museums, no dance classes, no nothing like that, no music classes” (LE3 St. 38, 0.35.15). That said, similarly to AP, LE was exposed to classical music as a child, primarily by her mother: “my mother always played, had classical music available” (LE3 St. 23, 0.11.10). Seemingly, Prior's (2013, p.181) assumption that ‘the active pursuit of classical music is predominantly the preserve of the educated middle classes’ doesn't bear resemblance in this instance. What does bear resemblance for participants LE and AP is Shaw's (1999) notion of the “Mozart

effect," the belief that listening to classical music leads children to become more intelligent' (Dumais, 2002, p.48). Both LE and AP hold postgraduate qualifications (see Appendix 16).

In reference to her reading habits, LE implicitly reaffirms her childhood socioeconomic status (see Appendix 21). As opposed to purchasing books, LE enhanced her objectified cultural capital (Bourdieu, 1986) by loaning books from a public library (Robinson & Garnier, 1985):

"we'd go to the public library and we'd take books out and then we'd read the books, take them back and get other ones so we never had the money to buy books. So we never bought books, on occasion you know schools would have these they'd have these books you could by and I'd buy a few erm and I've always read" (Excerpt from LE3 St. 51, 0.49.57).

Pertinent to LE's perception of authenticity, and the emphasis she places on facets of historical authenticity is the books her mother did own: "There was a set of books that his mother owned and I read those it was sort of a condensed history of Britain from Henry II whenever he became King 1154 until err 1485 no 15 no 14 Battle of Bosworth Field was that 1485? Richard III. That was the end of the Plantagenet yeah that was the whole anyway" (LE3 St. 51, 0.49.57). In LE3 Stanza 51, LE describes her reading habits and indicates her consumption of classical and non-classical literature. LE has read Jane Austen, Charles Dickens, Margaret Mitchell's *Gone with the Wind* (1936) and J. R. R. Tolkein's *Lord of the Rings* trilogy (LE3 St. 51, 0.49.57). Interestingly, she reads "a lot of history books" (LE3 St. 51, 0.49.57).



The influence of LE's institutionalised cultural capital (Bourdieu, 1986) and her consumption of "history books" (LE3 St. 51, 0.49.57) on her perception of authenticity is most readily discernible due the absence of inherited cultural capital currency and her lack of exposure to cultural experiences in childhood (see Appendix 15). As discussed in section 5c3, LE attributes authenticity to multiple accuracies, all of which have some historical basis. As DiMaggio (1982, p.192) states: '[m]ilieus that inculcate an interest in any single artistic discipline will also be likely to inculcate an interest in any other high culture form' (DiMaggio, 1982). LE has 'the ability or propensity to remember [historical,] cultural or stylistic traits' (Busby & Meethan, 2008, p.155). Hence, she measures the relevant accuracies, or authenticity of her object of consumption, against her cultural capital (Bourdieu, 1984; Busby & Meethan, 2008) and her gratuitous knowledge that she acquired from her reading habits (Busby & Meethan, 2008). LE's narrative reveals her hostility to anachronism. Emphatically, she states:

"look if the history's wrong I am not interested. I don't care how good the production is but if they don't do the history right then like I'm just going to see all of the problems" (Excerpt from LE St. 10, 0.08.26).

Nonetheless, it does appear that LE did inherit her tendency to avoid television from her childhood. Television was not an integral part of LE's youth (LE3 St. 38, 0.35.15) and nor is it an integral part of her adulthood: "because I don't get television we don't watch television ever, we we watch films err and I pick the films because I'm very particular about what I watch and I'll watch certain things for certain reasons" (LE2 St. 22, 0.16.03). LE's response to audience enquiry into the reasoning behind her not watching TV is emphatic. LE's paraphrasing of the quote 'Life is too short to drink bad wine' by poet Johann Wolfgang von

Goethe is also telling of her cultural competency, and her propensity to remember the sentiment of works written by key cultural figures:

“I hate it. Unless it’s very specifically what I want to see and that goes for a lot of things in our lives right so we are very particular about what we do, because life is short and the older you get you don’t wanna drink bad wine right” (LE2 St. 23, 0.16.31).

A common thread through LE’s narrative is her active pursuit of an education and avoidance of societal gender norms (LE3 St. 23, 0.11.10). The absence of cultural experiences as a child – that which relates to her embodied cultural capital (Bourdieu, 1986) – does not function as a barrier to LE’s participation (Richards, 1996a), as her higher education – that which relates to her currency of institutionalised and personal cultural capital (Bourdieu, 1986; Busby & Meethan, 2008) – has led to her accumulation of ‘knowledge about art and culture’ (Richards, 1996a, p.49). She holds both an undergraduate and postgraduate degree in Fine Arts (see Appendix 16). Through the various disciplines of art, LE has learned about a myriad of subjects, histories and cultures. As noted in Chapter 5c, in Stanza 10 LE rationalises her appreciation for the authentic and her pursuit of authenticity in tourism experiences by way of her institutionalised cultural capital (Bourdieu, 1986):

“Ah well, maybe because of my background. Because I’ve- **I studied Ancient History I studied Greek and Roman Ancient History, I studied Art History, Classics.** I’ve worked in theatre for twenty-some years err I worked was in a gallery for 17 years so that could be coming into play, because I am not looking for hmmm, I don’t want to say a quick and easy fix, but that’s, you know you want, I want something that is very special and more spec- specialised so so I can, I could become disappointed with things err if it’s not meeting my expectations based on all of my historic like ok **I very specifically studied Ancient History** right” (Excerpt from LE St. 10, 0.08.26).

DiMaggio (1982, p.194) suggests 'English, History, and Social Studies are subjects in which cultural capital can be expected to make a difference; standards are diffuse and evaluation is likely to be relatively subjective'. LE's cultural capital currency (Bourdieu, 1986; Busby & Meethan, 2008) and the organisations to which LE holds membership (see Appendix 19) are indicative of her embodied, institutionalised (Bourdieu, 1986) and personal cultural capital (Busby & Meethan, 2008). They provided her tangible and intangible access to culture which deviated somewhat from her inherited social group. In reference to LE's education, AP interjects: "[AP interjects: Lindsay's the only person in her family that went to University]" (LE3, St. 30, 0.19.20). Speaking about her education, LE states: "it gave me the education, the opportunity to travel because err one of my first trip outside of the country was for an Art History course that I took in Venice through Queens University it was a second year art history course and that changed everything" (Excerpt from LE3 St. 23, 0.11.10). When the audience prompted her to expand on her point, LE's response centred on the resultant exposure to and participation in tangible and intangible culture (LE3 St. 24, 0.12.30). In reference to travel, LE notes: "my parents didn't really travel" (LE3 St. 25, 0.14.03). Potentially, this can be attributed to their SES. Rather than serving as a barrier to her participation (Richards, 1996a), this ignited LE's aspiration to travel and to enhance her cultural participation. LE's narrative reveals her innate compulsion to travel: "I was always interested in travelling, I always wanted to travel so I think travelling is big cultural educator right" (LE3 St. 24, 0.12.30). When the audience enquired as to why she had always wanted to travel, LE responds: "I think I was just born that way" (LE3 St. 25, 0.14.03). For LE, her 'intrinsic motives for stimulation and activity are innate' (Jamrozny & Uysal, 1994, p.138). Crucially, learning plays a primary, not secondary role in her leisure experiences; they serve as means by which she can increase her stock of cultural capital (Bourdieu, 1984; 1986). LE presents as a tourist in wanderlust mode (Leiper, 1989).

She seeks cultural experiences (Leiper, 1989; Singh & Singh, 2009) and demonstrates her appetite for 'highbrow cultural participation' (Hanquinet, 2016, p.66).

AP (and by extension his wife, participant LE) demonstrate their transfer or conversion of economic capital to cultural capital (Bourdieu, 1986). In comparison to AP, LE appeared reluctant to discuss attributes indicative of her economic capital, SES and by extension, the properties which contribute to her objectified cultural capital (Bourdieu, 1986). This was noted by AP, who overheard a portion of LE's interview. AP was more forthcoming. Speaking for the couple, he states:

“erm we have now become very well-off and we have she [LE] didn't say any of this but she should've. We've become erm big art collectors like like not big I mean we have significant pieces of art in our house right that we live with every day and erm we actually bought two pieces here while we're here right” (Excerpt from AP2 St. 25, 00.08.52).

Artworks are tangible cultural capital (Throsby, 2001). Through AP & LE's ownership of works of art – those goods which are culturally valued and transmissible in materiality – they represent, express and transmit their objectified cultural capital (Bourdieu, 1986; Hallum, 2012; Hanquinet, 2016). They possess the cultural competencies to appreciate, understand and decode the meaning of works of art (Bourdieu, 1984). As aforementioned, to own works of art, AP and LE require the requisite access to economic capital (Bourdieu, 1986; Hallum, 2012). However, 'to appropriate them and use them in accordance with their specific purpose (defined by the cultural capital, of scientific or technical type, incorporated in them), [they] must have access to embodied cultural capital, either in person or by proxy' (Bourdieu, 1986,

p.20). Interestingly, when speaking about their relationship, AP described that as opposed to economic capital, LE:

“brought a different currency to our relationship right. I was lucky I ended up in a field that was very popular and got paid lots of money she didn’t have that benefit and that bothers her. On the other hand she gave our home or us erm it’s crammed full of art” (Excerpt from AP2 St. 25, 00.08.52).

What AP is both implicitly and explicitly referring to here is LE’s embodied and objectified cultural capital (Bourdieu, 1986). LE’s institutionalised cultural capital (i.e. her undergraduate and postgraduate degrees in Fine Art), validates and presupposes her embodied form, and AP’s by proxy (Bourdieu, 1986; Hanquinet, 2016). Whilst LE’s ‘capital transfer is more disguised’ (Bourdieu, 1986, p.19) in its transmission, it is nonetheless valuable. In fact, when comparing the transmission of objectified cultural goods and economic capital, Bourdieu (1986) argues the former is the same, if not better than the latter, since it is disguised.

### 5d2.3 Participant KP

Of all the *Poldark* guided tourists, participant KP has the lowest stock of institutionalised cultural capital (Bourdieu, 1986) (see Appendix 16). However, this did not serve as a barrier to her participation (Richards, 1996a) in the *Poldark* tour and other cultural experiences. In lieu of graduate qualifications – currency of personal cultural capital (Busby & Meethan, 2008) – KP’s patterns of consumption relate specifically to her embodied and objectified cultural capital (Bourdieu, 1986) contribute to her cultural competency and active participation.

As a child, KP had many cultural experiences (see Appendix 15) including visiting museums (KP2 St. 13, 0.02.51), attending the theatre and travelling (KP2 St. 18, 0.06.42). Museums are not only 'informal learning environments' (Russo, Watkins & Groundwater-Smith, 2009, p.158), they are 'high culture products [...] that may require a certain level of cultural capital (cultural/aesthetic knowledge or taste) in order to be enjoyed' (Kim, Cheng & O'Leary, 2007, p.1369-1370). It is argued, through her participation in cultural trips (De Graaf, De Graaf & Kraaykamp, 2000; DiMaggio, 1982; Dumais, 2002; Eitle & Eitle, 2002; Gaddis, 2013; Jæger, 2009; Kalmijn & Kraaykamp, 1996; Katsillis & Rubinson, 1990; Kaufman & Gabler, 2004; Nagel, Damen & Haanstra, 2010; Robinson & Garnier, 1985; Roscigno & Ainsworth-Darnell, 1999), KP acquired gratuitous knowledge (Busby & Meethan, 2008) that contributes to her stock of embodied and personal cultural capital (Bourdieu, 1984; Busby & Meethan, 2008).

She narrates her childhood exposure to performing arts and attributes this to parental interest, her mother specifically, and her living in close proximity to The Old Vic Theatre (KP2 St. 18, 0.06.42). That said, it is argued (and acknowledged by KP herself) that the biggest influence on her cultural participation stems from travelling. Early in her narrative, KP states: "my nan liked to travel erm my mum and dad liked to travel" (KP2 St. 13, 0.02.51). Domestic and international holidays would have undoubtedly increased KP's cultural participation and enhanced her cultural sensitivities. Whilst this seems like a logical argument, the influence of childhood holidays on cultural capital is under-researched and presents as an opportunity for further study.

"But I suppose the biggest influence in terms of culturally would be erm travelling going to different places we were quite lucky we went to some places, particularly as teenagers that our school friends didn't go to. I mean

we went to Mexico for example which is quite quite rare, but even we had holidays in the UK we would go all different places erm. We'd go up to Scotland, we'd go to the Lakes, so I suppose different different sort of places and I think they all have an influence in how you view people" (Excerpt from KP2 St. 18, 0.06.42).

As the excerpt above demonstrates, KP was 'directly exposed to international travel through vacations with' (Simon & Ainsworth, 2012, p.9) her family. It is argued, travel is a way in which children (and adults) accrue currency of cultural capital, particularly embodied cultural capital (Bourdieu, 1986). Through travel, adults sensitise their children to cultural distinctions (Swartz, 1997). When an individual's travel career (Richards & van der Ark, 2013) begins in childhood, this contributes to their 'internalised dispositions that enable [them] to appreciate' (Hanquinet, 2016, p.67) art and culture, that which culminates in their embodied cultural capital (Bourdieu, 1986).

Choice of holidays 'can be regarded as the operationalization of taste and habitus' (Ahmad, 2014, p.492). Arguably, whilst KP was not responsible for selecting her childhood holidays, potentially, KP inherited her parent's and grandparent's preferences for cultural experiences. Therefore, KP's exposure to international travel (Simon & Ainsworth, 2012) and her subsequent consumption of culture contributes to her cultural capital currency.

KP describes her reading habits as "sporadic" and that which includes "a real range of stuff" (KP4 St. 1, 0.00.06). She states: "I don't know where the reading comes from 'cause my mum reads now and then my nan was never a big reader. I've always liked books from a small child so I've always loved reading I think it's my thirst for knowledge really" (KP2 St. 13, 0.02.51). She, like AP and LE, is well-versed in classic literature (Herbert, 2001), including Charles Dickens and Alexandre Dumas' *the Count of Monte Cristo* (KP4 St. 1, 0.00.06). The subject

matter of some of her preferred genres i.e. “social history books, history books” is indicative of her efforts to acquire gratuitous knowledge (Busby & Meethan, 2008) about a variety of historical subjects. Additionally, KP is a member of a blue badge walking tour group (see Appendix 19). This membership is indicative of her thirst for knowledge and its activities present opportunities within which uncertificated education (Busby & Meethan, 2008) could occur.

Regarding her perception of authenticity, as was stated in Chapter 5c, whilst KP’s initial description of the meaning of authenticity centres on sincerity, the remainder of her narrative demonstrates her perception of authenticity as “real”. Her perception seems to align with the ‘general consensus that authenticity refers to a process of verifying whether (or the extent to which) entities are what they are purported to be’ (Newman & Smith, 2016, p.610). It is argued that KP’s embodied cultural capital (Bourdieu, 1986) – her thirst for knowledge – which is as a long-lasting disposition of her mind (Bourdieu, 1986) that informs this perception, as she endeavours to accrue knowledge that ‘encapsulates, what is genuine, real, and/or true’ (Beverland & Farrelly, 2010, p.839), or as she describes it, authentic.

### 5d3.0 Recreational tourists

#### 5d3.1 Participant DR

In applying the *a priori* currency, it has been determined that participant DR has the least currency of institutionalised cultural capital (Bourdieu, 1986) of all the guided and recreational tourists. That said, it would be remiss of the researcher to fail to acknowledge that this could be attributed to DR’s age (retired at the time of interview), and him growing up in an era where the social norm prioritised making a living over pursuing an education. To



some extent, this was confirmed in DR's narrative. When asked if his parents prioritised his education, DR responded: "No. My parents what they, what they said to me erm was that when I was ready to go to work I would go and I would be going to work to earn some money" (DR2 St. 2, 00.14.54). DR's narrative revealed his desire to become an Apprentice in the Dockyard and how his father wouldn't give the necessary permission owing to the wage he would earn (DR2 St. 2, 00.14.54). DR's narrative revealed his childhood was "not a good life" (DR2 St. 1, 00.00.13) and his primary caregivers (father and stepmother) were either not equipped or not inclined to invest in his embodied cultural capital (Bourdieu, 1986). In fact, as the aforementioned example illustrates, they served as a barrier to his participation (Richards, 1996a). Over the course of three stanzas (DR2 St. 5, 00.17.58; DR2 St. 6, 00.18.04; DR2 St. 7, 00.18.33) DR's narrative revealed his childhood cultural experiences were limited to going for a 10 mile walk with his father and stepmother every Sunday. DR surmises that his parents' rationale for his inclusion in these walks was to ensure that he did not leave the family home in their absence (DR2 St. 6, 00.18.04) as opposed to enhancing his cultural capital.

DR's acquisition of embodied cultural capital (Bourdieu, 1986) in childhood was virtually non-existent in so far as DR did not indicate that he accumulated knowledge about art and culture by way of the investment of time from his parents (Swartz, 1997). DR holds no educational qualifications (DR2 St. 10, 00.20.43) and thus, no currency of what would be considered traditional institutionalised cultural capital (Bourdieu, 1986). However, as Agarwal and Shaw (2018, p.192) suggest, 'cultural capital [...] need not relate solely to the possession of graduate qualifications'. The researcher asserts that DR's stock of cultural capital can be attributed to

1) his time spent in the Armed Forces, specifically the Royal Marines; 2) his consumption of literature and; 3) through his membership to the National Trust.

In recognising the influence of his experience in the Royal Marines, the researcher asserts that DR's military career was a source whereby he increased his cultural capital (Bourdieu, 1984). DR did not give great detail about his military career. Interestingly, when he does discuss his time spent in the Royal Marines, he does so in response to audience enquiry into his cultural background (DR2 St. 1, 00.00.13). DR did not list any qualifications or promotions gained in his time spent in the Armed Forces. As such, the researcher is unable to determine if the aforementioned were 'translated into institutionalised cultural capital' (Maguire *et al.*, 2017, p.10). Nevertheless, Maguire *et al.* (2017, p.10) suggest '[t]he military equips people with its own embodied form of cultural capital in the technical skills it provides through its training'. It is argued that DR's military career is undoubtedly an example of where 'uncertificated' education can sometimes be of equal importance' (Busby & Meethan, 2008, p.153). DR's time spent in the Royal Marines provided him ample opportunities for 'contextualised and subliminal learning' (Busby & Meethan, 2008, p.153), in a similar way as this learning would occur in Busby and Meethan's (2008) original example (i.e. membership to learned bodies). 'Distinctive forms of "cultural capital" are embodied and valued within the military institution' (Cooper *et al.*, 2017, p.54). He travelled to Kuwait, Darussalam (Brunei) and Bermuda (DR2 St. 1, 00.00.13): "I had to go to Bermunda erm with 6 others to do a bodyguard for erm John F. Kennedy and Harold MacMillan" (DR2 St. 1, 00.00.13). Arguably, 'few would doubt that' DR 'possessed a significant stock of personal cultural capital, despite leaving school at a young age' (Busby & Meethan, 2008, p.153) and holding no graduate qualifications.

As discussed in Chapter 5c, DR's perception of authenticity centres on truth and by extension integrity. For DR, 'authenticity seems to manifest on both an intrapersonal and an interpersonal level' (Barnard, Schurink & De Beer, 2008, p.44). DR's emphasis on the existential authenticity (Wang, 1999) of people can be linked to his time spent in the Royal Marines. Integrity is at the heart of the Royal Marines ethos and is a Commando value (RoyalNavy, 2021). As noted by Rawls (1999, p.445), '[i]n times of social doubt and loss of faith in long established values, there is a tendency to fall back on the virtues of integrity: truthfulness and sincerity [...] or as some say, authenticity'. This offers a potential explanation to DR's bias perception of authenticity, that which represents an inherently humanistic characteristic. 'Integrity also pertains to acting authentically to the moral compass. In this regard, McFall (1987, p. 6) emphasises that integrity can be understood only if one's relationship with one's principles and values is authentic: "A merely conventional relation to one's principles seems to rule out personal integrity"' (Barnard, Schurink & De Beer, 2008, p.44).

Arguably, by dint of the subject matter, DR's reading habits serve as an extension to his acquisition of cultural capital in the Armed Forces. DR's narrative reveals him as an individual with a love of reading: "I can read and read and read and read" (DR3 St. 4, 00.02.37). Initially, when prompted by audience request to discuss his reading habits he states his aversion to non-fiction (DR3 St. 4, 00.02.37). The authors mentioned by name in his narrative include Douglas Reeman and his non de plume, Alexander Kent – 'As Douglas Reeman, he wrote about naval action during the twentieth century, with a primary focus on Britain's Royal Navy'

(Douglas Reeman, 2021) – and E. V. Thompson. In DR2 Stanza 6, DR reveals his penchant for the historical authenticity of Reeman’s novels.

“I like I like action erm novels. I like erm erm a person called Douglas Reeman, I like erm Alexander Kent, **there the old ships the old sailing ships and what happened on the old sailing ships years ago, based funny enough, based on truth.** That’s you know the story itself is not truth, **but like the dates and the ships are all truth**, and I love them books, love those. There’s a big set of them actually I think he’s he writ about seventy, seventy four, seventy six books yeah he did. Helleva writer. [Zoe asks: How many have you read?] Oh I’ve read a load but” (DR3 St. 6, 00.04.05)

DR increases his knowledge of history and currency of objectified cultural capital (Bourdieu, 1986) through his consumption literature. It could be argued that DR’s lack of high-arts participation is a barrier to participation somewhat in that his perception of authenticity is bias, in favour of people as opposed to tangible objects and intangible experiences. Nonetheless, his personal cultural capital (Busby & Meethan, 2008) currency can be illustrated by way of his previous membership to the National Trust (Busby & Meethan, 2008). Nostalgia for the past permeates DR’s narrative, particularly in relation to built heritage. In DR1 Stanza 56, DR states: “I love the old stuff, probably 'cause I'm an old man, but I loved the old stuff and I loved the- what I was brought up in, our heritage” (DR1 St. 56, 00:36:45). When asked about the reason for visiting Perranporth, DR responded:

“Because I hadn't studied it, study that the last time [...] So I went to Perranporth to study it, to see, to see what it was like in the olden days, because I think we're we're going too far ahead now. We're going very well, we're getting rid of the olden days and and I don't want that to happen. The olden days are so important to us of how they lived in those days” (Excerpt from DR1 St. 30, 00:23:24).

DR's use of the verbs "study" and "studied" suggests an acute interest in built heritage and reaffirms his nostalgia for the past. He employs the use of multiple references to prominent architect Christopher Wren and civil engineer Isambard Kingdom Brunel (DR1 St 18, 00.14.47), Salisbury Cathedral, Canterbury Cathedral (DR1 St. 19, 00.15.53), and demonstrates his gratuitous knowledge of cultural built heritage. DR satisfied his interest in built heritage by way of his previous membership to the National Trust. It is also important to note that DR's National Trust membership was terminated due to ill health as opposed to a lack of interest (DR3 St. 1, 00.00.19). Nevertheless, DR's prior membership 'engenders a certain degree of familiarity with a range of heritage' (Agarwal & Shaw, 2018, p.192). DR's perception of authenticity can be linked to Sartrean and Heideggerian existentialism. 'Sartre (1943, 1962) and Heidegger (1927, 1962) state that all choices are situated and all situations involve choice, indeed, people can choose to live authentically or in *bonne foi* (good faith) even in a situation of oppression. Thus though an individual may occasionally have 'abrupt awakenings to good faith' (Sartre, 1943, p. 50), for example, during time away from home, as described by Steiner and Reisinger (2006a) and Wang (1999), the pursuit of authenticity should not be confined to extraordinary moments' (Brown, 2013, p.179).

According to Sartre (1943 [translation 1956], p.796), '[t]he existential psychoanalysis is *moral description*, for it releases to us the ethical meaning of various human projects' (Sartre, 1943 [translation 1956], p.796). It is argued, 'that existentialism offered and continues to offer [DR] a set of guiding principles' (Brown, 2016b, p.139). He, like Brown (2016b, p.139) tries 'to live authentically', 'or in *bonne foi* (good faith)' (Brown, 2013, p.179) and hopes others also live in good faith, as opposed to living in bad faith, where 'the liar actually is in complete possession of the truth which he is hiding' (Sartre, 1943 [translation 1956], p.87). For Sartre (1943

[translation 1956], p.115), '[t]he ideal of good faith (to believe what one believes) is, like that of sincerity (to be who one is) an ideal of being-in-itself'. For DR, the onus is placed on truth telling – being existentially authentic – and having personal integrity. '[T]he norms and criteria of truth [...] are accepted by the critical thought of good faith' (Sartre, 1943 [translation 1956], p.113).

### 5d3.2 Participant JaC

A parallel between recreational tourist JaC and guided tourist AP was drawn in Chapter 5c4 insofar as the pair both attribute authenticity to “fact” and “truth”. Another parallel can be drawn, this time in reference to the influence of their parents, specifically their father’s on their embodied and institutionalised cultural capital (Bourdieu, 1986) (for AP see section 5d2). JaC’s father’s embodied cultural capital (Bourdieu, 1986) influenced his tertiary education and thus, his institutionalised cultural capital (Bourdieu, 1986). JaC himself recognises his father’s influence. When the audience enquired into the reason why he chose to study for an NVQ3 in Marine Engineering (JaC St. 51, 0.26.48), he responded: “Erm because I was always sort’ve brought up around boats my dad being a boat builder I’ve always had an interest in it” (JaC St. 51, 0.26.48).

JaC’s childhood cultural experiences included domestic camper van holidays and European holidays (see Appendix 15). In his narration of what he presumably feels were a lack of cultural experiences, JaC states that his father was “self-employed so didn’t really have a lot of time off work” (JaC St. 48, 0.24.51), and the lack of cultural infrastructure, including museums, in his home county, Cornwall (JaC St. 49, 0.25.32). JaC’s consumption of objectified cultural goods (Bourdieu, 1986) is limited. Nevertheless, “fact” features in his description of his

reading habits. In Stanza 54 he states: “I don’t read anything really, unless it’s factual about something that I’m interested in such as either boats or sort’ve cars or surfing or skateboarding but other than that, no” (JaC St. 54, 0.29.12). Whilst JaC has an interest in National Trust properties and their associated histories (JaC St. 53, 0.28.08), he is not a member of the organisation. Nevertheless, it is argued that subliminal stimuli is present in these experiences irrespective of the JaC’s membership status.

The influence of JaC’s cultural capital (Bourdieu, 1984) on his perception of authenticity is difficult to determine. It should be noted, that JaC’s narrative was the shortest of all interview respondents, his responses succinct, even after the entry phase of the interview requested narrative responses and the audience provided multiple prompts. This created some difficulty when the researcher attempted to determine the nexus between his cultural capital and his perception of authenticity. It is argued, in the absence of other detectable cultural capital currency, JaC’s taste in reading materials, his preference for factual, as opposed to fictional subject matter, informs his perception of authenticity.

### 5d3.3 Participant JuC

JuC recognises the influence of her parents on her embodied cultural capital (JuC St. 45, 0.56.14). When the audience enquired about whether or not her mother’s interest in history contributed to her own interest, she states: “Yeah yeah I should think so. Erm, yeah I think a lot of, I think a lot of our parents sort of do sort of influence us quite a lot” (JuC St. 45, 0.56.14). The influence of her mother had on the cultural experiences she had as a child is evidenced in Stanza 44: “my mum really liked history so we would go to quite a lot of big houses and stately homes” (Excerpt JuC St. 44, 0.55.25).

When discussing her reading habits, JuC states: “that I only read when I’m either on holiday or at night really” (JuC St. 56, 1.08.57). Interestingly, in adulthood, JuC recognises her influence on her on her mother’s reading habits as opposed to her mother’s influence on her own. In response to audience enquiry into the latter, JuC states:

“Well I think I shape her reading habits because erm I’d get whatever was on the kindle and then just make sure it’s downloaded to her kindle, so that she can erm she’s got plenty of books to read erm so we have sort of changed roles there. But yeah she was always a keen reader so she would always be reading erm and so you know we always did so” (JuC St. 58, 1.10.17)

JuC recognises the influence of her institutionalised and thus, her embodied cultural capital (Bourdieu, 1986) on her perception of authenticity. As discussed in Chapter 5c4, she emphasises integrity and evidentiary support for truth claims. JuC has an undergraduate degree in Health and Social Care, Open University (JuC St. 50, 1.01.31) and has worked in the sector in a number of practical and teaching roles including as an Assessor. Her stock of institutionalised and embodied cultural capital (Bourdieu, 1986) means she understands the principles of research. Specifically, Evidence-based Practice (EBP) has a high profile in health and social care professions (Swinkels *et al.*, 2002). ‘Evidence-Based Practice (EBP) requires that decisions about health care are based on the best available, current, valid and relevant evidence’ (Dawes *et al.*, 2005, p. no pagination). This offers one theory as to why JuC’s perception of authenticity is reminiscent of research ethics.



Speaking about her viewing of the historical drama Versailles, shown on BBC 2, she notes the 'Inside Versailles' discussion shows hosted by historians Professor Kate Williams and Greg Jenner (BBC, 2021) which were purported to provide 'a closer look at the history behind the drama series Versailles' (BBC, 2021). JuC's appraisal of the discussion shows centred on her being pleased with the contextualisation and description of the historical authenticity of aspects of the programme:

"Well it's all about Louis 14<sup>th</sup> and it was really good because you watched this programme and then there were a couple of Doctors that came on at the end of the programme and so it would be something like erm the way he was dressed and the dances and what have you and then these two doctors who would actually be talking to like a sort of historian about was this actually true, so it was making the links between how it was being portrayed in the programme to whether this was actually a real event [...] that was really interesting actually in fact it would be good if they did it with a lot of programmes" (Excerpt from JuC St. 8, 0.06.02).

#### 5d3.4 Participant JM

The analysis of JM's cultural capital (Bourdieu, 1984) does not seem to illustrate the cause or effect of his cultural capital currency on his perception of authenticity. Authenticity is a particularly salient feature of JM's tourism experiences excluding those that are directly related to aspects of history. JM recognised the influence on his mother on his embodied cultural capital (Bourdieu, 1986):

"Erm I was encouraged to read from a very early age and that I was always grateful to my mother for, encouraging that because I love reading, I do a lot of reading" (Excerpt from JM St. 65, 0.42.58).

JM returned to education to raise his stock of cultural capital (Richards, 1996a). He went back to college to study for a Supervisory Management Certificate (see Appendix 16). By his own admission, JM did not have many cultural experiences as a child (JM St. 65, 0.42.58). That said, JM seems to equate cultural experiences to holidays abroad:

“Erm but in terms of cultural experiences as a child, we, our holidays were few and far between and they were always in the UK so I wouldn’t have thought I had many cultural experiences as a child” (Excerpt from JM St. 65, 0.42.58).

JM’s narrative reveals he, along with his parents and brother, did visit some sites which have been used in some studies as a measurement of embodied cultural capital (Bourdieu, 1986) namely museums. He visited the National History Museum and the Peter Harrison Planetarium, Greenwich (JM St. 66, 0.43.37). When prompted by audience enquiry into who made the decision to visit the latter, JM responded: “Oh mother and father - yes it was what they’d rather have done I think and they probably would have thought that we would have benefitted from it, but I think we were too young” (JM St. 67, 0.44.20).

JM is a member of the National Trust and a golf society (JM St. 81, 0.50.46). It is argued, JM may have accumulated personal cultural capital (Busby & Meethan, 2008) through both memberships. JM candidly revealed that he did not join the National Trust of his own accord. Rather, it was his wife that provided the impetus for their dual membership (JM St. 84, 0.51.26). Although JM’s motivation to become a member was secondary to his wife, his participation and visiting heritage properties, will have undoubtedly fostered subliminal learning, as was argued in the case of participant JaC.

Sport is a field of consumption in which JM enacts his cultural capital (Holt, 1998). According to Bourdieu (1984, p.20) golf is the 'upper bourgeoisie'. JM 'gains in distinction accruing from [...] the access to highly selective groups'. As Bourdieu (1984, p.215) notes '[a]ll the features which appeal to the dominant taste are combined in sports such as golf'. That said, it is unclear how JM's perception of authenticity relates to his cultural capital. As Reisinger and Steiner (2006b, p.69) state '[t]he modernist sense of authenticity as genuineness [...] that can be determined objectively reflects way of thinking that is now less prevalent in the academic community but still occurs in business circles'. Perhaps, in the absence of graduate qualifications, his embodied cultural capital (Bourdieu, 1986), that which can be attributed to his employment as a "Production Controller in a large manufacturing facility" (JM St. 61, 0.40.38) may have an influence although there is little theoretical evidence to suggest as such.

### 5d3.5 Participant MC

Interestingly, MC notes that despite his father's Italian heritage the majority of his cultural experiences as a child were derived from his mother's side of the family (MC St. 63, 01.12.56). In Stanza 63, he compares the influence of his mother and father. In his discussion of his parent's prioritisation of his education, MC considers the social norms of the era in which he grew up:

"But you know that is just, so yeah I would say that I was education wasn't foisted on me by my parents 'cause I think things were different back in the 60s and 70s but they were always willing to impart knowledge and experience to me" (Excerpt from MC St. 63, 01.12.56).

MC, like guided tourist AP, recognises the influence on his parents on his embodied cultural capital (Bourdieu, 1986), specifically his listening to many musical genres, including classical music (MC St. 64, 01.14.58). He too, is a cultural omnivore (Maguire, 2015; Peterson, 1992; Peterson, 2005; Peterson & Simkus, 1992; Savage & Gayo, 2011). It is argued, that MC, like guided tourist AP, inherited his cultural omnivorousness (Peterson, 1992; Peterson & Kern, 1996) from his parents:

“Every Friday my parents would buy 2, 3 maybe 4, 45” singles of the day of which I’ve got probably music from the late 50s right up until the mid-80s less so towards the end, it was the 60s I guess with my parents. I’ve probably got and I wouldn’t be exaggerating maybe 2,500 single records” (Excerpt from MC St. 64, 01.14.58)

MC’s cultural capital (Bourdieu, 1984), that which can be attributed to his perception of authenticity as an objective quality of originals (see Chapter 5c4), is enacted in a very specific field of consumption (Holt, 1998), namely his hobby collecting automobilia (MC St. 3, 00.01.58). Winkle-Wagner (2010, p.101) suggest ‘[t]he study of embodied cultural capital as leisure time [...] such as vacations, hobbies [...] may be a better measurement of cultural capital’ than educational credentials (Winkle-Wagner, 2010). This is particularly relevant to MC, as Appendix 16 demonstrates, his narrative indicated he has qualifications that reflect secondary education and no tertiary or higher education qualifications. He did undertake a Marine Consultant course (MC St. 67, 01.23.51) although his narrative did not indicate if any certificate was obtained. Seemingly, MC lacks ‘a certificate of cultural competence which confers on its holder a conventional, constant, legally guaranteed value with respect to culture, social alchemy produces a form of cultural capital which has a relative autonomy vis-

à-vis its bearer and even vis-à-vis the cultural capital he effectively possesses at a given moment in time' (Bourdieu, 1986, p.20). That said, it is argued that the merit of uncertificated education (Busby & Meethan, 2008) that is necessary to participate in his aforementioned hobby is a measurement of his cultural capital (Busby & Meethan, 2008). Many studies have considered hobbies as an indicator of cultural capital (Gayo, 2016; Holt, 1998; Stalker, 2011). Automobilia is a special interest hobby (Stalker, 2011) to which MC makes multiple references to in his explication of his understanding and preference for authenticity. MC's embodied practice, which can be attributed to building boats (MC St. 66, 01.20.11) and collecting classic cars and a classic boat (MC St. 70, 01.28.54) provides one explanation as to why MC's perception of authenticity centres on indexical authenticity (Grayson & Martinec, 2004) and object authenticity (Wang, 1999). For MC, 'indexicality is reached via iconicity – that is' MC, informed by his cultural capital, applies 'normative standards to form what for [him] are objective judgements of authenticity' (Beverland, Lindgreen & Vink, 2008, p.14). MC's narrative indicated he previously held a membership to the National Trust (MC St. 69, 01.27.26) although his motivation stemmed from the free parking as opposed enhancing his gratuitous knowledge.

### 5d3.6 Participant RC

The influence of RC's mother on her embodied cultural capital (Bourdieu, 1986) is evidenced in reference to RC's desire to travel. By RC's own admission, her parents did prioritise her education (RC2 St. 4, 0.3.25). Her mother specifically, would not allow RC or her sibling's to be absent from school due to ill health however, she would take them out of school for holidays:

“I remember ringing up and arranging for me to re-sit an exam when I was in 18 so that we could go to Egypt for a surprise Christmas present for my dad so, my mum was a firm believer in not being off sick but **she was a firm believer in that kids should be going on holiday and should be taken out to see different cultures and stuff like that**” (RC2 St. 4, 0.3.25).

RC states explicitly that she did not have many cultural experiences as a child (RC2 St. 3, 0.0.39) although her narrative reveals otherwise. As Appendix 15 demonstrates, RC had annual holidays to France, where she participated in local festivals and also went camping (RC2 St. 4, 0.3.25). That said, the majority of RC’s cultural experiences were concentrated in her late teens and early adulthood where she took full advantage of the opportunities to travel accessed primarily by way of her education (RC2 St. 3, 0.0.39) (see Appendix 16).

RC’s reading habits, mimic JuC’s somewhat, as her time spent reading is concentrated at specific times. She states “I tend to only read in the summer holidays or if I’m away on holiday” (RC St. 11, 0.12.00). Twice in RC2 Stanza 3, RC explicitly recognises the influence of her embodied and institutionalised cultural capital (Bourdieu, 1986) on her responses to the questions included within the interview schedule. She states: “So, I’m a qualified teacher erm secondary school teacher, and I am a Religious Studies teacher so might explain some of my answers” (RC2 St. 3, 0.00.39). Additionally, she recognises the influence of her cultural capital (Bourdieu, 1984) on her knowledge about culture and her experiential cultural participation:

“I like going to unique places I like to learn the culture of places erm I mean I did my degree in Sociology which is all about society and cultures and stuff like that, I’m now a Religious Studies teacher so, culture for me is like a huge fascinating thing and I think that reflects in my answers” (Excerpt from RC2 St. 3, 0.00.39).

RC demonstrates her desire to accrue cultural capital currency and her exposure to culture through various educational credentials and cultural experiences. She dedicates a large portion of Stanza RC3 to a description of this exposure. As detailed in Appendix 16, RC's educational credentials extend to a BSc Sociology and Criminology and Postgraduate Certificate in Education (PGCE), which is equivalent to 60 credits towards a Master's degree (RC2 St. 3, 0.0.39). By way of her graduate qualifications, RC has a 'certificate of cultural competence' (Bourdieu, 1986, p.20). Her 'cognitive perception' is fostered by her 'experiential learning and improved comprehension, triggered by the principle of provocation' (Ivanovic, 2011, p.121). She is a mindful visitor (Moscardo, 1996) who is 'active, interested, questioning and capable of reassessing the way [she] view[s] the world' (Moscardo, 1996, p.382 cited in Ivanovic, 2011).

Drawing on her occupational experience (Appendix 18), RC argues that the premise for school trips centre on their ability to promote emotional engagement, fostered by immersion and physically being present at a site of (in her context) religious importance. It is her view that visitation to sites of historical or religious importance, a more impactful and educational experience is had as a result (RC St. 12, 0.10.20). As described in Chapter 5c4, RC is referring to existential authenticity's intrapersonal dimension (Wang, 1999). Her perception of authenticity is contingent on sensual bodily feelings (Wang, 1999). Her perception, it is argued, is derived from her institutionalised and embodied cultural capital (Bourdieu, 1986). To explicate her perception, RC draws on her embodied cultural capital (Bourdieu, 1984) using two of her previous tourism experiences as examples, namely trips to Auschwitz and the Roman Coliseum:

“so like Auschwitz was the one that got me emotionally and I really felt like a connection and as well like, with my profession and what I teach [...] trying to explain to my students the emotions that you feel and how to try and put themselves in that position of a victim [...] but to actually be there and to actually think that people were there and evidence of those people were there [...] that really was an emotional connection and I think that does lend to the authenticity of the place, [...] I think authenticity is about building that feeling and that connection that way” (Excerpt from RC St. 7, 0.4.40).

The excerpt above demonstrates RC’s ‘search for existential authenticity’ which, for her, focuses ‘on feelings, emotions [and] sensations’ (Rickly-Boyd, 2012b, p.88). Briefly, whilst RC is a member of the National Trust, she rationalises her membership:

“Yeah, National Trust we’ve got a membership with the National Trust but that was mainly because we didn’t want to pay any parking when we walk the dogs” (RC2 St. 10, 0.11.06).

### 5d3.7 Participant SM

SM narrative revealed she did not have many cultural experiences as a child. She states succinctly: “We didn’t go on holidays. We didn’t go on caravan holidays. We did nothing” (SM2 St. 8, 00:05:29). SM rationalises this on the basis of 1) her parents’ work schedule; 2) the nature her father’s occupation (Royal Navy) specifically, being that he was away a lot, 3) lack of transport (SM2 St. 8, 00.05.29) and; 4) lack of money. Nevertheless, because of her father’s occupation, from the age of two SM lived in Singapore for four years (SM2 St. 4, 00.01.47). Also, she did participate in “school trips erm so I went to Paris and things like that, but not as as a family” (SM2 St. 8, 00.05.29).



Participant SM's stock of institutionalised cultural capital (Bourdieu, 1986) extends to her tertiary education where she gained miscellaneous secretarial qualifications (see Appendix 16). As the audience acknowledged in the interview, history was a common theme throughout SM's responses. SM states: "I am fascinated by history. I love history. I even got a CSE in it so that's one of the exams I didn't flunk. It just amazes me. I like historical things on the TV. I like historical dramas" (SM2 St. 16, 00.14.50). Although SM stated that she does not attribute authenticity to history (see Chapter 5c4) her love of history is exemplified in the examples given to describe her perception of authenticity (e.g. the Roman Colosseum in SM1 St. 3, 00:02:06) and her pursuit of history in her tourist experiences (SM1 St. 8, 00:04:54). SM attributes the influence of her primary school teacher on her love of history, as opposed to her parents:

"I don't know. I don't actually know erm I don't think my dad was ever interested in it. My mum certainly wasn't [...] I remember going into a classroom when I was probably about 7 or 8 and the teacher [...] talked about erm, the Iron Age and I was hooked. From that day on, I think the way she conducted her lessons made them interesting erm and I just loved it ever since (Excerpt from SM2 St. 17, 00.16.02).

History features in SM's narration of her tourist experiences: "so history definitely I definitely do- If we go on holidays, we do the beach thing but we always do day trips to historical places or places of interest, not necessary historical, but places of interest" (SM1 St. 8, 00:04:54). McIntosh and Prentice (1999, p.601) suggest '[t]he process whereby historical information becomes assimilated into personal relevance means that individual visitors in effect gain diverse experiences of authenticity'.

Table 40 presents a summary of the analysis included within this chapter. It succinctly summarises each tourist participant’s dominant stock of cultural capital (Bourdieu, 1986; Busby & Meethan, 2008)

<b>Participant</b>	<b>Dominant stock of cultural capital</b>
AP	Institutionalised/graduate qualifications
DR	Embodied
JaC	Embodied
JM	Embodied
JuC	Institutionalised/graduate qualifications
KP	Embodied
LE	Institutionalised/graduate qualifications
MC	Embodied
RC	Institutionalised/graduate qualifications
SM	Embodied

*Table 40. Tourist participant dominant stock of cultural capital*

#### 5d4.0 Conclusion

The chapter endeavoured to analyse the potential relationship between tourist cultural capital and perceptions of authenticity. Chiefly, institutionalised cultural capital (Bourdieu, 1986), namely graduate qualifications (Busby & Meethan, 2008) assume the dominant stock of those participants which possess it. It is argued, that the dominance of participant stock of institutionalised cultural capital (Bourdieu, 1986) holds the greatest influence on their perceptions of authenticity, because of the embodiment necessary during time spent participating in degree programmes.

The conceptualisation of the influence of cultural capital on participant perceptions of authenticity was met with relative ease when one considered currency of institutionalised cultural capital (Bourdieu, 1986) specifically. In the absence of the aforementioned currency,

it becomes much more difficult to ascertain which cultural capital currency has the greatest influence on said perceptions, if at all. This chapter tried to tackle why, in the case of some participants, the flow seems to be interrupted when research tries to connect these two elements.

An epistemological shift occurs when the researcher considers the influence of the cultural capital on those individuals who do not possess dominant stock of institutionalised cultural capital. In the absence of the aforementioned, participant embodied cultural capital then assumes the greatest influence on authenticity perceptions. In the absence of graduate qualifications other fields of consumption in which the participants enact their embodied cultural capital, including hobbies and sport are found to be the most dominant in terms of their influence on perceptions of authenticity.

## Chapter 6: Discussion

### 6.0 Introduction

The doctoral thesis provides the opportunity to synthesise new contributions to the field, in relation to literary, cultural and heritage tourism. By a process of taking the data analysis provided in the previous chapters and integrating general social theories with the emergent thinking from the researcher's ethnographic experience, far-reaching and innovative syntheses can be offered here. These new contributions are grouped below, with new technical terms, given in italics.

Section 6.1 introduces the new literary, cultural and heritage tourism knowledge generated from this research, the *authentic gaze*. This includes the derivation of the concept, factors that contribute to its formation, and how it encompasses an individual's perception of authenticity. Thereafter, the *authentic gaze* is discussed specifically in relation to literary tour guides (section 6.1.1) including the influence of the concept on their interpretive forms. Section 6.1.2 discusses the concept from the tourist perspective. Section 6.2 synthesises the dominance and non-dominance of cultural capital stock, and the implications this has not only on stakeholder perceptions, including the lexical semantics of authenticity, but also, the existential authenticity of individuals. Section 6.3 considers the semiology of authenticity in literary tourism, with specific reference to non-literary (section 6.3.1) and film-induced markers (section 6.3.2). Section 6.4 builds on existing theory in relation to the pilgrim-tourist dichotomy. Finally, section 6.5 summarises the new literary tourism knowledge and theory disseminated in the chapter.

The conceptual framework is informed by the primary data findings and analysis. The choice was made to position the conceptual framework directly after the literature review. That said, due to the abductive reasoning employed to gain a deeper understanding of the emergent empirical findings (Charmaz, 2008), the emphasis on some of the variables included within the conceptual framework changed somewhat from its inception. The changes in emphasis primarily concern the *dominance and non-dominance of cultural capital* stock (see section 6.2). Thereafter, the semiotic markers of authenticity in literary tourism are discussed (see section 6.3) prior to the discussion of pilgrim-tourist dichotomy (section 6.4).

### 6.1 Authentic Gaze

As described in section 6.0, this study proposes new literary, cultural and heritage tourism knowledge in the form of the *authentic gaze*. The concept of the *authentic gaze* uses as its starting point, the tourist gaze (Urry, 1990; 2002). Hence, both concepts share some characteristics. Crucially, both concepts derive from Bourdieu's (1984) theory of cultural capital. The *authentic gaze* is also informed by Busby and Meethan's (2008) concept of personal cultural capital. The *authentic gaze* as embodied experience is embedded in the cultural capital (Bourdieu, 1984; 1986; Busby & Meethan, 2008) of the individual. It is a 'dynamic, embodied and emotive' process that is 'engaged and produced by tourists and [tour guides] alike' (Taylor, 2010, p.38). The *authentic gaze* refers to the ways in which literary tourism stakeholders, including tourists and tour guides, either accept, negotiate or reject authenticity or truth claims. These *authentic gazes* are enacted in the supply and demand of literary tourism experiences.

The *authentic gaze* of all literary tourism stakeholders are important. Although the analysis within this thesis centres on two stakeholders specifically, namely tour guides and tourists, the concept is applicable to other stakeholders responsible for the management and interpretation of the literary tourism sights and experiences. Equally, the concept is applicable to other contemporary types of tourism. The *authentic gaze* of the tourist directly informs their selection, participation, appraisal and overall satisfaction of the experience demanded and subsequently supplied by the tour guide. The *authentic gaze* of the tour guide dictates their perception(s), supply and interpretation of “authentic” sights and experiences. This is explored further in section 6.1.1. The concept accounts for the heterogeneous nature of tourists, be they literary, or not.

Like the tourist gaze, there is no single *authentic gaze* (Urry, 2002; Urry & Larsen, 2011), as such. The *authentic gaze*, too, varies and ‘is constructed through difference’ (Urry, 2002, p.1). This difference encompasses the individual’s currency and subsequent stock of cultural capital (Bourdieu, 1984; 1986; Busby & Meethan, 2008). Similarly, when speaking of tourism generally, Urry and Larsen (2011, p.114) assert there is ‘no single, authentic tourist experience’. This research argues this is because tourists (and other tourism stakeholders) are all equipped with different stocks of cultural capital, and subsequently hold different versions of authenticity (*authentic gaze*). Thus, an individual’s cognition of authenticity is largely contingent on their stock of cultural capital (Bourdieu, 1984; 1986; Busby & Meethan, 2008). The differentiation of an individual’s embodied, objectified or institutionalised cultural capital (Bourdieu, 1986) is relevant to this discussion (see section 6.2) as the most dominant state ultimately informs an individual’s *authentic gaze* and their own existential authenticity (see section 6.2.1 and 6.2.2).

As aforementioned, whilst this study centres on the literary tourism phenomenon, the *authentic gaze* is applicable in other contemporary tourism contexts, including cultural and heritage tourism. For example, the *authentic gaze* resonates with the dissonance of heritage interpretation and management. The intrinsic dissonance of authenticity mimics the intrinsic dissonance of heritage (Graham, Ashworth & Tunbridge, 2005) insofar as both dissonances are 'accentuated by [their] expanding meaning and uses' (Graham, Ashworth & Tunbridge, 2005, p.34). The ubiquity of authenticity renders similar, implied questions to those asked of heritage (Graham, Ashworth & Tunbridge, 2005) – who decides what is authentic and how?

Cultural capital (Bourdieu, 1984) serves as one of many axes of differentiation that define and characterise the tastes of contemporary societies (Graham, Ashworth & Tunbridge, 2005). Thus, the concept can frame a general response to the questions posed; the *authentic gaze*, to which cultural capital (Bourdieu, 1984; 1986; Busby & Meethan, 2008) is inextricably linked, offers a new theory to understand tourism stakeholder perceptions of authenticity. This research argues that in addition to functioning as a strong indicator 'of overall cultural heritage visitation' (Apostolakis & Jaffry, 2007, p.18), cultural capital also functions as a predictor of perceptions of authenticity.

As was described in Chapter 2c, cultural capital 'refers to an individual's accumulated knowledge, and familiarity with' (Mason, 2005, p.208) aspects of culture. Bourdieu (1984, p.2) reminds us that '[c]onsumption is, in this case, a stage in a process of communication, that is, an act of deciphering, decoding, which presupposes practical or explicit mastery of a cipher

or code. In a sense, one can say that the capacity to see (*voir*) is a function of the knowledge (*savoir*), or concepts, that is, the words, that are available to name visible things, and which are, as it were, programmes for perception'. Cultural capital (Bourdieu, 1984; Busby & Meethan, 2008) enables individuals to decipher, decode and respond to authenticity or truth claims. Thus, the *authentic gaze* is the causatum or outcome of the individual's deciphering, decoding, measurement and response to the authenticity or truth claims. It functions as a programme for perception (Bourdieu, 1984). Chapter 2a considered the heterogeneity of literary tourists (Agarwal & Shaw, 2018). This research submits that the analysis of individual cultural capital (Bourdieu, 1984) is one way in which to understand the diverse character of the group.

The *authentic gaze* functions not only as a programme for perception (Bourdieu, 1984), it is a means by which literary tourism stakeholders negotiate authenticity. The *authentic gaze*, to a large extent, avoids the ambivalence associated with negotiations of authenticity. Rather, it is a proactive approach to negotiation, informed by the stakeholder's acquisition of knowledge – their cultural capital (Bourdieu, 1984). The *authentic gaze* encompasses the suggestions by Herbert (2001, p.317) that '[a]uthenticity becomes a subjective experience, a combination of the developers' intentions, the consumers' interpretation, and the interactions among them' and by Canavan and McCamley (2021, p.2) that '[a]uthenticity can correspondingly be measured (Chhabra, 2012), felt (Matheson, 2008), performed (Knudsen & Waade, 2010), and it can be all of these things simultaneously (Rickly-Boyd, 2012)'.



### 6.1.1 The authentic gaze of the tour guide

Tour guides construct tourist spaces. They are, as was discussed in Chapter 5b, mediators of culture (Cohen, 1985; Feldman & Skinner, 2019; Weng, Liang & Bao, 2020) and meaning (Cohen, 1985; Jennings & Weiler, 2006). They are also mediators of authenticity. The analysis of *Poldark* tour guides enhanced existing knowledge of literary site guardians (Fawcett & Cormack, 2001). Like the site guardians of Fawcett and Cormack's (2001) study, the *Poldark* tour guide's interpretation of literary tourism sights differed somewhat. Fawcett and Cormack (2001) offered valid explanations for these differences, citing various macro and micro-environmental factors however, they did not consider interpretation through the theoretical lens of cultural capital (Bourdieu, 1984; 1986; Busby & Meethan, 2008). Comparatively, this study simultaneously considered the influence of the macro and micro-environmental factors and tour guide cultural capital (Bourdieu, 1984; 1986; Busby & Meethan, 2008). Similarly to Fawcett and Cormack (2001), the former factors were found to have some influence on the tour guide interpretive forms. Notably, however, the analysis indicated that tour guide interpretive forms were largely contingent on their cultural capital (Bourdieu, 1984; 1986). As the analysis in Chapter 5b demonstrated, the tour guide's *authentic gaze* heavily influenced their beliefs, attitudes, perceptions and interpretations of authenticity. By considering these factors synchronously, the *authentic gaze* offers a new theory to explain the causality of the interpretive forms witnessed. Thus, the influence of the *authentic gaze* on tour guide interpretation is axiomatic.

### 6.1.2 The authentic gaze of the tourist

Whilst the tour guide's *authentic gaze* influences their interpretation, the *authentic gaze* also influences the tourist perceptions. As a programme for perception (Bourdieu, 1984), the

tourist's *authentic gaze* equips them with a means by which authenticity or truth claims can be measured, and either accepted, negotiated or rejected. Similarly to the tour guides, the knowledge accumulated by the tourist, that functions within the various forms of cultural capital (Bourdieu, 1986) and is enacted within their *authentic gaze*, is inextricably linked to their perceptions of authenticity. As Chapter 5d demonstrated, the dominance and non-dominance of tourist stock cultural capital is variable and individualistic (see section 6.2). That said, some similarities were witnessed.

The findings from this study indicated that the *authentic gaze* of the guided tourists functioned in all 'three stages of the tourism consumption process' (Gretzel, Fesenmaier & O'Leary, 2006, p.10). Two of the guided tourists emphasised the perceived authenticity of the tour itinerary, including the interpretive form of the guide. Additionally, whilst one of the guided tourists were not interviewed post-consumption, the two that were commented on their overall level of satisfaction with the interpretation of authenticity in the *Poldark* tour experience.

### 6.1.3 Semantic units and the authentic gaze

Ultimately, an individual's *authentic gaze* is inextricably linked to the semantic units used to describe the meaning of the concept. A relationship exists between the meanings the participant's attach to authenticity and their subsequent perceptions. The study of the lexical semantics of authenticity in Chapter 5c provided fertile ground to support the analysis of the cultural capital of guided and non-guided tourists, similarly to the analysis of tour guide interpretive forms in Chapter 5b. Despite the fluidity of meaning, a qualitative correlation between an individual's cultural capital (Bourdieu, 1984; 1986; Busby & Meethan, 2008) and

the lexical semantics used by them to describe authenticity was evident. Thus, a nexus exists between an individual's cultural capital and their perceptions of authenticity, including the lexical semantics used describe the concept. The lexical semantics used by the individual are a verbal interpretation of their *authentic gaze*.

## 6.2 Dominant and non-dominant cultural capital

In Chapters 5a and 5d, the cultural capital (Bourdieu, 1984; 1986; Busby & Meethan, 2008) of tour guides, guided and recreational tourists were analysed in an effort to theorise a potential nexus between cultural capital and perceptions of authenticity. This research submits that a nexus does exist between literary tourism stakeholder's *dominant* stock of cultural capital and their perceptions of authenticity, which manifest within their *authentic gaze*. The *dominance* or *non-dominance* of cultural capital discussed herein should not be confused with Bourdieu's (1984) articulation of social stratification. Whilst it does, to some extent, correspond 'to Bourdieu's conceptualization of powerful, high status cultural attributes, codes, and signals' (Carter, 2003, p.138), its usage is employed to describe the strength of the influence of each respective forms of cultural capital (Bourdieu, 1986) on perceptions of authenticity. The crux of the synthesis here, is that what stock of cultural capital may be *dominant* for one individual, may be *non-dominant* for the other, and vice versa. This then, has implications for the formation of perceptions and interpretations of authenticity, which are manifested through the *authentic gaze*.

The lexical semantics used by some participants to describe the meaning of authenticity were attributed to their institutionalised cultural capital (Bourdieu, 1986), particularly graduate qualifications (Busby & Meethan, 2008), whilst others were attributed to their embodied

cultural capital (Bourdieu, 1986). Crucially, the attitudes toward authenticity in tourism experiences did not seem to favour one form of cultural capital over another. For example, some of the tourists who did not possess graduate qualifications, equally valued authenticity, as those that did. The *dominance* and *non-dominance* of cultural capital stock is particularly salient in stakeholder's negotiations of authenticity.

It is important to reiterate that the forms of cultural capital are not mutually exclusive. 'Embodied cultural capital is the prerequisite for the other two forms of cultural capital, because without incorporated knowledge, skills, and practices, one could neither produce or understand objectified cultural capital, nor obtain an official recognition thereof in the form of institutionalised cultural capital' (Meissner, 2017, p.297).

#### 6.2.1 Dominance and non-dominance of institutionalised cultural capital

The analysis suggested that of all the forms of cultural capital, for those who possess it, the institutionalised state (Bourdieu, 1986) unequivocally holds the greatest influence on an individual's perception of authenticity. It was axiomatic that the most notable influence of educational credentials on perceptions of authenticity relate specifically to graduate qualifications, which almost certainly confer personal cultural capital (Busby & Meethan, 2008).

Whilst embodied cultural capital accounts for individual preferences for and exposure to culture, the meanings attributed to authenticity were inextricably linked to the individual's institutionalised cultural capital (Bourdieu, 1986). The embodiment required to study for, and graduate with, a degree supersedes the embodied state alone. Some of the sample

demonstrated their active legitimisation of specific knowledges that culminated in their distribution of institutionalised cultural capital (Claussen & Osborne, 2013) (see Appendix 16). Some of these specific knowledges were extremely congruous, when one considers the subject matter interwoven within the *Poldark* narratives, including industrial mining heritage and the historical periods in which they were set. The remaining portion of the sample, who possessed graduate qualifications, held less congruous, but nonetheless influential knowledges that informed their *authentic gaze*.

‘Education is a critical variable used by Bourdieu (1984) to explain the transmission of cultural capital and increased sophistication in the cultural choices made by individuals’ (Stalker, 2011, p.85). In analysing the guided and recreational tourists in Chapter 5d, the dominance and subsequent influence of participant stock of institutionalised cultural capital (Bourdieu, 1986), and graduate qualifications (Busby & Meethan, 2008) on their *authentic gazes* quickly became apparent. For those literary tourism stakeholders’ who possess institutionalised cultural capital (Bourdieu, 1986), findings suggest the existence of an inextricable link between their *authentic gazes*, and their graduate qualifications (Busby & Meethan, 2008).

Institutionalised cultural capital (Bourdieu, 1986) ‘functions as an ‘objective evidence’ of our knowledge and skills’ (Meissner, 2017, p.297). Hence, cultural capital currency in this form also functions as a means by which the literary tourism stakeholders decipher, decode, and subsequently perceive and interpret the authenticity of objects and experiences; this, then, contributes to the formation of the *authentic gaze*. However, as was discussed in section 6.2, institutionalised cultural capital (Bourdieu, 1986) does not exist in a vacuum. ‘Institutionalised

capital objectifies embodied cultural capital in that it enables the direct comparison and even the exchange of the 'certificate holders' (Meissner, 2017, p.297).

### 6.2.2 Dominance and non-dominance of embodied cultural capital

In the absence of graduate qualifications, or lower stock of institutionalised cultural capital (Bourdieu, 1986), embodied cultural capital holds the greatest influence on the *authentic gaze*. It was evident that other embodied praxis such as travel and hobbies influence the *authentic gaze*. Whilst this research tried to avoid a similar criticism of other empirical research, by attempting not to disregard cultural capital in the objectified state (Kraaykamp & van Eijck, 2010), its presence in this synthesis is supplementary to the discussion of embodied cultural capital.

### 6.2.3 The influence of cultural capital on existential authenticity

The notion that cultural capital (Bourdieu, 1986) has a bearing on the existential authenticity of the individual is put forward here. Whilst this statement may be bold, it is derived in the findings of this research. As was the case of the tour guides and guided tourists, the state of being one's true self was found to be inextricably linked to the participant's *dominant cultural capital* stock, the institutionalised state (Bourdieu, 1986). 'What is at stake is indeed 'personality', i.e., the quality of the person, which is affirmed in the capacity to appropriate an object of quality. The objects endowed with the greatest distinctive power are those which most clearly attest the quality of the appropriation, and therefore the quality of their owner, because their possession requires time and capacities which, requiring a long investment of time, like pictorial or musical culture, cannot be acquired in haste or by proxy, and which

therefore appear as the surest indications of the quality of the person' (Bourdieu, 1986, p.281).

### 6.3 Semiotic markers of authenticity in literary tourism

The *authentic gaze* also has implications for the semiology of literary tourism sights and experiences. Knowledge of semiotics can be tailored to individual preferences by way of the assessment of cultural capital stock. Understanding tourist preferences for markers of authenticity will allow tour guides to customise their interpretation to supply the demand for authentic experiences.

#### 6.3.1 Non-literary markers

Another new theory that was developed from this doctoral research is the notion that non-literary works including *Poldark's Cornwall* (Graham, 1983; 1989; 2015b) and *Memoirs of a Private Man* (Graham, 2004) function as markers of authenticity. As the aforementioned are autobiographical, and not literary in nature, they are not as susceptible to subjective interpretation. As was described in Chapter 5a section 3, Winston Graham demonstrated his awareness of the intricacies of authentic representation (Schaff, 2011). Whilst it could be argued that Winston Graham is the exception to the rule, insofar as most authors do not publish companions to their literary works that map their hyper-realities and simulacra, it wouldn't be a fallacy to suggest that some do publish autobiographies. The narratives of some of the tour guides revealed their usage of both non-literary texts to supplement their knowledge of the literature (and the author) gained from their consumption of the *Poldark*

novels and TV adaptations. They functioned as valuable sources of author and fiction-related information and were utilised as markers of authenticity.

### 6.3.2 Film-induced markers

Chapter 5a section 3.2.1 demonstrated, some of the tour guides employed the use of photographic imagery as markers of authentic film-induced sights. They also, used these images as a means by which they animate their tourists (Cohen, 1985). Recreational and guided tourists alike, indicated their preference for and satisfaction with photographic markers of authenticity in tourism experiences.

Photographic markers of the toured experience were included within the marketing and promotion of the tours, primarily on their websites. Whether or not this was done by the tour guides strategically, or simply as a part of their general marketing and promotion was unclear. Nevertheless, the strategic inclusion of markers of authenticity that the tourists can access in the pre and post consumption phases will inform their *authentic gazes* and expectations of the experience.

### 6.4 Pilgrim-tourist dichotomy

The analysis of guided tourists enhanced existing knowledge of literary pilgrims (Herbert, 2001). The influence of cultural capital (Bourdieu, 1984; Busby & Meethan, 2008) on literary tourism experiences is discernible when one considers the pilgrim-tourist dichotomy. Cultural capital not only functions as part of the *authentic gaze*, it is a means by which literary tourists can be better understood. This naturally, has implications for management of literary tourism destinations and sights (see Chapter 7 section 7.2). Herbert (2001) suggested that the edges



of pilgrim-tourist dichotomy are blurred and that in order to assign tourists to the category of literary pilgrims as opposed to more general fans, ethnographic approaches and focused interviews are necessary to provide sufficient evidence. This study applied both methodological suggestions made by Herbert (2001) and synthesises the study's findings in relation to the pilgrim-tourist dichotomy herein. Succinctly, this study's findings align with Herbert's (2001) suggestion that literary pilgrims possess the stock of cultural capital necessary to appreciate literary tourism sites and experiences.

Although the sample of guided tourists was admittedly small, unlike the findings disseminated from Herbert's (2001) study of Chawton and Laugharne, the notion of a set of resolute, genuine literary pilgrims (Busby & Shetliffe, 2013) was not difficult to sustain in Cornwall. Whilst conducting her immersive ethnographic fieldwork, the researcher witnessed first-hand the pilgrimage of many *Poldark* tourists. In addition to the guided tourists included within the sample, five other guided tourists were present on the two tours included within the ethnographic fieldwork (see Chapter 4 section 4.2.2). Whilst they declined to participate in the study, it is noteworthy that they had all travelled from the USA. Although these observations were witnessed in isolated contact zones (contact zones 5 and 6), and not all were represented in the study's sample, they suggest that *Poldark* does indeed provide the impetus for tourists to embark on resolute pilgrimage to Cornwall. Whilst the totality of these observations are not solely grounded in empirical findings, they do support Herbert's (2001, p.330) suggestion that it 'is at least encouraging for developers of literary sites as indicative of the fact that writers have their followings'.

#### 6.4.1 Guided tourists as literary pilgrims

The *Poldark* tours are a recognisable form of literary pilgrimage for all the guided tourists, although, the extent to which their cultural capital (Bourdieu, 1984; 1986) contributed to their status as literary pilgrims differs somewhat. To label the guided tourists as fanatical (Herbert, 2001; Ridanpää, 2011) would not be an exaggeration. However, the purposefulness of the guided tourist's visit to Cornwall, which inherently centred on literary tourism, including film-induced literary tourism (Busby & Laviolette, 2006), is one way to synthesise their position on the sacred end the pilgrim-tourist continuum (Smith, 1992). This, in conjunction with other characteristics that can be attributed to their cultural capital which will now be discussed in this subsection qualifies their pilgrim status.

Through their participation in the *Poldark* tour, the guided tourists wandered in the footsteps of *Poldark*, cementing their position as *Poldark* pilgrims. They engaged in all of Butler's (1986) forms of literary tourism. By visiting Cornwall, they paid homage to a literary destination which was appealing to Winston Graham and encompasses both an author-related and fiction-related locations. They also engaged in film-induced literary tourism (Busby & Laviolette, 2006) as at the time of interview, all guided tourists had watched the latest Mammoth Screen production of *Poldark* shown on the BBC (see Appendix 22). For one of the literary pilgrims, this is not the first occasion they had participated in a *Poldark* tour. Their narrative revealed they had actually been on the same *Poldark* tour two years prior. Thus, they provided evidence of two dedicated pilgrimages from Canada to Cornwall, reaffirming their object of interest (*Poldark*) and their literary pilgrim status. Appositely, the same guided tourist became a member of the British Film Institute in order to access tickets to the *Poldark* screening.

Echoing the findings of Herbert (2001) the three *Poldark* literary pilgrims in this study demonstrated their learned knowledge of classical literature (Herbert, 2001). In terms of the distance travelled, of the three guided tourists, two (one male and one female), were from Saskatchewan, Canada, and the third, a female was from London, United Kingdom (see chapter 5c, section 2.0).

Two of the literary pilgrims exhibited their academic interest in *Poldark*, including: 1) the historical period in which the novels and TV adaptations were set and 2) the holistic interpretation of Cornwall including its tangible and intangible cultural heritage. As was described in Chapter 5d2 and its subsections, the academic interests of two of the three literary pilgrims were most certainly informed by their institutionalised cultural capital (Bourdieu, 1986). The third literary pilgrim, did not possess graduate qualifications (Busby & Meethan, 2008). However, this did not serve as a barrier to her participation (Richards, 1996a), nor does it negate her status as a *Poldark* pilgrim. She, arguably fuelled by her embodied and objectified cultural capital as opposed to the institutionalised, exhibited remarkably similar interest. Whilst all of the literary pilgrim's veneration of the author was implicit, their love of the novels and TV programmes was explicit. Their physical bodies enabled their senses to connect with their object of interest, *Poldark* (Robertson & Radford, 2009, cited by Brown 2016a).

#### 6.4.2 Recreational tourists as secular tourists

The polarities between the guided and recreational tourists were most discernible in reference to their motivations for visiting Cornwall. Whilst some of the recreational tourists within the sample were familiar with *Poldark*, none had read the novels and only two had watched either the 1970s or latest BBC adaptation (see Appendix 22). Per Smith's (1992) pilgrim-tourist continuum, the recreational tourists are secular tourists. They were all temporarily leisured persons who voluntarily left their homes to experience change (Smith, 1981 cited in Smith, 1992) and Cornwall's destination-based cultural capital (Busby & Meethan, 2008).

#### 6.5 Conclusion

This chapter synthesised the theory of *authentic gaze*, generated from the findings of the empirical research. The concept of the *authentic gaze* was the theoretical outcome of the researcher's addressing of the research aims and objectives that informed the design and execution of this qualitative literary tourism study. It encompasses the now established nexus between an individual's perceptions of authenticity and their cultural capital. Although the analysis from this study and the syntheses of this Chapter centres on two types of literary tourism stakeholders, the tour guide and the tourist, the *authentic gaze* is applicable to all literary (and other contemporary) tourism stakeholders. The main difference between the authentic gaze of the tour guide and that of the tourist, is the influence it has on their interpretation of literary tourism sights and experiences and the truth claims they attach to them. The fascinating syntheses herein suggests that institutionalised cultural capital has the greatest influence on authentic gazes and also, on their existential authenticity. Thereafter,

embodied cultural capital, including the objectified cultural capital (Bourdieu, 1986) is the most influential. The use of semiotic markers of authenticity were advocated, particularly those non-literary texts that enable the supplementation of author and fiction-related knowledge. Additionally, the syntheses reported in the previous analysis chapters indicated the benefit of including photographic semiotic markers in literary tourism experiences.

This research builds on the studies by Herbert (2001) and Smith (1992) in its suggestion that literary pilgrims are indeed identifiable, not only by the survey of their stock of cultural capital, but also, the ways in which they form their authentic gazes. The demand for authentic literary experiences still exists in contemporary tourism. Therefore, the syntheses of this study contribute to the theoretical understanding of the motivations, expectations, attitudes, beliefs and preferences of those literary tourists who continue to engage in literary tourism contemporarily.

## Chapter 7: Management implications, limitations and conclusions

### 7.0 Introduction

The overarching aim of this thesis was to explore the potential nexus between cultural capital and perceptions of authenticity in literary tourism experiences. This aim was established in an effort 1) to contribute to the pedagogy and practice of the literary, cultural and heritage tourism; 2) to contribute to the evolving debates that centre on the aforementioned nexus; 3) to offer a theory as a means by which literary tourism stakeholder's perceptions of can be better understood and; 4) to test the conceptual framework (Chapter 3). Whilst *Poldark* was the case and the sample accessed by way of their supply or participation in a *Poldark* tour, or their presence at an author and fiction-related literary sight (Perranporth, Cornwall), the research instrument and methodological approach holds merit if used in the context of tourism studies generally. Similarly to Tetley (1998) this 'research was designed [to explore the] broader issues related to literature, [cultural capital] authenticity and tourism' (1998, p.310).

This concluding chapter presents a summary of the main arguments distilled in the preceding chapters on this thesis, including the conclusions drawn, the practical and theoretical implications, contributions and recommendations offered as a result of the study's findings and analysis. Firstly, section 7.1 and its subsections summarise the key findings of this research. The management implications and recommendations informed by the study's key findings are presented in section 7.2. Section 7.3 presents the theoretical contributions of this study and section 7.4 discusses the research limitations. Finally, section 7.5 provides recommendations for future research.

## 7.1 Key findings

To address the three research aims and nine research objectives of this thesis, demarcated in Chapter 1 section 1.4, a qualitative approach using an ethnographic strategy was designed and implemented. In order to exemplify the extent to which this study has addressed the research aims and objectives, the key findings of this research are now discussed.

The critical review of academic literature presented in this thesis identified the presence of cultural capital in tourism research, including the application of the concept to places and destinations (Karlsson, 2005; Macbeth, Carson & Northcote, 2004; Mansfield, 2015; Salim & Mwaipopo, 2015) and to certain types of tourism stakeholders, including tourists (Busby & Meethan, 2008; Herbert, 2001; van der Ark & Richards, 2006), volunteers (Harflett, 2015), tour guides (Garner, 2017) and new producers and cultural intermediaries (Richards, 1999). Some studies considered a combination of both the destination and person perspectives (Busby & Meethan, 2008; Richards, 1999). Additionally, cultural capital was included within the analysis of types of contemporary tourism and experiences, including creative tourism (Carvalho, 2014) and literary festivals (Freeman 2012 cited in Rossetti & Quinn, 2019). The combination of Bourdieu's (1984; 1986) theory of cultural capital and Busby and Meethan's (2008) derivative were implemented within this study and provided the theoretical underpinning for the assessment of literary tourism stakeholder currency and stock of cultural capital. This assessment enabled the study to determine if a relationship between stakeholder cultural capital and perceptions of authenticity exists and thus, contribute to the evolving debate that considers these two concepts within the literary tourism phenomenon concurrently. It also served as a means by which the lexical semantics used by the

stakeholders to describe the meaning of authenticity could be related to their cultural capital stock, and be indicative of a nexus between the two concepts.

The heterogeneity of tourists (Cooper, 2008; Mason, 2003; 2006; Tetley, 1998) and literary tourists (Agarwal & Shaw, 2018) were also identified and conceptualised within the pilgrim-tourist dichotomy (Smith, 1992). The findings of this study support the notion that tourists are heterogeneous (Cooper, 2008; Mason, 2003; 2006; Tetley, 1998). The analysis presented and synthesis developed in this study resulted in the emergence of a new theory that was operationalised in this thesis, which not only explains, but develops an in-depth understanding of this heterogeneity, including an individual's heterogeneous perceptions of authenticity in literary tourism experiences (i.e. the *authentic gaze*; see section 7.2.1). The management implications of this emergent theory are discussed in section 7.2.

The use of cultural capital as a variable to differentiate literary pilgrims from other tourists (Herbert, 2001) whilst present in the academic literature, was either superficial or implicit. Some demographic variables were considered under the umbrella of personal cultural capital (Busby & Meethan, 2008; van der Ark & Richards, 2006) such as socio-economic status, along with other indicators of cultural capital. That said, the failure of some of the previous studies to clearly operationalise the acute measurements which are thought to encompass an individual's cultural capital (Bourdieu, 1984; 1986; Busby & Meethan, 2008), inhibited their articulation of what this study refers to as either the currency or stock of cultural capital. Currency of cultural capital are the variables that contribute to an individual's overall stock of cultural capital, which are differentiated using Bourdieu's (1986) axiomization of the embodied, objectified and institutionalised states.



Previous empirical research into the use of cultural capital concept to enhance the knowledge and understanding of literary tourist perceptions of authenticity were not identified in the literature review. At best, there was marginal consideration (Herbert, 2001) of the two concurrently. Whilst Smith, Macleod and Robertson (2010, p.109) argue that 'it is difficult to make general assumptions about the characteristics of the literary tourist', contemporary tourism research including this study contribute to the theoretical and practical ease of assigning characteristics based on stock of cultural capital (Bourdieu, 1984; 1986; Busby & Meethan, 2008) and the associated assumptions.

#### 7.1.1 The authentic gaze

Literary tourists step into heterogeneous worlds (Lund, 2019) 'that are there to be experienced and enacted as authentic, or not' (Lund, 2019, p.2). Literary tours are heterogeneous tourist spaces in which the guide enacts their *authentic gaze*. The *authentic gaze* captures the heterogeneity of an individual's authenticity values: their preference for, or ambivalence toward authenticity, how they perceive authenticity, the value they attribute to authentic experiences when they step into heterogeneous worlds (Lund, 2019) and the reasons why. The *authentic gaze* was found to have a direct influence on the supply of and demand for authenticity in literary tourism experiences. It conceptualises the nexus between the individual's cultural capital and perceptions of authenticity. The *authentic gaze* informs both the tour guide's interpretation of literary tourism sights and experiences and the tourist's consumption of objects and experiences that are interpreted as authentic. An individual's *authentic gaze* is inextricably linked to their cultural capital. It should be viewed not only as an embodied practice, a means by which the production and consumption of

authenticity in literary tourism can be understood, but also as indicator of an individual's intra-personal existential authenticity (Wang, 1999). The latter is enacted in the literary tourism experiences they choose to participate in.

### 7.1.2 Semiology of literary tourism – how literary tourism stakeholders signify the authenticity of literary tourism sights and experiences

Another key finding from this research directly addresses research aim 2 and its related objectives, which centre on the role of semiotics in the provision of authentic literary tourism experiences. The semiology of literary tourism does not solely extend to the stakeholder's adoption of a singular, suitable discursive or interpretive practice (Mansfield, 2015) for the transmission of literary tourism knowledge. The discursive or interpretive practices used by tourism stakeholders (excluding tourists), which include semiotic markers of authenticity, need to be fluid in order to satisfy multiple *authentic gazes*.

The findings of this research suggest that tourists respond to semiotic markers which are used by tour guides to enhance their interpretation of or “validate” the authenticity of sites and experiences. The close reading of the *Poldark* novels and Winston Graham's associated non-literary works revealed the intricacies and scope of ‘tourism place knowledge’ (Mansfield, 2015, p.201) included within them, along with markers of authenticity and ‘potential’ destination-based cultural capital (Busby & Meethan, 2008). The tour guides demonstrated their familiarity with these markers of authenticity, and were found to have utilised them within their interpretations of *Poldark* sights within their toured experiences. They also demonstrated that these markers were a source of information that tour guides integrated

within their dissemination of author, fiction and film-induced knowledges. Additionally, the use of film-induced semiotic markers were highlighted as being a way in which the tour guides animated their tourists (Cohen, 1985). Hence, these markers were found to serve a performative function as well as interpretive function. The findings indicated that tourists, both literary and recreational, positively responded to these markers, particularly the film-induced markers.

#### *7.1.2.1 Literary semiotic markers*

Literary texts and their non-literary companions present both an opportunity and a challenge for tourism stakeholders, including DMOs and tour guides, regarding the mediation and interpretation (Mansfield, 2015) and literary tourism sights and experiences. Literary texts and their non-literary companions, should be used to enhance the product or experience offered within the experience or the destination. The findings of this research suggest that where literary works represent a hyper-reality or simulacra, the non-literary companions can act as markers for the authenticity of locations in the novels that are real, their geographical counterparts and imagined sights and geographies, of which *Poldark's* Cornwall encompasses all three types of literary destinations (Schaff, 2011).

#### *7.1.2.2 Film-induced semiotic markers*

Whilst serving an interpretive function, on behalf of the tour guide, film-induced semiotic markers of authenticity, including film stills from the latest BBC TV adaptation also contributed to the toured sights included within the itineraries of some of the *Poldark* tours. The absence of tangible sights makes the role of the tour guide more complex, being that the tourist is somewhat reliant on the guide's interpretation and distribution of markers to

contextualise what they have read or what they have seen on screen. The degree to which tourists rely on, agree with, or have the capacity to contest the tour guide's contextualisation is largely contingent on their motivations, their stock of cultural capital and by extension their position within the pilgrim-tourist dichotomy. As previously mentioned, these variables contribute to the *authentic gaze* of the individual, and this has implications for the supply and demand of literary tourism experiences.

Arguably, those who actively participate in literary tourism activities (including literary tours) fall toward the pilgrim end of the continuum or dichotomy versus the tourist. This isn't to say that passive participation is not witnessed in the context of the recreational tourist. As this research has demonstrated, these recreational tourists appreciate the use of markers too, including the mobile marker (Roesch, 2009), the role that is assumed by the tour guide. The mobile marker (Roesch, 2009) must provide constructive authenticity in the absence of object authenticity at toured sites. As has been demonstrated within the context of Winston Graham and *Poldark*, some of the tour guides utilised and objectified Graham's auto-biographical and semi-autobiographical works. The researcher acknowledges that not all authors dedicate such efforts to contextualising their literary works, nor are some authors aware of the difficulties associated with representing authenticity and its various ontologies (Schaff, 2011; Wang, 1999). Whilst the latter may be restricted by the existence and accessibility of such resources, they are affective in enhancing the authenticity of experiences.

More often than not, the *contemporary* popularity of the author will dictate the preservation of author-related sites. The researcher emphasises contemporary popularity the relevant industries cannot foreshadow the potential success or failure of film-induced literary tourism.

Nevertheless, there is still the opportunity for guides to convert the ‘potential’ destination-based cultural capital to ‘latent’ (Busby & Meethan, 2008), that which upon successful interpretation can be commodified, commercialised and ultimately enhance their tour product offering. These literary (and non-literary) semiotic markers may need to be supplemented by other markers, the most prolific being photographic film-induced markers, to reinforce the constructed authenticity of the location.

Literary pilgrims and recreational tourists will respond differently to markers, by dint of their *authentic gazes*. As the findings from this study suggest, most, though not all, literary pilgrims, informed by their *authentic gazes* will research the destination prior to visitation or rely on their previous visitation to inform their motivations and expectations. The guide then, is required to enhance this prior knowledge or runs the risk of highlighting the dissonance between the tourist’s gratuitous ‘tourism place knowledge’ (Mansfield, 2015, p.201), which includes aspects of literary heritage, and their own interpretation. They must then provide adequate markers of authenticity to satisfy the literary pilgrim’s expectations of the experience.

### 7.1.3 Dominance of cultural capital stock

As stated in Chapter 3, when the conceptual framework was first designed all forms of cultural capital were treated as equal relative to the potential impact they have on perceptions of authenticity. The findings suggest that the dominance of an individual’s cultural capital stock is variable, depending on the strength of their cultural capital currency. The dominant stock of cultural capital is what ultimately informs an individual’s perceptions of authenticity, which manifest in their *authentic gazes*. For example, the *authentic gazes* of those individuals who

possess a large stock of institutionalised cultural capital (Bourdieu, 1986), particularly graduate qualifications (Busby & Meethan, 2008), were ultimately informed by their academic disciplines and subjects. Thereafter, in the absence of graduate qualifications, embodied practices such as a travel and hobbies were found to be the most dominant. An individual's dominant stock of cultural capital also influences the intra-personal dimension of their existential authenticity (Wang, 1999). The tour guides and literary pilgrims in this study demonstrated how their existential authenticity was activated and achieved within the liminal literary tourism experiences (Wang, 1999).

## 7.2 Management implications and recommendations

The management implications and recommendations based on the key findings presented in section 7.2 and its subsections are now discussed. They are differentiated by way of the assessment of the *authentic gazes* of tourists specifically (section 7.2.1.1) and other tourism stakeholders generally (7.2.1.2). Thereafter, management implications, including the provision of markers are framed from a marketing and interpretation perspective (section 7.2.2). Section 7.2.3 details the recommendations made to production companies and broadcasters who may choose to adapt literature for screen in the future.

### 7.2.1 Assessing the authentic gaze of tourism stakeholders

The concept of the authentic gaze should be applied to all tourism stakeholders, including those who are responsible for the supply of literary tourism experiences and those who demand them. It is imperative to understand how the one stakeholder influences the other throughout the entire process of tourism consumption (Gretzel, Fesenmaier & O'Leary, 2006).

### 7.2.1.1 Assessing the authentic gaze of previous and potential tourists

The concept of cultural capital (Bourdieu, 1984; 1986; Busby & Meethan, 2008) presents the DMO or tourism stakeholder a means by which the visitor can be better understood, particularly in terms of their *authentic gaze(s)*. Therefore, the DMO need to develop a suitable research instrument that can assess visitor or tourist stock of cultural capital (Bourdieu, 1984; 1986; Busby & Meethan, 2008). Market research is necessary to provide the DMO and tourism business owner with the requisite knowledge and understanding of their previous and potential tourists. For example, in addition to including questions that account for socio-demographic variables – some of which can be indicative of cultural capital stock, like socio-economic status (Busby & Meethan, 2008) – other questions that indicate the currency and stock of cultural capital identified within this thesis could be included within visitor surveys and destination audits. This then, will not only provide the DMO with ample data to inform a more in-depth understanding of their visitor market, including their motivations and expectations, the data could be shared with other stakeholders in the destination. By sharing this data, other tourism stakeholders in the destination will be able to design and tailor the experiences they supply to meet the needs of the tourist, which as was described earlier in this chapter, are manifested in their *authentic gazes*.

Additionally, a strategic collaborative and reciprocal approach to data collection and analysis between the DMO and other stakeholders including, for example, attraction managers and tour guides would be mutually beneficial. Tourism stakeholders must find a way of measuring cultural capital stock without being perceived as too intrusive. It is likely, that without explanation, the tourists could perceive these sorts of questions as irrelevant. Arguably, in comparison to the DMO, other tourism stakeholder's research into the cultural capital of

tourists would be perceived as less invasive, as they will be able to capitalise on their personal interactions or connections with the tourists. This more interpretive data, in conjunction with the data collected by the DMO could achieve triangulation, which will result in a comprehensive insight into visitor expectations, preferences, perceptions, particularly in relation to authenticity. This then, could be a source of competitive advantage for the destination as they are able to ascertain a more holistic interpretation of their market. Similarly, the Production Company and TV channel that broadcasts literary-induced TV programmes could share viewer statistics with the DMO. This will provide ample data of potential film-induced literary tourists (Busby & Laviolette, 2006) to the destination.

The tour guides that participated in this study demonstrated many useful methods that were included within their communicative processes with tourists that would be suitable for the exchange of information relative to the tourist stock of cultural capital. The means by which they were approached for information about their tour offering also served as an indicator of tourist motivations and expectations. For example, the use of social media profile as the first point of contact was, for one guide, particularly informative. The initial communications via social media enabled the tour guide to view the tourist's social media profile, including the groups they were members of, and used this to inform their judgement about the potential motivations and expectations of the tourist. Therefore, the research suggests that stakeholders ensure they have a social media presence in order to be able to conduct a content analysis of the profiles of potential tourists who contact them to provide useful insight into their object of interest. This would be particularly useful if the guide wanted to ascertain the position of the potential tourist in the pilgrim-tourist dichotomy, in addition to establishing if their motivations were more literary or film-induced in nature. If this is not



done in the initial communicative process, the content analysis can also be conducted once the tourist has confirmed their booking, when a rapport has been established between them and the experience provider.

Another example demonstrated by one of the tourists was the initial booking form, this could be used as a more discursive assessment of visitor motivations, satisfactions and of course, the authentic gaze. Alternatively, a second form that provided details about the tourist's cultural capital could be distributed to the tourists once the booking was confirmed and again, a rapport established. Pre-experience surveys which measure tourist's stock of cultural capital currency would be useful for tour guides as they could serve as a means by which the literary tourism experience could be tailored.

Tourism stakeholders also need to demonstrate their use of semiotic markers within their marketing and promotion strategies to ensure that the authentic gaze of the tourist is met within the initial consumption phase. Tourism stakeholders should also collaboratively produce a corpus of information about the viewers stock of cultural capital and then, this could be used to inform the supply of literary tourist experiences in the destination. The production company could share viewing figures and viewer characteristics to pre-empt the audience that then become film-induced literary tourists.

#### *7.2.1.2 Assessing the authentic gaze of non-tourist stakeholders*

The research into cultural capital in this study revealed that a nexus exists between a tourism stakeholder's stock of cultural capital, preferences for certain experiences and versions of authenticity. Stakeholders responsible for the supply of literary tourism experiences,

including the DMO, those responsible for the management of literary tourism sights and tour guides, need to be mindful of the often challenging complexities associate with accommodating heterogeneous groups. All with differing *authentic gazes*, tourists may purposefully or incidentally engage in the various forms of literary tourism (Busby & George, 2004; Busby & Klug, 2001; Busby & Laviolette, 2006; Butler, 1986; Mintel, 2011), some of which are enacted in literary tours. Whilst the pilgrim-tourist dichotomy or continuum (Smith, 1992) allows for the assessment of visitor motivations, the causality of these motivations and the corresponding expectations can be understood through the determining of visitor cultural capital, particularly in relation to the *dominant* stock. The cultural capital (Bourdieu, 1984; 1986) of individuals can then be used determine their perceptions of authenticity, which are consolidated in their *authentic gazes*.

For guided tourists, who assume the status of genuine literary pilgrims (Busby & Shetliffe, 2013), authenticity is particularly salient feature of their literary tourism experience. Therefore, accommodating for and satisfying their *authentic gazes* is integral to overall visitor satisfaction. The findings from this study indicated that the guided tourist's existential authenticity (Wang, 1999) are enacted in literary tourism experiences, along with *authentic gazes*.

The analysis of cultural capital and subsequently *authentic gazes* should not only feature tourists, but the managers and guides who supply these literary tourism experiences. An in-depth thorough understanding of their predilections and authentic gazes are necessary to assess the impact this has on the experience supplied. For autonomous tour guides or tourism stakeholders who operate and supply literary tourism experiences independently, this is

particularly important, as by supplying an experience that is designed and created through one singular, *authentic gaze*, this may either limit the market that chooses to engage in their experiences or have implications for overall visitor satisfaction. Whilst it may not need to be done explicitly, it is important to at the very least, implicitly communicate the impact of their *authentic gazes* on their scope of the content included in their literary tourism experiences and their methods of interpretation.

Similarly, a team of stakeholders who supply literary tourism experiences need to be cognisant of the potentially dissimilar *authentic gazes* held by each member, to ensure there are no conflicting approaches to interpretation. That said, by acknowledging the differences in *authentic gazes* and strategically deploying these to enhance the overall interpretation, the experience may accommodate and appeal to a larger, more diverse audience. Managers can assess cultural capital of new employees, to determine how this, along with other macro and micro-environmental factors influence their *authentic gazes*. This will allow for coherence in the strategy used by businesses to interpret authentic sights and ultimately, supply authentic experiences.

### 7.2.2 Marketing and interpretation: the provision of markers

Changes to marketing, promotion and interpretation strategies should be modelled on the characteristics of the literary tourists and their associated assumptions, including their *authentic gazes*, as it is the tourist that will dictate the nature of and the extent to which markers for interpretation are needed, that which is essential for the pilgrim but potentially inessential for the recreational tourist. DMOs and other primary tourism stakeholders (Saftić, Težak & Luk, 2011) need to ensure that the literary pilgrim and to some extent the

recreational tourist, is not left bereft of markers in the absence objectively authentic sights or a mobile marker (Roesch, 2009) for example, the tour guide and their interpretation. And even when the marker is present, it cannot be left devoid of interpretation. Tangible signatures (Hoppen, Brown & Fyall, 2014) of intangible cultural heritage or 'potential' destination-based cultural capital (Busby & Meethan, 2008), including authors and their literature should be accessible to tourists to a destination. Lack of these markers may hinder or restrict the tourist's cognition of the site and therefore their ability 'to come as close to an admired author as they would ever get' (Hoppen, Brown & Fyall, 2014, p.41).

Stakeholders responsible for the provision of literary tourism experiences need to adopt authenticity markers and methods of interpretation reminiscent of museums, that which provides interests the tourist and provides a marker of the site to contribute to its status as a literary attraction. Literary and film-induced or photographic markers are particularly useful to contextualise the authenticity of literary sights and satisfy the *authentic gazes* of tourists.

Literary heritage is already commodified and commercialised for tourist consumption. In order to meet the needs of the literary pilgrim, who arguably boast a narrower *authentic gaze* than the recreational tourist, being that, their consumption of literature contributes to their objectified and thus embodied cultural capital (Bourdieu, 1986) – and in some cases, their institutionalised cultural capital (Bourdieu, 1986) - the inclusion of significant knowledge about the author and their literary works which can be disseminated through multiple markers, is tantamount to their overall satisfaction. Arguably, the inclusion of such in-depth interpretation would not be detrimental to the recreational tourist experience, as it would simply function as a means by which they could acquire gratuitous knowledge, or be

disregarded due to lack of interest. Whilst literary pilgrims may be viewed as a niche audience, being that literary tourism is as a niche market (Brown, 2016a; Hoppen, Brown & Fyall, 2014; McGuckin, 2015; Smith, 2012) that sits under the umbrella of cultural (and heritage) tourism (see Chapter 2a section 2.2), and potentially represent a relatively small portion of the total market of the destination or attraction, they are nonetheless valuable and should be treated as such. In synthesising the profile and patterns of cultural tourists, Silberberg (1995, p.363) suggests that cultural tourists (and by extension literary tourists): ‘earns more money and spends more money while on vacation; spends more time in an area while on vacation; is more likely to stay at hotels or motels; is far more likely to shop; [and] is more highly educated than the general public’. Additionally, the DMO and other tourism stakeholders cater for the pilgrim as they arrive at the destination equipped with the *authentic gaze* which functions as a more critical programme for perception (Bourdieu, 1984) than that of the recreational tourist. The absence of semiotic markers of authenticity would be more detrimental to the audience, literary pilgrim or not, than its presence. As was discussed in Chapter 2a, the majority of tourists attracted to literary destinations are concerned with the heritage of place, its latent destination based cultural capital (Busby & Meethan, 2008). Hence, they represent a lucrative market for tourism destinations and businesses that commodify and commercialise destinations based on their literary heritage. However, destinations and stakeholders should be warned against simply commodifying and commercialising ‘potential’ destination-based cultural capital (Busby & Meethan, 2008) and not supplying an authentic experience that caters for the myriad of *authentic gazes* of all tourist types, but crucially, the literary tourist or pilgrim.

## 7.2.3 The DMO and the production company

### 7.2.3.1 *Pre-broadcast*

The advice to the BBC, derived from the findings of this research centres on them working in partnership with the DMO to inform their decision-making process regarding the literature they plan to adapt for TV. For example, the BBC could speak to DMOs across the UK to determine the market for the adaptation of certain literary works. Visitor statistics from tourism stakeholders who supply literary tourism experiences based on a particular author or their literature would provide a useful insight into the current readership and the potential viewership of the TV adaptation. The BBC would then be able to capitalise on this insight and have a general idea of the potential audience demand pre-production. They could also research the presence or absence of literary societies, such as the Winston Graham and Poldark Literary Society.

### 7.2.3.2 *Enhancing the broadcast with markers of authenticity*

Historical dramas like *Poldark* should mimic the BBC programme *Versailles*' use of markers of authenticity. By producing an additional broadcasting element that provides the viewer with detail of the historical authenticity of aspects of the programme this could satisfy the authentic gaze and maximise on the audience who have a more narrow interest in the historical authenticity of broadcasts. Literary tour guides could be consulted on the literary authenticity of the adaptations, with the view that their authentic gaze could contribute to the product offering.

### *7.2.3.3 Post-broadcast location management*

As mentioned, the 7.2.3.1, methods for understanding viewership and the potential tourist market for literary and film-induced experiences are vital. The DMO should liaise with the production company in pre-production and production phases in order for them to be able to manage access to the shooting locations after the drama has been broadcast. In doing so, they can preempt the crowd management strategies necessary for an influx of this tourist market and avoid the adverse effects of potential overtourism in these locations.

## **7.3 Theoretical contributions**

The theoretical and practical contributions of this thesis as outlined in Chapter 1 section 1.3 were achieved. The overarching theoretical contribution of this study centres on the enhanced understanding of the role of authenticity in literary tourist experiences. This thesis adds to the limited number of empirical studies that differentiate visitors to literary sites by way of their cultural capital (Busby & Meethan, 2008; Herbert, 2001) and extends this by further differentiating these visitors by way of their dominant cultural capital stock. This then, provided a more nuanced understanding of the motivations and expectations of these visitors, along with the variables that inform their perceptions specifically in relation to the concept of authenticity.

Findings support the theory that tour guides play a vital role in the interpretation of authenticity at literary tourism sites and within literary tourism experiences. The guide's role as a mobile marker (Roesch, 2009) is particularly relevant when the tourist lacks the gratuitous knowledge to navigate literary simulacra. The theory that tour guides function as mediators (Feldman & Skinner, 2019; Jennings & Weiler, 2006; Nuryanti, 1996; Roesch, 2009;

Weng, Liang & Bao, 2020) and animators (Cohen, 1985) were also supported by the findings of this thesis. Findings suggest the role of the guide centres on proving objective authenticity, providing constructed authenticity and conveying existential authenticity (Roesch, 2009). The findings also support the theory that visual aids are significant assets to tour guides who use them within their interpretation (Roesch, 2009), particularly when they attempt to prove the authenticity of film-induced sites. That said, the tourist's stock of cultural capital can inform their measurement of the indexical authenticity of object or location interpreted by the guide. They can also use their cultural capital to negotiate iconic and constructed authenticity based on their prior expectations (Newman & Smith, 2016).

Findings suggest object authenticity can be proven by guides through their inclusion of associated non-literary texts, such as author autobiographies, within their interpretation. These texts are less subjective than their literary counterparts, and provide valuable insight into the author that some tourists wish to pay homage to (Butler, 1986).

By addressing the extent to which cultural capital influences literary tourism experiences, the findings support studies that not only suggest that through tourism cultural capital can be earned (Knox, 2016) it is also a means by which stakeholder's existential authenticity can be conveyed (Roesch, 2009). Findings suggest that for those who possess such credentials, the existential authenticity of tourists and tour guides were informed by their graduate qualifications (Bourdieu, 1986; Busby & Meethan, 2008) and enacted within literary tourism experiences. By investigating the semantics used by tourism stakeholders to describe authenticity, the findings also revealed how their perceptions of authenticity aligned to the theoretical approaches.



## 7.4 Limitations

Despite the success of this research in addressing the research aims and objectives established at its commencement, a number of limitations were apparent. The first detectable methodological limitation relates to the primary data collection, specifically, the sample size. By virtue of the qualitative, ethnographic approach and sample size, the findings of this study lack generalizability. The case participant groups, including five tour guides, three guided tourists, seven recreational tourists and one location manager whilst 'providing a rich resource for analysis thanks to the methods taken from [thematic] analysis could be larger in subsequent studies now that the methods are clearly documented' (Mansfield, 2015, p.210). Further, a larger number of cases in each case participant group would allow for comparable data to be collected and subsequently analysed and provided further testing of the research instrument and developed theory. Additionally, the guided tourist sample was also limited to those tourists who participated in the same *Poldark* tour. This lack of variation in the case participant group resulted in homogenous experiences despite the heterogeneity of the participants.

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As briefly highlighted in Chapter 4 section 4.5, the researcher chose not to adopt the ECM. The principle practical difficulty that informed this choice being that the researcher was only granted access to one day of each respective *Poldark* tour. Cultural tourism and by extension literary tourism experiences are a form of serious leisure (Stebbins, 2001). The guide's decision to limit the researcher's participation to one day was informed by their efforts to mitigate the level of disruption, intrusion and interference her presence may have caused in relation to the production and consumption of the tour experience. This, by extension, also reduced the effects of the researcher's positionality (see Chapter 4 section 4.5) on the

research. Although the ECM approach would have been beneficial as it would have afforded the researcher the opportunity to record extended observations similar to Hollenbeck, Peters and Zinkhan (2008), would have allowed for increasingly intimate and long-term relationships (Davies, 2008) to be made which would have gleaned more data, this was not possible nor negotiable. It was fortunate that the researcher was be granted access to one day especially given that she was not required to pay to participate in the tour. As was discussed in Chapter 5b section 1.0, for the Poldark tour guides (KC, PS) whose tours the researcher participated in, these tours were explicitly transactional (Walcott-Wilson, 2017). Hence, the decision to limit the researcher's participation was also a result of their attempt to limit the potential loss in earnings caused by the researcher's presence in lieu of a paying tourist.

Theoretically speaking, ECM was not selected for this study as there was somewhat of a lack of 'existing theory to bear on a particular ethnographic case' (Wadham & Warren, 2014, p.abstract). ECM 'provides a framework for reconstructing pre-existing theory' (Hollenbeck, Peters & Zinkhan, 2008, p.338). Although previous studies have investigated the two key concepts separately and were used to inform the study's abductive approach, there was lack of a pre-existing theory that considered the relationships between cultural capital, perceptions of authenticity and literary tourism experiences. Hence, this inhibited the researcher's ability to comprehensively reconstruct pre-existing theory (Burawoy, 1998) in relation to the first and third established research objectives (see Chapter 1, section 1.4). Additionally, regarding data collection, the use of participant observation was marginal in comparison to use of interviews. Although the researcher recognises Burawoy's (1998) suggestion that interviewing is a technique of empirical investigation that can be deployed by the ECM the method principally 'employs participant observation to locate everyday life in its

extra local and historical context' (Burawoy, 1998, p.abstract). Furthermore, despite the acknowledgement that case studies are the most prevalent qualitative research design used in literary tourism research (Çevik, 2020) those examples cited by Çevik (2020) were not "extended". Hence, the researcher was unable to draw from previous literature sources in the topic area that adopted the same approach to contribute to the justification of the research design.

Notwithstanding the merits of the method, ECM deliberately avoids 'methodological 'cookbooks', worried that they would result in a fetishization of methods and crass empiricism' (Timmermans & Tavory, 2012, p.180). The absence of practical guidance (Nguyen & Tull, 2022; Wadham & Warren, 2014) regarding the method's implementation including the difficulties associated with conceptualising and translating ECM (Nguyen & Tull, 2022) deterred the researcher from adopting the method within the present study.

Whilst individually these factors may not be substantial enough to sway the researcher in favour of an alternative approach, collectively, they informed the researcher's decision not to adopt ECM. However, the researcher does acknowledge the validity and applicability of ECM in literary tourism research.

Retrospective interviews with the guided tourists would have been useful to provide a comparison of the responses given *in situ* to provide a deeper understanding of their appraisal of the experience. The research instrument (interview schedule) did not reflect all of the indicators of cultural capital. Hence, the inclusion of questions and prompts that would have further revealed participant stock of cultural capital were omitted. The researcher suggests

that whilst this was not detrimental to the research process, as the interview questions that were included in the research instrument design did capture rich, descriptive data that was able to be analysed in accordance with the study's research aims and objectives, the scope of the cultural capital of individuals was not exhaustive.

A limitation what was not apparent within the pilot study was the researcher's inclusion of what could be considered by some as overtly academic terminology. The verbiage used, specifically in relation to the concept of authenticity, for example, social construct and co-creation meant that there was some degree of participant confusion was evident. This led to the researcher having to explain terminology which could then have influenced the responses. Although this was not flagged in the pilot study, the researcher now recognises that whilst this was unintentional, the pilot participants did have academic backgrounds and therefore, had some knowledge of the theoretical verbiage. As such, the scope of the analysis of participant perceptions of co-creation in the literary tourism experience was hypothetical and not clearly expressed or synthesised within the thesis, despite the inclusion of questions that centred on the topic in the research instrument.

### 7.5 Recommendations for future research

To develop this study's key findings a number of suggestions will now be made for future research. Additionally, the researcher also acknowledges areas for future research that were derived from her analysis of the literature pertaining to topics that she believes are under-researched and therefore may prove fruitful in future literary tourism studies.

Firstly, stakeholder cultural capital could be measured quantitatively to generate more generalizable data on the characteristics of literary tourism stakeholders. However, the currency and stock of cultural capital that were distilled from the previous literature and tested in this study warranted further narrative on the part of the participant and interpretation on the part of the researcher. Therefore, a mixed method approach to the study of the relationship between stakeholder cultural capital and perceptions of authenticity is suggested as the optimum methodological approach. The quantitative element could contribute to the generalisability of the research findings, whilst the qualitative allows for the interpretation necessary to gain a rigorous and in-depth understanding of how these variables manifest into the *authentic gaze*.

#### Cross-disciplinary approach

Tourism scholars have often acknowledged the limited contribution of Film Studies and have frequently called for cross-disciplinarity (Beeton, 2010b; Connell, 2012; Croy & Heitmann, 2011; Lavarone, 2021). “The gaze” has a particular resonance in both Tourism (Urry, 1990) and Film Studies (Marsh, 2021). Both fields ‘have developed concepts of the gaze to hypothesize how/why tourists/spectators view spectacle, and what they derive from looking’ (Jackson, 2005, p.190). Given that Urry’s tourist gaze is a core concept of tourism studies (Samarathunga & Cheng, 2021) one might expect to see more reference to Film Studies and psychoanalytical Film Theory by authors such as Jacques Lacan (1981), Christian Metz (1975) and Laura Mulvey (1975) within its discussions. This isn’t to say that tourism studies are devoid of any consideration of Film Studies in their conceptualisations of the gaze however, this does appear to be somewhat lacking. This is surprising given ‘that touristic pleasures

come primarily through the gaze is a key element linking tourism to film spectatorship' (Corbin, 2014, p.316).

The lack of inclusion of Film studies in the gaze literature could be attributed to the fact that Urry took inspiration from Foucault's 'medical gaze' (Urry, 1990). However, this does not negate the relevance of the "audience gaze" within the context of Film Studies to tourism; Foucault's is not the only existing framework that is relevant to the gaze in a tourism context (Huang & Lee, 2010). Those tourism scholars that have acknowledged Film Studies in their discussions of the gaze note the similarities between cinema spectatorship and tourism. For example, Law, Bunnell and Ong (2007) and Corbin (2014) view cinematic spectatorship as both a form of tourism and a travel experience, respectively. Equally, some scholars do refer to film theorists in their discussions of tourist gaze. For example, Dash and Cater (2015) and Huang and Lee (2010) examine the tourist gaze through the Lacanian lens.

In his work on tourist agency, MacCannell (2001) suggests that if researchers were to draw on the works of French theorists such as Jean-Paul Satre, Maurice Merleau-Ponty and/or Jacques Lacan this would result in increasingly disparate versions of the gaze. MacCannell himself turned to Lacanian psychoanalysis to offer tourism studies an alternative to Urry's derivative of the Foucauldian Gaze. Using the Lacanian Gaze MacCannell (2001, p.30) proposed 'a *second gaze* that is capable of recognizing the misrecognition that defines the tourist gaze' and argues that the majority of tourists are motivated by a 'desire to get beyond touristic representation' (MacCannell, 2001, p.31). As Law, Bunnell and Ong (2007) note MacCannell emphasizes 'how it is subject, not the object, of the gaze that is 'caught,

manipulated [and] captured in the field of vision' (p. 30). In other words, it is the gazer that becomes self-consciously visible and aware (rather than the 'native' or object of that look)'.

Urry and Larsen (2011, p.116) observed that 'the tourist gaze is increasingly media-mediated'. Urry (2002) argues that the mediatised gaze is a prevalent mode of tourist gazing, 'shaped by movies and television; this is a collective gaze where particular sites, famous for their 'mediated' nature are viewed' (Urry, 2002: 151). This mediatisation is precisely why the tourist gaze can be interrogated through the media and film theory lens (Lavarone, 2021).

Within her investigation of the nexus between travel and visual media, Jackson (2005) integrated Urry's tourist gaze with Metz's (1975) film gaze which was influenced by Freudian psychoanalysis (Jackson, 2005). Jackson furthers the appropriations film theory made from psychoanalysis, including narcissism, voyeurism (Freudian issue of sex removed), exhibitionism and fetishism, by transplanting them on the Urryan tourist gaze (Jackson, 2005). In doing so she argues for the convergence of both conceptualisations of the gaze suggesting that '[t]he self-awareness of the film spectator, as foregrounded by Lacan and Metz, is recognized as key to the gazer who is the tourist' (Jackson, 2005, p.193). Although it was beyond the scope of her chapter, Jackson (2005) also acknowledges the potential value in analysing the influence of gender and sexuality on the tourist gaze whilst taking into account the Male Gaze theory (Mulvey, 1975) which is derived from Film Theory. Despite the aforementioned sources the researcher agrees with Connell's suggestion that 'social psychology of the viewing experience' (Connell, 2012, p.1014) which includes the gaze remains a relevant research area that would benefit from a cross-disciplinary approach.

## Incorporating the Serious Leisure Perspective

Despite the potentially useful application of Stebbins' (1982) Serious Leisure Perspective (SLP) to discussions of autodidactic volunteer tour guides and 'expert' tourists in cultural (and by extension literary) tourism, explorations of these topics are limited in Tourism Studies. This is surprising given that elements of each have been discussed within Stebbins' ongoing project (Veal, 2017). The limited application of the concept of serious leisure to volunteer tour guiding and expert tourists is evidenced in the following discussion.

Serious leisure perspective (SLP) is the name given to the integrated theoretical framework proposed by Robert Stebbins (1982; 1992; 1996b; 2001; 2009; 2015a) that synthesises three types of leisure activity (i.e., serious leisure, casual leisure, and project based leisure) (Stebbins, 2015a). Stebbins characterises each type of leisure based on their distinguishing qualities, personal and social rewards/benefits, costs and motivation (Stebbins, 2015a). As Figure 34 demonstrates, these forms of leisure can be further subdivided based on the types, subtypes, and activities that are attributed to each leisure form. Serious leisure is defined as:

'the systematic pursuit of an amateur, hobbyist, or volunteer core activity that people find so substantial, interesting, and fulfilling that, in the typical case, they launch themselves on a (leisure) career centered on acquiring and expressing a combination of its special skills, knowledge, and experience (modified from Stebbins, 1992, p. 3)' (Stebbins, 2015a, p.5).



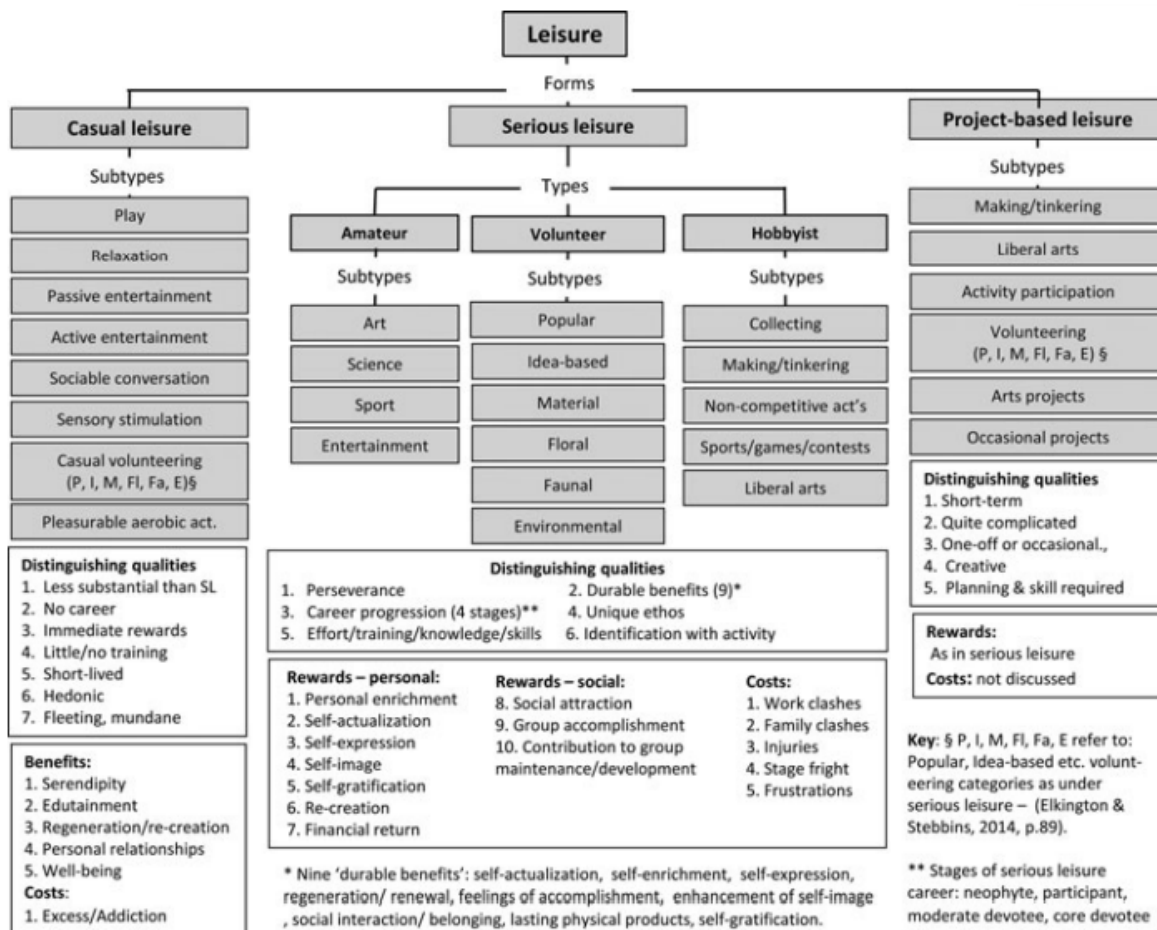


Figure 33. Serious leisure perspective: Summary (Veal, 2017, p.206 after Elkington & Stebbins, 2014, p. 2015)

As was demonstrated in Chapter 2a, section 2.2, literary (and film) tourism can be considered sub-sets of cultural tourism (Connell, 2012), special interest tourism (Agarwal, Busby & Huang, 2018) and popular cultural tourism (Larson, Lundberg & Lexhagen, 2013). Stebbins views cultural tourism as serious leisure (Rátz, 2020; Stebbins, 1996b; Stebbins, 2001) 'due to the complexity and challenge included in its consumption and enjoyment' (Rátz, 2020, p.608). Therefore, by extension literary tourism and film tourism are forms of serious leisure (Rátz, 2020). 'Like the serious leisure continuum, the SIT continuum [see Table 41] ranges from general interest tourism, to mixed interest tourism, to special interest tourism' (Suni & Antti Pesonen, 2022, p.no pagination). Hall and Weiler (1992) established a relationship between

SIT and the SLP (Stebbins, 2015a) when they differentiated the former based on its congruence with five of the six distinguishing characteristics of serious leisure and various rewards (Stebbins, 2015a).

<b>The Dabbler</b>	<b>The Enthusiast</b>	<b>The Expert</b>	<b>The Fanatic</b>
Desires a change from the boredom of previous travel experiences	Interests are clearly defined and like to choose one activity to pursue rather than many	Has a high level of skill and/or extensive knowledge of chosen special interest	Entirely devoted to the pursuit of their chosen special interest and thrives on fear and adrenalin
Requires familiarity with their everyday lives and will select the novel or different	More aware of needs and capabilities and of the interests/experiences which will satisfy them	Strongly committed to a specific activity or experience	Highly committed to the pursuit of their chosen activity or experience, which almost represents a form of addiction
Concerned with symbolic value and social status, so activity likely to be fashionable	A level of commitment is discernible, as there is a wish to develop skills, expertise and knowledge	The activity or experience is central to their home (leisure) life	Generates intense motivation which may result in the pursuit of the activity beyond reasonable limits
Their skill or expertise in chosen activity will be low and safety is an important consideration	Possesses a positive self-image, confident and self-assured	Desire to experience the activity/experience with other like-minded and skilled individuals	Highly skilled individuals with a wide range of experiences in practising chosen activity/interest
Requires a considerable amount of information on the activity/experience choice available to them	Demands a higher level of challenge than the Dabbler and desires a range of new but not overly demanding opportunities to practise their interest	Desire to undertake activity/experience in risky, challenging environments and to have the opportunity of obtaining further qualifications and skills	Likely to be independent travellers, as standard packages are unlikely to meet their needs. Moreover opportunities for the gaining of advanced qualifications will not be highly valued
Upwardly mobile and socially aspirational	The activity pursued represents a life-style enhancement	Their chosen experience reaffirms their identity	Pursuit of activity is dominant motivating factor
Need to be persuaded that the change is good for them	Provision of creature comforts is important as is the social aspect	Demands tailor-made packages or engages in independent travel	Desire for 'off the beaten track' destinations for a customised and individual experience

Table 41. Special interest tourist typology (Agarwal, Busby & Huang, 2018b, p.13 adapted from Brotherton and Himmetoglu, 1997, p. 19)

Hence, both autodidactic volunteer guides and 'expert' fan tourists engaging in literary tourism could also be viewed as engaging in serious leisure (Stebbins, 1982). For example, some literary tourists may be considered serious leisure participants, or more specifically 'liberal arts enthusiasts' (Stebbins, 2001, p.54) due to their voracious interest in reading literature (Stebbins, 2001). Chumillas, Güell and Quer (2022, p.17) suggest '[i]t is true that the discovery of places also puts people into contact, in an integrated way, with their literary and cultural values, and this act is education and formative in itself'. Hence, literary tourism itineraries benefit serious leisure (Stebbins, 2001) based on their educational and formative nature (Chumillas, Güell & Quer, 2022).

Stebbins also introduces volunteering as serious leisure (Stebbins, 1996a) however, only marginal reference to volunteer tour guiding as serious leisure has been made in the literature. Qian and Yarnal (2010b) utilise the SLP framework to explore the benefits of being student campus tour guide volunteers. Their results refined and extended the SLP with regard to the benefits of volunteering (Stebbins, 2015b). In another publication derived from the same project (Stebbins, 2015b), Qian and Yarnal (2010a) explored the motivations behind the student's decision to spend their leisure time volunteering as campus tour guides in an effort to understand how to better recruit and retain the volunteers.

Self-directed learning has previously been linked to serious leisure (Roberson, 2005, cited in Stebbins, 2015). Autodidactic volunteer tour guides may be viewed as career volunteers (i.e., they have found a career in a serious leisure role) who have invested 'in unsanctioned culture either because he or she can 'afford' to [...] or who feel, because of their tentative and at times alienated relationship with 'legitimate culture', that such disreputable investments are more

durable and potentially more 'rewarding' (Sconce, 1995, p.379). Arguably, the 'legitimate autodidacticism' (Bourdieu, 1984, p.24) of the volunteer tour guides is also worth further exploration especially since 'expert' special interest tourists (Brotherton & Hummetoglu, 1997), or fan tourists who engage in serious leisure 'might have a perspective *as experts* [which may be] far superior' (Liang & Shen, 2016, p.346) than that of the expert guide.

The majority of literature that investigates fandom and serious leisure do so from a sport fandom perspective (Ertas, 2022; Gibson, Willming & Holdnak, 2002; Jones, 2000) whilst consideration of the SLP in the context of cultural and literary fandom is lacking. Jones (2000) applies Stebbins' (1992) 'profit hypothesis' which is used to explain the rewards of continued participation in serious leisure to football fandom. In doing so he aimed to synthesise 'the appropriateness of sports fandom as a serious leisure activity' (Jones, 2000, p.287). Jones (2000) confirms the validity of Abercrombie and Longhurst's (1998) claim that fandom is a serious leisure activity, by applying the six distinguishing characteristics of serious leisure (Stebbins, 1992) (see Figure 34).

As the previous discussion synthesises, whilst some of the distinguishing qualities and rewards of serious leisure (Stebbins, 2015a) can be attributed to both volunteer tour guides and 'expert' tourists, there is little empirical research that has investigated them in any great detail. As such, the researcher suggests serious leisure in relation to auto-didactic volunteer tour guides and 'expert' tourists provides fertile ground for future research. Relevant to this study is the notion that participating in serious leisure can increase an individual's cultural capital (Nimmi & Donald, 2022; Rojek, 2010). Whilst this is beyond the scope of this study, the researcher suggests this too is an opportunity for future research.

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## Appendix

### Appendix 1: *Poldark* novels and associated non-literary texts

Series number	Title	Historical period	Novel Published
1	Ross Poldark	1783–1787  American War of Independence ends 1783	1945
2	Demelza	1788–1790	1946
3	Jeremy Poldark	1790–1791	1950
4	Warleggan	1792–1793	1953
5	The Black Moon	1794–1795	1973
6	The Four Swans	1795–1797	1976
7	The Angry Tide	1798–1799	1977
8	The Stranger from the Sea	1810–1811	1981
9	The Miller's Dance	1812–1813	1982
10	The Loving Cup	1813–1815	1984
11	The Twisted Sword	1815-1817	1990
12	Bella Poldark	1818–1820	2002
	Poldark's Cornwall	N/A	1983; 1989; 2003
	Memoirs of a Private Man	N/A	2004

## Appendix 2: *Poldark* TV adaptations

BBC 1975-1977 (imdb, 2021a)

Season	Episode	Running time (minutes)	Episode aired (UK)	Rating (out of 10)	No. IMDB user ratings
Season 1 (1977)	#1.1	51	5 October 1975	8.0	30
	#1.2	50	12 October 1975	7.9	24
	#1.3	51	19 October 1975	7.8	26
	#1.4	52	26 October 1975	8.0	24
	#1.5	52	2 November 1975	7.8	24
	#1.6	52	9 November 1975	8.3	22
	#1.7	51	16 November 1975	8.4	19
	#1.8	52	23 November 1975	8.4	21
	#1.9	52	30 November 1975	8.6	20
	#1.10	52	7 December 1975	8.7	20
	#1.11	51	14 December 1975	8.2	21
	#1.12	49	21 December 1975	8.6	21
	#1.13	52	28 December 1975	8.4	20
	#1.14	51	4 January 1976	8.5	17
	#1.15	52	11 January 1976	8.7	17
	#1.16	51	18 January 1976	8.4	16
Season 2 (1977)	#2.1	52	11 September 1977	8.5	19
	#2.2	53	18 September 1977	8.3	20
	#2.3	52	25 September 1977	8.5	18
	#2.4	53	2 October 1977	8.4	15
	#2.5	53	9 October 1977	8.8	15
	#2.6	52	16 October 1977	8.7	18
	#2.7	52	23 October 1977	8.3	14
	#2.8	52	30 October 1977	8.4	16

	#2.9	53	6 November 1977	8.6	13
	#2.10	52	13 November 1977	9.0	14
	#2.11	52	20 November 1977	9.2	12
	#2.12	53	27 November 1977	8.8	12
	#2.13	56	4 December 1977	9.3	10

Mammoth Screen production for BBC - 2015-2019 (BBC, 2021; imdb, 2021b)

Series	Episode	Running time (mins) (BBC, 2021)	Episode aired (BBC, 2021)	Episode aired (imdb, 2021b)	Rating (out of 10) (imdb, 2021b)	No. IMDB user ratings (imdb, 2021b)
Series 1 (2015)	#1.1	59	8 March 2015	21 June 2015	8.3	877
	#1.2	59	15 March 2015	28 June 2015	8.4	753
	#1.3	59	22 March 2015	5 July 2015	8.6	717
	#1.4	59	29 March 2015	12 July 2015	8.9	767
	#1.5	59	5 April 2015	19 July 2015	8.4	603
	#1.6	59	12 April 2015	26 July 2015	8.3	571
	#1.7	59	19 April 2015	2 August 2015	8.4	569
	#1.8	60	26 April 2015	2 August 2015	8.9	705
Series 2 (2016)	#2.1	59	4 September 2016	25 September 2016	8.4	495
	#2.2	59	11 September 2016	25 September 2016	8.7	447
	#2.3	60	18 September 2016	2 October 2016	8.4	396
	#2.4	60	25 September 2016	16 October 2016	8.6	405
	#2.5	60	2 October 2016	23 October 2016	8.7	412
	#2.6	60	9 October 2016	9 October 2016	8.4	384
	#2.7	59	16 October 2016	16 October 2016	8.5	373
	#2.8	59	23 October 2016	23 October 2016	8.5	417
	#2.9	59	30 October 2016	30 October 2016	8.5	369

	#2.10	62	6 November 2016	6 November 2016	8.9	413
Series 3 (2017)	#3.1	60	11 June 2017	11 June 2017	8.5	378
	#3.2	60	18 June 2017	18 June 2017	8.2	330
	#3.3	60	25 June 2017	25 June 2017	8.1	324
	#3.4	59	2 July 2017	15 October 2017	8.3	325
	#3.5	59	9 July 2017	22 October 2017	8.7	363
	#3.6	59	16 July 2017	29 October 2017	8.4	333
	#3.7	59	23 July 2017	5 November 2017	8.4	327
	#3.8	59	30 July 2017	12 November 2017	8.4	320
	#3.9	60	6 August 2017	6 August 2017	8.5	368
Series 4 (2018)	#4.1	60	10 June 2018	30 September 2018	8.3	363
	#4.2	58	17 June 2018	3 October 2018	8.3	303
	#4.3	60	24 June 2018	14 October 2018	8.1	293
	#4.4	58	1 July 2018	21 October 2018	8.3	282
	#4.5	59	8 July 2018	28 October 2018	8.3	283
	#4.6	58	15 July 2018	4 November 2018	8.2	269
	#4.7	59	22 July 2018	11 November 2018	8.5	273
	#4.8	59	29 July 2018	18 November 2018	8.9	354
Series 5 (2019)	#5.1	58	14 July 2019	29 September 2019	7.7	336
	#5.2	58	21 July 2019	6 October 2019	7.7	243
	#5.3	60	28 July 2019	13 October 2019	7.9	239
	#5.4	59	4 August 2019	20 October 2019	7.7	215
	#5.5	59	11 August 2019	27 October 2019	7.7	223
	#5.6	58	18 August 2019	3 November 2019	7.9	230
	#5.7	59	25 August 2019	10 November 2019	7.5	223
	#5.8	58	26 August 2019	18 November 2019	7.4	299

**Appendix 3: The *Poldark* saga by Winston Graham - ratings, reviews and editions (goodreads, 2021)**

No. in Poldark saga	Novel title (inc. historical era)	Star rating	No. ratings	No. reviews	No. editions
1	<i>Ross Poldark: A Novel of Cornwall, 1783-1787</i> (Graham, 1945)	4.08	28,199	2,884	94
2	<i>Demelza: A Novel of Cornwall, 1788-1790</i> (Graham, 1946)	4.22	14,784	1,065	66
3	<i>Jeremy Poldark: A Novel of Cornwall, 1790-1791</i> (Graham, 1950)	4.19	11,272	675	49
4	<i>Warleggan: A Novel of Poldark, 1792-1793</i> (Graham, 1953)	4.29	8,901	642	41
5	<i>The Black Moon: A Novel of Cornwall, 1794-1795</i> (Graham, 1973)	4.27	7,852	517	41
6	<i>The Four Swans: A Novel of Cornwall, 1795-1797</i> (Graham, 1976)	4.26	7,116	470	34
7	<i>The Angry Tide: A Novel of Cornwall, 1798-1799</i> (Graham, 1977)	4.39	6,547	428	37
8	<i>Stranger From The Sea: A Novel of Cornwall, 1810-1811</i> (Graham, 1981)	4.07	5,494	387	31
9	<i>The Miller's Dance: A Novel of Cornwall, 1812-1813</i> (Graham, 1982)	4.22	4,931	280	23
10	<i>The Loving Cup: A Novel of Cornwall, 1813-1815</i> (Graham, 1984)	4.29	4,628	246	21
11	<i>The Twisted Sword: A Novel of Cornwall, 1815-1816</i> (Graham, 1990)	4.37	4,429	280	20
12	<i>Bella Poldark: A Novel of Cornwall, 1818-1820</i> (Graham, 2002)	4.34	4,604	441	20

#### Appendix 4 : Fictional locations in Poldark novels

No. references in <i>Poldark</i> novels	Simulacra and hyper-real locations in <i>Poldark</i> novels												
	Garrack Zans	Grambler (Mine); Plain	Hendrawna; Beach	Killewarren	Nampara; House; Cove	Penrice; Manor	Sawle; Church; Combe; Grambler-with-Sawle; Feast	St Ann's; Fork; Beacon	Werry House	Wheal Leisure	Wheal Grace	Wheal Vanity	
Ross Poldark	0	48	10	0	56	0	44	11	4	20	10	1	
Demelza	0	54	10	0	50	0	45	18	4	30	3	0	
Jeremy Poldark	0	16	11	9	19	0	25	16	2	18	15	0	
Warleggan	0	8	4	20	25	0	30	14	10	11	25	0	
The Black Moon	0	27	7	19	24	0	36	28	3	11	10	0	
The Four Swans	0	20	5	4	35	0	54	13	0	3	11	0	
The Angry Tide	0	17	8	10	28	0	41	14	0	7	14	0	
The Stranger From the Sea	1	12	5	4	67	0	23	7	0	38	21	0	
The Miller's Dance	0	11	5	2	29	0	17	7	0	36	15	0	
The Loving Cup	0	12	2	9	42	0	12	4	0	30	10	0	
The Twisted Sword	0	11	4	8	63	0	11	3	0	23	13	0	
Bella Poldark	0	12	3	12	42	2	20	15	4	13	10	0	
Total:	1	248	74	97	480	2	358	150	27	240	157	1	1835

## Appendix 5: Real locations in Poldark novels













<b>No. references in Poldark novels</b>	Asparagus Island	Bargus; Cross; Crosslanes	Basset's Cove	Boconnoc	Bodmin	Bossiney	Botallack	Camborne; mines; Church	Caerhays; Castle	Camelford	Cardew; House	Carn Brea	Cook's Kitchen (Mine)	Crackington
<i>Ross Poldark</i>	0	2	0	0	8	0	0	0	0	0	4	0	0	0
<i>Demelza</i>	0	4	1	0	20	0	0	0	0	0	1	0	0	0
<i>Jeremy Poldark</i>	0	1	0	0	31	0	0	2	0	0	2	0	0	0
<i>Warleggan</i>	0	2	2	0	6	0	0	0	0	0	10	0	0	0
<i>The Black Moon</i>	0	1	0	0	14	0	0	1	0	0	18	0	0	0
<i>The Four Swans</i>	2	2	0	0	20	0	0	9	0	0	2	1	0	1
<i>The Angry Tide</i>	0	3	0	0	15	0	0	0	0	0	4	0	0	0
<i>The Stranger From the Sea</i>	0	0	0	2	3	0	0	2	8	1	13	1	0	0
<i>The Miller's Dance</i>	0	1	0	0	5	1	0	1	7	0	21	0	0	0
<i>The Loving Cup</i>	0	2	0	0	5	0	0	2	15	0	25	0	1	0
<i>The Twisted Sword</i>	0	2	2	0	0	0	0	0	13	0	19	0	0	0
<i>Bella Poldark</i>	0	0	6	0	9	0	0	2	6	0	24	0	0	0
<b>Total:</b>	2	20	11	2	136	1	0	19	49	1	143	2	1	1

**Appendix 6: Mammoth Screen production for BBC 2015-2019**

<b>Series</b>	<b>Episode</b>	<b>Running time (mins) (BBC, 2021)</b>	<b>Episode aired (BBC, 2021)</b>	<b>Episode aired (imdb, 2021)</b>	<b>Rating (out of 10) (imdb, 2021)</b>	<b>No. IMDB user ratings (imdb, 2021)</b>
<b>Series 1 (2015)</b>	#1.1	59	8 March 2015	21 June 2015	8.3	877
	#1.2	59	15 March 2015	28 June 2015	8.4	753
	#1.3	59	22 March 2015	5 July 2015	8.6	717
	#1.4	59	29 March 2015	12 July 2015	8.9	767
	#1.5	59	5 April 2015	19 July 2015	8.4	603
	#1.6	59	12 April 2015	26 July 2015	8.3	571
	#1.7	59	19 April 2015	2 August 2015	8.4	569
	#1.8	60	26 April 2015	2 August 2015	8.9	705
<b>Series 2 (2016)</b>	#2.1	59	4 September 2016	25 September 2016	8.4	495
	#2.2	59	11 September 2016	25 September 2016	8.7	447
	#2.3	60	18 September 2016	2 October 2016	8.4	396
	#2.4	60	25 September 2016	16 October 2016	8.6	405
	#2.5	60	2 October 2016	23 October 2016	8.7	412
	#2.6	60	9 October 2016	9 October 2016	8.4	384
	#2.7	59	16 October 2016	16 October 2016	8.5	373
	#2.8	59	23 October 2016	23 October 2016	8.5	417
	#2.9	59	30 October 2016	30 October 2016	8.5	369
	#2.10	62	6 November 2016	6 November 2016	8.9	413
<b>Series 3 (2017)</b>	#3.1	60	11 June 2017	11 June 2017	8.5	378
	#3.2	60	18 June 2017	18 June 2017	8.2	330
	#3.3	60	25 June 2017	25 June 2017	8.1	324
	#3.4	59	2 July 2017	15 October 2017	8.3	325
	#3.5	59	9 July 2017	22 October 2017	8.7	363

	#3.6	59	16 July 2017	29 October 2017	8.4	333
	#3.7	59	23 July 2017	5 November 2017	8.4	327
	#3.8	59	30 July 2017	12 November 2017	8.4	320
	#3.9	60	6 August 2017	6 August 2017	8.5	368
<b>Series 4 (2018)</b>	#4.1	60	10 June 2018	30 September 2018	8.3	363
	#4.2	58	17 June 2018	3 October 2018	8.3	303
	#4.3	60	24 June 2018	14 October 2018	8.1	293
	#4.4	58	1 July 2018	21 October 2018	8.3	282
	#4.5	59	8 July 2018	28 October 2018	8.3	283
	#4.6	58	15 July 2018	4 November 2018	8.2	269
	#4.7	59	22 July 2018	11 November 2018	8.5	273
	#4.8	59	29 July 2018	18 November 2018	8.9	354
<b>Series 5 (2019)</b>	#5.1	58	14 July 2019	29 September 2019	7.7	336
	#5.2	58	21 July 2019	6 October 2019	7.7	243
	#5.3	60	28 July 2019	13 October 2019	7.9	239
	#5.4	59	4 August 2019	20 October 2019	7.7	215
	#5.5	59	11 August 2019	27 October 2019	7.7	223
	#5.6	58	18 August 2019	3 November 2019	7.9	230
	#5.7	59	25 August 2019	10 November 2019	7.5	223
	#5.8	58	26 August 2019	18 November 2019	7.4	299



## **Appendix 7: Interview schedule for *Poldark* tour guides**

### *Entry phase*

Good morning/afternoon. Thank you for agreeing to talk to me today. I am a PhD student from the University of Plymouth. The purpose of this interview is to explore the link between authenticity and cultural capital in literary tourist experiences. It should take between thirty minutes to an hour. Can I just confirm you are happy with the rights which were explained on the informed consent form? Do you have any more questions about them? Are you happy for me to record the interview?

Some of the questions may appear a little obvious, but are necessary to provide a comparison between your background and your perceptions of authenticity. As such, interwoven within some of the sections are questions about yourself and your parents. The aim of this interview is to elicit a narrative, whereby you are able to tell a story, so please give as much detail in your answers as possible.

### *Section 1: Authenticity, Co-creation & Tourist Experience*

1. Could you please describe, in as much detail as possible, what authenticity means to you?
  - a. Is it a marketing tool?
  - b. Is authenticity a social construct?
  - c. Is it something you respond to when choosing your tourist experience? Why?
  
2. Have you heard the word “authentic” applied to tourism?

- a. What do you think “authenticity” in tourism is all about?
  - b. How do you think authenticity influences tourist experience?
  - c. In what way? Positively or negatively?
  - d. Who is responsible for judging a product, site or experience as authentic? Must they hold an authoritative position?
  - e. How much do you consider authenticity in the tour planning process?
  - f. Is providing authenticity to tourists’ experience a priority within your tour/experience? Why?
  - g. Where do you gain the knowledge that informs the content of your tour/experience?
  - h. How did you verify the authenticity of the sites and attractions included within the tour/experience?
  - i. What are the challenges you have faced to meet certain expectations to deliver ‘authentic’ products?
  - j. Do you believe that this tour/experience offers an authentic and genuine literary tourism experience to tourists? How and why?
3. Is there anything else about “authenticity” you would like to add?
4. Could you please describe, in as much detail as possible, what co-creation means to you?
5. Have you heard the word “co-creation” applied to tourism?
- a. How do you think co-creation influences tourist experience?

- b. In what way? Positively or negatively?
  - c. Is authenticity a co-creation between the tourist and the tourism professional?
  - d. How do you interact with your customers? Tell me about the communicative process prior, during and post tour/experience.
  - e. Do you encourage tourist contribution? If yes, how does this dialogue impact your decision-making and dissemination of knowledge and information?
  - f. Do your customers interact with each other? If so, how?
  - g. Are you involved in this process? What does it result in?
  - h. Do you allocate time for group discussion in your tour/experience? Are you present for these discussions?
6. Do you run this tour/experience individually or with other tour guides/tourism professionals? Why?
- a. Tell me about the guide/tourism professional recruitment selection and training process.
  - b. Do your guides have to have particular knowledge and understanding, or academic qualifications as a prerequisite?
7. Is there anything else about “co-creation” you would like to add?
8. Why did you decide to develop and run this tour/experience?
- a. What do you think tourists expect from this tour/experience?
  - b. What do you think tourists find important when choosing to go on this tour/experience? Why?

## *Section 2: Cultural Capital*

### Embodied

9. Could you please describe, in as much detail as possible your cultural background?
  
10. Did your parents prioritise education? (In what way?)
  - a. What qualifications do your parents have?
  - b. What did they do for work?
  
11. What kind of cultural experiences did you experience as a child?
  
12. Can you share a specific memory/event from your childhood?

### Institutionalised

13. What educational credentials do you possess?
  - a. Where were you awarded this qualification?
  - b. Why did you choose this discipline/subject area?
  
14. Are you members of any bodies, societies or special interest groups? (e.g., National Trust, English Heritage)
  - c. Why did you choose to join/not join these groups?
  - d. Do you visit places like the National Trust or English Heritage properties?  
Where have you visited?

### Objectified

15. Tell me about your reading habits?

- a. What are your three favourite books?

16. Are you familiar with Winston Graham and his Poldark novel series?

- a. Have you read a *Poldark* novel or seen any of them dramatized for the television, cinema or the theatre?
- b. Do you think the TV adaptations are faithful to their literary origins?
- c. To what extent were your own images from the books or the dramatizations evoked by [site location]?
- d. What aspect of your visit, if anything, evoked your images from the novels or the dramatizations?
- e. Can you tell me anything about Winston Graham?
- f. Are you able to name any of the locations featured within the novels? To your knowledge, are these real or fictional places?

## **Appendix 8: Interview schedule for guided tourists**

### *Entry phase*

Good morning/afternoon. Thank you for agreeing to talk to me today. I am a PhD student from the University of Plymouth. The purpose of this interview is to explore the link between authenticity and cultural capital in literary tourist experiences. It should take between thirty minutes to an hour. Can I just confirm you are happy with the rights which were explained on the informed consent form? Do you have any more questions about them? Are you happy for me to record the interview?

Some of the questions may appear a little obvious, but are necessary to provide a comparison between your background and your perceptions of authenticity. As such, interwoven within some of the sections are questions about yourself and your parents. The aim of this interview is to elicit a narrative, whereby you are able to tell a story, so please give as much detail in your answers as possible.

### *Section 1: Authenticity, Co-creation and the Tourist Experience*

1. Could you please describe, in as much detail as possible, what authenticity means to you?
  - a. Is it a marketing tool?
  - b. Is authenticity a social construct?
  - c. Is it something you respond to when choosing your tourist experience? Why?
  
2. Have you heard the word “authentic” applied to tourism?

- a. What do you think “authenticity” in tourism is all about?
  - b. How do you think authenticity influences tourist experience?
  - c. In what way? Positively or negatively?
  - d. Who is responsible for judging a product, site or experience as authentic?
  - e. Must they hold an authoritative position?
  - f. What did you do or what are you planning to do to pursue “authenticity” for your experience? If you’re not, why not?
3. Is there anything else about “authenticity” you would like to add?
4. Could you please describe, in as much detail as possible, what co-creation means to you?
5. Have you heard the word “co-creation” applied to tourism?
- a. How do you think co-creation influences tourist experience?
  - b. In what way? Positively or negatively?
  - c. Is authenticity a co-creation between the tourist and the tourism professional?
6. Is there anything else about “co-creation” you would like to add?
7. How did you come to the decision to participate in this Poldark tour today?
- a. Are you visiting Cornwall alone, or with family, friends?
  - b. Have you visited Cornwall before? If yes, can you share a specific memory/event from a previous visit?

- c. Are there any important factors that contributed to your decision to undertake this tour? If yes, please describe them.
  - d. What were your first expectations?
  - e. What contributed to these expectations?
  - f. What are you looking for to do and see when visiting?
  - g. Have you participated in a literary tour before? If yes, what do you look for in a literary tour? If no, do you plan to in future?
8. Did you have any interest in Cornwall's literary heritage before your visit? If yes, what particularly interested you? If no, why?
- a. Which if any of the following would motivate you to embark on a literary tourism experience: Aspects of homage to an actual location; Places of significance in the work of fiction; The appeal of areas because they were appealing to literary figures; The work of the writer is so popular that the entire area becomes a tourist destination per se; Travel writing; Nostalgia; Film-induced literary tourism; Literary festivals; Bookshop tourism.
9. Do you think Cornwall's literary heritage has been commodified or commercialised for tourists? If yes, how and why? If no, do you think this is a missed opportunity?

## *Section 2: Cultural Capital*

### Embodied

10. Could you please describe, in as much detail as possible your cultural background?



11. Did your parents prioritise education? (In what way?)
  - a. What qualifications do your parents have?
  - b. What did they do for work?
  
12. What kind of cultural experiences did you experience as a child?
  
13. Can you share a specific memory or event from your childhood?

#### Institutionalised

14. What educational credentials do you possess?
  - a. Where were you awarded this qualification?
  - b. Why did you choose this discipline/subject area?
  
15. Are you members of any bodies, societies or special interest groups? (e.g., National Trust, English Heritage)
  - a. Why did you choose to join/not join these groups?
  - b. Do you visit places like the National Trust or English Heritage properties?  
Where have you visited?

#### Objectified

16. Tell me about your reading habits?
  - a. What are your three favourite books?

17. Are you familiar with Winston Graham and his Poldark novel series?

- a. Have you read a *Poldark* novel or seen any of them dramatized for the television, cinema or the theatre?
- b. Do you think the TV adaptations are faithful to their literary origins?
- c. To what extent were your own images from the books or the dramatizations evoked by [site location]?
- d. What aspect of your visit, if anything, evoked your images from the novels or the dramatizations?
- e. Can you tell me anything about Winston Graham?
- f. Are you able to name any of the locations featured within the novels? To your knowledge, are these real or fictional places?

## **Appendix 9: Interview schedule for recreational tourists**

### *Entry phase*

Good morning/afternoon. Thank you for agreeing to talk to me today. I am a PhD student from the University of Plymouth. The purpose of this interview is to explore the link between authenticity and cultural capital in literary tourist experiences. It should take between thirty minutes to an hour. Can I just confirm you are happy with the rights which were explained on the informed consent form? Do you have any more questions about them? Are you happy for me to record the interview?

Some of the questions may appear a little obvious, but are necessary to provide a comparison between your background and your perceptions of authenticity. As such, interwoven within some of the sections are questions about yourself and your parents. The aim of this interview is to elicit a narrative, whereby you are able to tell a story, so please give as much detail in your answers as possible.

### *Section 1: Authenticity, Co-creation and the Tourist Experience*

1. Could you please describe, in as much detail as possible, what authenticity means to you?
  - a. Is it a marketing tool?
  - b. Is authenticity a social construct?
  - c. Is it something you respond to when choosing your tourist experience? Why?
  
2. Have you heard the word “authentic” applied to tourism?

- a. What do you think “authenticity” in tourism is all about?
  - b. How do you think authenticity influences tourist experience?
  - c. In what way? Positively or negatively?
  - d. Who is responsible for judging a product, site or experience as authentic?
  - e. Must they hold an authoritative position?
  - f. What did you do or what are you planning to do to pursue “authenticity” for your experience? If you’re not, why not?
3. Is there anything else about “authenticity” you would like to add?
4. Could you please describe, in as much detail as possible, what co-creation means to you?
5. Have you heard the word “co-creation” applied to tourism?
- a. How do you think co-creation influences tourist experience?
  - b. In what way? Positively or negatively?
  - c. Is authenticity a co-creation between the tourist and the tourism professional?
6. Is there anything else about “co-creation” you would like to add?
7. How did you come to the decision to visit [site/attraction] or participate in this tour today?
- a. Are you visiting Cornwall alone, or with family, friends?
  - b. Have you visited [Cornwall/site/attraction] before?
  - c. Can you share a specific memory/event from a previous visit?

- d. Are there any important factors that contributed to your decision to undertake this trip? If yes, please describe them.
  - e. What were your first expectations?
  - f. What contributed to these expectations?
  - g. What are you looking for to do and see when visiting?
8. Do you have any interest in Cornwall's literary heritage before your visit? If yes, what particularly interested you? If no, why?
- a. Which, if any of the following would motivate you to embark on a literary tourism experience: Aspects of homage to an actual location; Places of significance in the work of fiction; The appeal of areas because they were appealing to literary figures; The work of the writer is so popular that the entire area becomes a tourist destination per se; Travel writing; Nostalgia; Film-induced literary tourism; Literary festivals; Bookshop tourism
9. Do you think Cornwall's literary heritage has been commodified/commercialised for tourists? If yes, how and why? If no, do you think this is a missed opportunity?

## *Section 2: Cultural Capital*

### Embodied

10. Could you please describe, in as much detail as possible your cultural background?
11. Did your parents prioritise education? (In what way?)
- a. What qualifications do your parents have?

b. What did they do for work?

12. What kind of cultural experiences did you experience as a child?

13. Can you share a specific memory/event from your childhood?

#### Institutionalised

14. What educational credentials do you possess?

a. Where were you awarded this qualification?

b. Why did you choose this discipline/subject area?

15. Are you members of any bodies, societies or special interest groups? (e.g., National Trust, English Heritage)

a. Why did you choose to join/not join these groups?

b. Do you visit places like the National Trust or English Heritage properties?

Where have you visited?

#### Objectified

16. Tell me about your reading habits?

a. What are your three favourite books?

17. Are you familiar with Winston Graham and his Poldark novel series?

- a. Have you read a *Poldark* novel or seen any of them dramatized for the television, cinema or the theatre?
- b. Do you think the TV adaptations are faithful to their literary origins?
- c. To what extent were your own images from the books or the dramatizations evoked by [site location]?
- d. What aspect of your visit, if anything, evoked your images from the novels or the dramatizations?
- e. Can you tell me anything about Winston Graham?
- f. Are you able to name any of the locations featured within the novels? To your knowledge, are these real or fictional places?



## Information Sheet

**Project: LITERARY TOURISM: LINKING CULTURAL CAPITAL, TOURIST EXPERIENCES AND PERCEPTIONS OF AUTHENTICITY**

### Project contact details:

*Name of researcher/student:* Zoe Roberts

*Contact details:* [zoe.roberts@plymouth.ac.uk](mailto:zoe.roberts@plymouth.ac.uk)

07725894317

### What is this project about?

This research is being conducted as the thesis for University of Plymouth postgraduate researcher Zoe Roberts's PhD. The research centres on the literary tourism phenomenon, placing emphasis on three themes: (1) the tourist experience; (2) authenticity; and (3) cultural capital. It focuses on the link between cultural capital and perceptions of authenticity at literary tourism sites, focusing on sites associated with Winston Graham and his Poldark novel series. Her interest narrows slightly in relation to the influence of tourism professionals on tourist judgements on authenticity, and how the tourism professionals themselves come to judge aspects of their tours as authentic. The aims and objectives of the study are as follows:

**Aim 1:** To present a conceptualisation of the link between cultural capital and perceptions of authenticity in literary tourist experiences.

**Aim 2:** Contribute to, advance theoretical knowledge and understanding of, the link between cultural capital and authenticity, within the context of literary tourism in Cornwall.

**Objective 1:** Conceptualise the theoretical context of cultural capital and authenticity in literary tourism, through a critical review and analysis of relevant literature.

**Objective 2:** Develop the critical engagement of literary tourism scholarship, with respect to the importance of cultural capital and authenticity in the tourist experience.



**Objective 3:** Design and execute qualitative primary data collection by interview, to elicit tacit knowledge from tourists and destination stakeholders, to synthesise the potential relationship between literary tourist cultural capital and perceptions of authenticity at Cornish literary tourism sites.

**Objective 4:** By use of interviews, elicit personal narratives of experiences of literary tourism and to develop theory from these empirical data.

**Objective 5:** Conceptualise a framework addressing the nexus between cultural capital and perceptions of authenticity at literary tourism sites.

## **What will you have to do if you agree to take part?**

### **Informed consent**

Your participation is voluntary and it is up to you whether you wish to participate.

### **Right to withdraw**

I hope that you feel able to help us with this study. If decide that you do not want to continue to take part in the study, you are free to withdraw any time up until the submission of the PhD Thesis on 31<sup>st</sup> August 2020. However, up until publication of the thesis in November 2020 you will have the right to request anonymity if you had previously waived this right.

## **What are the advantages or disadvantages of taking part?**

You may find the project interesting and enjoy answering questions about the research. Once the study is finished it could provide information about how tourists perceive authenticity at literary tourism sites, which is useful to not only the tourist themselves, but also those professionals responsible for the development and management of literary tourism sites. You may not want to take part in this study if you are not comfortable talking about your childhood experiences.

### **Debriefing**

There will be an opportunity to learn about the outcomes of the research by the award of the PhD in December 2020. You may obtain information on my progress and request copies of outputs at any time by contacting the researcher through the above contact details.

### **Confidentiality<sup>1</sup>**

All collected data will be kept anonymous and only used for the purposes identified above. Your responses will be anonymised; no names of participants will be included at any point.

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<sup>1</sup> In accordance with Plymouth University Ethics Policy

**Planned Outputs**

The results of the study will be published online as in a PhD repository [www.pearl.plymouth.ac.uk](http://www.pearl.plymouth.ac.uk)

**Feedback**

Please feel free to contact Zoe Roberts at any time if you have questions this research study.

## Appendix 11: Ethics Informed Consent Form



### Informed Consent Form

**Project: LITERARY TOURISM: LINKING CULTURAL CAPITAL, TOURIST EXPERIENCES AND PERCEPTIONS OF AUTHENTICITY**

#### Project contact details:

*Name of researcher/student:* Zoe Roberts

*Contact details:* [zoe.roberts@plymouth.ac.uk](mailto:zoe.roberts@plymouth.ac.uk)

07725894317

#### What is this project about?

This research is being conducted as the thesis for University of Plymouth postgraduate researcher Zoe Roberts's PhD. The research centres on the literary tourism phenomenon, placing emphasis on three themes: (1) the tourist experience; (2) authenticity; and (3) cultural capital. It focuses on the link between cultural capital and perceptions of authenticity at literary tourism sites, focusing on sites associated with Winston Graham and his Poldark novel series. Zoe's interest narrows slightly in relation to the influence of tourism professionals on tourist judgements on authenticity, and how the tourism professionals themselves come to judge aspects of their tours as authentic.

I, confirm that (please tick box as appropriate):

- I have been given the opportunity to ask questions about the project and my participation.
- I voluntarily agree to participate in the project.
- I understand I can withdraw up until the submission of the PhD Thesis on 31<sup>st</sup> August 2020 without giving reasons and that I will not be penalised for withdrawing nor will I be questioned on why I have withdrawn.
- The procedures regarding confidentiality have been clearly explained to me.
- If applicable, consent for interviews, audio, video or other forms of data collection have been explained and provided to me.



**Appendix 12: Example of Framework Matrix**

	A : Institutionalised State	B : Graduate Qualification
<p>1 : AP Transcription w. Stanzas</p>	<p>AP2 St. 33, 18.08 So I have a Bachelor of Science in Engineering a Master of Science in Geophysics and a PhD in Geophysics</p> <p>AP2 St. 33, 18.21 I chose mining engineering but after the summer I came back in September and switched to geophysics which is more mathematical [...] I had a summer job where we were doing geophysics and I that I really enjoyed that and I then really applied myself to becoming better I also did what reasonably well in the math in physics in first year but then I applied myself even more and did better in sec- after you know in subsequent years then went on to do Masters and a PhD</p> <p>AP2 St. 34, 20.19 Well Queens University at Kingston which is where I met Lindsay for the Bachelors and the PhD were the University of Saskatchewan in Saskatoon [...] it took me nine years to do my PhD because I worked right cus cus anyway but so I had lots of meetings with the Dean anyway but I did complete it that's the key to the whole deal actually finished</p>	<p>AP2 St. 36 22.15 Yeah so I'm I'm a member of the I'm a professional geoscientist so that's to be to call myself a geophysicist and practice geophysics or geology or whatever you must in Canada you must register by law and then you're licenced to practice that and I think there's a similar agency here erm so I'm a professional geoscientist, I'm a member of the Canadian Institute of Mining and in fact erm whether you want to know this or not I'm a distinguished lecturer I gave a talk at the local Canadian Institute of Mining in Saskatoon, I was nominated by somebody in the audience I think one of the professors and now I'm going to give scientific talks to at educational institutions so I'm acting as kind've a mentor in my retirement to colleges, to universities, to whoever so so I'm a distinguished lecturer for the Canadian Institute of Mining</p>

CaB St. 222, 3.28.39 I've got a GCSE, CSE [Zoe asks: What erm?] I've got a CSEs, I've got 8 CSEs. Erm, one GCSE. I got the GCSE because I got a level one in CSE, which then takes it into GSCE

CaB St. 223, 3.29.02 English. Erm, I can't remember what the others were. They're in oblivion. I've got erm, I am classed as a qualified Legal Secretary because of the number of years I worked as a legal secretary. I've got various erm certificates for shorthand and typing and I was a ballet dancer. So I've got various certificates and medals and things for that.

ChB St. 176, 3.42.27 I went to Liskeard infant's school which is just down the road. Secondary modern school I went to. I left school before it took my examinations [...] I was an apprentice, I used to do day release to the College of Art and Design, the old College of Art and Design in Plymouth down at Looe Street many years ago now. My employer didn't really play ball with me and I couldn't get on with him mainly because when I was expecting to go to college we were short of staff and I could never see me getting my qualifications as err as what we called back then a lifeographic artist that's what it would've been. Never got the qualification so I left

ChB St. 176, 3.42.27 No I didn't get any qualifications at school cus I'd had left before then. Erm I never want to further education, never went to University, never went there.

3 : DR Transcription w. Stanzas	DR2 St. 10, 00.20.43 None. None not allowed to do anything like that love never	
5 : JaC Transcription w. Stanzas	JaC St. 51, 0.26.48 GCSEs and NVQ3 in Marine Engineering [Zoe asks: what GCSEs do you have? Subjects?] Erm, English, Maths, Science, Physical Education, IT, I think that's it.	
6 : JM Transcription w. Stanzas	<p>JM St. 73, 0.47.00 Erm not man. Erm I have 6 O levels, I have 1 A level and I have, erm I am not sure what you would call it, erm I don't know what the equivalent is, it's a certificate in management, supervisory management</p> <p>JM St. 74, 0.47.27 Erm the O levels I got at school. The A level I got at a later date when I went back to college and the supervisory management certificate I got whilst at work, they put us on a course.</p> <p>JM St. 77, 0.48.55 That would have been English language, English literature, maths, additional maths and chemistry [pauses] oh and French - I wonder if that makes 6 or 7? 6</p> <p>JM St. 79, 0.49.33 Well I went to take 3 [A-Levels] actually. Erm it was business studies, economics and computing erm, but I ended up only doing one erm. The idea was to do one over 2 years and then 1 each on the first and second year but I only continued for 1 year and I got the Business Studies A-level.</p>	

7 : JuC Transcription w. Stanzas	JuC St. 49, 1.00.46 In terms of what I- so when I was at school I just did my normal CSEs didn't stay on to take A-levels. I then went to work in a, as a computer operator so I did an O-level in computer studies but I had already left school and then eventually I did a managerial qualifications and then I did my degree in health and social care so that sort of span really	JuC St. 50, 1.01.31 So I ended up doing my health and social care degree through Open University
8 : KC Transcription w. Stanzas	KC 2018 St. 78, 1.57.57.27 It was called Expressive Arts. It was a BA (Hons) degree in Expressive Arts. I got direct entry because of my art from A-level and so I didn't have to do a foundation year and it was Fine Art, History of Art, Theatre Design, Drama and Music.	
9 : KE Transcription w. Stanzas	KE2 St. 28, 0.17.34 Erm, well I trained err qualified as a teacher and became a teacher.	KE2 St. 28, 0.17.34 erm since I retired I've done an MA in Cornish Studies with Exeter University as you know external student.



KP2 St.20, 0.09.25 Erm I left school with O-Levels I went to - I didn't really know what I wanted to do. Erm I didn't really want to go to university, I more or less when I left school it was you could walk into a job erm.

KP2 St. 21, 0.11.36 Erm I did sociology, commerce which would have been business studies, English language, English lit, erm a very basic I think it was called computer studies at the time, history. Erm I didn't do O-Level maths I wasn't very good, I'm good with money in terms of maths, but erm maths at that time was pure mathematics so I was in the GC- erm the CSE set so it was quite a low grade yeah so those were the exams that I did.

KP2 St. 22, 0.12.15 Erm you had to do if you was in the top set you had to do English lit, English language oh I did chemistry as well I had to a science. Erm I chose history cos I've always liked history, I chose commerce particularly because it was broad enough that you could more or less get a job in most organisations at the time erm. I chose sociology because it sounded interesting and I like people erm and actually it was very helpful because it did a bit of psychology as well and I wasn't sure if I was going to do psychology at A-Level but I changed my mind really. I'd

had enough of school by  
then I was bored.

LE St. 10, 0.08.26 I've- I studied Ancient History I studied Greek and Roman Ancient History, I studied Art History, Classics [...] I very specifically studied Ancient History

I went into Fine Art because my first, my first year at university I did a bunch of different subjects and I took a Fine Art class that was for other people that were not in the Bachelor of Fine Arts programme, you had to apply and get into that one, but they had one studio art course that you could take and it was that woman, it was that teacher who said, all she said cos when I first applied you had to apply to get into it and you had to have an interview so I was talking to her and I figured if I said that I was interested in applying for the Bachelor of Fine Arts it was called Bachelor of Art Education at the time.

LE3 St. 40, 0.37.42 I have a Bachelors of Fine Arts, I have an undergraduate and a graduate degree

LE3 St. 41, 0.37.50 A Bachelor of Fine Arts

LE3 St. 42, 0.37.52 And then a Masters of Fine Arts

<p>12 : LM Transcription w. Stanzas</p>	<p>LM St. 56, 0.34.01 Erm just O-levels and erm state registered nursing yeah</p> <p>Z And you passed your 11 plus as well?</p> <p>LM St. 57, 0.34.09 Oh yeah, yeah</p> <p>LM St. 58, 0.34.20 Erm the scien- well err the science, geography, biology, you know English language, English Lit, math- more the science side of things which I quite regret because I've always been quite interested in history but never really follow- like this but you had to drop history cos it didn't fit, you know you had to do sciences or I was hopeless at languages [laughs] yeah</p>	
<p>13 : MC Transcription w. Stanzas</p>	<p>MC St. 65, 01.18.25 Well I left school a bit kind of prematurely, I won't go into that. So I have an O Level in English Language and Literature and Art and that's it.</p>	

<p>15 : PS Transcription w. Stanzas</p>	<p>Z What educational credentials or qualifications do you possess? PS St. 157, 1.50.38 O Levels, A Levels, and then straight into a Masters about 30 years after I did them [...] found out that they were doing a green guides erm NVQ at Cornwall College and I sat bolt upright because I was getting the West Britain sent up to London looking at prices looking at oh what's going on and NVQ in green guides that's exactly what I wanna do so I used to come down here from London once every two weeks to do an NVQ 4 mad it was how ridiculous is that?</p>	<p>Z And that was in Cornish studies? Awarded from PS St. 158, 1.50.47 Uhum the University of Exeter</p>
<p>16 : RC Transcription w. Stanzas</p>	<p>RC2 St. 3, 0.0.39 So, I'm a qualified teacher erm secondary school teacher, and I am a Religious Studies teacher</p> <p>I went and lived in Poland for six months erm training because I couldn't get onto my PGCE erm the first couple attempts so I decided to do my TEFL and I taught English as a foreign language in Poland for six months and lived out there [...] I trained as a TA (Teaching Assistant) erm and then I finally got onto my PGCE and I've been teaching for the last five years</p>	<p>RC2 St. 3, 0.0.39 Erm I studied sociology so I'm quite knowledgeable on my class system and my working class system and stuff my degree is in Sociology so, erm I'm the first grandchild out of twenty odd grandchildren to go to university and qualify and graduate and then to do a PGCE on top. So like getting 60 credits towards a Masters as well, so I'm the first grandchild to do that I don't think any of my cousins even younger than me have actually gone to university they've all gone into trade so and that's on both sides err bar one other person, who is the same age as me and I'm older than him so I take credit for the first.</p> <p>RC2 St. 7, 0.8.44 So I have my GCSEs my A-Levels I have my degree, Bachelors in</p>

		<p>Science in Sociology and Criminology. Erm and then I have my PGCE in secondary Religious Studies.</p>
17 : SM Transcription w. Stanzas	<p>SM2 St. 11, 00:09:01 I have erm CSEs erm in English Language and Literature, History, Geography. Erm, I then went on to the College of Further Education where I got all my secretarial qualifications. I haven't got any A-Levels or degrees, I never went to university. Erm 'cause didn't do that when I left school. Is very rare people did A-Levels to be fair.</p>	

### Appendix 13: Example application of thematic analysis

	Excerpt from participant AP interview transcript	Coding/research notes
Z	<b>Can you describe in as much detail as possible what authenticity means to you?</b>	
AP	That's erm so authenticity it means that erm to me authenticity means that erm <b>what I am hearing or being told is erm truthful to the facts that are coming into play in whatever I'm being told or explained, so truth.</b>	<i>Truth - lexical semantics</i> <i>Fact - lexical semantics</i> <i>Reiteration of the importance of truth</i> <i>Cognition of markers of authenticity (being told)</i>
Z	<b>Erm, do you think authenticity it can be used as a marketing tool?</b>	
AP	Oh yes, definitely.	<i>Definitive certainty</i>
Z	<b>Why?</b>	
AP	Erm, because erm I for one would be willing to go and see the real pyramids or err the <b>real Mona Lisa</b> whereas I would not be that keen to go to erm Las Vegas and see the fake <b>pyramids</b> I wouldn't bother to go out of my way even if they are I mean the Rialto is is replicated in Las Vegas I don't think I'd go to Las Vegas to see that whereas I would go to Venice to see it <b>so to me authenticity means I mean there's there's a history to err something if it is authentic or if it's a true part of the historic- the history of that place.</b>	<i>Emphasis placed on 'real' as opposed to replica tourism products/sites – indicates preference for object authenticity as opposed to staged authenticity.</i>  <i>Demonstrates ability to synthesise his reasoning using appropriate examples</i>  <i>Historical element to authenticity</i>  <i>True – lexical semantics</i>
Z	<b>Erm do you think authenticity is a social construct?</b>	
AP	I mean <b>from what I answered before your kind of asking me if I think that truth is a social construct and I think that the answer is no. Truth is erm fact based</b> its erm erm the you know either something was [laughs] at the Battle of Hastings or it wasn't, or this church either was built in the time of William the Conqueror or it wasn't I mean those are <b>facts</b> so erm if it was to me that or Hagia Sofia in Istanbul that's a very fifteen hundred year	<i>Justifies his response based on previous reasoning that authenticity is synonymous with truth; Reiteration of truth/fact - lexical semantics</i>

	old church that I find very interesting whereas I would not find err a replica no matter how well it was done all that interesting, its I mean you're getting into Blade Runner territory have you seen that or read the books? Yeah.	<i>Object authenticity measured by fact</i>
Z	<b>You've hinted at this but is authenticity something you respond to when you choose your tourist experiences?</b>	
AP	Oh very much so.	<i>Definitive certainty; preference for authenticity in tourist experiences is confirmed</i>
Z	<b>Why is that?</b>	
AP	Well I I guess because I prefer to see the <u>real</u> thing as opposed to a <u>replica</u> .	<i>Real – semantic substitution Reiterates preference for object authenticity as opposed to staged authenticity.</i>
Z	<b>Have you heard of the word authenticity applied to tourism before?</b>	
AP	Erm no probably not but however I think it's certainly <u>implied</u> in many many many instances right, in I mean the Parthenon, the Pyramids all of these or Machu Picchu any of the ancient sites where that draws many many tourists and even London right parts of London erm you go there because <u>they are authentic even though they don't advertise themselves as such, the implication is there.</u>	<i>Suggests that authenticity is implied due to historical status</i>
Z	<b>So what do you think authenticity in tourism is all about then? Is it, so you say its implied and you say that it can be used as a marketing tool but it isn't explicitly -</b>	
AP	Well I think there's an opportunity there because erm erm you know see, just what we've done here in Cornwall wandered round and felt the wind and the salt water and seen the, heard the waves and seen the waves and the cliffs and so on and so forth, <u>I mean that's a real authentic experience that you could not replicate in film because or or any other way because it involves all of your senses</u> so that may come into play as well.	<i>Real – semantic substitution Authentic experiences are perceived as multi-sensory</i>




## Appendix 14: NVivo text search queries

AP Fact
NVIVO

SUMMARY
TEXT

### Text



▶

AP Transcription w. §  
1 of 1

### References

REF NO.	COVERAGE	CONTENT
1	0.01%	is no truth is erm fact based its erm erm the
2	0.01%	33, 25.10 Yeah the fact that my wife was coming
3	0.01%	Institute of Mining and in fact erm whether you want to
4	0.01%	a volunteer on the in fact I'm the President of the

AP Real
NVIVO

SUMMARY
TEXT

### Text



▶

AP Transcription w. §  
1 of 1

### References

REF NO.	COVERAGE	CONTENT
1	0.01%	to go and see the real pyramids or erm the real
2	0.01%	real pyramids or erm the real Mona Lisa whereas I would
3	0.01%	I prefer to see the real thing as opposed to a
4	0.01%	forth I mean that's a real authentic experience that you could
5	0.01%	authentic? Because it is a real it was a real mine
6	0.01%	a real it was a real mine and it is a
7	0.01%	mine and it is a real mine tour and safe and
8	0.01%	went to places that were real and erm understood what we

Text



AP Transcription w. §  
1 of 1

References

REF NO.	COVERAGE	CONTENT
1	0.01%	being told or explained so truth. <b>Z Erm do you think</b>
2	0.01%	asking me if I think truth is a social construct and
3	0.01%	that the answer is no truth is erm fact based its
4	0.01%	that happened you're telling the truth truth is key and being
5	0.01%	happened you're telling the truth truth is key and being precise
20	0.01%	the story itself is not truth, but like the dates and
21	0.01%	and the ships are all truth, and I love them books
22	0.01%	know that that was the truth that it just it was
23	0.01%	that I knew that's the truth [Zoe asks: So it was
24	0.01%	saying they were telling the truth, but to me it had
25	0.01%	things that may contradict that truth?
		D03 01: 12, 00:08
26	0.01%	see the guides telling the truth, I don't think it's possible
27	0.01%	it's possible to tell the truth, I'd like to think

## Text



DR Transcription w. 1  
1 of 1

## References

REF NO.	COVERAGE	CONTENT
1	0.01%	think is 1) telling the truth; 2) being truthful with what
2	0.01%	see is people telling the truth all the time, if possible
3	0.01%	he is telling you the truth. But most of it, or
4	0.01%	those to tell me the truth that what's going on, that
5	0.01%	Erm sometimes they bend the truth, but I think everybody bends
6	0.01%	I think everybody bends the truth anyhow, so yeah. I think
7	0.01%	they they use the word truth, don't they? Erm, authentic is
8	0.01%	they're asking is for the truth, not authenticity, the truth. Z
9	0.01%	the truth, not authenticity, the truth. Z What do you think
10	0.01%	before, you know, bend the truth but don't break it. Z
11	0.01%	him wrong, he's telling the truth. Z So in tourism, who
12	0.01%	people, to tell you the truth and you hope against hope
13	0.01%	going to listen to the truth. What he's going to tell
14	0.01%	is going to be the truth, the person. Z So do
15	0.01%	get his nearer to the truth is possible. Z So yeah
16	0.01%	they were based on the truth. The different characters in the
17	0.01%	love story based on the truth erm the different people that
18	0.01%	see if he's telling the truth, whether he's authentic [laughs] Z
19	0.01%	based funny enough, based on truth. That's you know the story
20	0.01%	the story itself is not truth, but like the dates and
21	0.01%	and the ships are all truth, and I love them books
22	0.01%	knew that that was the truth that it just it was
23	0.01%	that I knew that's the truth [Zoe asks: So it was
24	0.01%	saying they were telling the truth, but to me it had
25	0.01%	things that may contradict that truth? DR3 St. 12, 00:08
26	0.01%	see the guides telling the truth, I don't think it's possible
27	0.01%	it's possible to tell the truth. I'd like to think

## JaC Fact

SUMMARY TEXT

NVIVO

### Text



JaC Transcription w.  
1 of 1

### References


REF NO.	COVERAGE	CONTENT
1	0.02%	something's authentic is real, its fact. Z Do you think authenticity
2	0.02%	that isn't true or not fact driven. Its pointless going on
3	0.03%	like to learn about real facts instead of made up fiction
4	0.03%	different wildlife and what the facts that they give, I think

## JaC True

SUMMARY TEXT

NVIVO

### Text



JaC Transcription w.  
1 of 1

### References

REF NO.	COVERAGE	CONTENT
1	0.02%	you mean by authentic, it's true to what it is [Zoe
2	0.02%	to do something that isn't true or not fact driven. Its
3	0.02%	where they feed you no true information, you won't learn anything
4	0.02%	where you're not fed any true information or learn about the
5	0.02%	you are being told is true as you put it? JaC

# JM Genuine



SUMMARY TEXT

## Text

JM Transcription w. 5  
1 of 1

## References

REF NO.	COVERAGE	CONTENT
1	0.02%	genuine
2	0.02%	genuine
3	0.02%	<b>genuine</b>
4	0.02%	genuine
5	0.02%	genuine
6	0.02%	genuine
7	0.02%	Genuine
8	0.02%	genuine
9	0.02%	<b>genuine</b>
10	0.02%	<b>genuine</b>
11	0.02%	genuine
12	0.02%	genuine

# JM True



SUMMARY TEXT

## Text

JM Transcription w. 5  
1 of 1

## References

REF NO.	COVERAGE	CONTENT
1	0.01%	true
2	0.01%	true
3	0.01%	true
4	0.01%	true
5	0.01%	true
6	0.01%	true

Text

JuC Transcription w.  
1 of 1

References

REF NO.	COVERAGE	CONTENT
1	0.02%	integrity
2	0.02%	integrity

Text

JuC Transcription w.  
1 of 1

References

REF NO.	COVERAGE	CONTENT
1	0.01%	real
2	0.01%	real
3	0.01%	real
4	0.01%	real
5	0.01%	real
6	0.01%	real
7	0.01%	real
8	0.01%	real
9	0.01%	real
10	0.01%	real

Text



References

REF NO.	COVERAGE	CONTENT
1	0.01%	true
2	0.01%	true
3	0.01%	true
4	0.01%	true
5	0.01%	true
6	0.01%	true
7	0.01%	true
8	0.01%	true
9	0.01%	true
10	0.01%	true
11	0.01%	true
12	0.01%	true

# KP Genuine



SUMMARY TEXT

## Text

KP Transcription w. §  
1 of 1

## References

REF NO.	COVERAGE	CONTENT
1	0.02%	what authenticity is about being genuine as well and sincere that's

# KP Real



SUMMARY TEXT

## Text

KP Transcription w. §  
1 of 1

## References

REF NO.	COVERAGE	CONTENT
1	0.01%	real
2	0.01%	real
3	0.01%	real
4	0.01%	real
5	0.01%	real
6	0.01%	real
7	0.01%	real
8	0.01%	real
9	0.01%	real
10	0.01%	real
11	0.01%	real
12	0.01%	real



# KP Sincere



SUMMARY TEXT

## Text

KP Transcription w. S  
1 of 1

## References

REF NO.	COVERAGE	CONTENT
1	0.02%	sincere

# LE Accuracy



SUMMARY TEXT

## Text

LE Transcription w. S  
1 of 1

## References

REF NO.	COVERAGE	CONTENT
1	0.01%	accuracy
2	0.01%	accuracy
3	0.01%	accuracy
4	0.01%	accuracy
5	0.01%	accuracy
6	0.01%	accuracy
7	0.01%	exact
8	0.01%	exactly
9	0.01%	truthful

# MC Contrived



SUMMARY TEXT

## Text

MC Transcription w. !  
1 of 1

## References

REF NO.	COVERAGE	CONTENT
1	0.01%	contrived
2	0.01%	contrived
3	0.01%	contrived
4	0.01%	contrived
5	0.01%	contrived
6	0.01%	contrived

# MC Original



SUMMARY TEXT

## Text

MC Transcription w. !  
1 of 1

## References

REF NO.	COVERAGE	CONTENT
1	0.01%	original
2	0.01%	original
3	0.01%	original
4	0.01%	original
5	0.01%	originally
6	0.01%	original
7	0.01%	original
8	0.01%	originals
9	0.01%	original
10	0.01%	original
11	0.01%	originality
12	0.01%	originality
13	0.01%	originality
14	0.01%	original
15	0.01%	originally

# SM Original



SUMMARY TEXT

## Text

SM Transcription w. !  
1 of 1

## References

REF NO.	COVERAGE	CONTENT
1	0.02%	truth, its real erm and original. That's what it means to
2	0.02%	because it's real, it's the original. That's- so not necessarily to

# SM Real



SUMMARY TEXT


## Text

SM Transcription w. !  
1 of 1

## References

REF NO.	COVERAGE	CONTENT
1	0.01%	means to me, truth, its real erm and original. That's what
2	0.01%	expect it to be truth, real not made up, not exaggerated
3	0.01%	what it says authentic it's real. Z Can you expand on
4	0.01%	you use of the term real? SM1 St. 3, 00:02
5	0.01%	St. 3, 00:02:06 Real, as in, if you went
6	0.01%	responds: The Colosseum?] Yeah, that's real. It's authentic because it is
7	0.01%	as it was, its authentic, real. Not made up, not more
8	0.01%	It's just as it was, real. Z Do you think authenticity
9	0.01%	it is authentic because it's real, it's the original. That's- so
10	0.01%	this guy was definitely the real deal. Z What makes you
11	0.01%	shop. Erm just have a real relaxed experience. Z Do you
12	0.01%	sorta class, there were some real characters. I had a really
13	0.01%	read about. Erm I like real life dramas erm or stories
14	0.01%	Erm but I do like real life. The last physical book
15	0.01%	the different endings were a real disappointment 'cause the film's totally
16	0.01%	to your knowledge are these real or fictional places? SM2 St
17	0.01%	St. 30, 00:27:12 Real. Having gone down to Cornwall

## Text



SM Transcription w. !  
1 of 1

## References

REF NO.	COVERAGE	CONTENT
1	0.01%	15 Authenticity means to me, truth, its real erm and original
2	0.01%	you expect it to be truth, real not made up, not
3	0.01%	he was telling you the truth because it's there. Erm if
4	0.01%	that somebody is telling the truth. Z So in your answer
5	0.01%	erm or stories based on truth. I like the odd romantic

## Appendix 15: Participant cultural experiences as a child

Participant initials	Cultural experiences as a child
AP	Canoe and camping trips (AP2 St. 25, 0.08.52); Listening to music, reading (AP2 St. 25, 0.08.52); Went to the theatre, watched ballet (AP2 St. 31, 16.51); Visiting museums (AP2 St. 29, 14.55); Went to galleries (AP2 St. 31, 15.59).
CaB	None (CaB St. 218, 3.23.21);  Annual trip to London to buy winter coat and see a show or film (CaB St. 220, 3.23.27).
ChB	Went to museums, theatre and cinema (ChB St. 178, 3.48.21).
DR	Walks every Sunday (DR2 St. 5, 00.17.58).
JaC	Domestic holidays (UK) in camper van; European holidays (JaC St. 48, 0.24.51).
JuC	Caravan holidays (JuC St. 43, 0.52.59); Visits to “big houses and stately homes” (JuC St. 44, 0.55.25).
JM	“I wouldn’t have thought I had many cultural experiences as a child” (JM St. 65, 0.42.58); “Went to London and we went to the National History Museum, we went to the Planetarium, Greenwich” (JM St. 66, 0.43.37).
KC	Travelled abroad; “I thought it was perfectly normal to go to work with mummy and be strapped into a jump seat on a Tri-Star or a Trident 300 and be flown to Paris for lunch”; Went to the theatre, the cinema and the library (KC 2018 St. 73, 1.44.42); Went to museums, art galleries and the ballet (KC 2018 St. 75, 1.48.47).
KE	Family holidays to Scotland; watched salmon leaping (KE2 St. 26, 0.16.06)
KP	Museums (KP2 St. 13, 0.02.51); Theatre (KP2 St. 18, 0.06.42); Domestic and international holidays (KP2 St. 18, 0.06.42).
LE	None (LE3 St. 36, 0.32.14)
LM	Attended Methodist Chapel (LM St. 52, 0.30.01);

	Visited museums and the theatre in Exeter whilst on holiday with godmother (LM St. 54, 0.31.40); "I was the first ladies captain of the surf club" (LM St. 55, 0.32.27).
MC	Listening to classical music and other genres (MC St. 63, 01.12.56; MC St. 64, 01.14.58). "Went and saw the Beatles in 1964/65 Christmas" (MC St. 64, 01.14.58).
PS	Watched football matches; went to museums (PS St. 152, 1.47.35); Domestic and international holidays; camping (PS St. 153, 1.47.53). Watched Philharmonic orchestra and the Albert Hall (PS St. 154, 1.48.15).
PGC	
RC	Annual holidays to France; Visiting and participating in local festivals in France; camping (RC2 St. 4, 0.3.25).
SM	2 holidays to Butlins (SM2 St. 8, 0.05.29).

\*not specified

## Appendix 16: Participant educational credentials

Participant initials	O-Level/GCSE/Misc	Undergraduate	Postgraduate
AP	*	BSc Engineering, Queens University at Kingston (AP2 St. 33, 18.08; AP2 St. 34, 20.19).	MSc Geophysics, University of Saskatchewan (AP2 St. 33, 18.08; AP2 St. 34, 20.19);  PhD Geophysics, University of Saskatchewan (AP2 St. 33, 18.08; AP2 St. 34, 20.19).
CaB	<p>GCSE English (CaB St. 222, 3.28.39; CaB St. 223, 3.29.02);</p> <p>8 CSEs* (CaB St. 222, 3.28.39);</p> <p>Ballet certificates* (CaB St. 224, 3.29.41);</p> <p>Misc legal secretary qualification e.g. shorthand and typing (CaB St. 223, 3.29.02).</p>	N	N
ChB	N (ChB St. 176, 3.42.27).	N	N
DR	N (DR2 St. 10, 00.20.43)	N	N
JaC	GCSE English;	N	N

	GCSE Maths; GCSE Science; GCSE Physical Education; GCSE IT; NVQ3 Marine Engineering (JaC St. 51, 0.26.48)		
JuC	CSEs*; O-Level Computer Studies; Managerial qualifications*; (JuC St. 49, 1.00.46).	BA (Hons) Health and Social Care, Open University (JuC St. 50, 1.01.31).	N
JM	6 O-Levels*; A-Level Business Studies (JM St. 79, 0.49.33); Supervisory Management Certificate (JM St. 73, 0.47.00).	N	N
KC	A-Levels* (KC 2018 St. 51, 1.07.27) CPACAB Level 2 Counselling Skills**; CPCAB Level 3 Counselling**; Level 4 Diploma in Therapeutic Counselling**	BA (Hons) degree in Expressive Arts (incomplete) (KC 2018 St. 51, 1.07.27).	N
KE	*	*	MA Cornish Studies, University of Exeter (KE2 St. 28, 0.17.34).
KP	O-Level Sociology; O-Level Commerce; O-Level English Language; O-Level English Literature; O-Level Computer Studies; O-Level History; CSE Maths (KP2 St. 21, 0.11.36)	N	N



	Misc professional HR exams (KP2 St. 24, 0.13.50).		
LE	*	BA Fine Arts, Queens University at Kingston (LE3 St. 40, 0.37.42; LE3 St. 41, 0.37.50; LE3 St. 44, 0.40.24).	MA Fine Arts, University of Saskatchewan (LE3 St. 42, 0.37.52; LE3 St. 44, 0.40.24).
LM	O-Level Science; O-Level Geography; O-Level Biology; O-Level English Language; O-Level English Literature; O-Level Maths (LM St. 58, 0.34.20);  Passed 11 Plus (LM St. 52, 0.30.01; LM St. 57, 0.34.09).	N	N
MC	O-Level Art; O-Level English Language and Literature (MC St. 65, 01.18.25); Marine Consultant course (MC St. 67, 01.23.51).	N	N
PS	O-Levels* A-Levels* NVQ 4 Green Guides, Cornwall College (PS. St. 160, 1.51.35).	N	MA Cornish Studies, University of Exeter (PS St. 157, 1.50.38; PS St. 158, 1.50.47).
PGC	*	BA (Hons) Archaeology and Anthropology	N
RC	GCSEs* A-Levels* Teaching English as a Foreign Language (TEFL) certification (RC2 St. 3, 0.0.39).	BSc Sociology and Criminology, University of Plymouth (RC2 St. 3, 0.0.39; RC2 St. 7, 0.8.44; RC2 St. 9, 0.10.50).	60 credits towards Masters via Postgraduate Certificate in Education (PGCE) (RC2 St. 9, 0.10.50).
SM	CSE English Language and Literature; CSE History;	N	N

	CSE Geography; Misc secretarial qualifications, College of Further Education (SM2 St. 11, 0.09.01).		
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N = None

\*not specified

\*\*not disseminated in interview narrative (internet search)

## Appendix 17: Participant high arts participation

Participant initials	High arts participation example
AP	Art collector (AP2 St. 25, 0.08.52); Listens to Schubert, Mozart, Operas (AP2 St. 25, 0.08.52).
CaB	Ballet dancer (CaB St. 223, 3.29.02; CaB St. 224, 3.29.41).
ChB	*
DR	*
JaC	*
JuC	*
JM	*
KC	Went to art galleries,
KE	Writes for the Journal of the Federation of the Old Cornwall Societies
KP	
LE	Art collector (see AP2 St. 25, 0.08.52);
LM	*
MC	Listens to classical music (MC St. 63, 01.12.56).
PS	Watched Philharmonic orchestra and the Albert Hall (PS St. 154, 1.48.15).
PGC	
RC	*
SM	*

\*not specified

## Appendix 18: Participant occupation

Participant initials	Current Occupation	Previous Occupation
AP	Retired (AP2 St. 26, 12.41); Lecturer (AP2 St. 36 22.15).	Vice President of Technical Services (AP2 St. 26, 12.41); Geophysicist (AP2 St. 35, 21.05).
CaB	Retired (CaB St. 1, 0.00.47; CaB St. 9, 0.12.43; CaB St. 158, 2.34.51); Tour Guide.	Junior Clerk, Junior Legal Secretary, Legal Secretary (CaB St. 202, 3.08.38);  Unspecified role in phone company (CaB St. 208, 3.13.12).
ChB	Retired (CaB St. 1, 0.00.47); Tour Guide; Photographer.	Apprentice at local newspaper (ChB St. 176, 3.42.27).  Unspecified role in drainage section for South West Water (ChB St. 176, 3.42.27).
DR	Retired; Royal Marine Commando (DR2 St. 1, 00.00.13).	*
JaC	Marine Engineer (JaC St. 44, 0.22.18).	*
JuC	Assessor (JuC St. 51, 1.03.10).	Home Care Manager (JuC St. 51, 1.03.10).
JM	Production Controller (JM St. 61, 40.38)	*
KC	Tour Guide; Councillor (KC 2018 St. 59, 1.18.22)	Counsellor (KC 2018 St. 59, 1.18.22);  Worked in wardrobe at Northcott Theatre and at ABC News (KC 2018 St. 51, 1.07.27);  Worked in the theatre, television, music industry (KC 2018 St. 76, 1.50.07);  Part of Cabaret act (KC 2018 St. 79, 1.57.52).
KE	Retired (KE2 St. 28, 0.17.34); Volunteer on the Management Committee at Perranzabuloe Museum, Perranporth (KE2 St. 18, 0.10.10).	Teacher (KE2 St. 28, 0.17.34).

KP	London Black Cab Driver (KP St. 18, 0.10.56; KP2 St.20, 0.09.25).	Legal Personal Assistant; Business Partner at NSPCC; Market Researcher for bank; HR at Peabody (KP2 St.20, 0.09.25)
LE	Artist; Printmaker (LE3 St. 50, 0.44.06).	Costume Assistant (LE3 St. 32, 0.25.48).
LM	Retired; Volunteer at Perranzabuloe Museum, Perranporth	State registered Nurse (LM St. 56, 0.34.01);  Auxiliary (LM St. 59, 0.34.53).
MC	Semi-retired; Runs own business (MC St. 66, 01.20.11);  Self-employed (MC St. 67, 01.23.51).	Boat Builder (MC St. 66, 01.20.11; MC St. 68, 01.25.00);  Marine Consultant (MC St. 67, 01.23.51).
PS	Tour Guide, Musician (PS St. 142, 1.44.50).	Musician (PS. St. 160, 1.51.35).
PGC	Location Manager	*
RC	Religious Studies Secondary School Teacher (RC2 St. 3, 0.0.39).	Teaching Assistant (RC2 St. 3, 0.0.39)
SM	Legal secretary	*

\*not specified

## Appendix 19: Participant membership to learned bodies, societies or special interest groups

Participant initials	Bodies, societies or special interest groups
AP	Professional Geophysicist; The Canadian Institute of Mining; President of Jack Millikin Centre (AP2 St. 36 22.15).
CaB	The National Trust (CaB St. 228, 3.31.35).
ChB	The National Trust (CaB St. 228, 3.31.35).
DR	The British Legion; The National Trust; (previously Transport and General Workers Union) (DR3 St. 1, 00.00.19).
JaC	None (JaC St. 52, 0.27.41).
JuC	None; (previously National Trust) (JuC St. 52, 1.05.36).
JM	The National Trust (JM St. 81, 0.50.46); Golf society (JM St. 82, 0.50.52).
KC	The National Trust; Royal Cornwall Museum; The Eden Project (KC 2018 St. 83, 2.02.34); Cornish Networking**
KE	The National Trust; Cornwall Wildlife Trust; Penlee House Gallery and Museum; Royal Cornwall Museum (KE2 St. 32, 0.19.05); Federation of Old Cornwall Societies (KE2 St. 30, 0.18.00).
KP	Worshipful Company of Hackney Carriage Drivers; United Cabbies Group (UCG); Blue Badge Walking Group (KP2 St. 23, 0.13.06).
LE	St Michaels Printshop (LE3 St. 46, 0.41.31); The British Film Institute; Television and Film Charity; Saskatchewan Craft Council (LE3 St. 47, 0.41.52).
LM	The National Trust; Federation of Old Cornwall Societies (LM St. 60, 0.36.05).
MC	None; (previously National Trust) (MC St. 69, 01.27.26).
PS	The Cornwall Sustainable Tourism Project (CoaST); Cornwall 365; Cornish Mining Ambassador (PS St. 164, 1.53.33); The National Trust; Natural England; "Health and Voluntary Marine Conservation Area" (PS St. 165, 1.54.13).
PGC	Location Managers Group; The National Trust*
RC	The National Trust (RC2 St. 10, 0.11.06).
SM	The National Trust (SM2 St. 13, 0.12.38).

\*gifted

\*\*not disseminated in interview narrative (internet search)

**Appendix 20: Participant possession or consumption of objectified cultural goods/reading habits**

Participant initials	Possession and consumption of objectified cultural goods	Reading habits
AP	Read: Agatha Christie, Shakespeare plays (AP2 St. 25, 0.08.52); Mark Twain (AP2 St. 42, 00.27.42); Jane Austen (AP2 St. 43, 00.29.44); JK Rowling's Harry Potter series, Charles Dickens (AP2 St. 44, 00.29.53)	
CaB	*	<p>"I read a lot on here [Zoe asks: on the iPad?] On my iPad [...] But, to be perfectly honest, I don't get an awful lot of time to read" (CaB St. 229, 3.32.25).</p> <p>"I've read, all of Agatha Christie books, I love Agatha Christie. Catherine Cookson I adore" (CaB St. 231, 3.34.53).</p>
ChB	*	<p>"Erm book wise reading books, only really I like Cornish history and stuff like that, but most of my stuff I'll read online" (ChB St. 176, 3.42.27).</p>
DR	*	<p>Preference for action fiction (DR3 St. 4, 00.02.37; DR3 St. 6, 00.04.05); Favourite authors include Douglas Reeman, Alexander Kent (DR3 St. 6, 00.04.05).</p>
JaC	*	<p>"I don't read anything really, unless it's factual about something that I'm interested in such as either boats or sort've cars or surfing or skateboarding but other than that, no" (JaC St. 54, 0.29.12).</p>
JuC	*	<p>Reads only on kindle at night or whilst on holiday (JuC St. 56, 1.08.57); "I quite prefer sort of humorous types of stories sort of a bit of humour" (JuC St. 57, 1.09.26).</p>

JM	*	"I was encouraged to read from a very early age and that I was always grateful to my mother for, encouraging that because I love reading, I do a lot of reading" (JM St. 65, 0.42.58).
KC	Wuthering Heights; Lorna Doone	"I go in fits and starts, I'm not a constant reader" (KC St. 87, 2.05.44)
KE	*	
KP	Read: Charles Dickens; Alexandre Dumas' <i>The Count of Monte Cristo</i> ; John Steinbeck's <i>Of Mice and Men</i> (KP4 St. 1, 0.00.06)	"Erm they are sporadic. I like books erm like actually a real book and I like a kindle for travelling just for ease of not packing erm I read a real range of stuff so on my kindle I've got some literary stuff [...] some classics [...] as well as murder detective books, social history books, history books and then just general stuff I think oh I like the sound of that, some of it legal dramas yeah a real range of stuff" (KP4 St. 1, 0.00.06).
LE	Read: Charles Dickens; <i>Gone with the Wind</i> ; Harry Potter (LE3 St. 51, 0.49.57).	"I just read all sorts of books every any book lots of science fiction books. One of my all-time favourites is Lord of the Rings" (LE3 St. 51, 0.49.57).
LM	*	"Erm I'm lazy about reading. I read fiction er I don't know what else to say really" (LM St. 62, 0.36.48);  "historical sort of crime and yeah just generally"(LM St. 63, 0.37.01)
MC	Read: <i>Rogue Male</i> by Geoffrey Household (MC St.74, 01.35.32).	"I don't read as much as I used to. I used to be an avid reader, less so now, maybe I will get to a point where that will change. When we go away on holiday I am always reading you know, but I don't read as much as I used to" (MC St. 72, 01.31.41). "I guess I quite like reading fact related historical-ish books. I quite like, I don't know what kina genre you'd say I liked really. Again, quite often there is a nostalgia element, I quite like old books" (MC St. 73, 01.33.00).



PS	*	<p>“Ah I got five or six books on the- all at different stages [laughs] lying around and I hardly ever finish a book mainly because they’re factual books rather than if it’s a story book then yeah, but that’ll take me time as well but I am hundreds of books I wanna read I’ve still got I keep I’m a bookaholic. Do I stand up now and say yes I’m here thank you I’m a bookaholic [laughs]” (PS St. 169, 1.55.51).</p>
PGC		
RC		<p>“I like to read. I haven’t read in a while works- I can’t read when I work I can only read in the holidays and then when it’s like half terms and Christmas holidays and Easter holidays it’s not long enough so I tend to only read in the summer holidays or if I’m away on holiday” (RC St. 11, 0.12.00).</p>
SM		<p>“It varies. I like autobiographies, again, because the fact. Erm I’m very choosy on the subjects that I read about. Erm I like real life dramas erm or stories based on truth. I like the odd romantic comedy. So my genre is wide, very varied, but I have to be in the mood for that type of book. So, on my Kindle at the moment I’ve got detective stories and a couple of romance summer chick flicks sorta books. Erm but I do like real life” (SM2 St. 18, 0.17.01).</p>

\*not specified

**Appendix 21: Participant social class/socio-economic status (SES)**

<b>Participant initials</b>	<b>Childhood social class</b>	<b>Current social class</b>
AP	Middle-class (AP2 St. 25, 0.08.52)	Upper-class (AP2 St. 25, 08.52)
CaB	Working class (CaB St. 209, 3.15.26)	Working class (CaB St. 210, 3.15.33)
ChB	*	Working class (see CaB)
DR	*	*
JaC	*	*
JuC	*	Working class (JuC St. 37, 0.41.31)
JM	Working class (JM St. 52, 0.36.59)	Working class
KC	Middle class (KC St. 50, 1.03.49; KC St. 76, 1.50.07)	*
KE	*	*
KP	Working class (KP2 St. 13, 0.02.51).	Working class (KP2 St. 14, 0.03.47)
LE	Working class	Upper-class (see AP)
LM	*	*
MC	*	*
PS	*	Middle-class (PS St. 151, 1.47.22).
PGC		
RC	Working class (RC2 St. 3, 0.0.39).	Upper working class/lower middle-class (RC2 St. 2, 0.0.24).
SM	Working class (SM2 St. 2, 00.01.12)	*

**Appendix 22: Participant consumption of *Poldark***

Participant initials	Read novels	Watched 1970s series	Watched 2015- 2019
AP	Up to book 9 at time of interview (AP2 St.49, 0.32.12).	Snippets (AP2 St. 50, 0.32.20).	YES - Up to date at time of interview
CaB	Owens complete set, read up to “either 8 or 9” (CaB St. 231, 3.34.53).	Narrative indicates YES (CaB St. 126, 1.47.05; CaB St. 127, 1.47.51; CaB St. 128, 1.49.48).	YES - Up to date at time of interview
ChB	The first novel only (ChB St. 182, 3.49.30; ChB St. 183, 3.49.32).		
DR	NO (DR3 St. 7, 00.05.11).	*	NO (DR3 St. 9, 00.05.56).
JaC	NO (JaC St. 56, 0.29.53).	NO (JaC St. 57, 0.30.03).	NO (JaC St. 57, 0.30.03).
JuC	NO (JuC St. 60, 1.11.28).	YES (JuC St. 59, 1.11.11).	YES (JuC St. 59, 1.11.11).
JM	NO (JM2 St. 8, 0.04.45).	NO (JM2 St. 11, 0.06.39).	NO (JM2 St. 11, 0.06.39).
KC	YES	YES (KC 2018 St. 93, 2.10.36).	YES
KE	YES	YES	
KP	YES “twice” (KP4 St. 3, 0.00.58).	*	YES
LE	“No I will re-read them. I haven’t finished, I’ve got the, I’m at the end of The Miller’s Dance and I’ve got three more to read” (LE3 St. 56, 0.55.13).	YES (LE3 St. 57, 0.55.24).	YES - Up to date at time of interview (LE3 St. 58, 0.55.30)
LM	YES (LM St. 64, 0.37.19).	YES (LM St. 65, 0.37.24).	YES (LM St. 65, 0.37.24).
MC	NO (MC St. 76, 01.36.49).	YES (MC St. 75, 01.35.56).	NO
PS	Read up to book 10 (PS St. 99, 1.08.15; PS St. 171, 1.56.40).	YES (PS St. 172, 1.56.44).	YES (PS St. 172, 1.56.44).
PGC			
RC	NO (RC St. 14, 14.31).	NO (RC St. 14, 14.31).	NO (RC St. 14, 14.31).

SM	NO (SM2 St. 24, 0.22.57).	YES (SM2 St. 24, 0.22.57).	NO (SM2 St. 24, 0.22.57),
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\*not specified

**Appendix 23: Participant preference for engagement with the forms of literary tourism**

Forms of literary tourism (Busby & George, 2004; Busby & Klug, 2001; Busby & Laviolette, 2006; Butler, 1986; Mintel, 2011).	AP	CaB	ChB	DR	JaC	JuC	JM	KC	KE	KP	LM	LE	MC	PS	PGC	RC	SM
<b>Aspects of homage to an actual location</b>	✓			✓	✗	*	✓			✓		✓		✓		✓	✓ Might do
<b>Places of significance in the work of fiction</b>	✗			✓	✗	*	*			✓ in some cases		✓				✓	✗
<b>The appeal of areas because they were appealing to literary figures</b>	✗			✗	✗	*	*			✓		-		✓		✗	✗
<b>When the work of the writer is so popular that the entire area becomes a tourist destination</b>	✓ depending on what it is			✓	✗	✗	*			✓		✓				✗	
<b>Travel writing</b>	✗			✓	✓	*	*			✗						✓	✗
<b>Nostalgia</b>	✗			-	✗	*	*			✓		✓				✗	✗
<b>Film-induced literary tourism</b>	✓			✓	✓	✗	✓			✓ depending on what it is		✓				*	✓
<b>Literary festivals</b>	✗			✗	✗	*	*									✗	✗
<b>Bookshop tourism</b>	✓			✓	✗	*	*			✗						*	✗

Shaded to indicate the participant was not asked the relevant question by the audience

\*not specified