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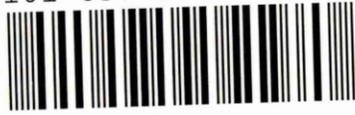
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**Resident Perceptions of the Sociocultural Impacts of Tourism
in Llangollen, North-east Wales.**

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A thesis submitted in partial fulfilment of the requirements of
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for the degree of Doctor of Philosophy

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ABSTRACT

Taking as its starting point the need to better understand the relationship between tourism and culture in a western European context, this research develops and applies a conceptual framework and methodology to evaluate the attitudes among residents of a tourist receiving community to the sociocultural impacts of tourism. To this end, a case study approach is used to evaluate the attitudes of the residents of Llangollen, a small market town in North-east Wales, to the sociocultural impacts of tourism on their town and way of life. As host to the annual Llangollen International Musical Eisteddfod, and as a popular destination for day visitors and longer stay tourists alike, the community of Llangollen is a mature tourist destination possessing a wide range of tourist and cultural facilities.

The study examines a range of appropriate literature and develops a conceptual framework around three key theories: the notion of resident 'coping strategies' to deal with the impacts of tourism, the sociological principle of social exchange theory and the social-psychological theory of social representations, with the latter being central to the study's methodology. There were three elements to the field work. Firstly, preliminary sensitising interviews were carried out in order to highlight key areas of local concern, and to inform the design of the survey work. Secondly, a questionnaire survey was undertaken of the residents of Llangollen, which was then interpreted using two different methods of respondent segmentation and using an assessment of the difference between groups. Finally, focus group discussions were carried out in the town in order to assist in the interpretation of the questionnaire findings and also to provide a systematically-derived set of qualitative data in order to assess the relative merits of taking different methodological approaches to the research.

The findings of the research show that the community of Llangollen is generally positive about the impacts of tourism, with the role of the International Eisteddfod being pivotal in cultural terms. The three different approaches to the analysis of the impacts of tourism in Llangollen provided different perspectives and insights. The multivariate technique of cluster analysis gave the clearest picture from the questionnaire of resident perceptions of the cultural impacts of tourism, whereas an equity-based approach gave more indication of exchange processes at work in the community. The use of focus group discussions proved to be by far the most valuable in terms of drawing out not only what were the attitudes of residents, but also how and why such attitudes had come about in the first place. Most importantly, this research has made much clearer the political, economic and cultural contexts within which the residents of Llangollen perceive the impacts of tourism, and how it is these contexts which are influential in the attitudes taken to the impacts of tourism on the community, on groups in the community, and on the individual members of the community. The research also suggests there is a need for tourism research to move away from its traditional reliance on the questionnaire survey, and the search for statistically significant but perhaps socially irrelevant groups. It is suggested that further use of focus group discussions may help to more fully understand the relationships between tourism and culture within local communities.

ACKNOWLEDGEMENT

I would like to thank my family and friends who have offered both moral and, at times, physical support during the completion of this thesis, and who have provided me with a life outside of the confines of academic inquiry.

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Finally, I would like to dedicate this thesis to the memory of my father, Christopher, and of my grandfather, Peter. I know they would have been proud.

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CHAPTER ONE: INTRODUCTION

1.1 Background to the research

Travel has always been a cornerstone of human activity and development. Over the last thirty or so years, since the wholesale development and opening of new markets to mass and package tourism, tourism has come to assume a highly prominent position in society in both political, cultural and economic terms. The World Travel and Tourism Council (WTTC) estimates that tourism now accounts for some 204 million jobs worldwide (or 10% of the workforce) and 10% of global GDP (Gross Domestic Product) (WTTC, 1996).

As the potential economic benefits of tourism have become more widely recognised, increasing numbers of destinations, both in the developing world and western contexts, have sought to attract visitors with the intention of enhancing their financial circumstances. The foreign exchange benefits of tourism now form the lynchpin of many developing economies, especially those lacking other major forms of industry or employment, and in the developed world, tourism has been recognised as a viable means of revitalising rural and formerly industrialised areas.

While the economic benefits of tourism are now widely sought, they are seen as coming with certain potential costs. The most obvious of these are physical environmental degradation, which can be brought about by the increased pressure of visitor numbers in rural and fragile environments, although increasing attention is now being paid to the sociocultural impacts of tourism on destinations, with the developing orthodoxy being that resident attitudes towards tourism will deteriorate over time if the negative consequences of the tourist presence are not addressed (Doxey, 1975; Butler, 1980). Indeed, the paradox brought about by tourism is that while the economic benefits are sought in order to improve the quality of life of the inhabitants of a destination, it is that very quality of life which may be negatively affected by the tourist presence. The issue, therefore, is how to strike a balance between the commercial requirements and the sociocultural goals of communities impacted by tourism.

In order to be able to address the negative sociocultural impacts of tourism, there is a need to develop frameworks for their assessment. Such frameworks need to be

able to assess the perceptions of the community about not only what are the main areas of sociocultural impact, but also the attitudes towards such impacts including how they have arisen and what is to be done about them. As Cohen (1979:29) says, "One should clearly distinguish the impact which is determined through sociological analysis from the ideas people have about the impact".

A central intention of this research is to examine the suggestion made in the tourism literature that different segments of communities may have different attitudes and responses to the effects of tourism on their culture (Butler, 1975; Pearce, Moscardo and Ross, 1991). Here the main focus of the research is on whether there are differing attitudes among the local population, although these differing attitudes may then lead to variations in behavioural actions or "coping strategies".

Dogan (1989) provides a particular typology of such potential coping strategies, which draws upon a range of specific case studies by such authors as Buck (1978), Esman (1984), Greenwood (1989), and Liu, Sheldon and Var (1987). These strategies may include resistance, retreatism, boundary maintenance, revitalisation, and adoption, as will be discussed subsequently. Several of the strategies can involve the deliberate "staging" of local culture for tourist consumption in ways that are less disruptive to the community. Other such studies into the coping strategies adopted by residents in tourism destinations include Boissevain (1996), Ap and Crompton (1993) and Brown and Giles (1994). This study will assess the importance of such presentations to the residents' overall and specific attitudes to tourism's cultural impacts on their community.

The central focus of this study is on the range of resident attitudes to and perceptions of cultural presentations for tourism, and their perceptions of and attitudes to the sociocultural impacts on the community resulting from such presentations, and from the tourist presence more generally. While this study does examine the attitude of residents to certain proposed 'strategies' for coping with tourism in the community, there is no intention to consider how the actual behaviour of residents is adapted to cope with tourism.

This research does, however, use both quantitative and qualitative methods of inquiry to investigate the nature of the key sociocultural impacts of tourism in one

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case study destination, and how they affect the community attitudes to tourism. These central elements of the perception of and attitude towards tourism and its' sociocultural impacts form the basis of what Dogan refers to as the "politics of the response to tourism" (1989, p. 225). It is proposed by Dogan "that strategies adopted by different sections of the local populations to adjust themselves to the impacts of (international) tourism will vary considerably depending on their relationship to tourism and tourists" (1989, p. 226. parentheses added). In this case study, while it is the impacts of both domestic and international tourism which are of concern, the reaction of residents is still a function of their relationship to tourism and tourists.

Consideration is paid in this study to the extent to which a community is diversified, with particular groups exhibiting different attitudes to tourism and to related questions of cultural impacts, so that various opinion groups may exist simultaneously among the residents of the tourist area. These attitudinal responses may not be stable and may be negotiated according to different contexts and situations. Furthermore, the specific attitudes towards and requirements of authenticity in presentations of local culture may equally be unclear and negotiable with regard to specific circumstances.

In order to draw a picture of the range of perceptions of and attitudes towards the sociocultural impacts of tourism, there is a need to assess not only where a community is clearly divided, but also where there is a consensus of opinion. It is not enough, however, to simply show that differences in opinion do exist within the community, or even to show what those differences are. The key to better understanding the role and nature of tourism within a community is to examine how such differences in attitude and opinion should arise, and to draw out the main elements involved in the development of these attitudes and opinions.

The views of residents on the tourism-related changes in their local culture and way of life are an important consideration in planning for sustainable tourism. In order to plan for tourism in a way which maximises the benefits on a community level whilst guarding against the potential drawbacks, there is a need to develop a more sophisticated understanding of how communities react to tourism. Integral to any community reaction to tourism are the feelings of the local residents about how tourism affects their culture and way of life. Consequently, this analysis of the

perceptions of and attitudes to the sociocultural impacts of tourism has implications for the development of potential approaches to and strategies for sustainable tourism.

The relationship between tourism and culture in general is also an unclear one, with the predominant approach being that of focusing primarily on cultural tourism and on culture in terms of high arts, or from a heritage perspective (Ashworth, 1993 and 1996; Richards, 1994; Robinson, 1999). In order to better understand the ways in which tourism and culture interact on a community level, there is a need to extend the definitions or understanding of culture beyond such a narrow framework to incorporate the modern 'living' culture of the residents of tourist areas.

Since the days of the early investigators and commentators on travel, such as Boorstin (1964), MacCannell (1973, 1976), Turner and Ash (1975), there has been a growing academic interest in the study of tourism as a global social phenomenon, with the according development of a substantial body of research into the field. Much of this research, however, has tended to follow a distinctly positivistic path, with the emergent dominant approach being the use of questionnaire surveys to provide an array of increasingly methodologically sophisticated, but largely descriptive case-studies, lacking in their theoretical conceptualisation and hence adding little to the broader understanding of the phenomenon (Dann, Nash and Pearce; 1988). At the same time, however, "much of the seminal work in tourism was initiated through qualitative research" (Riley and Love, 1999), such as that of Boorstin (1964), Cohen (1972), Graburn (1983), MacCannell (1976), Smith (1977), all authors whose work has had a profound effect on the academic conceptualisation of tourism as a field of social inquiry.

In order to try and bridge the paradigmatic rift between these two dominant approaches, there has been, in recent years, an increasing call for study of the social aspects of tourism to utilise a greater eclecticism of methods, and with a higher level of theoretical awareness (Dann et al, 1988; Pearce et al, 1996). It is in the light of this requirement that this study will take a range of different approaches to the investigation of resident perceptions of the sociocultural impacts of tourism. By utilising a combination of individual interviews, questionnaire survey (incorporating two analytical approaches), and focus group discussions, this research will attempt to combine the different data provided in order to better

understand how the theories proposed in the literature can actually be operationalised in the context of a particular community.

The study examines the issues of residents' attitudes to cultural presentation in one case study area, the town of Llangollen in north-east Wales. There are many sources of cultural tension in this area, including threats to the Welsh language, a decline in traditional industries and a subsequent high level of economic reliance upon tourism, and the promotion of Welsh cultural distinctiveness as a tourist resource. Particular attention is given to the Llangollen International Musical Eisteddfod, a tourist product with strong elements of culture and a long-standing tradition of involvement by the local population.

Aim of research

1) To critically review research on residents' perceptions of tourism in general and of the sociocultural impacts of tourism more particularly.

2) To develop a conceptual framework and methodology to evaluate the attitudes among residents to the sociocultural impacts of tourism.

3) In the light of 1 and 2, to apply the conceptual framework to assess the attitudes of residents to the sociocultural impacts of tourism in a case study area, including their views on the balance between commercial and cultural goals.

4) To consider the implications of the research for understandings of community and personal attitudes to tourism's cultural and community impacts and to cultural presentation.

Specific research propositions

In order to achieve the aims of the research, four specific propositions have been drawn up to provide a set of organising ideas to help structure the research. It must at this point be made clear that these specific research proposals are not a set of hypotheses which are to be empirically tested, but are a set of guiding principles to inform the research process.

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1) Communities are diversified, with different groups holding different perceptions of, and attitudes to the role of tourism in, and its' impacts on the community.

2) Attitudes to tourism's sociocultural impacts are constructed on three different levels, these being the personal, group and community.

3) The personal cultural outlook and preference of an individual influences their perceptions of the sociocultural impacts of tourism, and of the community's cultural presentation for tourism.

4) Perceptions of and attitudes to the sociocultural impacts of tourism are context-dependant and situational.

1.2 The Case Study

In order to carry out the broad aims of the research, and to investigate the research propositions, it was decided to take a case study approach to the investigation. For the purposes of the case study, the chosen destination for the research was Llangollen, a small market town on the north-west border of Wales with Shropshire (see Fig. 1.1). As the host town for a major international music festival, and a popular day-trip destination for the north-west of England (Merseyside and Chester and in particular the English Midlands region), Llangollen is a highly suitable location for such an investigation into the social and cultural impacts of tourism. The small size of the town, with a population of 3271 (1991 census figures) and its geographically constrained nature facilitates the 'community' focus of the research, a task which would be more difficult in a larger, less clearly delineated population centre. Furthermore, the researcher was familiar with town itself, having previously been a resident there, and still retaining a number of useful contacts in the area, and this was considered advantageous to get fully into the 'grain' of the place and to appreciate local opinions.

Fig 1.1 Map of Llangollen with key tourist attractions
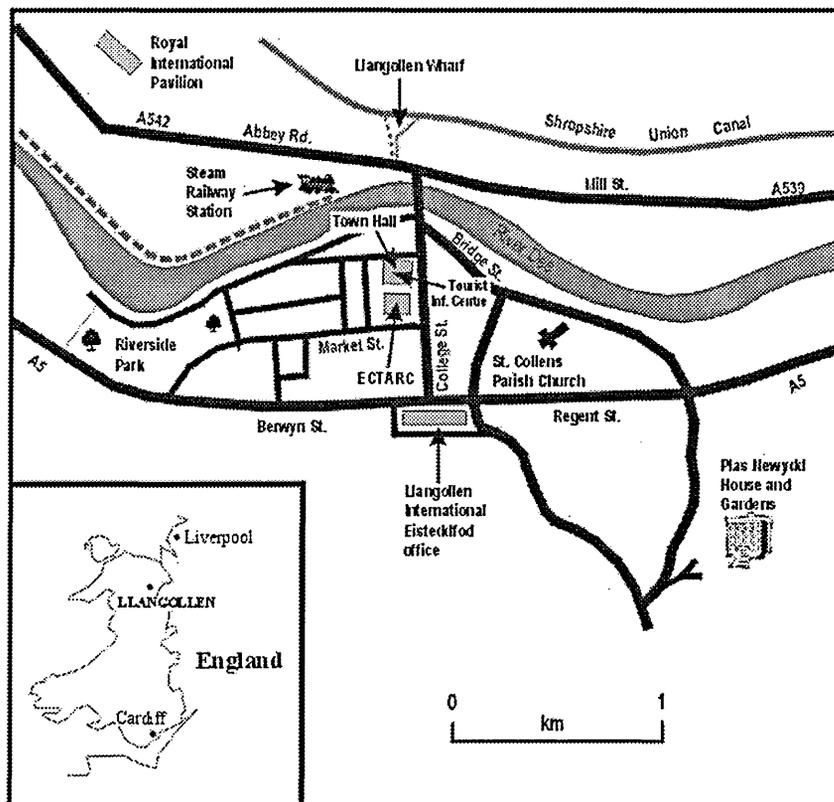
1.2.1 Tourism in Wales

In common with the English Lake District, to which it is often favourably compared, tourism in Wales (and in the north of Wales in particular) was originally developed in the 18th century, with the English Romantics of the time pursuing their passion for rugged scenery and dramatic landscapes. Subsequent improvements to road and rail transport and the increasing propensity to travel among the English middle-classes then led to the opening up and development of new and different visitor areas during the Victorian period. This was particularly characterised by the development of seaside resorts, such as Llandudno, Tenby and Aberystwyth, the growing rugged appeal of Snowdonia and the opening of spa towns, such as Llandrindod Wells, to cater for the 'taking of the waters' which had become fashionable. Further transport developments, of the charabang in particular, then paved the way for what remains Wales' most important form of tourism by volume today - day tripping (ECTARC, 1988).

North Wales today receives an average of 3.3 million visitors a year (1994 figures), and with only 1.5% of the UK population, it receives around 3% of its visitors (IWA,

1995), which equates to one visitor per head of population during the height of the season. Including both overseas and domestic tourist expenditure, tourism injects over £460million (about 9% of the Gross Domestic Product) into the North Wales economy and provides jobs for around 10% of the workforce (IWA, 1995). Hence, tourism clearly forms a backbone of the north Wales economy.

1.2.2 Background to Llangollen and tourism in Llangollen

Situated on the banks of the river Dee some ten miles from the Shropshire border, Llangollen is a long-established market town in a picturesque setting which attracts a large number of visitors, not only from the UK but also from numerous overseas markets. Sited on the main trunk road and former coaching route to Ireland (the A5), developed by Thomas Telford in the 1820's, Llangollen is in a classic gateway position into the mountains of the Snowdonia National Park and north Wales more generally. As a consequence of its position, Llangollen has been a traditional stopping-off point on this highly important route and it continues today to attract large numbers of both day visitors and stop-over visitors. Given its small population and an estimated annual visitor count of over 500 000 (Land Use Consultants, 1987) Llangollen is a very busy tourist destination at peak periods. As a town with strong international links, the marketing slogan adopted in Llangollen's tourism promotional material is: "Where Wales Welcomes the World".

Dominating the skyline of Llangollen are the ruins of Castell Dinas Bran (or Crow Castle as it is known in English), first recorded as a seat of power at the turn of the 12th to 13th century, although holding earlier anecdotal connections (as does much of the area) with Eliseg, an early Prince of Powys. The ruins remain striking to this day, and their prominent position over the town, views of the Dee valley, and indications that this was no less than the Castle of the Holy Grail, combine to make the castle a popular visiting spot for visitors and locals alike.

Other nearby sites of great historical interest include the remains of Valle Crucis Abbey, founded at the start of the thirteenth century by the order of Cistertian Monks and ruined later in that century by fire. Although rebuilt after the fire, its present condition was brought about during the Dissolution of the Monasteries during the reign of Henry VIII. Close to the Abbey is Eliseg's Pillar, at one time the

earliest post-Roman inscribed standing stone in the country although now long illegible.

The town itself has an interesting connection with the historical and mythical figure of Saint Collen. Indeed, the name of the town derives from that of the saint, who was patron of its church, and the one time Abbot of Glastonbury and founder of the church on Glastonbury Tor. Collen's church in Llangollen remains a site of interest, with features dating from as far back as the mid-14th century, although St Collen founded his "llan" as early as the 6th century. Also having ecclesiastical connections is the 14th century town bridge across the river Dee, built for the Bishop of St Asaph, a stylised image of which is used as the 'logo' of the town in its tourism marketing material.

Another site of historical interest in the town, currently run as a small museum by the District Council, is the half-timbered house of Plas Newydd, the one-time home of the celebrated 'Ladies of Llangollen' - Lady Eleanor Butler and Miss Sarah Ponsonby. Fleeing their families in Ireland, the ladies resided in Llangollen from 1780 until 1831, playing host to such notables of the time as the Duke of Gloucester, William Wordsworth, Sir Walter Scott and the Duke of Wellington (Senior, 1990).

Major improvements to transport links to the town over the past three centuries had a notable effect on Llangollen, including the Shropshire canal, opened with the building of the Pontcysyllte aqueduct in 1805, and later the Ruabon to Barmouth steam railway, opened in 1862. As a consequence of these developments, both industry (including flannel and wool milling) and visitors were drawn to the town. By the turn of the 19th century Llangollen had become a popular visiting spot, with A. G. Bradley in his "Highways and Byways in North Wales" commenting on the rise in numbers of visitors during the August holidays when "traps and even the fearsome char-a-banc invade the leafy lanes" (in Senior, 1990, p.33).

These early transport links remain an important part of Llangollen's character today, with the steam railway now being privately run, and extending along the valley as far as Glyndyfrdwy, and with horse-drawn boat rides and wharf museum at the canal basin being some of the town's most popular attractions. A smaller but related attraction is the Llangollen Motor Museum, which houses a collection of

classic cars. The former woolen mill on the River Dee has now been converted into a white water rafting and canoeing centre, which is also indirectly linked with transport.

Other major attractions in the town include Dapol, which houses a model railway museum as well as the official Doctor Who museum; and the Victorian School museum, which runs live classes in a Victorian schoolroom. The European Centre for Traditional and Regional Cultures (ECTARC), is an organisation with premises in the town centre which organises exchange programmes with other European countries and various exhibitions and concerts throughout the year. In 1992 the Royal International Pavilion was opened, this being the current home of the Llangollen International Musical Eisteddfod, a week long event attracting competitors and visitors from all over the world. As well as housing the festival, the Pavilion hosts a range of exhibitions, shows and concerts throughout the year.

Llangollen plays host to a number of events aside from the Llangollen International Musical Eisteddfod. These include the Llangollen Fringe, a smaller, eclectic event which runs parallel to the main festival; and a Jazz Festival, run over a long weekend early in the year. In addition to these are various bridge weekends and other similar events, as well as a programme of canoeing events throughout the winter months. During the summer, the River Dee is highly popular as one of the best fly fishing rivers in the country, and Llangollen Golf Course is rated as being the best inland course in Wales. The area is also popular with outdoors enthusiasts and ramblers, with the Offas Dyke path running along the crest of the nearby Eglwyseg cliffs - the longest, unbroken limestone escarpment in the country.

Supporting this diverse and significant range of attractions and events are a Tourist Information Centre, several hotels, numerous guest houses and small bed and breakfast establishments, as well as a host of pubs, bars, cafes and restaurants. Many of the shops in the town sell a range of postcards and Welsh-themed, souvenir-type products to appeal to the tourist market.

Llangollen has suffered in common with other small rural towns in the UK from economic restructuring and the associated loss of traditional industries, with 46.9% of the population over 16 economically inactive, and with a further 7.9% of the economically active population unemployed (1991 census). In 1991 the distributing

and catering sector accounted for 27.8% of all employment, with services other than banking and finances accounting for a further 27.0%. With little else providing large-scale employment, there is strong support for the suggestion that tourism and related services are now the major source of employment and income in the town. However, there are problems resulting from 70% of visitors arriving by car, and a further 25% arriving by coach, and from 60% of all visitors staying less than eight hours in the town (Deva Marketing Partnership, 1995). The most obvious problems are traffic congestion and crowding at peak periods. There is also clearly much potential to retain visitors longer in the town in order to increase their expenditure.

1.2.3 Background to the Llangollen International Musical Eisteddfod

For the last 55 years, Llangollen has been home to the International Musical Eisteddfod (or the International Eisteddfod, as it shall be referred to in the body of this work), a major international music and dance festival today attracting some 2500 overseas competitors annually, 10,000 UK competitors and an audience of 125,000 over the week of the event. In terms of the way of life and culture of the residents of Llangollen, the effects of the event over the years have been wide-reaching, and it a performs a pivotal role in the cultural life of the community. As such, any investigation into the sociocultural impacts of tourism in the town would be seriously lacking if the background to the event and its current role within the town were to be ignored.

The tradition of the Eisteddfod (which translates from the Welsh as "sitting together") dates back to the first recorded meeting of professional bards held in Cardigan Castle in 1176 (Morgan, 1983; Evans, 1988). The eisteddfod was at that time a forum for the professional bards to come together in competition and to debate the interpretation and application of traditional forms of Welsh music and verse. Following the gradual extinction of the professional bards in the 16th century, the eisteddfod was to fall into a state of serious decline, becoming little more than parochial events attended by amateur poets in local taverns.

It was not until the late 18th century that any large-scale revival of the tradition was to take place, partly through the patronage of the wealthy London Welsh movement (or Gwyneddigion, founded in 1770), a form of cultural and social club for north Walians in the English capital. The first attempt to revive the institution of

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the eisteddfod took place in Llangollen in January 1789, although attendance was limited due to poor weather (Evans, 1988), and the accepted venue for the first of the 'new' eisteddfodau held in May of the same year was in Corwen, some 10 miles from Llangollen.

The success of the event was to lead to a greatly increased interest in such traditions among the London Gwyneddigion (meaning men of North Wales), and in particular for Edward Williams, a stonemason from Glamorgan. Taking the bardic pseudonym of Iolo Morgannwg, Williams formed the "Order of the Bards of the Island of Great Britain", and declared himself heir to a largely invented bardic-druidic tradition. The first meeting of this *'Gorsedd'*, or guild of bards took place in London on Primrose Hill on June 21, 1792 (the eve of the summer solstice), and the ceremony was first incorporated into the eisteddfod proceedings at Camarthen in 1819, complete with an array of robes, rituals and regalia dictated by Morgannwg. There is more than a little irony in the fact that this ceremony, which is viewed as the most traditional and ancient part of the National Eisteddfod today, is essentially a 19th century product of the imagination of one man.

The initial idea for the International Eisteddfod was formulated in the period directly following the 1939-45 war by Harold Tudor, a local man from nearby Coedpoeth. Tudor, formerly a journalist with the Liverpool Daily Post, was at the time a regional officer of the British Council, and it was in this capacity that he attended the National Eisteddfod of Wales, held in 1945 in Rhosllanerchrugog some ten miles from Llangollen. It was here that contact with representatives of exiled overseas governments inspired the idea which eventually led to the setting up of the event.

Tudor was mindful in his choice of venue, based on his concern that the host town for the event would not be unduly influenced by the potential profit that such a tourist influx could bring. The town of Llangollen was eventually chosen as the preferred venue for the event on account of both the scenic beauty of the vale and surrounding area, acclaimed by distinguished writers such as George Borrow in his classic 'Wild Wales', and of the fact that the town had previously successfully hosted the National Eisteddfod of Wales. At the time it was also felt that the surrounding towns and villages would be favourably disposed to the event and would assist in ensuring its success.

Having approached the members of the newly formed Urban District Council, a public meeting was held on 24th May 1946, attended by 100 members of the local population. While some concerns were voiced at the time, the majority of those present were in favour of the proposal if overseas choirs could be attracted. Subsequently, in August 1946 the first Executive Committee of the Eisteddfod was convened, along with five newly formed committees concerned with Finance, Grounds, Hospitality, Music and Publicity.

The first International Eisteddfod eventually took place from 11th-15th June 1947, with a Portugese ladies choir being the first to arrive in the town and hence emphasising the event's title of "International". In all, forty overseas groups took part in the inaugural event, representing fourteen different countries, including France, Spain, Holland, Hungary, Denmark and Sweden, as well as representatives of overseas groups domiciled in the UK. In accordance with a founding principle of the event, all overseas competitors were accommodated in private homes in the local area in order to promote a "natural" friendliness and spontaneity around the festival. An estimated 8000 visitors also attended the festival during these first five days, some of whom are still visitors to the event today. The continuation to the present day of the practise of accommodating overseas visitors in private homes may help to encourage more favourable views about the event amongst residents of the town.

The motto of the festival embodies the aims of the event, and is still in use today, 55 years later: "Byd gwyn fydd byd a gano. Gwaraidd fydd ei gerddi fo", or to use the English translation: "Blessed is a world that sings. Gentle are its songs".

1.2.4 The International Eisteddfod today

From its humble beginnings over 50 years ago, the Llangollen International Music Eisteddfod today ranks as one of the most prestigious musical festivals in the world, and attracts some 2500 overseas competitors representing more than 40 nations, who are still being hosted in the homes of local people, albeit from within a rather more extended radius of the town than in the early days of the event. A further 10,000 United Kingdom competitors also take part swelling the ranks to 12,500 participants, performing to an audience of nearly 125,000 over the space of

the week - and all in a town of only 3500 inhabitants (all figures, www.international-eisteddfod.co.uk, 2000).

Around 900 volunteers take part in organising the event and hosting overseas competitors in their own homes, for some a commitment which has lasted over 25 years, leading to the formation of lifelong friendships and even marriage. The same committees remain in charge of the event as those set up during that first executive meeting of 1946, Finance, Grounds, Hospitality, Music and Publicity, as well as the more recently introduced Ticketing committee, and all still comprised of local volunteers.

The ethos, aims and objectives of the festival remain the same today as when they were first inspired by Harold Tudor in 1946:

- To provide a platform for people of all nations to meet and communicate through the international language of music thereby promoting peace, harmony and greater understanding.

- To further educate in the fine arts, in particular Music and Dance.

- To bring together amateur and professional in the presentation of music and dance to the highest standard of excellence.

<div align="right">(LIME in-house publication, 1996)</div>

Today, as well as hosting both amateur and semi-professional groups from around the world, the International Eisteddfod presents performances from some of the world's best-known artists and performers. In 1955, for example, as a member of the winning Modeno Men's Choir, a young Italian tenor, Luciano Pavarotti, decided to choose a professional career in music, and indeed he returned to the town to give a special gala performance in recognition of the event in 1995. Subsequent to this performance, other international stars have been invited to perform at the Saturday night gala event, including Caballe Monserrat, Bryn Terfel and Nigel Kennedy. Other notables who have performed in the festival over the years include Yehudi Menuin, Julian Lloyd Webber, James Galway and Placido Domingo (Attenborrow, 1996).

By the early 1980s, the success of the festival was starting to cause some quite specific problems. The temporary marquee accommodation traditionally used for the event was no longer adequate for the huge numbers of performers and visitors, and other music events in established venues were starting to provide some competition. In response, the decision was made to seek finance for a fixed venue for the festival, with assistance coming from Clwyd County Council, Wales Tourist Board and a number of other contributing organisations. The new Royal International Pavilion was eventually opened in 1992 by Her Majesty the Queen, having cost £2.6 million to construct. The building consists of a permanent structure, housing a 400 seat theatre and modern back-stage and changing facilities, and with a 1,500 seater Eisteddfod auditorium extending from it. A further 3,000 seats are added during the festival itself by attaching a temporary tent structure to the auditorium. The facility is used exclusively by the International Eisteddfod for four weeks of the year, being open to the public as a leisure centre outside of this period, as well as housing various exhibitions and events throughout the year. More recently, the Royal Pavilion has also hosted major live Welsh bands, including Catatonia, Stereophonics and the Super Furry Animals.

Another recent addition to the events in Llangollen during the International Eisteddfod week has been the development since 1998 of the Llangollen Fringe, an event also staffed and run by local volunteers. Running alongside to the main festival, the Fringe provides a broad range of performances and workshops, including poetry, music, dance, comedy, theater, children's events, film, photographic exhibitions and topical lectures and debates. Performers who have appeared to date in the Fringe festival include Welsh actor Rhys Ifans (Notting Hill, Twin Town), Patrick Jones (playwright), Tracey Emin (artist) and Linton Kwesi Johnson (dub poet) amongst a host of 'unusual' choirs, musical groups and performers (Llangollen-fringe.co.uk, 2000). Although there is no doubt that this event will have an effect on the resident perceptions of tourism and its cultural manifestations in Llangollen, no analysis of the event is incorporated into this particular investigation due to the inaugural event taking place subsequent to the carrying out of the field research.

1.3 Summary

The town of Llangollen in north-east Wales was chosen as the case study destination for various reasons. The researcher was familiar with the town prior to commencing the investigation, having lived and worked there some years previously. This gave the researcher an insight into the nature of tourism in the town and its importance in social and cultural terms locally. Furthermore, as host to the annual International Musical Eisteddfod for over fifty years, Llangollen was in the unique position of being a small historical market town with long-standing tradition of hosting a major international event and receiving large numbers of both domestic and international tourists. Given the cultural nature of the event and the high level of local volunteer involvement, the effects of the event on the community's perceptions of the cultural impacts of tourism were felt to be worthy of investigation, particularly since little research has focused explicitly on the interaction between tourism and the culture of a community in the context of developed western society.

The main aims of the research, as previously outlined, are therefore to critically assess the range of literature in the field pertinent to the investigation of the sociocultural impacts of tourism on a modern western community. In the light of the theoretical approaches examined, a framework will be developed and applied in the case study destination in order to assess and evaluate the range of attitudes and opinions of the social and cultural impacts of tourism which exist within the community, and to consider the implications of the findings for future research.

This research is significant both in theoretical and in practical terms for a number of reasons. Firstly, by incorporating a range of investigative techniques into the case study, the research will attempt to provide a broader picture of the current situation in Llangollen than would be available by an approach incorporating only a single method. Secondly, by applying the techniques in a 'grounded' manner, allowing the findings from each stage of the research process to inform the subsequent stages without prioritising one over the other, the relative merits of each approach can be assessed. Although developed in the light of existing methodological and theoretical propositions, this research does not set out to empirically test existing theories in the field, nor to develop new theories. The purpose of this research, rather, is to attempt to operationalise a range of existing theories and practises in

the context of one particular community in order to further develop understanding of what residents feel about the impacts of tourism on their culture and way of life, and how such feelings are developed and expressed.

1.4 Structure of the thesis

Chapter two, the literature review, provides a critical overview of the body of literature relevant to this research which has developed in the field of tourism studies. The starting point of the chapter is to examine the role of culture in the field of tourism studies, looking at the range of different approaches taken to both culture, cultural tourism and cultural change resulting from tourism. The question of authenticity and its role in presentations of culture for tourism is discussed, starting with the long-running Boorstin/MacCannell debate (Boorstin, 1964; MacCannell, 1976) over the role of authenticity in tourist experiences, and going on to examine other perspectives on the issue.

The chapter goes on to examine the development of resident perception studies from the early stage-based models to the more current orthodoxy of segmenting local populations according to the range of opinions held by residents. Models of the development of attitudes and responses to tourism are discussed, as are certain proposed coping strategies which may arise in response to tourism impacts. The development and use of qualitative approaches to social inquiry within the field of tourism studies is also examined, particularly in the context of 'community' approaches to tourism research. Finally, the theory of social representations (Moscovici, 1981 and 1984) will be introduced, outlining the theoretical background to the concept and its usefulness and application in assessing community perceptions of the sociocultural impacts of tourism.

Chapter three, Theoretical Frameworks, examines more fully the theory of social representations, which provides the theoretical underpinning of this research. Consideration is given to the range of methodological issues and approaches relevant to the application of the theory. The chapter then draws out the key areas of theory which are of direct conceptual and methodological relevance to this work in terms of its specific research propositions.

Chapter four, Methodology, will examine the methodological position of the theory of social representations with respect to the investigation of the sociocultural impacts of tourism from a resident perspective. The selection and design of the research tool and the techniques employed will be outlined, including the use of individual interviews, full scale questionnaire surveying and focus group discussions. The chapter will conclude with a discussion of the synthesis of qualitative and quantitative data, with particular reference to the framework technique of data sorting and interpretation (Ritchie and Spencer, 1994).

Chapter five will provide a basic analysis of the questionnaire survey results, outlining the main features of the responses provided by Llangollen residents. Chapter six will, again, examine the questionnaire results, but taking an equity-based approach using certain items incorporated into the questionnaire in order to segment the respondents into four equity groups (Pearce, Moscardo and Ross, 1991). These four groups will then be examined in terms of the significant relationships which exist between equity group membership and the various question groupings presented in the questionnaire, including the stability of and differences between each group.

Chapter seven will also examine the survey data, but utilising the more sophisticated statistical approach of cluster analysis to segment the respondents. This approach will allow an optimal number of groupings to be drawn from the data according to their overall similarity of response, rather than by externally imposing a pre-determined framework onto the data. This will allow for a different level of interpretation of the data, and it is anticipated that it will provide a different picture of the opinions and attitudes of residents than will the equity-based approach.

Chapter eight will outline and analyse the views of residents as expressed by the participants of the three focus group discussions carried out subsequent to the questionnaire survey. The first section of the chapter will examine the specific equity dimensions apparent in the comity, where levels of imbalance are clearly perceived between different elements of the community, and expressed in terms of specific tourism-related representations. The second section will then examine the general impacts of tourism on the community of Llangollen as perceived by the focus group participants, and again expressed in terms of certain representations of tourism.

Chapter nine will provide a final summary of the findings presented in the previous chapters, concluding by drawing these findings together within the conceptual framework developed to assess the resident perceptions of the sociocultural impacts of tourism. The differences and similarities between the findings provided by each analytical technique will be discussed with reference to the situation in Llangollen specifically, and finally, the implications of the research for understanding community and personal attitudes to the cultural impacts of tourism will be considered.

CHAPTER TWO: LITERATURE REVIEW

In its review of the literature relevant to the study of resident perceptions of the impacts of tourism upon their local culture, this chapter will begin by examining the different approaches to and perspectives on culture which may be taken generally. The role of culture within the field of tourism will then be examined, taking as a starting point the difficulties in definition faced when dealing with 'culture' as a central element of any research. Different approaches to culture and cultural tourism outlined within the literature will be examined, highlighting a preoccupation with the 'heritage' and 'high culture' approaches in the analysis of the subject. The issue of cultural change and commodification through tourism will be discussed, using several case-studies to illustrate the complexity of cultural change under the pressure of outside influences, and the contradiction that the touristic presentation and consumption of elements of culture can be at once both productive and destructive in terms of local culture.

The question of authenticity and its role in touristic presentations of culture will be discussed, starting with the Boorstin/MacCannell debate (Boorstin, 1964; MacCannell, 1976) as to whether tourism is an expression of modern man's search for authenticity in the lives of others, or whether the modern tourist is happy to gaze upon the contrived 'pseudo events' of tourist attractions. Such ideas will also be related to the concept of the 'post-tourist', the post-modern thrill-seeker unconcerned with any questions of authenticity. The various approaches to such questions of authenticity will also be examined from the point of view of craft souvenirs, historic theme parks, Japanese Heritage Houses, Selwyn's (1996) concepts of 'hot' and 'cool' authenticity, and finally in the specific context of event tourism.

The development of resident perception studies to date will also be traced from its early stage-based models of tourism development and attitude change to the widely used segmentation approaches, dividing communities by their overall attitudes to the impacts of tourism. Social exchange theory (Ap, 1992) will be discussed as one model of the development of attitudes and responses to tourism developments. The specific response strategies to the impacts of tourism developments as developed within the literature will also be examined.

Another concern which is discussed here is that of the development and application of qualitative approaches to social inquiry within the field of tourism studies. In contrast to the developing orthodoxy of using a questionnaire survey approach for this type of investigation, several authors have carried out work more firmly rooted in the ethnographic traditions of anthropology and sociology, approaching the study of host communities in a much more 'grounded' and interpretive manner.

Finally, the application of social representations theory (Moscovici, 1981, 1984) will be introduced, outlining the theoretical background to the concept, and discussing its practical application in terms of resident perception research with specific reference to the work of Pearce, Moscardo and Ross (1991, 1996). The theory and its methodological application are discussed more fully in the next chapter.

2.1 Perspectives on Culture

An immediate problem faced in any study taking culture as a central element is that of definition. The Concise Oxford Dictionary, for example, holds the following entry:

Culture: *n. & v. - n.* **1a** the arts and other manifestations of human achievement viewed collectively (*a city lacking in culture*). **b** a refined understanding of this; intellectual development (*a person of culture*)   **2** the customs, civilisation and achievements of a particular time or people (*studied Chinese culture*).

These differing conceptions can be seen as corresponding with Eco's (1995) categorisation of culture into three distinct levels - aesthetics, ethics and anthropology - which can be summarised as follows.

Culture 1 is the aesthetic definition. It is counterposed to science, politics, economics and practical/productive activities. It privileges the formation of aesthetic taste, according to the standards of the dominant class ... It is a notion of merchandise turned upside down: culture is not what is useful; it is art or play, not technique. It is a mark of the person who has achieved a state of thoughtful idleness ... It is a sign of distinction.

Culture 2 is the ethical definition, which defines itself as a superior attitude of mind set against the bestiality, ignorance and idolatry typical of the masses ... This conception perceives its opposite as negative ... as the undiscerning pseudo-culture of mass man, slave to his myths and rituals.

Culture 3 is the anthropological definition. It comprises the complex of institutions, myths, rites, laws, beliefs, codified everyday behaviour, value systems and material beliefs elaborated by a group of humans ... people who talk of culture in the anthropological sense do not necessarily have to approve of a given cultural model in order to describe it. They simply recognise its existence and the fact that it is self-sustaining, or capable of reproducing itself. Another characteristic of culture in the anthropological sense is the fact that it does not necessarily need to be made explicit in order to function: a group may live according to its own cultural model without knowing it. In this sense there are only two cases in which culture becomes explicit: 1) when confronted with a critical analysis that demonstrates the way it functions, or 2) when a competing model arises (either from within the culture or from outside).

Within these conceptions of culture a clear linkage between 1 and 2 can be drawn, with both involving value judgements on the behalf of the individual. A 'man of culture' being endowed with a 'superior attitude of mind' is held to possess an interest in and knowledge of the aesthetic dimensions of *culture 1.* Such perspectives, then, situate culture as a delineating function *within* a given society rather than as the anthropological difference *between* societies. As such, *culture 3* can be seen as culture in its most democratised form. This is where a blurring between 'culture' in its elitist sense and 'way of life' in its broadest sense occurs. Here culture can be taken as the manifest differences between different peoples rather than the socially-determined stratification within a grouping, or within the increasingly all-enveloping mantle of 'western' or 'modern' society.

What Eco fails to acknowledge, however, is the temporal component alluded to in the Oxford definition - the customs, civilisation and achievements of *a particular time* or people. Culture, by any definition, is not static and immutable, but is an element or function of any society which will change over time, and as such is probably best viewed as "an historically created system of explicit and implicit designs for living, which tends to be shared by all or specifically designated

members of a group *at a specified point in time*" (Kluckhohn and Kelly, 1975 quoted in Ritchie and Zins, 1978) (italics added). This view is one which will be returned to in further detail when discussing the concept of cultural authenticity in tourism.

Ritchie and Zins (1978, p. 257) themselves set out a framework isolating culture as an element of the visitor attractiveness of tourism destinations. Situating the socio-cultural elements within the range of influencing variables taken to include natural beauty and climate; sport, recreation and educational facilities; shopping and commercial facilities; infrastructure of the region; price levels; attitude towards tourists and the accessibility of the region, these are taken to include:

Handcrafts of the region

Language spoken by the residents

Traditions which characterise the region

Gastronomy or food preparation particular to the region

Art/Music identified with the region

History of the region, including its visual reminders

Work methods of work or technology particular to the region

Architecture both exterior and interior, which lends a distinctive appearence to the region

Religion of a particular significance to the region (including its physical manifestations)

Education system which is characterisitic of the region

Dress Styles of dress characteristic of the region

Leisure activities reflecting distinctive lifestyles of the region.

Three forms of each of these elements were considered possible, consisting of the following (op cit):

Form A - Those forms of culture which are inanimate, that is which do not directly or necessarily involve human activity. Such forms include buildings, paintings and sculpture, handicrafts, and historic sites.

Form B - Those forms of culture reflected in the daily normal life of a region. Examples include normal social and leisure activities, work habits, and technology as well as regular artistic events.

Form C - Those forms of culture which are essentially animated and which often depict historical behaviour or events. Examples include the re-enactment of famous battles, special areas or villages restored to their original condition, and special festivals reflecting early traditions and behaviour

Ashworth (1996) takes a different approach to the meanings which culture can take in relation to tourism, identifying three forms of tourism utilising specific elements of the culture of a given destination (although the context within which he himself is using them is that of urban tourism). Tourism in the context of culture (or more specifically cultural tourism) can be divided into **Art tourism, Heritage tourism** and **Place-specific tourism.**

Art tourism - Culture, as Ashworth says, in terms of commonly accepted uses of the word, is often equated with art, particularly what one could consider 'high art' or with artistic products or performances of a recognisably high standard. Such tourism could include theatre visits, concerts, exhibitions etc. as elements of entertainment during a broadly motivated visit, or could provide the core motivation for one type of special interest tourist. A growing area in this field is that of arts festivals, which have gained an increased prominence in recent years due to such initiatives as the annual 'European City of Culture' nominations, providing the impetus for other smaller scale festivals and events.

Heritage tourism - including renovated and preserved buildings, industrial relics and museums, associations with celebrated personalities and events, heritage tourism "may be extended to include past and even contemporary cultural products and performances *defined as* the cultural heritage" (Ashworth, 1995: 270). In this way heritage can be taken as consisting of any elements of the past (even the quite recent past) which are considered to be of value and worth preserving, either for educational purposes within the local population, or as a resource to attract tourists. Numerous contradictions can arise in the notion of heritage, particularly since it is generally unclear exactly who it is that should decide which elements of

the past culture of an area are worthy of being considered its *heritage* (Senior, 1995).

Place-specific tourism - in this instance the definitional sense is moving towards a more anthropological stance on culture. That is to say 'the common set of values, attitudes and thus behaviour of a social group' (Ashworth, 1996, p.270) which contributes to a specific sense of place. Whilst all tourism, by its very nature, involves a certain amount of place-specificity, as Ashworth points out, 'only place-specific tourism uses the uniqueness of place, rather than its more general qualities as the essential and distinctive place product saleable to tourists' (op cit). Here it is the very difference or individuality of a place which is used to make it attractive to tourists, providing for either a strengthening of local identity, or the creation of a pseudo-culture leading to disillusionment or antagonism on the part of locals. A further use of culture in this instance involves what Wood (1984) refers to as *secondary cultural tourism* which 'involves the role of local cultures in imprinting other forms of tourism with a unique flavour' (opcit:362). Examples of this could include the 'traditional fondue' without which no skiing trip would be complete, or the ubiquitous Spanish paella so favoured by tour groups. This could even be extended to include such elements as brewery and distillery tours, where the shroud of 'culture' is used to mask the deeper motive behind such a trip - that of simply drinking!

From this, the difficulties inherent in any attempt to study the relationship between tourism and culture are clearly evident, given the multiplicity of elements involved in this area called 'culture' and the many different forms which each of these elements of culture can be seen to take. As a consequence, much of the literature concerning this interaction between tourism and culture has tended to focus on more clearly delineated facets of this polemical subject area. More specifically, this work has tended to fall into one of two areas, those of cultural tourism and of heritage tourism, with a certain amount of interchangeability between the terms evident in the literature (see, for example Swarbrook, 1994; Ashworth, 1993; Ashworth, 1996). Richards (1994), for example, provides the following definitions of cultural tourism (Table 2.1):

Table 2.1 Definitions of cultural tourism
Wood (1984)
'the terms of the situation where the role of culture is contextual, where its role is to shape the tourist's experience of a situation in general, without a particular focus on the uniqueness of a specific cultural identity'
World Tourism Organization (1985)
In the narrow sense: 'movements of persons for essentially cultural motivations such as study tours, performing arts and cultural tours, travel to festivals and other cultural events, visits to sites and monuments, travel to study nature, folklore or art, and pilgrimages'   *In the broader sense:* 'all movements of persons might be included in the definition, because they satisfy the human need for diversity, tending to raise the cultural level of the individual and giving rise to new knowledge, experience and encounters'
McIntosh and Goeldner (1986)
'all aspects of travel, whereby travellers learn about the history and heritage of others or about their contemporary ways of life and thought'
ECTARC (1989)
'tourism related to the artistic and intellectual heritage of an area'
ATLAS (Bonink and Richards, 1992)
Conceptual definition: 'The temporary movement of persons to a cultural attraction away from their normal place of residence, with the intention to satisfy their cultural needs'   *Technical definition:* 'All movements of persons to specific cultural attractions, such as heritage sites, artistic and cultural manifestations, arts and drama outside their normal place of residence'

As can be seen, particularly in the narrower senses of such definitions, the concepts of 'heritage' and 'arts' tend to be central to any form of tourism which is to be taken as 'cultural'. In the broadest sense, however, taking the WTO definition, any movement of persons of any kind could be taken as 'cultural' given the exposure to new cultural forms (in both the narrow and broad senses) involved in any travel away from one's normal place of residence or work.

The predominantly 'high culture' and heritage approach which tends to be taken to the analysis of tourism in relation to culture is partly due to the complexity involved in any study of culture in its broader sense, but is also due to the fact that these are the specific elements of culture whose development tends to be seen as 'good'

by those involved in tourism at an academic, planning and operational level. According to Richards (1994:102):

"Cultural tourism (per se) is seen as a positive development because it appeals to the higher socio-economic groups, it is often based upon non-traditional tourist areas, it broadens the tourist season and is particularly suited to the type of short-break, city-based tourism which is a major growth market in Europe."

He goes on to support this with the work of Seaton (1992), citing the apparent domination of this type of tourism in the UK by ABC1 socio-economic groups, and that of Berroll (1981) showing that American cultural tourists in Europe tended to be graduates, more affluent, older, 'empty nester' professionals.

The Economist Intelligence Unit (EIU, 1993) states that 37% of all European trips have a cultural element, with trips of this kind likely to continue growing at a rate of 15% annually to the end of the century. Furthermore, British Tourist Authority research rates arts and entertainment as being important or very important reasons for visiting Britain among over half of all overseas visitors. An analysis of the British market carried out by Mintel (1991) showed that 64% of respondents had visited a cultural attraction 'such as museums, galleries, cathedrals and castles' in the last year, although only 32% indicated that cultural interest was the main motivation for their visit.

Such commentary demonstrates the importance of cultural tourism from the point of view of economic development, which has been the driving force behind the rapid growth of this particular facet of tourism, yet belies the fears expressed by many commentators that:

'The development of an economic rationale for cultural tourism reflects the tendancy for culture as a whole to be viewed as an economic activity.'
(Richards, 1994: 102)

It is in the light of this tendency that work has been undertaken on the issues of cultural change and degradation through tourism, and particularly that of the commodification of culture.

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2.2 Cultural Change and Commodification through Tourism

Research into the impacts of tourism on destination areas worldwide is an area of study which has attracted interest and concern since the early development of tourism as an academic field (see de Kadt, 1979; Smith, 1978; Turner and Ash, 1975; Mathieson and Wall, 1982). Such impacts are conceptualised as occuring on three basic levels - physical, economic and socio-cultural - with the economic impacts generally residing within the research field of economists, and viewed as positive, whilst the 'marginal' or 'external' physical and socio-cultural impacts (generally viewed as negative) have traditionally remained the preserve of environmental academics and social scientists.

Whilst the physical environmental and economic impacts of tourism at a destination level have been relatively easy to assess and analyse, greater difficulty has been encountered in attempting to isolate and assess cultural changes brought about as a direct influence of tourism. Whilst in some cases in lesser developed contexts examples of prostitution, drugs, exposure to western sexual mores and attitudes (Cohen, 1982 and 1988, Turner and Ash, 1975), exploitation of local peoples and the expropriation of land for tourist developments (Smith, 1978; Mathieson and Wall, 1982) are manifold, it is often much less clear how the presence of tourists impacts upon the specific culture of destinations in a Western European context.

As Eco (1995 - above) suggests, a culture only becomes explicit 1) when confronted with a critical analysis that demonstrates the way it functions or 2) when a competing model arises (either from within the culture or from outside). Tourism can be seen to operate on both of these levels:

1) Critical analysis - presentations of culture in their many forms are open to analysis and criticism both at a conceptual level (in terms of selecting which elements of culture are suitable for exhibition, and the nature which any such presentation should take) and at an operational level (in terms of tourist satisfaction, economic viability and resident satisfaction in terms of perceived benefits, both cultural, educational and economic). The growing body of academic literature in this area is another clear example of culture made explicit through critical analysis (Ashworth, 1993; Buck, 1978; Esman,1984; Greenwood, 1978; Picard, 1995).

2) Competing models arise both in the form of contact with the demonstrably different cultures of visitors from outside as well as the changes brought about internally through modernisation, the globalisation of mainstream culture and through the changing structures of community power and politics over time (Butler, 1975; ECTARC, 1987; Greenwood, 1978; Prentice, 1993, Rothman, 1979). This is no billiard ball cause-and-effect model of impact, but is a much more complex situation operating on a number of different levels. Figure 2.1 (below) shows a simple representation of the interaction between cultures brought about through tourism (Adapted from Jafari, 1982 by Jones, 1994).

Figure 2.1 (Jones, 1994)
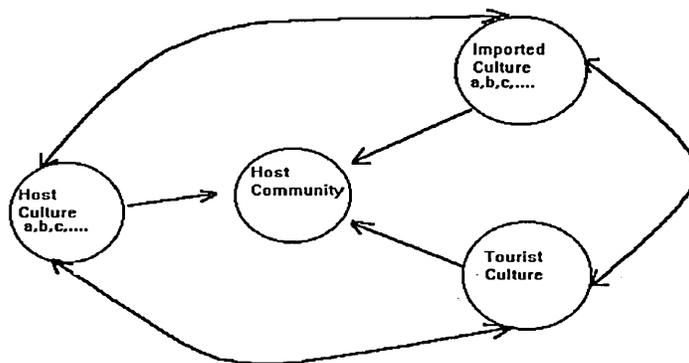
Dynamic Interaction Between Host and Tourist Cultures

In this representation the key elements are that of the host community - those people who are resident in the tourism destination - and the host culture. The host community will not possess one uniform perception of what constitutes their culture, therefore the relationship of the community to their culture (and vice-versa) will be a dynamic one. The tourist culture comprises that which people will bring with them to the area in terms of their cultural preferences and expectations, and also includes their overall attitude and behaviour which can differ considerably from that exhibited during their home life. The final element is that of the imported culture, which Jones (1994: 4) describes as "introduced through mass media and involves the globalisation of information, goods, values and language". It is this element of the interaction between cultures which tends to be overshadowed in the

tourism literature by the more obvious impacts of the importation of tourist culture into destination areas. However, this global homogenisation of culture through the mass media must be recognised as playing a pivotal role in the process of cultural change in modern times.

Whilst an over-simplification in itself, what this model does is to demonstrate how the importation of tourists, and thereby touristic culture, into a receiving destination is only part of the complex and inevitable process of cultural change taking place wherever there is contact between different cultures. Such contact, be it in the form of face-to-face encounters between tourists and residents, the introduction of, say, an Indian restaurant into a previously predominantly indigenous Welsh community, or through media representations via television, magazines or newspapers, will have the effect of bringing about an alteration in the cultural frameworks of those parties involved in the interaction. What such a simplified model fails to show is the multi-faceted nature of the elements involved, and which elements of such pervasive interactions have the greatest influence on the process of cultural change.

In response to the difficulty inherent in assessing the cultural impacts of tourism, Craik (1995) has drawn up set of 'cultural indicators' to help highlight the issues to be taken into consideration and problems which can arise in destination areas as a result of tourism developments. These are taken to include:

1) Degree of economic dependence on tourism.
2) Distribution of economic benefits accross a destination community.
3) Degree of public involvement and consultation in planning, policy making and management.
4) Degree and forms of commercialisation and commodification of the destination culture for tourists.
5) Perceived environmental degradation, significant loss of amenity, or unacceptable modification of destination site.
6) Sense of autonomy, self-confidence and cultural identity of destination community.
7) Intrusiveness of tourism on destination community and/or its lifestyle.
8) Incompatibility of values and/or inability or unwillingness to accomodate the habits, lifestyle and attitudes of tourist groups.

9) Exacerbation of conflicts and tension within the destination community or between constituent groups.

Of most direct relevance here is the degree and forms of commercialisation and commodification of the destination culture for tourists. This Craik (op cit) subdivides into the following elements:

a) impact on arts production and cultural development;

b) characteristics of the souvenir industry;

c) character and performance of cultural tourism initiatives;

d) acceptability of new cultural activities and products;

e) creation and packaging of heritage sites and attractions.

What Craik importantly neglects to include here is the impact of tourism on the character and performance of *pre-existing* cultural manifestations (rather than on the 'cultural tourism initiatives' of c) above).

The commodification of culture under the modern capitalist system takes the self-referential framework of a group or community (culture - to take the anthropological definition) held by them as a marker of their collective identity and converts it into a commodity, produced (in many cases) by the labour of members of that group or community, to be traded on the free market and evaluated in terms of its exchange value. Any surplus value (profit) created during the production process (through human labour) is retained by the 'broker' or trader (part of the culture industry) and the natural resource (culture) expropriated from its 'owners' to serve the capital requirements of the industry (Rojek, 1985). In this way, facets of communities which were once communally held and shared by all are commodified and presented as products available for consumption on the free market (for which members of the local community may themselves have to pay if they wish to take part in - or consume - such cultural presentations) (Adorno and Horkheimer, 1979). Thus, the deeper-held meanings of the many elements of culture are doubly-destroyed, firstly by conversion from cultural resources to cultural capital (implying 'ownership' by someone), and secondly by obliging those to whom the culture actually belongs (or who belong to the culture) to pay for the privilege of consuming it as a product on the free market, and pay for it with the wages of their labour, perhaps even earnt in the production of that which they themselves are

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consuming). In this way we can see how leisure and culture fit into the structural maintenance requirements of the capitalist system (Marcuse, 1955).

This type of analysis is one which has had very little attention within the field of tourism studies in general, or more specifically in research into the impacts of tourism on local cultures. One paper which attempts to fit tourism more explicitly within this realm of capitalist production and commodification is that by Watson and Kopachevsky (1994) who state that:

"In the process of commodification, human relations become objectified as relations between *things*, and money is hoisted as the universal 'doubly abstract' medium of exchange, the primary measure of value, if not the symbol of general alienation, having the chief function, as Marx put it, to supply commodities with the material for the expression of their values - the commodity of commodities".

A further distinction, however, must also be recognised, when examining the use of culture as a commodity for tourist consumption, namely, that a commercial is not a commodity. A commercial is the message or symbolism attached to a product (commodity) in order to communicate its value and usefulness, and to make it more attractive to potential consumers. So, is culture the commercial or the commodity of tourism? Is it the culture of destinations which is itself being sold to the tourist (so as to be consumed or 'gazed' upon) or is culture the commercial which a given product (destination) uses to embelish its image, thereby improving its attractiveness (demand) in the market for similar goods?

The classic example of cultural commodification in the tourism literature is that of the Alarde in Fuenterrabia of the Spanish Basque country (Greenwood, 1978). Here, a 350 year old celebration traditionally run every year by the inhabitants of the town, in celebration of an historic victory over the French in a prolonged seige, was seen to drift into the realm of public performance and eventually into that of tourist attraction. However, the situation and the peculiar set of circumstances leading up to it is by no means as clear cut as the critics of tourism's impacts may suggest them to be.

Traditionally, the Alarde represented the solidarity of the people of Fuenterrabia in the face of unwelcome outside forces, and over the centuries it came to provide an

annual focus, drawing together a community whose integrity was slowly being undermined by the forces of modernisation. As Greenwood says,

"It is an affirmation of their existence and identity at a time when most of the people earn money outside Fuenterrabia. It is a closing of wounds of gossip and bad faith opened up during the year of town life." (1978, 137)

In some ways, then, it can be seen that the Alarde had already undergone a shift in meaning before its integration into the 'cultural heritage' of the area as presented to tourists. Rather than an affirmation of the town's solidarity and togetherness, the ritual had become a time for reconciliation and opportunity for the mending of rifts brought about over the year by the community's very *dis*unity.

The turning point, according to Greenwood, occured during the summer of 1969, a time when the imagery of the Alarde had already been incorporated into the promotional literature for the town:

"Tourism developers, a group including local politicians and contractors plus large national companies that specialize in tourism-related construction, have added the Alarde to their list of advertisable features about Fuenterrabia. Posters and other publicity for the Alarde are circulated, as is anything else that makes the town attractive to the tourist customer." (Greenwood, 1978, 138)

As such, then, the Alarde at this point had already been 'commercialised' to the extent that it functioned as part of the promotional machinery used to attract tourists to the town. Whilst by no means central to the touristic image, the Alarde was nonetheless "part of the list of 'local color' to attract tourist receipts", and thereby moving further from its traditional role as a *performance for the participants.*

However, up until the point where the municipal goverment declared that the Alarde should be shown *twice* in the same day in order to accomodate the growing number of visitors, the importance of the ritual to the inhabitants of the town was at least seen to take primacy over its importance as a tourist attraction. The great mistake here was to shift the level of attachment of importance away from the indigenous *producers* of the event to that of the *consumers* in the form of tourist

visitors and sightseers. Furthermore, the introduction of the suggestion of payment to the townsfolk for the performance explicitly introduced the element of *exchange* into the equation, thereby firmly ensconsing a traditionally private celebration into the range of products of the culture industry, openly available for public consumption. It should be noted, however, that this decision was one taken by the *municipal government* (i.e. by elected representatives of the townsfolk) rather than by the regional or national authorities.

In purely Marxist terms, the process of commodification is one whereby the exchange value of a given product or service is inverted and given primacy over its use value (Best, 1989; Watson and Kopachevsky, 1994). However, with regard to such highly animated forms of culture as the Alarde, the use value of such a performance is an inherent part of the production process. In contrast to the production of material goods or even services specifically for consumption, rather than the production process adding value to a product in terms of its use and eventual exchange value, the use value of such a performance can only be expressed and understood in terms of its production. By incorporating a profit motive, or direct financial imperative into the ritual, its use value for the performers is transmuted into exchange value, and measurable in financial terms. So, in terms of cultural presentations of this nature, commodification is more a process of shifting the *use* value away from the level of production and towards that of exchange.

This can also be further conceptualised as a diversification of the sign-value attached to the performance by the local population. Originally held to signify the affirmation of the historical identity of the inhabitants of Fuenterrabia, the Alarde through its presentation as a cultural resource has come to hold a further significance as an element of the attractiveness of the town to tourists, and could therefore be symbolically attached to their presence, in direct contradiction to the ritual's traditional function.

A further stage in the transformation of the Alarde occured in 1976, when according to Greenwood (1978, 138),

"The now 'public' ritual became a major political event. In the context of the acute political tensions in the Basque country, the Alarde seemingly provides a means of political expression."

Here, it can be seen that the local participants in the Alarde have themselves accorded the ritual a new symbolic significance as an outlet for expressions of political unease which "has become much more a public event and is imbued now with contemporary political significance as part of the contest over regional political rights in Spain" (Greenwood, 1978, 139). Now, reconsidering the situation in 1969, when the decision was made to perform the Alarde twice on the same day, a further dimension to this move, aside from that of the economic imperatives of the tourist industry, can be traced. Given the political situation in Spain at the time (in the wake of the student uprisings of two years previously), the traditionally ambiguous position of the Basque people in relation to the rest of Spain, and the carnivalesque opening of the *parador* (a state-owned hotel/bar development) by General Franco (the then Facist dictator of Spain) (Greenwood, 1978), a fulcrum or turning point had been arrived at on more levels than merely that of the local tourist industry. On one level then, the decision to render more public the Alarde could be linked as much to a national climate of subjugation of regional autonomy and indepedance as to any cynical manipulation by the tourist industry. What has eventually occured here is that original attempts to dilute the poltically ideological nature of a celebration of autonomous power have ultimately led, following a period of disenfranchisement of the local populace, to its overt politicisation on a regional level.

As such, therefore, the changes which can be seen as having taken place in Fuenterrabia regarding the Alarde, whilst clearly linked to its commodification, or at least commercialisation, by (or for) the tourist industry, must also be linked to the volatile political situation within which the region has traditionally been situated. It is in some ways therefore misleading to attribute the negative changes which have occured in the Alarde exclusively to tourism. Furthermore, as Greenwood says in relation to situating such changes in a broader context:

"After all, local cultures have been transformed by tourism, but so have they been by industrialization, urbanization, pollution, poverty, civil war, migration, and a host of other factors. Does tourism have unique effects? Are its cultural manifestations

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always negative? The anthropological literature on tourism does not yet provide very clear answers" (1978, 139).

One important example in the literature regarding the effects of presenting local culture for tourist consumption is that of the Indonesian island of Bali. Since the opening up of the island to mass international tourism in the early seventies, fears have been expressed on many levels that such a move would lead to cultural pollution and deterioration. Picard (1995, 43) clearly outlines the fears that by seeking to acquire foreign exchange through the presentation of their cultural and religious rituals "the Balinese would start mistaking the commercial by-products they sell to tourists for the genuine manifestations of their artistic traditions". In other words, the presentation of such cultural elements for tourist consumption would lead ultimately to their commodification and hence to the undermining of their traditional role in Balinese society. What has actually occured according to various commentators (Picard,1995; McKean, 1977; Cohen, 1988; Dogan, 1984; Wood, 1984) is that the attention to their culture displayed by tourists, and the receipts brought in by them have led to a renewed sense of pride in their own culture and a recognition of the importance to be placed in its preservation. However, the situation is by no means clear cut, and the Balinese have themselves recognised that the situation is one which requires that a delicate balance be maintained between the positive economic and cultural benefits and the negative consequences which such developments can bring about.

Having recognised that a balance needed to be struck between the promotion and encouragement of tourism and the protection of the island's cultural traditions, the approach jointly defined by the Director General of Tourism and the Director General of Culture was,

"To increase and extend the use of cultural objects for the development of tourism, and to use the proceeds of tourism development for the promotion and the development of culture" (quoted in Picard, 1995, 54).

With the unique Hindu-Javanese tradition of the Island having been clearly highlighted as the main source of touristic attractiveness, various seminars and initiatives were carried out in order to ascertain which elements of their highly

religious cultural heritage could be incorporated into the cultural tourism initiatives without altering their meaning on a deeper level.

So, the situation in Bali, rather than being one of *whether* to incorporate elements of the local culture into the tourist imagery of the island was rather a question of *which elements* of Balinese culture could safely be utilised by the tourist industry in order to attract more visitors. This led to a further seminar in 1971 on Sacred and Profane Dance convened by the Balinese cultural authorities. The aim of this seminar was to develop criteria in order to separate 'sacred art' from 'profane art', with a view to establishing which forms of dance might be suitable for tourist presentation and those which would not (again, see Picard,1995).

An immediate problem with this position is that the linguistic distinction between the terms 'sacred' and 'profane' which exists in English does not occur in the Balinese language. Although this led to much conceptual confusion relating to the problem at the time, by raising the issue it made the Balinese more aware of the necessity of explicitly distinguishing between that which belongs to culture and should remain inviolate, and that which pertains to tourism and can be processed as a cultural resource. According to Maurer (quoted in Picard, 1995, 58): "the Balinese know perfectly well where to draw a clear line between the sacred and the profane; between what can be sold and what must be protected at all costs".

To quote Picard again (op cit, 61),

"The result was that culture became the interface between Bali and the outside world: Balinese culture is simultaneously the trade mark of Bali as a *tourist destination* - what the Balinese display as a label which distinguishes the product 'Bali' from other products sold on the tourist market - and the marker of Balinese *identity* - what the Balinese exhibit as the distinctive emblem of their Balineseness".

The real success of such cultural tourism initiatives in Bali has been to preserve the nature of, and reinforce interest in, quite specific elements of Balinese cultural arts. From a broader anthropological perspective irreparable changes may have occured to the traditional way of life and culture of the Balinese people, although the blame for such changes is at least as much attributable to colonial influences and the Indonesianisation and modernisation of the island as it is to the force of tourism as

an agent of cultural commodification and degeneration. Indeed, it has been the very presence of tourists on the island which has shown the Balinese the importance of their own culture and made them aware of the need to create a boundary between that which can be made available for tourist consumption and that which belongs to the realm of the sacred, in order to preserve the distinction and to allow the two to work for rather than against each other.

The use of such boundary maintenance as a method of avoiding the negative socio-cultural impacts of tourism development is well illustrated by Buck's (1978) study of the Old Order Amish Community in Lancaster County, Pennsylvania. At the time of writing, the Amish community constituted one of the largest sources of revenue in the county, despite the fact that this community shared only a tiny portion of these returns.

This apparently inequitable situation has arisen not through the entrepreneurial exploitation of the Amishmen by the tourist industry, but rather through their own desire to neither participate in, nor greatly benefit from, the development of tourism in (and, more importantly, around) their communities. As a result, this unique and heterogeneous community has been able to retain their individuality and culture, increase their number and, if anything, also to strengthen their sense of cultural identity. At the same time, however, Buck goes on to say that :

"The entire tourist ambience is designed to contain tourists in a program of staged and scheduled passive observation and consumption. Amishmen and their farms and shops provide an authentic background but are likely as not peripheral to tourist agendas". (1978: 229)

Therefore, what has arisen in Lancaster County is a situation where a boundary maintenance strategy has been adopted as a means of protecting a unique and sensitive people. This has been achieved primarily through retaining tourists in "staged" or "pseudo" back regions, both for the profit of tourism entrepreneurs and also in concordance with the requirements of the Old Order Amish Community itself. It must be commented here that this is an unusual situation, with an uncommon and sensitive people willing to allow the packaging and presentation of their culture as a tourist attraction, yet demanding little in return other than the continued preservation of their lifestyle *in stasis*. It could be argued that such a

course of action would appear to encourage the artificial isolation of the culture in question from mainstream society, thereby retaining it as a noteworthy hybrid zoological exhibit rather than a living reminder of the diversity of human nature.

In her work on the Cajun population of Louisiana, Esman (1984) looks at the way in which tourism and local contact with tourists has brought about a revitalisation of the Cajun culture and identity in the area. Rapid acculturation which has taken place in Louisiana since the 1950s has led to an increased interest in the preservation and revitalisation of the traditional culture, with legislation introduced in 1968 to promote the French language and encourage awareness of the Cajun culture within the region. What has ensued is in effect the large-scale staging of traditional events and festivals, many of which were initiated since the introduction of the 1968 legislation. As Esman (1984:462) says:

"Organised manifestations of Cajun ethnic awareness, then, can be interpreted as a promotional device initiated by the state and perpetuated by local tourist agencies, culture brokers, and foreigners."

However, as she goes on to say:

"The public, staged nature of Cajun tourism is essential to its preservation. Since the show provided for tourists is atypical, it is essential to keep the tourists out of private domains." (p. 463)

In this way the commercial representation of Cajun ethnic identity and traditions has helped re-introduce the people to their own culture, which was in danger of becoming subsumed by mainstream American culture until the introduction of the 1968 legislation.

"In this instance, tourism has done more than to reinforce an identity; it has revitalized that identity and helped preserve some dying customs".

(Esman, 1984:465)

It must, however, be recognised that the success of the Louisiana Cajuns in revitalising their cultural identity through tourism has to an extent been due to the

fact that many of their "presentations" have been as much for their own pleasure, entertainment and satisfaction as they have been for tourist consumption.

What the above examples illustrate is that cultural or "ethnic" tourism can be used as a means of preserving or even revitalising that culture which is being presented for the tourists' consumption. The dangers of local cultures becoming commodified to meet the requirements of the tourist industry cannot be ignored, but the process by which this happens would appear to be poorly theorised and little understood in the broader terms of development, modernisation and the nature of the capitalist system as a whole. Furthermore, the role and importance of authenticity in such presentations, and the effects of commercialisation upon such authenticity, must also be more clearly brought into the debate regarding the impacts of tourism upon the culture of the residents of tourist receiving destinations.

2.3 Tourism And Authenticity

Culture is increasingly being used as a marker of authenticity in the presentation of tourist destinations. Because a culture which often is significantly different to that of the tourist is presented for their consumption, the experience is made more "real" by virtue of that difference. It should be noted, however, that many such performances or presentations exist more as tourist side-shows and commercial spin-offs than as genuine attempts to communicate and share the culture of a given area or destination. Such reconstructed, pseudo-representations of the culture stand as proof to the tourist that something more exotic (or real) exists behind the performance, and by witnessing its presentation, they have somehow moved along the "authenticity continuum" (MacCannell, 1973: 598), away from a situation which is clearly staged and recognised as such and towards a situation which is seen as more realistic, and as such are closer to understanding the true nature of the event. It must, however, be recognised that in many cases the nature of the event can be spurious and more involved with satisfying the demand for something different rather than something real, in the manner of what Wood (1984:362) describes as "secondary cultural tourism", where culture is used to imbue other forms of tourism with a unique appeal or image. In this way, local culture can be what provides the "difference" which makes a place attractive to tourists even though they themselves may have differing requirements and expectations in terms of culture and authenticity.

Since the early 1960s there has been debate as to whether the touristic phenomenon is an expression of modern man's search for either authentic or inauthentic experiences in their travels. Originating from the work of Daniel Boorstin (1964), and his analysis of the "pseudo event", the tourist is said to travel within an "environmental bubble" from within which he is happy to gaze upon contrived (or inauthentic) attractions. This area of research interest has been developed in particular by Dean MacCannell (1976), who takes the opposite view that the modern tourist is in fact on a kind of pilgrimage in search of signs of authenticity or 'reality markers' in the lives of others. He suggests that:

"Modern man has been condemned to look elsewhere, everywhere, for his authenticity, to see if he can catch a glimpse of it reflected in the simplicity, poverty, chastity or purity of others" (MacCannell, 1976: 41).

It is from this standpoint that he adapted the work of Erving Goffman (1959), which divided social spaces into "front" and "back" regions, with the former being deliberately staged encounters and the latter "the place where the home team retire between performances to relax and to prepare" (MacCannell, 1976:92). The "false fronts" may allow tourists to believe that they are moving towards the "authentic" back region, when in fact all they are seeing is a cleverly constructed representation of the local inhabitants' private space. It is from this work that MacCannell (1973) developed the concept of "staged authenticity", whereby a situation is deliberately constructed (or reconstructed) to create a seemingly authentic experience by which the tourist may, or may not, be taken in. Regardless, however, of their level of credulity regarding such situations, most tourists nonetheless become enmeshed in their seeming reality and unable to move any closer to an objectively 'real' situation.

One of the major criticisms of MacCannell's work is that, while he sets out a useful way of examining and theorising the deeper motives behind tourist behaviour, he leaves no room for consideration of the differing levels and perceptions of authenticity. Interesting work has been added to this idea by Cohen, who states that: "Not all kinds of empirically observed touristic situations fit into MacCannell's scheme" (1979: 26). Based on MacCannell's approach, he suggests that it is necessary to distinguish between four types of touristic situations. First, the authentic situation, which is both "objectively real" as well as accepted as such by

the tourists. This situation is encountered outside "tourist spaces" such as on off-the-beaten-track tours taken by young, authenticity-seeking tourists. The second situation is that of staged authenticity. This is the situation described by MacCannell where the tourist industry stages the scene for the tourist, but the tourist is not aware of the staging and therefore accepts it as real. The tourist industry is interested in presenting its commercial productions as real and, therefore, makes efforts to keep the tourist unaware of the staging. The third situation is the denial of authenticity. Here the reverse of the second situation occurs. The scene is 'objectively real' but the tourist doubts its authenticity as he has learnt from previous experience that apparently authentic situations may have been purposively manipulated to deceive the visitor. He develops a suspicion that he has been taken in, when in fact this has not necessarily been the case. The fourth situation is that of contrived authenticity. This is a situation in which the hosts or tourist industry admits the scene is staged, and the tourist is also conscious of the staging. Such situations take place in what are referred to as 'overt tourist spaces' (as opposed to 'covert tourist spaces' described in the second situation).

From this, it would appear that both MacCannell and Cohen are suggesting that people are unable to have 'authentic' experiences in tourist settings as a consequence of their staged presentation. However, this position can only be justified if one takes a purist view of authenticity, as opposed to taking the less strict and more flexible view that whatever a given person *perceives* as being authentic in terms of experience is concretely so as far as that person is concerned. The case could also be made that, in the purest sense, strict authenticity cannot occur in cultural presentations for tourists since the authenticity of a culture is not a given attribute or feature, but is more a function of a given group of people at a given time, and as such is a negotiated rather than fixed concept. However, a different view is taken by Pearce and Moscardo, who argue that:

"it is the relationship between the tourist and the host which determines authenticity. That is, all frontstage (inauthentic) actors have a backstage (authentic) region as well, to which certain people are permitted at certain times" (1986:129).

Dann (1991) looks at this relationship between hosts and guests, examining specifically the predisposition of tourists visiting Barbados to enter into local

homes. The study nicely illustrates this range of preferences for, and perceptions of, authentic (or apparently authentic) touristic experiences, with reactions ranging from the negative and apathetic to the following:

"'I felt just like a King since they had prepared a beautiful lunch. I couldn't have asked them to be more friendly. I have been to that home three or four times now. It is an open house to me. They treat me as part of the family. It gives me a beautiful feeling'" (1991:170).

This reaction from a 52 year old Canadian undoubtedly goes to show how the touristic experience can apparently be greatly improved by the relationship between host and guest, and in believing that they have had an "authentic" encounter. Later work by Cohen (1995), however, questions the position that tourism is an expression of modern man's quest for authenticity in the lives of others, suggesting that a new stage of development has been reached - that of the 'post-modern tourist' or 'post-tourist' (also see Urry, 1990: 100-2). He says:

"If the culturally sanctioned mode of travel of the modern tourist has been that of the serious quest for authenticity, the mode of the post-modern tourist is that of playful search for enjoyment. In the former there is a cognitive preoccupation with the penetration of staged fronts into real backs (MacCannell, 1973), in the latter there is an aesthetic enjoyment of surfaces whatever their status may be." (Cohen, 1995: 21)

Such a suggestion is to imply that a new type of tourist is developing, unconcerned with the concept of authenticity in its purest social, cultural and historical sense, but wholly concerned with the nature of the experience provided by the touristic process. As Selwyn (1996: 24) says, "For many tourists an authentic good time derives, precisely, from the experience of 'life as play'. Performances, spectacles, masks and make-believe are all vehicles for authentic good times: all are staged!". In this way it can be seen that the touristic process is no longer a search for either Boorstin's "pseudo-event" nor for MacCannell's "authenticity in the lives of others", but is more simply a journey in search of a good time.

Rojek (1993) has identified three basic characteristics of this new post-tourism, stating that:

"First, the post-tourist accepts the commodification of tourism; it and the products hawked along the way are all manifestations of consumerism. Second, tourism is seen as an end in its self, and not a means to some loftier goal. Third, post-tourists are drawn to the signs, especially the more spectacular signs, associated with tourism." (Ritzer and Liska, 1997, p102)

To suggest that we have now entered the age of the 'post-tourist' is seen by Ritzer and Liska (1997) as the kind of grand narrative which is incompatible with the popular theories of post-modernism and post-structuralism. They do, nonetheless, acknowledge that placing tourism within the realm of commodification and consumerism can shed new light on our understanding of the processes involved. However, one weakness of the current conceptualisation of tourism, according to Ritzer and Liska, is that ".. what is not emphasized enough is the degree to which tourism can become little more than a means to sell lots of other commodities" (1997, p.103). This is best illustrated by reference to the central themes of this work of Ritzer and Liska, the Las Vegas hotel, Disney theme parks, shopping malls and sea cruises. Each of these has become a central pillar of the new forms of tourism, each being explicitly designed to retain the tourists within its fixed boundaries, subtly coercing (or less subtly encouraging) them to improve the experience (or to make the experience more real) through the conspicuous and highly facilitated consumption of a tightly controlled range of products and services. So where does this then position the concept of authenticity in tourist experiences? To quote at length from Ritzer and Liska (1997):

"rather than seeking authenticity, as MacCannell suggests, it could be argued that people raised and living in a post-modern world dominated by simulations increasingly come to want, nay to insist on, simulations when they tour. For one thing, it is increasingly difficult to differentiate between the simulated and the real; indeed Baudrillard argues that the real has disappeared, imploding into the world of simulations. In such a world, the tourist would not know an authentic experience even if one could be found. For another, living on a day-to-day basis with simulations leads to a desire for them when one becomes a tourist. Accustomed to the simulated dining experience at McDonalds, the tourist is generally not apt to want to scrabble for food at the campfire, or to survive on nuts and berries picked on a walk through the woods. The latter may be 'authentic', but they are awfully difficult, uncomfortable, and unpredictable in comparison to a meal at a local fast-

food restaurant or in the dining room of a hotel that is part of an international chain. Most products of a post-modern world might be willing to eat at the campfire, as long as it is a simulated one on the lawn of the hotel." (p.107)

However, to take the point of view that all tourists are now in search of easily recognised and familiar simulations in their travels is certainly a grand narrative, and furthermore is one which does nothing to then explain why authenticity (if it is a concept of such little relevance to the post-tourist) has remained such a central concern of those involved in the presentation of culture for tourist consumption, and of those whose cultures are being presented. So, whilst strict authenticity may no longer be a requirement of a certain section of a maturing tourist market, it is still, nonetheless a concept requiring careful consideration from the perspectives of other stakeholders in the tourist/culture interaction.

One approach to the question of authenticity is that taken by Littrell et al (1993), who examine the issue in terms of the purchase of craft souvenirs. Relating the requirements for, and perceptions of such authenticity to the concept of tourism styles, they identified four distinct groups which they found to hold differing relationships to authenticity in the purchase of craft souvenirs. These groups were taken to include: Ethnic, Arts and People tourists; History and Parks tourists; Urban Entertainment tourists and Active Outdoor tourists.

Of these groups, the Ethnic, Arts and People tourists were found to be the most interactive with local residents, participating in a wide range of activities during their travels; they were found to associate authentic crafts most closely with traditional colours, natural materials, quality construction, workmanship and materials. The History and Parks tourism style was devoted to visiting places of historic interest and natural beauty, placing more emphasis on contemplation than interaction; authenticity issues for them were equally found to include use of natural colours, materials and workmanship, but also took into account issues such as traditional or regional design, historical representation and the product's function or use. Urban Entertainment tourists were seen as the busiest group, visiting professional sporting events, shopping , visiting theme parks and nightclubs; craft souvenir authenticity for them was best represented by aspects of the shopping experience such as witnessing the production of goods, uniqueness and originality of product, colours and design. Finally, Active Outdoor tourists traveled primarily to participate

in physical activities in remote and natural settings; for them, craft souvenir authenticity was best represented by usable items not available in their home areas, they were less concerned with the aesthetic qualities of such products.

From these group interpretations of authenticity three major themes were drawn. Firstly, in defining authenticity, some tourists place more emphasis on external criteria (such as production techniques and design, and authenticating documentation) whereas others are more internally driven, with issues such as personal taste and functionality being more important. Secondly, there is a temporal dimension, with certain tourists requiring a souvenir to have a direct link to the past in terms of production, materials or use. Other tourists, however, are more likely to link authenticity to the use of quality materials and a high level of craftsmanship. Thirdly, there is the theme of uniqueness and difference, with crafts which were different from those already owned, or particularly representative or evocative of a place, being attributed with authenticity.

What this goes to show is how, at least in the context of craft souvenirs, the definition of authenticity from the point of view of the tourist is a complex process based on a variety of elements. As Littrell et al (1993) state: "authentic crafts can be products that are unique or original, exhibit a handmade appearance and high quality workmanship, meet aesthetic criteria for color and design, are functional and useful, illustrate cultural and historic ties, are made with local materials by local craftpersons, and/or are sold with information about the craftperson or written evidence of genuineness." (p. 210). Importantly, what this research also demonstrates is how authenticity means different things to different people, and how tourism styles can be linked to such differing perceptions.

Another approach to the question of authenticity in tourism is to examine it from the point of view of heritage authenticity. Moscardo and Pearce (1986), for example, examine this concept in terms of visitor perceptions of authenticity in Australian historic theme parks. Their results indicated that authenticity was a motive for traveling to such parks, and that it played an important part in the experience of doing so. Their criteria for optimising the visitor experience in such settings are that: "the historical setting is likely to be presented as authentic; that it must be seen as authentic by those who are motivated to visit such settings; and that it

should offer visitors a chance to appreciate some aspect of a past society or culture" (1986: 477).

Ehrentraut (1993), on the other hand, looks at the concept in terms of Japanese Heritage Houses from the point of view of domestic tourists. Here, he found that the most common form of visit to such sites was in groups of 20 or more, leading to a highly socially mediated perception of authenticity. Whilst a wide variety of levels of preservation, maintenance and interpretation were evident in all the properties visited, authenticity, for Japanese domestic visitors, was not dependent on such functions. As he says (276): "for Japanese tourists, the domain of the familiar becomes expanded to include the larger social collectivities of which they are members. In short, by visiting a heritage site, they are both consuming and expressing an authentic element of both regional and national identity." Under such circumstances, heritage authenticity depends more upon the individual's relationship with the past, which, given the collective and highly stratified nature of Japanese society, is a social and ideological construct. In this way, heritage authenticity, for Japanese domestic tourists, is not so much based upon the identifiable criteria of heritage properties, but is rather more a function of the social miliue within which such properties are visited, and the ideological links to the past commonly held by such groupings. In this way, it can be seen that a member of the traditional land-owning class will hold a different perception of traditional heritage farmhouses than will a member of the traditional labouring class.

Selwyn (1996) provides another way of conceptualising the authentic based upon the need to differentiate between two kinds of authenticity "one of which has to do with feeling, the other with knowledge" (p. 7). The first of these, pertaining to feelings, is what he refers to as 'hot' authenticity, which he further subdivides into "myths of the authentic other and the authentically social" and "myths of the authentic self". In this instance, the former is the kind of authenticity encountered in the mythology of tourist brochures, such as Balinese religious dances (Picard, 1995) or Spanish flamenco, or a traditional Irish bar. "In each case what is being celebrated is, in a narrow sense, a glimpse of nationhood or a sense of the authentically national. In rather simpler and broader terms, what is on offer is a sense of the authentically social" (Selwyn, 1996: 23). The latter (myths of the authentic self) can be seen, on the one hand, as a desire to identify with the 'other' depicted in tourist brochures and cultural presentations in order to be better able to

identify oneself. On the other hand, this authentic self can be interpreted as the 'true' self only encountered in isolation from the routine of modern existence. The second kind of authenticity to which he refers is what he calls 'cool' authenticity. Here, what is being referred to is the kind of knowledge of authenticity which goes beyond the myths of the tourist brochures and enters the middle ground between the curatorial or academic knowledge of the 'experts' (or observers), the social and political reality of residents and the High Street knowledge of the tourist. That is to say that 'cool' authenticity, for Selwyn, is the reality existing behind the tourist myths, yet which actively shapes those myths to best suit the purposes of the present.

Getz (1994) also looks at the importance of authenticity, but in the specific context of event tourism. Here, he equates the concept of authenticity with the attachment of meaning to an event at the local level, with residents doing so in one way, the planners of events doing so in another, and the tourists in yet another. The key to overcoming the dilemma of maintaining authenticity in events whilst ensuring their popularity (with both residents and tourists alike) lies in striking a balance between these meanings. For Getz then, authenticity is no guarantee of the success of an event, and popularity is certainly no measure of authenticity. In order to maximise the authenticity of such events they should (Getz, 1994: 327):

1. Reflect indigenous themes; reveal meanings about values, traditions and sense of place.
2. Reveal interrelationships between people, and people and the environment.
3. Are controlled by the host community and protected against potentially damaging external influences; appropriate organisations and decision-making processes are in place.
4. Are valued and well attended by residents.
5. Stimulate both emotional and intellectual curiosity.
6. Offer culturally genuine goods and performances, such as local foods, costumes, dances, crafts; provide direct contact with important heritage objects, sites, events or ways of life.
7. Do not exploit tourists through profit maximisation at the expense of quality; cultural goals are made to fit cultural goals.
8. Allow hosts and guests to mingle and to participate in the living community.
9. Accurately portray historical events or objects.

Another concept upon which Getz draws is Cohen's (1979) concept of 'emergent authenticity'. This is a situation whereby increased meaning can become attached to an event over time, thereby integrating it into the cultural landscape of a given community and as such allowing it to aquire greater authenticity in terms of community acceptance, involvement and opinion.

What this literature does little to help us understand, however, is how to minimise the impacts of such close contact on the residents of a receiving community. In addition, little empirical research has been carried out into the nature of authenticity as a social construct, particularly in terms of its use in the development of tourist attractions and experiences. Furthermore, there is a need to translate the criteria developed in the literature (Moscardo and Pearce, 1986) in historic settings, into the present to allow meaningful experiences to be obtained both by visitors and hosts in modern settings where culture is used as an element of tourist attractions and experiences.

Furthermore, in order for such presentations to be successful in the long run, they must be carried out in accordance with the requirements of the host population, or as Getz says:

"Given that the essence of authenticity is its cultural meaning, the bottom line must be that host communities determine what is meaningful to them. In this sense, authenticity is not so much the ritual, games, spectacle or celebration itself as the degree to which these components have been manufactured, modified or exploited just for tourists, the media, or financial success" (1994: 327).

2.4 Resident Perceptions of Tourism Impacts

Research into the the impacts of tourism on host communities has been ongoing since the 1970s, with the earliest works examining the progression of tourist destinations through various stages of development over time. Highly influential in this field has been Doxey (1974), who suggests that interactions between visitors and residents in an area can lead, in time, to varying degrees of "irritants", which in the long run can prove to be harmful to tourism development due to increasing levels of antagonism towards the industry and its impacts upon the residents. He suggested that resident attitudes to tourism would progress along an index of irritation (or 'irridex') as tourist numbers and industry development increase. From

an initial phase of euphoria, residents' attitudes would then progress to a stage of apathy as tourist numbers increase, turning to irritation and eventually to antagonism as residents become increasingly disaffected by the negative influences upon their community.

Smith's (1978) typology of tourist types, on the other hand, takes the approach of linking different stages of tourism development with the predominant style or type of tourist visiting, the scale or number of their arrivals, and the level of community impact. Starting with the 'explorer' type of tourist in very limited numbers, community impacts are minimal. The next arrivals are the rarely seen 'elite' tourists and the uncommon 'off-beat' tourists, each having low but steadily increasing levels of community impact, leading to the occasional arrival of the 'unusual' tourist. At the 'incipient mass' stage, numbers have increased to a steady flow and community impacts are rising. By the stage of the arrival of the 'mass' tourists in a continual influx community impacts are approaching their most severe, eventually reaching their most extreme with the arrival of 'charter' tourists in their massive numbers.

Another stage-based model of tourism development is that presented by Butler (1980) applying the marketing concept of the product life cycle to the development of tourist destinations, suggesting that as a destination matures it will pass through the stages of exploration, involvement, development, consolidation, stagnation and eventually that of rejuvination or decline. Whilst not specifically concerned with the question of residents' attitudes to tourism and community support, these are taken into consideration as part of the broader process of tourism development. During the consolidation stage he remarks that, "The large numbers of visitors and the facilities provided for them can be expected to arouse some opposition and discontent among permanent residents." (Butler, 1980, p.8). At the stagnation phase (corresponding with Doxey's level of antagonism, or Smith's stage of mass arrivals) he says, "Capacity levels for many variables will have been reached or exceeded with attendant environmental, social and economic problems." (Butler, 1980, p.8).

Such stage-based models of tourism development and the concomitant changes in attitudes amongst residents of tourist destinations are open to criticism on a number of levels. Firstly, it is unclear whether any form of demarcation exists

between the stages of all three models, and whether the progression from one level to another is strictly one-way and sequential, or whether a more advanced level can be reached without passage through the earlier stages. Butler, for example, cites the case of Cancun in Mexico as an example of a resort which has passed directly to the later stages of the life-cycle without passing through the earlier developmental phases. No evidence exists, however, as to whether a similar jump will have been made in terms of either Smith's or Doxey's models, although it is logical to assume that the development of an integrated resort complex would quickly lead to the arrival of large numbers of 'incipient mass' or 'mass' tourists. Furthermore, no attempt is made to incorporate any form of time scale into any of the models, nor is it clear whether the situations described are unavoidable stages in the process of tourism development or can be controlled through careful planning. Finally, in the latter stages of the Butler and Doxey models, is it the entire community who expresses increasing levels of antagonism towards tourism and tourists, or are the negative impacts of such developments and associated attitudes only felt by sections of the population?

Much of the subsequent research into this area has been in the form of what Pearce, Moscardo and Ross (1991) call "segmentation approaches to tourism's social impacts" (148). Such work has tended to look in detail at the impacts of tourism as perceived by the residents of receiving areas, linking these to various resident characteristics. The main explanatory variables, and the direction of their relationship to perceptions of tourism are summarised in Table 2.2, taken from the work of Pearce, Moscardo and Ross (1996). They take these main variables as being: level of tourism development, usually measured as number of tourist arrivals; economic dependancy on tourism, both in terms of individual and community dependancy; distance from place of residence to tourist areas, either in terms of zones of high tourist density or particular tourist developments; level of contact with tourists, either self-reported or taken as residence in zones of high tourist density; respondent demographics, being age, socio-economic category, length of residence; community attachment, again measured in terms of length of residence, place of birth or respondent-defined level of attachment; use of outdoor recreation facilities; general economic conditions of the community, including level of dependance upon tourism, overall levels of employment and levels of other industry within a community; perceived ability to influence tourism decisions or level of community involvement in tourism planning; knowledge of tourism, in terms of

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economic impact, tourist numbers and the provision of facilities; political self-identification and the influence of a tourism public relations campaign on both knowledge and perceptions of tourism and its' impacts.

Table 2.2 Main Variables used in Resident Perception Studies

Variable Examined	Study	Key conclusions
1. Level of tourism development	1. Liu et al (1987)	Residents of places with a longer history of tourism development are more aware of both positive and negative impacts.
	2. Allen et al (1988)	There was a relationship between perceptions of negative impacts and development of tourism, but this was not as strong a relationship as between perceptions of negative impacts and population growth.
	3. Long et al (1990)	There was a relationship between support for tourism and level of development, but as level of tourism development increases, so do perceptions of both positive and negative impacts.
	4. Perdue et al (1990)	Perceptions of impacts are related to level of tourism development.
	5. Madrigal (1993)	Level of tourism development is the best predictor of negative but not positive impacts of tourism.
2. Economic dependency on tourism **A. Comparisons of residents, business owners and government officials.**	1. Pizam (1978)	Entrepreneurs were more positive than other groups.
	2. Thomason et al (1979)	Entrepreneurs were more positive than other groups.
	3. Keogh (1990)	There were no significant differences in the perceptions of business owners and residents.
	4. Lankford (1994)	Residents were more cautious than business owners and government officials.
	5. Murphy (1983)	There were significant differences between residents, administrators and the business section.
B. Job in tourism or perceived balance of personal costs and benefits from tourism.	1. Pizam (1978)	There was a positive relationship between employment in and support for tourism.
	2. Rothman (1978)	Economic dependency on tourism was related to more positive perceptions of tourism.
	3. Husbands (1989)	Residents employed in tourism were more positive about tourism.
	4. Perdue et al (1990)	Personal benefits from tourism were important in explaining perceptions of positive but not negative impacts of tourism.
	5. Mansfeld (1992)	Residents employed in tourism were more positive.
	6. Madrigal (1993)	Personal benefits from tourism were the best predictor of positive but not of negative impacts.
	7. Prentice (1993)	There was a positive relationship between perceived benefits from and positive perceptions of tourism.
	8. Langford and Howard (1994)	Those who were more dependent on tourism were more positive about tourism.
3. Distance from place of residence to	1. Belisle and Hoy	As distance from place of residence increased residents were less positive about tourism.

tourist areas.	(1980)	
	2. Brougham and Butler (1981)	Some relationships were found between residence in zones of high tourist pressure, but the nature of the relationship differed for different tourist types.
	3. Sheldon and Var (1984)	Residents in higher tourist density areas were more positive about tourism.
	4. Keogh (1990)	People living closer to a proposed tourist development perceived more negative impacts.
	5.Mansfeld (1992)	People living further from tourist areas saw more negative impacts from tourism.
4. Level of contact with tourists.	1. Pizam (1978)	Residents with more contact with tourists were negative about tourism.
	2. Rothman (1978)	High contact with tourists was associated with positive perceptions of tourism.
5. Respondent demographics	1. Belisle and Hoy (1978)	No relationship between perception of tourism and age, gender or level of education.
	2. Brougham and Butler (1981)	Older residents were less positive about tourism.
	3. Davis et al (1988)	No relationship between demographics and attitude towards tourism.
	4. Ritchie (1988)	Older residents were less positive about tourism.
	5. Husbands (1985)	Education and age were related to perceptions of tourism.
	6. Perdue et al (1990)	There were no relationships between perceptions of tourism and demographics when personal benefits from tourism were accounted for.
	7. Caneday and Zeiger (1991)	Level of education was related to more positive perceptions of tourism for residents, but it was related to more negative perceptions for entrepreneurs who were not in tourism.
	8. King et al (1993)	Only limited differences in perceptions of tourism between different demographic groups.
	9. Lankford (1994)	No significant relationship between perceptions of tourism and demographics.
6. Community attachment.	1. Brougham and Butler (1981)	People who had lived longer in community were more positive about some types of tourists.
	2. Davis et al (1988)	People born in a place were more positive than newcomers to a place.
	3. Lankford and Howard (1994)	No significant relationship between community attachment and perceptions of tourism.
	4. McCool and Martin (1994)	Greater attachment to a community was associated with higher ratings of both positive and negative impacts of tourism.
7. Use of outdoor recreation facilities.	1. Perdue et al (1987)	No significant differences in perception of tourism between groups with different levels of outdoor recreation.
	2. Keogh (1990)	Residents who used an area proposed for tourism development saw both more positive and negative aspects from the development.
8. General Economic conditions of the	1. Perdue et al (1990)	If residents believe the future of their town is bright, they are less supportive of tourism developments.

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	2. Johnson et al (1994)	Lower support was related to low levels of general economic activity.
9. Perceived ability to influence tourism decisions.	1. Madrigal (1993)	Perceived ability to influence tourism decisions was significantly related to positive perceptions of tourism.
	2. Lankford and Howard (1994)	There was a significant positive relationship between perceived ability to influence tourism decisions and perception of positive and negative impacts of tourism.
10. Knowledge of tourism	1. Davis et al (1988)	Knowledge of tourism was positively related to positive perceptions of tourism.
	2. Keogh (1990)	Greater knowledge of a proposed tourism development was associated with more detailed and more positive perceptions of tourism impacts.
	3. Lankford and Howard (1994)	Greater knowledge of tourism was related to greater support for tourism.
11. Political self-identification.	1. Snepenger and Johnson (1991)	Residents with conservative political views were more negative about tourism than those with moderate or liberal views.
12. Influence of a tourism public relations campaign.	1. Robertson and Crotts (1992)	Residents of a community with a public relations campaign were more positive about tourism than those not exposed to a public relations campaign.

Pearce, Moscardo and Ross (1996) pp: 21-23.

Following the logic of Doxey's (1975) irridex, Butler's (1980) destination life cycle and Smith's (1978) tourist typology, several studies have approached the issue of resident perceptions of tourism from the central hypothesis that greater numbers of tourist arrivals and a more mature industry would lead to higher levels of resident dissatisfaction. Such findings, however, are not clearly illustrated by the research. Liu, Sheldon and Var (1987), for example, conclude that residents of more highly developed tourist areas were more aware of both the negative and the positive impacts, "largely because tourism is kept at the forefront of thinking through the media, public issues, and community dicussions." (Op cit, p.35) Such findings were borne out by Long, Perdue and Allen (1990), who found perceptions of both positive and negative impacts to increase with levels of tourism development, although it was also found that when 30% of retail sales within a community were derived from tourism, support for additional development declined.

Allen, Long, Perdue and Kieselbach (1988) did find a downward in trend in perceptions of tourism with increased levels of development, but also point out that support for tourism activity "will depend upon several factors including the economic, environmental and social resources of the community and the quality of planning associated with tourism development" (ibid, p.21). Johnson, Snepenger

and Akis (1994) also found a relationship between level of tourism development and resident perceptions of impacts, concluding that increases in the level of tourism development would continue to ellicit positive responses amongst the community provided that the benefits of such expansion are felt across the community as a whole. Perdue, Long and Allen (1990), concluded that support for tourism developments, particularly in rural areas, is negatively related to the perceived future of the community - that is to say that the more negative a host population is about the economic prospects of its community, the more positive it will be towards tourism development and expansion. Johnson, Snepenger and Akis (1994) found lower levels of support for tourism to be linked to lower levels of economic activity, as did Getz (1994), who found increasing negativity towards tourist developments to be a function of general recession, concluding that an upturn in economic circumstances would lead to improved satisfaction and more positive attitudes towards tourism.

Measuring tourism development as the level of contact between residents and tourists, Pizam (1978) concluded that those residents with more contact with tourists were more negative about tourism. Again, this conflicts with other findings elsewhere, with Rothman (1978) linking high levels of tourist contact with higher levels of satisfaction with the industry. Sheldon and Var (1984), taking a high level of contact with tourists to mean those residents of higher tourist density areas, also found such residents to be generally more positive about the industry and its impacts upon their communities, although given the small sample size of their survey (54 respondents across two counties), the validity of their findings cannot be taken for granted.

Linking perceptions of tourism directly to personal levels of economic dependence upon the industry, several studies have carried out comparisons between the perceptions of residents, business owners and those involved in the planning process at a local level. Pizam (1978) and Rothman (1978) both found economic dependency upon tourists to lead to greater satisfaction with the industry and to better perceptions of the tourists themselves. Thomason, Crompton and Dan Kamp (1979) also found entrepreneurs to be generally more positive about tourism than government officials or other residents. Murphy (1983) did find differences in opinion between the groups of residents, government officials and the business sector, although he did not find these to be entirely exclusive, with a certain

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amount of cross-over existing, whilst Keogh (1990) did not find business owners to be significantly more positive than other residents regarding a new tourist park development.

Many studies have found there to be a clear link between specific employment in the tourism industry and more positive perceptions (Pizam, 1978), (King, Pizam and Millman, 1993), (Rothman, 1978), (Husbands, 1989), (Mansfeld, 1992), (Prentice, 1993), (Lankford and Howard, 1994), perhaps unsurprisingly given the clear link already established with economic dependancy. Certain studies, however, have also shown that such dependancy is not necessarily such a good predictor of negative perceptions (Perdue, Long and Allen, 1990), with Madrigal (1993) concluding that negative perceptions are more dependant on the level of tourism development than on personal economic reliance upon the industry.

Belisle and Hoy (1980) were one of the first to establish a link between distance of place of residence to tourist area and perceptions of impacts, finding those residents who lived furthest from the tourist zone to be least positive about the impacts upon their lives. Similarly, Mansfeld (1992) found that those living furthest from tourist areas perceived more negative impacts from the industry. Keogh (1990), on the other hand, found those residents living closest to a proposed tourism development to be less positive about its impacts than other groups, as were those who used the area for outdoor recreation. Brougham and Butler (1981) did find some relationship between place of residence and perception of impacts, particularly that those in areas with high levels of tourist contact were the most favourable towards public expenditure for tourism promotion purposes.

Respondent demographics have not, on the whole, proven to be a particularly good indicator of perceptions of tourism impacts, although there is evidence to show that older residents of tourist receiving communities are less positive about tourism (Brougham and Butler, 1981; Ritchie, 1988; Husbands,1985). Greater length of residence in a community has been linked in some studies to more positive perceptions of tourism (Brougham and Butler, 1981; Davis, Allen and Cosenza, 1988), while McCool and Martin (1994) found community attachment to be linked to perception of increased levels of both the positive and negative impacts of tourism.

Linking perceptions of tourism to personal political alliance, Snepenger and Johnson (1991), researching the effect of political self-identification on perceptions of tourism, found those residents with conservative views to be less enthusiastic about tourism than those with moderate or liberal views.

The perceived ability to influence tourism decisions has also been found to be strongly linked to increased positive attitudes towards tourism by residents in some studies (Madrigal, 1993; Lankford and Howard, 1994). Greater knowledge of tourism has also been found to lead to more positive views about its impacts (Perdue, Long and Allen, 1990; Davis, Allen and Cosenza, 1988; Keogh, 1990; Lankford and Howard, 1994). Robertson and Crotts' (1992), have also concluded that a community public relations campaign increases residents' positive perceptions of tourism.

Another approach used in this area, in contrast to segmenting residents of tourist areas according to certain socio-demographics, is that used by Davis, Allen and Cosenza (1988) in Florida, and Ryan and Montgomery (1994) in Bakewell, Derbyshire. Using cluster analysis to draw out groups of residents exhibiting similar responses to a set of attitude, interest and opinion (AIO) statements, both studies identified clearly differentiated clusters of responses within the populations surveyed. Davis et al (1988) found five clusters of responses which they labelled Haters, demonstrating extremely negative opinions towards tourism; Lovers, demonstrating extremely positive opinions towards tourism; Cautious Romantics, being generally positive in their attitudes but exhibiting some concerns regarding the future growth of the industry; In-Betweeners, demonstrating generally moderate views of tourism; and the Love 'Em for a Reason group, again demonstrating a generally positive attitude towards tourism, but emphasising the employment and cultural benefits to residents as a result of tourism. Ryan and Montgomery (1994), on the other hand, found only three clearly differentiated clusters in their study, partly due to their smaller sampling frame restricting the statistical significance of smaller groupings within the sample surveyed. The three clusters identified in the survey were The Enthusiasts, tending to support tourism, but not excessively or exclusively so; The Somewhat Irritated, demonstrating some annoyance at the negative impacts of tourism, and some scepticism regarding its potential benefits; and The Middle of the Roaders, whose responses generally, although not universally, fell in between those of the Enthusiasts and the Somewhat Irritated.

In terms of resident perception studies carried out specifically in Wales, relatively little attention has been accorded the area over the years. Sheldon and Var's (1984) paper, examining the attitudes of 54 residents across the two North Wales counties of Gwynedd and Clwyd, was the first to apply the developing orthodoxy of resident perception study by survey research to the area. Their overall findings were that lifelong residents and Welsh speakers were the most sensitive to the social and cultural impacts of tourism, and that residents of higher density tourist areas were not any more negative towards tourists than those residents of lower tourist density. These conclusions are in conflict with both the findings of Prentice (1993), who found Welsh language useage to be relevant only to the question of tourism's impact upon the language itself, and Belisle and Hoy (1980) who found support for tourism in general to decline with distance from the main tourist centre in question. The European Centre for Traditional and Regional Cultures' (ECTARC) 1987 study of the populations of three Welsh towns (Lanberis in North Wales, Newcastle Emlyn in Mid Wales and the Rhondda in the South) did not find any specific differences in the attitudes of Welsh speakers and non-Welsh speakers. Their findings were that in general residents were positive about the employment and economic benefits of tourism, and linked cultural change more to the factors of television, the in-migration of residents from England and the out-migration of locals. The area of most concern for all residents was that of physical environmental impacts rather than socio-cultural impacts, in common with the 1995 Institute of Welsh Affairs (IWA) survey of attitudes to tourism in North-West Wales. Here, they also concluded that residents on the whole perceive tourism as being of benefit to their community, but expressed concerns regarding the environmental impacts of tourism, particularly traffic congestion.

As can be seen, many studies have been carried out in this area. However these have tended to cover similar ground, linking residents' perceptions of tourism impacts to dependence on the industry for income, length of residence in the area, distance of residence from the main tourism centre, age of respondents, and level of education. All of the studies described here have taken the standard approach of using questionnaire surveys to record the level of agreement of respondents to a range of attitudinal statements and measured on a predetermined scale. These responses are then subjected to statistical analysis in order to draw out the significant correlations which exist within the data, and to empirically test the

hypotheses used in the construction of the questionnaire. What this approach has tended to yield is a body of similarly constructed and similarly applied research providing largely descriptive, and in some cases comparable, detail on an increasing range of destinations.

This increasingly standardised approach to the sudy of resident perceptions of the impacts of tourism has consequently received some criticism from other researchers in the field. As Ap (1992, p.614) says, "The descriptive nature of the studies are indicative of a field of study that is in its early stages of development", and this despite the fact that tourism has now been an area of academic inquiry for some forty years. What is generally lacking in many of these studies is a clear link to specific theory, and it is for this reason that Ap (1990, p.614) states that, "future studies should attempt to link the central concepts to some theory". This deficiency in the main body of work in this area is also pointed out by Husbands (1989), who is of the opinion that, "the theoretical understanding of resident perceptions of, or attitudes to, tourism is weak. This accounts for the general absence of explanation grounded in the social structure of the destination society". It is, therefore, evident that if we are to "advance our understanding of how communities develop their knowledge of, and attitudes towards, tourism" (Pearce, Moscardo and Ross, 1996, p.2) other approaches to the integration of theory and method need to be considered.

Remarkably little work has looked specifically into residents' perceptions of culture and of authenticity, and the effects upon the culture of receiving destinations of cultural representations for tourist consumption. Two approaches which have recently highlighted as having potential for improving our understanding of ways in which residents formulate their attitudes towards, perceptions of and behaviour in reaction to tourism's impacts at a local level are "social exchange theory" (Perdue, Long and Allen, 1990; Ap, 1992; Madrigal, 1993) and "social representations" (Pearce, Moscardo and Ross, 1991 + 1996).

Social exchange theory, according to Ap "Is a general sociological theory concerned with understanding the exchange of resources between individuals and groups in an interaction situation" (1992, p. 668). Resources, in this context are taken to be "of a material, social or psychological nature" (ibid), and the interaction situation to which he refers is, of course, the tourism/resident interaction involved in

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the tourism industry. Taking the term "actor" to include individuals and groups of both residents and tourists, or those involved in the tourism industry, the basic premise of social exchange theory is that such actors will behave in a way which brings about favourable outcomes from the exchange process. As long as an equitable balance of exchange is maintained in the relationship (the concept of reciprocity), both actors will continue to enter into the process, although, as Ap says, "Reciprocity suggests that the resources exchanged should be roughly equivalent. When the nature of the resources exchanged differs determining equivalence becomes problematic" (1992, p.675).

This is of particular relevance when examining the touristic useage of culture from the perspective of residents, since in many ways it is unclear what exactly it is that the resident holds here in terms of cultural resources, exactly what it is that they themselves require in return for the use of such resources, and how any kind of equivalence of exchange can therefore be negotiated. This is further compounded by the concept of power advantages, where dependance upon the tourism industry (in economic, social or cultural terms) can lead resident actors to enter into exchange relations in which there is little reciprocity of returns, and they themselves may feel exploited, yet will continue to enter into such exchanges, considering not doing so as being an even less desireable outcome of the situation.

The concept of power is again central to exchange theory, defined by Madrigal as "the ability of one actor to influence decision outcomes that will affect the other" (1993, p. 338). In this way power can be seen as being inextricably linked to both influence and dependence within the strict setting of the exchange relationship, and is derived from holding resources which are required by another actor. Power, in terms of social exchange, is dependant upon the perceived value of the resources available to a given actor, but value only exists in terms of the exchange relationship, and something which has value outside of the exchange process may have little influence in determining the balance of power within the exchange relationship. This, again, is clearly of great relevance when considering culture as a resource in such relationships, given that its value is virtually impossible to quantify in economic terms, and as such is often open to under-valuation. Furthermore, since culture (in terms of exchange resource) is not strictly speaking *held* by residents (although it could be seen as *belonging* to them), there is very little that

they can actually do to prevent its useage as a tourist resource other than to disapprove.

According to Ap (1992), the consequences of the exchange process, in this instance, are primarily psychological or experiential in nature. He says, "the consequences may be viewed in the following sequence: examining outputs from the exchange; determining the actions of the actor in response to the outputs obtained; and evaluating the psychological outcomes of the consequences." (op cit, p. 685).

One model which can help to categorise such responses to the outcomes of such exchange processes is that proposed by Butler (1975) developed from the work of Bjorklund and Philbrick (1972) (Fig. 2.2, below). Here, such responses can be divided into a four-way matrix categorising the attitude/behaviour options which may develop from such transactions. Such responses may be either positive or negative and may be either active or passive in nature, depending on the level of psychological impact.

Fig 2.2 Attitude/Behaviour Responses to Tourism Impacts

Attitude/Behaviour

	Active	Passive
Positive	Aggressive promotion of something favoured	Silent acceptance of something favoured
Attitude/ Behaviour		
Negative	Aggressive opposition to something disliked	Resigned acceptance of something disliked

(Arrows indicate possibility of change)
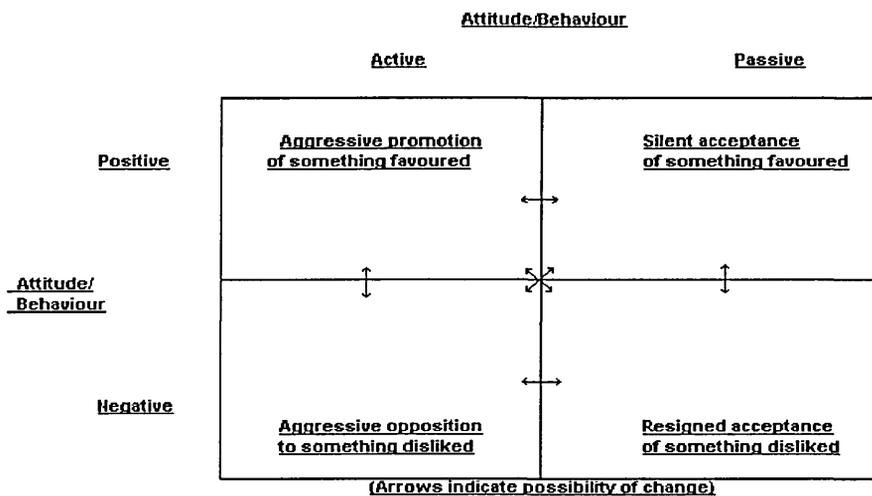
Bjorklund and Philbrick, in Butler, 1974

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Butler (1975), using the above model, allows for four forms of adjustment to tourism impacts - aggressive promotion by those most in favour, passive acceptance by those who are somewhat in favour, passive non-acceptance by those who perceive some negative impacts, and aggressive opposition by those members of the community who consider themselves as receiving no benefits from the presence of tourists within their community. These responses, however, are primarily psychological in nature and do not attempt clearly to link such attitudes to behaviour in any way. One paper which clearly sets out a range of potential responses in such circumstances is by Dogan (1989), who develops a set of cultural strategies for responding to the effects of tourism, although specifically in a Third World rather than Western context. It is suggested these strategies include:

Resistance - in places which are adversly affected by tourism, and in those with a tradition of conflict between residents and visitors, strong feelings of resentment may develop and these may be expressed in aggressive behaviour against tourists and touristic facilities;

Retreatism - when the changes produced by tourism in the structure of the host society are not approved of by a substantial proportion of the local population, their reaction sometimes involves them closing in on themselves, avoiding contact with outsiders, reviving old traditions, and by an increased cultural and ethnic consciousness among local people. Residents turn inward in this way instead of being actively resistant to tourism;

Boundary maintenance - this involves the development of a well defined boundary between the outside and the local cultures and the presentation of the local traditions to outsiders in a different context so as to minimise the effects of the visitors on the local culture;

Revitalisation - sometimes tourism itself may be a factor in the preservation of traditional aspects of local culture rather than in its dissolution. In many instances, traditions, customs and institutions which are in the process of vanishing under the impact of industrialisation and urbanisation have been revived and have gained a new spirit and meaning by becoming tourist attractions;

Adoption - some sections of the host societies may not object to the disintegration of traditional culture under the impact of tourism and in fact may actively work for the disintegration of the traditional social structure and for the adoption of mainstream Western culture, as symbolised by tourism.

More consistent with Butler's (1975) framework is the range of strategies for responding to the pressures of the presence of tourists which is developed by Ap and Crompton (1993) based on research on four Texan communities. Here, these are taken to include:

Embacement - mirroring Butler's aggressive promotion, this is the response of those members of a community who most benefit from tourism;

Tolerance - corresponding to Butler's passive acceptance, this is the response of those residents who perceive some negative impacts from tourism, but an overall positive balance;

Adjustment - this is the response of those residents who appear to be on the whole ambivalent about the effects of tourism, and is perhaps less opposed to tourism than Butler's silent opposition, but less accepting than those adopting a strategy of tolerance;

Withdrawal - this final category incorporates those members of a community whose non-acceptance of tourism leads them to withdraw from any form of contact with tourists, in some cases leaving the community during periods of high tourist density.

Boissevain (1996) presents a range of potential strategies, developed in the context of Malta, which may be adopted by communities in order to protect their 'back regions' from tourist penetration. These he takes to include:

Covert Resistance - this type of response is very much in the low-key form of passive resitance, exemplified by the "sulking, grumbling, obstruction, gossip, ridicule, and surreptitious insults" (1996, p.14) directed by residents at tourists.

Hiding - this form of adjustment is to carry out events or celebrations at times when the tourist presence is lowest,a nd with a minimum of advertisement and fuss. These he equates to "cast parties, when actors and (back) stage crewcelebrate the end of a performance, well out of sight of the audience" (1996, p.16).

Fencing - which literally involves the construction of physical barriers to fence off private areas in order to guard against intrusion.

Ritual - here, he points to the increase over the past twenty-five years in the number of public rituals taking place in Europe, particularly insider events designed to celebrate communities and reinforce cultural identity.

Organised Protest - in circumstances where tourism-related developments arouse substantial disapproval, residents may actively organise in protest against the intrusion to which they do not consent.

Aggression - in extreme circumstances this may take the form of actual physical violence against tourists, although more typically it will involve overt rudeness towards them, and perhaps violence against tourist property in the form of vandalism.

Another study specifically examining resident responses to tourism impacts is that by Brown and Giles (1994) carried out in Byron Bay, New South Wales. Their approach, however, was to examine in detail the physical movements of residents around their community and to map the changes in their daily patterns of movement brought about by the presence of tourists. As such, the nature of the responses found tended to be in the form of shopping at times when tourists were less prevelant in shops, or visiting the beach earlier or later in the day to avoid the busiest periods.

So, whilst Butler's model is useful in categorising the nature of resident responses to the outcomes of such touristic exchange processes, what it does not help us to understand is, on the one hand, which resources (in this case, elements of culture) are viewed as most valuable by the residents, and on the other, how importance is attached to such elements by different groups of the population. It is for this reason

that the work of Pearce, Moscardo and Ross (1991, 1996), taking a social representational perspective, holds a good deal of potential in this field of enquiry.

Their initial (1991) study, carried out in the North Queensland city of Cairns, took what they refer to as an "equity-social representational" approach to the attitudes of residents to prospective tourism development scenarios. Using a set of measures to assess the perceived balance of personal costs and benefits resulting from tourism they segmented the respondents into four equity groups - those who felt that tourism had an overall negative impact upon their lives personally (the 'negative equity group'), those who felt there to be a balance between the negative and positive impacts of tourism upon their lives (the 'balance group'), those who felt tourism to have an overall positive impact upon their lives (the 'positive equity group'), and those perceiving tourism as having no impact upon them personally (the 'no Impact group'). These equity groups, based on personal impacts (both overall and economic) were then related to their perceptions of tourism's impacts upon the community as a whole, with the 'positive equity group' exhibiting a more positive attitude towards the community impacts, the 'negative equity group' being clearly more negative regarding the community impacts, the 'balance group' showing an overall negative view (although less so than the 'negative equity group'), and the 'no Impact group' perceiving an overall balance between the negative and positive impacts.

Having clearly established the existence of these four different groups in terms of equity considerations, the next stage of the research was then to determine whether there was any level of cohesion within the groups in terms of their responses to five proposed tourism development scenarios - an environmentally sensitive 'wetlands scenario', a 'tourist resort scenario', an 'integrated specialist resort scenario', a 'wildlife sanctuary scenario', and a 'tourist shopping rezoning scenario'. To achieve this, three potential levels of response were provided, reflecting the level of support or enthusiasm for such developments: *green*, representing support for limited and heavily controlled development; *gold*, representing an enthusiastic pro-development approach; and *green and gold*, representing a positive attitude to development, but conditional on strict levels of management control and planning restrictions.

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The findings from this were that the 'positive equity group' were clearly the most pro-development, giving the highest level of gold responses accross all five development scenarios; the 'negative equity group', on the other hand, gave the highest level of green responses for all five scenarios. The 'balance' and 'no impact' equity groups' responses tended to be more dependent upon the type of scenario presented, with the 'balance group' following the 'negative group' in their response to the 'wetlands', 'integrated specialist resort' and 'tourist shopping rezoning' scenarios, yet being closest to the 'positive group' in response to the 'wildlife sanctuary scenario'. The 'no impact group' chose a predominantly green and gold response to the scenarios, reflecting their neither positive nor negative point of view. Interestingly, there was a certain overall pattern, with the 'wildlife sanctuary scenario' receiving clearly the most support from all equity groups, and the 'wetlands scenario', 'integrated specialist resort' and 'tourist shopping rezoning' scenarios all scoring highly in terms of green (or least enthusiastic) responses. The 'tourist resort variety scenario' was the lowest scorer on gold responses from all groups, although it scored highly in green and gold responses from all equity groups, demonstrating a clearly consensual attitude of moderate approval.

What this data then suggests, according to Pearce et al, is that significant differences do exist in the way in which tourism developments are viewed by different segments of the population of a tourist receiving destination. Furthermore, these views, whilst certainly influenced by equity-based considerations are not wholly dependent upon such measures. The conclusion drawn in this case is that such views are mediated by certain social-representational accounts evoked by particular elements of such tourism development scenarios. The examples used in this case are that of the 'wildlife sanctuary scenario' evoking a "tourism as a force for environmental good" perspective, whilst the 'tourist shopping rezoning scenario' may evoke such representations as that of tourists being "overfed and over here" or "in my backyard" (1991, p.151). The main contention of their (Pearce at al) research is that such social representations can be seen as providing the key triggers to the psychological responses to tourism developments and impacts, thereby overriding the more personal equity-based considerations and providing a broader base for the understanding of the development of community responses to tourism's impacts.

Other than that of Pearce, Moscardo and Ross (1991, 1996), little other work in this area has attempted to place the phenomenon of tourism impacts within a social-representational framework, partly partly due to the methodological vagueness of the theory, and to the difficulties involved in identifying these 'disembodied structures' via traditional methods of inquiry.

2.5 Summary

This chapter has critically examined the main areas of the tourism literature which are of particular conceptual relevance to this research. The first area which was examined was that relating to the various perspectives on culture which have been taken, starting with certain broad definitions of culture, the chapter then looked at the various ways in which culture has been approached in the tourism literature. Ritchie and Zins (1978) set out a comprehensive framework outlining the main elements of culture which they considered to be related to the visitor attractiveness. Other major approaches were examined (Ashworth, 1996; Richards, 1994) and found to consider culture mainly in terms of 'high culture' and 'heritage', partly due to these being seen as the most economically fruitful areas for development.

The next section of the chapter examined the issues of cultural change and commodification as approached in the literature. Different approaches to the notion of cultural change were presented, and the concept of cultural commodification discussed. Various case studies documenting examples of cultural change through tourism were also presented (Greenwood, 1978; Picard, 1995; Buck, 1978; Esman, 1984).

Section three of the chapter followed the long-running debate on the nature and role of authenticity in tourist experiences (Boorstin, 1964; MacCannell, 1973). The section then went on to examine the concept of authenticity from different perspectives, including the postmodern views on the subject (Urry, 1990; Ritzer and Liska, 1997); authenticity in relation to craft souvenirs (Littrell et al, 1993); heritage authenticity (Moscardo and Pearce, 1986; Ehrentraut, 1993); Selwyn's 'hot' and 'cool' authenticity (1996); authenticity and events (Getz, 1994); and Cohen's concept of 'emergent authenticity' (1979).

The final section of the chapter looked at the research in the field of tourism which has focused specifically on resident perceptions of tourism impacts. Tracing the development of this area of inquiry from the early stage-based and typographic models (Doxey, 1974; Smith, 1978; Butler, 1980), the section then examined the variables used and findings from the large body of resident perception surveys which have been carried out since the 1970's, including studies which have been specifically conducted in Wales.

Commenting on concerns regarding the standardised approach to resident perception surveying which has emerged in the field, the chapter then examined concepts which have been highlighted as having good potential for application in the study of the perceptions of residents of tourism's sociocultural impacts. These include Ap's (1992) 'social exchange theory' and Butler's (1975) attitude/behaviour framework, and various forms of adjustment or 'coping strategies' which have been proposed by different authors (Dogan, 1989; Ap and Crompton, 1993; Boissevain, 1996; Brown and Giles, 1994). Finally, the work of Pearce, Moscardo and Ross (1991+1996) was examined in detail, proposing the use of an 'equity-social representational' approach to the assessment of the attitudes of residents to proposed resort scenarios.

CHAPTER THREE: THEORETICAL FRAMEWORKS

Having examined a broad range of literature pertinent to this study, this chapter now draws out the key areas of theory which are of direct conceptual and methodological relevance to the work in terms of its specific research propositions. Before moving on to examine each of these in turn, the central theoretical underpinning of the investigation, namely the theory of social representations, is discussed more fully.

3.1 Social Representations

The theory of social representations, as proposed by Moscovici (1981, 1984), is not a simple one in terms of clarity of definition and as such has been the source of considerable academic debate and the target of notable criticism (see Potter and Wetherell, 1987; Potter and Litton, 1985; Semin, 1985; Hewstone, 1985; Moscovici, 1985). Drawing on the tradition of Mead (1934) and his theory of 'symbolic interactionism', Moscovici's basic (1984) premise is that people use social representations to interpret and understand the complexities of the everyday world surrounding them. In contrast to the orthodoxies of social psychology, the theory of social representations rejects the idea that:

(i) normal individuals react to phenomena, people and events in the same way as scientists and statisticians do and,

(ii) that understanding consists in information processing (Moscovici, 1984, p.3-4).

This contrast is essentially drawn from three observations: firstly, that we are often unaware of, or fail to see, that which is occurring directly before our eyes; secondly, that there are certain 'facts of life' which we tend to take for granted; and thirdly, that our normal reactions, or responses to stimuli, are often related to pre-determined definitions of a given situation or 'how one should act' (Moscovici, 1984).

These three observations clearly point away from the position that man's cognitive and decision-making processes are purely logical information processing, as if we interpret the world via the means of an onboard computer. It is through our social representations (according to Moscovici) that we interpret the world around us, and

it is from such representations that we derive our attitudes and responses to external stimuli. Halfacree defines such representations as "organisational mental constructs which guide us towards what is 'visible' and must be responded to, relate to experience and reality, and even define reality itself" (1993, p.29).

Social representations, however, are much more than merely definitional mechanisms, they exist also as theories or branches of knowledge in their own right and function as systems for anchoring and communicating our versions of social reality. Indeed, Moscovici (1984) refers to the two main roles of social representations. Firstly, he sees them as *conventionalising* the external stimuli encountered in our everyday lives, that is "They give them a definite form, locate them in a given category and gradually establish them as a model of a certain type, distinct and shared by a group of people" (p.7). Secondly, he sees representations as being *prescriptive*, that is to say that they not only enable us to categorise or explain our experiences, but further than that actually provide us with the categories within which to catalogue our experiences, and as such directly influence both how and why we interpret a given situation in a particular way.

As Moscovici says, "the purpose of all representations is to make something unfamiliar, or unfamiliarity itself, familiar" (1984, p.24). As such, Pearce, Moscardo and Ross (1996) refer to such representations as "meta-systems which include values, beliefs and common-sense explanations of how the world operates" (p.39). In this way, all that we understand, or can take as 'given' about the consensual universe is held within our social representations.

In the generation and development of social representations Moscovici (1984) identifies two mechanisms. The first mechanism works to *anchor* new or unfamiliar ideas by drawing them into our pre-existing frame of reference and classifying them according to what we already know, thereby setting them in a familiar context. By classifying and naming such new occurrences or experiences we make them more tangible by entering them into the realm of that which is already familiar to us. In doing so, however, our representations against which such new ideas are compared are themselves modified, just as the unfamiliar is itself modified, acquiring a new meaning and position in our version of reality.

The second mechanism by which Moscovici sees such representations as coming into existence is that of *objectification*. By this he means "the materialisation of an abstraction" (1984, p.38), or as Potter and Wetherell describe it, "the novel object is transformed into a concrete, pictorial element of the representation to which it is anchored, and this new version of the representation is diffused, in the course of conversation, throughout the social group" (1987, p.142). Another way of looking at this process of objectification is to see how an abstract entity, which at first can only be *conceived* of, is transformed by its integration into what Moscovici refers to as the 'figurative nucleus', or the complex of existing shared images around which all representations are based. Through this process of transformation, such an abstract image can then come to be *perceived* as reified, or as something real in its own right, and not in comparison to some other pre-existing point of reference - "The image of the concept ceases to be a sign and becomes a replica of reality, a simulacrum in the true sense of the word" (Moscovici, 1984, p.40).

At this point it is important to stress the social nature of such representations. Whilst providing individuals with the necessary tools to interpret, understand and communicate their environments, social representations also have an existence independent of the individuals who may share such a representation. "Once created, social representations become part of the culture that is presented to individuals through socialisation and interaction" (Pearce et al, 1996, p.43) and as such can be seen as important properties of groups. As Potter and Wetherell would have it, "what makes a group a group is exactly the sharing of representations among members; the edges of representations will mark the edges of groups" (1987, p.141).

In this way, therefore, we can see how membership of a particular group involves the sharing or adoption of social representations held by that group. On the other hand, however, the holding of a particular social representation then tacitly implies membership of a group sharing the same social representation. What has not yet been made clear here is the level of consensus or cohesion which exists within such groups, and as such how closely shared such social representations actually are in practice. Accepting that some divergence may occur in such group situations, Moscovici (1988) proposed three types of social representations, varying according to the nature of the groups involved and their levels of group cohesion.

The first type is the 'hegemonic group', whose social representations are clearly and firmly held by all members of the group, which is stable and homogenous in nature. The second type is the 'emancipated group', composed of various sub-groups sharing more or less similar representations. Under such circumstances, the social representations held will not be universally agreed upon, but a certain level of consensus will exist. Thirdly, he refers to the 'polemical group', arising in situations of group or social conflict. Here, such conflict over the nature of the social representations held by the group will lead either to the modification of such representations and adoption on a group level, or to the division of the group according to the adoption of one or other of the prevailing conflicting social representations.

Pearce et al (1996) suggest various factors which may influence the nature and cohesiveness of social representations. Firstly, they suggest that the level of involvement or experience of the topic, event or object in question is of crucial importance in the construction of social representations. If the group in question has little direct experience of the topic in question, or if it is of no great relevance to the group, then they are most likely to adopt a pre-existing social representation from elsewhere. Such social representations, it is argued, are highly resistant to change (Pearce et al, 1996, p. 45). If, on the other hand, opinions about a particular representation are strongly held and developed through direct personal experience, then it is likely that a more polemical situation will arise, acting as a force for change within the representation. It is also argued that the extent to which such change can be brought about within a representation will depend upon the power and influence of the individuals involved in such conflict. Finally, it should be recognised that any individual will be a member of more than one group at any given time, and as such will be presented with, and will hold, a variety of different social representations, some of which may be conflicting or completely contradictory in nature.

From the above, it can be seen that whilst social representations have an important role in the development of individuals' perceptions, attitudes and behaviour, the individuals themselves "have a role in the construction and development of social representations and can choose between alternative representations" (Pearce et al, 1996, 47). It can, indeed, be argued that it is this interaction between individuals and social groups which provides the theory of social representations with its'

inherent strengths over some of the more individualistic psychological theories and the strongly deterministic and behavioural theories of sociology. In order to clarify this linkage between individual and social representations, Pearce et al (1996) draw upon two models adapted from the work of Von Cranach (1992) and Dann (1992).

Fig 3.1

An Adaptation of von Cranach's (1992) Model Linking Individual and Social Represenatations and Actions (in Pearce et al (1996, p.48)
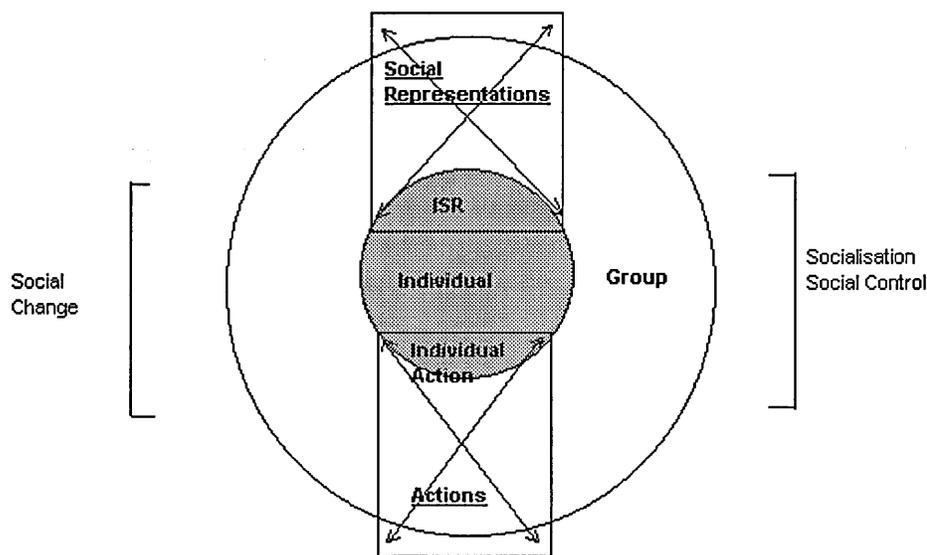
In this model (Fig 3.1), the individual (as represented by the shaded circle) is placed within the broader context of the group (the outer circle), and their individual social representations (ISR) and actions both take place within this wider social or group setting. The group can be seen to exert influence upon the individual through the mechanisms of socialisation and social control, whilst social change can be seen to be exerted upon the group by the actions of its component individuals.

Dann's (1992) model (Fig 3.2, below) looks more specifically at the relationship between the individual and social representations, and at the ways and directions in which influence can be exerted within such a framework. From the group perspective, such influence can be exerted upon the individual by the direct means

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of regulation or rules, or by the more indirect means of socialisation and the sharing of social representations. The individual's influence upon the group (as depicted by the lighter lines) takes the form of both the direct consequences of their actions bringing about change in the group, and of their personal influence imposing their individual social representations upon the rest of the group.

Fig. 3.2

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┌──────────────┐      regulation        ┌──────────────┐
│ Individual   │ ──────────────────────▶│ Individual   │
│ Social       │                         │ Actions and  │
│ Representation│◀───────────────────    │ Outcomes     │
└──────────────┘      modification       └──────────────┘
   ▲      ▲                                  ▲       ▲
socialisation  personal                 consequences  regulation
               influence

┌──────────────────────────────────────────────────────┐
│            Social Representations                      │
│                                                        │
│        (sub) culture, group, institution               │
│                                                        │
└──────────────────────────────────────────────────────┘
```
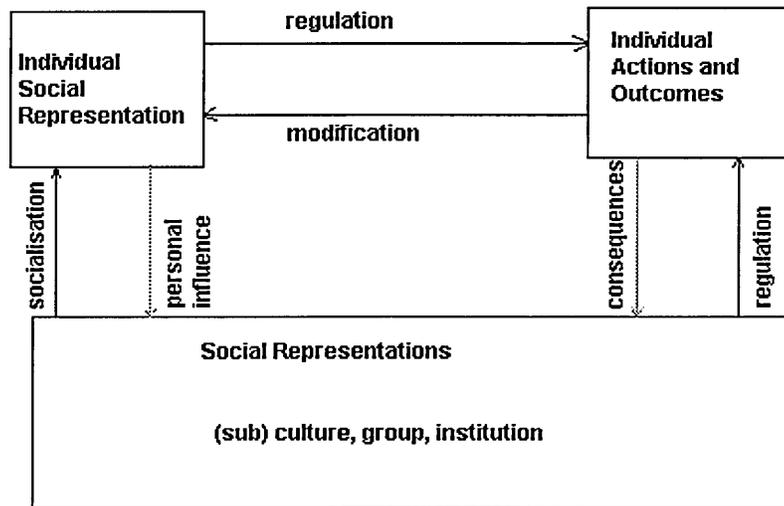
An Adaptation of Dann's (1992) Model Linking Individual and Social Representations (in Pearce et al (1996, p. 49)

Whilst neither of these models attempts to fully depict all of the elements of social representations or the influences of these upon each other, what they both achieve is to demonstrate clearly the connections between individuals and their social groups. Simply stated this means that whilst an individual's perception and cognition are to a great extent dependent upon the groups of which that individual is a member, at the same time, the social representations held by that group will be equally a function of the individual perspectives held by its members.

The relevance of social representations theory to this particular research can be seen as its ability to link both the individual and social conceptions of reality without prioritising one over the other. Furthermore, by taking an emic approach to the study of groups and their social construction of reality, social representations obliges the researcher to acknowledge the social reality of the actors involved, and in their own terms rather than in those of the researcher. Finally, given the

constructive and interpretative nature of social representations, their potential usefulness, in this particular case study, is to provide us not only with what the members of a community feel about the influences of tourism upon their culture, but also how and why such feelings should have arisen in the first place.

3.2 Aims and Objectives of the Research

Having outlined the general theoretical underpinnings of this research, this chapter will now examine the specific research propositions in terms of their specific conceptual positions within the theoretical literature. These propositions, or general organising theories developed to help structure the direction of the research are as follows:

1) Communities are diversified, with different groups holding different perceptions of, and attitudes to the role of tourism in, and its' impacts on the community.

2) Attitudes to tourism's sociocultural impacts are constructed on three different levels, these being the personal, group and community.

3) The personal cultural outlook and preference of an individual influences their perceptions of the sociocultural impacts of tourism, and of the community's cultural presentation for tourism.

4) Perceptions of and attitudes to the sociocultural impacts of tourism are context-dependant and situational.

So, what are the key areas and concepts within the literature which link directly to each of these propositions. Taking each in turn:

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1) Communities are diversified, different groups hold different perceptions of and attitudes towards the role of tourism in, and its' impacts on the community.

Resident perception studies of tourism's impacts (as outlined in the previous chapter) clearly show that differences in opinion do exist both between different communities and within any given community regarding the impacts of tourism upon the community as a whole and upon its' members as both individuals and groups of individuals. What is unclear in the existing research is how and why such attitudes are formulated and how clearly defined and strongly held the differences between such groups actually are.

Social exchange theory, as proposed by Ap (1992) is one way of conceptualising the process involved in the tourism-community relationship. Taking the theory as being concerned with the exchange of resources between individuals and groups, the tourism-community relationship can be viewed as an input/output system within which resources are exchanged in pursuit of certain expected outcomes. Providing that an equitable balance can be struck on both sides of the exchange equation, the outcomes on both sides will be viewed positively. If, on the other hand, there is an imbalance in the exchange then negative consequences from the process will be perceived on one side of the equation. The focus of this research, however, is not upon such exchange relationships as they may exist within a tourist receiving destination, but is rather upon the actual outcomes of such processes, and how such outcomes are viewed by the residents of the case study destination.

One approach which attempts to categorise such responses to the impacts of tourism Is that proposed by Butler (1975) drawing on the work of Bjorklund and Philbrick (1972) (as outlined in the previous chapter). This approach divides the attitude/behaviour responses to tourism impacts into four categories: aggressive promotion, passive acceptance, passive non-acceptance and aggressive opposition. Such an approach, whilst providing a framework for categorising the broad psychological responses to tourism impacts, does not go on to link such responses to the actual attitudes or behaviour of the residents of tourist areas. What such an approach can do, however, is to give a clear measure of the overall balance between the positive and negative opinions of tourism, on a number of different levels.

In order to be able to examine this proposition, two main approaches are taken in this research. Firstly, a number of equity measures incorporated into a questionnaire survey are used to construct a measure of the perceived balance of the negative and positive impacts of tourism upon the case study destination on both a personal and community level. These impacts are also measured both in general terms and more specifically in terms of economic and social/cultural impacts. This approach allows the development of an equity-based framework segmenting the members of the community in terms of their perceptions of the impacts of tourism (as per Pearce et al, 1991), but also introducing the element of a cultural equity dimension.

The second approach taken in identifying different segments of the population is to do so in terms of the perceptions of the current impacts of tourism, the attitudes towards such impacts, and attitudes towards suggestions for future changes in tourism in the case study destination. To draw out the different opinion groups in such terms, a multi-variate cluster analysis is used, illustrating the number and size of different groups of 'best-fit' in terms of similarity and difference of response.

2) Attitudes to tourism's cultural impacts are constructed on three different levels, these being the personal, group and community.

Resident perception studies, as outlined in the literature review, have formed an increasingly large proportion of the academic inquiry into the field of tourism, as both the negative and positive consequences upon tourist receiving areas have become more clearly recognised. What such studies have generally failed to do, however, is to focus explicitly upon the perceptions of such impacts on a cultural level. One reason for this, as already discussed, is the very complexity and definitional difficulty involved in culture itself as a field of study. In order to be able to examine the effects of tourism upon the culture of destination areas, culture itself must be reduced to the level of its' accepted and recognisable component features or parts.

The identification and classification of such elements of culture, however, only then allows us to agree as to what we are referring when considering 'culture' and 'cultural impacts' from an academic perspective, or within an academic framework. Examining the attitudes towards such impacts from a resident perspective requires

that a less reductivist and more emic approach be taken. It is here that the role and value of social representations theory as an element in the development of attitudes needs to be taken into consideration.

The diverse nature of the attitudes of residents of receiving areas has already been demonstrated in the literature. The diverse and conflicting nature of the attitudes of particular individuals to the impacts of tourism on a cultural level is less clear cut and as such is more difficult to conceptualise. One way to do so is to conceive of attitude as being constructed on a number of different levels. Social representations theory is particularly useful in this instance, making explicit from the outset the inextricable link between the individual and social representations of the nature of the world around us. Both Von Cranach (1992) and Dann (1992) have developed models clearly linking individual attitudes and actions to the social world within which the individual exists. This then goes to show how perceptions of the cultural impacts of tourism can exist separately and differently at the same time upon both a personal and group level.

It could also be argued that in this particular context a further level can be added to such constructions - that of the community. This is the broader, more general level upon which the more consensual and widely held views will exist. Such views, however, will only be a subset of the more closely-held group perspectives, which themselves will be constructed of the shared elements of the highly personal, complex and often contradictory attitude held by the individual.

Differences in attitude to the cultural impacts of tourism when approached from a personal or community perspective should be clearly drawn out by the personal and community equity items in the questionnaire relating specifically to culture. The cluster analysis of the questionnaire results should also demonstrate whether differences in opinion do also exist on a group level. Further analysis of the qualitative data collected will allow a clearer picture to be constructed of the elements involved in such attitude construction on these three different levels.

3) The personal cultural outlook and preference of an individual influences their perceptions of the sociocultural impacts of tourism, and of the community's cultural presentation for tourism.

As already discussed, one of the key features of social representations is their ability to link the personal and social elements of attitude construction and development. Dann's (1992) model (fig 2.4, above) clearly demonstrates this link, showing how individual and group social representations combine to influence individual actions and outcomes.

In this particular instance, it is proposed that the attitude towards, and perceptions of cultural presentations (and potentially of authenticity in cultural presentations) will to a great extent be influenced by the individual's personal cultural outlook and preferences. That is to say that a classical music fan with an interest in local history will have different requirements from cultural presentations in terms of authenticity than will a rock music fan with an interest in motorbikes.

Littrell et al (1993), as previously referred to, have demonstrated that such differing perceptions of authenticity do exist for different groups of tourists in relation to the purchase of craft souvenirs. Here, the link to be explored is much more that between the arts and 'high' culture and popular culture. The proposition is that a person having a strong interest in the arts and the 'higher' realms of culture will more stringent and demanding in their approach to the issues of the suitability and value of more popular, contemporary cultural presentations. On the other hand, a person whose interests lie in the more contemporary and popular realm will tend to hold a less strict or elitist view of culture and cultural presentations and the role of authenticity therein.

In order to be able to examine the differences in attitude and opinion relating to the various levels of culture on a community basis, culture itself must be viewed on each of these levels separately. For the purposes of this research, this has been done by looking at the impacts of tourism in terms of 'tourism in general', 'tourism and high culture', 'tourism and the International Eisteddfod', 'tourism and past cultural traditions', and 'tourism and the present day way of life'. To provide some kind of basis for differentiating the residents according to their personal cultural outlook, questions relating to personal interest in each of the above areas have

also been incorporated into the survey questionnaire. Further detail relating to cutural outlooks and perspectives will also be drawn out by the qualitative elements of the research.

4) Perceptions of and attitudes to the sociocultural impacts of tourism are context-dependant and situational.

The theory of social representations holds that the perceptions and attitudes of individuals are largely a function of socialisation through group membership. Such groups, however, are themselves constructed through the sharing by individuals of similar, or the same, social representations which then inform the development of perceptions and attitudes on both a group and an individual level. In terms of the perceptions of and attitudes to the sociocultural impacts of tourism, it is therefore this interplay between group social representations and individual social representations which influences the perception and attitude of the individual, and consequently the actions of the individual.

Dogan, however, in expounding his (1989) theory of forms of adjustment to tourism outlines three main elements which influence the adoption of tourism coping strategies by a given population. These three elements outlined are the heterogeneity of the local population, power relationships within the local population, and the role of government. He also later goes on to describe the sociocultural characteristics of the community, the level of tourism development, and the type of tourism or tourists involved as being the main criteria affecting the adoption of coping strategies by a community. This range of factors affecting the selection and adoption of coping strategies he refers to as the "politics of response" to tourism.

If the actual behavioural responses of residents of tourist areas are themselves dependant on the local situation and the context within which the perceived tourism impacts occur, then the psychological variables (perceptions and attitudes) informing such actions must also be dependant on such contexts and situations.

It is proposed here that different types of sociocultural impacts of tourism will be viewed more or less favourably depending on the context within which they take place and the situations involved in such contexts. Rather than looking for

significant differences in opinion which may exist within a community, the task here is to identify the axes along which such differences in opinion are situated, and the key elements or features of the community which lie behind such responses.

The questionnaire survey will illustrate the balance of positive and negative opinion in the community of Llangollen in terms of what groups can be drawn from the respondents, and how positive or negative such groups are in relation to the sociocultural impacts of tourism. In order to draw out the deeper influences which lie behind the attitudes expressed in the questionnaire, a more flexible and qualitative approach needs to be taken. The discourse and rhetoric provided in a focus group situation is best suited to drawing out why an individual expresses an opinion, due to the requirement for qualifying one's position in a polemical group situation. Furthermore, as Burgess, Limb and Harrison (1988, a) point out, "In qualitative research one explores the realities of everyday lives as they are experienced and explained by the people who live them. Such research as this yields rich and complex linguistic data in which subjective experience and social action are 'grounded' in the context of place and time" (p.310).

As Billig (1993) points out, "... the qualitative examination of discourse from discussion groups may provide a means for examining the rhetorical nature of attitudes and commonsense" (p. 58). By using focus groups as a method of social inquiry, participants are more likely to justify their expressed opinions and make clear the relevant factors "taken into account" as consensus is sought from divergent personal views. To quote again from Billig (1993), ".. the rhetorical approach suggests a way out of the theoretical opposition between socially-shared representations and unshared attitudes" (p. 59), and in this instance can help to bridge the divide between the quantitatively-derived representations of tourism's sociocultural impacts provided by the questionnaire survey and the qualitative views provided by the focus groups.

3.3 Summary

Section one of this chapter looked in more detail at the theory of social representations proposed by Moscovici (1984), and adapted to the field of tourism by Pearce et al (1991, 1996). The chapter examines the theoretical basis of the concept, including its explicit linking of both group and individual psychology, and presents two models which have been drawn up to explicate this linkage (von Cranach, 1992; Dann, 1992).

The second section of the chapter then goes on to examine each of the four research propositions with reference to their specific conceptual positions within the theoretical literature. Each of these propositions, rather than being theoretically-related hypotheses to be empirically tested in the field, are general organising concepts to provide both the researcher and the reader with a framework within which to assess the usefulness of operationalising the theoretical concepts described. The methodological framework within which these theories are to be operationalised and assessed is presented in the next chapter.

CHAPTER FOUR: METHODOLOGY

In the previous chapter, the key areas of theory within the literature were related directly to the specific research hypotheses central to this investigation. This chapter will now examine the methodological position of the theory of social representations in relation to the investigation of resident perceptions of tourism's social and cultural impacts. The selection and design of the research tool will be outlined, from the carrying out of preliminary sensitising interviews to the design and implementation of the full questionnaire survey and the subsequent round of focus group discussions. Finally, a brief discussion of the process of synthesis of qualitative and quantitative result data will conclude.

4.1 Social Representations - methodological considerations

Having been in existence since the early sixties with Moscovici's preliminary work on attitudes and opinions (1963), the theory of social representations is one which has been the subject of considerable academic debate and conflict. Given the highly subjective and multifarious nature of social representations as theoretical entities (if indeed they can be described as such) it is unsurprising that a number of approaches to their investigation and analysis have been adopted over time. As Emler and Ohana (1993 - quoted in Pearce et al, 1996, p. 53) state in relation to the tools available to those seeking to draw out social representations:

"Evidently a large number of different methods had been used - rating scales, observation, account gathering, children's drawings, content analysis of published texts, questionnaire semi-structured interviews, unstructured interviews."

It is in the light of this that Pearce et al themselves go on to say that "there is no single method which can be used to discover social representations: eclecticism is the order of the day" (P. 53). So, whilst encouraging the use of a variety of methods, Pearce et. al. do, however, make clear certain methodological requirements of social representations theory:

-The need to be emic - the researcher needs to access the reality of the social actors involved, and must do so in their own terms.

-Social representations theory directs us to look for commonalties in response rather than just individual differences. Furthermore, "we should be careful to ensure that we identify significant social groups and not just contrasting social categories" (op cit.).

One way of drawing out just such groups by means of survey research is the use of cluster analysis. By identifying groups of questionnaire respondents whose responses are more similar to each others' than to those of other groups, exactly such a measure can be obtained. This is entirely in keeping with the demand for "the use of multi-dimensional, multi-variate and non-linear analysis techniques in order to deal with the complex nature of social representations" (op cit.). Furthermore, such an approach allows groupings to be drawn mathematically from the survey data rather than by some selective criteria decided upon by the researcher. It was felt that such an approach to the study of groupings would be suitable for the purposes of this research.

A further methodological requirement of the theory of social representations is "the need to study the content and structure of social representations in detail .. (including) .. understanding connections between social representations, the history and development of social representations and the sources of the actors' information" (op cit.). To be able to do this, it is argued that there is a requirement for the greater use of qualitative research techniques, such as semi-structured interviews or focused group discussions both at the pre-questionnaire level in order to identify key themes and issues on a local basis, and at the post-questionnaire level to enable the achievement of greater evaluative depth and understanding of the data obtained. Such elements have been taken into methodological consideration and incorporated into this research from the outset.

4.2 Resident Perception Studies - methods and approaches

Research investigation into the impacts of tourism from a resident perspective is a field of inquiry which has come to be dominated by a broadly standardised methodological approach leading to an increasing amount of similar descriptive and non-exploratory data being collected in an ever increasing range of destinations. In an examination of various research papers dealing with such investigations, three broad approaches were identified.

Of the papers examined in this exercise, the vast majority had been carried out using a questionnaire survey approach. Much of this research has been broadly based on some of the earliest work into the area of resident perception studies (i.e. that of Pizam, 1978; Belisle and Hoy, 1980) and currently still proves to be the most popular and widely-used approach. Such survey research has been almost entirely carried using pre-designed and formally structured questionnaire surveys, and is either carried out on a postal basis (allowing access to a large sample population, but delivering low rates of return at a high overall cost) or by means of face-to-face interview (generally offering better rates of return, but requiring skilled and experienced interviewers and requiring considerably more time to be spent in the field). These papers include Pizam (1978), Akis et al (1996), Allen et al (1988), Brougham and Butler (1981), Belisle and Hoy (1980), Davis et al (1988),Getz (1994), Haralambopoulos and Pizam (1996), Johnson et al (1994), King et al (1993), Kang et al (1996), Liu and Var (1986), Liu et al (1987), Long et al (1990), Madrigal (1993), McCool and Martin (1994), Murphy (1981, 1983), Pizam et al (1994), Perdue et al (1990), Rothman (1979), Sheldon and Var (1984), Snepenger and Johnson (1991), Soutar and McCleod (1993), Thomason et al (1979),and Witter (1985).

Other work based upon the questionnaire survey approach, but also incorporating a range of open-ended questions included Keogh (1990), Ryan and Montgomery (1994) and Prentice (1993)[a] and (1993)[b]. The major difference from those surveys already listed is that these latter examples provided respondents with the opportunity to express their opinions regarding the impacts of tourism *in their own words*. Doxey's highly influential (1983) work included the use of 'depth-interviews' carried out by the research director in conjunction with a full questionnaire survey of residents, as did that of Murphy (1981, 1983). Davis et al (1988) were unusual in that their approach included the incorporation of one focus group discussion at the pre-questionnaire level in order to facilitate the identification of key issues for the questionnaire survey. The predominant measurement device in these questionnaires has been the Likert-type scale, ranging from five to eleven points and generally constructed on an "agree strongly" to "disagree strongly" scale. Only Thomason et al (1979) take a radically different approach here, opting instead to make use of semantic differential scales in their investigation.

It is also interesting to note here that Pearce et al (1991), in their initial work regarding social representations and tourism, should rely entirely upon data collected by means of an interviewer administered questionnaire survey, with no mention of or reference to any method or form of qualitative inquiry. This is of particular relevance in the light of their later (1996) view that "eclecticism is the order of the day (in social representations research)" (p. 53), suggesting the need for the use of more complex and broad-based research methodologies.

The next approach identified within the literature is that of using focus group discussions. Only one paper (Brown and Giles, 1994) relied exclusively on the use of focus group discussions to investigate resident responses to the social impacts of tourism, interviewing one group of six female residents of Byron Bay NSW over a three hour period. Using elements of a 'nominal group technique', with interaction only taking place after respondents had written down responses to set questions delivered by the moderator.

Thirdly, of the papers examined, only three used what could truly be referred to as a 'broad-based research strategy', explicitly incorporating a range of both qualitative and quantitative methods of inquiry. Wall (1996), for example, makes use of five levels of investigation in his research into Balinese villages: village statistics; key actor interviews; resident interviews; interviews with schoolchildren; and systematic observation. Ap and Crompton (1993) make use of personal interviews and a questionnaire survey which incorporated both closed and open-ended questions and also allowed respondents to comment on anything not covered by the questionnaire. Simmons (1994) takes a more structured approach to the integration of mixed techniques into a research investigation, clearly outlining three stages of the research process: these being, informal interviews, a postal survey, and three focus groups. In the first stage, informal interviews are used to provide a checklist of issues, to search for variables and to familiarise the researcher with the area. The postal survey is used for the testing of issues raised in the interviews and to provide quantitative data. Finally, the focus groups are used as an aid in data interpretation and to allow the formulation of tourism development options in keeping with local opinion. Such an approach, however, is extremely rare, and in this case was developed with the specific intention of involving the impacted communities in question in the tourism planning process.

Given the predominance of the questionnaire survey approach in the investigation of the impacts of tourism, it was decided, partly for reasons of comparability, that a similar approach would be suitable as one central element of this research process. Furthermore, the questionnaire survey as a research tool has the advantage of being able to access a far greater number of respondents than would be feasible via the means of in-depth interviews or focus groups. Both of these other techniques do, of course, come with their own inherent strengths and weaknesses. The individual in-depth interview, for example, whilst providing a great deal of highly detailed and in-depth data, is fraught with problems relating both to the level of structure to be applied to the interview, and to the subsequent ease of analysis and reliability of the results. Focus group discussions, on the other hand, place a great deal of emphasis upon the moderator in terms of controlling and directing the discussion without influencing the responses of the participants. A major advantage of the focus group approach is its ability to allow the development of a discussion and the negotiation of concepts, thereby enabling a closer understanding of group perspectives, areas of commonality and of disagreement.

4.3 Research Techniques Utilised

This next section will now outline the selection of the actual research tools used in this study and their practical implementation in the case-study destination.

4.3.1 Preliminary Sensitising Interviews

Prior to beginning the design of the full questionnaire survey, it was decided to carry out a preliminary round of sensitising interviews with the aim of developing a clearer picture of the various views of tourism within the Llangollen community and of highlighting the key areas of concern regarding the cultural impacts of tourism. As Hoinville, Jowell and Associates advise, "The soundest basis for developing structured questionnaires is preliminary small-scale qualitative work to identify ranges of behaviour, attitudes and issues; this avoids forcing respondents' views onto a false or irrelevant structure" (1985, p.9). This is not, however, to say that such qualitative elements are in any way subsidiary to the more traditional quantitative approach (Ryan, 1995), indeed, the very nature of qualitative approaches to the investigation of attitudes and behaviour allows the collation of data on a level which would not be possible by purely quantitative methods. As

Ryan (1995) says, "Where the structured interview can differ from the questionnaire is in the type of answer that is given, and in the way in which it is treated. By its nature, the researcher has little control over the answer and the forms in which it is given. The respondent is not replying to a checklist of items or values, but is giving an opinion - the questions are open-ended" (p. 121).

Two groups were chosen to take part in the preliminary interviews - one group of 'opinion leaders' (i.e. members of the community with a special personal interest in the tourism industry) selected on a judgment basis intended to provide a range of opinions, and one group of residents selected on a randomly stratified basis from the electoral register.

An interview schedule was subsequently drawn up consisting of fifteen open-ended questions for the opinion leaders (thirteen for the residents) and six basic demographics questions including age, length of residence in the local area and socio-economic status. All interviews were audio recorded to allow the subsequent drawing up of full transcripts and to avoid the need for the interviewer to be taking notes during the interview and thereby potentially overlooking important elements of the responses.

For the purpose of selecting residents for interview, an initial sample of 30 was drawn from the Electoral Register on a randomly stratified basis. The technique involved here is to select a starting point randomly (in this case using a PC-based random number generating program) and subsequently deriving the sample on an interval basis (selecting every n^{th} household), in this case, every 90th household on the electoral register, with a starting point of 140 selected randomly. Of those selected, only those with their telephone number in the local directory were contacted. This was to facilitate the setting up of meeting times at the convenience of residents, particularly since the interviews took up to 40 minutes to complete depending on the length and depth of responses provided. This then provided a sample of fifteen residents who were contacted initially by letter to inform them of the survey, and subsequently by telephone to assess their willingness to participate and to arrange a time and date to meet. Of the fifteen contacted, only four members of the sample (27%) consented to be interviewed at that time, and three of those were unavailable until a later date. This was partly due to time constraints

upon the researcher who could only spend limited periods in the study area. Four interviews with residents were eventually carried out.

No refusals were met amongst the sample of opinion leaders contacted for interview. Those interviewed were as follows:

Secretary, Executive Committee, International Eisteddfod, 12/6/95

Warden, Llangollen YHA Activity Centre, 12/6/95

Local Councilor, 12/6/95

Local Retailer, 13/6/95

Restauranteur and Hotelier, 13/6/95.

Prior to commencing the interviews, the following verbal statement was read out by the researcher:

"I am currently carrying out research into local residents' views on the culture and way of life in Llangollen and the local area, and would greatly value you sharing your views on the subject with me. These questions should take no longer than 20-30 minutes, and any opinions expressed will be completely confidential. I would appreciate it if you would allow me to tape the interview to provide me with a full record of your views. Again, the contents of the tape are completely confidential, and would only be used for research purposes."

The question routing for the preliminary interviews was as follows:

- What would you say Llangollen and the local area has to offer someone who has never visited the area?
- What aspects of the history, heritage and traditional culture of Llangollen and the local area are of most value?
- What aspects of the present day culture and way of life of Llangollen and the local area are of most value?
- In what ways has the culture and way of life of the area changed during your period of residence?
- Do you see these changes in the culture and way of life of the area as being good or bad?
- Do you believe that tourism has changed the culture and way of life of Llangollen? How?
- Do you consider that these tourism-related changes to local culture and way of life are good or bad?
- Do you personally benefit from tourism in Llangollen? If yes, how?
- What sort of involvement, if any, do you have in the International Eisteddfod?

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- What sort of effects do you feel the International Eisteddfod has had on Llangollen as a community?
- Do you believe that the International Eisteddfod has brought to Llangollen:
a)   more advantages than disadvantages;
b)   more disadvantages than advantages;   OR
c)   a balance of advantages and disadvantages
- What, in your opinion, could be done to improve the quality of life of local residents?
- What, in your opinion, could be done to improve tourism for the benefit of local residents?

For the opinion leaders, questions 2 and 3 were elaborated upon, giving the following:
- What aspects of the present day culture of Llangollen and the local area are of most value for you personally?
- What aspects of the traditional culture or heritage of Llangollen and the local area are of most value for you personally?
- What aspects of the present day culture of Llangollen and the local area are of most value for the local community?
- What aspects of the traditional culture or heritage of Llangollen and the local area are of most value for the local community?

These additional questions were incorporated into the opinion leaders' question routing for two main reasons. Firstly, such a divide between personal and community perspectives was introduced to see if a significant difference in response would arise compared to the more general question put to the residents. Secondly, existing research shows that those members of a community with the highest involvement in the tourism industry were most aware of its impacts upon the community (see Chapter Three), it was therefore felt that additional questions to opinion leaders on these items were likely to elicit a broader range of responses than would be expected from the general residents as a whole.

The interviews were designed to be carried out on a semi-structured basis following the question routing set out by the researcher with the aim of retaining the focus of the discussion upon the particular elements of tourism, culture, and change. Every effort was made to keep any prompting by the researcher to a minimum, using standard non-directive probes. This technique of 'probing', or encouraging the respondent to elaborate upon an answer without tainting the response in any way, is a key interviewing skill (Hoinville, Jowell and Assoc., 1985). Such skills are of particular importance when using open-ended questions to access the respondent's views on a subject in their own words. Such probes can be both verbal and non-verbal, with the interviewer selecting the most appropriate choice for the situation. These could include the following:

an expectant glance

'uh-huh', 'mm', or 'yes' followed by an expectant silence

'What else?'

'What other reasons?'

'Please tell me more about that.'

'I'm interested in *all* your reasons.' (Hoinville et. al., 1985, p. 101)

Such probes, used correctly, can add a great deal of detail and depth to responses which would otherwise remain unclarified or incomplete.

Following transcription, the interviews were summarily content analysed to ensure that a range of responses were being derived from the questioning and that no confusion was being caused by the wording of the questions. This content analysis involved the systematic listing of the main areas of tourism impacts and key concerns expressed by residents, as well as that of the range of tourism-related facilities, attractions and events in the town. Certain differences between the 'personal' and 'community' perspectives represented in the question routing confirmed the validity of incorporating such a differentiation into the research tool, and this was subsequently carried on into the questionnaire.

It was also during this preliminary stage that a local collaborating organisation was sought out to provide local credibility, access to key local information, and to provide the accommodation for the hosting of focus group discussions further into the research process. To this end, contact was made with the European Centre for Traditional and Regional Cultures (ECTARC), a pan-European organisation based in Llangollen, with both a historical and a current involvement and interest in tourism research, focussing particularly on social, cultural and linguistic impacts. ECTARC subsequently proved invaluable in giving the researcher access to previously published research material (ECTARC, 1988), contact with local opinion leaders and the focus group accommodation.

4.3.2 Questionnaire Survey

4.3.2.1. Questionnaire Design

The conceptual basis of the questionnaire has been constructed according to the following structure:

A. General Impacts of Tourism
B. Specific Impacts of Tourism
C. Attitudes to the Impacts of Tourism
D. Attitudes to Future Changes in Tourism
E. Personal Details

A. General Impacts of Tourism   )

These general impacts of tourism are measured in terms of various equity considerations. These are measures of the extent to which individual residents consider themselves personally as being affected positively or negatively by the tourism presence (see Pearce, Moscardo and Ross, 1991), and the balance between these. These impacts are measured in general, economic and in social and cultural terms.

General:
Do you consider that tourism in Llangollen has had a major positive impact on your life personally? (Y/N)

Do you consider that tourism in Llangollen has had any major negative impacts on your life personally? (Y/N)

Four equity groups can then be formed from the above answers (again, see Pearce et al, 1991):

<u>Fig. 4.1 Personal Equity Groups</u>

Equity Group	Negative	Balance	Positive	No Impact
Positive Impact	NO	YES	YES	NO
Negative Impact	YES	YES	NO	NO

To these were also added a further two measures to try to ascertain the extent to which respondents see themselves as receiving benefits and costs from tourism:

To what extent do you consider that tourism has had a positive impact on your life personally? (A great deal, a moderate amount, a small amount, not at all)

To what extent do you consider that tourism has had a negative impact on your life personally? (A great deal - not at all)

These responses can then be cross-tabulated with the personal economic and social and cultural benefit items to derive a measure of the extent to which the members of each of the equity groups perceive themselves as receiving economic and social and cultural benefits from tourism.

<u>Economic:</u>
How much do you think tourism in Llangollen benefits you personally in economic terms? (A great deal - not at all)

<u>Social and cultural:</u>
How much do you think that tourism in Llangollen benefits you personally in social and cultural terms?   (A great deal - not at all)

Fig. 4.2 Perceived personal economic and cultural benefits by equity group

	Equity Groups			
Economic Benefit	Negative	Balance	Positive	No Impact
A great deal				
A moderate amount				
A small amount				
Not at all				
Cultural Benefit				
A great deal				
A moderate amount				
A small amount				
Not at all				

Measures of perceived community impacts

Each equity group can then be related to their perceptions of community impacts in both general terms and in terms of their perceived level of social and cultural benefits using the following questions:

Do you consider that tourism has had a major positive impact on the community of Llangollen? (Y/N)

Do you consider that tourism has had any major negative impacts on the community of Llangollen? (Y/N)

How much do you think that tourism benefits the community of Llangollen in social and cultural terms?   (A great deal - Not at all)

B. Specific Impacts of Tourism

The equity groups can then be related to their perceptions of and attitudes to tourism's impacts on the local way of life or culture. Attention is given to:

- Tourism in general
- Tourism and 'high culture'
- Tourism and the International Eisteddfod
- Tourism and past cultural traditions
- Tourism and the present day way of life or culture

Perceptions of current impacts are measured using a series of statements covering the five groups of issues. Responses to these statements are recorded using a Likert-type scale with the following range of responses:

- Agree strongly
- Agree
- Neither agree nor disagree
- Disagree
- Disagree strongly

The responses are then ascribed a score from 1-5 depending on whether the statement used was positively or negatively worded (the higher score denoting a more positive attitude towards the impacts of tourism). Such scales are commonly used in attitude research due to their overall flexibility in terms of statistical analysis (Ryan, 1995, p. 149) and because of their ability to be summated to create overall measures on a number of items.

These questions in their groupings relating to the specific impacts of tourism are as follows:

Tourism and 'high culture'

- *Tourism has helped increase the number of art exhibitions and classical concerts in Llangollen.*
- *Most of the art exhibitions and classical concerts in Llangollen which attract tourists are of interest to only a small minority of local residents.*

Tourism and the International Eisteddfod

- *On balance the International Eisteddfod has contributed positively to the way of life or culture of Llangollen residents.*
- *The International Eisteddfod has increased the interest of Llangollen residents in the history and traditions of the local area.*
- *The International Eisteddfod has encouraged more friendly relations between tourists and Llangollen residents.*

Tourism and past cultural traditions

- *Tourism has increased the interest of Llangollen's residents in the history and traditions of the local area.*
- *The history and traditions of Llangollen are sometimes presented in an unrealistic or inauthentic manner to cater for tourists.*

Tourism in general

- *Llangollen would be a less varied and interesting place if tourists did not visit the town.*
- *Tourism has increased the range and quality of facilities available for the use of Llangollen residents in their leisure time.*

Tourism and the present day way of life or culture

- *Tourism encourages local residents to take part in a wide variety of cultural activities (e.g. arts, crafts, music).*
- *Tourism has made the way of life or culture of Llangollen less intimate and friendly for Llangollen residents.*
- *Tourism has encouraged Llangollen residents to value more highly their local way of life or culture.*
- *Tourism has made the local way of life or culture of Llangollen less distinctive.*
- *Meeting tourists from all over the world is a valuable experience.*

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C. Attitudes to the Current Impacts of Tourism

The questions used to measure local residents' attitudes to both current impacts of tourism and reactions to suggestions for future changes in tourism have been designed to be assessable against the typology/model of attitudinal/behavioural responses to tourism impacts, adapted by Butler (1975) from Bjorklund and Philbrick (1972), as outlined in the second chapter (see fig. 2.2).

The testing of this typology is facilitated by the options for responses to statements in the questionnaire which have been designed to coincide with the four 'types' in the model. These are:

- I am in favour and strongly support (an actively positive response).
- I am in favour of (a passively positive response).
- I dislike (a passively negative response).
- I dislike and strongly oppose (an actively negative response).

To these is added:

- I am neither in favour nor dislike.

Again, a Likert-type approach is taken to the measurement of the responses, with scores from 1-5 being ascribed to each response, with a response of "I am in favour and strongly support" recording a score of 5; "I am in favour of" scoring 4; "I am neither in favour nor dislike" scoring 3; "I dislike" scoring 2 and "I dislike and strongly oppose" scoring 1. In this way, the responses given can be compared to the Bjorklund and Philbrick (1972) model as follows:

5 = An Active /Positive response.
4 = A Passive/Positive response.
3 = A Neutral response.
2 = A Passive/Negative response.
1 = An Active/Negative response.

The statements used in this section were as follows:

<u>Tourism in general</u>

- *Which statement best describes your overall attitude to tourism in Llangollen?*

<u>Tourism and 'high culture'</u>

- *Which statement best describes your attitude to the increased number of art exhibitions and classical concerts in Llangollen resulting from tourism?*

<u>Tourism and the International Eisteddfod</u>

- *Which statement best describes your attitude to the overall impact of the International Eisteddfod on the way of life or culture of Llangollen?*
- *Which statement best describes your attitude to the general character of the events and activities in the International Eisteddfod?*

<u>Tourism and past cultural traditions</u>

- *Which statement best describes your attitude to the way in which the history and traditions of Llangollen are promoted in order to attract tourists?*

<u>Tourism and the present day way of life or culture</u>

- *Which statement best describes your attitude to the overall impact of tourism on the way of life or culture of Llangollen?*

<u>D. Attitudes to Future Changes in Tourism</u>

This group of questions was designed to assess the attitudes of respondents to certain proposed future tourism development scenarios. To correspond with the future conditional nature of the statements, the options for response to this section were adapted as follows:

- I am in favour and would strongly support the suggestion
- I am in favour of the suggestion.
- I am neither in favour nor dislike the suggestion.
- I dislike the suggestion.
- I dislike and would strongly oppose the suggestion.

Again, a 5-point scoring system is used to code the responses, with a higher score denoting a more positive response, and the mean scores for each group then representing the Bjorklund and Philbrick (1972) categories. The statements used as suggestions for future changes to tourism were as follows:

Tourism in general
- *Which statement best describes your attitude to a suggestion that in future tourism in Llangollen should be allowed to grow but only slowly?*
- *Which statement best describes your attitude to a suggestion that in future tourism in Llangollen should grow rapidly?*

Tourism and 'high culture'
- *Which statement best describes your attitude to a suggestion that in future there should be increased promotion of more art exhibitions and classical concerts in Llangollen in order to attract tourists?*

Tourism and the International Eisteddfod
- *Which statement best describes your attitude to a suggestion that in future the International Eisteddfod should be much bigger in size and importance?*

Tourism and past cultural traditions
- *Which statement best describes your attitude to a suggestion that in future there should be more promotion of the history and traditions of Llangollen in order to attract more tourists?*

Tourism and the present day way of life or culture
- *Which statement best describes your attitude to a suggestion that in future there should be more promotion of the local way of life or culture of Llangollen residents in order to attract more tourists?*
- *Which statement best describes your attitude to a suggestion that in future attention should be given to tourist activities being kept more separate from the activities of the residents of Llangollen?*

It was, however, found to be unnecessary in practice to repeat the opening phrase: "Which statement best describes your attitude to the suggestion that in future .." for

each item, since respondents quickly adopted the range of statements themselves. This provided the questionnaire with a better flow, and also marginally speeded up the overall time required to complete it.

E. Personal Details

The final section of the questionnaire consists of questions to gather socio-demographic details of respondents, and also such elements as level of interest in arts/music, the International Eisteddfod and local history and traditions, level of community attachment and involvement in local activities.

4.3.2.2 Pilot Survey

Prior to carrying out the full questionnaire survey, it was pre-tested (outlined below) by means of a pilot survey in order to assess the logic of the question routing, the respondents' ability to answer the questions quickly and freely and to plot out the time needed to complete the questionnaire interview under normal circumstances. The pilot survey was carried out during the last week of May 1996.

For the purposes of the pilot survey, a sample of 30 households was drawn on a randomly stratified basis from the electoral register. The households were contacted on a 'cold calling' basis by the researcher, who carried out the questionnaire interview in a face-to-face situation. For ease and speed of analysis and interpretation, responses were entered directly into a laptop computer, saving on data inputting time later and providing an instant picture of the results as they emerged (the questionnaire was designed using a software package called 'Pinpoint', which allows data to be entered directly into a computer-generated copy of the questionnaire and can plot out graphic representations of the data, and carry out basic statistical analyses).

The basis for contacting respondents was as follows: having selected a given household from the electoral register, the address was visited by the researcher, with no prior contact having been made. If no adult member of the household was present, then two subsequent visits were made with at least one of these visits falling in the evening or at the weekend. If no adult member of the household had been contacted after three attempts, the researcher moved on to the adjacent

property, repeating the procedure until an adult member of the household had been contacted.

Of the 30 households selected, all were contacted and 15 completed the questionnaire, providing an adequate response rate 50%. Given the small number of responses, it was decided that it would be unreliable to carry out any statistical analysis of the responses at this point. It was, however, evident that the questionnaire was quicker to complete than had been anticipated, and two questions were accordingly added to provide a better measure of the extent to which respondents considered themselves as receiving costs and benefits from tourism in Llangollen (these were Q.3 and Q4. in the full questionnaire survey). A cursory examination of the pilot results demonstrated a good range of responses within the community, with certain clear areas of convergence and divergence with a good range across the age and socio-economic spectrum. It was decided to carry out the full survey with the questionnaire in its existing form but with the addition of the two questions mentioned above.

4.3.2.3 Full Questionnaire Survey

Following the series of in-depth preliminary interviews with local residents and opinion leaders, a questionnaire survey was conducted on a face-to-face basis with an intended sample of about 150 - 200 adult residents of Llangollen. Such a relatively small sample size was selected due to the length and complexity of the questionnaire (eventually consisting of 49 items and requiring 15-20 minutes for completion), and the requirement that it be carried out on a face-to-face basis. One way of selecting a suitable size of sample for the purpose of surveying is that set out by Ryan (1995, p. 177), which is based upon certain assumptions. According to Ryan, in the case of a finite population where the population size is known, the formula used to calculate the sample size is:

$$n = \frac{Ns^2}{\frac{(N-1)B^2}{z^2} + s^2}$$

where n = sample size

N = population size

s = standard deviation or estimate

B = allowable error

z = z score based on desired confidence

In this particular instance, the population size is known to be 3271 (from the census details), the standard deviation is estimated at 1.25 (or the range divided by 4). Taking a confidence level of 95% gives a z-value of 1.96, which is customary. Setting the allowable error for the measurement item at a 4% tolerance level (B = 0.2) gives the following calculation:

$$n = \frac{(3271)1.25^2}{\frac{(3271 - 1)0.2^2}{1.96^2} + 1.25^2}$$

$$n = 143.5$$

Given that a sample size of 143.5 would then provide a 4% acceptable error on the measurement item at a 95% confidence level, it was decided to increase the size of the sample to 150 - 200 respondents, reducing the error to a more acceptable 3-4%.

The questionnaire survey was actually carried out over two ten day periods in mid June and early August, thereby taking place during part of the peak summer season yet avoiding the major crush period surrounding the week of the International Eisteddfod. A random stratified sample of 240 households was drawn from the electoral register and the addresses derived from the sample were then separated into roughly geographically clustered tranches of around sixty households in order to eliminate unnecessary time being spent traveling between each visit. As per the pilot study, each household was visited on three occasions, with at least one visit falling upon an evening or weekend. If no adult member of the household had been contacted after three visits, then the procedure was

repeated at the next adjacent property until contact had been made. Of the sample of 240, 228 households were actually contacted (certain houses were simply not found and the inhabitants of others were not contacted after repeat visits during the day, evening and at weekends) of which 158 provided useable responses. This represents a response rate of 71% which, although not as high as Pearce et al's (1991) 91% response rate, compares favourably the 46% rate of return in Bakewell (Ryan and Montgomery, 1994) or Liu et al's (1987) 20% return in North-west Wales, and would indicate that a representative sample was achieved. Furthermore, this total of 158 completed questionnaires, whilst small in comparison to some large-scale surveys, actually represented around 5% of the total adult population of roughly 3500 (pop. 3271, 1991 census) or nearly 12% of the total number of households (1991 census).

Non-respondents were asked if they would mind briefly explaining why they did not wish to complete the questionnaire, and what their overall attitude to tourism was. The breakdown of this is as follows:

Fig. 4.3 Reasons given for non-response

Reason given for non-response	No.	% of sample
Not bothered about tourists or surveys	28	11.7
Elderly persons	13	5.4
In favour of tourism but not surveys	11	4.5
Too busy	7	2.9
Aggressive refusal/opposition	7	2.9
Illness/bereavement	4	1.7

From this it can be seen that only 2.9% of the sample surveyed gave strongly negative reasons for not completing the questionnaire, suggesting that any non-response bias will be minor in terms of overall representativeness. The sample was also adequately representative of the population structure in terms of age and gender, being closely equivalent to the 1991 census figures.

Having collected the data using 'Pinpoint for Windows' software package, the data set was then attributed scores from 1-5 for each response, with 1 representing the most negative response and 5 representing the most positive response. Any 'don't know' responses were attributed a zero value (missing value) and were eliminated

from the calculations. Having codified the data set, the matrix was then transferred into the SPSS for Windows statistical package for analysis. This transfer was necessary due to the inability of Pinpoint to derive anything other than the most basic of descriptive analytical statistics.

Before continuing with any statistical analysis of the data, the 27 attitude and opinion measures in the survey instrument were subjected to standard measures testing the reliability or internal consistency of the scale used, and whether correlations exist between items. Firstly, Cronbach's Alpha coefficient is used to test the reliability of the scale, providing a value of 0.889 which is more than sufficiently high to proceed with further analysis (values greater than 0.7 are generally considered sufficient to continue). The adequacy of the sample is confirmed by the Kaiser-Meyer-Olkin test, which gives a value of 0.866 - a value greater than 0.8 is considered 'meritorious', whilst greater than 0.9 would be 'marvelous' (Ryan, 1995, p.256) - and Bartlett's Test of Sphericity measuring 1417.01 with a very high probability of 0.00000, demonstrating that clear correlations exist within the data set.

To test for a statistically significant relationship between group membership and the perceived amount of positive and negative impacts on a personal level, the standard technique of null hypothesis testing is used. For example, in order to test for a significant relationship between equity group membership and the perceived level of personal impacts from tourism, the null hypothesis used is that "There is no relationship between equity group membership and the perceived level of positive personal impacts of tourism." It is usual to proceed to reject the null hypothesis given a probability level of 0.05 (95%) or higher, however, the greater the probability level and the higher the Pearson chi-square value, the stronger is the confidence with which the null hypothesis can be rejected.

One feature of this data which presents an immediate problem in terms of analysis is the low number of respondents in certain categories. This leads to a problem of low expected cell counts arising during cross-tabulations, thereby rendering invalid the standard chi-square test of association. According to Bryman and Cramer (1997), "There is a restriction on using chi-square when the expected frequencies are small ... With three or more categories (or more than one degree of freedom),

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chi-square should not be used when more than 20% of the expected frequencies are smaller than five" (p. 123).

One way around this problem is to use the likelihood ratio (L.R.) to test for a relationship. As Ryan (1995) says, "The likelihood ratio is applicable where small samples exist, for it can be regarded as a chi-square adjusted for small sample size. It would also be pertinent to use this measure when a cell possesses fewer than five respondents" (p. 234). Since both cross-tabulations here give the percentage of cells with expected frequencies of less than five as 37% (or 6 of 16), it is best to use the Likelihood Ratio rather than chi-square to test for association between group membership and perceived level of personal impacts.

Simple cross-tabulation of equity group or cluster group and each item is used to identify those items which are significantly related to group membership. The differences in opinion of and attitude towards impacts of tourism are then investigated by an analysis of variance (ANOVA) of the groups on each of the significant attitude and opinion items within the survey instrument. This analysis draws out the areas where there is a clear level of agreement or disagreement both within the community as a whole and within and between the groupings identified.

The basic technique for such analysis is again to carry out simple cross-tabulations of the groups with each questionnaire item in order to search for significant relationships (that is, to demonstrate the areas where group membership is statistically associated with attitude response at a significant probability level - usually 95% or greater). A second stage here is to carry out a basic one-way analysis of variance test (ANOVA) on each item in order to show where the areas of agreement and disagreement lie. This is done using the Scheffé test, the purpose of which is ".. to highlight where the differences between groups are actually occurring" (Ryan, 1995, p. 222). These differences are illustrated statistically by examining the means and standard deviations of each group and then comparing them to show which groups are significantly different (or mutually exclusive) to each other at a 0.05 confidence level.

In other words, the use of ANOVA can highlight areas where, for example, one group stands out independently from a largely homogenous group amalgamated from the other three. Using SPSS for Windows, this is done by comparing the

mean scores of each group and their standard deviations and standard errors, and it is expressed in terms of the F-ratio and the F-probability. According to Ryan (1995), "The F-ratio is akin to the t-test in that it is a measure of the differences in the means of the sub-groups. The higher the score, the more likely it is that the differences are significant, and this is given by the probability" (p. 221). The Scheffé test then shows which of the four equity groups are mutually exclusive at a 0.05 significance level, using the 95 percent confidence interval for the means.

The final statistical technique used in this research is that of cluster analysis to derive a set of groups from the data set. The result of this is to draw out the optimal number of groupings in terms of their similarity of response to the 27 attitude and opinion measures in the questionnaire (items 10-36). The basic principle behind the technique is that of comparing each respondent to every other respondent in terms of their mean scores on selected items (in this case on the items recording scaled responses to the attitude and opinion questions within the questionnaire). Each individual is then fused with the next closest individual, with the process continuing until an optimal number of groups is derived in terms of the similarities within and differences between each group (see Ryan, 1995, pp. 268-79). For a comparative example of the use of this cluster analysis technique, see Ryan and Montgomery's (1994) work on Bakewell.

4.3.3 Focus Group Interviews

Having clearly identified that whilst the local community in Llangollen was broadly positive about the impacts of tourism upon their local culture, groups of differing levels of support for tourism were in evidence (four groups derived using the equity approach, of three groups taking the cluster analysis approach). In order to better understand the range of opinions of residents and the background to such opinions in their own terms, a round of focus group discussions was carried out following a question routing developed along the same principles as the preliminary interviews and the questionnaire survey. The focus group approach was chosen because of its ability to draw out not only *what* a group of individuals may feel about a subject, but more importantly *why* people feel the way they do about a subject (Kruger, 1994, p.3). Another advantage of focus group interviews, particularly in relation to this research, is their socially oriented nature. As Kruger goes on to say (1994, p.34):

"People are social creatures who interact with others. They are influenced by the comments of others and make decisions after listening to the advice and counsel of people around them. Focus groups place people in natural, real-life situations as opposed to the controlled experimental situations typical of quantitative studies. Also, the one-to-one interviews are not able to capture the dynamic nature of this group interaction. Inhibitions often are relaxed in group situations, and the more natural environment prompts increased candor by respondents".

The first stage in carrying out the round of focus group interviews was to decide upon the number and composition of the groups to be interviewed. Given that the researcher was working individually on this project, it was decided to limit the number of participants in each group to a maximum of six in order to not place too great a burden upon the researcher in terms of moderating the discussion and retaining control over the group. Given the importance of the International Eisteddfod not only as a tourist attraction, but also as a driving force within the local community, it was decided that the opinions of a group of individuals with direct and specific interest in the Eisteddfod would be of great value. To this end, the Eisteddfod secretariat was contacted, and a group of Committee members recruited to take part in the interview. Secondly, it was decided that a group of individuals with specific interest in the effects of tourism should be interviewed. To this end, by a process of simple enquiry, a group consisting of two members of the local Civic Society, one local Councilor, the manager of the Tourist Information Centre and one retailer was brought together (this group should also have contained two other retailers with more specifically tourist-oriented businesses, but they eventually failed to participate). The final group interviewed consisted of members of the local primary school parent-teachers association, and was put together to try and draw out a range of more general opinions than the other specific interest groups.

The three focus group interviews were carried out over a two day period during the first week in December, 1996. The Eisteddfod volunteer group were interviewed on their own premises, whilst the other two groups were interviewed in a room provided by the researcher's collaborating organisation, the European Centre for Traditional and Regional Cultures (ECTARC). All of the focus groups were recorded using a quality table microphone in order to provide full and clear

transcripts of the content for analysis. Each interview took between 1 and $1\frac{1}{2}$ hours to complete.

These three focus group discussions were carried out in the town of Llangollen following the implementation and preliminary analysis of the full questionnaire survey. These focus groups were set up in order to better understand the particular points of view behind the range of attitudes and opinions held by different groups within the community of Llangollen towards the impacts of tourism. Furthermore, the focus groups were intended to enable the researcher to better understand how such attitudes are constructed by the individuals comprising the groups, and how this relates to the different group perspectives expressed in the questionnaire.

In order to be able to draw out a range of responses, the focus groups were constructed specifically to include different sectors of the community with different relationships to tourism, both in general and in a more specifically cultural sense. Three distinctly different groups of people were subsequently drawn together to take part in the focus groups. These groups were:

Focus Group 1: Eisteddfod Volunteers 4/12/96
Treasurer
Music Administrator
Committee Secretary
Publicity Committee
Marketing Director
Secretariat member

Given the importance of the International Eisteddfod as an element of attitude formation towards tourism in general, and more specifically towards the cultural aspects of tourism, it was felt that it was important to access the views of local residents with a high level of participation in and close links to the event. To this end, the International Eisteddfod secretariat was contacted, and a mixed group of committee members convened on the Eisteddfod office premises to carry out the discussion.

Focus Group 2: Special Interest Group 5/12/96

Civic Society

Chair, Civic Society

Retailer

Local Councilor

Tourist Information Centre

This particular group was assembled using local contacts developed during the ongoing research investigation, particularly through the European Centre for Traditional and Regional Cultures (ECTARC), the researcher's collaborating organisation, which proved to be invaluable in terms of making such contacts and providing the researcher with a clear measure of legitimacy in local terms. The group was composed of individuals with very different interests in tourism in Llangollen, and was expected to provide some of the more polemical discussion on the topic. The discussion took place in a meeting room of one of the ECTARC premises, providing an ideal setting for such a group.

Focus Group 3: Parent-Teacher Association Members 5/12/96

Baker

Nurse

Solicitor's Agent

Retired through injury, Part-time B&B

This final group was composed of members of the local primary school Parent-Teacher Association who were contacted through the school in order to provide a range of responses from established members of the community without full-time dependence on the tourism industry. Only one member of the group had any particular interest in the tourism industry, who although retired due to an injury provided a part-time Bed and Breakfast service during the peak of the summer season. Originally intended to contain six members, this group was unfortunately reduced to four due to the unavoidable last-minute withdrawal of two of the confirmed participants. Whilst the full contingent of six respondents would have been preferable here, the smaller group total did not detract from the overall usefulness of the responses provided. Indeed, as Goldman (1987) says,

"Focus groups with specialised audiences in which the intent is to get more in-depth insights are usually best accomplished by smaller groups. Also, smaller groups are preferable when the participants have had intense or lengthy experiences with the topic of discussion. In other discussions in which the researcher wants to discover the range of perceptions in more general terms, larger groups are preferable." (p.79)

A basic question routing was retained based on the same structure as the preliminary interviews and full questionnaire survey, consisting of the following questions:

- *What would you all say are the overall effects that tourism in Llangollen has had on your lives personally?*

- *What overall effects has tourism had on the community of Llangollen?*

- *On what level are these effects most important, on a personal level for individuals within the community or for the community as a whole?*

- *What sort of things are put on here in terms of art exhibitions and concerts?*

- *What effects has the Eisteddfod had on the community of Llangollen?*

- *What elements of the modern day way of life and culture of Llangollen are of interest to tourists?*

- *What are your feelings about the way that art exhibitions, concerts, that sort of thing are used to attract tourists?*

- *What are your feelings about the way in which the history and traditions of the place are used to attract tourists?*

- *What are your feelings about the way in which the Eisteddfod has developed as a tourist attraction?*

- *What are your feelings about presenting the modern-day way of life or culture of Llangollen in order to attract tourists?*

- *What are the main personal and community quality of life improvements that have been brought about in Llangollen as a result of tourism?*

- *What do you think are the most important things that have to be taken into consideration in terms of the future development of tourism in Llangollen?*

This routing, it should be noted, was intended rather more as a guide for the researcher than a rigid structure for the carrying out of each focus group. In

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practice it was neither possible, nor necessary to follow such a formally structured approach, both due to the time-constrained nature of the interviews, and as a result of the discussion covering areas of interest without specific reference having to be made to them by the researcher. The main input of the researcher was as a moderator, ensuring that everyone had an opportunity to speak, prompting for further detail, directing the discussion to the salient areas of interest and clarifying any points of confusion.

This role of moderator is of key importance to the focus group, guiding the discussion within the relevant subject areas, probing for meaning where comments are unclear or incomplete, encouraging the participation of each member of the group whilst preventing its domination by one individual or point of view, and ensuring the free movement of the discussion without losing sight of the key areas of concern. In order to fulfill this role the moderator ensured that at all times an effort was made to:

- Convey an open, accepting attitude and genuine interest in and respect for each respondent.
- Use open-ended questions, rather than those requiring a 'yes' or 'no', or that set forth alternatives for respondents to chose from.
- Have respondents do as much of the talking as possible. Use non-directive responses such as head nods and eye contact to promote the discussion.
- Encourage all respondents to participate. Do not allow one respondent to dominate the discussion or intimidate others. Periodically call on respondents who do not voluntarily contribute.
- Encourage honest disagreement; do not force a consensus. Occasionally it is appropriate for the moderator to challenge, disagree, play the devil's advocate, or exchange stories with the respondents.
- Use projective techniques to gain more insight if participants are unable to respond to questions; i.e., sentence completion, role playing, free association, thematic a perception test (TAT), describe/draw a person.
- Vary behaviour to adapt to the demands of each situation.

(Qualitative Research Council, 1985, p. 14)

Of the focus groups carried out, the group of Eisteddfod volunteers (probably the most homogenous group) and the PTFA members (the smallest group) were the easiest to moderate, with each member contributing to the discussion and listening

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to what was said by the moderator. The third group, however, consisting of a range of interest group representatives was, not surprisingly, the most heated of the discussions and the least easy to control. Certain members of the group had arrived with their own agendas from which they were not going to be diverted by the official focus of the discussion. It could, however, be said that the confrontational nature of this particular group kept bringing the discussion back to areas of disagreement rather than consensus, and that thereby it highlighted the polemical nature of certain views held within the community.

Full transcripts of each focus group were then drawn up by the researcher in order to allow content analysis and the extraction of verbatim quotes. A simple system of coding was used in order to allow the mapping of responses from the different groups, and of the individuals within each group. Firstly, each focus group is represented by a number (1 for the International Eisteddfod volunteers, 2 for the Special Interest group, and 3 for the PTA members group); secondly, each paragraph is ascribed a number, with a third figure being used to represent the line numbers of the paragraph from which a quote is taken. In this way, the coding (1, 29, 2-5), for example, represents a quote from the first focus group, paragraph 29, lines 2-5.

4.4 Synthesis and Analysis of Results

Having designed the survey questionnaire along the lines of key themes (personal vs. community perspectives, tourism in general, tourism and 'high culture', tourism and the International Eisteddfod, tourism and past cultural traditions, and tourism and the present day way of life), the qualitative data provided by the focus groups was organised using the 'framework' method of qualitative analysis (Ritchie and Spencer, 1994). This "involves a systematic process of sifting, charting and sorting material according to key issues and themes" (p. 177), some of which will have been provided by the structured nature of the approach taken whilst others should emerge from the data as a result of the process. It is worth noting that this approach was also taken by Brunt and Courtney (1999) to analyse the content of individual interviews in their investigation into host perceptions of the sociocultural impacts of tourism.

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As Ritchie and Spencer say (1994, p. 176), "Qualitative data analysis is essentially about detection, and the tasks of defining, categorising, theorising, explaining, exploring and mapping are fundamental to the analyst's role. The methods used for qualitative analysis therefore need to facilitate such detection, and to be of a form which allows certain functions to be performed". In order to achieve the systemic detection, categorisation and explanation of qualitative data, which tends by its nature to be voluminous, a highly systematic approach has been devised. This approach consists of five key stages (ibid, p. 178):

familiarisation,

identifying a thematic framework,

indexing,

charting,

mapping and interpretation.

The first of these stages, familiarisation, essentially involves the researcher fully reviewing all of the data, listening to tapes, reading transcripts, and studying field notes taken. In this particular case, since the one researcher was responsible for all stages of the research process from initial design to transcript preparation, little formal familiarisation with the material obtained was necessary. Such a process of familiarisation is of more relevance and importance where more than one researcher is involved in a project.

The second stage, that of identifying a thematic framework, involves the drawing out of key issues, concepts and themes from within the data which will lead to the development of the organising framework within which the information can be sorted. The starting point for the construction of such a framework is that of the key issues identified in the original research aims, as expressed in terms of the interviewer's topic guide or question routing for interviews and focus groups. The subsequent refinement of the thematic framework is a subjective process involving both logical and intuitive judgments as to the relevance and importance of issues and the connections which link such issues. One way to achieve this is to start with the general subject headings and then to sub-divide these into categories of responses as the themes emerge. The main aim of this stage is to organise the information into manageable chunks, and as such any over-elaboration of themes and so on is inadvisable. It is usual to apply a descriptive textual system of

annotation to the broader subject headings and to refine these into their sub-themes using numerical annotation.

Having identified the thematic framework, the next stage in this system is that of indexing the data. This is the process of applying the thematic framework directly to the data in its transcript form using the system of indexing references to annotate the text. This task of applying such an indexing system is, again, a subjective task given that there is no fixed number of meanings which can be ascribed to any given passage of interview text. As such, multiple indexing is carried out of any passages containing more than one theme. As Ritchie and Spencer point out, such a system of indexing, whilst subjective in itself, is clearly visible to the reader who can see how the information has been sorted.

The next stage, charting, is where the data, having been indexed, is now removed from its original context within the interview transcript and is arranged according to the thematic groups. In this particular instance, this involves removing each referenced passage from the original transcript and replacing it under the appropriate topic area heading. In this way, the main subject areas are derived from the research questions and from the questionnaire structure, with further refinements and thematic associations emerging from the data as it is re-compiled.

The final stage, as outlined by Ritchie and Spencer, is that of mapping and interpretation of the data. Again, in this particular case, such mapping and interpretation is contingent upon both the qualitative data provided by the preliminary interviews and focus groups and upon the quantitative element provided by the questionnaire survey. As such, the qualitative material is rather more intended to elaborate upon and explain the situations and relationships brought out by the questionnaire than to draw out any further associations or themes within the data. It is important, however, that the interpretation of the qualitative material is not overly derived from the quantitative results obtained, and that any emergent themes are not overlooked due to their absence from the initial questionnaire results.

The consideration of such potential conflicts and difficulties is an important element in combining a range of research methods in a single study. The benefits of doing so, however, are increasingly being seen as outweighing the potential difficulties of

using mixed-methods approaches to inquiry in the social sciences. To quote Fontana and Frey (1994, p. 373), "Many scholars are realising that to pit one type of interviewing against another is a futile effort, a leftover from the paradigmatic quantitative/qualitative hostility of past generations. Thus an increasing number of researchers are using multimethod approaches to achieve broader and often better results."

By using the framework technique to sort qualitative data into categories and themes corresponding to those utilised in the questionnaire, the combination of interview, focus group and questionnaire data can be achieved in a manner which is both visible, objective and transferable. In this way, the integration of qualitative and quantitative methods can be achieved in a complementary manner whilst avoiding many of the criticisms leveled at qualitative approaches, such as their overly subjective nature and the difficulties which can arise in attempting to reproduce unstructured approaches to research investigation.

In order to correspond to the structure of the questionnaire, the same question groups were used to provide themes relating to the areas of tourism impact where there was a perceived equity imbalance (Equity Dimensions), and also to the general impacts of tourism on the local way of life and culture and the associated attitudes and opinions.

Equity Dimensions

These elements were drawn from comments and exchanges from the focus groups relating specifically to the perceived distribution of and balance between the negative and positive impacts of tourism on both individuals and the community in general, economic and social and cultural terms. The particular themes drawn out were:
- Personal and community perspectives
- Tourist benefit and local benefit
- Council, tourism and control
- Tourism and industry
- The International Eisteddfod and the community
- Culture and the community
- Participation and attitude

<u>Tourism in general</u>

The following themes were drawn from the comments of the focus group participants relating to the specific impacts of tourism, and the attitudes towards such impacts:

- Development and the local way of life
- The International Eisteddfod
- Arts and exhibitions
- Tourism and employment
- Traffic and crowding
- Tourism and change
- History and heritage
- Language and culture

By initially filtering the qualitative data provided by the focus groups along the same lines as the general structure of the questionnaire, the particular themes drawn out, and the different representations of tourism expressed by the focus group participants can then be associated with specific areas of the quantitative data and provide illustrative comment. Furthermore, by allowing sub-themes to develop organically from the data, new areas of description, analysis and explanation can be touched on.

The difficulty here then lies in how to integrate such diverse and separate forms of data into a cohesive picture of the residents' perceptions of the socio-cultural impacts of tourism in Llangollen. Having used one form of qualitative inquiry (individual interviews) to inform the questionnaire design, and then subsequently carrying a further round of qualitative inquiry (by focus group discussion), a form of "methodological triangulation" (Decrop, 1999; Oppermann, 2000) has been used, combining both qualitative and quantitative techniques in a planned and systematic manner. In this way, the questionnaire has been designed to assess the range of opinions existing across the community with regard to the socio-cultural impacts of tourism, examining different aspects of culture and the local way of life, whilst the focus group discussions were then carried out concentrating on the same areas of culture. The focus groups, however, allow the participants to express their opinions in their own terms and, furthermore, provide the opportunity for the discussion and

expansion of any areas of conflict or particular concern, giving a far richer, in-depth and contextual view of how tourism and its effects on a cultural level are viewed within the community.

4.5 Summary

The first section of this chapter examined the theory of social representations, but in terms of the methodological considerations proposed in the literature. The next section then carried out a further examination of the existing research into resident perception of tourism impacts, but from an exclusively methodological perspective, outlining the different research methods which have been adopted in different circumstances by different authors.

The next section then described in detail the research tool used in this research and its application. The methods used were those of preliminary sensitising interviews carried out in order to help inform the questionnaire design. A full-scale, 49-item questionnaire was drawn up, consisting of different sections relating to, the general impacts of tourism; the specific impacts of tourism; attitudes to the impacts of tourism; attitudes to suggestions for future changes in tourism; and personal and socio-demographic details. Having pilot tested the questionnaire, it was then carried out in full over two ten day periods. The background to the use of focus groups in the research is then described, and the question routing used is set out, as well as the approach to the selection of the groups. Finally, Ritchie and Spencer's (1994) framework technique is outlined and described as the method for sorting, filtering and interpreting the qualitative data.

CHAPTER FIVE: BASIC QUESTIONNAIRE FINDINGS

Before carrying out statistical analyses of the questionnaire data in subsequent chapters, this chapter provides a basic analysis of the main features of the responses provided by residents of Llangollen in the questionnaire survey. A basic descriptive analysis is presented of each of the five question groupings in the questionnaire.

It was felt to be a necessary and useful starting point to provide an analysis of the overall pattern of responses of the sample of residents to the questionnaire survey. It was considered to be necessary for three main reasons: firstly, an examination of the basic percentages of positive and negative responses gives a picture of the overall patterns of response in the community; secondly, this shows in simple terms the overall balance of commonality and difference of response to each of the questionnaire items; and, thirdly, a simple analysis of the responses to each of the question groups facilitates a subsequent comparison of the quantitative data with the qualitative analysis provided later in the thesis.

5.1 General Impacts of Tourism

The first section of the questionnaire dealt with the general impacts of tourism, and was designed to provide a set of equity measures, as utilised previously by Pearce et al (1991). In this first instance, however, these items are used to provide a simple assessment of perceptions of the balance between the major positive and the major negative impacts of tourism. Consideration is paid to perceptions of both how they affect the individual respondent and also of how they affect the community of Llangollen as a whole.

Table 5.1 Perceived major positive and negative personal impacts

Impact	YES	NO
Major positive impact	61.4%	38.6%
Major negative impact	20.9%	79.1%

Table 5.1 shows the responses to the first two items in the questionnaire: "do you feel that tourism has had any major positive/negative impacts on your life personally?". It suggests that the balance of perceived major impacts of tourism on an individual level was generally positive, with 61.4% of respondents perceiving

major positive impacts from tourism on their lives personally, and only 20.9%
perceiving major negative impacts from tourism.

Table 5.2 Amount of perceived personal impact from tourism

Amount of impact	A great deal	A moderate amount	A small amount	Not at all
How much positive	16.5%	24.1%	34.8%	24.7%
How much negative	1.3%	13.3%	34.8%	50.6%

Again, when looking at the amount of perceived personal impacts from tourism as
expressed by the respondents (Table 5.2), the picture is generally positive, with
75.3% of respondents identifying some level of personal benefit from tourism and
only 49.4% perceiving some negative personal impacts. The same proportion
(34.8%) of the sample perceive a small amount of both positive impacts on
themselves personally as perceive a small amount of negative impacts. Only
14.6% of the sample perceive a moderate amount or great deal of negative
impacts, as opposed to 40.6% who perceive it has a moderate amount or a great
deal of positive impacts on their lives personally.

Table 5.3 shows the extent to which such benefits are perceived in economic and
in cultural terms on a personal level.

Table 5.3 Amount of perceived personal economic and cultural benefit from
tourism

Amount of benefit	A great deal	A moderate amount	A small amount	Not at all
Economic Benefit	12.7%	13.3%	13.9%	60.1%
Cultural Benefit	15.2%	28.5%	27.2%	29.1%

The table shows that 60.1% of respondents do not consider themselves to be
benefiting economically *at all* from tourism, while as many as 70.9% feel that they
receive some level of cultural benefit. However, it should be noted that only 15.2%
perceive themselves to be benefiting a great deal in cultural terms from tourism,
and only 12.7% in economic terms. There is another significant difference in the
middle ground, with 27.2% perceiving a small or moderate amount of personal
economic benefit, as opposed to 55.7% in terms of cultural benefit.

Table 5.4 Perceived major positive and negative community impacts

Impact	YES	NO
Positive community impact	89.2%	10.8%
Negative community impact	39.2%	67.1%

Table 5.4 shows that in terms of the major positive and negative impacts of tourism for the community as a whole rather than on a personal level, 89.2% of respondents felt there are major positive impacts on the community. At the same time, a considerably smaller 39.2% of the sample considered that tourism has major negative impacts on the community of Llangollen. Interestingly, these results show that the respondents are clearly more positive about the overall impacts of tourism on the community than they are about the impacts on them as an individual.

Table 5.5 Amount of perceived personal and community cultural benefit

Amount of benefit	A great deal	A moderate amount	A small amount	Not at all
Personal cultural benefit	15.2%	28.5%	27.2%	29.1%
Community cultural benefit	46.2%	35.4%	13.9%	4.4%

This difference in perception of the social and cultural benefits of tourism on a personal and on a community level is even more clearly illustrated in Table 5.5. Here 95.6% of respondents perceived some degree of social and cultural benefit to the community, which compares with 70.9% in personal terms. As many as 81.6% of the sample believed the amount of tourism benefit to the community in cultural terms to be either a moderate amount or a great deal (again as opposed to 43.7% in personal terms).

As can be seen, these items relating to the general impacts of tourism in Llangollen show that a majority of the questionnaire respondents are generally positive in their perceptions. Whilst major economic benefits from the tourist industry in the town were only perceived by a minority, the perceived personal social and cultural benefits were much more widespread. Most striking, however, was the perceived level of social and cultural benefit to the community, with 95.6% of respondents perceiving some level of community cultural benefit, and 46.2% perceiving a great deal of cultural benefit to the community.

5.2 Perceptions of the current impacts of tourism in Llangollen

Table 5.6 shows the basic results of the items relating to the perceptions of current sociocultural impacts of tourism, assessing the impacts on the community of Llangollen in terms of the general way of life and culture of its residents, and in terms of art exhibitions and concerts, the International Eisteddfod, and of the history and traditions of the area. These impacts are assessed by measuring the extent to which respondents agree or disagree with the statements, scored on a 5-point agree strongly - disagree strongly scale, and with a higher score representing a more positive perception of the impact of tourism. The results are ranked according to the mean score for each item. The third column of table 5.6 (% positive) gives the percentage of respondents who indicated a positive perception of the impact of tourism. For example, the fifth item in the table (Llangollen would be a less varied and interesting place if tourists did not visit the town) has 69.7% of the sample disagreeing with the statement, giving a response which is positive in terms of this impact of tourism on the town.

Table 5.6 Perceptions of the current impacts of tourism

Questionnaire Item	Mean Score	% Positive
Meeting tourists from all over the world is a valuable experience.	4.11	87.3%
Tourism has increased the number of art exhibitions and concerts.	4.04	91.1%
On balance the Eisteddfod has contributed positively to the way of life or culture of residents.	3.93	83.4%
The Eisteddfod has encouraged more friendly relations between tourists and residents.	3.86	78.7%
Llangollen would be a less varied and interesting place if tourists did not visit the town.	3.66	69.7%
Tourism has increased the interest of residents in the history and traditions of the area.	3.48	63.3%
Tourism has made the way of life or culture less intimate and friendly for the residents.	3.47	66.5%
The Eisteddfod has increased the interest of residents in the history and traditions of the area.	3.42	60.9%
Tourism has encouraged residents to value more highly their local way of life or culture.	3.41	59.3%
Tourism has made the way of life or culture less distinctive.	3.34	60.4%
Tourism has increased the range and quality of facilities available for the use of residents in their leisure time.	3.26	58.3%
Tourism encourages residents to take part in a wide variety of cultural activities.	3.21	55.0%
The history and traditions are sometimes presented in an unrealistic or inauthentic manner to cater for tourists.	2.96	50.7%
Most of the art exhibitions and concerts here which attract tourists are of interest to only a small minority of local residents.	2.56	26.1%
Scale = 5-point Likert, Agree strongly - Disagree strongly		

The most highly scoring statement in this section of the questionnaire is "Meeting tourists from all over the world is a valuable experience", with 87.3% of respondents agreeing with the statement, clearly illustrating the importance attached to the cultural exchange value of tourism in Llangollen. The next statement, "Tourism has helped increase the number of art exhibitions and concerts in Llangollen", received a higher percentage of respondents in agreement (91.1%), but delivered a lower mean score, due to a smaller proportion of respondents being in strong agreement with the statement. Here only 19% agreed strongly with the statement, in contrast to 31.6% who agreed strongly with the previous statement.

The next two statements reveal the important role played by the International Eisteddfod in Llangollen. The statement that "The International Eisteddfod has contributed positively to the way of life or culture of residents" had 83.4% of respondents in agreement, and the statement that "The International Eisteddfod has encouraged more friendly relations between tourists and residents" had 78.7% in agreement.

In terms of the general culture and way of life of the residents, 69.7% agreed that Llangollen would be less varied and interesting if tourists did not visit the town. Furthermore, in response to the statement that tourism has made the way of life or culture less intimate and friendly for the residents, 66.5% of respondents disagreed, with 23.9% agreeing. In response to the statement that tourism has encouraged residents to value more highly their way of life or culture, 59.3% agreed or agreed strongly, with no respondents disagreeing strongly. Some respondents did, however, feel that tourism has made the way of life or culture of Llangollen less distinctive (27.3%), although the majority of them disagreed (60.4%).

The statement that tourism has increased the range and quality of facilities available for the use of Llangollen residents in their leisure time divided opinion, with 58.3% of respondents agreeing, and a substantial 32% disagreeing. A similar response was given to the statement that tourism encourages residents to take part in a wide range of cultural activities, with 55% agreeing and 33.8% disagreeing.

The items relating to the history and traditions of the area created the most indecision amongst respondents, giving the highest number of "don't know" responses of all of the questionnaire items. The most favourable response was to the statement "Tourism has increased the interest of residents in the history and traditions of the area", with 63.3% agreeing, and 22% disagreeing, although 5% of the total sample did not know. Again, in response to the statement that the International Eisteddfod had increased the interest of residents in the history and traditions of the area, 60.9% agreed, 27.9% disagreed, and nearly 5% did not know. There was most confusion, or indecision however, to the statement that the history and traditions are sometimes presented in an unrealistic or inauthentic manner to cater for tourists, with 10.1% of the total sample giving a "don't know" response, 50.7% of the other responses disagreeing with the statement, and 43.6% agreeing. This shows a certain confusion or lack of certainty regarding the use of the heritage of the town for tourism and also regarding issues of authenticity.

The final statement that, 'Most of the art exhibitions and concerts here which attract tourists are of interest to only a small minority of local residents' led 62.7% of respondents to agree, with only 26.1% disagreeing. Indeed, this item was one of the lowest scoring in the questionnaire, demonstrating clear concerns in terms of the popularity of such events with the community as a whole.

5.3 Attitudes to the current impacts of tourism in Llangollen

Having examined the broad perceptions of the cultural impacts of tourism in Llangollen, the next section of the questionnaire concerns the attitudes of residents to such impacts. Respondents were asked to record their attitude to certain elements of tourism and culture in Llangollen on a 5-point scale, with responses ranging from "I am in favour and strongly support" to " I dislike and strongly oppose". These items are presented in Table 5.7.

Table 5.7 Attitudes to the current impacts of tourism

Questionnaire Item	Mean Score	% Positive
Attitude to the overall impact of the International Eisteddfod on the way of life or culture	4.07	82.8%
Attitude to the general character of the events and activities within the Eisteddfod	3.99	78.8%
Overall attitude to tourism in Llangollen	3.93	74.7%
Attitude to the increased number of art exhibitions and concerts here resulting from tourism	3.88	74.7%
Attitude to the way in which the history and traditions of Llangollen are presented in order to attract tourists	3.70	67.3%
Attitude to the overall impact of tourism on the way of life or culture	3.58	61.2%
Scale = 5-point Likert, In favour and strongly approve - Dislike and strongly oppose		

The item which had the most favourable response related to the overall impact of the International Eisteddfod on the way of life or culture of Llangollen, with 52.9% of respondents in favour, and 29.9% in favour and strongly supporting it (a total of 82.8% in favour). Only 3.8% of respondents were negative on this item, demonstrating the overwhelmingly positive attitude of the community of Llangollen towards the cultural impacts of the festival.

The attitude of respondents to the general character of the events and activities in the International Eisteddfod was slightly less positive, with 5.7% expressing a negative attitude, and 78.8% responding positively. This, again shows the overall popularity of the event with the respondents.

The next item in Table 5.6 related to the overall attitude to tourism in Llangollen. Here, 74.7% of the sample were in favour of tourism in the town, and only 8.8% claimed to dislike tourism itself. However, when asked their attitude to the overall impact of tourism on the way of life or culture of Llangollen, the responses were not so strongly positive. Indeed, only 61.2% were in favour of the overall impacts of tourism on the way of life or culture of Llangollen (11.2% were strongly in favour), and 24.3% were neither in favour nor disliked the impacts. Of the 14.5% who responded negatively to the item, however, none did so strongly.

The attitude to the increased number of art exhibitions and concerts in Llangollen was positive, with 74.7% of respondents in favour, and only 5.7% disliking it (and none of those strongly). The response to the item on attitudes to the way in which the history and traditions are used to attract tourists was more mixed, giving the highest percentage of neither/nor responses (24.7%), with 67.3% in favour, and

8.0% disliking it. Interestingly, this item also scored the highest number of "don't knows" in this section of the questionnaire, representing 5.1% of all respondents.

5.4 Attitudes to suggestions for future changes in tourism

The next section of the questionnaire concerned residents' attitudes to suggestions for future changes to tourism in Llangollen. Seven suggestions for changes in tourism were presented, and assessed using a 5-point Likert scale with responses ranging from "I am in favour and would strongly support the suggestion", to "I dislike and would strongly oppose the suggestion". The results are shown in Table 5.8.

Table 5.8 Attitudes to suggestions for future changes in tourism

Questionnaire Item	Mean Score	% Positive
There should be more promotion of the history and traditions in order to attract more tourists	3.83	75.8%
Tourism in Llangollen should be allowed to grow but only slowly	3.73	78.3%
There should be more promotion of the way of life or culture of residents in order to attract more tourists	3.48	60.7%
Increased promotion of more art exhibitions and concerts here in order to attract more tourists	3.43	56.7%
Tourist activities should be kept more separate from the activities of residents	3.40	61.0%
The Eisteddfod should be much bigger in size and importance	2.78	29.2%
Tourism in Llangollen should grow rapidly	2.31	17.2%
Scale = 5-point Likert, In Favour and strongly approve - Dislike and strongly oppose		

The most popular suggestion with the respondents was that there should be more promotion of the history and traditions of the area in order to attract more tourists, with 75.8% in favour of the suggestion and only 9.5% responding unfavourably. This suggests that this is an area which is perceived by the local residents as being somewhat neglected, and they seem to approve of further developments to the historical and heritage-based attractions in the town.

The next most popular suggestion was that tourism in Llangollen should be allowed to grow, but only slowly. Here 78.3% of respondents were in favour of the suggestion, although less strongly than in terms of further promotion of the history and heritage of Llangollen. This is in direct contrast to the suggestion that tourism should grow rapidly, with a mean score of 2.31 and only 17.2% of respondents in favour. Indeed, 75.2% of respondents were opposed to the suggestion, the lowest

scoring item in the questionnaire. This shows that Llangollen is close to some kind of perceptual carrying capacity as far as the residents are concerned.

In response to the suggestion that there should be more promotion of the way of life or culture of residents in order to attract tourists, 60.7% were supportive, with 51% in favour of the suggestion, and 9.8% strongly in favour. A further 20.3%% disliked the suggestion, but with only 1.3% strongly opposing it. A similar response was obtained to the suggestion that there should be increased promotion of more art exhibitions and concerts in Llangollen, with 56.7% in favour and 23.5% disliking the suggestion.

The suggestion that tourist activities should be kept more separate from the activities of Llangollen residents was disliked by 61% of respondents, but with only 3.2% strongly opposing it, the mean score for the item was actually lower than for the two previous items. The suggestion was favoured to some extent by 20.1% of the respondents, with 18.8% giving a neutral response. This shows that the presence of high numbers of tourists in Llangollen is a problem for some residents.

Second only to the suggestion for rapid growth in tourism in terms of unpopularity amongst respondents was the suggestion that in future the International Eisteddfod should become much bigger in size and importance, with only 29.2% in favour. Over half of the respondents (51.6%) disliked this suggestion, although this is not unsurprising given a visitor:resident ratio during the festival of around 387:1 over the week, including both competitors, audiences and other visitors to the town (see Chapter 1).

5.5 Socio-demographic details

The final section of the questionnaire included items relating to the socio-demographic details of respondents and to their personal cultural interests. This section of the chapter gives an overview of the results of these items.

The first item in this section of the questionnaire was "do you or any member of your immediate family work in the tourism industry?", to which 24.7% of respondents answered positively. While this is not a direct measure of tourism employment in the town, it is nonetheless a clear indication of the level of

dependence of the community on the tourism industry. This level of dependence is particularly clear when considering that tourism accounts for around 10% of employment in North Wales, where it is one of the major industries (IWA, 1995).

High levels of tourist contact were also expressed by respondents, with 50.6% having "a great deal" or "a moderate amount" of contact with tourists, 33.5% having a small amount of contact, and only 15.8% having no contact at all. That the respondents had high levels of contact with tourists is not surprising given the small size of the community and the heavy dependence on the industry for employment in the town.

In terms of their involvement with local societies and organisations, 35.5% of respondents had either "a great deal" or "a moderate amount" of involvement, 34.2% had a small amount, and 30.4% had no involvement at all. In other words, 69.6% of respondents had some level of involvement in local societies and organisations, showing a high level of community involvement.

This is further reflected in the levels of community attachment expressed by respondents, with 30.4% of respondents considering themselves to be "very strongly" attached to the community, 34.2% being "strongly" attached, and 26.6% "moderately" attached. Only 8.2% considered themselves to be only "a little" attached to the community, and merely 1 of the 158 respondents (or 0.6%) was "not at all" attached.

These levels of community attachment are consistent with a well-established community, with 67.1% of respondents having been resident in Llangollen for more than 15 years, 20.3% for more than 5 but less than 15 years, and only 12.7% having lived in the town for less than 5 years.

Table 5.9 shows the responses to the next three items, with respondents stating their level of personal interest in the local history and traditions, the events in the International Eisteddfod, and in art exhibitions and classical music.

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Table 5.9 Personal cultural Interests

Questionnaire Item	Mean Score	% Positive
How interested are you in the local history and traditions of Llangollen?	4.27	87.9%
How interested are you in the events within the International Eisteddfod?	3.62	61.7%
How interested are you in art exhibitions and classical music?	3.52	64.6%
Scale = 5-point Likert, Very Interested - Very Disinterested.		

A very high majority of respondents (87.9%) considered themselves to be "quite interested" or "very interested" in the local history and traditions, with only 4.4% expressing disinterest. The International Eisteddfod was of interest to 61.7% of respondents, with 18.5% expressing disinterest. While 64.6% of respondents expressed some level of interest in classical music and art exhibitions, only 22.2% considered themselves to be very interested, and 22% expressed disinterest.

These measures, it should be noted, merely record the expressed level of personal interest in a particular area of culture, and give no indication of the level of active interest or involvement of the individual. As such, whilst a very high proportion of respondents may be interested in the local history and traditions of the area, this is no measure of their knowledge of or active interest in the subject.

It is interesting that, given the high levels of dependence on the tourist industry in Llangollen, the respondents considered the job opportunities in the town to be poor. This is clearly shown, with only 6.6% of respondents considering job opportunities to be good or very good, 19.6% considered them to be neither good nor bad, 47.7% considered them "bad" and 26.1% considered job opportunities to be very bad.

In terms of gender, the sample population was 44.3% male and 55.7% female, figures which are close to the 1991 census figures, although slightly swayed towards female respondents due to the greater numbers at home at some of the times when the survey was administered. The census figures were also closely replicated in terms of the age of respondents, with 26.6% of respondents falling in the 18-34 age group, 36.1% in the 35-54 age group, and 21.5% in the 55-70 group. The popularity of Llangollen as a retirement town is shown by the high numbers of respondents over the age of 70 (15.8%), a figure which is very similar to that of the census.

Respondents were also asked their occupational category, and that of the main income earner in their household, if it was someone else. The largest single occupational group was that of the higher managerial or professional group (including those who run their own business), accounting for 30.4% of respondents, with manual workers (skilled, semi-skilled or unskilled) accounting for a total 38%. Of those who did not earn the most income themselves, the main earners were mainly divided between higher managerial or professional group and skilled manual work. Those respondents who were themselves unoccupied were either at home with children or in full-time education.

5.6 Summary and conclusions

In terms of the perceptions of the major personal impacts of tourism in Llangollen, 61.4% of respondents perceived themselves as receiving some form of major positive impact on their lives as a result of tourism, with 40.6% perceiving there to be a great deal or a moderate amount of personal benefits arising from tourism. Interestingly, while 39.9% of respondents perceived some level of personal economic benefit, the corresponding percentage of respondents who perceived some form of personal social or cultural benefit was 70.9%.

Both the positive and negative major impacts of tourism were perceived more strongly in terms of the community as a whole, with 95.6% of respondents perceiving some form of community benefit, and 46.2% perceiving there to be a great deal of benefits for the community.

Looking at the perceptions of the current impacts of tourism in Llangollen, the cultural exchange value of international tourism was widely recognised, with 87.3% of respondents agreeing with the statement that "meeting tourists from all over the world is a valuable experience". The role of the International Eisteddfod in promoting a positive perception of tourism was shown in the general agreement that the festival has contributed positively to the way of life or culture of Llangollen residents (83.4% agreed), and that it has encouraged more friendly relations between tourists residents (78.7% agreed). Furthermore, 69.7% agreed that Llangollen would be a less varied and interesting place if tourists did not visit the town, although a minority of respondents (23.9%) did agree that tourism had made

the way of life or culture less intimate and friendly for residents. Some respondents (27.3%) did also agree that tourism has made the way of life or culture of Llangollen less distinctive.

In relation to tourism and the provision of arts and cultural facilities, 91.1% of respondents agreed that tourism had increased the number of art exhibitions and concerts in Llangollen. Such attractions, however, were felt by 62.7% of respondents to be of interest to only a small minority of residents, who were perhaps represented by the 26.1% of respondents who disagreed with the statement. A significantly large 32% of respondents disagreed with the statement that tourism had increased the range and quality of facilities available for the use of residents in their leisure time, with 58.3% agreeing. Also, while 55% of the sample agreed that tourism encouraged residents to take part in a wide variety of cultural activities, 33.8% disagreed.

The items relating to tourism and the history and traditions of Llangollen elicited the highest number of "don't know" responses in the questionnaire, with 10.1% of all respondents giving that response to the statement that the history and traditions were sometimes presented in an unrealistic or inauthentic manner to cater for tourists. As many as 43.6% of those who expressed an opinion about this were in agreement. There was a majority in agreement with the statements that tourism (63.3%) and the International Eisteddfod (60.9%) had increased the interest of residents in the history and traditions of Llangollen.

In terms of attitudes to the current impacts of tourism in Llangollen, the items relating to the impact of the International Eisteddfod on the way of life or culture of Llangollen residents, and the general nature of the events in the festival were the most favoured (with 82.8% and 78.8% in favour respectively). The overall attitude to tourism in Llangollen was positive, with 74.7% in favour. While the overall impact of tourism on the way of life or culture received a favourable response from only 61.2%, of the 14.5% who responded negatively, none did so strongly. So, while tourism was favoured by a large majority of respondents, concerns did exist among a small minority regarding the impacts of tourism on the way of life or culture of the community.

The suggestion for future changes in tourism which received the most positive response was that tourism should be allowed to grow but only slowly, with 78.3% in favour. Conversely, the suggestion that tourism should grow rapidly was opposed by 75.2% of respondents, implying that some form of carrying capacity threshold had been reached in the minds of a majority of respondents. The suggestion that there should be more promotion of the history and traditions of Llangollen in order to attract tourists was favoured by 75.8% of respondents, but the suggestion of keeping tourists more separate from the residents was favoured by only 20.1% of respondents.

The demographics of the sample were closely matched to that of the population in the 1991 census in terms of gender and age, with a high proportion of retirees. There was also evidence of considerable dependence on the tourism industry, with a high level of tourism employment along with a poor perception of job prospects locally.

Respondents indicated that they had high levels of tourist contact and involvement in local societies, with respondents considering that they were both highly involved in and attached to the community (with 30.4% considering themselves to be very strongly attached to the community). This is consistent with a well-established community, with 67.1% of respondents having resided locally for fifteen or more years.

Items relating to the levels of cultural interest all scored highly, with interest in the local history and traditions scoring the most highly, followed by interest in the events and activities in the International Eisteddfod. The lowest scoring item here was that relating to interest in classical music and art exhibitions, although 64.6% did express some level of interest.

This summary analysis of the questionnaire data shows Llangollen to be a community which is broadly very positive about the impacts of tourism on its way of life and culture. The benefits of tourism were seen as extending beyond the realm of the economic, although a high proportion of the town was dependant on the industry for income to some extent. The cultural exchange benefits of tourism were clearly felt in the town, with the International Eisteddfod playing a pivotal role in such sentiments.

While many sociocultural benefits of tourism were clearly perceived by a majority of the community, there was a minority of respondents who were consistently opposed to the impacts both in general and in specific social and cultural terms. Indeed, a majority of respondents expressed concerns over the suggestion for future rapid growth in tourism, although they consider that continued slow growth would be favourable.

CHAPTER SIX: THE EQUITY APPROACH

This chapter examines the divisions which exist within the community of Llangollen regarding the perceptions of, and attitudes towards the impacts of tourism upon the cultural life of the residents. This idea of divisions existing within the community is initially examined in terms of the perceptions of the major impacts of tourism, with the results of the questionnaire survey being used to segment respondents according to their perceptions of the major positive and negative impacts on their lives personally . This is done using an equity-based approach, as devised originally by Pearce, Moscardo and Ross (1991), but incorporating measures of the amount of perceived positive and negative impacts received in general terms, as well as a measure of perceived cultural equity. The comparison is also made between the perception of the general impacts on a personal level and on a community level.

Membership of the equity groups formed in the first section is then examined in relation to the 27 attitude and opinion items in the questionnaire. These items are presented in three sections: perception of the specific impacts of tourism; attitude to the current impacts of tourism; and attitudes to suggestions for future changes in tourism. In each of these sections, the items are presented in terms of "tourism in general", "tourism and 'high culture'", "tourism and the International Eisteddfod, "tourism and the past cultural traditions", and "tourism and the present-day way of life".

Simple cross-tabulation of equity group and each item is used to identify those items which are significantly related to equity group membership. The differences in opinion of and attitude towards impacts of tourism are then investigated by an analysis of variance (ANOVA) of the personal equity groups on each of the significant attitude and opinion items within the survey instrument. This analysis draws out the areas where there is a clear level of agreement or disagreement both within the community as a whole and within and between the groupings identified.

The final section of this chapter examines the relationship between equity group membership and the various socio-demographic measures and personal details contained in the final section of the questionnaire. This will show which particular personal attributes or circumstances can be linked to both equity group

membership and to attitude to the impacts (both social/cultural and general) of tourism in Llangollen.

6.1 Measures of equity considerations

This opening section of the questionnaire deals with the perceived balance of the negative and positive impacts of tourism upon the case study destination. These impacts are assessed using measures of the positive and negative effects of tourism as expressed both on a personal level and in terms of the community as a whole. Such impacts are measured in general, economic and social/cultural terms, with the introduction of this social/cultural element adding to the work of Pearce et al (1991).

The first stage here is to draw out the equity groups by cross-tabulating the results of the first two items in the questionnaire, namely: "Do you consider that tourism in Llangollen has had any major positive impacts on your life personally?" and "Do you consider that tourism in Llangollen has had any major negative impacts on your life personally?" (Table 6.1).

Table 6.1 Cross-tabulation of tourism's positive and negative personal impacts

		Positive Impact		Row Total
		YES	NO	
Negative	YES	18 (11.4%)	15 (9.5%)	33 (20.9%)
Impact	NO	43 (27.2%)	82 (51.9%)	125 (79.1%)
Column Total		61 (38.6%)	97 (61.4%)	158 (100%)

These four equity groups formed from results of the cross-tabulation are as follows: Positive (no negative impacts but some positive impacts); No Impact (no positive and no negative impacts); Balance (both positive and negative impacts); Negative (no positive but some negative impacts) (Table 6.2) (Pearce et al, 1991).

Table 6.2 Equity group construction

	equity group			
Personal Impact	Negative	No Impact	Balance	Positive
Positive Impact	NO	NO	YES	YES
Negative Impact	YES	NO	YES	NO

From this it can be seen how four groups can be identified within the community in terms of the perceived personal costs and benefits of tourism. These four equity

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groups are shown below (Table 6.3), and compared with those derived by Pearce et al (1991) in order to highlight any immediate differences between the major perceived positive and negative personal impacts of tourism contained in the results obtained by Pearce et al in Cairns and in this research in Llangollen.

Table 6.3 Comparative equity group membership

equity group	Llangollen	Pearce et al (1991)
Positive	27.2%	23.8%
No Impact	51.9%	31.0%
Balance	11.4%	18.5%
Negative	9.5%	26.6%

The most obviously apparent differences here are that there is a majority membership of the No Impact group in Llangollen (51.9% as opposed to 31% in Cairns) and, perhaps more tellingly, there is a considerably lower percentage of the population who perceive an overwhelmingly negative impact upon their lives from tourism (9.5% in Llangollen as opposed to 26.6% in Cairns). It should be borne in mind, however, that these questions, as devised by Pearce et al (1991) are framed in terms of the *major* positive and negative impacts of tourism on the personal lives of individuals, rather than the perceived level of broad positive and negative impacts in general.

The next two items in the questionnaire attempt to derive a measure of the perceived levels of these impacts by asking about the extent to which respondents consider tourism to have positive or negative impacts upon their lives personally, with responses recorded on a four-point scale ranging from a *great deal* to *not at all*. These responses for the four equity groups are then compared, showing the extent to which each of these groups perceives that tourism has positive or negative impacts on themselves personally (Tables 6.4 and 6.5).

Table 6.4 Perceived extent of positive impacts by equity group

	equity groups				Row Totals
Positive Impacts	Negative	No Impact	Balance	Positive	
A great deal	-	-	5 (27.8%)	21 (48.8%)	26 (16.5%)
A moderate amount	2 (13.3%)	14 (17.1%)	9 (50%)	13 (30.2%)	38 (24.1%)
A small amount	5 (33.3%)	38 (46.3%)	4 (22.2%)	8 (18.6%)	55 (34.8%)
Not at all	8 (53.3%)	30 (36.6%)	-	1 (2.3%)	39 (24.7%)
Total	*15 (100%)*	*82 (100%)*	*18 (100%)*	*43 (100%)*	*158 (100%)*
Percentage of total	(9.5%)	(51.9%)	(11.4%)	(27.2%)	
(L.R.=97.0 @ 0.00000)					

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Table 6.5 Perceived extent of negative impacts by equity group

Negative Impacts	equity groups				Row Totals
	Negative	No Impact	Balance	Positive	
A great deal	2 (13.3%)	-	-	-	2 (1.3%)
A moderate amount	6 (40.0%)	6 (7.3%)	7 (38.9%)	2 (4.7%)	21 (13.3%)
A small amount	7 (46.7%)	20 (24.4%)	11 (61.1%)	17 (39.5%)	55 (34.8%)
Not at all	-	56 (68.3%)	-	24 (55.8%)	80 (50.6%)
Total	15 (100%)	82 (100%)	18 (100%)	43 (100%)	158 (100%)
Percentage of total	(9.5%)	(51.9%)	(11.4%)	(27.2%)	
(L.R.=71.0 @ 0.00000)					

To test for a statistically significant relationship between equity group membership and the perceived amount of positive and negative impacts on a personal level the standard technique of null hypothesis testing is used. In the first instance, the null hypothesis to be tested is that "There is no relationship between equity group membership and the perceived level of positive personal impacts of tourism." It is usual to proceed to reject the null hypothesis given a probability level of 0.05 (95%) or higher, however, the greater the probability level and the higher the Pearson chi-square value, the stronger is the confidence with which the null hypothesis can be rejected.

One feature of this data which presents an immediate problem in terms of analysis is the low number of respondents in certain categories. This leads to a problem of low expected cell counts arising during cross-tabulations, thereby rendering invalid the standard chi-square test of association. According to Bryman and Cramer (1997), "There is a restriction on using chi-square when the expected frequencies are small ... With three or more categories (or more than one degree of freedom), chi-square should not be used when more than 20% of the expected frequencies are smaller than five" (p. 123).

One way around this problem is to use the likelihood ratio (L.R.) to test for a relationship. As Ryan (1995) says, "The likelihood ratio is applicable where small samples exist, for it can be regarded as a chi-square adjusted for small sample size. It would also be pertinent to use this measure when a cell possesses fewer than five respondents" (p. 234). Since both cross-tabulations here give the percentage of cells with expected frequencies of less than five as 37% (or 6 of 16), it is best to use the Likelihood Ratio rather than chi-square to test for association between equity group membership and perceived level of personal impacts.

As can be seen, both of the above cross-tabulations are accompanied by significantly high Likelihood Ratios (71.0 and 97.0, both at a 0.00000 probability level), clearly indicating that a statistical relationship does exist, as is to be expected, between equity group membership and the level of perceived personal impacts from tourism. What is striking here, however, is the spread and perceived levels of such impacts, with 40.6% of the sample perceiving 'a great deal' or 'a moderate amount' of positive impacts, compared with only 14.6% of the sample perceiving the same level of negative impacts (with only two members of the total population sampled [or 1.3%] perceiving a great deal of negative impacts). This also equates to only 13.3% of the Negative equity group (those demonstrating the most negative response in equity terms) perceiving a great deal of negative impacts.

Another way of viewing the level and spread of such perceived negative impacts is that whilst 49.4% of the sample perceive themselves as receiving some form of negative impacts from tourism, only 20.9% perceive those impacts to be major. In contrast, however, 75.3% of the sample report some level of positive impact from the tourism presence, with 38.6% perceiving themselves as receiving major positive impacts.

In this way it can be seen that the positive impacts of tourism are perceived far more strongly than the negative impacts on a personal level in major terms, although a considerably larger portion of the population perceive some level of negative impact than those perceiving major negative impacts. In such general terms then, there would appear to be a broadly positive perception of the impacts of tourism in Llangollen, although a considerable minority of the population do perceive themselves as receiving some form of major negative impact as a result of tourism.

Having examined the balance between these equity measures in terms of the major positive and major negative impacts of tourism, the next item in the questionnaire looks at the levels of benefits received by individuals by asking the extent to which they perceive themselves as benefiting in both 'economic' and in 'social and cultural' terms. Again, the extent to which the economic benefits are

perceived, both as a whole and in terms of the equity groups, is directly comparable with the same measure used by Pearce et al (1991, p.150).

Table 6.6 Comparative extent of overall perceived personal economic and social/cultural benefits

Perceived level of benefit	Pearce et al (1991) Economic	Llangollen Economic	Llangollen Social/Cultural
A great deal	27.5%	12.7%	15.2%
A moderate amount	14.7%	13.3%	28.5%
A small amount	17.5%	13.9%	27.2%
Not at all	40.3%	60.1%	29.1%

Firstly, looking at the difference in the levels of perceived economic benefits declared in both Pearce et al's Cairns (1991) study and in Llangollen, it can be seen that 27.5% of the Cairns survey perceived 'a great deal of economic benefit' as opposed to only 12.7% of the Llangollen sample. Furthermore, in Llangollen only 39.9% of the sample declared themselves as receiving some level of economic benefit from tourism as compared to 59.7%% in Cairns. In cultural terms, however, 70.9% of the population sampled in Llangollen perceived themselves as benefiting to some extent (that is, 29.1% declared themselves as not benefiting at all in cultural terms). Simplifying this, 60% of the Pearce et al (1991) survey felt themselves to benefit economically to some extent from the presence of tourists, whereas in Llangollen 60% of the sample felt that they did not benefit at all economically, yet 70% of the same population felt themselves to benefit to some extent in cultural terms.

This would indicate that the broadly more positive perception of tourism's impacts in Llangollen is one based upon the cultural rather than the economic aspects of such impacts. Furthermore, given that the economic benefits in Llangollen were less widely perceived than in Cairns, yet the overall perception (in equity terms) was more positive, such cultural benefits would appear to outweigh the economic benefits in terms of public perception. Such a view is consistent with Pearce et al's claim that "It would appear that some individuals separate economic issues from other forms of tourism impact." (1991, p. 150).

Table 6.7, below, shows the relationship between equity group membership and the extent to which the members of each group perceive themselves as personally

benefiting from tourism in 'economic' terms, with table 6.8 showing the same measure in 'social and cultural' terms.

Table 6.7 Perceived personal economic benefit by equity group

| Economic Benefit | equity group | | | | |
	Negative	No Impact	Balance	Positive	Row Totals
A great deal	-	3 (3.6%)	4 (22.2%)	13 (30.2%)	20 (12.7%)
A moderate amount	-	10 (12.2%)	4 (22.2%)	7 (16.3%)	21 (13.3%)
A small amount	2 (13.3%)	14 (17.1%)	2 (11.1%)	4 (9.3%)	22 (13.9%)
Not at all	13 (86.7%)	55 (67.1%)	8 (44.2%)	19 (44.2%)	95 (60.1%)
Total	15 (100%)	82 (100%)	18 (100%)	43 (100%)	158(100%)
Liklihood Ratio = 31.3 @ 0.001					

Here, in order to test for a statistically significant relationship between equity group membership and the perceived level of personal economic benefit, the null hypothesis to be tested is that "there is no relationship between equity group membership and perceived level of personal economic benefit". From the above table (Table 6.6), it can be seen that the cross-tabulation of equity group and personal economic benefit gives a Likelihood Ratio of 31.3 with a 0.001 or 99.9% probability, thereby allowing the null hypothesis to be rejected and showing equity group membership to be significantly related to the level of economic benefit personally received. In other words, the way in which individuals perceive the balance of the positive and negative impacts of tourism upon themselves is related to the extent to which they perceive themselves as benefiting in economic terms.

Table 6.8 Perceived personal social/cultural benefit by equity group

| Social/Cultural Benefit | equity group | | | | |
	Negative	No Impact	Balance	Positive	Row Totals
A great deal	1 (6.7%)	6 (7.3%)	4 (22.2%)	13 (30.2%)	24 (15.2%)
A moderate amount	1 (6.7%)	20 (24.4%)	7 (38.7%)	17 (39.5%)	45 (28.5%)
A small amount	6 (40.0%)	24 (29.3%)	4 (22.2%)	9 (20.9%)	43 (27.2%)
Not at all	7 (46.6%)	32 (39.0%)	3 (16.7%)	4 (9.3%)	46 (29.1%)
Total	15 (100%)	82 (100%)	18 (100%)	43 (100%)	158(100%)
(Liklihood Ratio = 31.6 @ 0.0002)					

Testing the null hypothesis that "there is no relationship between equity group membership and the perceived level of personal cultural benefit" by simple cross-tabulation (Table 6.8, above) gives a Likelihood Ratio of 31.6 with a 0.0002 or 99.98% probability, allowing the null hypothesis to be rejected with even greater confidence than above. This would indicate that there is a stronger relationship between the level of cultural benefit and equity group membership than with the

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level of economic benefit. However, this greater strength of relationship is only in terms of being less likely to arise by chance in relation to the normal distribution, since the Likelihood Ratio, as with the Chi-square statistic, does not actually measure either the strength or the direction of the relationship in question.

From the first of these two tables (Table 6.7), it can be seen that 44% of the Positive group perceive themselves as receiving no economic benefits from tourism, the equivalent percentage of the Pearce et al sample was only 12.7%, demonstrating a considerably lower level of economic benefits even amongst the most positive group in Llangollen. Furthermore, only 30.2% of the Positive group perceive themselves as receiving a great deal of economic benefits, as opposed to 57.6% of the Pearce et al sample. Indeed, in overall terms, 60.1% of the sample surveyed declared themselves as not benefiting at all in economic terms, as opposed to 40.3% in Cairns. Indeed, the percentage of respondents in Llangollen reporting no economic benefits from the presence of tourism was consistently higher for each equity group compared to Pearce et al's findings.

In cultural terms, however, (Table 6.8) only 9.3% of the Positive group perceive themselves as not benefiting at all from the tourist presence, with 30.2% perceiving a great deal of cultural benefit (the same percentage as those perceiving a great deal of economic benefit). In overall terms this gives 29.1% of the sample perceiving themselves as not benefiting at all in cultural terms (as opposed to 60.1% in economic terms), or 70.9% perceiving some form of cultural benefit from tourism in Llangollen. In the No Impact group, for example, whilst 67.1% of respondents did not perceive any form of economic benefit, the corresponding percentage in cultural terms was only 39%. In other words, even amongst the No Impact group (those respondents who did not feel that tourism had any major impacts on their lives personally), there was a significant majority (61%) who did perceive themselves as benefiting to some extent in social and cultural terms.

This therefore shows that, for the residents surveyed, the cultural benefits of tourism in Llangollen clearly outweighed the economic benefits in terms of their perceived impact on themselves, and would also appear to be of greater importance in the formulation of both individual and group attitudes towards the impacts of tourism upon the community as a whole. Not surprisingly, the Positive equity group perceived themselves as most benefiting in economic terms, with the

Negative equity group demonstrating the lowest perceived level of such benefits. In cultural terms, however, the perceived benefits are more widely spread across the population, and indeed were clearly more strongly perceived by all of the equity groups. This gives further evidence to Pearce et al's (1991) claim that individuals tend to separate economic issues from other tourism impacts, or at least that a distinction is drawn between the economic and cultural impacts on a perceptual level in both personal and equity group terms.

Having examined the difference between personal equity groups in terms of their perceptions of the economic and cultural benefits accruing to individuals, what then are the perceived impacts of tourism on a community level, and what are the differences in such perceptions in terms of equity group? In order to measure these perceived impacts on the community level, the following items in the questionnaire are used:

- Do you consider that tourism has had a major positive impact on the community of Llangollen? (Y/N)
- Do you consider that tourism has had any major negative impacts on the community of Llangollen? (Y/N)
- How much do you think that tourism benefits the community of Llangollen in social and cultural terms?   (A great deal - Not at all)

The first two of these items provided the following responses (Table 6.9)

Table 6.9 Cross-tabulation of tourism's positive and negative community impacts

	Positive Community Impact		Row Total
Negative Community Impact	YES	NO	
YES	46 (29.1%)	6 (3.8%)	52 (32.9%)
NO	95 (60.1%)	11 (7.0%)	106 (67.1%)
Column Total	141 (89.2%)	17 (10.8%)	158 (100%)

This simple cross-tabulation then gives a different measure of Pearce et al (1991) type equity groups, framed in this instance in terms of major positive and negative impacts upon the community rather than on individuals in personal terms. This provides us with a further comparison, namely that between such community equity groups and the personal equity groups derived above (Table 6.10), and thereby illustrating whether any obvious differences exist between the perceived balance of

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the major positive and negative impacts of tourism on a personal level and on a community level.

Table 6.10 Comparative personal and community equity group membership

equity group	Personal	Community
Positive	27.2%	60.1%
No Impact	51.9%	7.0%
Balance	11.4%	29.1%
Negative	9.5%	3.8%

Even at a casual first glance it can be seen that certain clear differences exist in the perceived balance of these equity measures on a personal and community level. Firstly, and most obviously, the Positive equity group (those perceiving major positive impacts on a personal level, but no major negative impacts from tourism) is over twice as large when expressed in community rather than personal terms (60.1% community compared to 27.2% personal), demonstrating an overwhelmingly more positive view in terms of the personal perceptions of the impacts of tourism on the community as a whole. The other startling difference here is in the No Impact equity group (those individuals who considered there to be no major positive or negative impacts from tourism), comprising 51.9% of the sample surveyed in personal terms, but only 7.0% in community terms. This striking contrast can be accounted for by the massively increased membership of the Positive and the Balance equity groups in community terms. In other words, the vast majority of residents who considered there to be no major impacts from tourism on themselves personally did consider that in terms of the community as a whole there was either a balance between both positive and negative impacts, or that the major impacts of tourism on the community were entirely positive, with no major negative impacts occurring at all in community terms.

Table 6.11 (below) shows the results of the cross-tabulation of the personal and community equity groups, in order to test for the relationship between the perceived equity situation in personal and community terms.

Table 6.11 Cross-tabulation of personal and community equity groups

Community equity groups	Personal equity groups				
	Negative	No Impact	Balance	Positive	Row Totals
Positive	7 (4.4%)	58 (36.7%)	6 (3.8%)	24 (15.2%)	*95 (60.1%)*
Balance	5 (3.2%)	15 (9.5%)	10 (6.3%)	16 (10.1%)	*46 (29.1%)*
No Impact	1 (0.6%)	7 (4.4%)	-	3 (1.9%)	*11 (7.0%)*
Negative	2 (1.3%)	1 (0.6%)	5 (3.2%)	-	*6 (3.8%)*
Total	*15 (9.5%)*	*82 (51.9%)*	*18 (11.4%)*	*43 (27.2%)*	*158 (100%)*
Liklihood Ratio = 23.16 @ 0.005					

With a Likelihood Ratio of 23.16 and a probability of 0.005 it is possible to reject the null hypothesis that there is no relationship between these personal and community equity groups. In simple terms this can be seen from how no member of the Positive personal equity group is a member of the Negative community equity group, or how no member of the Balance personal equity group is a member of the No Impact group in community terms. So, whilst the community benefits of tourism are perceived more strongly than the personal benefits, there is a relationship between the two. Exactly what this relationship is, however, is difficult to say since, on the whole, all four of the groups are more positive regarding the impacts on a community level.

Table 6.12 Perceived community impacts by personal equity group (Llangollen)

	equity groups				
Positive Community Impacts	Negative	No Impact	Balance	Positive	Row Totals
Yes	12 (80%)	73 (89%)	16 (88.9%)	40 (93%)	141 (89.2%)
No	3 (20%)	9 (11%)	2 (11.1%)	3 (7%)	17 (10.8%)
Negative Community Impacts					
Yes	7(46.7%)	17 (20.7%)	12 (66.7%)	16 (37.2%)	52 (32.9%)
No	8(53.3%)	65 (79.3%)	6 (33.3%)	27 (62.8%)	106 (67.1%)

Table 6.12 shows the balance between the perceived positive and negative impacts of tourism on the community as expressed by the four personal equity groups. It is interesting to note that it is the Balance equity group which has the highest percentage of respondents perceiving major negative impacts from tourism on the community, demonstrating a more negative perception in terms of the perceived community impacts than the Negative equity group. The total percentage of respondents identifying major positive impacts from tourism on a community level was also considerably higher than the level of response to the same item in personal terms (89.2% as opposed to 38.6%)

Table 6.13 Perceived community impacts by personal equity group (Cairns)

Community Impacts	equity groups				
Positive	Negative	No Impact	Balance	Positive	Row Totals
Yes	87 (65.9%)	116 (75.3%)	77 (83.7%)	108 (91.5%)	308 (62.1%)
No	42 (31.8%)	30 (19.5%)	14 (15.2%)	9 (7.6%)	188 (37.9%)
Negative					
Yes	126(95.4%)	112 (72.7%)	88 (95.6%)	91 (77.1%)	417 (84.1%)
No	5 (3.8%)	32 (20.8%)	3 (3.3%)	24 (20.3%)	79 (15.9%)

Table 6.13, by comparison, shows the same balance between the perceived positive and negative impacts of tourism on the community, but as expressed by residents of Cairns (Pearce et al, 1991). In the case of Pearce et al's (1991) Cairns study, it is interesting to note that the community benefits accruing from the tourist presence would appear to be less strongly perceived than were the benefits arising on a personal level. This is in direct contrast to the situation in Llangollen, where the spread of economic benefits was less widely perceived, but the social and cultural benefits were apparent to a greater proportion of the population. It is also interesting to note the differences between the two destinations in terms of the overall community opinion as expressed by the residents, with the response in Llangollen being almost unanimously more positive in community terms, whereas the opposite is true of the Cairns survey.

Given the clear opinion that the social and cultural benefits of tourism are of greater impact on an individual level than are the economic benefits of tourism, and the fact that the benefits in general are more strongly perceived on a community rather than personal level, what then are the perceived levels of social and cultural benefit on a community level? Table 6.14 (below) shows the cross-tabulation of the personal equity groups and the perceived level of cultural benefit upon the community.

Table 6.14 Perceived community social/cultural benefit by personal equity group

Community Social/Cultural Benefit	equity groups				
	Negative	No Impact	Balance	Positive	Row Totals
A great deal	3 (20%)	38 (46.3%)	10 (55.6%)	22 (51.2%)	73 (46.2%)
A moderate amount	5 (33.3%)	28 (34.1%)	5 (27.8%)	18 (41.9%)	56 (35.4%)
A small amount	4 (26.7%)	13 (15.9%)	3 (16.7%)	2 (4.7%)	22 (13.9%)
Not at all	3 (20%)	3 (3.7%)	-	1 (2.3%)	7 (4.4%)
Liklihood Ratio = 16.1 @ 0.06					

From this (Table 6.14) we can see that 95.6% of the total sample surveyed considered that the community benefited to some extent from tourism in cultural terms. The percentage of respondents reporting the same level of personal cultural benefits was 70.9%, with only 39.9% of the sample perceiving the same level of personal economic benefits. It is also interesting to note here that that only 3.7% of the No Impact group perceived there to be no community cultural benefits from tourism (39% of this group gave this response in personal terms). The poor level of probability (0.06) would also indicate that a statistical relationship between the level of perceived community cultural benefits from tourism and personal equity group membership is not clearly evident in the data. In other words, there would appear to be some form of consensus of opinion regarding the cultural benefits of tourism in Llangollen on a community level held independently of the perceptions of the major impacts of tourism on the level of the individual. This data regarding personal equity groups also shows that, in terms of these broadly-defined major impacts of tourism, the social and cultural benefits on a community level are perceived as outweighing the personal social and cultural benefits which, in turn, are more strongly perceived than the personal economic benefits.

6.2 Equity groups and perceptions of and attitudes towards the impacts of tourism

The previous section shows that the equity groups derived from the first section of the questionnaire do demonstrate a certain consistency of response in terms of perceptions of the major impacts of tourism on the community of Llangollen. The next section will examine the relationship between such group membership and the attitudes towards, and opinions of such impacts, as derived from the second section of the questionnaire. This will demonstrate the areas where group membership is significant in the attitude response to tourism impacts, and will also show where there are similarities and differences between the groups.

The section of the questionnaire relevant to such issues consists of 27 attitude and opinion items designed to draw out the range of attitudes towards and perceptions of the more specific impacts of tourism held within the community. The first set of questions in this section of the questionnaire consists of fourteen statements regarding the current impacts of tourism in Llangollen. The perceptions of these current impacts are measured using a five-point Agree Strongly - Disagree Strongly scale. The next set consists of items designed to measure attitudes towards the current impacts of tourism, with the third set of items assessing attitudes to suggestions for future changes in tourism. These attitudes and opinions are all framed in terms of tourism in general, tourism and 'high culture', tourism and the International Eisteddfod, tourism and past cultural traditions, and tourism and the present-day way of life or culture.

The basic technique for such analysis is again to carry out simple cross-tabulations of the equity groups with each questionnaire item in order to search for significant relationships (that is, to demonstrate the areas where equity group membership is statistically associated with attitude response at a significant probability level - usually 95% or greater). A second stage here is to carry out a basic one-way analysis of variance test (ANOVA) on each item in order to show where the areas of agreement and disagreement lie. This is done using the Scheffé test, the purpose of which is ".. to highlight where the differences between groups are actually occurring" (Ryan, 1995, p. 222). These differences are illustrated statistically by examining the means and standard deviations of each group and then comparing them to show which groups are significantly different (or mutually exclusive) to each other at a 0.05 confidence level.

6.2.1 Equity groups and perceptions of the current impacts of tourism

The second section of the questionnaire consists of 14 statements relating to the specific impacts of tourism on five different levels: Tourism and 'high culture'; Tourism and the International Eisteddfod; Tourism and past cultural traditions; Tourism in general; and Tourism and the present-day way of life or culture. The responses to such statements are recorded on a five-point Likert scale using the following range of responses: Agree strongly, Agree, Neither agree nor disagree, Disagree, Disagree strongly. An option of "Don't know" is provided, giving a zero

score (and coded as a missing value). The other responses are given a score from 1 to 5, with 1 denoting a strongly negative perception (that is to say, strongly agreeing with a negatively phrased statement, or strongly disagreeing with a positively phrased statement), and 5 denoting a strongly positive perception (agreeing strongly with a positively phrased statement or disagreeing with a negatively worded statement).

These fourteen items, in their question groupings are illustrated in Table 6.15 (below), with those items which were found to be significantly related to equity group membership highlighted using bold typeface.

As can be seen from table 6.15 (below), seven of these fourteen items proved to be significantly related to equity group membership at a 95% significance level or greater (Table 6.15, above). Again, due to the problems associated with low expected cell counts and the Chi-square statistic, the Likelihood Ratio is used in this instance to test for a relationship.

In addition to the seven items shown in bold in the table below, one further item can be included here as being worthy of comment: "Tourism has increased the interest of Llangollen's residents in the history and traditions of the local area." Here, utilising the Pearson Chi-square statistic (value 24.83, probability 0.01) the null hypothesis (that attitude to this statement are unrelated to equity group membership) can be rejected. However, due to the low number of members of the Negative equity group and a subsequent high number of expected cell counts of less than five (55%), it is preferable to use the Likelihood Ratio statistic. In this instance, the Likelihood Ratio is a sufficiently high 20.69, but the level of significance is only 0.055, and is therefore just outside of the 95% confidence interval which would have allowed the null hypothesis to be rejected.

Table 6.15 Equity groups and perceptions of specific impacts of tourism

Questionnaire Item	Likelihood Ratio	Probability
Tourism and 'high culture'		
Tourism has helped increase the number of art exhibitions and classical concerts in Llangollen.	17.83	0.12082
Most of the art exhibitions and classical concerts in Llangollen which attract tourists are of interest to only a small minority of local residents.	18.63	0.09768
Tourism and the International Eisteddfod		
On balance the International Eisteddfod has contributed positively to the way of life or culture of Llangollen residents.	12.88	0.37716
The International Eisteddfod has increased the interest of Llangollen residents in the history and traditions of the local area.	11.38	0.49608
The International Eisteddfod has encouraged more friendly relations between tourists and Llangollen residents.	**26.95**	**0.00785**
Tourism and past cultural traditions		
Tourism has increased the interest of Llangollen's residents in the history and traditions of the local area.	20.69	0.05498
The history and traditions of Llangollen are sometimes presented in an unrealistic or inauthentic manner to cater for tourists.	**28.70**	**0.00436**
Tourism in general		
Llangollen would be a less varied and interesting place if tourists did not visit the town.	**28.18**	**0.0052**
Tourism has increased the range and quality of facilities available for the use of Llangollen residents in their leisure time.	**22.71**	**0.03027**
Tourism and the present-day way of life or culture		
Tourism encourages local residents to take part in a wide variety of cultural activities (e.g. arts, crafts, music).	19.24	0.08279
Tourism has made the way of life or culture of Llangollen less intimate and friendly for Llangollen residents.	18.67	0.09669
Tourism has encouraged Llangollen residents to value more highly their local way of life or culture.	**19.20**	**0.02352**
Tourism has made the local way of life or culture of Llangollen less distinctive.	**31.28**	**0.00178**
Meeting tourists from all over the world is a valuable experience.	**28.05**	**0.00544**

Having determined that seven of the fourteen items in this section of the questionnaire are significantly related to equity group membership, the next step here is to carry out a one-way analysis of variance (ANOVA) on these same fourteen items, in order to demonstrate where both the differences and commonalities exist between the equity groups in terms of their perceptions of these specific impacts of tourism. This will also show where significant differences between the groups do exist in terms of perceptions of specific impacts, but no significant relationship between equity group membership and the questionnaire item was found by cross-tabulation. In other words, the use of ANOVA can highlight areas where, for example, one group stands out independently from a

largely homogenous group amalgamated from the other three. Using SPSS for Windows, this is done by comparing the mean scores of each group and their standard deviations and standard errors, and it is expressed in terms of the F-ratio and the F-probability. According to Ryan (1995), "The F-ratio is akin to the t-test in that it is a measure of the differences in the means of the sub-groups. The higher the score, the more likely it is that the differences are significant, and this is given by the probability" (p. 221). The Scheffé test, as explained in the methodology chapter, then shows which of the four equity groups are mutually exclusive at a 0.05 significance level, using the 95 percent confidence interval for the means.

Of these fourteen items, eight proved to separate the groups at a 0.05 significance level using the Scheffé test. Seven of these eight were the same items drawn out by the cross-tabulation carried out above, and to these is added the item, "Tourism has increased the interest of Llangollen's residents in the history and traditions of the local area", since significant differences were found between the groups on this measure using ANOVA. These outputs are illustrated below, showing both the F-ratios and F-probabilities as well as the results of the Scheffé tests.

The format used to illustrate these results is to cross-tabulate the four equity groups, providing a four-by-four matrix; those groups which are significantly different from each other at the 95% level of significance are illustrated using an asterisk in the corresponding cell within the table. Also shown in the tables are the mean scores of each group and the 95% confidence intervals for such means in order to illustrate the level of opinion of each group and also where and to what degree any overlapping between groups does exist. The F-ratio and the F-probability for each analysis of variance is also shown within the tables.

Table 6.16 The International Eisteddfod has encouraged more friendly relations between tourists and Llangollen residents.

| Equity Groups | Equity Groups | | | | | |
	Negative	Balance	No Impact	Positive	Mean Score	95% Conf Int for Mean
Negative					2.9286	2.1290 to 3.7281
Balance					3.4444	2.9861 to 3.9028
No Impact	*				3.9390	3.7457 to 4.1323
Positive	*	*			4.1951	3.9695 to 4.4207
F-ratio = 8.3693 F-prob = 0.0000						

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Table 6.16 shows that significant differences do exist here between the Negative equity group and both the No Impact and Positive groups, showing the Negative group to be quite clearly less positive regarding the impact of the International Eisteddfod on tourist/resident relations. The Balance and Positive groups are also significantly different from each other in their response to this statement, demonstrating the range of perceptions which exist within the community towards the impacts of the Eisteddfod. This is one of the items in this section which most clearly divided the opinions of the four personal equity groups.

Table 6.17 Tourism has increased the interest of Llangollen's residents in the history and traditions of the local area.

Equity Groups	Equity Groups				Mean Score	95% Conf Int for Mean
	Negative	Balance	No Impact	Positive		
Negative					2.7333	2.0893 to 3.3773
Balance					3.4706	3.0210 to 3.9202
No Impact	*				3.5325	3.3228 to 3.7361
Positive	*				3.6585	3.3982 to 3.9189
F-ratio = 4.0230 F-prob = 0.0087						

Table 6.17 shows the results of the ANOVA of the four equity groups on the item relating to the impact of tourism on residents' interest in the history and traditions of the area. In this instance, the Negative equity group is significantly more negative in its response to this item than either the No Impact or Positive group, again demonstrating a clearly and consistently negative attitude towards the impacts of tourism upon the residents of Llangollen. The range of responses of the Balance equity group does not exclude it significantly in statistical terms from any of the others, and although its mean score does place it between the Negative and No Impact groups, the internal range of responses within the group (as illustrated by the 95% confidence interval for the mean) is wide enough to incorporate all of the responses of the No Impact group. In other words, only the Negative equity group actually disagrees with the statement, with a consensus of mild agreement existing amongst the other three groups.

Table 6.18 The history and traditions of Llangollen are sometimes presented in an unrealistic or inauthentic manner to cater for tourists.

Equity Groups	Equity Groups					
	Negative	No Impact	Balance	Positive	*Mean Score*	*95% Conf Int for Mean*
Negative					*2.1538*	*1.4201 to 2.8876*
No Impact					*2.8857*	*2.6370 to 3.1344*
Balance					*3.1111*	*2.6634 to 3.5588*
Positive	*				*3.2683*	*2.9224 to 3.6142*
F-ratio = 3.9102 F-prob = 0.0102						

Here, in response to the item relating to perceptions of authenticity in the presentation of history (Table 6.18), whilst the Positive and Negative equity groups are mutually exclusive at the 95% significance level, showing there to be a significant difference in perception, they do both overlap with the intermediary groups, which are themselves not significantly different from each other in their responses. It is interesting to note that the Balance group has scored more highly than the No Impact group, indicating a stronger level of disagreement to the statement that the history and traditions are presented in an unrealistic or inauthentic manner. This would be consistent with the view that tourism has not had a major effect on the members of the No Impact group in either positive or negative terms. The low mean score for the Negative equity group shows their clear agreement with the statement. In overall terms, this was the lowest scoring item in the section for all four equity groups, demonstrating some awareness of such issues of authenticity in the presentation of history and traditions.

Table 6.19 Llangollen would be a less varied and interesting place if tourists did not visit the town.

Equity Groups	Equity Groups					
	Negative	No Impact	Balance	Positive	*Mean Score*	*95% Conf Int for Mean*
Negative					*2.8000*	*1.9575 to 3.6425*
No Impact					*3.6829*	*3.4295 to 3.9364*
Balance					*3.7647*	*3.3373 to 4.1922*
Positive	*				*3.8605*	*3.5208 to 4.2001*
F-ratio = 3.2884 F-prob = 0.0224						

Table 6.19 shows the ANOVA of the responses of the four equity groups to the statement that Llangollen would be a less varied and interesting place if tourists did not visit the town. The Negative and Positive groups are again mutually exclusive in their response to this statement, with the No Impact and Balance groups sharing a

similar response to the Positive group but both also overlapping the Negative group. In other words, it is only the Negative group which clearly feels that Llangollen would not become a less interesting place if tourists no longer visited the place (being the only group to score less than 3.0 in response to the item). The No Impact equity group again score less highly on this item than the Balance group, again suggesting a lesser perception of the impacts (both positive and negative) on the community from the presence of tourists.

Table 6.20 Tourism encourages local residents to take part in a wide variety of cultural activities (e.g. arts, crafts, music).

Equity Groups	Equity Groups				*Mean Score*	*95% Conf Int for Mean*
	Negative	No Impact	Positive	Balance		
Negative					2.3571	1.8209 to 2.8934
No Impact	*				3.2436	3.0280 to 3.4591
Positive	*				3.3659	3.0602 to 3.6715
Balance	*				3.3889	2.9332 to 3.8446
F-ratio = 4.3507 F-prob = 0.0057						

Table 6.20 shows the relationship between equity group membership and the perception that tourism encourages residents to take part in a wide variety of cultural activities. Here, the Negative group is significantly different from all of the other three groups in response to the statement. This would indicate a certain consensus amongst the majority of the respondents that tourism has led to increased participation in cultural events by the local population. Only the Negative group feels this to be clearly untrue, illustrating their strong difference of opinion on the issue of the cultural benefits of tourism from a resident perspective, particularly from the point of view of the participation of residents in events with a cultural element.

Table 6.21 Tourism has encouraged Llangollen residents to value more highly their local way of life or culture.

Equity Groups	Equity Groups				*Mean Score*	*95% Conf Int for Mean*
	Negative	Balance	Positive	No Impact		
Negative					2.8571	2.3091 to 3.4052
Balance					3.0556	2.6565 to 3.4546
Positive					3.4146	3.1415 to 3.6878
No Impact	*				3.5844	3.3919 to 3.7770
F-ratio = 4.0281 F-prob = 0.0087						

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Table 6.21 shows the differences which exist between the equity groups in terms of their perception of whether tourism encourages locals to value more highly their local way of life or culture. In this particular instance, it is the No Impact group which demonstrates the most positive response to the statement, standing significantly clear from the Negative equity group. It is interesting that the other groups (including the Positive and Negative groups) all overlap in terms of their response to this statement, indicating a certain amount of general agreement as to the cultural benefits of tourism in these terms, although examination of the 95% confidence intervals for the means of each group indicates that the Negative and Balance groups are similar to each other in their responses, as are the Positive and No Impact groups.

Table 6.22 Tourism has made the local way of life or culture of Llangollen less distinctive.

	Equity Groups					
Equity Groups	Negative	Balance	Positive	No Impact	*Mean Score*	*95% Conf Int for Mean*
Negative					*2.6667*	*2.1262 to 3.2071*
Balance					*2.8333*	*2.3434 to 3.3233*
Positive					*3.4419*	*3.1546 to 3.7292*
No Impact	*	*			*3.5385*	*3.3307 to 3.7462*
F-ratio = 5.6656 F-prob = 0.0011						

Table 6.22 shows the responses of the four equity groups to the statement "Tourism has made the way of life or culture of Llangollen less distinctive". Here it is the Negative and the Balance groups which both differ significantly from the No Impact group, which also scores higher than the Positive group (although not at a statistically significant level). Looking at the 95% confidence intervals for the means shows us that the Negative and Balance groups responded in a similar manner on this item, with the Positive and No Impact groups also appearing to be in general agreement - or at least displaying a similar range of responses. This item is interesting in that the Negative and Balance groups are similar to each other in their response, as are the Positive and No Impact groups, demonstrating similar responses to those illustrated by the previous item.

Table 6.23 Meeting tourists from all over the world is a valuable experience.

Equity Groups	Equity Groups					
	Negative	No Impact	Balance	Positive	*Mean Score*	*95% Conf Int for Mean*
Negative					3.3333	2.6497 to 4.0169
No Impact	*				4.0488	3.8835 to 4.2140
Balance	*				4.1111	3.7340 to 4.4883
Positive	*	*			4.5116	4.3421 to 4.6812
F-ratio = 9.3261 F-prob = 0.0000						

Table 6.23 shows the ANOVA of the equity groups on the statement that "meeting tourists from all over the world is a valuable experience". This item was the highest scoring (or most favourably rated) statement in the questionnaire for all groups except the Negative group, who scored more highly on the suggestion that "In future tourism in Llangollen should be allowed to grow, but only slowly", and this strongly positive perception of the cultural exchange value of tourism is clearly evident in the mean scores provided by all but the Negative group, which stands significantly less positive on this issue than either of the other three groups. On this issue it can be seen that the No Impact and Positive groups are also significantly different in their responses, with the No Impact group being closer to the Balance group on this item, and the Positive group demonstrating an overwhelmingly strong agreement with the statement.

In summary then, seven of the fourteen items in this section of the questionnaire were found to be significantly related to equity group membership using the standard technique of null hypothesis testing and the Liklihood Ratio statistic, as outlined in the methodology. Of these seven items which were significantly related to equity group membership, one related to the effects of the International Eisteddfod on relations between tourists and residents; one related to the perceptions of authenticity in the presentation of the history and traditions of Llangollen; two items related to the general impacts of tourism and three items related to impacts of tourism on the present day way of life and culture of Llangollen residents.

The Analysis of Variance (ANOVA) of the same items showed that the item relating to the effects of the International Eisteddfod on relations between tourists and residents gave one of the strongest differences in response between the four equity groups, with the Negative group differing significantly from both the Positive and the Middle-road groups and with the Positive and Balance groups also differing

significantly from each other. This item was one of the strongest measures in terms of demonstrating clear divisions between the groups, with the Negative group giving a clearly negative response. The other item to also show such clear divisions was the item dealing with perceptions of the cultural exchange value of tourism: "meeting tourists from all over the world is a valuable experience". This item is somewhat related to that dealing with the International Eisteddfod in that the town of Llangollen during the week of the Eisteddfod is host to thousands of overseas visitors (Land Use Consultants, 1987). This item was shown to separate the Negative group from all three others, and also separated the No Impact group from the Positive group. The differences recorded on this item were, however, in the level of agreement with the statement, with all four groups responding positively, and the Positive group actually recording the highest mean score on this item of any group on any measure.

6.2.2 Attitudes and Opinions of equity groups Towards the Current Impacts of Tourism

The next section of the questionnaire deals with the attitudes of residents to the current impacts of tourism upon the community. Such attitudes are measured in terms of the responses to six questions relating to statements concerned with the different impacts of tourism (Table 6.24). The statements are recorded on a five point Likert scale giving the following range of responses: I am in favour and strongly support (an actively positive response); I am in favour of (a passively positive response); I dislike (a passively negative response); I dislike and strongly oppose (an actively negative response). To these is added the neutral response, I am neither in favour nor dislike. This range of responses has been specifically developed for the purposes of this research in order to be able to attempt to apply the typology adapted by Butler (1974) from the work of Bjorklund and Philbrick (1972), as outlined in the Literature Review chapter (Fig. 2.2), and in the Methodology chapter (chapter 4).

Using the same technique of null hypothesis testing as above, five of the six items were found to be significantly related to equity group membership. These relationships were again tested using the Likelihood Ratio statistic, rather than the standard Chi-square, due to the continued problem with low expected cell counts during cross-tabulation. The results of these cross-tabulations are shown in Table

6.24 (below) with those items which proved to significantly related to equity group membership highlighted in bold print.

Table 6.24 Results of the cross-tabulation of equity groups and attitudes to the current impacts of tourism

Questionnaire Item	Likelihood Ratio	Probability
Tourism in general		
Which statement best describes your overall attitude to tourism in Llangollen?	**43.1437**	**0.00002**
Tourism and 'high culture'		
Which statement best describes your attitude to the increased number of art exhibitions and classical concerts in Llangollen resulting from tourism?	**29.2166**	**0.0006**
Tourism and the International Eisteddfod		
Which statement best describes your attitude to the overall impact of the International Eisteddfod on the way of life or culture of Llangollen?	**25.33**	**0.01333**
Which statement best describes your attitude to the general character of the events and activities in the International Eisteddfod?	**29.80**	**0.00299**
Tourism and past cultural traditions		
Which statement best describes your attitude to the way in which the history and traditions of Llangollen are promoted in order to attract tourists?	18.23	0.10888
Tourism and the present-day way of life or culture		
Which statement best describes your attitude to the overall impact of tourism on the way of life or culture of Llangollen?	**28.78**	**0.0007**

Of the six items in this section of the questionnaire, the only item which was found to be not significantly related to equity group membership was, "Which statement best describes your attitude to the way in which the history and traditions of Llangollen are promoted in order to attract tourists?". Again, had it been suitable to use the Chi-square statistic to test this relationship, it would then have been possible to reject the null hypothesis, given a Pearson value of 25.13 and a 0.014 significance. In other words, it is probably reasonable to state that there *may* be a significant relationship between equity group membership and attitude to the presentation of the history and heritage of the community, but that the nature of the relationship is unclear.

It would, therefore, appear that significant relationships do exist between membership of the personal equity groups formed in the first section of the questionnaire and attitudes towards the current impacts of tourism in Llangollen. In order to better understand the relationship between equity group and attitude, as

with the previous section of the questionnaire, these items have been subjected to the one-way analysis of variance test (ANOVA) in order to show the relationships between the four equity groups and their responses to these attitude measures. The results of the ANOVA are shown below.

The responses to the statements used in both this and in the following section of the questionnaire are designed to correspond with the attitudinal/behavioural responses to tourism impacts adapted by Butler (1975) from Bjorklund and Philbrick (1972), as described in Chapter 4. In this way, a score of 1 represents a purely active/negative response, 2 gives a passive/negative response, 3 a neutral response, 4 a passive/positive response, and a score of 5 representing a purely active/positive response. Since the scores recorded here, however, are the mean scores of aggregated groups, and as such are unlikely to be whole numbers, the following interpretative system is employed:

- A score of exactly 1 indicates a clearly active/negative response.
- A score greater than 1 but less than 2 is a response tending from the active/negative towards the passive/negative.
- A score of exactly 2 gives a passive/negative response.
- A score greater than 2 but less than 3 is a response tending away from the passive/negative towards the neutral.
- A score of exactly 3 is a neutral response.
- A score greater than 3 but less than 4 is a response tending away from neutral towards the passive/positive.
- A score of 4 exactly is a passive/positive response.
- A score greater than 4 but less than 5 is a response tending from the passive/positive towards the active/positive.
- A score of exactly 5 is a completely active/positive response.

In this way, the mean scores for each group as provided by the ANOVA can be interpreted, using this scoring system, in terms of Bjorklund and Philbrick's (1972) active/ passive - positive/negative attitude and behaviour framework proposed by Butler (1974).

6.2.3 ANOVA of equity group membership and attitudes to the current impacts of tourism

This following section shows the results of the ANOVA of the six questionnaire items relating to the attitudes of residents to the current impacts of tourism as expressed in terms of the four personal equity groups. The responses of each equity group are also illustrated in terms of the attitude/behaviour response to the interaction of different cultural groups developed by Bjorklund and Philbrick (1972) and proposed as being of relevance to the study of the interaction between tourist and host cultures by Butler (1974).

Table 6.25 Which statement best describes your overall attitude to tourism in Llangollen?

Equity Groups	Equity Groups				Mean Score	95% Conf Int for Mean
	Negative	Balance	No Impact	Positive		
Negative					2.7333	2.2439 to 3.2227
Balance	*				3.8889	3.4750 to 4.3028
No Impact	*				3.9390	3.7520 to 4.1261
Positive	*				4.3488	4.1377 to 4.5600
F-ratio = 14.7447 F-prob = 0.0000						

Table 6.25 shows the ANOVA of the four equity groups on the item relating to overall attitude to tourism in Llangollen. In overall attitude terms, it is only the Negative equity group which clearly differs in response, being significantly less positive than either of the three other groups. It is also worthy of comment that it is only the Negative group which has a mean score of less than three (2.7333) indicating an overall attitude of disliking tourism in Llangollen. Looking at the 95% confidence intervals for the means of each group it can be seen that the responses of the No Impact group are fully incorporated into the range of responses of the Balance group, with the Positive group demonstrating a consistently more positive response, albeit one which is not significantly different at the 95% significance level.

In terms of Bjorklund and Philbrick's attitude/behaviour responses, the Negative group, scoring 2.7333, demonstrates a response falling between the neutral and the passive/negative. The Balance and No Impact groups both score close to 4 (a passive/positive response) and the Positive group score a response tending from

the passive towards the active/positive (4.3488) in terms of overall attitude towards tourism.

Table 6.26 Which statement best describes your attitude to the increased number of art exhibitions and classical concerts in Llangollen resulting from tourism?

Equity Groups	Equity Groups				Mean Score	95% Conf Int for Mean
	Negative	Balance	No Impact	Positive		
Negative					3.3333	2.8812 to 3.7855
Balance					3.7778	3.2789 to 4.2767
No Impact					3.8537	3.7108 to 3.9965
Positive	*				4.1628	3.9213 to 4.4043
F-ratio = 4.8436 F-prob = 0.0030						

Table 6.26 shows the responses of the four equity groups in terms of attitudes to the increased level of art exhibitions and classical concerts in Llangollen as a result of tourism. Here, the Negative group is again significantly separated from the Positive group in their response. The Balance group is the most internally divided, with its range of responses again completely encompassing those of the No Impact group. The key feature of this item, however, is the clear difference in attitude between the Positive and Negative groups, and the lack of clear difference in response between the Balance and No Impact groups.

In terms of the attitude/behaviour response of the groups, it can be seen that even the Negative group's response is on the passive/positive side of neutral, with both Balance and the No Impact groups responding closely to a passive/positive score. The Positive group, scoring 4.1628 demonstrates a response tending slightly away from the passive towards the active/positive.

Table 6.27 Which statement best describes your attitude to the overall impact of the International Eisteddfod on the way of life or culture of Llangollen?

Equity Groups	Equity Groups				Mean Score	95% Conf Int for Mean
	Negative	Balance	No Impact	Positive		
Negative					3.3333	2.6826 to 3.9841
Balance					3.8333	3.3741 to 4.2926
No Impact	*				4.0854	3.9264 to 4.2443
Positive	*				4.4048	4.2094 to 4.6002
F-ratio = 7.6614 F-prob = 0.0001						

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The attitude of the four equity groups to the overall impact of the International Eisteddfod on the way of life or culture of Llangollen is illustrated in Table 6.27. The attitude of the Negative group to the cultural impacts of the International Eisteddfod is again significantly less favourable than that of either the No Impact or the Positive groups. The Balance group, while scoring lower than the No Impact group, is not significantly different to any of the groups due to the range of responses from within the group.

In terms of the attitude/behaviour responses of the four groups to the cultural impacts of the Eisteddfod, the Negative group again gives a response on the passive/positive side of neutral, with the Balance group scoring nearly a passive/positive response, the No Impact group falling almost exactly in the passive/positive category, and the Positive group demonstrating a response tending from the passive towards the active/positive.

Table 6.28 Which statement best describes your attitude to the general character of the events and activities in the International Eisteddfod?

Equity Groups	Equity Groups				Mean Score	95% Conf Int for Mean
	Negative	Balance	No Impact	Positive		
Negative					3.2667	2.6227 to 3.9107
Balance					3.8333	3.4817 to 4.1850
No Impact	*				3.9375	3.7664 to 4.1086
Positive	*		*		4.4186	4.2259 to 4.6113
F-ratio = 9.1771 F-prob = 0.0000						

Table 6.28 shows the differences between the equity groups in their attitude to the general character of the events and activities in the International Eisteddfod. This item is the only one in this section of the questionnaire to separate the equity groups to such a marked extent, with the Negative group being significantly different to both the Positive and No Impact groups, and the Positive and No Impact groups also differing significantly from each other. The Balance group, due to the range of attitudes expressed, overlaps with both Positive and Negative groups, and as such cannot be seen as varying significantly from either, nor from the No Impact group. It is clear, however, that significant divisions do exist between the equity groups in terms of their attitude towards the nature of the actual performances held during the International Eisteddfod.

Again, the attitude/behaviour response of the Negative group is one slightly more passive/positive than neutral, with both the Balance and the No Impact groups responding just to the neutral side of a passive/positive reaction. The Positive group again scores a strongly positive 4.4186, situating their response midway between a passive and an active/positive position.

Table 6.29 Which statement best describes your attitude to the way in which the history and traditions of Llangollen are promoted in order to attract tourists?

Equity Groups	Equity Groups					
	Negative	Balance	No Impact	Positive	*Mean Score*	*95% Conf Int for Mean*
Negative					*3.0000*	*2.3473 to 3.6527*
Balance					*3.6471*	*3.2430 to 4.0511*
No Impact	*				*3.7595*	*3.6064 to 3.9126*
Positive	*				*3.8293*	*3.5757 to 4.0828*
F-ratio = 4.1719 F-prob = 0.0072						

Table 6.29 relates to the attitude of respondents to the way in which the history and traditions of Llangollen are presented in order to attract tourists. Significant differences again exist in the attitudes of the equity groups to the promotion of the history and traditions of Llangollen, with both the No Impact and the Positive group demonstrating significantly different attitudes to those of the Negative group. Once again, the wide range of responses delivered by the Balance group render it indivisible from any of the other groups at a 95% significance level, although in terms of mean scores it can be seen to be closer to the No Impact and Positive groups overall terms, with only the Negative group showing a clearly less positive attitude.

Indeed, in terms of the Bjorklund and Philbrick responses, the Negative group, scoring 3.0000 demonstrates a totally neutral overall attitude to the nature of the presentation of the history and traditions of Llangollen, with the Balance, No Impact and Positive groups each trending slightly further towards a passive/positive response.

Table 6.30 Which statement best describes your attitude to the overall impact of tourism on the way of life or culture of Llangollen?

Equity Groups	Negative	Balance	No Impact	Positive	Mean Score	95% Conf Int for Mean
		Equity Groups				
Negative					2.6429	2.1568 to 3.1290
Balance					3.4118	2.8597 to 3.9278
No Impact	*				3.5769	3.4007 to 3.7531
Positive	*				3.9535	3.7213 to 4.1857
F-ratio = 9.6206 F-prob = 0.0000						

Table 6.30 shows the responses of the four equity groups to the item measuring attitude to the overall impact of tourism on the way of life or culture of Llangollen. Once again on this item the Negative group can be significantly separated from both the No Impact and the Positive groups in terms of attitude towards the overall cultural impacts of tourism in Llangollen. The Balance group, due to the wide range of responses overlaps with all of the other three groups, whilst the Positive and No Impact groups overlap each other slightly. In terms of the mean scores, the main difference can be seen to be between the clearly more negative Negative group and the other three groups, demonstrating a broadly positive majority.

On this item, the Negative group does give a score on the passive/negative side of neutral, with the Balance and No Impact groups scoring similarly on the passive/positive side of neutral. The Positive group here is close to scoring a purely passive/positive response, with the range of responses falling just on either side of 4.0.

Here, in terms of overall attitude to the current impacts of tourism, this section of the questionnaire again shows a certain consistency of response from each of the four equity groups. On each of the items, the Negative group is clearly and significantly the most negative in terms of their attitude, with the Balance group following, holding a marginally less positive view than the No Impact group, whilst the Positive group's attitude remains consistently clearly more positive than the others on each of these measures. It is interesting to note that the two lowest scoring items in this section were those relating to the overall attitude to tourism in Llangollen and attitude to the overall impact of tourism upon the way of life or culture of Llangollen. The first of these items ("Which statement best describes your overall attitude to tourism in Llangollen?") brought out the widest difference in attitude of all these measures, with means ranging from a passive/negative 2.7 (for

the Negative group) to an almost active/positive 4.3 (for the Positive group). The second of these two items ("Which statement best describes your attitude to the overall impact of tourism on the way of life or culture of Llangollen?") actually scored lower for each group than the first item, perhaps confusingly given the general agreement on the cultural benefits of tourism. This can probably be explained by the fact that those respondents who may be overall in favour of tourism *per se*, do recognise unfavourable changes which have been brought about in the community as a result of tourism. Another feature of this section which is worth considering is the strongly positive attitude of the Positive equity group towards the items relating to the arts and to the Eisteddfod, again demonstrating the importance of such cultural elements in the development of a positive attitude towards the impacts of tourism overall.

6.2.4 Attitudes of equity groups to suggestions for future changes in tourism

Attitudes to a range of suggestions for possible future changes in tourism in Llangollen are assessed using a scale with the following responses: I am in favour and would strongly support the suggestion; I am in favour of the suggestion; I am neither in favour nor dislike the suggestion; I dislike the suggestion; I dislike and would strongly oppose the suggestion. As in the previous section of this chapter, these responses have been designed to correspond with the range of attitude/behaviour responses proposed by Bjorklund and Philbrick (1972) and adapted to tourism by Butler (1974). The suggestions used in the questionnaire to test such attitudes are illustrated below (Table 6.31), with the items significantly related to equity group membership being shown in bold typeface.

Table 6.31 Cross-tabulation of equity groups and attitudes to suggestions for future changes in tourism

Questionnaire Item	Likelihood Ratio	Probability
Tourism in general		
Which statement best describes your attitude to a suggestion that in future tourism in Llangollen should be allowed to grow but only slowly?	15.56	0.21236
Which statement best describes your attitude to a suggestion that in future tourism in Llangollen should grow rapidly?	**23.91**	**0.02093**
Tourism and 'high culture'		
Which statement best describes your attitude to a suggestion that in future there should be increased promotion of more art exhibitions and classical concerts in Llangollen in order to attract tourists?	**38.46**	**0.00013**
Tourism and the International Eisteddfod		
Which statement best describes your attitude to a suggestion that in future the International Eisteddfod should be much bigger in size and importance?	20.63	0.05607
Tourism and past cultural traditions		
Which statement best describes your attitude to a suggestion that in future there should be more promotion of the history and traditions of Llangollen in order to attract more tourists?	16.54	0.16773
Tourism and the present day way of life or culture		
Which statement best describes your attitude to a suggestion that in future there should be more promotion of the local way of life or culture of Llangollen residents in order to attract more tourists?	14.91	0.24622
Which statement best describes your attitude to a suggestion that in future attention should be given to tourist activities being kept more separate from the activities of the residents of Llangollen?	19.82	0.07059

As can be seen from the above table, of these six items, only two proved to be significantly related to equity group membership at a 95% significance level or greater utilising the Likelihood Ratio statistic. The first of these items, the suggestion that "in future tourism in Llangollen should grow rapidly" has a considerably lower Likelihood Ratio and probability than the second suggestion that, "in future there should be increased promotion of more art exhibitions and classical concerts in Llangollen in order to attract tourists".

Due to the small number of items significantly related to equity group membership using the Likelihood Ratio statistic, each item in the section of the questionnaire is now subjected to the analysis of variance test (ANOVA) in order to gain a fuller picture of the attitudes of the different equity groups to the various suggestions for future changes in tourism. These results are presented below.

6.2.5 ANOVA of personal equity groups and attitudes to suggestions for future changes in tourism

This section will now present the results of the ANOVA, outlining the main differences between the four personal equity groups in terms of their attitudes to suggestions for future changes to tourism in Llangollen. These responses are also examined in terms of the Bjorklund and Philbrick attitude/behaviour model as for the previous section.

Table 6.32 Which statement best describes your attitude to a suggestion that in future tourism in Llangollen should be allowed to grow but only slowly?

Equity Groups	Equity Groups				Mean Score	95% Conf Int for Mean
	Negative	Balance	No Impact	Positive		
Negative					3.1333	2.5463 to 3.7204
Balance					3.5000	2.9812 to 4.0188
No Impact	*				3.8272	3.6603 to 3.9941
Positive	*				3.8605	3.6040 to 4.1169
F-ratio = 3.6447 F-prob = 0.0141						

Table 6.32 shows the responses to the suggestion that in future tourism in Llangollen should be allowed to grow, but only slowly. This item, whilst not significantly related to equity group membership according to the results of the cross-tabulation, did draw out some significant differences between the groups in terms of the difference in their attitude towards the statement. Here, the responses of the Negative equity group again vary significantly from those of both the No Impact and the Positive groups, although the nature of the response to this item is not strongly negative and represents the position of neither approving nor disapproving of the suggestion.

In terms of the Bjorklund and Philbrick (1972) responses, the Negative group's score is close to neutral, lying just to the side of passive/positive. The Balance group, with a score of 3.5, demonstrates a response lying exactly between neutral and passive/positive, with both the No Impact and the Positive groups scoring close to a passive/positive response.

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Table 6.33 Which statement best describes your attitude to a suggestion that in future tourism in Llangollen should grow rapidly?

Equity Groups	Equity Groups					
Equity Groups	Negative	Balance	No Impact	Positive	*Mean Score*	*95% Conf Int for Mean*
Negative					1.7857	1.1789 to 2.3925
Balance	NO TWO GROUPS DIFFER				2.0000	1.4606 to 2.5394
Positive					2.3721	2.0569 to 2.6873
No Impact					2.4268	2.2167 to 2.6369
F-ratio = 2.2948 F-prob = 0.0801						

Table 6.33 shows the responses to the suggestion that in future tourism in Llangollen should grow rapidly. Here it is interesting to note that none of the groups, including the Positive equity group, are actually in favour of any future rapid expansion in the level of tourism in Llangollen. Another interesting feature here is that it is the No Impact group which scores most highly on this item, again illustrating their lack of perception of serious impacts of tourism upon the community.

It is interesting to note that none of the four groups provide a positive response in terms of the attitude/behaviour framework, with the Negative group scoring to the passive side of an active/negative response, the Balance group scoring a perfectly passive/negative response, and the Positive and No Impact groups scoring in-between a passive/negative and neutral response. This was overall the least favourable response to any item in the questionnaire, strongly suggesting that some form of limit in the perceived carrying capacity has been reached.

Table 6.34 Which statement best describes your attitude to a suggestion that in future there should be increased promotion of more art exhibitions and classical concerts in Llangollen in order to attract tourists?

Equity Groups	Equity Groups					
Equity Groups	Negative	No Impact	Balance	Positive	*Mean Score*	*95% Conf Int for Mean*
Negative					2.4000	1.8542 to 2.9458
No Impact	*				3.4198	3.1935 to 3.6460
Balance	*				3.5000	3.1092 to 3.8908
Positive	*				3.7674	3.4760 to 4.0589
F-ratio = 7.3273 F-prob = 0.0001						

Table 6.34 shows the differences in response to the suggestion that in future there should be increased promotion of more art exhibitions and classical concerts in

Llangollen in order to attract tourists. Here it is only the Negative equity group which differs significantly on this item, exhibiting a substantially more negative attitude to the suggestion than any of the other three groups, who cannot be significantly separated from each other using the Scheffé test at a 95% significance level. This again underlines the lack of enthusiasm for such cultural manifestations amongst those residents perceiving a clearly negative impact upon their lives from the presence of tourists in the town. In this instance, the Balance group scores higher than the No Impact group, although the difference between the two groups is neither clearly evident nor statistically significant.

In terms of the attitude/behaviour response of the four groups, only the Negative equity group give a negative response, albeit one lying between a neutral position and one of passive resistance to the suggestion. The No Impact, Balance and Positive groups all display close responses tending away from the neutral towards the passive/positive, with the Positive group responding most favourably to the suggestion.

Table 6.35 Which statement best describes your attitude to a suggestion that in future the International Eisteddfod should be much bigger in size and importance?

Equity Groups	Equity Groups				Mean Score	95% Conf Int for Mean
	Negative	Positive	Balance	No Impact		
Negative					1.8667	1.3597 to 2.3736
Positive					2.8140	2.4507 to 3.1772
Balance					2.8333	2.3434 to 3.3233
No Impact	*				2.9136	2.6586 to 3.1686
F-ratio = 3.7120 F-prob = 0.0130						

Table 6.35 shows the differences in attitude between the four equity groups to the suggestion that in future the International Eisteddfod should be much bigger in size and importance. Here it is the No Impact group which holds the most positive attitude towards the possible expansion of the International Eisteddfod, being significantly different to the Negative group in their response. Interestingly, it is the Positive group which is closest to the Negative group in terms of mean scores, although it does not differ significantly using the Sheffé test.

In terms of the Bjorklund and Philbrick responses, the Negative group actually scores to the active/negative side of passive/positive, clearly and strongly disapproving of the suggestion. The responses of the other three groups are

similar to each other, all lying just to the passive/negative side of neutral. This would suggest that there exists some level of agreement within the community that the International Eisteddfod should not assume a position of any greater importance within the community, having already assumed a pre-eminent position and probably maximum size. This view is, unsurprisingly, most strongly felt by those members of the Negative personal equity group, whose responses relating to the International Eisteddfod have remained consistently more negative than any of the other three groups throughout the questionnaire.

Table 6.36 <u>Which statement best describes your attitude to a suggestion that in future there should be more promotion of the history and traditions of Llangollen in order to attract more tourists?</u>

Equity Groups	Equity Groups				Mean Score	95% Conf Int for Mean
	Negative	Balance	No Impact	Positive		
Negative					3.3333	2.7171 to 3.9495
Balance					3.6471	3.2862 to 4.0079
No Impact					3.8415	3.6707 to 4.0123
Positive	*				4.0465	3.7868 to 4.3062
F-ratio = 3.0851 F-prob = 0.0291						

Table 6.36 shows the results of the ANOVA of the four equity groups and the suggestion that In future there should be more promotion of the history and traditions of Llangollen in order to attract more tourists. Here it can be seen that all of the groups agree to a greater or lesser extent with the increased promotion of the history and traditions of Llangollen for touristic purposes, it is again only the Positive and the Negative groups which differ significantly from each other in their attitude, with the Balance and No Impact groups sharing a similar level of agreement. This is also clearly evident in attitude/behaviour terms, with the Negative group demonstrating a response on the passive/positive side of neutral, the Balance and No Impact groups tending further towards the passive/positive, and the Positive group giving a response just to the active side of passive/positive .

Table 6.37 Which statement best describes your attitude to a suggestion that in future there should be more promotion of the local way of life or culture of Llangollen residents in order to attract more tourists?

Equity Groups	Equity Groups				Mean Score	95% Conf Int for Mean
Equity Groups	Negative	Balance	No Impact	Positive	Mean Score	95% Conf Int for Mean
Negative					3.0714	2.3747 to 3.7681
Positive	NO TWO GROUPS DIFFER				3.3721	3.0499 to 3.6943
No Impact					3.5696	3.3742 to 3.7650
Balance					3.6471	3.1681 to 4.1260
F-ratio = 1.4177 F-prob = 0.2399						

Table 6.37 shows the responses to the suggestion that in future there should be more promotion of the local way of life or culture of Llangollen residents in order to attract more tourists. On this item none of the four groups can be significantly separated from the others in terms of their attitude to the suggestion. Given that the highest mean score (3.64) is that of the Balance group, and the relatively low score from the Positive group (3.37), this can be taken to demonstrate a level of shared ambivalence towards the suggestion rather than one of shared agreement.

Again, in attitude/behaviour terms the responses of all four groups are close, with the Negative equity group scoring most closely to a neutral response, with the Positive, No Impact and Balance groups each scoring slightly more closely to the passive/positive respectively.

Table 6.38 Which statement best describes your attitude to a suggestion that in future attention should be given to tourist activities being kept more separate from the activities of the residents of Llangollen?

Equity Groups	Equity Groups				Mean Score	95% Conf Int for Mean
Equity Groups	Negative	Balance	No Impact	Positive	Mean Score	95% Conf Int for Mean
Negative					2.7857	2.0632 to 3.5082
Balance					3.1111	2.6634 to 3.5588
No Impact					3.4250	3.2254 to 3.6246
Positive	*				3.6905	3.4473 to 3.9337
F-ratio = 4.2303 F-prob = 0.0067						

Finally in this section, Table 6.38 shows the equity groups responses to the suggestion that in future attention should be given to tourist activities being kept more separate from the activities of the residents of Llangollen. Here the low mean score from the Negative equity group indicates a favourable response to the

suggestion of keeping tourist activities separate from those of local residents. It is only the Positive group which differs significantly in their response, although both the Balance and No Impact groups' scores show a level of disagreement with the suggestion.

The main feature of this item in attitude/behaviour response terms is the passive/negative tendency of the Negative group, agreeing passively with the suggestion, whereas the other three groups all tend to the passive/positive side of neutral, disagreeing mildly with such a suggestion for segregation.

In overall terms then the four groups all agree (to a greater or lesser extent) that tourism on Llangollen should not be allowed to grow rapidly. In relation to suggestions for increased levels of cultural performances, the Negative equity group are clearly different from the other three in their lack of support, with the Positive group showing the most support for such areas of potential future growth, and most clearly disagreeing with the suggestion that tourist activities be kept more separate from those of local residents.

6.2.6 Equity groups and personal and demographic details

The final section of the questionnaire is that relating to the personal and demographic details of the respondents, with the items used to illustrate such details set out below (Table 6.39). As in the previous sections of this chapter, those questionnaire items which were found to be significantly related to equity group membership using the Likelihood Ratio statistic are highlighted in bold print.

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Table 6.39 Personal and demographic details and equity group membership

Questionnaire Item	Likelihood Ratio	Probability
Do you or any member of your immediate family work in the tourism industry?	**14.98**	**0.00158**
How much direct contact do you have with tourists visiting the local area?	**27.15**	**0.00132**
How much involvement do you have in local societies and other organisations in the Llangollen area?	11.53	0.24075
How strongly attached do you consider yourself to be to the community of Llangollen?	11.68	0.47197
How interested are you in art exhibitions or classical music?	11.81	0.46119
How interested are you in general in the events within the International Eisteddfod?	12.03	0.44314
How interested are you in the local history and traditions of Llangollen?	14.06	0.29676
How good do you consider job opportunities for Llangollen residents to be?	9.99	0.61669
How many years have you lived within Llangollen or 25 miles of it?	**21.7464**	**0.04046**
Are you male or female?	7.48	0.05797
What is your age?	21.97	0.23327
Which of these categories best describes your present occupation, or your last occupation if you are retired or unemployed?	26.98	0.07939
If you do not earn the most income in your household, what category best describes the present occupation of the person earning most income (or their last occupation if they are retired or unemployed)?	17.37	0.49739

As can be seen from Table 6.39, of these twelve items, only three were found to be significantly related to equity group membership, namely:

- Do you or any member of your immediate family work in the tourism industry?

- How much direct contact do you have with tourists visiting the local area?

- How many years have you lived within Llangollen or 25 miles of it?

The full cross-tabulation tables for each of these three items are presented below, showing more clearly the relationship between membership of the four personal equity groups and the three explanatory variables described above.

Table 6.40 Cross-tabulation of equity groups and "Do you or any member of your immediate family work in the tourism industry?"

Work in Tourism?	Equity Groups				Row Totals
	Positive	Balance	No Impact	Negative	
YES	19 (44.2%)	6 (33.3%)	11 (13.4%)	3 (20%)	39 (24.7%)
NO	24 (55.8%)	12 (66.7%)	71 (86.6%)	12 (80%)	119 (75.3%)
	43 (100%)	18 (100%)	88 (100%)	15 (100%)	158 (100%)
L.R.= 14.98 Prob.= 0.002					

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Table 6.40 shows that the equity group with the highest percentage of employment contacts with the tourist industry is the Positive group. It is interesting to note that a greater proportion of the Balance group than the No Impact group claim to have employment links with the industry since the mean scores of the Balance group have tended to be consistently lower than those of the No Impact group. This can probably be explained by the fact that the Balance group are more aware of both the positive and the negative impacts of tourism on both the community and the individual, causing their views to be more moderate than those of the No Impact group.

Table 6.41 Cross-tabulation of equity groups and level of tourist contact

| Level of Tourist Contact | Equity Groups | | | | |
	Positive	Balance	No Impact	Negative	Totals
A Great Deal	19 (44.2%)	5 (27.8%)	11 (13.4%)	2 (13.3%)	37 (23.4%)
A Moderate Amount	14 (32.6%)	5 (27.8%)	22 (26.8%)	2 (13.3%)	43 (27.2%)
A Small Amount	8 (18.6%)	7 (38.9%)	32 (39%)	6 (40%)	53 (33.5%)
None At All	2 (4.6%)	1 (5.5%)	17 (20.7%)	5 (33.3%)	25 (15.8%)
Totals	43 (100%)	18 (100%)	82 (100%)	15 (100%)	158 (100%)

Here (Table 6.41) it can be seen how higher levels of tourist contact are associated with equity group membership, with those members of the Positive group declaring themselves as having the highest level of contact with tourists, being followed by the Balance and No Impact groups, and the Negative equity group having the lowest amount of direct contact with tourists. In Llangollen, therefore, the amount of direct contact with tourists is clearly associated with equity group membership, which is itself associated with overall attitude towards tourism's impacts. Those members of the community who have higher levels of tourist contact would also appear to hold the consistently more positive perceptions of the impacts of tourism within the community.

Table 6.42 Cross-tabulation of equity groups and length of residence

| Length of Residence | Equity Groups | | | | |
	Positive	Balance	No Impact	Negative	Totals
< 1 year	-	1 (5.6%)	1 (1.2%)	-	2 (1.3%)
1< 5 years	7 (16.3%)	1 (5.6%)	10 (12.2%)	-	18 (11.4%)
5< 15 years	14 (32.5%)	3 (16.6%)	14 (17.1%)	1 (6.7%)	32 (20.3%)
15< 30 years	11 (25.6%)	10 (55.6%)	24 (29.3%)	6 (40.0%)	51 (32.3%)
30+ years	11 (25.6%)	3 (16.6%)	33 (40.2%)	8 (53.3%)	55 (34.8%)
	43 (100%)	18 (100%)	82 (100%)	15 (100%)	158 (100%)

The relationship between length of residence and equity group membership is somewhat less clear, although certain obvious characteristics are evident. The strong predominance of longer-term residents within the Negative equity group is clearly apparent, as is the shorter residence of those members of the Positive equity group. The actual differences between the Balance and No Impact groups are less clear, but then so are the differences between these two groups on almost every item within the questionnaire.

These three factors (employment in the tourist industry, amount of direct contact with tourists, and length of residence) have all been found to relate significantly to attitude to tourism in previous resident perception studies. Employment in the tourism industry has been found to be positively related to support for tourism in numerous investigations (Pizam, 1978; King, Pizam and Millman, 1993; Rothman, 1978; Husbands, 1989; Mansfeld, 1992; Prentice, 1993; Lankford and Howard, 1994). The level of direct contact with tourists has also been found to relate to attitude, with Pizam (1978) - in direct contradiction to this study - linking more contact with tourists with more negative attitudes towards tourism. Rothman (1978) and Sheldon and Var (1984), on the other hand, both found higher levels of tourist contact to be related to higher levels of satisfaction with the industry. Greater length of residence in a community has been found by some writers to be associated with more positive perceptions of tourism (Brougham and Butler, 1981; Ritchie, 1988; Husbands, 1985), whilst McCool and Martin (1994) found longer-term residents to be more concerned about the equity dimensions of tourism in terms of the sharing of costs between tourists and residents.

6.3 Summary and Conclusions

This chapter has examined the questionnaire survey results obtained in Llangollen from the point of view of the various equity considerations included in the questionnaire. The first section of the chapter, dealing with these measures of equity considerations and their calculation, demonstrates that the simple personal equity measures devised by Pearce et al (1991)can be successfully used to segment the residents of a tourist receiving area (in this case Llangollen) according to their attitudes towards and opinions of the impacts of tourism upon the destination.

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Key features of this equity group approach in Llangollen are that overall, the positive impacts of tourism are perceived more strongly than the negative impacts, although some form of negative impact is perceived on a personal level by a significant minority of the population. Furthermore, it can be seen that the cultural benefits of tourism in Llangollen are felt to outweigh the economic benefits on a personal level, although the Positive equity group did perceive a much higher level of personal economic benefits than did the other three groups.

Interestingly, when these impacts are expressed in community rather than in personal terms, the proportion of respondents falling into the Positive equity group rises from 27.2% (personal) to 60.1% (community). When examining the community benefits in cultural terms, a further change in perception is clearly evident, with 95.6% of the population surveyed considering the community as benefiting to some degree in cultural terms (as opposed to 70.9% of the population in personal terms). overall then, this shows that in terms of the broadly-defined major impacts of tourism, the cultural benefits on a community level are seen as outweighing such cultural benefits on a personal level which, in turn, are perceived as outweighing the personal economic benefits accruing from tourism.

In terms of perceptions of the specific impacts of tourism, there was general agreement (or a lack of significant difference in opinion) on seven of the fourteen items used in the second section of the questionnaire. The clearest differences in opinion on most items were between the Positive and the Negative equity groups, with the Balance and No Impact groups being generally inseparable on most issues at the 95% confidence level. The items which provided the greatest diversity of response related to the impact of the International Eisteddfod on tourist/resident relations, and to the cultural exchange value of meeting international tourists.

Responses to the items relating to attitudes towards the current impacts of tourism yielded a clearer consistency of response. The biggest differences in response related to overall attitude to tourism in Llangollen, and attitude to the impact of tourism on the way of life or culture of Llangollen, with the Negative group clearly not in favour, the Balance and No Impact groups both clearly in favour, and the Positive group clearly strongly in favour. The range of responses to the other items relating to arts, culture, history and the International Eisteddfod were less

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polarised, although the Positive equity group were most strongly in favour of the arts/culture items presented.

As to the attitudes to suggestions for future changes to tourism in Llangollen, there was a general level of agreement that any future growth in tourism in the town should be on a restricted level, with there being no real approval for the future expansion of the Eisteddfod. The most positive response from all four groups was to the suggestion that there be increased promotion of the history and heritage of Llangollen for touristic purposes.

Finally, the section of the questionnaire relating to personal and demographic details showed three items to relate significantly to personal equity group membership. These three items, all of which had been identified in previous studies, related to the link between employment in the tourist industry and a positive attitude towards tourism; the amount of contact with tourists, again relating greater levels of contact to a more positive position; and length of residence, with members of the Negative equity group being the longest-standing residents.

CHAPTER SEVEN: THE CLUSTER ANALYSIS APPROACH

As discussed in the methodology chapter, the second way of examining the differences in attitudes and opinions towards tourism which may exist within the community is to use the technique of cluster analysis. The result of this is to draw out the optimal number of groupings in terms of their similarity of response to the 27 attitude and opinion measures in the questionnaire (items 10-36). The basic principle behind the technique is that of comparing each respondent to every other respondent in terms of their mean scores on selected items (in this case on the items recording scaled responses to the attitude and opinion questions within the questionnaire). Each individual is then fused with the next closest individual, with the process continuing until an optimal number of groups is derived in terms of the similarities within and differences between each group (see Ryan, 1995, pp. 268-79). For a comparative example of the use of this cluster analysis technique, see Ryan and Montgomery's (1994) work on Bakewell.

As already mentioned in the previous chapter, three groups of such 'best fit' were derived from the data: a 'Positive' group numbering 55 (those demonstrating the most consistently positive responses towards the impacts of tourism), a 'Middle-roaders' group numbering 75 (and demonstrating more 'middling' scores), and a 'Negative' group numbering 28 (scoring consistently lower than the other two groups). It should be noted that the titles ascribed to each group (Positive, Middle-roaders, Negative) are for the sake of convenience, reflecting the broad position of each group, and do not necessarily correspond exactly with the attitudes and opinions expressed by such groups to the items presented within the questionnaire.

7.1 Cluster groups and equity perceptions

One question which it is pertinent to ask at this point is whether there exists a significant relationship between equity group membership and assigned membership of attitude/opinion clusters? In order to test for such a relationship, a simple cross-tabulation of the Equity Groups and those groups drawn out by the cluster analysis is carried out.

Table 7.1 Cross-Tabulation of Equity and cluster groups

	Cluster Group			
Equity Group	Positive	Middle-road	Negative	Totals
Positive	24 (15.2%)	15 (9.5%)	4 (2.5%)	43 (27.2%)
Balance	3 (1.9%)	13 (8.2%)	2 (1.3%)	18 (11.4%)
No Impact	27 (17.1%)	42 (26.6%)	13 (8.2%)	82 (51.9%)
Negative	1 (0.6%)	5 (3.2%)	9 (5.7%)	15 (9.5%)
Totals	55 (34.8%)	75 (47.5%)	28 (17.7%)	158 (100%)

This cross-tabulation (Table 7.1) gives a chi-square value of 32.73 (prob. 0.00001), and a Likelihood Ratio of 28.49 (prob. 0.0001), showing a significant statistical relationship between equity group membership and cluster membership. This would indicate that a clear association exists between the perceived impacts of tourism on a personal level and the attitude towards and opinion of such effects in broader terms.

In order to better understand this relationship between the groups drawn out by the cluster analysis and both the equity groups as a whole and the various equity measures individually, the cluster groups can be cross-tabulated with each item in the questionnaire (as for the equity groups), with the analyses of variance (ANOVA) also used in order to show on which measures the groups are clearly in agreement, or disagreement.

Table 7.2 Results of the cross-tabulation of cluster groups and equity measures

Questionnaire Item	Likelihood Ratio	Probability
Do you consider that tourism in Llangollen has had a major positive impact on your life personally?	6.3291	0.04223
Do you consider that tourism in Llangollen has had any major negative impacts on your life personally?	13.0795	0.00144
To what extent do you consider that tourism in Llangollen has had a positive impact on your life personally?	17.1028	0.00891
To what extent do you consider that tourism in Llangollen has had a negative impact on your life personally?	19.6265	0.00323
How much do you think tourism in Llangollen benefits you personally in economic terms?	11.4845	0.07451
How much do you think that tourism in Llangollen benefits you personally in social and cultural terms?	31.0995	0.00002
Do you consider that tourism has had a major positive impact on the community of Llangollen?	14.0341	0.00090
Do you consider that tourism has had any major negative impacts on the community of Llangollen?	4.4694	0.10702
How much do you think that tourism benefits the community of Llangollen in social and cultural terms?	24.6077	0.00040

As can be seen from the above table (Table 7.2), cluster group membership is significantly related to eight of the ten equity measures included in the questionnaire. Interestingly, the item relating to personal economic benefits is not related to cluster group membership, yet this was an important function in the equity dimensions examined in the previous chapter. In order to better understand the nature of such relationships, the cluster groups have been compared on each measure using one-way analysis of variance (ANOVA). These results are presented below.

Table 7.3 Do you consider that tourism in Llangollen has had a major positive impact on your life personally?

Cluster Group	Cluster Group			Mean	95% confidence interval for mean
	Positive	Middle-Road	Negative		
Positive				1.4909	1.3545 to 1.6273
Middle-Road				1.3733	1.2613 to 1.4854
Negative	*			1.2143	1.0523 to 1.3763
F-ratio =3.1058 F-prob=0.0476					

On this first measure, that of the major positive impacts of tourism on a personal level (Table 7.3), it can be seen that the Middle- road group overlaps with both the Positive and Negative groups. The Positive and Negative groups are mutually exclusive at the 95% probability level on this issue of major personal positive impacts. The range of responses here is restricted to a simple yes/no, and as such does not allow for any greater differences between the groups to be drawn out.

Table 7.4 Do you consider that tourism in Llangollen has had any major negative impacts on your life personally?

Cluster Group	Cluster Group			Mean	95% confidence interval for mean
	Positive	Middle-Road	Negative		
Positive				1.9273	1.8564 to 1.9981
Middle-Road				1.7600	1.6611 to 1.8598
Negative	*			1.6071	1.4143 to 1.8000
F-ratio =6.5688 F-prob=0.0018					

Here, regarding the major negative impacts of tourism on a personal level (Table 7.4), the Middle-road group again overlaps both the Positive and Negative groups, although it is close to being separate from the Positive group, having only a slight overlap. The Negative group again clearly and significantly differs from the Positive group. The mean score of 1.92 from the Positive group shows that their response

to the question was almost exclusively negative (they perceived no major negative impacts upon their lives personally).

Table 7.5 To what extent do you consider that tourism in Llangollen has had a positive impact on your life personally?

Cluster Group	Cluster Group			Mean	95% confidence interval for mean
	Positive	Middle-Road	Negative		
Positive				2.6182	2.3171 to 2.9193
Middle-Road				2.2933	2.0835 to 2.5032
Negative	*			1.8214	1.4550 to 2.1878
F-ratio=6.0434 F-prob=0.0030					

Table 7.5 shows the extent to which the members of each cluster group consider tourism as having had a positive impact on themselves personally. In these terms, again, it is only the Positive and Negative groups which are mutually exclusive at the 95% confidence level, with the Middle-road group embracing the views of both.

Table 7.6 To what extent do you consider that tourism in Llangollen has had a negative impact on your life personally?

Cluster Group	Cluster Group			Mean	95% confidence interval for mean
	Positive	Middle-Road	Negative		
Positive				3.5273	3.3640 to 3.6906
Middle-Road				3.4133	3.2524 to 3.5742
Negative	*	*		2.8214	2.4550 to 3.1878
F-ratio =9.5433 F-prob=0.0001					

Here (Table 7.6), the Negative group clearly consider themselves as receiving more negative impacts than either the Middle-road or Positive groups, being clearly separate from both at the 95% level. The Positive and Middle-road groups are close to each other in terms of their scores on this item. This measure of the extent of negative impacts on a personal level is clearly related to the attitude of the Negative group.

Table 7.7 How much do you think tourism in Llangollen benefits you personally in economic terms?

Cluster Group	Cluster Group			Mean	95% confidence interval for mean
	Positive	Middle-Road	Negative		
Positive				1.9818	1.6508 to 2.3129
Middle-Road	NO TWO GROUPS DIFFER			1.7867	1.5378 to 2.0355
Negative				1.3929	1.1070 to 1.6788
F-ratio =2.7371 F-prob=0.0679					

This item was one which was found not to be significantly related to cluster group membership. It is therefore unsurprising that no two groups differ significantly from each other in terms of the personal economic benefits accruing from tourism (Table 7.7). This item was a key factor in the development of the equity groups, so it is interesting that the personal economic benefits should not be a factor in the differences between these attitude and opinion clusters, or that such clusters should not be significantly related to the personal economic benefits of tourism.

Table 7.8 How much do you think that tourism in Llangollen benefits you personally in social and cultural terms?

Cluster Group	Cluster Group			Mean	95% confidence interval for mean
	Positive	Middle-Road	Negative		
Positive				2.8000	2.5039 to 3.0961
Middle-Road	*			2.1200	1.8996 to 2.3404
Negative	*			1.7857	1.4806 to 2.0908
F-ratio=12.2316 F-prob=0.0000					

Table 7.8 shows that the Positive group differs significantly from both the Middle-road and Negative groups in terms of the perceived levels of personal cultural benefits from tourism. This would indicate that is these personal cultural benefits which are important in the development of a positive attitude towards the impacts of tourism, but are of less importance to the Middle-road and Negative groups.

Table 7.9 Do you consider that tourism has had a major positive impact on the community of Llangollen?

Cluster Group	Cluster Group			Mean	95% confidence interval for mean
	Middle-Road	Positive	Negative		
Middle-Road				1.9600	1.9146 to 2.0054
Positive				1.9091	1.8307 to 1.9875
Negative	*	*		1.6786	1.4942 to 1.8630
F-ratio =9.3823 F-prob=0.0001					

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Here (Table 7.9), the Positive and Middle-road groups are in general agreement as to the positive impacts of tourism upon the community, with both group responses being close to a totally positive 2.0. The Negative group, however, differs clearly from both of the others in their perceptions of the benefits on a community level.

Table 7.10 Do you consider that tourism has had any major negative impacts on the community of Llangollen?

Cluster Group	Cluster Group			Mean	95% confidence interval for mean
	Positive	Middle-Road	Negative		
Positive				1.7273	1.6058 to 1.8488
Middle-Road	NO TWO GROUPS DIFFER			1.6933	1.5865 to 1.8001
Negative				1.5000	1.3026 to 1.6974
F-ratio =2.3585	F-prob=0.0979				

Table 7.10 shows that whilst differences do exist between the groups in terms of their perceptions of the major negative impacts of tourism on a community level (as illustrated by the means), these differences are not large enough to be significant at the 95% level. In other words, the level of perception of major negative impacts upon the community of Llangollen does not differ enough from group to group to be able to separate them significantly on this issue.

Table 7.11 How much do you think that tourism benefits the community of Llangollen in social and cultural terms?

Cluster Group	Cluster Group			Mean	95% confidence interval for mean
	Positive	Middle-Road	Negative		
Positive				3.5455	3.3521 to 3.7389
Middle-Road				3.2267	3.0392 to 3.4142
Negative	*	*		2.6429	2.2894 to 2.9963
F-ratio=11.8141	F-prob=0.0000				

Table 7.11 shows that in terms of the community social and cultural benefits from tourism, once again, the Positive and Middle-road groups are in general agreement, but the Negative group is clearly less positive in its response to this issue, being significantly different from the other two at the 95% level. The Negative cluster group therefore clearly differs from the other two in terms of their perceptions of the social and cultural benefits of tourism on a community level.

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In summary, then, the cross-tabulation of the cluster groups and the equity measures in this first section of the questionnaire shows that significant relationships do exist, although the relationship would appear to be a function of the perceptions of the social and cultural impacts of tourism, rather than of economic impacts. It can also be seen that the main differences between the clusters , as drawn out by the ANOVA of the equity measures, exist between the Positive and the Negative groups, with the Middle-road group either overlapping both groups, or sharing a similar response to the Positive cluster.

Only one item separated the Positive cluster significantly without seperating the Middle-road cluster from the Negative cluster - the item relating to the perceived amount of personal social and cultural benefits (Table 7.8). Interestingly, it was the item relating to the perceived amount of community cultural benefits which most clearly separated the Negative cluster from the Middle-road and Positive clusters, who shared a similar response. In other words, the main difference between the clusters in terms of their perceptions of the personal social and cultural benefits of tourism lies in the clearly more favourable position of the Positive cluster. In community terms, however, it is the Negative cluster who responds most clearly differently with regard to the social and cultural impacts of tourism, exhibiting a significantly lesser perception of such benefits than either of the other two clusters.

7.2 Cluster groups and perceptions of the specific impacts of tourism

Having examined the differences between the three cluster groups in terms of the equity measures in the questionnaire, the next step is to examine these same groups in relation to their perceptions of the specific impacts of tourism upon the community. The perceptions of the specific impacts of tourism are assessed using the fourteen statements in the second section of the questionnaire (as in the previous chapter), with the response recorded on a five-point agree strongly - disagree strongly scale. These results are presented in Table 7.12 below, with those items which are significantly related to cluster group membership being shown in bold typeface.

Table 7.12 Results of the Cross-tabulation of the cluster groups and the Specific Impacts of Tourism

Questionnaire Item	Likelihood Ratio	Probability
Tourism and 'high culture'		
Tourism has helped increase the number of art exhibitions and classical concerts in Llangollen.	18.80	0.01591
Most of the art exhibitions and classical concerts in Llangollen which attract tourists are of interest to only a small minority of local residents.	52.95	0.00000
Tourism and the International Eisteddfod		
On balance the International Eisteddfod has contributed positively to the way of life or culture of Llangollen residents.	74.54	0.00000
The International Eisteddfod has increased the interest of Llangollen residents in the history and traditions of the local area.	51.31	0.00000
The International Eisteddfod has encouraged more friendly relations between tourists and Llangollen residents.	60.87	0.00000
Tourism and past cultural traditions		
Tourism has increased the interest of Llangollen's residents in the history and traditions of the local area.	50.41	0.00000
The history and traditions of Llangollen are sometimes presented in an unrealistic or inauthentic manner to cater for tourists.	38.85	0.00001
Tourism in general		
Llangollen would be a less varied and interesting place if tourists did not visit the town.	21.83	0.00524
Tourism has increased the range and quality of facilities available for the use of Llangollen residents in their leisure time.	46.56	0.00000
Tourism and the present day way of life or culture		
Tourism encourages local residents to take part in a wide variety of cultural activities (e.g. arts, crafts, music).	53.98	0.00000
Tourism has made the way of life or culture of Llangollen less intimate and friendly for Llangollen residents.	26.81	0.00076
Tourism has encouraged Llangollen residents to value more highly their local way of life or culture.	25.53	0.00027
Tourism has made the local way of life or culture of Llangollen less distinctive.	31.75	0.00010
Meeting tourists from all over the world is a valuable experience.	58.78	0.00000

As can be seen from the above table, there is a significant relationship between cluster group membership and perception of the specific impacts of tourism on each of the fourteen measures in this section of the questionnaire. This finding is not unexpected since all of these items were used in the construction of the cluster groups and as such, relationships will inevitably exist. What is of greater interest here is to see on which measures there is clear and significant disagreement between the groups, and where some level of consensus exists. In order to do this,

a one-way analysis of variance is carried out on each item, the results of which are presented below.

Table 7.13 Tourism has helped increase the number of art exhibitions and classical concerts in Llangollen

Cluster Group	Cluster Group			Mean	95% confidence interval for mean
	Positive	Middle-Road	Negative		
Positive				4.2909	4.1291 to 4.4527
Middle-Road	*			3.9200	3.7562 to 4.0838
Negative	*			3.8929	3.6271 to 4.1586
F-ratio =5.7345 F-prob=0.0040					

Here (Table 7.13), it is the Positive group which differs, with the Middle-road and Negative groups scoring almost the same as each other in their response to the suggestion that tourism has increased the level of exhibitions and classical concerts within the community. This again highlights the importance of such cultural elements in the construction of a positive attitude, with the overall high scores demonstrating a positive perception of such cultural impacts across all three cluster groups drawn from the population surveyed.

Table 7.14 Most of the art exhibitions and classical concerts in Llangollen which attract tourists are of interest to only a small minority of local residents

Cluster Group	Cluster Group			Mean	95% confidence interval for mean
	Positive	Middle-Road	Negative		
Positive				3.0943	2.8173 to 3.3714
Middle-Road	*			2.5068	2.3006 to 2.7131
Negative	*	*		1.6667	1.4766 to 1.8567
F-ratio =24.1028 F-prob=0.0000					

Table 7.14 shows the results of the ANOVA of the cluster groups and the statement that "most of the art exhibitions and classical concerts in Llangollen which attract tourists are of interest to only a small minority of local residents". Here it can be seen that all three groups differ significantly from each other using the Scheffé test. What is interesting is the greatly lower score of the Negative cluster, indicating a stronger agreement with the statement, and demonstrating their lesser interest in such cultural elements than the other two groups.

Table 7.15 On balance the International Eisteddfod has contributed positively to the way of life or culture of Llangollen residents

| Cluster Group | Cluster Group | | | Mean | 95% confidence interval for mean |
	Positive	Middle-Road	Negative		
Positive				4.4815	4.3438 to 4.6191
Middle-Road	*			4.0000	3.8351 to 4.1649
Negative	*	*		2.6786	2.2302 to 3.1270
F-ratio =53.3098 F-prob=0.0000					

Table 7.15 shows that the lesser approval of the cultural manifestations of tourism in Llangollen by the Negative cluster is even more clearly demonstrated on this item relating to the positive contribution of the International Eisteddfod to the way of life or culture of Llangollen residents. Whilst all three cluster groups differ significantly from each other in their response to this statement, the Negative group is the only one to actually disagree overall (having a mean score lower than 3.0). This shows how the Eisteddfod is viewed in different terms by different sections of the community, with the Negative cluster group actually expressing a negative opinion of the cultural impacts of the International Eisteddfod in Llangollen.

Table 7.16 The International Eisteddfod has increased the interest of Llangollen residents in the history and traditions of the local area

| Cluster Group | Cluster Group | | | Mean | 95% confidence interval for mean |
	Positive	Middle-Road	Negative		
Positive				3.8889	3.6598 to 4.1180
Middle-Road	*			3.4648	3.2463 to 3.6833
Negative	*	*		2.3077	2.0333 to 2.5821
F-ratio =30.1236 F-prob=0.0000					

Table 7.16 shows the ANOVA of the three cluster groups on the item relating to the International Eisteddfod and its' influence on the interest of residents in the history and traditions of the area. This is another one of the items where the three cluster groups are all significantly different from each other in their response. It is, however, again the Negative group which appears to differ the most from the other two, actually disagreeing with the statement, whilst the other two cluster groups both agree with the statement, but to differing degrees.

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Table 7.17 The International Eisteddfod has encouraged more friendly relations between tourists and Llangollen residents

Cluster Group	Cluster Group			Mean	95% confidence interval for mean
	Positive	Middle-Road	Negative		
Positive				4.4151	4.2677 to 4.5625
Middle-Road	*			3.8514	3.6608 to 4.0419
Negative	*	*		2.8214	2.3986 to 3.2443
F-ratio =36.7122	F-prob=0.0000				

Table 7.17 shows the ANOVA of the three cluster groups in their response to the statement that "The International Eisteddfod has encouraged more friendly relations between tourists and Llangollen residents". Again, all three cluster groups differ significantly on this issue, but it is the Negative cluster which does so most clearly, with their mean score of 2.8 indicating a disagreement with the statement not shared by the other two clusters. The Positive and Middle-road clusters do differ significantly from each other, but only in their level of agreement, with the Positive cluster group strongly agreeing with the statement.

Table 7.18 Tourism has increased the interest of Llangollen's residents in the history and traditions of the local area

Cluster Group	Cluster Group			Mean	95% confidence interval for mean
	Positive	Middle-Road	Negative		
Positive				3.9412	3.7430 to 4.1394
Middle-Road	*			3.5493	3.3583 to 3.7403
Negative	*	*		2.4643	2.1393 to 2.7893
F-ratio =32.9601	F-prob=0.0000				

Again, three clear groups can be identified at a 95% significance level in relation to the statement that "tourism has increased the interest of Llangollen's residents in the history and traditions of the local area" (Table 7.18). The Positive and the Middle-road cluster groups are both close to each other in their agreement with the statement, whilst the Negative group stands well clear in their disagreement with the statement.

Table 7.19 The history and traditions of Llangollen are sometimes presented in an unrealistic or inauthentic manner to cater for tourists

Cluster Group	Cluster Group			Mean	95% confidence interval for mean
	Positive	Middle-Road	Negative	*Mean*	*95% confidence interval for mean*
Positive				*3.4468*	*3.1609 to 3.7327*
Middle-Road				*3.0000*	*2.7598 to 3.2402*
Negative	*	*		*2.0357*	*1.6629 to 2.4086*
F-ratio =18.4338	*F-prob=0.0000*				

Table 7.19 shows the responses of the cluster groups to the statement that "the history and traditions of Llangollen are sometimes presented in an unrealistic or inauthentic manner to cater for tourists". On this issue, it can be seen that the Positive and Middle-road clusters overlap somewhat in their response, which is to either disagree with the statement or to sit on the fence with a 'neither agree nor disagree' response. The Negative Cluster, on the other hand, is clearly in agreement with the statement, and differs significantly from both of the other two clusters. This, along with the results presented in Tables 6.16 and 6.18, shows the Negative cluster group to have some apparently strong concerns regarding the relationship between tourism and the history and traditions of the area.

Table 7.20 Llangollen would be a less varied and interesting place if tourists did not visit the town

Cluster Group	Cluster Group			Mean	95% confidence interval for mean
	Positive	Middle-Road	Negative	*Mean*	*95% confidence interval for mean*
Positive				*4.0364*	*3.7332 to 4.3396*
Middle-Road				*3.6216*	*3.3710 to 3.8722*
Negative	*	*		*3.0000*	*2.5164 to 3.4836*
F-ratio =7.9211	*F-prob=0.0005*				

Table 7.20 shows the ANOVA responses to the statement that "Llangollen would be a less varied and interesting place if tourists did not visit the town". These scores indicate a significant difference in the level of agreement to the statement between the Positive and Negative groups and also between the Middle-road and Negative groups. It is therefore only the Negative group who do not feel that the presence of tourists makes the town a more interesting place, although their response was to "neither agree nor disagree" with the statement.

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Table 7.21 Tourism has increased the range and quality of facilities available for the use of Llangollen residents in their leisure time

Cluster Group	Cluster Group			Mean	95% confidence interval for mean
	Positive	Middle-Road	Negative		
Positive				3.7592	3.5167 to 4.0019
Middle-Road				3.3649	3.1117 to 3.6180
Negative	*	*		2.0000	1.5913 to 2.4087
F-ratio =28.2509 F-prob=0.000					

Table 7.21 shows the responses of the three cluster groups to the statement "tourism has increased the range and quality of facilities available for the use of Llangollen residents in their leisure time". This is obviously a sticking-point for the Negative cluster group, providing their overall second lowest response, and scoring overwhelmingly negatively to the statement. From this it can be seen that this issue of the provision of facilities for local residents is a particular concern amongst those demonstrating negative attitudes towards tourism.

Table 7.22 Tourism encourages local residents to take part in a wide variety of cultural activities (e.g. arts, crafts, music)

Cluster Group	Cluster Group			Mean	95% confidence interval for mean
	Positive	Middle-Road	Negative		
Positive				3.8200	3.6413 to 3.9987
Middle-Road	*			3.1622	2.9418 to 3.3825
Negative	*	*		2.2222	1.9251 to 2.5193
F-ratio =33.3536 F-prob=0.0000					

Table 7.22 shows the extent to which each of the three cluster groups agrees or disagrees with the statement that "tourism encourages local residents to take part in a wide variety of cultural activities (e.g. arts, crafts, music)". Here the three groups are all clearly and significantly different to each other in their opinions, but the response from the Negative cluster group is clearly the strongest, suggesting perhaps that they themselves do not take part in cultural activities as a result of tourism, and that the other two groups do perceive themselves as doing so.

Table 7.23 Tourism has made the way of life or culture of Llangollen less intimate and friendly for Llangollen residents

Cluster Group	Cluster Group			Mean	95% confidence interval for mean
	Positive	Middle-Road	Negative		
Positive				3.8113	3.5816 to 4.0410
Middle-Road				3.4933	3.2883 to 3.6983
Negative	*	*		2.7407	2.2806 to 3.2009
F-ratio =12.0239 F-prob=0.0000					

Table 7.23 shows the responses to the item asking whether tourism in Llangollen has made the way of life or culture less intimate and friendly for Llangollen residents. Here, the Positive and Middle-road cluster groups are united in their overall disagreement with this statement, both remaining significantly different from the Negative cluster group who would appear to hold the view that tourism has led to a breaking down of the friendliness of the community.

Table 7.24 Tourism has encouraged Llangollen residents to value more highly their local way of life or culture

Cluster Group	Cluster Group			Mean	95% confidence interval for mean
	Positive	Middle-Road	Negative		
Positive				3.7200	3.5049 to 3.9351
Middle-Road				3.4444	3.2517 to 3.6372
Negative	*	*		2.7500	2.3902 to 3.1098
F-ratio =12.6709 F-prob=0.0000					

Table 7.24 shows whether the three cluster groups agree or disagree that tourism encourages local residents to value more highly their local way of life or culture. The result here is similar to that derived above (Table 7.23), with the Negative cluster group demonstrating a clear difference in opinion on this issue, giving a significantly more negative response than either of the other two clusters. The Negative cluster group is again clearly and significantly more negative regarding the cultural impacts of tourism than are the other two groups.

Table 7.25 Tourism has made the local way of life or culture of Llangollen less distinctive

Cluster Group	Cluster Group				
Cluster Group	Positive	Middle-Road	Negative	*Mean*	*95% confidence interval for mean*
Positive				*3.7736*	*3.5531 to 3.9941*
Middle-Road	*			*3.3151*	*3.1025 to 3.5276*
Negative	*	*		*2.6071*	*2.2075 to 3.0068*
F-ratio =15.5353 F-prob=0.0000					

Table 7.25 shows the responses of the three cluster groups to the statement that "tourism has made the local way of life or culture of Llangollen less distinctive". The three cluster groups all differ significantly from each other on this issue, although it is the Negative cluster group which demonstrates the most obvious difference in response, having clearly agreed with the statement. The Positive and the Middle-road groups, whilst significantly different from each other in terms of their level of disagreement with the statement, are similar in that they do both disagree that tourism has made Llangollen a less distinctive place.

Table 7.26 Meeting tourists from all over the world is a valuable experience

Cluster Group	Cluster Group				
Cluster Group	Positive	Middle-Road	Negative	*Mean*	*95% confidence interval for mean*
Positive				*4.6182*	*4.4856 to 4.7507*
Middle-Road	*			*4.0267*	*3.8708 to 4.1825*
Negative	*	*		*3.3571*	*2.9593 to 3.7550*
F-ratio =31.4623 F-prob=0.0000					

Table 7.26 shows the responses of the three cluster groups to the statement that "meeting tourists from all over the world is a valuable experience". Although this was the highest scoring item for all three of the groups, they still all differed significantly from each other in their responses. Such differences in response, however, lie simply in their differing levels of agreement with the statement, with even the Negative cluster group giving a positive response, albeit a less strongly positive response than that of the Middle-road and Positive cluster groups.

In conclusion, this shows us that all three cluster groups were found to differ significantly from each other on eight of the fourteen items in this section of the questionnaire. Of these items, one related to tourism and 'high culture', three related to tourism and the International Eisteddfod, one related tourism and the past cultural traditions, and three items related to present day cultural exchange

factors. The pattern of response for these eight items was for the Positive and the Middle-road clusters to both agree with the positive statements and to disagree with the negative statements, whilst the Negative cluster did the opposite. The only item which scored significantly different but positive responses from all three groups was "meeting tourism from all over the world is a valuable experience", with all three clusters agreeing with the statement, but to differing degrees.

The only other statement which brought a positive reaction from all three groups was, "tourism has helped increase the number of art exhibitions and classical concerts in Llangollen". In this instance, the Positive cluster was significantly more in agreement with the statement than the other two groups, who did not differ significantly from each other in their level of agreement. This again shows the importance of the "high arts and culture" element of tourism amongst the Positive cluster.

On the other five items, the Positive and the Middle-road clusters both differ significantly from the Negative group, although not from each other. The pattern of response was consistent, with both the Positive and Middle-road clusters giving positive responses, with the Negative cluster giving negative responses. Of these five items which significantly isolated the Negative cluster from the other two, one related to tourism and the past cultural traditions, two to tourism in general, and two to tourism and the present day way of life or culture.

7.3 Cluster groups and attitudes to the current impacts of tourism in Llangollen

The next section of the questionnaire examines the attitudes of the three cluster groups to the current impacts of tourism using six items, with responses recorded on a five-point Likert scale using the following range of responses: I am in favour and strongly support; I am in favour of; I am neither in favour nor dislike; I dislike; I dislike and strongly oppose. Using the standard procedure of null hypotheses testing, each of these items is cross-tabulated with the three cluster groups in order to ascertain where significant relationships lie. The results of the cross-tabulation are summarised in Table 7.27 (below), with the items which relate significantly to cluster group membership being shown in bold typeface.

Table 7.27 Results of the cross-tabulation of cluster groups and attitudes to the current impacts of tourism

Questionnaire Item	Likelihood Ratio	Probability
Tourism in general		
Which statement best describes your overall attitude to tourism in Llangollen?	94.46	0.00000
Tourism and 'high culture'		
Which statement best describes your attitude to the increased number of art exhibitions and classical concerts in Llangollen resulting from tourism?	57.31	0.00000
Tourism and the International Eisteddfod		
Which statement best describes your attitude to the overall impact of the International Eisteddfod on the way of life or culture of Llangollen?	68.31	0.00000
Which statement best describes your attitude to the general character of the events and activities in the International Eisteddfod?	56.34	0.00000
Tourism and past cultural traditions		
Which statement best describes your attitude to the way in which the history and traditions of Llangollen are promoted in order to attract tourists?	24.45	0.00192
Tourism and the present day way of life or culture		
Which statement best describes your attitude to the overall impact of tourism on the way of life or culture of Llangollen?	92.76	0.00000

As can be seen from Table 7.27 (above), all six of the items in this section of the questionnaire, relating to the attitudes of respondents to the current impacts of tourism, were found to be significantly related to cluster group membership utilising the Liklihood Ratio statistic. This would indicate that a statistically significant relationship exists between membership of the three cluster groups and attitude towards each of the current impacts of tourism presented above. Utilising the one-way analysis of variance test (ANOVA) in the same way as in the previous chapter, the actual differences in response of each group to each item are outlined below.

In exactly the same way as in the previous chapter (Chapter 5), the responses to the statements used in both this and in the following section of the questionnaire are designed to correspond with the attitudinal/behavioural responses to tourism impacts adapted by Butler (1975) from Bjorklund and Philbrick (1972), as described in Chapter 4. In this way, a score of 1 represents a purely active/negative response, 2 gives a passive/negative response, 3 a neutral response, 4 a passive/positive response, and a score of 5 representing a purely active/positive response. Since the scores recorded here, however, are the mean scores of

aggregated groups, and as such are unlikely to be whole numbers, the following interpretative system is employed:

- A score of exactly 1 indicates a clearly active/negative response.

- A score greater than 1 but less than 2 is a response tending from the active/negative towards the passive/negative.

- A score of exactly 2 gives a passive/negative response.

- A score greater than 2 but less than 3 is a response tending away from the passive/negative towards the neutral.

- A score of exactly 3 is a neutral response.

- A score greater than 3 but less than 4 is a response tending away from neutral towards the passive/positive.

- A score of 4 exactly is a passive/positive response.

- A score greater than 4 but less than 5 is a response tending from the passive/positive towards the active/positive.

- A score of exactly 5 is a completely active/positive response.

In this way, the mean scores for each group, as provided by the ANOVA, can be interpreted using this scoring system, in terms of Bjorklund and Philbrick's (1972) active/ passive - positive/negative attitude and behaviour framework proposed by Butler (1974).

7.3.1 ANOVA of cluster group membership and attitudes to the current impacts of tourism

The following section shows the results of the ANOVA of the six questionnaire items relating to the attitudes of residents to the current impacts of tourism as expressed in terms of the three cluster groups. The responses of each cluster group are also illustrated in terms of the attitude/behaviour response to the interaction of different cultural groups developed by Bjorklund and Philbrick (1972) and proposed as being of relevance to the study of the interaction between tourist and host cultures by Butler (1974).

Table 7.28 Which statement best describes your overall attitude to tourism in Llangollen?

| Cluster Group | Cluster Group | | | Mean | 95% confidence interval for mean |
	Positive	Middle-Road	Negative		
Positive				4.4544	4.4000 to 4.6909
Middle-Road	*			3.9333	3.7805 to 4.0862
Negative	*	*		2.7143	2.3829 to 3.0456
F-ratio =70.8909 F-prob=0.0000					

Table 7.28 shows that all three groups clearly differ in their overall attitude towards tourism, this being the item which yielded both the highest Likelihood Ratio from cross-tabulation and the highest F-ratio in the ANOVA. It is, therefore, unsurprising that this item should also yield the widest range of responses in this section of the questionnaire in terms of the mean scores of each group.

Looking at these results in terms of the Bjorklund and Philbrick attitude/behaviour responses it can be seen that the Negative cluster group is the only group to express a negative attitude, with their mean score of 2.7 representing a passive/negative response, but one tending towards the neutral. The score of the Middle-road group can be seen to be very close to totally passive/positive response, with the Positive group's response tending clearly towards the active/positive.

Table 7.29 Which statement best describes your attitude to the increased number of art exhibitions and classical concerts in Llangollen resulting from tourism?

| Cluster Group | Cluster Group | | | Mean | 95% confidence interval for mean |
	Positive	Middle-Road	Negative		
Positive				4.3636	4.2132 to 4.5141
Middle-Road	*			3.8000	3.6487 to 3.9513
Negative	*	*		3.1429	2.8313 to 3.4544
F-ratio =33.4566 F-prob=0.0000					

Table 7.29 shows the differences in attitude between the three cluster groups to the increased number of cultural events in Llangollen resulting from tourism. Again, three significantly different groups can be drawn out on this measure, with the Positive cluster group demonstrating a clearly more positive attitude on this issue of exhibitions and classical concerts than either of the other two groups. Expressing this as responses in Bjorklund and Philbrick attitude/behaviour terms, the Negative cluster group's response is just slightly to the positive side of neutral, with the

Middle-road cluster lying close to a passive/positive response, and the Positive group lying between the passive and the active/positive.

Table 7.30 Which statement best describes your attitude to the overall impact of the International Eisteddfod on the way of life or culture of Llangollen?

Cluster Group	Cluster Group			Mean	95% confidence interval for mean
	Positive	Middle-Road	Negative		
Positive				4.5926	4.4472 to 4.7380
Middle-Road	*			4.0133	3.8851 to 4.1416
Negative	*	*		3.2143	2.7875 to 3.6411
F-ratio =38.6331 F-prob=0.0000					

The significance of the International Eisteddfod in terms of the attitude of residents can be seen here in the range of responses to the above item (Table 7.30), with the Negative cluster group in particular demonstrating a less positive opinion than the other two groups, with all three cluster groups differing significantly from each other in their response. In attitude/behaviour terms this can be interpreted as the Negative cluster group demonstrating a response just to the passive/positive side of neutral, with the Middle-road group giving a passive/positive response (albeit slightly to the active/positive side), and the positive cluster responding clearly to the active/positive end of the scale.

Table 7.31 Which statement best describes your attitude to the general character of the events and activities in the International Eisteddfod?

Cluster Group	Cluster Group			Mean	95% confidence interval for mean
	Positive	Middle-Road	Negative		
Positive				4.4364	4.2657 to 4.6071
Middle-Road	*			3.9863	3.8332 to 4.1394
Negative	*	*		3.1429	2.7817 to 3.5041
F-ratio =31.2795 F-prob=0.0000					

Table 7.31 shows the attitude of each cluster group to the general character of the events within the International Eisteddfod. Again, the three groups are all significantly different from each other on this issue, although even the response from the Negative cluster to the item is not negative as such, but rather represents the position of neither being in favour of nor disliking the events themselves which make up the International Eisteddfod.

In Bjorklund and Philbrick attitude/behaviour response terms, the Negative cluster group's attitude to the events in the International Eisteddfod is neutral, but tending slightly to the passive/positive. The Middle-road group's attitude is a passive/positive one, with the Positive group's response lying mid-way between the passive/positive and the active/positive.

Table 7.32 Which statement best describes your attitude to the way in which the history and traditions of Llangollen are promoted in order to attract tourists?

Cluster Group	Cluster Group			Mean	95% confidence interval for mean
	Positive	Middle-Road	Negative		
Positive				3.9412	3.7203 to 4.1620
Middle-Road				3.7465	3.5983 to 3.8947
Negative	*	*		3.1429	2.7817 to 3.5041
F-ratio =10.6273 F-prob=0.0000					

Table 7.32 shows the attitude responses of the cluster groups to the way in which the history and traditions of Llangollen are presented for tourists. Here it is interesting to note that it is only the Negative cluster which differs significantly from the other two on this issue, with the Positive and Middle-road clusters responding in a very similar manner to each other. This would indicate greater concerns amongst the Negative group regarding the presentation and promotion of the history and heritage of Llangollen and the local area. In Bjorklund and Philbrick terms this can be expressed as the Negative cluster group being neural on this issue, with the Positive and Middle-road clusters both responding in a passive/positive manner. In other words, the presentation of the history and heritage of the area for tourist consumption is not an issue which draws out any particular strength of opinion or attitude from the population surveyed.

Table 7.33 Which statement best describes your attitude to the overall impact of tourism on the way of life or culture of Llangollen?

Cluster Group	Cluster Group			Mean	95% confidence interval for mean
	Positive	Middle-Road	Negative		
Positive				4.2075	4.0422 to 4.3729
Middle-Road	*			3.5278	3.3702 to 3.6854
Negative	*	*		2.4815	2.2272 to 2.7357
F-ratio =65.0948 F-prob=0.0000					

It is not of any great surprise that this item (Table 7.33), relating to attitudes to the overall impacts of tourism, should provide one of the clearest measures of

segregation between these three attitude clusters, given that they are constructed using a kind of aggregated overall response measure from each of the attitude and opinion items in the questionnaire. The three groups are clearly and unambiguously different from each other in terms of their attitude, with the Negative cluster group demonstrating a clearly negative response, the Positive cluster group giving a clearly positive response, and the Middle-road group falling between the two others.

As with the first item in this section (Table 7.28 - overall attitude to tourism), the Negative cluster group give a Bjorklund and Philbrick response on the passive/negative side of neutral, with the Middle-road cluster group's response lying between neutral and passive/positive, and the Positive cluster responding just to the active side of passive/positive. It is also worth noting that in comparison to the first item in the section (Table 7.28 - overall attitude to tourism), the attitude towards the overall impact of tourism on the way of life or culture of Llangollen residents is viewed less positively, although it is only the Negative cluster whose response is actually negative. This is possibly a factor of elements of the impacts of tourism not accounted for here, such as the impacts of increased levels of traffic during the summer months on local quality of life.

In summary, two of the items in this section draw out the widest range of attitudes from the three clusters. These are the first item, relating to overall attitude to tourism in Llangollen (Table 7.28), and the last item, recording the attitude of respondents to the overall impact of tourism on the way of life or culture of Llangollen (Table 7.33). The latter of these items drew a less favourable response from all three of the clusters, although the responses were similar, with the Negative cluster expressing an attitude between the passive/negative and neutral, the Middle-road cluster giving a response between neutral and passive/positive, and the Positive cluster giving a response tending from the passive/positive to the active/positive.

The only item here to not separate all three of the clusters significantly using the ANOVA technique is that relating to attitude to the way in which the history and traditions of the area are used to attract tourists (Table 7.32). Here, the Positive and Middle-road clusters both give a passive/positive response, and do not differ significantly from each other at the 95% confidence interval. The Negative cluster

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differs significantly from both of the other two clusters, giving a neutral response. This is the least positive response in this section from the Positive cluster, demonstrating, perhaps, that concerns do exist overall within the community regarding the presentation of history for tourism purposes.

The other items in this section of the questionnaire (Tables 6.29, 6.30 and 6.31) give a consistent response from the three clusters, with the Negative cluster giving responses close to neutral, the Middle-road cluster giving responses of a passive/positive nature, and the Positive cluster giving responses all to the active/positive side of passive/positive.

7.4 Cluster groups and attitudes to suggestions for future changes in tourism

The next section of the questionnaire consists of the items relating to suggestions for future changes to tourism in Llangollen. Attitudes to a range of suggestions for possible future changes in tourism in Llangollen are assessed using a scale with the following responses: "I am in favour and would strongly support the suggestion"; "I am in favour of the suggestion"; "I am neither in favour nor dislike the suggestion"; "I dislike the suggestion"; "I dislike and would strongly oppose the suggestion". As in the previous section of this chapter, these responses have been designed to correspond with the range of attitude/behaviour responses proposed by Bjorklund and Philbrick (1972) and adapted to tourism by Butler (1974). The suggestions used in the questionnaire to test such attitudes are illustrated below (Table 7.34), with the items significantly related to cluster group membership being shown in bold typeface.

Table 7.34 Cross-tabulation of cluster groups and attitudes to suggestions for future changes to tourism

Questionnaire Item	Likelihood Ratio	Probability
Tourism in general		
Which statement best describes your attitude to a suggestion that in future tourism in Llangollen should be allowed to grow but only slowly?	12.33	0.13684
Which statement best describes your attitude to a suggestion that in future tourism in Llangollen should grow rapidly?	**57.29**	**0.00000**
Tourism and 'high culture'		
Which statement best describes your attitude to a suggestion that in future there should be increased promotion of more art exhibitions and classical concerts in Llangollen in order to attract tourists?	**81.01**	**0.00000**
Tourism and the International Eisteddfod		
Which statement best describes your attitude to a suggestion that in future the International Eisteddfod should be much bigger in size and importance?	**47.87**	**0.00000**
Tourism and past cultural traditions		
Which statement best describes your attitude to a suggestion that in future there should be more promotion of the history and traditions of Llangollen in order to attract more tourists?	**53.07**	**0.00000**
Tourism and the present day way of life or culture		
Which statement best describes your attitude to a suggestion that in future there should be more promotion of the local way of life or culture of Llangollen residents in order to attract more tourists?	**30.02**	**0.00021**
Which statement best describes your attitude to a suggestion that in future attention should be given to tourist activities being kept more separate from the activities of the residents of Llangollen?	**22.19**	**0.00458**

As can be seen from the above table (Table 7.34), only one of the six items relating to suggestions for future changes to tourism in Llangollen is not significantly related to cluster group membership, namely the suggestion that 'tourism in Llangollen should be allowed to grow, but only slowly'. This lack of significant relationship is probably due to an overall level of agreement with the statement, which will be drawn out by the analysis of variance test (ANOVA), below, which will show where the cluster groups are in agreement, and where the main differences exist in attitude to the suggestions for future changes in tourism.

7.4.1 ANOVA of cluster groups and attitudes to suggestions for future changes in tourism

Table 7.35 Which statement best describes your attitude to a suggestion that in future tourism in Llangollen should be allowed to grow but only slowly?

| Cluster Group | Cluster Group | | | Mean | 95% confidence interval for mean |
	Positive	Middle-Road	Negative		
Positive				3.7636	3.5143 to 4.0129
Middle-Road	NO TWO GROUPS DIFFER			3.8243	3.6513 to 3.9974
Negative				3.4286	3.0418 to 3.8153
F-ratio =2.2141 F-prob=0.1127					

The first item in this section (Table 7.35) shows that, as suggested above, the three groups are in general agreement here, reflecting the fact that even the Negative cluster of respondents acknowledge the overall importance of tourism within the community, even against the background of being likely to not perceive themselves as benefitting from tourism in personal terms, and even disliking certain of the impacts of tourism. In terms of the Bjorklund and Philbrick attitude/behaviour response, it can be seen that even the Negative cluster are in favour of the suggestion that tourism should be allowed to grow but only slowly, with a response lying in between neutral and passive/positive. Both the Middle-road and Positive group respond similarly, albeit slightly more positively, with their responses being marginally (not significantly) closer to the passive/positive.

Table 7.36 Which statement best describes your attitude to a suggestion that in future tourism in Llangollen should grow rapidly?

| Cluster Group | Cluster Group | | | Mean | 95% confidence interval for mean |
	Positive	Middle-Road	Negative		
Positive				3.0545	2.7493 to 3.3598
Middle-Road	*			1.9730	1.8296 to 2.1163
Negative	*			1.7143	1.4379 to 1.9906
F-ratio =34.0262 F-prob=0.0000					

Only the Positive cluster described themselves as being in favor of this suggestion that tourism should grow rapidly (Table 7.36), differing significantly from the other two groups, whose mean scores both indicate a disliking for the suggestion. This shows that only the Positive cluster do not feel that further sustained expansion of the tourism industry in Llangollen would be detrimental to the future of the town.

Looking at this in terms of the Bjorklund and Philbrick responses, the Middle-road and Negative groups both give responses to the active/negative side of the scale, with even the Positive group responding neutrally. This clearly indicates that some form of perceptual carrying capacity has been reached in Llangollen, with even those respondents who were the most positive in their outlook towards tourism expressing doubts regarding the possible future rapid expansion of the industry.

Table 7.37 Which statement best describes your attitude to a suggestion that in future there should be increased promotion of more art exhibitions and classical concerts in Llangollen in order to attract tourists?

	Cluster Group				
Cluster Group	Positive	Middle-Road	Negative	*Mean*	*95% confidence interval for mean*
Positive				*4.1091*	*3.9031 to 4.3151*
Middle-Road	*			*3.3733*	*3.1776 to 3.5690*
Negative	*	*		*2.1852*	*1.8941 to 2.4762*
F-ratio =52.4724 F-prob=0.0000					

Table 7.37 shows the results of the ANOVA of the three cluster groups on the suggestion that there be increased promotion of more art exhibitions and classical music in Llangollen for touristic purposes. This whole area of tourism and the 'high arts' has clearly not been to the liking of the Negative cluster who are, again, very clearly and significantly more negative regarding this suggestion. Both the Middle-road and Positive clusters also differ significantly from each other on this issue, with the Positive cluster remaining consistently favourable towards the relationship between tourism and the arts.

In terms of the attitude/behaviour response of the three cluster groups, the Negative group's mean score indicates a passive/negative response, with the Middle-road group giving a response to the neutral side of passive/positive, and the Positive cluster giving a response just to the active side of passive/positive.

Table 7.38 Which statement best describes your attitude to a suggestion that in future the International Eisteddfod should be much bigger in size and importance?

Cluster Group	Cluster Group				
Cluster Group	Positive	Middle-Road	Negative	Mean	95% confidence interval for mean
Positive				3.3818	3.0590 to 3.7046
Middle-Road	*			2.6216	2.4091 to 2.8341
Negative	*	*		2.0000	1.5913 to 2.4087
F-ratio =17.7471 F-prob=0.0000					

Table 7.38 shows the response of the three cluster groups to the suggestion that the International Eisteddfod should be much bigger in size and importance. This suggestion does not seem particularly popular with the respondents, with all three clusters scoring relatively low in this instance. The three clusters are all significantly different from each other at the 95% significance level using the Scheffé test.

The range of responses from the Negative cluster shows there to a strongly negative element within the cluster, with the mean score of 2.0 demonstrating an overall passive/negative response. The Middle-road group also give a negative response to this suggestion, lying between a neutral and a passive/negative response, and even the Positive cluster group give a response lying to the neutral side of passive/positive. Again, this suggests that the International Eisteddfod is perceived by the majority of the population surveyed as being as large and pre-eminent in the town as is desirable.

Table 7.39 Which statement best describes your attitude to a suggestion that in future there should be more promotion of the history and traditions of Llangollen in order to attract more tourists?

Cluster Group	Cluster Group				
Cluster Group	Positive	Middle-Road	Negative	Mean	95% confidence interval for mean
Positive				4.2963	4.1318 to 4.4608
Middle-Road	*			3.8000	3.6440 to 3.9560
Negative	*	*		3.0000	2.6195 to 3.3805
F-ratio =30.2110 F-prob=0.0000					

Table 7.39 shows the results of the three cluster groups' attitude to the suggestion that there should be more promotion of the history and traditions of Llangollen in order to attract more tourists. This was a fairly popular suggestion, with quite a positive response overall from each cluster group. All three groups again differ

significantly from each other in terms of their responses, but the Negative cluster is clearly much less positive than the other two.

Expressing this in terms of the attitude/behaviour response of each group, the Negative cluster gives a mean score of 3.0, indicating a neutral response. The score from the Middle-road cluster is close to a passive/positive response, with the Positive cluster lying just to the active side of a passive/positive response, remaining the most favourable cluster in their attitude to the suggestion.

Table 7.40 Which statement best describes your attitude to a suggestion that in future there should be more promotion of the local way of life or culture of Llangollen residents in order to attract more tourists?

Cluster Group	Cluster Group			Mean	95% confidence interval for mean
	Positive	Middle-Road	Negative		
Positive				3.8000	3.5593 to 4.0407
Middle-Road				3.5352	3.3319 to 3.7386
Negative	*	*		2.6667	2.2866 to 3.0467
F-ratio =15.0099 F-prob=0.0000					

Table 7.40 shows the response of the three cluster groups to the suggestion that in future there should be more promotion of the local way of life or culture of Llangollen residents for the purpose of attracting tourists. On this item, it is only the Negative cluster which can be significantly separated from the other two, actually responding negatively to the suggestion. The other two groups are in general agreement with each other.

In terms of the Bjorklund and Philbrick model, this can be interpreted as the Negative cluster giving a mildly passive/negative attitude/behaviour response, with both the Middle-road and the Positive clusters giving a response to the neutral side of passive/positive.

Table 7.41 Which statement best describes your attitude to a suggestion that in future attention should be given to tourist activities being kept more separate from the activities of the residents of Llangollen?

Cluster Group	Cluster Group				
Cluster Group	Positive	Middle-Road	Negative	Mean	95% confidence interval for mean
Positive				3.7593	3.5411 to 3.9775
Middle-Road	*			3.3108	3.1010 to 3.5206
Negative	*			2.9231	2.5124 to 3.3338
F-ratio =8.5062 F-prob=0.0003					

Table 7.41 shows the results of the ANOVA of the three cluster groups to the suggestion that in future tourist activities should be kept more separate from the activities of Llangollen residents. Here, it is only the Positive cluster who clearly feel that the activities of tourists should not be kept more separate from those of the local population. It is interesting to note that on this particular item it is the Middle-road and Negative Clusters which are not significantly different from each other.

Although not significantly different to the Middle-road cluster at the 95% confidence interval, the Negative group is the only one to score to the passive/negative side of neutral (in this instance agreeing with the statement), with the Middle-road cluster scoring just to the passive/positive side of neutral (although not strongly enough to separate it from the Negative cluster). The Positive cluster, on the other hand, gives a response close to passive/positive, indicating their disagreement with the concept of further segregating tourist activities from those of the local population.

What this section of the questionnaire shows us is that there was a general consensus among the respondents that any future growth in tourism in Llangollen should be slow, with only the Positive cluster responding at all positively to the suggestion that there be rapid growth in tourism. A similar overall view was expressed regarding the suggestion that the International Eisteddfod should be allowed to grow in either size or importance, again with only the Positive cluster responding positively to the suggestion.

The Negative cluster group were clearly opposed to an increase in the number of cultural performances in Llangollen, a suggestion which is met favourably by both of the other clusters. The Negative cluster were also most in favour of the suggestion that tourist and local activities be kept more separate, and are opposed

to the suggestion that there be more promotion of the local way of life or culture for the purposes of tourism. The suggestion that there be more promotion of the history and traditions of Llangollen, however, received a neutral response from the Negative cluster, and a clearly favourable one from both of the other clusters.

7.5 Cluster groups and personal and demographic details

The final section of the questionnaire is that relating to the personal and demographic details of the respondents, with the items used to illustrate such details set out below (Table 7.43). As in the previous sections of this chapter, those questionnaire items which were found to be significantly related to equity group membership using the Likelihood Ratio statistic are highlighted in bold print.

Table 7.42 Cluster group and personal details

Questionnaire Item	Likelihood Ratio	Probability
Do you or any member of your immediate family work in the tourism industry?	4.35	0.11364
How much direct contact do you have with tourists visiting the local area?	7.55	0.27230
How much involvement do you have in local societies and other organisations in the Llangollen area?	11.59	0.07164
How strongly attached do you consider yourself to be to the community of Llangollen?	8.62	0.37512
How interested are you in art exhibitions or classical music?	15.15	0.05625
How interested are you in general in the events within the International Eisteddfod?	**41.07**	**0.00000**
How interested are you in the local history and traditions of Llangollen?	**18.78**	**0.01609**
How good do you consider job opportunities for Llangollen residents to be?	10.71	0.21856
How many years have you lived within Llangollen or 25 miles of it?	**25.12**	**0.00148**
Are you male or female?	0.05	0.97235
What is your age?	9.21	0.68503
Which of these categories best describes your present occupation, or your last occupation if you are retired or unemployed?	7.09	0.85111
If you do not earn the most income in your household, what category best describes the present occupation of the person earning most income (or their last occupation if they are retired or unemployed)?	2.43	0.11921

As can be seen from Table 7.42, only three of the thirteen items used to record personal and demographic details of the respondents related significantly to cluster group membership, namely:

- How interested are you in general in the events within the International Eisteddfod?

- How interested are you in the local history and traditions of Llangollen?
- How many years have you lived within Llangollen or 25 miles of it?

In order to more fully understand the relationship between cluster group membership and these three variables, the full cross-tabulation tables are presented below.

Table 7.43 Cross-tabulation of cluster groups and "How interested are you in general in the events within the International Eisteddfod?"

Interest in the Eisteddfod	Cluster Group			Totals
	Positive	Middle Road	Negative	
Very Disinterested	-	5 (6.8%)	5 (17.9%)	10 (6.4%)
Quite Disinterested	1 (1.8%)	12 (16.2%)	6 (21.4%)	19 (12.1%)
Neither/Nor	6 (10.9%)	16 (21.6%)	9 (32.1%)	31 (19.7%)
Quite Interested	26 (47.3%)	25 (33.8%)	7 (25.0%)	58 (36.9%)
Very Interested	22 (40.0%)	16 (21.6%)	1 (3.5%)	39 (24.8%)
Column Total	55 (100%)	74 (100%)	28 (100%)	157 (100%)

Table 7.43 shows the cross-tabulation of the cluster groups and the questionnaire item "How interested are you in general in the events within the International Eisteddfod?". The main difference between the three groups is immediately apparent, with 87.3% of the Positive cluster describing themselves as being either "quite interested" or "very interested" in the events within the International Eisteddfod, as opposed to 55.4% of the Middle-road group, and only 28.5% of the Negative group. This highlights the possible importance of the role of the International Eisteddfod in the construction of the overall attitude to tourism held by different sections of the community.

Table 7.44 Cross-tabulation of cluster groups and "How interested are you in the local history and traditions of Llangollen?"

Interest in the history and traditions	Cluster Group			Totals
	Positive	Middle Road	Negative	
Very Disinterested	-	1 (1.3%)	2 (7.1%)	3 (1.9%)
Quite Disinterested	-	4 (5.4%)	-	4 (2.5%)
Neither/Nor	2 (3.6%)	5 (6.8%)	5 (17.9%)	12 (7.6%)
Quite Interested	20 (36.3%)	34 (45.9%)	12 (42.9%)	66 (42.0%)
Very Interested	32 (58.1%)	31 (41.9%)	9 (32.1%)	72 (45.9%)
Column Total	55 (100%)	74 (100%)	28 (100%)	157 (100%)

Table 7.45 shows the results of the cross-tabulation of the cluster groups and the questionnaire item "How interested are you in the local history and traditions of Llangollen?". Again, it is the Positive cluster who express the most interest in this particular element of the local culture, with 94.4% of the cluster describing themselves as being either "quite interested" or "very interested", as opposed to 87.8% of the Middle-road cluster, and only 75% of the Negative cluster. This shows the high overall interest of the respondents as a whole in the local history and traditions, including the members of the Negative cluster group.

Table 7.45 Cross-tabulation of cluster group and "How many years have you lived within Llangollen or 25 miles of it?"

	Cluster Group			
Length of Residence	Positive	Middle Road	Negative	% of Total
Less than 1 year	-	1 (1.3%)	1 (3.5%)	2 (1.3%)
1 to 5 years	12 (21.8%)	6 (8.0%)	-	18 (11.4%)
5 to 15 years	14 (25.4%)	17 (22.7%)	1 (3.5%)	32 (20.3%)
15 to 30 years	15 (27.4%)	25 (33.3%)	11 (39.3%)	51 (32.3%)
more than 30 years	14 (25.4%)	26 (34.7%)	15 (53.6%)	55 (34.8%)
Column Total	55 (100%)	75 (100%)	28 (100.0%)	158 (100%)

Table 7.45 shows the cross-tabulation of the three cluster groups and the item relating to length of residence. In this instance, it is the Negative cluster who form the group of longest-standing residents, with 92.9% of the group having lived in Llangollen for longer than 15 years. In the Middle-road cluster the percentage giving the same response is 68%, with only 52.8% of the Positive cluster having lived in the area for more than 15 years. This result is similar to that obtained regarding the equity groups examined in the previous chapter, with those respondents in the Negative equity group containing the highest percentage of longest-standing residents, followed by the No Impact and then the Balance equity groups, with the Positive equity group containing the highest percentage of more recent entrants to the community.

So, membership of the cluster groups examined in this chapter can be linked to length of residence, with the longest-standing residents demonstrating the least favourable attitude to the impacts of tourism on the community of Llangollen. Cluster group membership is also shown here to be linked to two other items in this section of the questionnaire, level of interest in the events within the International Eisteddfod, and level of interest in the history and traditions of Llangollen. The Positive cluster, in both instances, contains the highest percentage of members

expressing an interest, with the Middle-road group expressing a lesser interest, and the Negative cluster group containing the most members expressing disinterest in both of these elements of local culture.

7.6 Summary and Conclusions

This chapter has shown the cluster groups derived from the questionnaire to be in some ways associated with the equity groups examined in the previous chapter (Chapter 5). This association, however, would appear to be derived from the social and cultural elements of the first section of the questionnaire rather than the economic elements. Such clusters were not associated with perceptions of the personal economic benefits accruing from tourism, nor with perceptions of the negative impacts on a community level, although those clearly perceiving personal disbenefits from tourism were most likely to perceive negative impacts upon the community as a whole.

The differences between the cluster groups in terms of these equity measures lay consistently at the extremes, clearly separating the Positive and the Negative clusters from each other at the 95% confidence interval using ANOVA, but generally being unable to separate the Middle-road cluster from either of the other two at the same level.

Examining the differences between the three clusters in terms of perceptions of the specific impacts of tourism on the community provided a much clearer and more consistent picture. A significant relationship between cluster group membership and perception of the specific impacts of tourism in Llangollen was found to exist on each of the fourteen items in this section of the questionnaire. Of these fourteen, only eight were found to separate all three clusters from each other at the 95% confidence interval. The overall pattern was for the Positive and Middle-road clusters to respond positively to the statements, with a negative response from the Negative cluster. This was particularly apparent on the items relating to tourism and "high arts" and culture and the International Eisteddfod. The Negative cluster were also found to be significantly more unenthusiastic regarding the impacts of tourism on such elements as the provision of leisure facilities for local residents, participation in cultural activities other "way of life" variables.

In the section concerning attitudes towards the current impacts of tourism, all six of the items in the section were found to be significantly related to cluster group membership by cross-tabulation. Of these items, two were found to bring out the widest range of responses from the three clusters - overall attitude to tourism, and attitude to the overall impact of tourism on the way of life or culture of Llangollen residents. Both of these items elicited a passive/negative response from the Negative cluster, a passive/positive response from the Middle-road cluster, and a response between passive and active/positive from the Positive cluster.

One item in this section did not find any significant difference in the response of the three cluster groups using ANOVA, that relating to attitude to the way in which the history and traditions are promoted in order to attract tourists. The response of the Negative cluster to this item was neutral, with the Positive and Middle-road clusters both giving a passive/positive response which did not differ significantly from each other.

The pattern for the other items in this section was for the Negative cluster to give a neutral response (neither in favour, nor disapprove), the Middle-road cluster giving a passive/positive response (in favour of), and the Positive cluster lying between a passive and active/positive response (in favour of - in favour of and strongly approve).

In terms of the attitudes to suggestions for future changes in tourism, a similar pattern of responses emerged, although the attitude of the Negative cluster was less positive here than regarding the current impacts of tourism. One item in this section which did not relate significantly to cluster group membership was the suggestion that tourism in Llangollen be allowed to grow, but only slowly. All three clusters were similar to each other in their response to this item, being close to the passive/positive in attitude, with even the Negative cluster agreeing with the suggestion. In terms of the suggestion that tourism be allowed to grow rapidly, however, there were clear and strong differences in attitude from the three cluster groups, with Middle-road and Negative clusters both giving responses to the active side of passive/negative. The Positive cluster responded neutrally to this suggestion.

Similarly, in response to the suggestion that the International Eisteddfod be much bigger in size and importance, both the Negative and the Middle-road clusters gave a negative attitude/response (albeit one significantly different to each other), with the Positive cluster responding just to the passive/positive side of neutral.

The clearly negative attitude towards the cultural elements of tourism held by the members of the Negative cluster was demonstrated here by their responses to the possible future growth in the number of art exhibitions and classical concerts in Llangollen, the future growth of the International Eisteddfod, the future promotion of the local way of life or culture of Llangollen residents, and their approval (if weak) of the suggestion that tourist and resident activities be kept more separate from each other.

The final section of the questionnaire, dealing with the personal and demographic details of respondents, also drew out some significant relationships with cluster group membership. Two of the items which were found to relate significantly to cluster group membership dealt with specifically cultural details: "How interested are you in general in the events within the International Eisteddfod?" and, "How interested are you in the local history and traditions of Llangollen?". In both cases, those respondents who expressed the greatest interest in these elements were the members of the Positive cluster group, followed by the Middle-road cluster, and with the members of the Negative cluster most likely to express disinterest in both of these items.

Finally, length of residence was also found to be significantly related to cluster membership, with the Negative cluster being most likely to contain the longest-standing residents, the Middle-road cluster containing a higher proportion of residents of medium duration, and the Positive cluster containing the greatest proportion of recent entrants to the community. This link between greater length of residence and a more negative attitude towards tourism is in fitting with Doxey's Irridex theory (1975), which states that the attitude of residents to the presence of tourists within their destination region is likely to deteriorate over time.

CHAPTER EIGHT: THE FOCUS GROUP APPROACH

Having examined the results from the full questionnaire survey in the previous two chapters, this chapter will now outline and analyse the views expressed in the three focus group discussions carried out subsequent to the questionnaire survey (see chapter four, Methodology). These three focus groups were carried out over a two day period during the first week of December 1996. Three groups of individuals were selected for the interviews with a view to gathering information on a wide range of the attitudes and opinions held in the community. To this end, the first group was composed of members of the International Eisteddfod committees, the second comprised a range of participants with specific local interests (2 Civic Society members, 1 retailer, 1 employee of the Tourist Information Centre, 1 member of the town council), and the final group comprised of members of the Parents, Teachers and Families Association of the local primary school.

Full transcripts of the focus group discussions were subsequently drawn up, and after simple coding, the participants' responses were filtered and sorted into blocks of related quotes or exchanges. These related blocks of quotes and exchanges were then further sorted into the different themes and dimensions presented in this chapter. The focus group material is presented here either as direct quotes in the text with an associated code, or as blocks of coded quotes or exchanges placed in text boxes within the main body of the document. In order to be able to map the responses of individuals without compromising their anonymity, each respondent is coded with an initial, or two letters where more than one respondent shares the same initial.

Having sorted the focus group material into key themes, and blocks of related meaning or similarity of response, the most evident 'representations' relating to tourism expressed in the discussions were noted. These 'representations' are comprised of both those views which appeared to be most commonly shared by the respondents of each of the focus groups, and also of those minority opinions which were in direct contrast to those of the mainstream. At this stage, the links between those views or opinions as expressed by both groups and individuals within the focus group discussions are not related in a sustained way to Moscovici's 'social representations'. It should be noted that many of the representations of tourism discussed here are expressed in terms of the individual perspective as well

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as that of the community as a whole. As such, therefore, the term 'social representation' is eschewed here in favour of the broader and more flexible 'representation', which whilst group specific in some instances, is not necessarily linked to any particular group or to the membership of any group.

The first section of the chapter examines the specific equity dimensions operating between different groups within the community. This will examine whether there are areas of clearly perceived and expressed imbalance between certain groups within the community in terms of the positive and negative impacts of tourism. Such perceptual divisions may in turn be related to the differences between the clearly different and polemical 'representations' of tourism as expressed by the focus group participants.

The second section of the chapter then examines the general impacts of tourism as perceived by the focus group participants, and the opinions relating to such impacts. These, again, can be expressed in terms of the differing representations of tourism's impacts as held by different groups and individuals within the community.

8.1 Equity Dimensions

This section examines the different perspectives held by individuals in the focus group discussions on the balance between the positive and the negative impacts of tourism as experienced by different sections of the community of Llangollen. This will illustrate whether there are clear cut divisions of opinion, particularly in relation to perceptions of who it is that actually benefits from the tourist presence in the town, and where the balance of power lies in locally determining exactly who should benefit from tourism in the town.

8.1.1 Personal and Community Perspectives

The idea that the impacts of tourism are perceived differently when viewed from a personal or from a community perspective was one that emerged clearly from the questionnaire survey (see Chapter 5), with the benefits on a community level being more strongly perceived than those on a personal level in overall terms. Those participants who benefited the most in personal economic terms tended to have a

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more positive perspective overall. However, for the population as a whole the social and cultural benefits for the community were seen to outweigh such benefits on a personal level, which in turn were seen to outweigh the economic benefits perceived on a personal level.

This theme of different perspectives existing simultaneously on an individual and on a community level was also expressed by members of all three of the focus groups, with a range of views being expressed varying from the broadly positive to the staunchly negative, and relating to the levels of the individual, of particular groups within the community, and of the community as a whole.

The main benefits of tourism initially identified by all three of the focus groups were of an economic nature. Such benefits, however, were mostly seen to accrue to particular "other" groups of people, rather than to the participants themselves.

> Se: .. certainly as far as the community as a whole is concerned, it must be of great benefit .. , but yes for individuals as well, if only .. for the employment side of it - employment being a problem as it is throughout the country .. (1, 21)
>
> J: I don't think the town could survive without the tourism which is now its only industry, there isn't another one here. (3, 16, 8-9)
>
> J: If it didn't have any tourism .. it would be a dreadful little hole in the middle of nowhere. The quality of life, perhaps not of everybody, but certainly a great deal of people, certainly is improved. (3, 197)
>
> C: .. it's probably where you stand in the community, .. I would imagine for the people who rely on its hotels and the larger guest houses, if there is no tourism they are going to be .. affected, because it's their livelihood .. (3, 30, 1-6)
>
> C: Well, we have just started up a bed and breakfast place, so we welcome visitors obviously, but, even I would say the town is desperate for money, and it is important that we do bring in outside tourists to maintain that, but .. there's not enough done for local people .. (3, 10, 1-4)
>
> S: I think it [tourism] has done, indirectly, quite a bit for the residents, because if you didn't have tourists in this place there wouldn't be three banks, there wouldn't be the choice of three butchers shops, I doubt if we would have had a Kwik Save here .. OK, there's employment - most of it is seasonal, but that's a job for half the year which is better than a job for none of the year. (2, 207)

Only one of the focus group participants was consistently and strongly negative about the impacts of tourism in Llangollen and this opinion was, apparently, equity-based in that their lack of perceived benefits on a personal level was interpreted by this individual as a feature of the community as a whole.

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> H: I've been living in Llangollen for 35 years and it has never given me anything. (2, 58)
>
> H: ... I will say this to my dying day, tourism does not do anything for the community of Llangollen ... In any way at all .. it only benefits one group of people and that is the people who are involved in business. (2, 203-205)
>
> H: Wait a minute, let us define community. Are you talking about the people who live in Llangollen, or the people who are traders in Llangollen? Because tourism doesn't, from what I can gather, have an effect upon the residents as far as their amenities are concerned, or their quality of life. (2, 52-54)

This would suggest that one view that may be held by the more negative members of the community is that tourism is only of benefit to those who are involved in business within the town and who, it is implied here, are not themselves seen as members of the community.

The following exchange between members of the same focus group as above further illustrates the division in opinion which exists on who really does benefit from tourism, particularly in economic terms

> "G: I think we are now falling into the trap because we're saying this (the extended tourist season) is going to benefit the people of Llangollen ..
> H: No it isn't, it's going to benefit the traders of Llangollen..
> S: It benefits the traders, it benefits the B&B's and hotels..
> H: But they are a very, very small minority of the population of Llangollen." (2, 126-9)

This last view is interesting, since the questionnaire results indicate that nearly 40% of the population considered themselves as benefiting economically to some extent from tourism, a view reflected by the following exchange:

> "L: A lot of people are residents aren't they, Bed & Breakfasts?
> G: Lots of them are, lots of them aren't.
> L: It helps me, I'm a resident and it helps me pay the bills, obviously.
> B: Lots of people do B&B on an ad hoc basis.
> G: Now a lot of the big houses, I don't think they could be kept open if they weren't B&B.
> S: That's it, they wouldn't be able to maintain them." (2, 346-51)

A strongly held view amongst a small number of focus group participants was that the benefits of tourism fall solely to those who are in business, who are themselves "a very, very small minority" of the population. The consensus view, however, and this is supported by the evidence provided by the questionnaire, points to a more equitable situation whereby the specific economic benefits accruing to certain members of the community are recognised as being of wider benefit to the community as a whole, as discussed below.

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It can be seen that the owners of bed and breakfast accommodation businesses in Llangollen are viewed somewhat separately from the other shopkeepers, hoteliers and traders in that a number of residents in larger houses provide accommodation on a part-time, ad hoc basis during the peak summer months, and thereby clearly are benefiting economically from tourism.

The specific benefit to shopkeepers from the increased market made available through tourism is also seen ultimately to benefit the rest of the community, in that shops which would otherwise have had to close are still operating partly thanks to the tourists.

E: Well, probably the people in the shops do well, I'm sure they do.(1,71)

B: Well, at least we're getting trade aren't we? (2, 53)

G: Oh yes, we are very lucky with our shops and I think we've got to do our very best to maintain them because they do provide a very valuable service, particularly for people who cannot drive a car. (2, 77)

The importance of tourism for local retailers is shown by the following comments from a local shopkeeper (resident for ten years in the town, and whose grandparents were of local origin).

"L: If I didn't have the tourists and I had to depend completely on the townspeople ..
G: You'd go bankrupt.
L: I would, yes. And there would be one less shop." (2, 132-134)

Tourism, and tourist expenditure, is therefore seen as being of vital importance in revenue terms to the local retailers in general. Another area of quite specific concern was that of the local tourist attractions and services being focussed entirely on satisfying tourist demand and paying scant attention to the needs of local people.

P: Trouble is that a lot of the places, especially the eating places in town, they seem to have the impression that everyone is here as tourists so we'll give them any old rubbish and not treat them properly, food-wise ..(3, 188)

C: So, even the attractions in the town don't encourage the locals to support them really. (3, 70)

In this way, it can be seen how the attitude can arise that certain facilities and services in the town are there 'just for the tourists' (an area considered below),

reinforcing the perception among certain members of the community that the benefits of such facilities (economic or otherwise) are not felt by the local population as a whole, but merely by those individuals with a specific interest.

The Doctor Who exhibition, which is now "extremely important here" (1, 70), and recognised as being one of the major fixed attractions in the town, was seen by the participants as being ".. incredibly expensive (1, 68). The only local tourist attraction which was recognised as giving special treatment to local people was the steam railway.

C: I think it [the railway] is the only tourist attraction in town to have concessions for locals (3, 68, 1)

Mo: The railway is excellent because it gives a reduction to local people (1, 71, 1-2)

The provision of cheaper rides for local people seems to have improved the feeling of some participants about the steam railway, although serious concerns were also aired concerning the negative effects of the railway on the lives of other members of the community. Here, the main problem associated with the railway was that of environmental and noise pollution, although such concerns were considered by the participants to be most strongly felt by those residents living in closest proximity to the rail track.

This perception of there being a strong negative feeling about the railway amongst such residents was not, however, borne out by the focus groups. Indeed, even participants living in close proximity to the railway were not universally negative about its impact on their lives, with some accepting the presence of the railway as being integral to the town, and even perceiving some environmental improvements resulting from it.

J: We haven't talked about the trains yet, and the smog and the soot that they give the locals a hassle with. (3, 42)

I: If you happen to live on Abbey Road, then you're probably against it [the railway], .. you've moved there for the peace and quiet and now they've re-opened the railway. (1, 27)

G: Now, if you're a railway enthusiast, or have got kids who like Thomas the Tank Engine .. marvelous. But, then, if you live alongside that railway then it is a very different picture. (2, 177)

B: .. what about the people who bought their houses when the railway was closed and the bought them because it was going to be clear, and now .. they've seen the value of their property go down because of the railway? (2, 191)

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So, while there were obvious environmental concerns, certain environmental benefits were also recognised. One other area of concern which was associated with the railway was the effect of its presence on the value of nearby properties. On the other hand, the opinion was also expressed that the same houses alongside the railway track itself were actually attracting new long-term inhabitants with a specific interest in the railway to come to live in the town.

> "B: And then, of course .. the group of little houses that were built opposite the hospital .. are inhabited now by railway enthusiasts.
> G: Eight out of ten of those houses are inhabited by railway enthusiasts. At least it proves that they are coming here to live and, if they come here to live as residents, then at least they are contributing something towards the community." (2, 88-89)
>
> L: Well, I live right outside the railway and I don't actually have any objections because we knew when we bought the house that it was by the railway .. (2, 179)
>
> L: .. my next door neighbour .. prefers having the railway there to when it wasn't. She says before there were people walking up and down, noise, rats, all sorts of things because it wasn't maintained properly, whereas now she feels it's better, and she's lived there for quite a few years. (2, 192)

The issue of control over such developments was raised by one participant, although, again, this view was not expressed by any other member of the focus groups.

H: I think you will find that, like many things that happen in Llangollen, they are thrust upon us. I don't think anybody was asked whether they wanted the railway re-opened . (2, 193)

One particular area of disenchantment which was clearly voiced in all three of the focus groups and was somehow perceptually linked to tourism was the lack of a swimming pool in the town. This was seen as connected to tourism in the minds of some participants because either they felt that a swimming pool would not be built in Llangollen because it would not be of direct benefit to tourists, or else that funds which have been directed towards tourism somehow should have been spent on a swimming pool.

The view was clearly held that a swimming pool would be of great benefit to the local population, although there was a certain amount of confusion as to why a pool had not been built, or where the money would come from to do so.
The point of view that the tourists should pay for the upkeep of local amenities is an interesting, and seemingly contradictory, reversal of the opinion expressed elsewhere in the focus groups that 'everything is done for tourists'.

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L: Why can't we have a swimming pool, which would benefit the children of the community and it would benefit the tourism? (2, 255)

L: I think a swimming pool would have done a lot. (2, 293)

Mo: Because the swimming pool .. it wasn't one or the other, but that is how people see it, they think that tourism has taken the money away from a swimming pool .. and it's not true. (1, 32)

"B: But you talk about a swimming pool and how marvelous it would be, but what about the upkeep costs, who would pay for that?
G: The tourists .." (2, 301-302)

S: We get it every day, people coming in (to the tourist information centre) asking, "where is the nearest pool?" (2, 307)

J: A swimming pool is not going to increase tourism .. unless you make something like Sea World or whatever .. but I think this place is crying out for a swimming pool. (3, 26, 5-9)

M: How many discussions can you go over the years where local needs have been ignored, like the obvious one was the swimming pool. (3, 36)

So, in terms of the perceived distribution of the main economic benefits of tourism in Llangollen, there was a clearly expressed division of opinion between those participants who felt that the benefits of tourism were vital on a community level, and those who felt that the only people to benefit in the community were those involved in business.

There would, therefore, appear to exist the representation that, *"The town of Llangollen could not survive economically without tourism"*, or to put this in the words of one respondent, without tourism, "it [Llangollen] would be a dreadful little hole in the middle of nowhere" (3,197). At the same time, however, the contrasting opinion, or representation of tourism held by the most negative participants is that *"The economic benefits of tourism only accrue to those people who are directly involved in business"*, and this group of tradespeople are (according to this most negative group) "a very, very small minority of the population of Llangollen" (2, 129).

This extremely negative perspective was not shared by other participants who often recognised that the presence of tourists allows businesses to survive which would otherwise have floundered, and provides extra income to those residents who run part-time guest houses and bed and breakfast businesses during the peak

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season, all of which are seen by the other participants to benefit the community as a whole.

Another representation which is seen to be shared by a number of participants is that *"The local attractions and services don't encourage the locals to support them"*. This opinion can be seen to have been influenced by the fact that very few local attractions or facilities offer discounted prices to local residents, and there was also sometimes a feeling that the restaurants make little effort to encourage the locals to frequent them, often serving poor-quality fare in a poor manner.

The steam railway was the only local attraction which was singled out as offering concessions to locals, a fact which was widely praised by the participants. This was, however, seen as coming with environmental costs attached, although, again, not by all participants. Some of the participants were even of the opinion that the railway had brought about certain environmental improvements.

Finally, one particular point of contention expressed in all three of the focus groups related to the lack of a swimming pool in Llangollen. This failure to meet an obvious demand of the local population was perceptually linked to tourism in the minds of some of the participants, as expressed by the following, " if something isn't going to be used by the tourists as well, it's not going to be produced, so it wouldn't be sanctioned, like for instance, this town is screaming for a swimming pool" (3, 26).

8.1.2 Tourist Benefit and Local Benefit

This particular type of equity divide, between the benefits accruing to tourists and those gained by locals, is typified by a belief held by some people that tourist concerns are given priority over those of the local population, particularly in terms of the provision and development of local amenities.

> J: I think that one of the spin-off problems for the community ... is that if something isn't going to be used by the tourists as well, it's not going to be produced .. (3, 26)
>
> J: And the other thing is that .. maybe the parking will change but it won't be because of the locals, it will be because of tourism, it will be to their benefit. (3, 28)

The negative perspective expressed here may have been influenced by the view that the traders in the town and local government may see tourists as more important than locals.

M: .. I'm not against tourists .. but .. I honestly think that in the past years so much emphasis has been put on tourism, and the local needs have been ignored. (3, 41)

H: In a town with a population of 3600 and you've got 24 pubs. Now are those pubs there to offer the facilities to the residents? Like hell they are! (2, 172)

Such views were not, however, universal, with some recognition in the focus group discussions that such imbalances may be perceived rather than real. Indeed, this particular issue of the increased number of pubs and restaurants in the town was generally seen as one of the advantages of tourism for the local population, as expressed positively by the following participant: "There's plenty of pubs .. and plenty of good eating places" (1, 61).

Such benefits, however, were often seen as coming with costs attached, although some also accepted that such trade-offs are an inevitable result of having a successful tourism industry.

Mo: We've got better night life in summer .. and we've got more traffic queues as well .. we've got more services in Llangollen, more shops, better shops, more pubs per head of population than we probably would have if we didn't have tourists .. (1, 10)

"Mo: I think the problem .. for some of the local population, the community benefits we take for granted. We've got used to having pubs and shops and a better range of facilities than, maybe, our local villages around. We've got a centre and we assume it's ours; we don't realise that it wouldn't be there if we didn't have all these visitors ..
Ma: Yes, the people just tend to take it for granted; they don't realise that they're having the benefit of the things .." (1, 22-23)

A final point here is that certain developments, such as new retail outlets, which may be perceived as not being for the benefit of the local population as a whole may be blamed on the tourist presence, or at least on the influence which their presence can exert on decision-making by the local planning authorities.

However, the view clearly did exist that certain developments within the town are not always carried out with the benefit of the community as a whole in mind. This point of view is illustrated by the following comment regarding plans to build a new housing estate on the current site of the local youth club building and football field.

"M: Those houses, which will probably go on the market for goodness knows how many thousands, which more than likely local people wouldn't be able to afford, will go to outsiders again.
J: Not tourists? (Laughter)" (3, 39-40)

This off-the-cuff remark that 'outsiders' and 'tourists' are not the same thing is interesting in that it illustrates a recognition that the external influences on the community which are viewed unfavourably are not all the direct result of the tourist presence in the town.

In summary, then, one representation that appears to be held by some members of the community is that *"Tourist benefits are given priority over local needs"*. One participant voiced this opinion as follows: ".. if something isn't going to be used by the tourists as well, it's not going to be produced" (3, 36). The same participant went on to say that, ".. in the past years so much emphasis has been put on tourism, and the local needs have been ignored" (3, 41). There was also a certain amount of confusion over who exactly did benefit from the local facilities, such as the pubs: ".. are those pubs there to offer the facilities to the residents? Like hell they are!" (2, 172).

Other participants, however, saw the increased provision of pubs and restaurants as being one of the distinct benefits to locals of the presence of tourists in the town. Such benefits were, however, often considered to come at a certain cost. Hence, there was another representation that *"Trade-offs between tourist and local benefits are inevitable"*. This was nicely summarised by the following participant, who felt that " .. the community benefits we take for granted ... [which] wouldn't be there if we didn't have all these visitors .. " (1, 22).

There was, nonetheless, a certain amount of ambiguity and mixed opinion regarding exactly who were the intended beneficiaries of certain developments. If something was not seen as being of direct benefit to members of the community, then there was a tendency among the more negatively-minded members to blame the presence of tourists or to say that the development is "just for the tourists". Hence, a generic, transient, non-specific "tourist" can provide a convenient scapegoat and outlet for local frustrations.

8.1.3 Council, Tourism and Control

The focus groups suggest that the role of local government in controlling the development of tourism was an area of some concern and dissatisfaction. Some participants appeared to believe that the council can and did approve developments without consulting with the local population and without their consent. Discussion regarding control over tourism-related developments was most prominent in the most politically oriented focus group, the special interest group, although this issue was also frequently alluded to by the most negative member (M) of the PTFA group.

The negative opinion of the role of government in tourism development was strongly expressed as follows:
H: I think our fate was decided by the government. No one asked the people of Llangollen .. whether they wanted tourism, they were told by the government that 'you are a touristic area and we will develop tourism in your area' .. " (2, 90, 8-10)

This can underpin the view that tourism development is a purely external force which can be imposed on a given area by decree from the executive and carried out against the will and without the consent of the local population. The following comment further illustrates how there was sometimes disillusionment with the approach to local public consultation:
G: You see, with the (Eisteddfod) pavilion, I can remember going to a meeting in ECTARC where the chief executive of Clwyd County Council was addressing the meeting .. and he said "We're going to have full consultation", these were his exact words, "and on Monday morning we're going to show the people of Llangollen what they are going to have". (2, 332)

This latter comment was made with specific regard to the proposed development of the International Eisteddfod Pavilion. Comments were also made illustrating the perception that the council tends to view tourism developments more favourably than other issues which are of greater concern to the local population.
M: It's just that the local council and Clwyd over the years have put so much emphasis on tourism, anything you hear is for tourism, (3, 8, 1-2)

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The following exchange by members of the International Eisteddfod focus group, however, shows that some members of the community recognise that the council itself does not have unlimited options or free will in local policy making or in the selection of development options.

"Mo: I think that Llangollen does need a few more basic facilities which would actually benefit the tourists as well, because it would be something for them to take their children to.
Ma: But that is the council...
Mo: That's the council, but that's why it's seen as mainly the tourists.
B: It comes down to money though, doesn't it? .. there has been special grants for the tourists ...
Mo: That's what I mean - the money doesn't come out of the same pot but that's not how people see it .. they say it could have been spent on a playground or it could have been spent on a walkway, the fact is that the money probably came from an EC grant to develop the area and couldn't have been spent on a playground, but .. it's not obvious is it?" (1, 35-39)

Here, it is interesting to see how some participants are able to recognise and sympathise with the views of others within the community, despite not being in agreement with their viewpoint. Other participants, however, appear to construct their opinions much more on their personal position and project their views onto the rest of the population, believing that their views will be or should be similar.

H: I've been living in Llangollen for 35 years and it has never given me anything. (2, 58)

H: ... I will say this to my dying day, tourism does not do anything for the community of Llangollen .. (2, 203)

It is also interesting to note that this particular participant in the focus group discussions was, at the time, a member of the Town Council, and some of their personal antagonism towards tourism might be explained by the fact that control over tourism policies and development is concentrated at the regional or county level rather than at the local council level. As such, an element in the construction of this negative view of the council's role in the development of tourism could be that power over certain local developments is held by non-local organisations, rather than by the council.

Consequently, there is evidence for a representation of tourism based on the negative view that *"The government decided that Llangollen was a tourist area without consulting with the locals"*. This opinion was best summarised by this quote from the chief executive of Clwyd County Council, as voiced by one of the focus

group participants, that " .. we're going to have full consultation .. and on Monday morning we're going to show the people of Llangollen what they are going to have" (2, 332).

Another view which was expressed was that the unfavourable outcomes of decisions made by the council are then blamed on the tourists. This attitude would, therefore, appear to be derived from an unfavourable perception of external control over local developments which is attributed to tourism. There does not appear to be an expression of the feeling that tourists themselves have an inherently negative impact on the community.

8.1.4 Tourism and Industry

Another area of concern which was perceived as being beyond the realm of influence of local residents is the issue of tourism developments being in conflict with other forms of industry. There was, however, a recognition that the effects of developing other industries would be to the detriment not only of the existing tourism industry, but also of the high quality environment on which it depends. Furthermore, it is this natural beauty of the area which makes Llangollen an attractive place for local inhabitants.

Some people seem to feel that other industries may be better than tourism in terms of the quality of employment, although this view is moderated by the fact that a balance needs to be struck between providing employment through other industries, and also with not damaging the natural environment which provides one of Llangollen's greatest touristic assets.

B: I've been involved with the industry in the town for many years and I've seen it dwindle .. I would like to see the right sort of industry, small industry, here for people to find a career and stay here. But it's got to be selective, you don't want the wrong type of industry. (1,262)

Mo: .. if we had massive industries here it would detract from the tourist industry .. (1, 263)

M: .. and it just annoys me when that council stands and says, "We don't want to go under Wrexham and an industrial council ..," Well, I for one would welcome a big firm giving jobs to the local people, .. an ordinary person who is not in the business cannot make a lot of money from tourism. (3, 25, 7-12)

M: .. it really did annoy me when I saw that councilor spouting off that we don't want industry in this town [because] we want tourism (3, 25, 15-16)

A more balanced view was that of the need to strike a balance between developing the place and spoiling it, from the point of view of both tourism, and of residents.

> Mo: It's maintaining the balance between developing it and not spoiling it, and also not letting it stagnate, .. it's just a case of guiding Llangollen through that so that it grows but it's not destroyed, because it is small and you don't want it to become so popular that you get all of the hills built up with modern housing estates, and then you actually destroy the thing that people came here to see. (1, 256)

The need to strike such a balance is an important part of planning for any type of development, particularly if there is the possibility of a public backlash. However, in this instance it would appear that public opinion on the development of further industry was divided between those in favour of the employment opportunities such developments would provide and those who would be opposed to the potential environmental damage which could arise, thereby spoiling the unique natural beauty of the place for both tourism and for the residents.

Three main representations were evident here concerning the relationship between tourism and other industries. The first of these was that *"Other major industries would detract from the natural environment, and therefore from tourism"*. At the same time, however, there was often a clear view that *"Other industries are better employers than tourism"*. These two representations of the role of both tourism and other industries as employers are related to a third representation, this being a more pragmatic opinion that, *"A balance is needed between developing the place and the risk of spoiling it"*. Llangollen needs jobs for the local population, but if major industry were to move in, then the town would have to expand and the natural environment would suffer, to the detriment of both tourists and locals.

8.1.5 The International Eisteddfod and the Community

A view was widely held (particularly by the International Eisteddfod group) that the International Eisteddfod brings the community together, especially given the number of local volunteers in its organisation and running. However, it was also recognised by some participants that the International Eisteddfod was in some ways seen as a divisive force by some members of the community.

This division of opinion regarding the International Eisteddfod is constructed along similar lines to that of the division between tourist versus local benefits from development. There appears to be an opinion that the high level of interest and attention given to the International Eisteddfod is actually to the detriment of other areas of community life in Llangollen. In other words, there was an opinion that the dominance of the event leads to the neglect of other areas of the cultural lives of the residents.

B: I would think that the Eisteddfod is the only [event] that really does .. bring in the community .. and even [with] that, there's a pro-Eisteddfod and an anti-Eisteddfod. (1, 25, 7)

Se: It's distinctly you are either for it or against it [the Eisteddfod], there's no grey area. If you are against, then you are against, and you hear about it .. (1, 26)

I: This is what the locals see: everything goes to the Eisteddfod and nothing coming into the community. I don't see it that way myself, but .. this is what you hear. (1,29, 2-5)

I: .. you get some people who actually knock the Eisteddfod and think 'well, the Eisteddfod's getting all this treatment and everything', but without the Eisteddfod and without the tourism, .. local people wouldn't benefit at all. (1, 24, 2-4)

Se: I think we were distinctly aware that the average age of our audience is fairly old really .. (1, 194, 1-2)

The final comment above, from a member of the International Eisteddfod Committee, suggests that the organisation's key members are aware of the distinctive characteristics of a large part of its audience, and, as such, the limited appeal of certain elements of the event to younger and more mainstream audiences.

The view of being "distinctly against" the International Eisteddfod (1, 26) is strongly expressed by one participant in the Special Interest focus group who argued that the entire event was unpopular with the local community.

H: But again, you ask the people who live in town .. about the Eisteddfod and you'll get a short, sharp reply. (2, 176)

H: Take the Eisteddfod, all these stalls that are on the Eisteddfod (field). How many of those are run by people who .. are of the community of Llangollen? - not a single one, because the charge for the site is £1500, and there aren't any traders in Llangollen who can afford to pay that sort of money .. (2, 201)

Interestingly, it was this same participant who had expressed the view that the traders in Llangollen were not members of the community (2, 52), yet in this instance he transferred onto the community his own personal negative attitude

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toward the International Eisteddfod. The personally constructed nature of this point of view is illustrated by the following comments from the same participant regarding the International Eisteddfod.

> H: .. before I retired, Eisteddfod week was .. when I took my holiday, and I went away.. To live within the area of town during Eisteddfod would be sheer hell. (2, 153)
>
> H: .. you can't walk on the pavement [during the week of the Eisteddfod], you can't sit in your garden .. I can't sit in the garden and have a cup of tea because I'm gawped at over the fence, every minute of the day. (2, 155)
>
> H: .. in my opinion that Eisteddfod building is a monstrosity in it's architectural design, and I think most of Abbey Rd would agree with me on that. (2, 310)

As can be seen, the negative opinions expressed above are not so much a function of any perceived equity imbalance associated with the International Eisteddfod, but are much more an expression of a personal dislike of the event. Again, this view of the individual is projected on the rest of the community. Such unremittingly negative comments regarding the event were not shared by any of the other participants whose views were generally of a positive nature.

> I: But I think that the Eisteddfod has done more good than harm to the community, it's certainly brought money into the town. (1, 96, 2-4)
>
> Mo: .. there were friends of mine who have nothing at all to do with the Eisteddfod who actually came out to watch the parade this year and really enjoyed it, and the competitors really enjoyed it. And that really is getting back to it actually drawing people in who are not artistically inclined or musically inclined or socially inclined to actually be involved in the Eisteddfod .. (1, 115, 1-5)
>
> B: Well, the locals enjoy the International Eisteddfod, ..a large number of the population are engaged in running it, and it's given great pleasure from the word go for all of us.(2, 142, 1-14)
>
> G: Well, our house is just an open house that week, .. I've come into the house once to find the lounge full of people, .. you ask them who are those (people), and they say "I don't know, I thought you invited them". It's like that, we've got people camping on the lawn, just enjoying it. (2, 158)

The third group of focus group participants (PTFA) were much closer to sharing the perceptions of the participants in the International Eisteddfod
Committee that there is a feeling among some sections of the community that the International Eisteddfod itself does not necessarily appeal to, or benefit everyone who lives in the town, and also that more could be done to integrate the event into the wider community. These misgivings, however, were more to do with the

expense and loss of local control associated with the use of internationally famous artists in the 'flagship' Saturday night performance. At the same time, the move 'up-market' by the International Eisteddfod was also seen as being something for the local community to be proud of.

> "M: .. I've got to take my hat off to them [the Eisteddfod] that they've gone up-market these last couple of years with stars like Pavarotti .. but the town itself didn't get anything from that visit though, did they?
> C: It was taken out of their hands though.
> M: It was taken out of their hands, but they should have been in a position to say "hang on" .. There was nothing for the town from Pavarotti's visit, although they have handed over, I think, £40000 back, which has gone to the Eisteddfod. But it's nice to see .. the town going up-market on that score." (3, 85-87)

This exchange shows how the move towards a more 'up-market' element within the International Eisteddfod can be seen simultaneously as both positive and negative. Interestingly, the same participant (M) who approved of the move 'up-market' by the Eisteddfod also later in the discussion went on to say that, "It is a bit elitist isn't it?" (3, 145).

The only real source of complaint from this group was the fact that there is not a regular element incorporated into the International Eisteddfod intended especially for the benefit of local inhabitants, and in particular the local children.

> M: I would like to see a little more involvement for the local children in the Eisteddfod. They never compete .. (3, 93, 1-2)
>
> M: Or even do a matinee performance where locals could get in free of charge. That would go a long way .. and they could make it more popular with the locals and put something on for the locals which wouldn't cost a penny. (3, 139)
>
> M: Well, I'll tell you one thing, it is the one week of the year when you do get a lot of locals together, to organise such a big event .. it is probably the only event where you get a vast difference of different people doing different jobs, but all coming together under the same roof. (3, 143)
>
> "J: Tolerance and non-parochiality, awareness of other cultures.
> P: It's got to be good for the children, hasn't it?
> M: If they were involved in it, yes." (3, 130-132)
>
> C: If only they could do something for the Llangollen children, that only residents could enter .. (3, 138)
>
> J: I personally don't think it's big enough, actually .. (3, 144)

This last participant was the only commentator to voice the opinion that the Eisteddfod was not large enough, although this focus group did discuss the potential benefits of extending the duration of the festival from five to six days. The questionnaire results relating to the suggestion that the Eisteddfod should become bigger in size and importance showed little difference between the equity groups (Chapter 5, Table 5.35), with all four equity groups responding negatively to the suggestion. In terms of the cluster groups (Chapter 6, Table 6.39), the response was similar, with no group being clearly in favour of such a suggestion.

Certain clear representations of the International Eisteddfod were evident here. The first, and perhaps strongest of these was that *"The International Eisteddfod brings the community together"*. This was a widely shared view expressed by participants in all of the focus groups, although other less positive representations also existed. The opinion that *"Everything goes to the International Eisteddfod"* was one of the negative views held some participants, with the size and importance of the event being seen to hold back other potential developments within the community. There was also expressed the representation that as a member of the community *"You are either for the International Eisteddfod, or against it"*, showing that opinions on the event are divided within the community.

The one focus group participant who expressed a strongly negative opinion of the International Eisteddfod did so from an expressly personal point of view, "Before I retired, Eisteddfod week was .. when I took my holiday and went away" (2, 176). The negative opinion of the International Eisteddfod held by this particular individual was then projected by him onto the rest of the community, ".. ask the people who live in town .. about the Eisteddfod and you'll get a short, sharp reply" (2, 176). This view was not, however, shared by the other participants, the general opinion being that the International Eisteddfod does more good than harm for the community, and even those participants with little or no interest in the event itself enjoyed the spectacle provided by it.

The main concerns regarding the event as expressed by the other participants were that it had been taken out of the hands of the local population by moving it 'up-market' ["It's a bit elitist" (3, 145)], and that there was not enough involvement in the event for local children and local inhabitants in general.

8.1.6 Culture and the Community

Another area where clear conflicts of interest were perceived relates to the provision of cultural elements, and in particular to the provision of elite cultural events and 'high arts' as opposed to catering to the diverse requirements of more mainstream and younger audiences. These concerns were recognised by the focus group participants who were members of the Eisteddfod Committee, although there was also evidence that some of this group had difficulty seeing beyond their own cultural milieu regarding how this imbalance might be tackled.

> "Se: To a certain extent it is .. categorised if you like. There is plenty for a certain part of the community, and there is very little for the other part of the community. (1, 59)
>
> Mo: I think you have got to be honest when you look at the activities in Llangollen, .. and if you go down-market .. that is where there is a gap. (1, 66)
>
> Se: .. there's a gap, as you say, down-market. Up-market there's probably more than sufficient. (1, 77)

This exchange shows the perceived imbalance which exists in Llangollen in terms of the provision of cultural events and activities. Such an imbalance is not, however, just a question of up-market/down-market provision, as it is much more a question of personal taste and choice and this extends beyond such a simple division. It is because of the importance of personal taste and choice that certain individuals would seem to consider that the forms of art or culture which they do not themselves like are not favourable with others. This particular imbalance is clearly illustrated in the following instance, where the cultural requirements of the local youth population were seen by the focus group participants to be ignored in favour of the preferences of those in more established positions in the community.

> Mo: Yes, but it's all down to personal choice, .. there are certain of my friends who would get involved in community things, .. and then there's other friends who it just wouldn't appeal to. They are not interested in music, and probably the most interesting thing for them in Llangollen would be to go to the pub on a Friday night. (1, 60)
>
> Mo: They do have things in the Town Hall .. arranged by youngsters [who] .. organise them, donate to charity from these things, and they are very successful, .. and that is like a sub-culture going on. Probably quite similar in a way to the Eisteddfod, which would have been a fringe group when it first started .. the Eisteddfod has become part of the society of Llangollen .. (1, 209, 1-8)
>
> Mo: I think there does need to be a bit more for young people here, .. but because Llangollen has got quite a middle-class society and they like their peace and quiet and would be a bit less willing to accept the side-effects of young people getting together .. (1, 211)
>
> Mo: Yes, but the people who are left here, .. I'm talking about your normal average teenager, there's nothing [for them]. (1, 213)

There is also the recognition that the culture for many people today, particularly those of the younger generation, is not the same as it used to be, and that such changes are not a result of tourism.

Mo: .. the culture now is to go off to a big city and go clubbing. (1, 215)

This idea of different groups of people (in this particular case, age groups) having different requirements in cultural terms, can also be seen as a distinct area of conflict more generally.

> E: I don't think Llangollen would be very pleased if a pop concert was sent there [the Eisteddfod Pavilion] .. it would not be a very popular move if that kind of popular culture were brought in. (1, 203)
>
> I: We had this when we had the jazz concert here .. they were all going to be long-haired hippies, and they were quite surprised when they saw the audience that came for these things. They were respectable people .. (1, 210, 1-3)
>
> J: As the events are put on for tourists .. we do get the spin-off of, for instance, the Jazz Festival - you'd have to travel a long way from this part of North Wales to get that sort of thing. (3,73)

This again illustrates how a view exists that what individuals do not themselves particularly like or understand is not good for others either. The following exchange shows one way in which the conflicts concerning such cultural elements are expressed.

> "S: You have to cater to all ages, all tastes. You can't say "Yes, we're having Pavarotti, but we're not having that group because I don't like that, it's only for youngsters". The youngsters have got money as well: they are customers. You have to take what you like with what you don't like.
> G: Now, it's the associated problems with such things. We've had one event there which was some sort of tin band. Now I've nothing against them, but the noise was absolutely deafening.
> S: But at the same time, if you get 650 male voice singers, that is loud as well.
> G: We've had it ..
> S: That's a kind of music you like, but you have to cater for other tastes." (2, 318-322)

Recognising the need to cater for all kinds of tastes in the provision of concerts was one area which did seem to divide opinion, with some participants only considering that their own personal preferences were worthwhile. Other participants, however, were clearly aware of the inequity of such a situation, which was often also felt to be a problem on a community level.

The following two comments show how this divide exists between those who are in favour of certain elements of 'high culture', and those who recognise that the community as a whole does not share the same cultural outlook or preferences.

> H: .. why can't we have concerts in the pavilion? Why we can't we have continual concerts in there. Why can't it be developed. Why can't the Welsh National Operatic Company come to Llangollen and give a concert? (2, 314)
>
> L: Who's to say that it's alright to have Bryn Terfel, but what if it was rave music or what if it was a heavy metal band? Who in the community would be listened to? (2, 316)

The final comment here, "who would be listened to?", demonstrates the perception that certain types of 'high-brow' performances are viewed more favourably by those members of the community in positions to influence the performances which actually take place. This type of "cultural separatism" or elitism clearly represents an equity imbalance within the community between the individuals with no particular interest in the 'high brow' or 'up-market' elements of culture and those who allow such elements to predominate.

The main representation that emerged regarding cultural provision in the community was that *"There are too many high-brow events, and not enough for the rest of the community"*. Another representation expressed regarding culture in the community is that *"There is a need for more cultural events for younger people"*, this being recognised as a particular weakness of what takes place in Llangollen in cultural terms. Some people also believed that a certain section of the community was 'in charge' of the cultural events put on in the town. This perceptual divide over what should be allowed to take place in Llangollen was captured in the following comment: "Who's to say that it's alright to have BrynTervel, but what if it was rave music ... who in the community would be listened to then?" (2, 316).

8.1.7 Participation and Attitude

Whether participants in the focus groups were themselves involved in events and activities in the community emerged as being related to the development of their attitudes towards such events and activities. Three aspects of participation were seen in the focus groups as potentially relevant to attitudes to tourism and culture in Llangollen, these being: participation in general, participation in local societies, and participation in the International Eisteddfod.

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It was clearly recognised, particularly by the participants in the International Eisteddfod focus group, that a large amount of societies, events and activities were available for individuals to involve themselves in the town. It was, however, felt that not everyone in the community would necessarily be interested in actively participating in such groups or societies.

> "Se: It's a fact I suppose that .. you could become so you were [involved] in something 5 nights a week ..
> E: .. oh yes, it is a hugely busy society...
> Mo: But then some people wouldn't go to anything and would be quite oblivious of what's going as well .. (1, 56-58)

General participation in the events and activities in the town was seen as encouraging general enthusiasm among the residents, whereas non-participation and apathy were viewed as having an overall discouraging effect on individuals. This view, however, was one which emerged from the focus group participants with an active level of participation in local events and societies themselves.

> I: .. I think if you get involved in something you've got something to do, haven't you? It's down to the individual. (1, 24)
>
> I: I think some people who have grown up here don't realise what there is in the area .. I used to do a lot of walking .. round the valley - they don't know these places exist. (1, 245)
>
> H: .. I think Llangollen, in a way, is sick of what it gets because of its' apathy towards what goes on. (2, 262)

Indeed, the tradition of participation in local societies and groups is seen by some people as being an element of the 'sense of community' which was to an extent seen as having been eroded over the years.

> E: I think there's about 70 societies within the town, which run all sorts of entertainment and social activities .. (1, 43)
>
> B: But the ethos was .. it didn't matter who you were, what could you give .. there was a society for you to join and there was a very strong sense of community. (2, 96)

Participation in the International Eisteddfod, or the simple act of visiting the field, was viewed as an important factor in developing an attitude towards the event, and the opinion expressed was that the members of the community who have no involvement with the event are themselves "losing out". The final comment below relates to the fact that there is no specific concession made to try and involve local children in the performances which take place in the event - an omission by the

event management which was perceived as a missed opportunity by the members of the PTFA focus group.

I: You get the odd person who has never been on the [Eisteddfod] field in their life, and I say, well, it's them that are missing things. (1, 96)

Ma: .. so many people have pre-conceived ideas about it [the Eisteddfod] and have never put their foot on the field, or never been in the marquee, and once they do it becomes quite a culture shock to them. (1, 116, 7-10)

C: The enthusiasm isn't there to start with, but I think if a suggestion were made for a [local] choir to go up there, I think there would be a lot of interest, but initially nobody applies to the Eisteddfod committee with these suggestions. (3, 94)

The community benefits of the International Eisteddfod, including those arising from personal participation, are discussed later when considering the impacts of the event on the community and the opinions which exist within the community regarding it.

In summary, the three representations expressed here are that *"Participation in local events encourages enthusiasm and fosters community spirit"*. From the point of view of those who do participate in local events and activities, there is the representation that *"Those people who do not take part in local events lose out"*. A final perspective here is that *"People in Llangollen are apathetic about what goes on"*. This final view was not a shared one, with the general consensus drawn from the focus groups being that Llangollen is highly animated for such a small town, with a large section of the local population being quite active in their involvement in local events and activities.

8.2 General Impacts and Opinions

Having examined in the previous section the main areas where conflict of opinion or an equity divide was perceived to exist within the community of Llangollen, this next section will now examine the impacts of tourism on the way of life and culture of Llangollen residents and the opinions of these impacts as expressed by the participants in the focus groups.

8.2.1 Development and the Local Way of Life

One of the areas of development which was most directly linked to tourism by the focus group participants was that of the range and quality of the services provided (at least in part) for the benefit of tourists. The benefits to the community of such developments were viewed as consisting of the increased range of services and facilities which were also available for locals to use. The related costs of having such services and facilities available in the town were also, however, taken into account by some of the focus group participants.

Mo: We've got better night life in summer .. and we've got more traffic queues as well .. we've got more services in Llangollen, more shops, better shops, more pubs per head of population than we probably would have if we didn't have tourists .. (1, 10)

B: I just think it is, and is becoming even more so, a very attractive town to live in. It's got a very wide range of attractions and that makes the place interesting and I have never regretted living here .. (1, 13)

E: There's plenty of pubs .. and plenty of good eating places (1, 61)

J: .. we've got the facilities, when the tourists are not here, to use...like for instance there aren't many towns can boast of the Eisteddfod and it's such a cultural marathon really, it's an amazing situation. We benefit from that. We also benefit from having the railway here. My children have grown up with the railway on the doorstep and there aren't many towns that boast of that really, and there lots of other spin-offs, aren't there? (3, 67, 3-8)

The latter comment is interesting in that it refers both to the International Eisteddfod and to the other tourist facilities in Llangollen as being something to 'boast of', suggesting that, far from undermining the local sense of identity or pride, such elements actually have the effect of reinforcing it.

Another particular benefit of tourism in Llangollen in terms of the local way of life identified by many of the focus group participants was the atmosphere or 'buzz' which is generated as a result of the influx of tourists during the summer months. It is this atmosphere which would appear to separate Llangollen, for the focus group participants, from other less attractive or animated towns and villages in the local area. Llangollen by comparison was seen to be more lively, more 'cosmopolitan', 'very rich .. culturally', and it was suggested that other towns in the area "would give their hind teeth to have some of the attractions we've got" (1, 28).

I: .. if you wander around the town, people are here on holiday and you pick up on that .. they're enjoying themselves - you enjoy yourself. (1, 236)

Mo: I think people who've grown up here feel differently .. Chris, my boyfriend, is from Kent .. and every summer he gets buzz looking at the caravans coming here. Every year he will sit there with a grin saying "I live here, and they are all coming on holiday here". I don't think about it because I grew up here, but .. (1, 243)

E: There is something special about the place, there's no doubt about it. (1, 241)

Mo: I think you will find that Llangollen is more cosmopolitan because people have come here and settled here for different reasons, .. I think it is very different to Cefn and Chirk, which is far more localised. (1, 16)

Se: .. you go to Corwen which is as dead as a dodo, .. and I think that if we didn't have the tourism here that Llangollen would be more like Corwen is .. who would probably give their hind teeth to have some of the attractions that we have got. (1, 28)

Ma: There's always a nice atmosphere in the town, I think that's what it is. You go to Corwen or you go to Ruthin and there isn't .. there's no buzz, you always get a great buzz when you come into town, I think. (1, 240)

J: I can't comment on what the community was like more than six years ago .. but it's certainly a very rich community in terms of comparisons with other places in North Wales, culturally .. (3, 20, 5-8)

I: people do come to the Eisteddfod, and I think they just fall in love with the place, that's what I did personally .. and we moved here and we've been very happy here (1, 12)

I: .. it's like a holiday atmosphere here all the time really, especially with the Eisteddfod .. it brings people in .. (1, 12)

The benefits to the community of having such an atmosphere and facilities were clearly seen by the focus group participants as being a direct result of tourism. The presence of tourists in Llangollen was stated as being of vital importance to the town - "tourism is the lifeblood of Llangollen" (1, 11). Furthermore, the feeling was expressed that the type of tourist attracted to the place was more 'serious' than those received in other places.

Ma: I think tourism is the life blood of Llangollen .. (1, 11)

B: We can't do without them, this town would be dead if it wasn't for the tourists. (2, 51)

C: .. but tourism is very important for the town, .. it is part of peoples lives nowadays .. it is nice seeing all the different cultures .. (3, 12)

J: We haven't got the idiot element of Llandudno or Rhyl or somewhere ... It's taken as a more serious place .. (3, 119)

J: There are serious tourists as well as the day-trippers. (3, 108)

The view that tourism is a vital element of the functioning of the community was not, however, universally shared, with the negative perspective being, if anything, more strongly held by the minority who did so.

H: .. tourism doesn't .. have an effect upon the residents as far as their amenities are concerned, or their quality of life. (2, 54)

One of the problems perceived in Llangollen which has been experienced and recorded in other tourist areas (Ryan and Montgomery, 1989) is that of in-migrants increasing the demand for property, and hence the prices. This is also coupled with the high proportion of older and retired people living in the town and placing different pressures upon the place in terms of demand for suitable accommodation and service provision.

"B: Are we becoming a town of oldies though, are we just getting retirees coming to live here, all of the youngsters going out to find jobs .. (1, 222)

Ma: I think it is because property is quite expensive in Llangollen." (1, 224)

It was also suggested, however, that other factors, such as the improvement of local transport networks and wider car ownership, have also contributed to the increase in the demand for property in Llangollen, and consequently to the elevated price levels experienced in the town.

"G: Housing is also more expensive in Llangollen than in Johnstown.
But then there are questions of why?
G: Demand.
Where does that demand come from?
S: Chester Business Park, we're commuting distance now." (2, 83-87)

A further area of general impact which was associated with tourism is that of the development and modernisation of Llangollen as a whole, and of certain specific historic buildings and specific areas of the town. It was felt that tourism had been instrumental in bringing about certain developments in the town, but that other areas had still tended to be overlooked.

There are, as can be seen, certain areas in which tourism in Llangollen was seen to have brought about positive changes, such as the renovation and re-utilisation of previously derelict buildings. Other areas, such as the physical appearance of the entrance to the town along the A5, were seen by some to have been overlooked to

the detriment of the overall appearance of the town, and hence to the detriment of tourism.

> Se: .. if you take the ECTARC building .. which has used a dilapidated chapel, the old school has been used .. with the exhibitions, and the Victorian School exhibition in there .. without tourism .. those buildings would have probably still been dilapidated and falling down and making the town look pretty rough, so there are certain positive gains by it. (1, 15, 3-9)
>
> G: The entrance to Llangollen, from the Wrexham end, is an absolute disgrace .. (2, 276, 5-6)
>
> B: .. if money could be got from central funds to do up the old houses, properly, and then they would be let into flats for people. Then you would get a decent approach along the A5, instead of all of these houses that are half empty .. (2, 281)
>
> Mo: It's maintaining the balance between developing it and not spoiling it, and also not letting it stagnate, .. it's just a case of guiding Llangollen through that so that it grows but it's not destroyed, because it is small and you don't want it to become so popular that you get all of the hills built up with modern housing estates, and then you actually destroy the thing that people came here to see. (1, 256)
>
> J: Infrastructure - there needs to be more facilities, more free facilities. Thankfully there is quiet a useful toilet in the car park .. But certainly the car parking situation is awful .. And utilising the Eisteddfod building more, and its' grounds. (3, 207)

The other way in which tourism is conceptually linked with the physical development of the town is in terms of its infrastructure. This, and associated problems of traffic and crowding are discussed later in this chapter.

One point of view which was expressed by participants in the special interest focus group regarding tourism and development was that development, as such, should not be carried out for touristic purposes, but should be more concerned with meeting the needs of the local population.

> "G: We haven't really been talking about tourist attractions, we've been talking about Llangollen as a place for Llangollen people to live in, and this is the way I think it should be. Let's make it attractive, people will come here, and welcome ..
> B: And look at us if they want to." (2, 337-338)
>
> "B: We shouldn't be promoting ourselves. We should live as we have always lived, promote our own Welsh language and all the rest of it, and get on with our own lives. If people want to come and look at us getting on with our own lives, they are seeing the genuine thing, they are very welcome ..
> H: But the genuine thing no longer exists, does it?" (2, 252-253)

Interestingly, this final comment above, "the genuine thing no longer exists, does it? " (2, 253), was made by the one focus group participant whose attitude to tourism and related issues was strongly and consistently negative throughout the discussion. The same respondent, discussing the direction which future

developments in tourism should take also made the following statement: ".. let's have Llangollen return to what we had it when we were kids." (2, 273). This, in many ways, could explain some of the basis for this participant's negativity towards tourism and tourist developments. This view of wishing to return to the past could be associated with a dislike of change, leading to the attitude that, 'all forms of change are bad, tourism is an agent of change, therefore all tourism is bad'.

In summary then, certain clear representations of tourism's role in development and the local way of life were evident from the focus group participants. Firstly, there is the view that *"Tourism provides better services and facilities which benefit the locals"*, although it is also felt that such benefits do have to be weighed against the problems of crowding and congestion during the peak summer months. Secondly, there is the widely shared representation that *"Tourism gives Llangollen a special atmosphere"*. This atmosphere is felt to be particularly noticeable in comparison to other nearby towns and villages, with Llangollen being seen to be far more cosmopolitan, culturally rich and as having a certain 'buzz' or atmosphere.

One of the most emphatically pro-tourism perspectives expressed was that *"Tourism is the lifeblood of Llangollen"*, with the opinion that the town would not survive without tourism being voiced in all of the focus groups. Some participants felt that tourism had led to an increase in property prices in the area, although the view was also expressed that this was as much due to increased car ownership and improved road infrastructure placing Llangollen within commuting distance of major urban areas.

One final representation of tourism and the local way of life which was evident from the focus group discussions was that Llangollen should not try to promote itself purely for tourism but rather that *"We should live as we've always lived, and if people want to come and look, they are very welcome"*.

8.2.2 The International Eisteddfod

One of the main benefits of the International Eisteddfod which was expressed by all three of the focus groups was its role in the creation of the strong international image associated with the town. The effects of this were most widely expressed in terms of "putting the place on the map", and the sense of pride which this

international focus brings about for local residents. This sense of pride, it would seem, is derived from the international nature of the event itself and has been reinforced by the recent trend of inviting major international performers for the main Saturday night performance.

Another distinct effect of the International Eisteddfod which was referred to was its apparent role in encouraging repeat visits to Llangollen by tourist. The opinion was expressed that people who visited the town specifically for the event itself were then more likely to return at some other time of the year. The comment was also made that the staging of the event in the new purpose-built International Eisteddfod Pavilion was of benefit in attracting internationally recognised stars to the town, thereby potentially adding to the sense of local pride.

> Ma: I think the benefit is that the Eisteddfod brings people to the town .. and they then tend to come back for other things. So I think it is a great catalyst for tourism, and it has probably put Llangollen more on the map than an equivalent tourist town of the same population. (1, 11, 6-11)
>
> I: We would have had the tourists in any case, I think, but not as many as we get now. People come to the Eisteddfod, and they probably make another visit at some other time of the year. (1, 96, 4-6)
>
> B: I think it's the Eisteddfod that has put the name Llangollen on the map, on the international map. (1, 98)
>
> M: I think the staging of the new pavilion compared with the old tent, .. it's a much better presentation, and it really is nice to see that and having such top stars coming to this town. (3, 89)

Another direct consequence of the International Eisteddfod which was recognised by all three of the focus groups as being of global benefit to the community was that of cultural exchange through contact with a diverse range of people from all over the world. The benefits of such contact are seen as being an increased level of tolerance and understanding of others and a sense of non-parochiality. This openness and tolerance were seen as being of particular importance for the children of the town, discouraging xenophobia and giving them a glimpse of other cultures from around the world.

> Ma: I think that the Eisteddfod has enriched a tremendous number of peoples' lives, it has given them opportunities to mix and meet with many nations and cultures ... you have the world in your back yard, and I think that is the real asset that people have, and particularly for the youth of this town .. (1, 102)
>
> J: And our children are Europeans rather then being parochial, they're not the xenophobes that is normally attributed to small Welsh towns so it's, it's on a community level, it's widened people's views of the world I think. (3, 24)
>
> I: Another thing with this is you don't get the sort of racial problem either, do you? .. you treat them as equals .. (1, 252)
>
> J: Tolerance and non-parochiality, awareness of other cultures.(3, 130)
>
> M: I mean, it's great to see these people from other countries, and over the years I've had many conversations with them, and to exchange views, it is of tremendous interest. (3, 141)
>
> J: So, people of Llangollen are sometimes more used to other cultures, more so than other people from other places .. as a community, they tend to be more tolerant. (3, 20, 10-14)
>
> I: You don't have to go abroad to see life do you in Llangollen. If you live here you can see it in the town .. (1, 261)

The broader cultural impacts of the International Eisteddfod on the community were less clearly defined but related, again, to the idea of the cosmopolitan nature and cultural richness of Llangollen in comparison to other places, not only locally, but also to other towns of a similar size and nature nationally. The comment made below which is particularly insightful is that "You can't measure culture in coppers .. " (2, 213). This particular comment is interesting in that it gives further evidence to support Pearce et al's (1991) suggestion that ".. some individuals separate economic issues from other forms of tourism impact" (p.150).

> L: You can't measure culture in coppers, but it's an important thing - it's what gives Llangollen a slightly cosmopolitan feel about it. (2, 213, 4-6)
>
> L: If you go further up [the valley] by Corwen, people are more entrenched in their viewpoints because there's not many people coming through compared with somewhere like Llangollen where you get lots of different people coming with different ideas, and I think it enriches the culture. (2, 213, 6-10)
>
> B: Where in the rest of the country would you find concerts of the quality that we get in the size of little town that we've got? We become international for one week, and it is very exhilarating. (2, 142)

The participants in the Eisteddfod Committee focus group were most aware of the wider-reaching impacts of the International Eisteddfod on Wales as a whole, both in specific musical terms and in the wider sense of creating a greater awareness of Wales and Welsh identity internationally.

> Ma: I think that the whole of Wales benefits from the Eisteddfod, because .. we create a shop window for Wales .. and suddenly in 50 different countries around the world they are talking about Wales, and it's creating an identity for Wales .. a greater awareness, because you go to places and people are aware of where Wales is .. (1, 186)
>
> E: Musically, um, it really has had a huge impact upon Wales, on the community too - it's a platform for a lot of local talent - but throughout Wales it brought international classical music and polyphonic music to Wales by cleverly printing the music with a Welsh translation, so that it was available for all the national eisteddfodau. The impact on Wales and coming to hear the choirs here ... you know musically it has been of inestimable value for soloists, instrumentalists and choirs. (1, 187)

The view was widely held that the International Eisteddfod had changed over the years, having become more commercialised and a less spontaneous part of the town than in the past. This reason for these changes was seen as being due to the very success of the event, with the participants being more restricted to the International Eisteddfod field itself, and impromptu public performances being more strictly controlled than in the past.

> Mo: It's just that it has changed like everything else .. it used to be that the eisteddfodau were an integral part of the average person's life, I don't think that you can say that with all honesty today. It is an integral part of a certain part of society, and there's different parts within that (1, 200)
>
> "B: The Eisteddfod has changed because it has become more .. (2, 144)
> L: Commercialised .. (2, 145)
> B: commercialised, yes. You don't get them dancing in the streets and over the bridge, it doesn't have that delightful informality." (2, 144-146)
>
> "L: They did used to dance on the bridge though, I remember it as a child, and everywhere singing ..
> G: Well, they are starting to bring that back again now, as a tourist attraction, it's not as spontaneous now. You can blame the media and everything because they all play a part and it is very controlled. A few years ago they were discouraged from leaving the field to perform in the streets, and now they are starting to re-introduce that as a tourist attraction to make the Eisteddfod more attractive." (2, 151-152)
>
> Mo: I think maybe, to a certain extent it is changing because what maybe 20-30 years ago would have been a very unusual sight is taken for granted by youngsters today .. because they have seen it on television .. (1, 105)

Another interesting perception of the way in which the International Eisteddfod had changed, as expressed by one participant in the PTFA focus group, was that of the actual number of people attending having fallen. The reality of this situation, however, according to the International Eisteddfod Committee focus group, is that the numbers are, if anything, increasing. One change which has definitely occurred over the years is that the audience which the International Eisteddfod attracts has

become increasingly old, a trend reflected in the nature of the majority of the volunteers involved in the event. This trend can easily be explained by looking at the particular type of folk music and traditional dance groups which are represented in the event - a style of music and dance which is not of strong appeal to a mainstream or youth audience.

C: The amount of people that attend has dwindled over the years. Whether that's due to a lack of interest, or whether they haven't gone about marketing it as widely as they should. (3, 148)

Se: .. we are now selling more tickets than we probably ever have.. (1, 194, 16)

Se: I think we were distinctly aware that the average age of our audience is fairly old really .. (1, 194, 1-2)

E: As regards the workers and the organisation, there's about 300 .. most of the are middle-aged because they have the time, but every committee has got it's younger people which is very important really, and we try to encourage .. (1, 195, 1-4)

A final point of interest here is this last comment, from a member of the International Eisteddfod committee, that there are around 300 volunteers who participate in the festival. This figure actually represents the number of committee members involved in the event, whereas the actual figure for volunteers, including those who offer accommodation to competitors, is three times as great, totaling around 900 people, from within a fifteen mile radius of Llangollen (Attenburrow, 1996) . This particular perception is interesting in that it could suggest that, as an elected member of the music committee, this particular participant only considers the 'workers' in the event as being those volunteers who are involved in the various committees, or who have a specific input into the preparation and running of the event.

So, certain clear views of the impacts of the International Eisteddfod on the cultural life of Llangollen were evident in the focus group results. Firstly, there is the strongly-held and clearly articulated representation that "The International Eisteddfod puts Llangollen on the map". This was felt to have occurred both on a national level, in terms of encouraging visitors to the town, and also on an international level, given the very nature of the event.

The global nature of the International Eisteddfod has also given the town a level of contact with other cultures which is unusual in such a small place, leading to the widely shared representation that, "The International Eisteddfod enriches peoples'

lives and encourages openness through cultural exchange". This idea of cultural exchange is seen as being very important to the community as a whole, particularly in terms of the children being brought up in the town.

On a local level, the cultural benefits of the International Eisteddfod were recognised as making the place more cosmopolitan, but impacts of the event were also seen on a national level, creating a 'shop window for Wales' internationally, and raising musical standards nationally.

Changes which had taken place in the event itself were seen to be that it had become less spontaneous and spectacular, and that the nature of its audience was becoming increasingly old. Accompanying this notion of an ageing audience was the perception that attendance had fallen in recent years, despite the fact that, in real terms, the event was selling as many tickets as ever.

8.2.3 Arts and Exhibitions

In the questionnaire survey, items relating to this area of arts and exhibitions in Llangollen yielded results indicating that much of what was put on in Llangollen in these terms was of interest only to a small minority of the local population (Chapter 6, Table 6.14). This view was corroborated by the focus groups, with attitude being expressed that much of what was put on in terms of arts and exhibitions was poorly promoted and ultimately of little interest to the majority of the population. There was also an interesting contradiction evident in the responses, with the feeling existing, on the one hand, that much of what was put on was of interest only to visitors. On the other hand, however, the view was expressed that exhibitions of this nature did not, in themselves, attract tourists and existed simply to "fill the spaces that are there" (1, 36).

> "Se: I don't think that the exhibitions attract tourists, they may visit them when coming here.
> Mo: It depends on the tourist doesn't it?
> B: I've got an idea that they're not even designed to attract tourists, merely designed to fill the spaces that are there." (1, 134-136)
>
> Mo: I don't think exhibitions like that actually individually bring tourists in, if you're talking about your average tourist. I think that the fact that there are several different things for people to do brings tourists in as a whole. It's not one particular event that brings your average tourist .. I think that if you are talking about these certain high-brow arts things, you will get people coming to that specific event .. they are coming to see their particular love or joy, which is totally different. (1, 144)
>
> S: I don't think the exhibitions actually attract people. If they happen to be here and there's an exhibition on, they will go into it. The locals, if it is something of interest to them, will go in, but I don't think that they actually bring people in. (2, 197)
>
> Ma: There is a spin-off, people come for the car rally and bring the wife with them, and she suddenly realises "this is a pretty town, we'll go back there". .. all of these things do get people in who otherwise wouldn't have come, so there is a spin-off, and the more diverse we can be in that the better. (1, 146)

The last comment here, however, shows that while arts and exhibitions are not generally seen as particularly attractive to large numbers of tourists, there is an opinion that visitors for a special purpose or event will have a tendency to make a repeat visit at a later date.

The overall view expressed by the focus group participants of arts and exhibitions seems to be that if something is of particular personal interest to an individual, then that individual will be of the opinion that the exhibition is of interest to others as well. This again continues the particular theme in relation to culture that "what I like is good, what I do not like is bad"

> B: I think as far as the art exhibitions are concerned we are rather over-endowed with those, we have three galleries, and that's just too much I think, for a town of this size.
> Mo: .. personally, that is when I tend to .. be aware that there is an exhibition on, when it is somebody local, showing their work. (1, 53-54)
>
> "B: I'm not sure how well patronised is the ECTARC, I don't go very often ..
> Mo: There tends to be a lot of people from outside Llangollen who go to that."(1, 62-63)
>
> M: It all comes down to marketing and advertising though. Half the events that go on, particularly in here [ECTARC], you don't even notice them, unless you come up to the steps here (3, 97)
>
> E: there was a very boring one on Opera recently, Welsh National Opera, I was most disappointed .. really we need something that relates to North Wales or Llangollen .. (1, 137)
>
> I: I think the most interesting one they've ever had on in ECTARC is the one they've got on at the moment, it's really good and does bring people in. [The current exhibition is about the history of the Eisteddfod] (1, 140)

Two main representations were expressed in relation to exhibitions and concerts, namely that: *"Exhibitions do not attract tourists"*, and that *"What I like personally is of interest to others, what I do not like personally is not"*. The first of these representations may be derived from the view that the appeal of such events is not broad enough to draw people into the town unless they have a very specific personal interest in the subject. This is closely linked to the second idea that the focus group participants are themselves more enthusiastic about events which contain an element of specific personal interest or local connection.

8.2.4 Tourism and Employment

It is clear from the stated view of the focus group participants that this is an area of key importance in the construction of an overall attitude to tourism. The opinion was voiced in all three of the focus groups that the employment benefits of tourism are essential for both the present and the future prosperity of Llangollen. It was also recognised that, for the most part, jobs in the tourism industry are short-term or seasonal, and poorly paid. Given the shortage of other forms of employment locally, however, the tourist industry is therefore seen as fundamental to the way of life of many of the residents.

"Ma: I think tourism has meant more jobs, not necessarily better paid jobs, but at least a starting block for lots of the young people ...
I: .. it brings employment into the town, with the tourist industry, my own daughter she works in hotel work and .. I just think it's a positive thing." (1, 17-18)

Se: .. certainly as far as the community as a whole is concerned, it must be of great benefit .. but yes for individuals as well, if only .. for the employment side of it .. employment being a problem as it is throughout the country .. (1, 254)

S: OK, there's employment - most of it is seasonal, but that's a job for half the year, which is better than a job for none of the year. (2, 207, 7-8)

J: I don't think the town could survive without tourism, which is now its' only industry,(3,16, 8-9)

J: If it didn't have any tourism, with the seed factory still closed, it would be a dreadful little hole in the middle of nowhere. The quality of life, perhaps not of everybody, but certainly a great deal of people, certainly is improved. But, again, it's this seasonal thing isn't it? (3, 197)

This last comment in some ways summarises the situation, with tourism employment being viewed against other types of jobs, and the benefits recognised as being seasonal. Such employment benefits, moreover, are recognised as being of benefit not only to the individuals whose livelihoods depend on tourism, but as having wider positive impacts on the community as a whole. This attitude is evident

from the statements that "I don't think the town could survive without tourism .." (3, 16), and "If it didn't have any tourism .. it would be a dreadful little hole in the middle of nowhere" (3, 197). In this way, it can be seen that whilst the direct economic benefits of tourism are seen to accrue to certain individuals directly involved with tourism or related services, it is the community as a whole which would suffer without it. The overall representation of the role and nature of tourism employment would therefore appear to be that *"Tourism employment is vital to Llangollen, but the jobs are poorly-paid and seasonal"*.

8.2.5 Traffic and Crowding

The particular problem of traffic and crowding as a consequence of the presence of tourists is recognised in many destinations with an historical character and where the infrastructure in was never intended to deal with a heavy influx of tourist traffic, both motorised and pedestrian, see Mathieson and Wall (1982); King, Pizam and Millman (1993); Linberg and Johnson (1997); Liu, Sheldon and Var (1987).

Whilst not an issue incorporated in the questionnaire survey (mainly because of the obvious nature of the problem), this was an issue of concern for each of the focus groups. The blame for this issue of crowding was not, however, confined to the presence of tourists on busy days. It was also recognised that such crowding was as much a function of the geographical bottleneck in which the town is situated, the lack of suitable land available for development, and the overall lack of parking. Furthermore, whilst the issue of traffic congestion in particular was seen as being related to the presence of short-stay tourists, it was recognised that there was not enough parking in the town even for the residents.

It is interesting that the issue of traffic and crowding should be such a prominent element of the focus group discussions, given that the direction of the question routing was specifically focused on the cultural impacts of tourism. However, when talking about the culture of the town in terms of the every day way of life of the residents, it becomes evident that this is one of the issues which most strongly affects the feelings of the local population towards the presence of tourists.

I: .. Against it of course you get the hustle and bustle of the traffic on the main road, and .. I think they could possibly do something a little bit better about that .. (1, 18, 3-6)

M: Everybody seems to accept the 7-mile tail back on the A5 as acceptable, and the local traders ... say "No, if you put a bypass in this town, we won't get the visitors." (3, 41)

M: I mean, that A5 is so dangerous in the summertime, with so much traffic on it. It frightens me when I let my two children out sometimes. (3, 41, 21-22)

J: But air quality is something that's very, very badly affected by the input of tourism, not just the steam railway .. but the A5 again (3, 42)

One reason for such congestion problems which was widely recognised was the outdated infrastructure of the town, and the failure to keep the amenities in line with the growth of both tourism and road traffic levels. It is also worth noting that there have been plans for the construction of a bypass around the town (Land Use Consultants, 1987), although such plans have met with a mixed reception due to the potential loss of trade which could foreseeably arise from such a development.

B: I don't think that the amenities have kept pace with the growth of the tourism. I mean the centre of the town .. should have been pedestrianised years ago to make it an attractive tourist town, .. we've got all this massive traffic problem. We just haven't developed at the same pace .. (1, 34)

I: I think one of the things is to improve the parking and the access roads into the town. I think they're going to have to do something about the traffic altogether yet. (1, 254)

J: .. if you put the proper infrastructure in like car parking prior to you getting into Llangollen, .. a park and ride, would alleviate a lot of the difficulties that we locals have got.(3,162, 8-12)

A particular aspect of the traffic issue which was considered by the focus group participants as being directly linked to tourism was the problem of coaches and the related congestion caused by large vehicles stopping in an old town with narrow streets and limited parking. These problems of congestion were seen to be exacerbated by the inappropriate usage of the main street as a drop-off point by some coach companies.

G: Coaches are a very, very marked problem, especially in the summer, coming down Castle Street and turning into the car park which has never been designed for these huge coaches. (2, 18)

H: The whole town has not been designed to take the traffic that exists today .. (2, 19)

G: I think what most of them [coach passengers] do is go to the toilet where they can't spend at all, and have a cup of coffee. (2, 50)

As an overall problem, however, it was recognised that the parking situation was not purely a function of the tourist presence within the town, but was one which would have existed anyway due to the limited infrastructure brought about by the physically restricted nature of the place. The increased number of people in the town during the peak periods, however, was clearly perceived as making the situation worse.

J: .. there's a real problem with car parking in the town which is made worse by the fact that we've got loads of tourists about. (3, 116)

J: .. maybe the parking will change, but it won't be because of the locals, it will be because of tourism - it will be to their benefit. (3, 28)

C: I think it doesn't matter though about tourists at all. Even for locals there's not enough parking. (3, 32)

J: The parking is certainly the worst problem here, and in terms of tourism, you can only get so much in. What happens, basically, is the people arrive here, see that there's no parking places and move on, and that's carbon monoxide we don't need. (3, 216)

The problems of traffic congestion and crowding, then, whilst intrinsically linked to the presence of tourists in Llangollen, were not seen as being entirely the fault of the tourists themselves, but were perceived to be more of a planning problem inherent to the physical layout of the town.

A final perspective on crowding as an issue, which was expressed by the most negative of the focus group participants, is that Llangollen simply is not large enough to accommodate the high visitor numbers experienced during the peak periods of the year.

H: I've always had the feeling that Llangollen is a pint pot into which we are trying to pour a quart. (2, 115)

H: The quart into the pint pot. We invite all of these people in, we make Llangollen attractive for these people, but we haven't got the amenities to contain them. (2, 340)

Two points can be made about these comments. Firstly, this participant suggests that the visitors are 'poured in' to Llangollen, or that the numbers which arrive are specifically invited. Secondly, there is the comment that "we haven't got the amenities to contain them" (2, 340), which could imply that this individual has a desire to keep the tourists contained and separate from the locals. This attitude is in keeping with the finding from the questionnaire survey that the members of the negative cluster of respondents (see Chapter Six) were most likely to approve of the suggestion that the activities of tourists and locals be kept more separate.

The issue of traffic and congestion resulting from the presence of tourists was one which was clearly of major concern to all of the participants, with the representation being widely shared that *"Tourist traffic causes local congestion"*. The view was, however, represented that there was not enough parking availability even for the locals, and that the situation was made worse, rather than actually being caused by the presence of tourists. These problems were also seen to be a function of the physical organisation of the town, which was seen by some participants as being too small and lacking in infrastructure to accommodate the number of visitors and passing traffic experienced during the peak summer months.

8.2.6 Tourism and Change

One of the major areas of discussion here was that of how tourism itself was seen to have changed in Llangollen over the years. These changes were related both to the shifting nature of the town itself, and to the type of tourism which it does attract.

> B: Well, I suppose in the early days it was very much a place for day trippers to come .. a sort of weekend trade of the tourism, but I would have thought that had changed quite a bit. It was now more cosmopolitan .. so you do see a wider variety of visitor, .. with all the wide variety of attractions, it is attracting a very different type of person .. (1, 19)
>
> B: Well, I've seen it change .. from a little market town with .. visitors who mostly came for bed and breakfast and stayed in the hotels and came for walking, to a very busy town. Because the housing has increased, the indigenous population has increased and the visitors have [increased]. (2, 8)

More recently, the main changes in tourism which were identified by the focus groups was the extension of the tourist season due to the town attracting a wider range of tourists and promoting more activities outside of the main tourist season.

> "E: And it is amazing that the season in Llangollen doesn't close, not really. There's very rarely slack weekends, there's always walkers or trains, canal people or something. (1, 148)
>
> S: They [walkers] bring quite a bit, because whereas three years ago they came though mainly for the day walking, now I know over Christmas and New Year this town is nearly booked out. A lot of them are coming to walk for the week, they're paying for B&B, they're going to have their meals, they'll be buying maps, you know .. (2, 125)
>
> S: They [canoeists] are finding out that it is as cheap to go into accommodation as it is to sleep in a tent and buy breakfast. (2, 344)

The desire to reverse the changes in Llangollen which had been brought about through tourism was expressed, but only by one of the focus group participants.

H: I can remember Llangollen 35 years ago when I was living in Ruabon, and one of things we used to do .. was to walk .. to this delightful little town, and we would go up the castle, then we would walk down the castle and go for an ice cream and then go home. I would like Llangollen to come back to that, and I think a lot of residents in this town would too. In those

days Llangollen was a beautiful little place, slightly commercialised, but not to the extent which it is today. (2, 90)

This quote is interesting in that it comes from the one participant in the focus groups to express a consistently negative attitude towards tourism and tourists, and yet he did not himself originate from Llangollen. This attitude could, however, be explained by a desire to return to the "good old days", a sentiment which was not shared by the other participants in the focus groups.

> H: .. let's have Llangollen return to what we had when we were kids.
> B: But you can't turn the clock back ..
> S: No, I think it has to go forward, but keep the quality, don't let the tat take over." (2, 273-275)

One participant in the focus group involving the PTFA members did feel that tourism was to blame for a more serious decline in the town. This participant was one of the lifelong inhabitants of Llangollen, and as such may be more keenly aware of the effects upon the town over the years of the loss of its other industries.

M: I think a lot of character's gone. There's not that 'togetherness' no more like when .. I used to see locals working together, they organised things together, there was a lot more 'feeling' around. It [tourism] has just killed this town. Maybe that's too harsh a term. Certainly, a lot of feeling has gone out of this place. (3, 18)

This view was immediately countered, however, albeit by a resident of only six years. This is interesting in that it illustrates the effect of duration of residence on certain views of tourism.

J: I don't think that, I think that the industries went away, like other industries left other places due to other economic factors and I don't really blame tourism for that .. (3, 20)

This point of view was perhaps less likely to have been expressed by longer-standing members of the community. It is possible that a longer term resident would perceive the decline in other industries as being a consequence of the increased presence of tourists in the town, rather than seeing the growth in the tourism industry as a practical solution to the long-term decline in other industries.

In terms of the representations of changes to tourism in Llangollen, there is a broadly hegemonic view that *"Tourism in Llangollen has changed from mainly day-trippers to a wider variety of visitors all year-round"*. This was seen as being beneficial in that more tourists were staying longer in the town, and therefore spending more money.

One participant did feel that tourism had brought about a loss of the 'togetherness' of the town, and the desire was expressed to ".. have Llangollen return to what we had when we were kids" (2, 273). On the other hand, however, the opinion was also expressed that many of the changes which had taken place in Llangollen were not the result of tourism and that "industries left other places due to other economic factors, and I don't really blame tourism for that" (3, 20).

8.2.7 History and Heritage

The questionnaire results on this topic were fairly inconclusive, other than to show a perception among a majority of respondents that tourism had led to an increase in interest from the residents in the history and heritage of Llangollen. A high level of interest in the history and traditions of the area was also expressed by the majority of respondents. Another finding of the questionnaire survey was that those participants who were most negative about tourism also felt that the history and traditions of Llangollen were presented in an unrealistic or inauthentic manner for tourism.

Two particular themes emerge from the focus groups in this area. Firstly, there is the issue of "heritage and tourism" in terms of the use of the past as a tourist resource. Secondly there is the issue of the history of tourism in Llangollen, or the recognition that tourism and hospitality themselves represent a major tradition in the town.

This first of these issues, the use of the past for touristic purposes, was not viewed negatively by any of the participants, with the opinion generally being that not enough use was made of the area's history and heritage, and this was seen potentially as of benefit to the local population.

"How do you feel about the way in which the history and traditions are used to attract tourists?
P: Not to their full effect, obviously, are they?
M: I don't think they're used, either through the school as much as they should be, right up to adults." (3, 113-115)

J: There isn't enough use made of that sort of tourist element. It's not marketed as it should be. (3, 121, 3-4)

One area of discussion which revealed a certain amount of confusion among the focus group participants concerned exactly who was regarded as being responsible for the development and promotion of historic attractions in the town. The focus group participants were generally unsure of what was carried out by which organisation, and the various bodies involved in presenting Llangollen's history and heritage were mixed together and confused by the participants.

> "B: [the use of history and heritage] implies that there is a body that will do that, that will see that we make use of our traditions and so forth, but there isn't a body .. it's purely commercial interests and personal interests.
> Ma: But having said that we have the Castle here, Valle Crucis Abbey, Eliseg's Pillar, Plas Newydd, the bridge, the church, etc..
> B: Yes, but that would be left to people like Cadw [Welsh Heritage] or the Tourist Board, it's not a community affair." (1, 157-159)
>
> "E: But then it's the Town Council who do anything like .. the very attractive tourist attractions like the new lamps on the bridge ..
> B: But that's not a local affair, is it, that's Cadw [Welsh Heritage]." (1, 169-170)

There was also a certain amount of confusion expressed by the participants over what exactly constitutes the area's history and heritage. This is, again, interesting given that a high level of interest in such elements was evident from the questionnaire results.

> *"What elements of the history and heritage of Llangollen are most used by the tourist industry?*
> L: Do you mean like the Eisteddfod?
> B: There's Plas Newydd of course ..
> H: Our main heritage, of course, is the scenery, the valley itself not the town. The town itself has got very little to offer." (2, 98-101)
>
> B: It depends what you call history, I mean, is the railway history? (1, 152)

This view that "The town itself has got very little to offer" (2, 101) (from the only staunchly anti-tourism participant) was not shared by any of the other participants, with the opposite view being most widely expressed. This can be seen from the following response from the one participant from the PTFA focus group who was most consistently negative regarding many of the impacts of tourism in Llangollen: " We've got the cafe services, we've got so many things for us, the mountains, the castle, Plas Newydd, we've all the history here" (3, 34).

Similarly to the views on arts and exhibitions within the town, some participants were of the opinion that the specific heritage attractions or facilities in Llangollen were not developed or run with the specific goal of attracting tourists. The opinion

of these participants would appear to be that heritage is of interest to a highly specific group of people outside of the mainstream of visitors to Llangollen.

> Mo: It's a reaction to the interest rather than a conscious thing to create the interest. ... I think that with a lot of our heritage we have reacted to people's interest .. (1, 163)
>
> I: I don't really think history is used to attract tourists ... the tourist leaflets that are put out it doesn't so much mention them [historical attractions] as mention the scenery and things like that. (1, 151)
>
> E: Plas Newydd has been organised, hasn't it, actively .. (1, 167)

However, not all participants were of this opinion, with some people expressing a strong personal interest in museums, history and heritage. It was these participants who expressed a particular interest in, or knowledge of local history and heritage and who then were more likely to perceive such elements as important to the community as a whole.

> P: .. there's so many museums and activities in town, .. that's what we came for .. to visit those historical monuments and museums. (3, 44)
>
> "J: That's another thing that people don't realise is that there's an Arthurian legend that goes with this town.
> C: But the town is full of history." (3, 106-107)
>
> M: I must admit I was impressed when I went around Plas Newydd last year, you get your own personal walkman and you go round each room and it tells you what to look for. .. It's lovely to see it in the condition it has been re-developed into, and the touch with the walkman is great - and a lot of the locals probably don't even know that they do that now. (3, 101)

This shows that those members of the community with a particular personal interest in the history and heritage of the town were more aware of its presentation, and will be more enthusiastic about the positive benefits arising from such elements, both for the community and for tourists.

The second main theme to be brought out by the focus groups is that of the long-standing tradition of tourism and hospitality in Llangollen. There appears to be a strong awareness of the historical tradition of hospitality in the town, given its border position on the main trunk road from London to Ireland (the A5). Furthermore, there also appears to be a recognition of the historical development of the tourism industry in Llangollen, particularly since Victorian times.

> Ma: But you know Llangollen has always been a tourist town, because I remember my father in law telling me how, when he was a little boy, they used to stand and wait for the train with the donkey carts to pick the people up and take them, and the number of tourists that came, and he was talking about 1910, .. it was a walker's paradise, and it still is today a walker's paradise. (1, 90)
>
> Mo: I think Caesar's restaurant used to be a kind of hostelry run by monks .. and it has a history of being some kind of traveler's rest. .. It would have been a market town .. where people came, .. and had to stay because you couldn't travel so easily then." (1, 91)
>
> B: From the early 19th century it has attracted people, it was Crow Castle, the gothic idea, the ancient ruin, the rushing river, and then Miss Ponsonby and Lady Eleanor were bringing the nobility here. (2, 104)
>
> S: But hasn't Llangollen always been a traditional stopping-off place? A little tourist place? (2, 217)

Such views of the town as an historic "traveler's rest" which has been attracting people "From the early 19th century" are in direct contrast to the opinion expressed by the most negative of the focus group members. This particular participant argued that " .. tourism does not do anything for the community of Llangollen" (2, 203), despite the town's obvious historical dependence on its hospitality industry . Furthermore, he later expresses the view that ".. the genuine thing no longer exists, does it? " (2, 253), as if to say that the present day situation of Llangollen as a small tourist town is a false representation of the place, despite the historical evidence to the contrary.

One representation of the use of the past for touristic purposes evident from the focus groups is that *"Not enough use is made of the history and heritage"*. This was most strongly felt by the members of the local PTFA group who, as parents, were most keenly aware of the educational value of such elements. Other representations expressed here regarding the history and heritage of Llangollen revolved in part around the question of "*What does constitute the history and heritage of Llangollen?"*. Some participants were extremely unclear about this, whereas others, with a greater level of interest in such matters, were very aware of the different historical features of the place. There was also a widely-held consensual representation regarding the historical tradition of hospitality and tourism in Llangollen.

8.2.8 Language and Culture

The role and importance of the Welsh language and culture in Llangollen divided opinion was between the more traditionalist, welsh-speaking perspective and the broader, Anglo-welsh element. The view was commonly held that Llangollen as a town was not particularly Welsh in a strict traditional sense. Rather than bemoaning this, however, the general attitude was that this was a sign of the town's cosmopolitan nature.

> "Se: .. it's a cosmopolitan community, and in fact Welsh speaking Welsh people are in a very, very low minority ..
> E: Yes, there are very few of us. In fact most Welsh speakers are people who have come to live here. I can only think of two families that were actually born in Llangollen that are still speaking Welsh." (1, 85-86)
>
> "P: But I do find here that it's not like Corwen .. where it's Welsh and that's it .. I don't tend to feel that so much in town here that if you are English .. that they turn around and talk in Welsh, because you're English .. That's a positive feature of the town here, but if you go in that direction up the road [further into Wales] it's very different.
> C: But the first language is Welsh up there, it's more like a second language [English].
> M: You're right there .. we're tourists when we go to Corwen [laughter]." (3, 126-128)

It was, however, recognised that this was not always the situation, and that the town was at one time considerably more traditionally Welsh in nature.

Se: .. going back maybe 75-100 years ago, if you think of the number of chapels in town, well they were all Welsh chapels, so at one stage going back to the beginning of the century then it must have been a Welsh community, ... but that has changed because of the geographical situation and the way in which things have developed. (1, 89)

Part of this 'way in which things have developed' appears to be associated with tourism in the minds of some residents, with the following participant, for example, explicitly linking the decline in the town's Welsh character with tourism growth.

G: Can I .. talk about the Welsh culture and the impact of tourism on the Welsh culture? .. compared with Corwen .. which has a very strong Welsh element, and a very strong Welsh cultural element .. in Llangollen it's virtually disappeared. (2, 214)

The view was also commonly held that the Welsh nature of the town is a vital part of its culture, particularly in relation to its attractiveness as a tourist destination. The fact of still being very much a Welsh town was seen as being an important element in the town's attractiveness to visitors, creating a sense of "otherness" and a distinct individual identity in relation to other similar destinations. This was evident

even to the extent of the use in the town of the to the extent of the tourism marketing slogan "where Wales welcomes the world" being used in Llangollen.

G: I can remember somebody outside Zion Chapel taking a photograph .. I thought what exactly are you photographing, and it was the public toilet sign in Welsh: that was the tourist attraction. And it's nice to see all of the signs in Welsh now as well as in English, because you realise "Ah, we're in a foreign land, look at that word" .. But .. the Welsh culture has never been commercialised in Llangollen, we've never made use of it. (2, 219)

This comment is interesting in that it illustrates the importance of the Welsh language and culture in symbolic terms as a tourist resource, clearly situating Llangollen in "a foreign land". The final comment above, that "Welsh culture has never been commercialised in Llangollen, we've never made use of it", is also interesting in that other places are, perhaps, seen as more objectively "Welsh" as a result of their greater usage of Welsh cultural symbolism in their place marketing.

This idea of the useage of Welsh culture for tourism purposes leads on to a further area of confusion apparent from responses of focus group participants - the idea that there is a difference between what actually represents Welsh culture today, and the images and symbolism which are derived from traditional Welsh culture that are used for tourism purposes.

"G: But I'm saying, as a tourist if you want to come and hear Llangollen people speaking in English or singing in English, that's no great shakes. But if you want to come and hear a male voice choir ..
L: Is that what Wales is about these days, Welsh choirs and Welsh dollies made in Taiwan?
G: No, that is not Welsh culture ..
S: Actually , that is a lot of how it is promoted abroad. If you look at the American market ..
L: Of course it is, they come for the Welsh love spoons .." (2, 243-247)

S: Well, if you go up to Betws-y-coed, Caernarfon, they, most of their tourism is based upon the Welsh culture. You've got your castles, Princes of Wales, and they really play on it, and they do well out of it. (2, 221)

Here, it is interesting to see the difference in opinion, with there being a clear distinction drawn by participants between what really constitutes Welsh culture and the way in which symbolic elements of traditional Welsh culture are used for touristic purposes.

Another cultural theme emerging in the focus groups is the role of language in the context of Welsh identity, particularly in a community where only a small minority of the population are first-language Welsh speakers.

> "G: See, you never hear any penillion [Welsh verses] singing or harp playing in the pubs anymore, you used to have.
> B: Ha, I'm grinning because although I'm half Welsh, I loathe penillion!
> G: That's because you don't know the language, you see.
> B: No, still putting language aside.
> G: But you do get a lot of tourists asking "where can we see some Welsh singing?" (2,222 - 226)
>
> B: I'm not denying it, I just don't like it! (2, 230)

The above exchange shows some of the complexity behind this situation, where some individuals placed greater importance than others on the role of language in Welsh identity. This was sharply articulated by one participant below (2, 232), who was of the opinion that, " .. if you haven't got the language, then you haven't got a culture either, because the whole culture is based on language". Such a rigid and fiercely traditionalist view of culture was not held by the more Anglicised members of the group (or more Anglo-Welsh), as illustrated by the comment made below that " .. you shouldn't judge the Welsh culture just by the language, I think you've got to look to the youth and their values, it's more than just the language .." (2, 231).

> "L: .. it was my greatest regret that my children, if they were going to be educated in Llangollen .. could not learn through the medium of Welsh. But it is changing .. which will help preserve the language, but .. you shouldn't judge the Welsh culture just by the language, I think that you've got to look to the youth and their values, it's more than just the language ..
> G: But if you haven't got the language, then you haven't got a culture either, because the whole culture is based on language. How can you read poetry, your literature?
> B: No, I admit I have missed out on that, but I have been brought up in a Welsh element all of my life and I have absorbed it all.
> G: Through the medium of English ..
> B: Well, partly .." (2, 231-235)

This illustrates a further conceptual divide in terms of what really constitutes Welsh culture in objective terms. For the purpose of tourism promotion this can be interpreted as the more easily identifiable elements of Welsh history and traditions. From a strictly traditionalist perspective, however, the Welsh language and culture are indivisible, and any real concept of Welsh culture is impossible without the language. For participants with a less stringent view of Welsh culture, however, Welshness could be more widely identified with both physical, inanimate evidence of the historical past, and the animated representations of both former and contemporary traditions. It was also linked by them to the future in terms of how such a culture will be taken forward by the next generation.

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The general opinion in the focus groups regarding Llangollen and the Welsh language and culture was that Llangollen was more cosmopolitan than other more intrinsically Welsh towns and villages nearby. The importance of Welsh culture to the town was, however, recognised in terms both of creating a strong touristic image and of fostering a sense of 'otherness' for the place. Exactly what constitutes Welsh culture today was unclear for the participants, with there being a divide between the Welsh 'tourist culture' as promoted abroad, the Welsh linguistic, literary and artistic heritage represented by the traditionalists, and a broader sense of 'Welshness', representing the younger generation and the majority of the non Welsh-speaking, or Anglo-welsh participants.

So, one of the main views expressed here regarding the nature and role of the Welsh language and culture in Llangollen is that *"Llangollen was once more traditionally Welsh, but is now more cosmopolitan"*. This change over the years was not seen as being intrinsically linked to tourism as such, and was perceived by some of the respondents as being of distinct benefit to the town. However, the view also existed that *"Not enough is made of the Welsh culture in Llangollen"*, with this being seen both in terms of its useage for touristic purposes and the cultural benefit to the local population. There was also a clear divide in opinion, or at least a lack of consensus, regarding exactly what does constitute Welsh culture. The more traditionalist perspective holds the welsh language as being central to any notions of culture and identity, with the more moderate, "modern" perspective considering culture and identity in broader, less restrictive terms.

8.3 Summary and Conclusion

8.3.1 Equity Dimensions

In conclusion, then, a number of broad representations of tourism were expressed in the focus groups. The first section examined the equity dimensions expressed by the focus group respondents, initially looking at the perceived benefits of tourism in Llangollen from at the personal and community levels. The three main perspectives presented here were that: *"The town of Llangollen could not survive economically without tourism"*; at the same time, however, the view was clearly expressed that *"The economic benefits of tourism only accrue to those people who are directly involved in business"*. So, whilst the town of Llangollen was seen to be reliant upon

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tourism for its continued prosperity, it was felt that only those individuals with a direct interest in business in the town actually benefited personally in economic terms. A further dimension in terms of perceived personal and community benefits is the belief that *"The local attractions and services don't encourage the locals to support them"*. This point of view was influenced by the fact that many local services and facilities did not offer any concession to locals, and that service standards were geared to passing rather than repeat trade, thus offering a poor level of quality.

A second equity dimension emerging from the focus groups was that of tourist benefit and local benefit, with an opinion being expressed that *"Tourist benefits are given priority over local needs"*. This negative point of view was, however, countered by the more favourable, perhaps more reasoned perspective, that *"Trade-offs between tourist and local benefits are inevitable"*. This illustrates the perceptual divide which appears to exist between those individuals who feel that local needs are held subordinate to the needs of tourists, and those who perceive that an exchange relationship exists between the two groups.

The next issue where there was a perceived equity divide relates to the role of the council in tourism development and control. Here, there was a perceived imbalance in equity terms related to the view that *"The government decided that Llangollen was a tourist area without consulting with the locals"*. This has encouraged a perception among some community members that tourism, and external control over the development of tourism, have brought about a loss of local control over and involvement in decision-making processes affecting the town.

A fourth equity divide concerns the relationship between tourism and other industries in the town, with the perception being expressed that *"Other major industries would detract from the natural environment, and therefore from tourism"*. This view, however, was balanced against a second perception that *"Other industries are better employers than tourism"*, with tourism employment seen as being both seasonal and poorly paid. A third representation being expressed was that *"A balance is needed between developing the place and the risk of spoiling it"*. In other words, whilst employment is seen to be of great importance to the town, there is a recognised need to protect the local natural environment for the benefit of both tourists and locals.

Another issue which divided the participants according to the perceived benefits to the community was that of the International Eisteddfod. On the one hand the view was expressed that *"The International Eisteddfod brings the community together"*. However, it was also felt that *"Everything goes to the International Eisteddfod"*, with a feeling that the community's emphasis on the event detracts from other potential developments. These two conflicting perceptions of the International Eisteddfod also encourage a further representation of the event that *"You are either for the International Eisteddfod, or against it"*, although the focus group participants who were clearly not in favour of the event were very much in the minority.

Another area of perceived equity imbalance relates to the provision of cultural events in general and the perceptions of such provision in the community. The main representations of the imbalance in the provision of culture in Llangollen were that *"There are too many high-brow events, and not enough for the rest of the community"*, and also that *"There is a need for more cultural events for younger people"*. These two views stem from the perception that certain types of cultural event or presentation are more favourably viewed than others by a certain section of the community who are seen to control decisions about what is and what is not a suitable event for the town.

Despite the view of some focus group participants that many of the cultural activities in Llangollen (and particularly high-brow activities) are of interest to only a minority of the population, participation in local events and activities is seen to have an important effect on the community. The view was expressed that *"Participation in local events encourages enthusiasm and fosters community spirit"*. Furthermore, there was a feeling that *"Those people who do not take part in local events lose out"*. These two views were widely expressed in all three focus groups, although a more negative view was expressed that *"People in Llangollen are apathetic about what goes on"*. The third representation of participation in local events is influenced by the second view that members of the community who are not involved in local events and activities are generally apathetic toward what does take place.

8.3.2 General impacts and opinions

The second section of the chapter examined views expressed in the focus groups on the general cultural impacts of tourism in Llangollen, and the attitudes to these impacts.

The first major cultural impact of tourism discussed by the focus groups relates to the impact of tourism the local way of life. Here, the first representation was that *"Tourism provides better services and facilities which benefit the locals"*. Such benefits were seen, however, as coming at the cost of traffic congestion and crowding during the peak summer season. Conversely, the view was also held that *"Tourism gives Llangollen a special atmosphere"*, with the presence of a lively tourist industry seen as giving the town a certain 'buzz' not shared by other towns and villages in the area.

One of the most emphatically positive representations of tourism's effects on the local way of life was that *"Tourism is the lifeblood of Llangollen"*. In all three of the focus groups the view was expressed that the town of Llangollen would not be able survive economically without tourism. At the same time, however, the opinion was expressed that the development and promotion of tourism should not be the focus of the town, but that *"We should live as we've always lived, and if people want to come and look, they are very welcome"*.

Another important element of tourism in Llangollen is the International Eisteddfod, which was felt to have had considerable cultural impacts on the community. Foremost among the representations of the impacts of the event was the view that *"The International Eisteddfod puts Llangollen on the map"*. This was felt to have occurred not only in Wales and England, but also internationally, given the global nature of the festival. The second major cultural impact of the International Eisteddfod for the community was that it has led to a high level of contact with international visitors, leading to a representation that *"The International Eisteddfod enriches peoples' lives and encourages openness through cultural exchange"*. This was felt to have made the town more cosmopolitan than many comparable places, having a more tolerant and non-parochial outlook.

The next main issue related to the cultural impacts of tourism where clear opinions emerged related to the 'Arts' and to Exhibitions. The view was expressed by one focus group respondent that the town was in fact over-endowed with exhibitions, particularly given a more general view that *"Exhibitions do not attract tourists"*. Here, the view was expressed that, unless one has a particular interest in the content of an exhibition, then it would not act as a particular draw to the town. This opinion was in some ways linked to a second representation of exhibitions, namely that *"What I like personally is of interest to others, what I do not like personally is not"*.

Tourism and employment was seen as a key influence on tourism's cultural impacts, with a recognition that the benefits for the community of tourism employment existed beyond specific personal economic gains. The overall representation of tourism as an employer, however, was that *"Tourism employment is vital to Llangollen, but the jobs are poorly-paid and seasonal"*.

One issue which was a widely shared concern in all of the focus groups was that of traffic congestion and crowding. Although it was recognised that the physical layout of the town, situated in a natural bottleneck, was partly to blame for the traffic flow problems, the opinion was widely shared that *"Tourist traffic causes local congestion"*. However, many of the associated problems, such as the lack of parking spaces during peak periods, were seen as related to inadequate infrastructural provision in the town.

The theme of tourism and change was another to arise from the focus group discussions. Here the two main themes emerging related to changes in the town resulting from tourism, and to changes which had taken place to the tourism industry in the town. While a small minority of the participants felt that negative changes had resulted from tourism, such as both the loss of other industries and a decline in community feeling, such opinions were not widely shared. The main change which was seen as having taken place to the tourism industry in the town was that *"Tourism in Llangollen has changed from mainly day-trippers to a wider variety of visitors all year-round"*.

The particular issues of history and heritage, and the use of these aspects local culture for touristic purposes, were specifically included in the questions posed to

the focus group participants. The key representation of these issues coming from the focus groups was that *"Not enough use is made of the history and heritage"*. There was a degree of uncertainty among some the respondents concerning *"What does constitute the history and heritage of Llangollen?"*. Other respondents, however, were both highly knowledgeable and had a clear view of the history and traditions of the local area, including the long-standing tradition of hospitality in the town, based on its position on the main trunk road to and from Ireland.

The role of the Welsh language and culture in Llangollen was another issue which seems to have caused a certain amount of confusion amongst the focus group participants. There was some conflict here between the more traditionalist, Welsh-speaking minority, and the Anglo-welsh, or English speaking majority over what constitutes 'Welshness' in a modern context. Overall, however, two clear view were expressed, these being that *"Llangollen was once more traditionally Welsh, but is now more cosmopolitan"*, and that *"Not enough is made of the Welsh culture in Llangollen"*. The former representation of welsh culture in Llangollen was seen by some respondents as being one of the distinct tourism-related benefits for the town, while the latter was perceived as something that could be improved for the benefit both of tourists and of locals.

CHAPTER NINE: CONCLUSION

9.1 Introduction

Having examined the results obtained from the questionnaire survey and from the focus group discussions in the preceding chapters, this chapter will now summarise these findings, drawing them together within the conceptual framework developed to assess the resident perceptions of the socio-cultural impacts of tourism on the community of Llangollen. The differences between the types of data provided by each method will be critically examined in the light of the long-running debate regarding the use of qualitative and quantitative methods in the field of tourism research, particularly in terms of assessing the socio-cultural impacts of tourism on a community.

Three main approaches to the investigation of this topic were taken in this research. The first two involved the use of a full questionnaire survey, but each using different analytical frameworks, and the third approach consisted of the use of focus group discussions with different interest groups selected from within the community.

By taking three different approaches to this research, the intention was to provide differing sets of responses to the issue of resident perceptions of the sociocultural impacts of tourism in order for cross-comparison to take place and a fuller picture of the social and cultural impacts of tourism in Llangollen to be developed. The first approach, that of taking an equity-based approach to the questionnaire analysis, was intended to assess the link between perceptions of the major positive and negative impacts of tourism on the individual and the attitudes to and opinions of the specific social and cultural impacts of tourism represented in the questionnaire. The cluster group approach to the questionnaire analysis was taken to provide a clearly comparable set of results, but derived in a more flexible and multivariate manner. Finally, three focus group discussions were carried out to allow a selection of residents of Llangollen the opportunity to express their opinions of the social and cultural impacts of tourism in their own words, and to provide a means of drawing out elements of the tourism/culture interface not considered in the questionnaire.

9.2 Approaches taken in the research

As described in chapter six, the first approach taken in this research was to examine the relevance of particular personal equity measures to the development of an overall attitude to the socio-cultural impacts of tourism, using the questionnaire survey technique. These equity measures, as proposed by Pearce et al (1991), were used to segment the questionnaire respondents according to the balance of the perceived major positive and negative impacts of tourism on their lives personally. These personal equity positions were compared with similar measures constructed to assess different levels of community impacts as perceived by each of the personal equity groups. These personal equity groups were also then compared in terms of their response to the attitude and opinion items incorporated into the questionnaire. The intention here is to summarise the differences in opinion between the four groups in terms of both the general impacts and the specific socio-cultural impacts of tourism on the community. The usefulness of various socio-demographics and measures of personal cultural interest as explanatory (independent) variables is also assessed.

The second approach taken in this study again utilised the questionnaire survey data, but it took a more sophisticated analytical approach. The technique used to assess the range of opinions in the community was that of cluster analysis. In this analysis which is summarised in this chapter, the responses to the 27 attitude and opinion items in the questionnaire were used to construct three groups of 'best-fit' in terms of the similarity of the responses. In this way, in contrast to the previous approach, the respondents were segmented according to a multivariate technique, with the groupings being drawn from the individual responses to the 27 questionnaire items relating to attitudes and opinions, as opposed to only two items used in taking an equity approach. Again, each of these groups are then compared in terms of their responses to each of the question groupings in the questionnaire.

The third approach involved the use of focus groups and was carried out subsequent to the questionnaire survey. It utilised a question routing designed to complement the results derived from the questionnaire. In this way, a set of quotes and comments were compiled to illustrate the attitudes and opinions of Llangollen residents towards the socio-cultural impacts of tourism, but allowing such attitudes and opinions to be expressed in the participants' own words. Furthermore, by using

the framework technique (Ritchie and Spencer, 1994) of filtering and sorting the data provided by the focus groups, areas of local concern and issues not incorporated in to the questionnaire survey instrument can also be accessed. This approach was chosen to incorporate a more emic, and fully qualitative element into the research process in order to compliment and expand on the data provided by the questionnaire survey. The comments of individual focus group participants cannot be explicitly linked to the specific equity groups or clusters derived from the questionnaire data, but parallels can be drawn with the overall patterns of responses from this data.

9.3 Summary of Results

9.3.1 The Equity Group Approach

Chapter 4 explained how the basic principle for the construction of the four equity groups was to take the simple yes/no responses to two items in the questionnaire relating to the major impacts of tourism in Llangollen on a personal level. By this means four groupings were constructed from among the questionnaire respondents. This then enabled the researcher to examine the differences in opinion expressed by each of these groups in terms of the remaining equity items in the questionnaire, and the attitude/opinion items as well as the socio-demographic and personal details items.

In this way, four contrasting groups were drawn from the data, providing significant justification for the first of the research propositions, that "the community of Llangollen is divided, and that different opinion groups do exist in terms of their approval for tourism, and in terms of their perceptions of the impacts of tourism (both positive and negative) on the community". Taking this approach, however, the results provided appear to focus much more on the extremes of any division of opinion which exists within the community, that is between those respondents who perceive themselves as benefiting from the major positive impacts of tourism and those who perceive only negative impacts on their own personal lives. As such, the equity approach does not appear to be able to provide much explanation for the more moderate or balanced perception of tourism's impacts expressed by the majority of the respondents, these being in the Balance and the No Impact equity groups.

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Hence, the divide between the most positive and the most negative elements regarding the community impacts of tourism can, to an extent, be explained by the perceived balance of major positive and major negative impacts of tourism on a personal level. However, whilst this approach does draw out four groupings from within the survey data, in this instance only two equity groups (Positive and Negative) differed consistently and significantly from each other on the majority of the items in the questionnaire.

Examining the equity groups in terms of the socio-demographic items in the questionnaire, it was found that there were three items which related significantly to equity group membership: links to employment in the tourism industry; level of contact with tourists (which could be regarded as associated with the previous variable); and the length of residence in Llangollen or the immediate surrounding area.

These results appear to be consistent with the social exchange model proposed by Ap (1992), which concerns the exchange of resources between individuals and groups based on the intended or expected outcomes of the exchange relationship. The model suggests that providing that the outcomes of the exchange are balanced between both parties to the exchange, then the outcomes will be viewed as positive by both parties involved in the interaction. An inbalanced outcome, on the other hand, will lead to a negative perception of the process from one or other of the parties involved.

It is evident that those respondents who perceived an overwhelmingly negative impact from tourism on their lives personally were the most likely to hold a negative attitude to tourism overall, and to its impacts on the community. Similarly, those respondents who considered themselves personally as receiving major positive impacts only from tourism were the most positive regarding the overall impacts of tourism both on themselves personally and on the community as a whole.

Interestingly, there was wide agreement among all the equity groups regarding the socio-cultural impacts of tourism in Llangollen, with more than 50% of even the Negative personal equity group perceiving some level of community social or cultural benefit from tourism (despite perceiving in broad terms only major negative

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impacts on their lives personally). Furthermore, when the perceived impacts on a community level are examined in terms of the personal equity groups, there is an almost unanimous agreement that the community does benefit to some extent from tourism in social and cultural terms, with only 4.4% of the sample perceiving there to be no benefits to the community.

This, then, demonstrates that while the perceived level of personal major costs and benefits arising from tourism is an important factor in shaping the individual's perspective on tourism, even those respondents who did not feel that they themselves benefited from tourism in Llangollen did perceive there to be distinct benefits for the community, both in economic terms, and more clearly and strongly in cultural terms.

By taking an equity-based approach then, the residents of the community of Llangollen who responded to the questionnaire can be segmented into four groups, each holding different overall views of the impacts of tourism, both on themselves and on the community. However, a serious weakness of the approach lies in its inability to find significant differences in opinion in the middle-ground, with the significant differences in attitude and opinion existing mainly between the Positive and the Negative groups. But by taking this approach, it can be seen that individuals do appear to hold a different view of the impacts of tourism on themselves, on other particular groups in the community, and on the community as a whole. There also appears to be a difference in the way in which the economic and the socio-cultural impacts of tourism are perceived, with the economic benefits largely being seen as falling to a minority of the population, and with the perceived socio-cultural benefits being more widely-spread.

As already stated, however, what the equity approach fails to shed much light on is what differences in opinion exist among those respondents who perceived themselves as receiving either a balance of positive and negative impacts on their lives personally, or no major impacts at all. It was not possible to find significant differences in response between the No Impact and the Balance equity groups on most of the items in the questionnaire. Indeed, the main pattern of response taking this approach was for the Positive and Negative groups to differ significantly from each other, but with no real distinction being evident between the other groups on

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the majority of the questionnaire items, nor between the other groups and either the Positive or the Negative equity groups.

So, the equity approach to the assessment of perceptions of and attitude toward the impacts of tourism provided a simple means of accessing the very broad divides of opinions across the sample surveyed. Furthermore, such an approach does allow the comparison of the most extreme groups in terms of their attitude towards the general, economic and cultural impacts of tourism. On the negative side, however, in this instance an equity approach is not capable of giving a measure of the attitudes expressed other than in terms of the extremes (both positive and negative), and offers relatively little in the way of explicit links to theory, other than a cursory justification of Ap's (1992) social exchange theory. This approach does, however, provide justification for two of the research propositions, namely that different opinion groups do exist within the community regarding the impacts of tourism in Llangollen, and that attitudes towards such impacts are viewed differently from a personal, group and community perspective.

9.3.2 Cluster Group Analysis

The technique of cluster analysis, as employed in chapter 7 is more in line with more frequently used contemporary approaches to resident perception surveys. By deriving three groups of 'best fit' from the questionnaire data using a multivariate analysis of the 27 attitude/opinion items in the survey, a more flexible approach is taken to the segmentation of the respondents. This provided a clearly different set of groupings, with a correspondingly different set of responses.

In this instance, the one-way quick cluster technique was used (a basic function in the SPSS software package), which identified three groups of 'best fit' within the data set (as opposed to the four groups more inductively derived taking an equity approach). The benefits of taking such an approach are immediately apparent carrying out cross-tabulations and analysis of variance (ANOVA) of the three groups on each of the questionnaire items. Here, there is a far greater consistency of response within each of the groups, and much clearer differences between all three on a large number of items.

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The strength of the results provided by the cluster analysis could, however, be considered somewhat tautological. For example, the Positive cluster of respondents was constructed according to the similarity of their (positive) responses, so that an analysis of these results will inevitably yield a more positive attitude towards the impacts of tourism from the Positive cluster of respondents than from the others. There is, nonetheless, a clear argument in favour of using cluster analysis as a tool in resident perception research, given its relatively flexible and non-inductive approach to the segmentation of respondents. This is not to say that the cluster analysis approach exactly constitutes an emic one. Indeed, as Fredline and Faulkner (2000) point out, cluster analysis is "an essentially etic approach in the sense that the framework for the analysis was imposed upon the community through a pre-determined battery of statements which was used to elicit individual responses" (p. 779).

Fredline and Faulkner (2000) do, however, go on to say that, "On the other hand, it can also be argued that there is an element of the emic approach, at least to the extent that the cluster analysis allows respondents to "choose" which group they belong to and the underlying patterns of community reactions are defined in the process" (p. 779). In this way, the groupings (or clusters) of responses are derived from an analysis of all of the attitude/opinion items in the questionnaire, rather than by the respondents being placed in what Fredline and Faulkner (op cit.) refer to as "a priori defined groups", as is the case with the equity approach previously taken in this study.

What different understanding does the cluster analysis approach provide of the perceptions of Llangollen residents of the socio-cultural impacts of tourism on their community? Firstly, by drawing out only three clusters from the data, as opposed to the four response categories imposed by the equity approach to the respondents (albeit on a self-selecting basis), the position of those respondents not expressing strongly positive or negative responses overall is greatly clarified. Furthermore, the clustering approach allows the consideration of elements lying outside of the direct personal cost/benefit framework proposed by Ap (1992).

Firstly, an analysis of the three clusters in terms of the equity items incorporated in the questionnaire showed that the main differences were between the Positive and the Negative clusters, with such differences existing principally in terms of the items

relating to the social and cultural impacts of tourism, both in personal and in community terms. It also showed that there were no significant differences expressed in terms of the economic impacts of tourism.

Comparing the three clusters in terms of their responses to the current impacts of tourism in Llangollen, a significant relationship between cluster group membership and response was found on all fourteen items, although all three groups were found to differ significantly from each other on only eight out of the fourteen items. The Positive and Middle-road clusters differed significantly from the Negative cluster, but not from each other on five of the other six items. Of the six items on which the Positive and Middle-road clusters could not be separated, two were related to the general impacts of tourism, and two to the impacts of tourism on the present day way of life, with none relating to the areas of arts and culture nor to the International Eisteddfod. The only item on which the Middle-road and the Negative clusters were indistinguishable from each other , but on which the Positive cluster differed significantly from both, was "Tourism has helped increase the number of art exhibitions and concerts in Llangollen". This response is consistent with the Positive cluster exhibiting a far more positive perception of the impacts of tourism in terms of "arts and culture" and in terms of the International Eisteddfod.

Again, in terms of attitudes towards the current impacts of tourism, only one item did not draw out a significant difference between all three clusters: the item relating to the use of history and traditions for touristic purposes, with only the Negative cluster differing significantly from the other two. A similar pattern emerged in relation to attitudes to suggestions for future changes in tourism in Llangollen, with the suggestion that tourism be allowed to grow but only slowly finding all three groups inseparable in their slight agreement with the statement.

In terms of the relationship between cluster group membership and personal and demographic details, significant relationships were found to exist on items relating to the level of interest in the events in the International Eisteddfod, and the level of interest in the local history and traditions. Again, this clearly demonstrates the cultural element involved in the formation of an overall attitude towards tourism and its impacts in Llangollen, with those respondents who were most interested in the events in the International Eisteddfod and the local history and traditions of Llangollen demonstrating the most positive perceptions of and attitudes to the

socio-cultural impacts of tourism. This is in keeping with the third research proposition that the personal cultural preference and outlook of an individual influences perceptions of the socio-cultural impacts of tourism, and of the community's cultural presentations for tourism.

The only demographic item which was found to be significantly related to both cluster group and equity group membership was that relating to length of residence locally, with the members of both the Negative equity group and the Negative cluster group being most likely to have lived longest in the town. Again, as mentioned earlier, this association is one which has been drawn out in previous research, although the relationship is unclear. Brougham and Butler (1981) found that while people who had lived longer in a community were more positive about some types of tourist, older residents were less positive about tourism. Davis et al (1988) found people born in a place to be more positive about tourism than newcomers, in contrast to both Sheldon and Var (1984), who found lifelong residents to be more sensitive to the impacts of tourism, and Haralambopolous and Pizam (1996) who found newest residents to be the most positive.

So, taking a cluster group approach to the analysis of the questionnaire data does provide a somewhat different picture of the community perceptions of and attitudes towards the socio-cultural impacts of tourism in Llangollen. In contrast to the equity group approach, which highlighted the polarised difference in attitude between those questionnaire respondents who perceived themselves as benefiting the most from tourism and those who benefited the least, the cluster group approach, whilst drawing out three clearly different attitude clusters, shows both more of the commonality of response across the community, and the areas of greatest difference between the three clusters.

Using the equity approach, the extremes of positive and negative response were clearly identifiable, and related most clearly to the personal benefits of tourism in both general and economic terms. Using the cluster group approach, in contrast, the differences were much more linked to perceptions of the social and cultural benefits of tourism, both on a personal and on a community level.

Clear differences between all three clusters were evident, particularly on items relating to tourism and culture in terms of arts and exhibitions, and on items relating

to the impacts of the International Eisteddfod on the culture of Llangollen. The negative cluster was the most clearly unenthusiastic about the impacts of tourism on such elements as the provision of leisure facilities for the use of locals, participation in cultural activities and other 'way of life' variables.

The items relating to attitudes towards the current impacts of tourism, and to suggestions for future changes in tourism were more clearly related to membership of all three cluster groups, with the overall pattern of response (as related to Butler's 1975 framework) being passive/negative or neutral from the negative cluster, passive/positive from the Middle-road cluster, and between passive and active/positive for the positive cluster. All three clusters were united in their slight agreement that tourism should be allowed to grow in Llangollen, but only slowly.

In terms of the socio-demographic items in the questionnaire, the cultural element in attitude formation is illustrated by the responses to the items dealing with personal cultural interests. Here, two items were significantly related to cluster group membership, these being the level of interest in the events and activities in the International Eisteddfod, and the level of interest in the local history and traditions of Llangollen. In both cases, the Positive cluster group expressed significantly higher levels of interest than the Middle-road cluster, with the Negative cluster group being the most disinterested.

This finding, in particular, gives weight to the research proposition that " The personal cultural outlook and preference of an individual influences their perceptions of the socio-cultural impacts of tourism, and of the community's cultural presentation for tourism". Furthermore, the relationship between length of residence and negative perceptions of tourism can be seen to coincide with Doxey's (1975) Irridex model, whereby the attitudes of residents of a tourist area to the impacts of tourism will become more negative over time. It should, however, be made clear that in this study, although a link has been made between those respondents expressing the most negative perceptions of and attitudes towards tourism and the greatest overall length of residence in the town, no attempt has been made to assess such attitudes over time to see whether the view of the community as a whole does deteriorate as time passes.

The major difference in findings brought about by taking a cluster rather than an equity group approach to data analysis is that it underlines the strong cultural element involved in both the perception of and attitude towards the socio-cultural impacts of tourism on the community of Llangollen. Furthermore, in analytical and theoretical terms, this approach gives three clearly differentiated groups of respondents which are more easily interpreted within Butler's (1975) attitude/behaviour framework. They have a greater consistency of response, and there are more significant differences between all three clusters on a wider range of measures.

What this approach cannot do, however, is to give more in-depth views of the way in which such perceptions of and attitudes towards the socio-cultural impacts of tourism are constructed and developed, and of the key elements within the community upon which they may be contingent. Another associated shortcoming of this approach is its inability to provide explanation of the areas where there are not significant differences in response between the clusters, or where a significant level of agreement exists among a majority of the respondents.

The results from the questionnaire survey demonstrate that a range of opinions of and attitudes towards the socio-cultural impacts of tourism do exist among the residents of the community of Llangollen. From the basic descriptive analysis of the questionnaire data (Chapter 5) it can be seen that the community of Llangollen is broadly positive regarding the socio-cultural impacts of tourism, with numerous benefits being perceived. Whilst the economic benefits are seen to accrue to only a minority of the population, the social and cultural benefits are seen to extend much more broadly across the community.

Using these two different methods of segmentation to analyse the questionnaire data shows that there are clearly distinct groups of respondents in terms of their attitudes to the socio-cultural impacts of tourism. Using the equity measures in the questionnaire to derive four equity groups from the respondents gives a measure of the differences in opinion which exist between the most positive and the most negative respondents. The equity approach, however, is unable to draw any significant findings regarding the less-strongly impacted groups (the No Impact and the Balance equity groups). By utilising the cluster analysis technique, three groups were drawn from the data, demonstrating a much clearer level of both within-group

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consistency of response, and between-group differences in response. These differences in attitude between the three groups were seen to be much more linked to perceptions of cultural impacts, in both personal and community terms, than was the case with the equity groups. Furthermore, the specific relationship between the different levels of culture (The International Eisteddfod, and arts and exhibitions in particular) and perceptions of the associated impacts of tourism was seen here to be a factor. Such measures show that three main attitude groups exist within the community, but they do not explain what the attitudes of these groups actually are, other than being positive, neutral, or slightly negative.

9.3.3 Focus Groups

The contribution of the focus group discussions to this research is to provide a much more in-depth picture of the varied views of residents, and the key impacts and features of tourism in the community which influence these views. This study has been theoretically positioned within a social-representational framework. It is unclear, however, whether the expressed opinions and views of the focus group participants do themselves actually constitute "social representations". This definitional uncertainty stems from the fact that all of the 'representations' of tourism and of its impacts on the community of Llangollen are drawn from the comments of individuals. Whilst many of these 'representations' have been constructed from the aggregated opinions expressed by numerous participants in the focus groups, others were only shared by a small minority of participants. In operational terms, therefore, it is unclear whether these views, or 'representations' of tourism can be in any way linked to the different attitudinal groups or clusters drawn from the questionnaire data.

But the two types of data can very usefully be linked together, with the general findings of the questionnaire providing a framework within which to consider the opinions expressed in the focus groups. In this way, the areas of the equity divide, where clear imbalances of benefits and disbenefits were expressed, can be more easily interpreted as can the impacts of tourism which are seen to have an effect on the community as a whole. Furthermore, examining the focus group data provides a means of understanding the broader context within which the impacts of tourism are assessed by residents.

The first of the equity considerations which was drawn from the focus groups was that of the divide between benefits to individuals and benefits to the community. In the focus groups this was most clearly constructed in economic terms, with the representation being held that "The economic benefits of tourism only go to those who are directly involved in business", or in other words, that only certain individuals benefit financially from tourism. On the other hand, however, the representation was also clearly held that "The town of Llangollen could not survive economically without tourism", or that as a community Llangollen would suffer without tourism.

Another area where it was felt that the community was let down by those involved in tourism in the town was that "The local attractions and services don't encourage the locals to support them". The feeling was expressed that certain facilities were there "just for the tourists", giving no concessions to locals, something which was seen to have a clearly moderating effect on the attitude of members of the community towards specific facilities, attractions and events.

This leads on to the next area of equity consideration expressed by the focus group participants, that of tourist benefit versus local benefit. This was most strongly voiced in relation to the provision and development of local amenities, with the view being held that local government and business people see tourists as being more important than locals. It was felt that tourism had led to Llangollen possessing a greatly enhanced range of facilities and services, particularly in terms of pubs and restaurants, but that such benefits come with costs attached. The disbenefits to the community (particularly those of increased traffic and crowding) were seen as an unavoidable part of the trade-off brought about by balancing the needs of tourists and locals. Furthermore, not all of the unfavourably-viewed impacts on the community were blamed on tourists themselves, or on the tourism industry. So, the representation existed that "Trade-offs between tourist benefits and local benefits are inevitable", and it was suggested that a negative attitude towards tourism can arise if "Tourist benefits are given priority over local needs". This latter view was most strongly expressed in relation to the lack of a swimming pool in the town, something which was perceptually linked to tourism through the view that "if something isn't going to be used by the tourists as well, it's not going to be produced" (focus group 3, 36).

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The next area of equity consideration expressed in the focus groups was that of the council and control over the development of tourism. The concern was expressed that the development of tourism in Llangollen was based on decisions made by local government without consultation with the residents of the town. Such views were not universal, with it also being recognised that the council did not have unlimited control over such development options, or control over the allocation of funding for specific projects. This does, however, show how for some Llangollen residents a sense of lack of involvement in, or control over, the tourism development process could lead to a negative perception of the outcomes arising from the development process. This is also clearly in keeping with Dogan's (1989) identification of the role of government in effecting the "politics of response" to tourism within a community.

Returning to the idea of trade-offs, another area of conceptual divide revealed by the focus groups was related to the presence of tourism and other industries. The questionnaire survey results showed that there was a widely-perceived employment problem in Llangollen, and a corresponding recognition of the towns reliance on the tourism industry for employment. While other industries were seen as being better employers than tourism, the detrimental effects on the natural environment of other forms of industrial development were also seen as potentially damaging to Llangollen's strongest natural resource - its unique scenic beauty. So while other forms of industry may be perceived as better employers than tourism in an idealistic sense, it is seen that realistically such developments need to be placed in the context of not over-developing the place at the risk of spoiling it - not only to the detriment of tourists, but also to that of the local population.

In terms of the International Eisteddfod, the main division in opinion across the community was between the views that, on the one hand, "The International Eisteddfod brings the community together", whilst on the other, "Everything goes to the International Eisteddfod". This latter view is derived from a perceived imbalance within the community brought about by the dominant cultural position occupied by the festival, which is seen by some as drawing resources (both economic and human) from other events and activities. Despite the perception that "You're either for it (the International Eisteddfod) or against it", only a small minority of participants did express a consistently negative opinion of the event, which was generally seen as being of great value to the community as a whole. This again

shows that whilst a negative perception of the effects of the event may be held in relation to the distribution of resources in the community, the overall expression of opinion is positive.

A similar imbalance is evident in relation to the provision of other cultural events within the community, with the representation being held that "There are too many high-brow events, and not enough for the rest of the community". The opinion was held by some participants that a "cultural elite" in Llangollen had control over what type of events take place in the town. As a consequence of this perceived imbalance, there was the further representation evident that "There is a need for more cultural events for younger people", although this gap in provision was also perceived more generally as an insufficient number of events with a broader appeal.

A further element of this perception that there is more cultural provision for part of the community than for others is that of participation and attitude. This was expressed by focus group participants who were themselves involved in local events and activities as a view that "Participation in local events and activities encourages enthusiasm and fosters community spirit". It was felt that those who did not take part in community events were themselves losing out, and that this was itself an element in their antipathy and negativity towards such events and activities in general.

In relation to the more general community-wide socio-cultural impacts of tourism, one of the principal benefits identified in terms of development and the local way of life was that "Tourism provides better services and facilities which benefit the locals". This increased level of services and facilities, combined with the very presence of tourists was seen to give the place a certain 'buzz' or atmosphere which was appreciated by the local residents. Indeed, the vital role of tourism in Llangollen was recognised in all three of the focus groups ("Tourism is the lifeblood of Llangollen"), although it was not felt by all participants that it should be the main focus of the town.

Once again, the importance of the International Eisteddfod as an influence on the community's sentiments towards tourism cannot be emphasised enough. One major benefit of the festival was that " The International Eisteddfod puts Llangollen

on the map", particularly given the international nature of the event which helps to make people world-wide aware of Llangollen on. More specifically, in terms of the festival's effects on the culture of the community, it was felt that " The International Eisteddfod enriches peoples' lives and encourages openness through cultural exchange".

Exploring the specific cultural impacts of tourism on the "arts" and on exhibitions, there was a feeling that the town was over-endowed with such features. The view was also expressed that "Exhibitions don't attract tourists", particularly given that many such elements were seen to have only a minority interest. The perceived appeal of such attractions was, however, also contingent on the level of interest of the individual who expressed the opinion. In other words, it reflected the view that "What I like personally is of interest to others, what I do not like personally is not of interest to others".

One crucial influence of tourism on the way of life of Llangollen's residents was its role as an employer in the town, with the general view being that "Tourism employment is vital to Llangollen, but the jobs are poorly-paid and seasonal". Also of concern to all of the focus groups was the issue of traffic congestion and crowding which, whilst partly blamed on tourism, was also seen to be a consequence of the town's inadequate infrastructure.

Tourism was seen as an influential agent of change in the area, although it should be remembered that the focus groups were asked to consider the role of tourism at some length. Although a small minority of participants did feel that tourism had contributed to the loss of other industries and a to decline in community feeling, such views were not shared by the majority. Indeed, the main tourism-related change which was commented on was that "Tourism in Llangollen has changed from mainly day-trippers to a wider variety of visitors all year round".

The perception was clearly held that "Not enough use is made of the history and traditions of Llangollen". This was an area in which the tourism industry was seen to be lacking in its' efforts. A certain amount of confusion was also evident here, not only in terms of " What does constitute the history and heritage of Llangollen?", but also in terms of who was responsible for the development, maintenance and promotion of such elements. Overall, however, the opinion expressed was not a

negative one as such, but was rather that this area was one lacking in development.

Finally, linked to notions of history and heritage is the role of the Welsh language and culture in the community, particularly with reference to tourism. There was a perceived decline in the "Welshness" of the place over the years, although this was not necessarily bemoaned, since the current cosmopolitan nature of the place was seen by many to be of great benefit to the community. There was, however, the widely-held view that, as far as the tourism industry was concerned, "Not enough is made of the Welsh culture in Llangollen", both for tourist and for local benefit. No clear expressions of discontent were made with the way in which elements of the history and traditions of Llangollen were presented for tourist consumption, with such factors as the role of authenticity therein remaining conspicuously absent in the comments of participants. Here, whilst the cosmopolitan nature of Llangollen was seen as a beneficial spin-off of tourism, the loss or lack of useage of traditional Welsh culture was perceived more negatively.

9.4 Evidence supporting the research propositions

This research was set up with the intention of achieving certain broad aims, and of investigating specific research propositions developed in the light of these broad aims. These broad aims and research propositions (as outlined in the Introduction and Theoretical Frameworks chapters of the thesis - chapters 1 and 3) to recap are as follows:

1) To critically review research on residents' perceptions of tourism in general and of the socio-cultural impacts of tourism more particularly.

2) To develop a conceptual framework and methodology to evaluate the attitudes among residents to the socio-cultural impacts of tourism.

3) In the light of 1 and 2, to apply the conceptual framework to assess the attitudes of residents to the socio-cultural impacts of tourism in a case study area, including their views on the balance between commercial and cultural goals.

4) To consider the implications of the research for understandings of community and personal attitudes to tourism's cultural and community impacts and to cultural presentation.

The specific research propositions developed earlier in the study are:

1) Communities are diversified, with different groups holding different perceptions of, and attitudes to the role of tourism in, and its' impacts on the community.

2) Attitudes to tourism's sociocultural impacts are constructed on three different levels, these being the personal, group and community.

3) The personal cultural outlook and preference of an individual influences their perceptions of the sociocultural impacts of tourism, and of the community's cultural presentation for tourism.

4) Perceptions of and attitudes to the socio-cultural impacts of tourism are context-dependant and situational.

This chapter will now examine the data provided by each of the three approaches that were adopted in the light of these four research propositions, taking each in turn and considering the different findings and perspectives yielded by each of the approaches.

1) Communities are diversified, with different groups holding different perceptions of, and attitudes to the role of tourism in, and its' impacts on the community.

The first approach to the analysis of the Llangollen questionnaire derived four equity groups from the data using simple yes/no responses to the question of major personal positive and negative impacts from tourism. However, the strength of difference between all four groups was not high, with the clearest differences existing between the most positive and the most negative respondents regarding many of the questionnaire items. This approach does suggest that the community of Llangollen was divided between those questionnaire respondents who perceived only major positive impacts on their lives personally, and those who perceived only major negative impacts on their lives personally. This approach, therefore, probably

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yields a good measure of the extremes of positive and negative attitude and opinion which exist concerning the socio-cultural impacts of tourism, but is generally unclear on the middle-ground held by the No Impact and the Balance equity groups.

Membership of the four equity groups was significantly related to seven of the fourteen items on the perceptions of the current impacts of tourism in Llangollen, with the clearest differences in perception relating to the impact of the International Eisteddfod on tourist/resident relations, and to the cultural exchange value of meeting international tourists. The Positive equity group were clearly in agreement or strongly in agreement with the majority of statements proposing positive benefits from tourism in Llangollen, and they disagreed with the negative statements, while the Negative equity group demonstrated a more negative perception of the impacts of tourism on their culture and way of life. Both the Balance and the No Impact equity groups were either neutral or in slight agreement with the benefits of tourism, but were inseparable both from each other and from the other two groups on the majority of items.

The clearest differences in response expressed by the equity groups related to attitudes to the specific impacts of tourism in Llangollen, with the largest difference between the four groups relating to their overall attitude to tourism in Llangollen, and attitude to the impacts of tourism on the way of life or culture of Llangollen residents. Here, the Negative equity group were clearly not in favour, the Balance and No Impacts groups were both in favour, and the Positive equity group were strongly in favour of the impacts of tourism overall.

Taking a cluster group approach to the segmentation of the questionnaire respondents gave a much clearer and more consistent view of Llangollen as a community with divided opinions regarding the socio-cultural impacts of tourism. Here, the three cluster groups drawn from the questionnaire data were far more consistent in their responses and differed significantly from each other on a greater number of items/issues, and also exhibited a stronger internal consistency of response.

In terms of perceptions of the current impacts of tourism, all of the fourteen items in the second section of the questionnaire were significantly related to cluster group

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membership, although only eight of the items separated all three groups at the 95% confidence interval. The overall pattern here was one of the Positive and Middle-road clusters being consistently more positive about the impacts of tourism in relation to the areas of arts and culture and the International Eisteddfod, whereas the Negative cluster were particularly unenthusiastic about the impacts of tourism on the provision of leisure facilities for the use of locals, the impact of tourism on participation by residents in cultural activities, and other 'way of life' variables.

All six of the items relating to attitudes towards the current impacts of tourism were significantly related to cluster group membership, with only one item failing to separate all three. This item was that relating to attitude to the way in which the history and traditions of Llangollen are used in order to attract tourists, with all three groups responding positively, but none doing so strongly, and the Positive and Middle-road clusters being inseparable on this issue.

All three clusters agreed that tourism in Llangollen should be allowed to grow, but only slowly, with the suggestion for future rapid growth meeting a negative response from all but the Positive cluster, whose response was neutral. The Negative cluster were opposed to an increase in the number of cultural performances, and were in favour of keeping tourist activities more separate from those of residents.

Interestingly, two of the personal/demographic variables were significantly related to cluster group membership, namely interest in the events in the International Eisteddfod, and interest in the local history and traditions, with the Positive cluster having the highest level of interest, followed by the Middle-road cluster, and with the Negative cluster showing the least interest in such local cultural elements.

Examining the focus group findings in the light of this research proposition, it is not clear whether particular groups can be drawn out from among the participants. However, clear differences in perceptions of, and attitudes to the socio-cultural impacts of tourism are expressed by the focus group participants.

Firstly, there is evidence of a perceptual divide between those participants who believed that tourism is of vital economic importance to the community in

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Llangollen as a whole and those who felt that the benefits only fall to those who are directly involved in business in the town. For some participants, the role of tourism within the community was seen as benefiting the population as a whole by improving the range of, and providing much-needed income for shops and services which otherwise would be unable to function. On the other hand, the view was expressed that "tourism does not do anything for the community of Llangollen ... in any way at all ... it only benefits one group of people and that is the people who are involved in business" (2, 203-205). The need for employment in the community was universally recognised, although the view did exist that other industries are better employers than tourism and as such would be more highly favoured by residents. On the other hand, however, the development of other industries would only benefit those directly employed by them, while the natural environment enjoyed by both locals and tourists alike was likely to suffer as a consequence.

A second area of division in opinion related to the increased range of services and facilities in Llangollen as a result of tourism. On the one hand, the view was expressed that ".. we've got more services in Llangollen, more shops, better shops, more pubs per head of population than we probably would have if we didn't have tourists" (1, 10). The opposite view was also expressed that such facilities were not for the benefit of locals at all, "In a town of 3600 [sic] people and you've got 24 pubs. Now are those pubs there to offer facilities to the residents? Like hell they are!" (2, 172). This indicates that a perceptual divide existed between those residents who believed that the development of facilities in the town was carried out purely for the benefit of tourists, and those who believed the benefits were more widely-spread, and that trade-offs between the requirements of tourists and the needs of locals are inevitable.

Clear divides were also evident in terms of attitudes to tourist-oriented elements of local culture. This was particularly so in relation to the International Eisteddfod, with some participants perceiving the influence of the event to be a divisive one ("You're either for it or against it"), while others felt its influence to be cohesive ("The International Eisteddfod brings the community together"). The other division in perceptions around the provision of cultural performances and shows in the community was between those who approved of the situation as it stands, and those who felt there were too many 'high brow' events taking place, with not

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enough taking place to appeal to a more mainstream and younger audience from within the community.

There is, therefore, considerable evidence to support the research proposition that different groups exist within the community, holding different perceptions of, and attitudes to the impacts of tourism in Llangollen. What is unclear, however, is whether the groupings of respondents derived statistically from the questionnaire data do in any way correspond to the range of perceptions, attitudes and opinions expressed by the focus group participants, who were themselves clearly differentiated in terms of their responses.

2) *Attitudes to tourism's sociocultural impacts are constructed on three different levels, these being the personal, group and community.*

This difference in perception of the impacts of tourism on a personal and on a community level is quite simply indicated by the equity items in the first section of the questionnaire. Here, 61.4% of respondents felt that they themselves received some major positive impacts from tourism on their lives personally. When asked the same question in community terms, however, 89.2% considered that the community of Llangollen received some form of major positive impact from tourism, demonstrating a much wider perception of the major benefits from tourism on a community level compared with a personal one.

This difference is even more clearly illustrated when examined on a cultural level, with 15.2% of respondents perceiving that they themselves received a great deal of cultural benefit from tourism in personal terms, but with 46.2% perceiving a great deal of cultural benefit from tourism in community terms. In overall terms, 70.9% of respondents perceived themselves as receiving some level of cultural benefit from tourism, compared with 95.6% who perceived some level of cultural benefit to the community.

The equity groups themselves were generally inconclusive in terms of providing a clear measure of differing group perspectives other than those of the most positive and the most negative respondents. Nonetheless, there was clear evidence that even the members of the Negative equity group were generally positive about the cultural benefits of tourism for the community as a whole. This is demonstrated by

the fact that, although none of this group perceived themselves as receiving any major benefits from tourism, more than 50% perceived some level of community social or cultural benefit.

Despite the lack of significant difference between the equity groups on many of the measures where the Likelihood Ratio showed there was a significant relationship between equity group membership and the response provided, there was a general trend for the Negative equity group to give the most negative responses to the majority of measures, followed by the Balance group, with the No Impact group giving the next highest scores and the Positive group scoring most highly. This was best illustrated by the items relating to attitudes to the current impacts of tourism in Llangollen, with responses to the other question groupings being more mixed.

So, the equity group approach, while proving inconclusive, certainly in terms of perceptions of the various socio-cultural impacts of tourism (other than in broad economic, social and cultural terms), demonstrated a far more consistent link between group membership and the attitudes to the socio-cultural impacts of tourism both on a personal and on a community level.

Taking a cluster group approach to the segmentation of residents provided a much better picture of different groups existing within the community sharing differing perceptions of, and attitudes to the socio-cultural impacts of tourism. Firstly, the results of cross-tabulating the four equity groups with the three cluster groups showed a significant relationship to exist between the two. This shows that a clear link exists between the equity groups constructed from two measures of personal major impact, and the cluster groups formed from the responses to the 27 attitude and opinion items in the questionnaire.

The difference in perception which existed on a personal, group and community level is most simply illustrated by the responses of the cluster groups to the items in the first section of the questionnaire dealing with the personal and the community socio-cultural benefits. The Negative cluster here perceived the lowest level of social and cultural benefit on both a personal and on a community level, with the Middle-road and Positive clusters perceiving correspondingly higher levels of benefit on both levels. All three cluster groups, however, perceived higher levels of social and cultural benefit on a community than on a personal level.

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So, while the cluster groups were significantly linked to perceptions of the major impacts of tourism on both a personal and on a community level (certainly in social and cultural terms), a much clearer group perspective was also evident in the responses to the perceptions of the current impacts, and even more strongly so in relation to attitudes to the current impacts of tourism in Llangollen.

Although cross-tabulation did prove cluster group membership to be significantly related to responses on all fourteen items relating to perception of current impacts, only eight of the items separated all three cluster groups to a level of statistical significance. All but one of the attitude items found the group responses to differ significantly from each other, with the item regarding the use of the history and traditions of Llangollen only separating the Negative cluster from the other two.

All three cluster groups agreed that tourism in Llangollen should be allowed to grow, but only slowly, demonstrating a high level of community consensus that current levels of tourist numbers should not be greatly exceeded. Although the suggestion that the International Eisteddfod be much bigger in size and importance did separate all three cluster groups, support for the suggestion was limited, with even the Positive cluster giving only slight support.

Evidence for differing levels of attitude, ranging from the personal to the community, was also provided in the focus group discussions. The first area in which this range of perspectives was expressed was that relating to the economic impacts of tourism in Llangollen. The clearest example of all three levels (personal, group and community) being expressed by one individual was provided by the most negative of the participants overall, who said that, "I've been living in Llangollen for 35 years and it [tourism] has never given me anything" (2, 58). This individual went on, expressing community and group perspectives, "... I will say this to my dying day, tourism does not do anything for the community of Llangollen ... in any way at all ... it only benefits one group of people and that is the group of people who are involved in business" (2, 203-205).

Other focus group participants also made reference to these three different levels, but in a positive rather than negative context. As one participant stated, ".. certainly as far as the community as a whole is concerned, it [tourism] must be of great

benefit ... but, yes, for individuals as well, if only .. for the employment side of it .." (1, 21).

The other area to bring out views which were clearly differentiated on an individual, group and community level was the International Eisteddfod. The view was distinctly held by the International Eisteddfod focus group that a definite anti-Eisteddfod faction was present in the community, holding the opinion that, "everything goes to the Eisteddfod and nothing coming in to the community" (1, 29).

This anti-Eisteddfod perspective was expressed both on an individual and on a wider level, again by the most negative of all of the participants, who said, "... before I retired, Eisteddfod week was .. when I took my holiday, and I went away ... To live within the area of town during Eisteddfod would be sheer hell" (1, 153). This personal disliking of the event was considered by this individual to mirror the sentiments of a large section of the community, "But again, you ask the people who live in town .. about the Eisteddfod and you'll get a short, sharp reply" (2, 176).

Again, a similar range of views was also presented from a positive perspective. As one participant said, " .. I think the Eisteddfod has done more good than harm to the community .." (1, 96), a view which was expanded on by the following, "Well, the locals enjoy the Eisteddfod, .. a large number of the population are engaged in running it, and it's given great pleasure from the word go for all of us" (1, 142).

This last comment clearly shows the recognition of different levels of attitude ranging from the community (the locals enjoy the Eisteddfod), the group (those engaged in running the event) and the individual, by implying personal involvement and enjoyment (it's given great pleasure from the word go for all of us).

This then shows that although significant attitude groups can be seen to exist in the community of Llangollen, the views of individuals relating to the impacts of tourism on their way of life and culture are not so simply expressed. The attitudes of individuals to the impacts of tourism on the community of Llangollen are perceived and expressed not only in terms of themselves personally, but also of different groups in the community to which they may or may not belong, and also of the community as a whole. Certain individuals, however, would appear to be more

willing to accept that benefits to individuals other than themselves may ultimately be of indirect benefit to the community as a whole.

3) The personal cultural outlook and preference of an individual influences their perceptions of the sociocultural impacts of tourism, and of the community's cultural presentation for tourism.

The questionnaire results were examined in the light of this proposition, revealing that, while the equity approach yielded little in terms of empirical justification, the cluster group approach did provide evidence to support the suggestion.

Of the items in the demographic and personal details section of the questionnaire dealing with personal cultural interests, two of the three were found to be significantly related to cluster group membership. These were the question "How interested are you in general in the events within the International Eisteddfod?", and the question, "How interested are you in the history and traditions of Llangollen?". Of these two items, the former proved to have the strongest relationship with each of the attitude clusters, with 40% of the Positive cluster being 'very interested', as opposed to 21.6% of the Middle-road cluster, and only 3.5% of the Negative cluster. This, once again, gives a strong measure of the importance of the International Eisteddfod in terms of perceptions of the impacts of tourism in both broad social and more narrow cultural terms. The Positive cluster, who were most interested in the event, were consistently more positive about the impacts of tourism assessed throughout the questionnaire. Similarly, a lack of interest in the event was consistently linked with a less favourable view of the sociocultural impacts of tourism throughout the questionnaire.

The relationship between cluster group membership and interest in the history and traditions of Llangollen, while being a statistically significant one, was not as strong, with a high level of interest being expressed by all three groups. Of the Positive cluster, however, 58.1% of respondents were 'very interested' in the local history and traditions, compared to 41.9% of the Middle-road cluster and 32.1% of the Negative cluster. This high level of interest expressed by all three of the groups does account for there being less significant differences between all three clusters on the items relating to the impacts of tourism on the history and heritage of Llangollen.

Further evidence to support the proposed link between personal cultural outlook and preferences and perceptions of tourism-related sociocultural impacts and community cultural presentations was also provided in the focus group discussions.

It is not surprising that this association should be most clearly illustrated in relation to the International Eisteddfod, given the event's long-standing role as a cultural focus within the community. The first of the focus groups, the Eisteddfod committee members, with their high level of direct involvement in the event, demonstrated the most in-depth perception of the nature and role of the event in the community. They were also the only focus group to consider the broader cultural impacts of the event both in terms of Welsh culture nationally and on an international platform, although the third focus group (PTFA members) did mention the benefits of the event 'putting the place on the map', particularly in international terms. The Eisteddfod committee members were also keenly aware of the negative perceptions of the event held by some members of the community, and identified certain changes in the event which had distanced it from the general populace over the years. The negative views of the event, however, were seen to belong to individuals who had never had any contact with or involvement in the International Eisteddfod. The eisteddfod focus group was also the most aware of the range of other cultural events and activities taking place in the town, demonstrating a good knowledge of and interest in local societies and organisations.

The notion that a certain section of the population was distinctly against the International Eisteddfod was staunchly represented by one member of the Special Interest focus group. Indeed, this participant was the only member of any of the focus groups to express a strongly unfavourable view of the event, a view based on the intrusive nature of the crowding during the event, which was considered by this individual to be representative of the views of the community as a whole.

".. before I retired, Eisteddfod week was .. when I took my holiday and I went away .. To live within the area of town during Eisteddfod would be sheer hell" (2, 153).

" .. you ask the people who live in town .. about the Eisteddfod and you'll get a short, sharp reply" (2, 176).

This focus group (Special Interest) was the most politically-oriented of the three groups, and as such was the most concerned with issues of control over the event, and the influence of external forces such as the media on the running of the event. The third focus group, being comprised entirely of local parents, was more interested in both the benefits of the events to the youth of the town ["And our children are Europeans rather than being parochial, they're not the xenophobes that is normally attributed to small Welsh towns" (3, 24)], and the requirement for greater involvement in the event from local children.

The second area in which the focus groups demonstrated a link between personal cultural preferences and perceptions of and attitudes to the social and cultural impacts of tourism was that of art exhibitions and concerts in Llangollen. Musically, there was a divide between those who wished to maintain the status quo in the town, believing that the introduction of 'pop' culture would be unfavourably viewed by the community as a whole, and those who believed not only that such concerns were unwarranted, but also that the current situation was itself untenable.

"I don't think Llangollen would be very pleased if a pop concert was sent there (the Eisteddfod Pavilion) .. it would not be a popular move if that sort of popular culture were brought in" (1, 203)

This quote from the music administrator of the International Eisteddfod illustrates the establishment view on such matters, as held by the middle-aged, middle-class cultural elite who tend to hold sway over such issues. This issue of concerns over the provision of performances for a 'youth' audience was nicely contextualised by the following participant from the same focus group: "We had this when we had the jazz concert here .. they were all going to be long-haired hippies, and they were quite surprised when they saw the audience that came for these things. They were quite respectable people .. " (1, 210). Furthermore, the inability of individuals to accept the validity or benefits of performances lying beyond their own cultural milieu was itself singled out for criticism by some participants ("You have to cater to all ages, all tastes. You can't say 'Yes, we're having Pavarotti, but we're not having that group because I don't like that, it's only for youngsters'. The youngsters have got money as well: they are customers. You have to take what you like with what you don't like". (2, 318)).

The view was presented in the questionnaire results that the majority of the exhibitions in the town were of interest to only a minority of the population, a perspective which was both reinforced and expanded on in the focus groups. The appeal of exhibitions per se was seen to be limited to quite specific audiences, and they were not seen as actually drawing tourists to the town. The main attraction or appeal of exhibitions for locals was felt to be if there was a specific local or Welsh element to the content being displayed. The following comments by two members of the International Eisteddfod focus group shows the role of personal preference in the overall perception of an exhibition:

"There was a very boring one on Opera recently, Welsh National Opera, I was most disappointed .. really we need something that relates to North Wales or Llangollen .." (1, 137)

"I think the most interesting one they've ever had on in ECTARC is the one they've got on at the moment [about the history of the International Eisteddfod], it's really good and does bring people in" (1, 140).

This second comment is quite illuminating since the general opinion expressed was that exhibitions do not 'bring people in' as such, although they may visit them while they are in Llangollen. In this instance, however, it is obvious that the individual participant's liking for the exhibition led him to consider it as being of wider interest to others.

In terms of attitudes to and perceptions of the presentations of the history and traditions of Llangollen, two differences in opinion were expressed. Firstly, those participants in the focus groups with little personal interest in such elements of local culture did not feel that the town had much offer in such terms, and were resistant to the idea that a tradition of hospitality had been a long-standing feature of the place. On the other hand, there were participants with a particular personal interest in history and heritage ("..there's so many museums and activities in town ... that's what we came for .. to visit those monuments and museums" (3, 44)) who were not only keenly aware of the historical background of the place, but also of the range and quality of the heritage attractions in the area. It was, however, not only those individuals with a particular interest in history and heritage who believed that more use should be made of such elements by the tourism industry, since it was felt that

further development of heritage attractions would be of benefit to both tourists and locals alike.

The final area in which the personal perspective of the individual participants had a bearing on their overall perceptions was that of the use of the Welsh culture and language for touristic purposes. While there was widespread agreement that not enough use was made of the 'Welshness' of the town as a promotional tool, differences in opinion were apparent regarding exactly what did represent such 'Welshness', and how this should be used by the town. On the one hand, it was agreed by many of the participants that the apparent decline in the Welsh culture and language in Llangollen, and the associated 'cosmopolitan' nature of the place, was a positive feature of the town in relation to other nearby communities. On the other hand, however, there was also the view that Welsh culture, which provides the place with a strong sense of 'otherness' for many tourists, had seriously declined in Llangollen. This opinion was consistently held by one focus group participant, who was also of the strict view that ".. if you haven't got the language, then you haven't got a culture either, because the whole culture is based on language. How can you read your poetry, your literature?" (2, 232). However, for other participants holding a less stringent view of the role of language in Welsh culture, Welshness was not as clearly defined, and related to both the physical links to the past provided by heritage facilities, animated representations of both past and present traditions, and also to the future of the culture as represented by the younger generation.

From this, then, it can clearly be seen how the particular cultural position or perspective of an individual is apparently strongly influential in their perception of and attitude to the impacts of tourism on a cultural level. Of particular importance in Llangollen is the International Eisteddfod, having had such a long-standing and powerful effect on the nature of the cultural influences to which Llangollen residents have been exposed over the years.

4) Perceptions of and attitudes to the socio-cultural impacts of tourism are context-dependant and situational.

Examining the data provided in the questionnaire and in the focus group discussions in the light of the previous three research propositions shows that different groups of individuals sharing similar broad attitudes to the sociocultural impacts of tourism can be seen to exist in the community of Llangollen. The individuals in these groups have also been shown to express their attitudes from (or to frame their attitudes in) a personal, group or community perspective. Attitudes expressed to the sociocultural impacts of tourism have also been shown to be linked to, or dependent on, the particular cultural outlook and preference of the individual. The purpose of this final research proposition is to clarify the social context within which both the individual and the social psychology described in this research is applied and acted out.

The questionnaire results show that the opinions of different groups in the community (and therefore of the individuals comprising these groups) differ in relation to different themes and contexts. The economic dimension in the questionnaire results, for example, was clearly viewed differently to the sociocultural dimension, but exactly how and why this difference in perception and attitude has arisen is unclear. The equity approach shows these two dimensions to be separate, with the sociocultural benefits of tourism being far more widely perceived than the economic by all of the equity groups. Taking a cluster group approach to the questionnaire data draws out three groupings which are apparently constructed much more along social and cultural lines, with the Positive cluster demonstrating a significantly higher appreciation of the benefits of tourism, particularly in terms of 'arts and culture' and of the International Eisteddfod. What, however, are the key dimensions which lie behind such differences in opinion?

As already noted in Chapter three, Burgess et al (1988) point out that, "In qualitative research one explores the realities of everyday lives as they are experienced and explained by the people who live them. Such research as this yields rich and complex linguistic data in which subjective experience and social action are 'grounded' in the context of place and time" (p. 310). It is this particular situational context to which Dogan (1989) is referring when considering the range of factors affecting what he terms the "politics of response" to tourism. So, what are

the key contexts and situations influencing the opinions of residents in Llangollen on the sociocultural impacts of tourism, as drawn out by the focus group discussions?

The first main context within which the impacts of tourism were considered by the focus group participants was the economic dimension. Foremost here was the perception of how the economic benefits of tourism were distributed across the community, with a negative perception existing that such benefits were restricted only to those members of the community with direct business interests in the town. A positive perception of such impacts was also evident in the view that the town could not survive economically without tourism, and the recognition that, indirectly, the whole community benefitted from the crucial economic input of the tourism industry.

Another situation where the impacts of tourism were seen to have an economic bearing on the community was in the provision and allocation of funding for development projects in the town. On the one hand, the perception was held that tourism-related developments were given primacy over more community-related developments, to the extent that the view was expressed that, "If something isn't going to be used by the tourists as well, then it's not going to be produced" (focus group 3, 36). This was most explicitly illustrated in relation to the lack of a swimming pool in Llangollen, with one participant stating that, "[people] think that tourism has taken the money away from a swimming pool .. and it's not true" (1, 32). This view can also be linked to the perception of other forms of industry being kept out of the town by tourism, despite being seen as better employers that would bring more economic benefit to the town as a whole. This economic dimension was also, however, considered by other participants in broader physical/natural environmental and social contexts. In this way, the need was recognised for striking a balance between further developing the place for economic purposes, and not spoiling its natural beauty, which would negatively effect not only tourism in the town, but also the quality of life of the residents.

An economic dimension was also expressed in relation to the more clearly 'cultural' elements of tourism in Llangollen. The International Eisteddfod, for example, was seen by some participants as drawing resources away from other events and activities in the town, and even punishing local traders by charging a ground rent

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for on-site stalls during the event which was beyond their means. On the other hand, however, the International Eisteddfod was seen to benefit the community economically not only by bringing in massive numbers of tourists during the week of the event itself, but also by encouraging repeat visits at other times of the year and by 'putting the town on the map', particularly in international terms, "creat(ing) a shop window for Wales" (1, 186). The lack of development of historical or heritage-based attractions and facilities was also given an economic dimension in that it was seen as being "purely commercial and personal interests" (1, 157) who were concerned with such elements, whereas Welsh culture was seen to lack presence in the town because it had never been commercialised and "made use of" (2, 219).

Another context within which the impacts of tourism, both sociocultural and otherwise, were expressed was the political. This was made most clear in the representation that "The government decided that Llangollen was a tourist area without consulting with the locals". This was also closely linked to the notion of other forms of industry being excluded from the town on account of its touristic status, and the role of the council in diverting money away from a swimming pool. Here, the negative perspective on the political dimensions of tourism was that tourism was given such a prominent role by the government, and against the will of the locals, and using money which could be better spent on community projects. The more moderate interpretation which also existed was that the council had by no means unlimited control over the allocation of funding, and that certain forms of European funding etc. were specifically earmarked for tourism-related projects and could not be spent on other developments.

This dimension also extended to the International Eisteddfod, not only in terms of the perception of the event as preventing other events from taking place, but also as a source of social status for a large number of individuals through their participation in the running of the event. A good illustration of the political dimension in peoples' attitudes to the event is in the following comment from a participant about the local involvement in the decision to build the £2 million Royal Eisteddfod Pavilion: "I can remember .. where the chief executive of Clwyd County Council was addressing the meeting .. and he said 'we're going to have full consultation', these were his exact words, 'and on Monday morning we're going to show the people of Llangollen what they are going to have'" (2, 332). The political

dimension of the International Eisteddfod was also evident in the perception (or representation) that opinion was distinctly divided on the event ("You're either for the International Eisteddfod, or against it"). Here, while some participants (particularly in the eisteddfod committee focus group) were clearly aware of this negative element, only one of the participants was distinctly against the event, with the overall opinion being highly positive.

The context within which the impacts of tourism in Llangollen were most widely perceived, however, was the sociocultural, with both the benefits and the detrimental effects on the local way of life being felt in many different areas. Firstly, the main grounds for complaint about the effects of tourism on the local way of life was that of traffic congestion and crowding. It was clearly felt that the presence of tourists in the town during the peak periods was a cause of considerable traffic congestion, although much of this was equally felt to be due to the inadequate and outdated infrastructure in the town not being able to cope. The position of Llangollen in a natural bottleneck was commented on, as was the lack of adequate parking even for locals, with suggestions made for such measures as a park and ride scheme. The problem itself, however, was not seen as being solely one of tourism, being related to the position of the town in the valley and a perceived lack of investment in infrastructural development by the council. Indeed, the blame and solution to the problem were seen to lie with the council in terms of improving road access and parking in the town, and with a popular suggestion being that of pedestrianising part of the town centre entirely.

The importance of the role of the International Eisteddfod in the widespread perception of the social and cultural benefits of tourism in Llangollen has been shown by the questionnaire results, with the most positive respondents overall also being those who most favoured the event, both in terms of the activities taking place during the festival, and of its effects on the community as a whole. While the economic and political dimensions of the event were recognised by the focus group participants, the way in which its beneficial impacts were most strongly perceived was in sociocultural, or more specific cultural terms. The key benefits to the community of the event were seen to be the openness and cosmopolitan nature of the town brought about by cultural exchange through the long-standing and close contact between local residents and a wide range of other nationalities and cultures. The benefits of tourism to the culture of Llangollen whilst widespread

were, however, difficult to quantify, as one participant stated, "You can't measure culture in coppers, but it's an important thing - it's what gives Llangollen a slightly cosmopolitan feel about it" (2, 213).

9.5 Implications of the research

As mentioned earlier in this chapter, one of the broad aims of the study was to consider the implications of the research for understandings of personal and community attitudes to tourism's cultural and community impacts and to cultural presentations. These implications will now be discussed with reference to the specific theories and methodologies employed in the investigation, and to the understanding of the cultural impacts of tourism on communities.

9.5.1 Theory and Method

During the process of reviewing the literature on the relationships between tourism and culture, it became clear that much of the research which has been carried out to date has been lacking in terms of both insight and explanation. The criticism which can and has been made is that such research fails in many ways to bridge the gap between the broad, heuristic theories of how tourism impacts on a host community, and the reality of such situations as lived on a daily basis by the inhabitants of tourist receiving areas.

Part of the problem which arises is one of taking general theories of tourism, which as a rule have been proposed and developed through the observation and description of particular sets of circumstances, and then of attempting to apply and empirically test these theories under very different sets of circumstances. A further difficulty in approaching this problem is that there are, on the one hand, academics from within the field of tourism attempting to apply these general theories in an increasing number of diverse and complex situations. On the other hand, there are academics from other more established fields in the social sciences applying theories external to tourism, but in touristic situations. As a consequence of this theoretical borrowing, whilst an increasing body of knowledge is being developed, there has been a failure to integrate the disparate strands of this knowledge into a more coherent picture of the social, cultural and psychological impacts of tourism on the residents of tourist receiving destinations.

Whilst an awareness of theory and a recognition of its specific applications are clearly necessary in any research investigation, it has become apparent during the course of this study that an over-reliance on under-developed theory can hamper the research process. In addition, unless suitable methods are selected by which to apply such theory, then the outcomes of the research will give little insight. It is in the light of this issue that Dann, Nash and Pearce make the following connection: "Theory: that body of logically interconnected propositions which provides an interpretive basis for understanding phenomena. Both theory and method are clearly essential to any mature research and constantly interact with each other" (1988, p.4).

Part of the problem which has arisen in the field of tourism research is that the broad and simplistic assumptions which have informed much of its established theoretical basis have been applied in an increasingly complex yet inappropriate manner. This has been particularly evident in the large body of research which has focused on attempting to empirically verify pre-supposed situations suggested by existing theory. Little contemporary research has appeared to be willing to question the underlying assumptions in the field, or to broaden the scope of existing theory through exploratory, rather than descriptive research. This situation is, in many ways, an outcome of the hegemonic acceptance of the questionnaire survey as the central element in any tourism research investigation, a criticism which can, obviously, be levelled at this case study.

In their search for scientifically valid and empirically justifiable 'facts' about tourism, many researchers have either ignored or glossed-over the philosophical implications of choosing a particular research method or of adopting a particular theory. There are dangers in this, as suggested by Farr (1993, p. 18): "It is a myth of positivism, as a philosophy of science, that methods of research are neutral with respect to theory; it is crucial that there should be a suitable match between theory and method".

Perhaps this focus on methods and methodologies has almost led to a misinterpretation of theories, particularly that of social representations. Given the call for a greater 'eclecticism' of methods to be used in the investigation of social representations (Pearce et al, 1996), then it is not necessarily more sophisticated

methods of social inquiry which will bring about greater understanding, but rather the integration of methods and closer attention to the link between theory and methods. As Breakwell and Canter contend (1993, p.6): "The main question should not be which method to use, but how to integrate findings drawn from different methods. When methods reveal somewhat different elements of a social representation, there are very real problems facing the researcher who tries to incorporate them into a single picture".

Different methods will reveal different elements of residents' attitudes to, and perceptions and opinions of the impacts of tourism, as this research has shown. But, are these actually elements of 'social representations' as such, or are they the different individual and social elements of broader 'representations' of tourism which exist in Llangollen. The vagueness of the theory of social representations is both partly its'strength and its weakness, since the flexibility of the concept makes it applicable to any social phenomenon, and yet at the same time this vagueness makes the verification of the existence of social representations virtually impossible. Fresh ways of conceptualising the impacts of tourism may be drawn out by the search for the 'disembodied structures' of social representations held both consciously and unconsciously by individuals, but the obsession in the application of social representations theory with seeking out significant social groups through shared opinions does not help to explain the social basis of such views, why they have arisen or how they are interpreted by individuals.

Hartmann (1988, p.96) argues that, "The use of several field methods in one research project does not necessarily lead to more sophisticated information. A careful orchestration of jointly-used research tools is needed as well. The combination and integration of various methods of data collection offers the chance for counterchecks and for complimentary information at different levels". It is in the light of this requirement that this research has been situated in the middle-ground between the looser ethnographic studies which emerged quite early in the field, and the more methodologically sophisticated and quantitatively based empiricism of contemporary case studies. It is contended that only through the use of more naturalistic inquiry can the nature of the key tourism-related variables affecting a community be drawn out, variables which may then be incorporated into attempts to model such community impacts and resultant behaviour.

According to Breakwell and Canter (1993, p.3), "Rather than seeing the social and psychological processes under examination as made up of a few variables which can be measured by unidimensional instruments and which have their effect in simple and direct ways, the use of multivariate statistics takes as its starting point the assumption that important psychological processes will be revealed only through the interplay of many variables in a reasonably complex system". If their suggestion is correct, then the key to understanding psychological processes lies in assessing the range of variables and their interaction in a complex system, and the question then arises as to whether the search for significant groups in such a system is of benefit in terms of understanding how such a system functions. As Potter and Wetherell point out in their criticism of social representations as a theoretical framework for understanding social phenomena: "Empirical studies of social representations typically start with apparently well-defined and homogenous social groups and attempt to explicate their representations. The first problem is that this *presupposes* the correctness of the notion that representations delimit groups. There is a vicious circle of identifying representations through groups, and assuming groups define representations" (1987, p.142).

Moscovici refers to social representations as "disembodied structures" out of which both groups and individuals construct their social reality. In that case is it then necessary for an opinion/view/description/representation expressed by an individual to be explicitly linked to a particular group in order to qualify as a "social representation"? Indeed, is it the presence of a particular social representation which delineates these groups, or are they merely functions of other societal or community circumstances which have a bearing on attitude? It is perhaps unsurprising that Halfacree (1993, p.30) argues that, "the link between social representations and groups requires that more attention is given to the 'political economy' of social representations than has been the case".

So, is the search for groups a red herring? Do tourism impacts lead to the formation of significant social groupings, or is it more the case that being a member of the social network of a community gives the individual access to the 'interpretive repertoires' available to members of the community, and it through this that they frame their own individual view of situations as they occur. This concept of 'interpretive repertoires' (Potter and Wetherell, 1987) deserves further application and has great potential as a framework for the investigation of community attitudes

to tourism. Ritchie and Spencer's (1991) framework technique could be used for data filtering and sorting in order to draw out the 'interpretive repertoires', and this could help to take some of the 'art' out of the 'science' of the social-psychological interpretation of qualitative data (Denzin and Lincoln, 1994), which, while rich in detail, can otherwise be difficult for the researcher to manage in a repeatable and justifiably valid manner.

9.5.2 Community Cultural Impacts

The previous discussion has attempted to critically assess the fundamentals of both the theory and method around which this investigation was structured. The analysis now turns to the implications of the study's findings for the understanding of the cultural impacts of tourism both on the community of Llangollen, and on communities more generally.

Although central to the theory and methodology used in this present research, the concept of social representations, as proposed by Moscovici (1981) and adapted to the field of tourism studies by Pearce et al (1991, 1996), has proven to be both difficult to operationalise and elusive in nature. Part of the difficulty in framing an investigation such as this around the social representations of tourism lies in knowing what such representations might be, and how to go about identifying them. Something of this complexity is captured in the explanation by Pearce et al that, "What communities think tourism is, what they expect it will bring and how they respond to tourism are all aspects of a social representation of tourism" (1996, p. 31). According to this explanation the social representations of tourism are comprised of a cognitive/information component (what tourism is), an evaluative component (what is expected from tourism), and a behavioural/action component (how to respond to tourism). The difficulties in assessing and combining these three components into a verifiable and coherent picture have proven to be considerable, particularly since this research was structured around an assessment of the resident perceptions of the sociocultural impacts of tourism, rather than being concerned with all three of these components of social representations.

This research has used a questionnaire survey approach to attempt to draw a picture of the broad community perceptions of and attitudes towards the impacts of tourism on various social and cultural levels. The use of this approach has perhaps

failed to make the fullest use of other techniques which would provide a better understanding of how the three components of tourism social representations fit together and operate in the community of Llangollen. With hindsight it is perhaps not surprising that the most insight into these issues was drawn from the focus group discussions, particularly given Moscovici's view that social representations should be accessed through the "concepts, statements and explanations originating in daily life in the course of inter-individual communications" (1981, p.181). Indeed, as Pearce et al very tellingly concede, despite their own reliance on the questionnaire survey approach, "the network of tourism beliefs which constitute a social representation about tourism can be accessed successfully from the content of their tourism remarks rather than by pursuing demographic differences in the resident population and attempting to determine how these groups differ from each other" (1996, p.166).

This suggestion that the "content of tourism remarks" is what contains the key to accessing "the network of tourism beliefs" suggests that a more fruitful avenue of inquiry would be to use 'interpretive repertoires', as proposed by Potter and Wetherell (1987). Rather than looking for the 'disembodied structures' which constitute social representations, this approach is more concerned with the analysis of how accounts of a particular phenomenon are constructed and the functions of such accounts. By not seeking to distinguish significant social groups from these accounts, a more straightforward discourse analysis approach can be taken to the content of qualitative material derived from interviews and focus groups with the residents of tourist-receiving communities.

The second main area of theory used in this study to attempt to explain the tourist/resident interaction is that of social exchange theory (Ap, 1990). The concept of exchange is certainly relevant when considering the outcomes of this research. Firstly, the equity approach to the analysis of the questionnaire clearly showed that there was a strong difference in the perceptions of, and attitudes to the sociocultural impacts of tourism between those members of the community who perceived exclusively positive major impacts of tourism on their lives personally, and those members of the community who perceived only major negative impacts personally. A significant link was also found between membership of the positive equity group and employment in the tourism industry, and also to the individual level of contact with tourists, indicating that an exchange relationship does exist

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between receiving direct personal benefits from tourism and having a positive perception of its overall impacts.

The situation, however, becomes less clear when cultural elements are brought into the exchange equation, with the cluster groups from the questionnaire exhibiting a closer relationship to the perceptions of the cultural impacts of tourism (particularly in terms of the arts and 'high culture', and in terms of the International Eisteddfod). No explicit exchange relationship could be seen, other than, perhaps, to say that those members of the community who personally benefitted the most in cultural terms were also more positive about the impacts of tourism on the local way of life and culture.

The focus group discussions did provide evidence to suggest that an element of exchange was present in the development of attitudes to the sociocultural impacts of tourism, particularly in terms of the 'trade-offs' mentioned between tourist and local benefits, between tourism and other forms of industry, and between developing the place and not spoiling it. The problematic nature of incorporating culture into an exchange equation which includes economic dimensions is that, as one focus group participant put it, "you can't measure culture in coppers". In this way, while the economic benefits of tourism are ultimately quantifiable in nature, and their distribution across a community is measurable, the same cannot be said for culture. While a pound is a pound (is a pound!), equally for every member of a community, it is unclear whether the importance and value of cultural elements are assessed and evaluated equally by different individuals. In this way, unless adequate measures of each of the input variables into the exchange equation are available, then the output from such an equation becomes meaningless.

As Jurowski et al point out, "The complexity and dynamism of the exchange process suggests that our understanding of resident reactions to tourism would be enhanced by an analysis of the interplay of values residents place on the elements being exchanged and their perceptions of how tourism impacts what they value" (1997, pp.3-4). This research has shown the particular relevance of this comment for our understanding of the nature and role of culture in the exchange equation.

A further area of tourism theory which has been mentioned by authors (Dogan, 1989; Mathieson and Wall, 1982; Pearce et al, 1996), but which has not been

previously operationalised in practise, is Butler's (1975) attitude/behaviour framework. Although not originally designed to explain the process of tourist/resident interaction, the application of this framework in this research does seem to have provided a useful measure of attitudes, which then can be notionally linked to the tourism coping strategies proposed by Dogan (1989). Indeed, the measures constructed to assess the range of attitudes to tourism and its impacts, using a scale ranging from "I am in favour and strongly support" to " I dislike and strongly oppose", were the items in the questionnaire on which the group distinctions were clearest and strongest, and they provided the widest range of responses across both the equity groups and the cluster groups. This suggests that there may be potential to further explore the use of this framework, using such scales to measure attitudes to the impacts of tourism. Such scales may be better than the traditional 'agree strongly' to 'disagree strongly' scale used to assess responses to a particular set of statements (and as used in this research).

Butler's attitude/behaviour framework could theoretically be used to assess the balance of the different psychological positions held by residents of tourist areas in terms of their active/passive and positive/negative nature. What would be interesting would be an attempt to then link such psychological positions with the actual behavioural outcomes of such situations, thereby allowing the framework to be used as a potential predictive tool in assessing the behavioural outcomes of expressed attitudes to particular situations or proposals for development.

Closely linked to this in conceptual terms is Dogan's (1989) theory of coping strategies. This theory has been shown to have a definite basis in the evidence provided by this research. From the questionnaire results, the more negative respondents were most in favour of keeping the activities of tourists more separate from those of locals, suggesting that a reaction to tourism in the form of boundary maintenance could be expected from those respondents. The more positive of the respondents, on the other hand, were very much in favour of tourism overall, and of its cultural impacts more specifically, suggesting that Dogan's categories of both adoption and revitalisation may be applicable for this group of respondents.

A further notable contribution here has been the usefulness of the focus group discussions in drawing out a range of key factors and contexts influencing what Dogan referred to as the 'politics of response' to tourism. The key themes and

situations discussed in the focus groups gave a very clear illustration of the political, economic and cultural axes along which resident attitudes to tourism seem to shift, and also of the importance of understanding the nature and role of locality as the environment within which the impacts of tourism occur.

What then are the implications of this research for the understanding of resident perceptions of and attitudes to the sociocultural impacts of tourism in Llangollen, and to presentations of culture in the town?

A notable feature of the data provided by this research is that the overall perceptions of, and attitudes to the sociocultural impacts of tourism in Llangollen were measurably more positive than in other research carried out using similar measures. This was best illustrated by the responses to the personal equity measures in the first section of the questionnaire, which can be directly compared with those of Pearce et al (1991) in Cairns (NE Australia), with the proportion of residents falling into the positive equity group category in Llangollen being considerably higher.

By carefully seperating different areas of culture in Llangollen, it was possible to see how each element was viewed differently by the respondents, and to derive some form of relationships between the equity groups and the cluster groups drawn from the survey data and the different elements of culture presented in the questionnaire. The relationships between both individuals and groups with the different elements of culture was also clearly evident from the focus group discussions. Both approaches, however, made clear the importance of the role of the International Eisteddfod in terms of perceptions of both tourism and culture in Llangollen.

While the International Eisteddfod clearly had the effect of drawing large numbers of visitors to the town, and of making people worldwide aware of the place, many of the benefits of the event for the community were perceived on a far more internal level. The benefits of cultural exchange through contact with international visitors were strongly perceived, having opened out the perspective of the community and given it a more cosmopolitan outlook.

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The nature of the contact with international visitors was also seen as important, with local people accommodating the International Eisteddfod competitors in their own homes. This, interestingly, suggests that by voluntarily allowing visitors to enter into the residents' 'back spaces' (Goffman, 1959), the nature of the contact can be improved, not only for the guests, but for the hosts as well. Furthermore, the high level of local involvement in the event on all levels concurs with Getz's (1994) proposition that, in order to maximise the authenticity of such events, they should:

- reveal interrelationships between people
- be controlled by the host community
- be valued and well-attended by residents
- allow hosts and guests to mingle and to participate in the living community.

Another concept which can be linked to the event, and which can help understand its conceptualisation by the residents of Llangollen is that of Cohen's (1979) 'emergent authenticity'. As already explained in the literature review chapter, this is a situation whereby increased meaning can become attached to an event over time, thereby integrating it into the cultural landscape of a given community and allowing it to acquire greater authenticity in terms of community acceptance, involvement and opinion.

This leads on to the issue of authenticity in relation to the perceptions among Llangollen residents of the presentation of culture for tourist consumption. While the questionnaire did show that the more negative respondents felt that elements of the local culture were presented in an inauthentic manner to cater for tourists, such concerns were neither widely, nor strongly, expressed. Indeed, the only comment arising from the focus group discussions on the issue of authenticity and cultural presentations was from the most negative of the participants who felt that "the real thing no longer exists, does it?", echoing the post-modernist argument that all culture in (post)modern society has been subsumed into the capitalist system and rendered inauthentic by its commercialisation/commodification. Interestingly, the view was also expressed that certain elements of the local culture had not been commercialised *enough* by the tourism industry, that not enough use was made of the distinctive 'Welshness' of Llangollen as a unique selling point, and that the commercial development of heritage-based attractions in the town was under-exploited.

In terms of shops selling souvenirs and other tourist-related paraphernalia, the concentration of "Welsh dollies and love spoons" was, however, associated with the "tat", which it was felt needed to be kept out, and was perceived as undermining the more 'high-brow' or 'quality' nature of the tourism and tourist resources in Llangollen.

This perception of the 'quality' nature of the tourists in Llangollen was described in relation to the tourism-related changes which had taken place in the town. One of the main comments which was made was that a different type of tourist was now visiting the town, at different times of the year, and staying for longer periods. All of this was seen as positive, with longer-stay visitors spending more money in the town, causing less traffic congestion, and being more likely to have meaningful interaction with residents than would a passing tourist stopping for a toilet-break on their way into Snowdonia.

Two other issues which were not explicitly incorporated into the investigation, but which emerged as being of key importance to residents in terms of their perceptions of the impacts of tourism in the town was the role of tourism in general as an economic force, and of the International Eisteddfod as a source of social status within the community, and the local power structures evolving as a consequence. This, again, points very strongly to Dogan's 'politics of response' to tourism, and demonstrates the highly political nature of culture and of cultural presentations on a community level. As Wood (1980, in Dogan, 1989) argues, "To understand the relationship between tourism and culture, we need to recognize culture as internally-differentiated, active and changing ... We must also recognize that cultures are not passive, and must become sensitive to the cultural strategies people develop to limit, channel, and incorporate the effects of international tourism".

9.5.3 Suggestions for future research

This research has taken a "tourism-centric" perspective from the outset, and in doing so, has perhaps failed to make full use of the approaches and perspectives provided by other disciplines. However, by at least attempting to incorporate a range of approaches into the research, the validity of doing so has certainly been confirmed. It is the contention here that more work needs to be done to successfully integrate tourism research into the frameworks provided by other areas of academic endeavour, and to more clearly integrate other external ideas into the field of tourism studies. It is only by adapting and incorporating the wealth of theories and methods provided by the fields of anthropology, sociology, social psychology, community studies and political science that a fuller understanding can be gained of the social and cultural impacts of tourism, of what such impacts mean for the residents of tourist receiving areas, and of the community behaviour which occurs in reaction to such impacts.

One particular conclusion of this thesis is that there is a need for future tourism researchers to focus less on specific groups within communities. Is there any further requirement for knowing how many members of a given community are broadly in favour of tourism, along with their age and socio-economic status? Surely, in order to further advance the conceptualisation of the tourism/community interface there is a need to further develop the understanding of what the members of a community feel are the most important functions of tourism within their particular social setting, and in political, economic and sociocultural terms.

It has also become clear from this research that there is a need for future tourism researchers to pay far greater consideration to the broader context within which the impacts of tourism are situated. This broader context includes not only the social, cultural, political and economic features which are particular to a given community, but also includes the range of other external and internal influences on the community which will effect the way in which tourism operates and is perceived by the residents of the community.

The application of more naturalistic forms of social inquiry is also needed to develop a more 'grounded' picture of how tourism is perceived by the residents of communities. The role of ethnographic techniques in the classification, description

and analysis of cultural phenomena is clear and well established. There remains the need, however, as Sandiford and Ap point out, "for ethnographers to understand and meet the needs of planners and decision makers". What this means is that the material provided by ethnographic case studies then needs to be translated into the policy-making process in order to address politically-contingent issues related to tourism development and to cultural sustainability.

Another approach which this research has highlighted as being of potential benefit to the field of tourism studies is the greater use of focus groups, along with the use of Ritchie and Spencer's (1994) framework technique in order to sort and filter qualitative data and to seek out the 'interpretive repertoires' used by residents to understand and to communicate their feelings about how tourism affects their communities. Another alternative approach to the use of in-depth discussion groups in tourism research would be to adapt the 'group analytical' framework used by Burgess et al (1988) to provide a highly detailed and longitudinal account of the views of residents.

Finally, in the study of tourism and culture, while the importance of culture and different forms of culture has been investigated in some detail from a tourist perspective, there is still considerable scope for research into the cultural requirements and preferences of residents. One approach which could be beneficial in such research would be to adapt the work of Ritchie and Zins (1978), and to use their 'framework for isolating culture as an element of the visitor attractiveness of a tourism destination' in a 'framework for isolating culture as an element of the resident attractiveness of a tourism destination'.

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RELEVANT WEBSITES USED

Llangollen International Musical Eisteddfod: www.international-eisteddfod.co.uk

Llangollen Fringe Festival: www.Llangollen-fringe.co.uk

Llangollen town: www.Llangollen.org.uk

APPENDIX

Questionnaire Used in the Research

QUESTIONNAIRE ON THE OPINIONS OF RESIDENTS ON THE SOCIAL EFFECTS OF TOURISM IN LLANGOLLEN

The following questionnaire consists of questions on your personal views on tourism and the way of life in Llangollen. I would appreciate it if you would answer them as freely and honestly as possible. The results provided will be totally anonymous and confidential, and will be used exclusively for research purposes.

A. GENERAL IMPACTS OF TOURISM

1. Do you consider that tourism in Llangollen has had a major positive impact on your life personally?

Yes

No

2. Do you consider that tourism in Llangollen has had any major negative impacts on your life personally?

Yes

No

3. How much do you think tourism in Llangollen benefits you personally in economic terms?

[SHOW CARD 1 Q.3 - 4]

A great deal

A moderate amount

A small amount

Not at all

4. How much do you think that tourism in Llangollen benefits you personally in social and cultural terms?

A great deal

A moderate amount

A small amount

Not at all

5. Do you consider that tourism has had a major positive impact on the community of Llangollen?

Yes

No

6. Do you consider that tourism has had any major negative impacts on the community of Llangollen?

Yes

No

a

7. How much do you think that tourism benefits the community of Llangollen in social and cultural terms?

[SHOW CARD 1]

A great deal
A moderate amount
A small amount
Not at all

B. SPECIFIC IMPACTS OF TOURISM

Please indicate whether you agree or disagree with the following statements.

8. Tourism has helped increase the number of art exhibitions and classical concerts in Llangollen.

[SHOW CARD 2 Q.8 - 19]

Agree strongly
Agree
Neither agree nor disagree
Disagree
Disagree strongly

9. Most of the art exhibitions and classical concerts in Llangollen which attract tourists are of interest to only a small minority of local residents.

Agree strongly
Agree
Neither agree nor disagree
Disagree
Disagree strongly

10.On balance the International Eisteddfod has contributed positively to the way of life or culture of Llangollen residents.

Agree strongly
Agree
Neither agree nor disagree
Disagree
Disagree strongly

11.The International Eisteddfod has increased the interest of Llangollen residents in the history and traditions of the local area.

Agree strongly
Agree
Neither agree nor disagree
Disagree
Disagree strongly

b

12. The International Eisteddfod has encouraged more friendly relations between tourists and Llangollen residents.

Agree strongly
Agree
Neither agree nor disagree
Disagree
Disagree strongly

13. Tourism has increased the interest of Llangollen's residents in the history and traditions of the local area.

Agree strongly
Agree
Neither agree nor disagree
Disagree
Disagree strongly

14. The history and traditions of Llangollen are sometimes presented in an unrealistic or inauthentic manner to cater for tourists.

Agree strongly
Agree
Neither agree nor disagree
Disagree
Disagree strongly

15. Llangollen would be a less varied and interesting place if tourists did not visit the town.

Agree strongly
Agree
Neither agree nor disagree
Disagree
Disagree strongly

16. Tourism has increased the range and quality of facilities available for the use of Llangollen residents in their leisure time.

Agree strongly
Agree
Neither agree nor disagree
Disagree
Disagree strongly

17. Tourism encourages local residents to take part in a wide variety of cultural activities (e.g. arts, crafts, music).

Agree strongly
Agree
Neither agree nor disagree
Disagree
Disagree strongly

18. Tourism has made the way of life or culture of Llangollen less intimate and friendly for Llangollen residents.

Agree strongly
Agree
Neither agree nor disagree
Disagree
Disagree strongly

19. Tourism has encouraged Llangollen residents to value more highly their local way of life or culture.

Agree strongly
Agree
Neither agree nor disagree
Disagree
Disagree strongly

20. Tourism has made the local way of life or culture of Llangollen less distinctive.

Agree strongly
Agree
Neither agree nor disagree
Disagree
Disagree strongly

21. Meeting tourists from all over the world is a valuable experience.

Agree strongly
Agree
Neither agree nor disagree
Disagree
Disagree strongly

d

C. ATTITUDES TO THE IMPACTS OF TOURISM

Please indicate which of the following statements is closest to describing your attitude to tourism in Llangollen at the present time.

22. Which statement best describes your overall attitude to tourism in Llangollen?

[SHOW CARD 3
Q.22 - 27]

    I am in favour and strongly support it.
    I am in favour of it.
    I am neither in favour nor dislike it.
    I dislike it.
    I dislike and strongly oppose it.

23. Which statement best describes your attitude to the increased number of art exhibitions and classical concerts in Llangollen resulting from tourism?

    I am in favour and strongly support it.
    I am in favour of it.
    I am neither in favour nor dislike it.
    I dislike it.
    I dislike and strongly oppose it.

24. Which statement best describes your attitude to the overall impact of the International Eisteddfod on the way of life or culture of Llangollen?

    I am in favour and strongly support it.
    I am in favour of it.
    I am neither in favour nor dislike it.
    I dislike it.
    I dislike and strongly oppose it.

25. Which statement best describes your attitude to the general character of the events and activities in the International Eisteddfod?

    I am in favour and strongly support it.
    I am in favour of it.
    I am neither in favour nor dislike it.
    I dislike it.
    I dislike and strongly oppose it.

26. Which statement best describes your attitude to the way in which the history and traditions of Llangollen are promoted in order to attract tourists?

    I am in favour and strongly support it.
    I am in favour of it.
    I am neither in favour nor dislike it.

I dislike it.

I dislike and strongly oppose it.

27. Which statement best describes your attitude to the overall impact of tourism on the way of life or culture of Llangollen?

I am in favour and strongly support it.

I am in favour of it.

I am neither in favour nor dislike it.

I dislike it.

I dislike and strongly oppose it.

D. ATTITUDES TO FUTURE CHANGES IN TOURISM

Please indicate which of the following statements is closest to describing your attitude to suggestions for future changes in tourism in Llangollen.

28. Which statement best describes your attitude to a suggestion that in future tourism in Llangollen should be allowed to grow but only slowly?

[SHOW CARD 4   I am in favour and would strongly support the suggestion.

Q.26 -32]   I am in favour of the suggestion.

I am neither in favour nor dislike the suggestion.

I dislike the suggestion.

I dislike and would strongly oppose the suggestion.

29. Which statement best describes your attitude to a suggestion that in future tourism in Llangollen should grow rapidly?

I am in favour and would strongly support the suggestion.

I am in favour of the suggestion.

I am neither in favour nor dislike the suggestion.

I dislike the suggestion.

I dislike and would strongly oppose the suggestion.

30. Which statement best describes your attitude to a suggestion that in future there should be increased promotion of more art exhibitions and classical concerts in Llangollen in order to attract tourists?

I am in favour and would strongly support the suggestion.

I am in favour of the suggestion.

I am neither in favour nor dislike the suggestion.

I dislike the suggestion.

I dislike and would strongly oppose the suggestion.

31. **Which statement best describes your attitude to a suggestion that in future the International Eisteddfod should be much bigger in size and importance?**

I am in favour and would strongly support the suggestion.
I am in favour of the suggestion.
I am neither in favour nor dislike the suggestion.
I dislike the suggestion.
I dislike and would strongly oppose the suggestion.

32. **Which statement best describes your attitude to a suggestion that in future there should be more promotion of the history and traditions of Llangollen in order to attract more tourists?**

I am in favour and would strongly support the suggestion.
I am in favour of the suggestion.
I am neither in favour nor dislike the suggestion.
I dislike the suggestion.
I dislike and would strongly oppose the suggestion.

33. **Which statement best describes your attitude to a suggestion that in future there should be more promotion of the local way of life or culture of Llangollen residents in order to attract more tourists?**

I am in favour and would strongly support the suggestion.
I am in favour of the suggestion.
I am neither in favour nor dislike the suggestion.
I dislike the suggestion.
I dislike and would strongly oppose the suggestion.

34. **Which statement best describes your attitude to a suggestion that in future attention should be given to tourist activities being kept more separate from   the activities of the residents of Llangollen.**

I am in favour and would strongly support the suggestion.
I am in favour of the suggestion.
I am neither in favour nor dislike the suggestion.
I dislike the suggestion.
I dislike and would strongly oppose the suggestion.

E. PERSONAL DETAILS

35. **Do you or any member of your immediate family work in the tourism industry?**

Yes
No

36. How much direct contact do you have with tourists visiting the local area?
[SHOW CARD 5 Q.36 - 37]

A great deal
A moderate amount
A small amount
None at all

37. How much involvement do you have in local societies and other organisations in the Llangollen area?

A great deal
A moderate amount
A small amount
None at all

38. How interested are you in art exhibitions or classical music?
[SHOW CARD 6 Q.38 - 40]

Very interested
Quite interested
Neither interested nor disinterested
Quite disinterested
Very disinterested

39. How interested are you in general in the events within the International Eisteddfod?

Very interested
Quite interested
Neither interested nor disinterested
Quite disinterested
Very disinterested

40. How interested are you in the local history and traditions of Llangollen?

Very interested
Quite interested
Neither interested nor disinterested
Quite disinterested
Very disinterested

41. How many years have you lived within Llangollen or 25 miles of it?
[SHOW CARD 7]

Less than 1 year
1 or more but less than 5 years
5 or more but less than 15 years
15 or more but less than 30 years
30 or more years

42. Are you male or female?

Male
Female

43. What is your age?
[SHOW CARD 8]

18 - 24
25 - 34
35 - 44
45 - 54
55 - 64
65 - 70
Over 70

44. Which of these categories best describes your present occupation, or your last occupation if you are retired or unemployed?
[SHOW CARD 9 Q. 44 - 45]

Higher managerial or professional
Intermediate managerial
Supervisory or clerical
Skilled manual work
Semi-skilled manual work
Unskilled manual work
Not applicable
Details (eg at home with children, full-time

education)...

45. If you do not earn the most income in your household, what category best describes the present occupation of the person earning most income (or their last occupation if they are retired or unemployed)?

Higher managerial or professional
Intermediate managerial
Supervisory or clerical
Skilled manual work
Semi-skilled manual work
Unskilled manual work
Not applicable

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