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Post-communist capital city tourism representation: a case-study on Bucharest

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POST-COMMUNIST CAPITAL CITY TOURISM REPRESENTATION:

A CASE-STUDY ON BUCHAREST

C. SIMA

PhD

2013

POST-COMMUNIST CAPITAL CITY TOURISM REPRESENTATION: A CASE-STUDY ON BUCHAREST

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

April 2013

Declaration

This dissertation is the work of Claudia Sima. All other contributors are acknowledged in the text and listed in the bibliography.

Word count: 73,720 words

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Abstract

The focus of the project is on the tourism representations of Central and
Eastern European post-communist capital cities and the process of
representation. Drawing from a number of academic fields such as urban
tourism, culture, marketing, and media, as well as original primary and
secondary research, the study wishes to contribute to existing debates on
tourism representations and post-communist Central and Eastern European city
tourism. Bucharest is the case-study. The project adopts a multi-method
qualitative approach in line with the social-constructivist paradigm. Analysis
of findings employs NVivo8 content analysis programme.

Findings reflect on the thin line between representation producers and
consumers and on the cyclical nature of the representation process. Bucharest
representations are dominated by stereotypical images of the destination, both
on the projected and perceived side. There is a strong overlap between the
representations and images of Romania and of its capital.

Disagreements exist between the projected tourism representations of tourism
government, tourism industry, and tourism media, and how tourists and
potential tourists perceive the city and its projected representations. The
tourism representations projected by Bucharest representation-makers are
determined by an ongoing process of self-rediscovery and reaffirmation of a
European identity. Bucharest's projected tourism representations are strongly
affected by politics, transition and change. They are unstable and adapted to
satisfy new political wills and urban regimes. On the other hand, tourists and
potential tourists are attracted by the distinctiveness of the city, by its 'Eastern'
characteristics, and by the change from communism to democracy. While
tourist testimonials seem to be strongly influenced by tourism media
destination representations, especially guidebooks, potential tourists perceive
projected destination representations as unappealing and creating false
expectations.

Acknowledgements

List of abbreviations

BCH = Bucharest City Hall

CEE = Central and Eastern Europe

DM = Destination material

EU = European Union

MT = Romanian Ministry of Tourism

MC = Romanian Ministry of Culture

S1 = Stage 1

S2 = Stage 2

S3 = Stage 3

S4 = Stage 4

VFR = Visiting Friends and Relations

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Chapter 1. Introduction

1.1 Opening remarks

The aim of the project is to understand the process of representation and the issues that characterise the tourism representations of a post-communist Central and Eastern European national capital. The purpose is to understand how different layers of history, culture, political ideology and national and city identity are being projected in the tourism representations of Bucharest and perceived by actual tourists. This is achieved by identifying, comparing and contrasting the city tourism representations of different actors: government, industry, media, potential and actual tourists.

The research builds on previous knowledge on city tourism representation in Central and Eastern Europe (abbreviated within the text as CEE). It wishes to contribute to exiting debates on the process of tourism representation from production to consumption (for example Pritchard and Morgan, 2001; Meethan et al., 2006; Waterton and Watson, 2010); and on the issues that characterise Central and Eastern European post-communist capital city tourism representation (for example Ashworth and Tunbridge, 2000; Light, 2000a, 2000b, 2001). The present chapter outlines the research context and rationale, justifies the chosen case-study, sets out the research questions, and introduces the structure of the thesis.

1.2 Central and Eastern European post-communist capital cities

How to represent a city's identity, culture, history, and place characteristics for tourism has long been considered a challenge, potentially more so if that city is a post-communist national capital. National capitals are often seen as gateways to the country, playing major administrative, political, cultural, financial, and tourism roles; and yet, academic attention on them is relatively recent and limited (Ritchie et al, 2007; Maitland, 2009). Maitland (2012b:15) underlines "tourism in a wider range of national capitals should be examined", especially in the post-communist and developing world. Light (2008) notes the growing research interest in the countries belonging to the former communist bloc but stresses the unbalanced nature of the research. He argues most authors focus on the 'macro' aspects such as supply and demand changes, tourism development and planning, national level rebranding and reimaging, as well as on the complex processes of

economic restructuring and privatisation. Not much research has been dedicated to investigating the post-communist city representations conveyed by city marketers and promoters, or how tourists interpret such representations. This project attempts to explore such issues in detail.

For post-communist capital cities, transition was characterised by many changes in built environment, atmosphere and lifestyle (Stanilov, 2007). As Ashworth and Tunbridge (1999:105) argue "the cities of Central Europe have long been the heritage showcases that reflected the complex historical and geographical patterns of the region's changing governments and ideologies". For this reason, their (re)development was perceived as complex and problematic with a large number of issues such as politics, heritage perception and interpretation, and wider social and economical disparities needing to be addressed (Ratz et al, 2008). For example, historic spaces and attractions, especially socialist heritage sites and objects, had to be given to reflect the city's desire to be seen as dynamic and cosmopolitan and free of their socialist past (Czepczynski, 2008; Smith and Puczko, 2010). This process of reinterpretation and representation presents interest and should be explored in greater detail.

Eight CEE countries joined the European Union in 2004: Czech Republic, Estonia, Latvia, Hungary, Lithuania, Poland, Slovakia and Slovenia, and in 2007 Bulgaria and Romania also joined. In addition to adapting to a competitive global tourism market, these former communist states also have to adopt and adapt European Union laws and regulations. On the tourism impacts of the 2004 accession, Hughes and Allen (2009:185) point out the outcomes were mainly positive in terms of tourism development and the integration was believed to be "the culmination of adjustment processes that had been ongoing since the late 1980s". The EU integration brought the free movement of people with the elimination of visas; eliminated currency problems with the adoption of euro; liberalised air transport; boosted publicity; and was thought to have a positive image impact. Hughes and Allen (2009:185) also stress "there had been an increased tourism inflow (especially from the United Kingdom) and a shift in the tourism profile towards tourists with wider interests", however more knowledge on the images and opinions of British tourists on CEE capitals is needed.

In less than 20 years, national capitals such as Budapest, Sofia, Prague, or Bucharest, moved from communism, to post-communism and transition, to EU integration and membership. The project attempts to understand to what extent and how issues related to pre-communism, communism, transition, or integration affect city tourism representations. In addition, the research is motivated by a personal interest in exploring how post-communist capital cities are adapting in terms of tourism more than two decades after the Iron Curtain fell.

1.3 Case-study choice

To understand the above issues in-depth, choosing one case-study capital matching the post-communist and EU member criteria would be appropriate. Some former socialist capitals have received more academic attention than others, such as Berlin (for example Light, 2000a) and more specifically Eastern Berlin (for example Novy and Huning, 2009), Prague (for example Johnson, 1995), or Budapest (for example Light, 2000a; Puczko et al, 2007; Ratz et al, 2008; Smith and Puczko, 2010; Smith and Puczko, 2012); while emerging destinations such as Sofia (Bachvarov, 1997), Riga (Rozite and Klepers, 2012), Tallinn (Jaakson, 1996), Ljubljana (Sirse and Mihalic, 1999), or Bucharest (Light and Dumbraveanu, 1999; Light, 2000a; Light, 2000b) are in need of deeper understanding.

The chosen case-study is Bucharest, capital of Romania. Bucharest presents strong communist heritage and a difficult transition process. Shandley et al (2006:152) emphasises that "like other eastern European countries, post socialist Romania is attempting to gain a foothold in the regional economic system and the highly competitive global tourism system". Bucharest is one example of a post-communist city that is trying to represent itself as a potentially valuable urban tourism destination. Bucharest is also at a critical stage in its development after recently becoming part of the European Union. Understanding the connections and implications of tourism representation for Bucharest may potentially provide broader knowledge applicable to other post-communist cities in transition.

1.4 Approach to tourism representation

Watson and Waterton (2010) point out that while the notion of 'representation' is present in many and diverse fields, few attempts to make it the dedicated focus of

scholarship have actually been made. As a result, a lack of clear terminology is noted. In tourism focused studies, the term representation is often used when referring to textual and visual sources of data such as guidebooks or brochures, or when talking about image and image-related terms such as destination image, imagery, imagination, or when attempting to uncover deeper discourses and narratives about a place (for example Pritchard and Morgan, 2001).

The importance of tourism representations is well acknowledged. Destination representations are known to influence people's holiday decision-making process by confirming and reinforcing "particular images, views, and identities of destinations in a very powerful manner" (Iwashita, 2006:59). It is important to analyze textual and visual tourism representations because they reflect local, national and international ideologies, traditions, trends and experiences; because they influence the production of knowledge or information about the city; and because they are vital elements in the city's identity formation and communication (Burns and Lester, 2005; Santos, 2005).

Urry (1990) stresses textual and visual forms of data reflect deeper issues about the destination: "Tourism research should involve the examination of texts, not only written texts but also maps, landscapes, paintings, films, townscapes, TV programmes, brochures, and so on… Thus, social research significantly consists of interpreting texts, through various mainly qualitative techniques, to identify the discursive structures which give rise to and sustain, albeit temporarily, a given tourists site." (Urry, 1990:238). The approach to tourism representations adopted by the study suggests there are two dimensions: a 'visible' side, meaning the actual textual and visual forms of representations, such as destination promotional material; and an invisible or communicational dimension referring to the messages and ideas being conveyed.

The research is built around two key ideas about tourism representations. First, by looking at textual and visual forms of data, deeper issues can emerge about the destination (Urry, 1990). Only three forms have been chosen for this project: text, photographs, and video. The study focuses on the overall messages and meanings conveyed by text, pictures or videos.

The importance of pictures as forms of representation is well acknowledged. Some researchers argue that postmodernism sees visuals as a form of text "conditioned by the same social entanglements and limitations as the verbal message" (Stern and Schroeder, 1993:116); and there is a "close relationship between film and photography, the former being based on the basic (technological, historical and aesthetic) principles of the latter" (Aiello and Gendleman, 2008:161).

The relationship between words and still and moving pictures as means of conveying messages has long been the focus of marketing professionals looking to entice, persuade and encourage the consumption of goods and services by associating them with attractive verbal and visual images. The relationship is much more complex and it is believed that a 'synergy' exists in the way that words and pictures 'reinforce or contradict' one another to convey a particular message (Stern and Schroeder, 1993). It is this particular synergy that presents interest both in terms of 'what' and 'how' a message is conveyed - the visual/verbal resonance is believed to help unveil the multilayered system of meanings of representations (Berger, 1989 in Stern and Schroeder, 1993). When analysing text and picture it is useful to investigate the congruity (consistency between verbal and pictorial elements) or incongruity (discrepancy between them).

Second, tourism representations are articulated, produced and negotiated by a large number of tourism entities including: destination marketers and tourists; the local, national and international tourism industry; the media in general; but also by a large number of local, national, and international non-tourism entities (Santos, 2005). Only destination representations from a tourism perspective are investigated here and only those actors directly involved in making, distributing and consuming them have been included. This was achieved by focusing on a sample of destination representation producers – government, industry, media; and consumers - people that visited the destination (actual tourists) and those that manifested an interest in visiting the destination (potential tourists).

As Hall (1997a:2) points out: "In any culture, there is always a great diversity of meanings about any topic, and more than one way of interpreting or representing it". Destination representations most often lead to debates and arguments between

the different destination-marketers or representation-producers; and the situation is complicated further when taking into account the opinions and views of representation-consumers. It is argued here that the differences between different representations; or how different stakeholders choose to represent the same place presents interest from an academic point. And yet most studies focus on one or a limited few stakeholders at a time. The present study looks at the tourism destination representations of different stakeholder groups, comparing and contrasting them and attempting to understand to what extent are they different and/or similar.

In conclusion, the two main assumptions of the study are that: the content of textual and visual destination and tourist materials has the potential to reveal valuable information about the cultural, social, political, or identity related characteristics of the place, both from a projected and perceived perspective; and that different representation-makers will produce different representations. Building on these assumptions, the project will attempt to identify and understand the messages behind textual and visual destination materials produced by different destination marketers; and also how these representations or messages are consumed and interpreted by potential and actual tourists?

1.5 Research questions

As previously stated, the focus of this project is on the tourism representations of a post-communist Central and Eastern European capital city. The aim is to understand the process of representation and the issues that characterise the tourism representations of a post-communist CEE national capital. In other words, it will attempt to explore both the production and consumption of tourism representations. This is achieved by looking at representation from multiple angles and focusing on different representation-makers, and by dividing the aim into four research questions - the first two look at representation from a projected perspective, while the last two look at how they are perceived:

- Research question 1 – How do textual and visual destination materials represent Bucharest for tourism?

- Research question 2 – Why do these destination representations exist and what factors affect them?

- Research question 3 – To what extent do tourists' textual and visual materials reflect destination representations?

- Research question 4 – How do potential tourists perceive and interpret destination representations and how far do destination representations match potential tourists' images?

The first research question tries to identify the different Bucharest destination representations by looking at the destination materials produced by a number of different actors. These were roughly grouped under: governmental, industry, and media – both independent media and media based on familiarisation trips sponsored by the government. The idea is to understand if there are differences between actors. The second research question investigates the reasons behind Bucharest's destination representations. This is achieved by talking with tourism professionals from government, industry and media at the destination. The third research question explores how tourists perceive and represent Bucharest after they experienced the destination. In other words, to what extent and how do destination representations influence tourist experiences, and to what extent their testimonials reflect destination representations. The fourth research question attempts to understand to what extent potential tourists perceive and interpret the city as depicted in destination materials and as intended by destination marketers. This is achieved both indirectly by collecting potential-tourist images, and directly by asking them how they perceive destination materials and representations.

A qualitative methodology forms the basis of the investigation, making use of a multi-method approach to research. Because each research question has different research needs, it was decided to develop and apply a different method or approach to each one: secondary research on destination materials and tourist blogs; and primary research consisting of semi-structured interviews and focus-groups. Analysis is done using NVivo8, a content analysis software that combines quantitative content analysis (for example word frequencies), with thematic analysis. The same analysis process and procedures are applied to all four sets of data as the chapter on analysis will discuss in detail. Arguably, the originality of the research comes from the wealth of perspectives (both in terms of different types of textual and visual sources of data investigated, and in terms of different

representation-producers approached); and from the multi-method approach to research adopted (applying different research approaches to meet the needs of each question but also complement and support each other to provide sufficient information for the overall aim under investigation).

1.6 Structure of the thesis

The thesis is divided into 11 chapters. Chapters 2 to 4 focus on reviewing existing literature on the topic and the case-study. Chapter 2 attempts to understand representation and tourism representation in greater detail. Chapter 3 looks at the issues that characterise post-communist CEE capital cities; while Chapter 4 reflects on some of the issues that characterise Bucharest tourism, including tourism potential and tourist numbers. Chapter 5 discusses the methodological approach, the methods of gathering data, and the approach to data analysis taken, as well as issues related to fieldwork.

The next four chapters present findings from the primary and secondary research. Because each research question generates findings through its own method or approach, and for better clarity, it was decided that the findings for each question should be presented separately. Chapter 6 presents evidence for research question one; Chapter 7 for research question two; Chapter 8 for research question three; and Chapter 9 for research question four. The last two chapters bring the discussion back to the research aim (Chapter 10), briefly summarise the thesis and conclude with some recommendations for further research (Chapter 11).

Chapter 2. Tourism representation

2.1 Introduction

A clear definition or understanding of tourism representation(s) does not yet exist. Furthermore, much like tourism in general, tourism representation also stands at the crossroads between different disciplines (Jafari and Ritchie, 1981; Waterton and Watson, 2010). Hunter (2008:357) underlines that "representations are the mechanism of tourism's discourses"; they are "things in themselves"; they can take many shapes or forms - text, images, objects; they can be collectively or individually held and produced; they determine or influence human behaviour; and are determined by a large number of factors – from the opinions, experiences and intentions of producers, to tourists' expectations. They embody "concepts, ideas and emotions in a symbolic form which can be transmitted and meaningfully interpreted" (Hall, 2003a:10). This is a simplified view of the concept.

As the present chapter will develop, both representations in general and tourism representations are complex concepts often tangled with other equally complex concepts such as image or language. The chapter starts with a brief overview of how researchers across disciplines understand and characterise representations in general. This is followed by a discussion on the object or focus of representation – in this case national capitals. The focus then shifts to the roles of language and image - in particular destination image - existing in tourism representations. The chapter concludes with a review of existing material on the process or cycle of representation. Chapter 3 will explore deeper issues related to capital cities and tourism within the CEE post-communist context.

2.2 What are representations?

Different authors address the issue of representation in different ways and the topic is studied in a large number of fields - especially arts, humanities and social sciences (Figure 2.1). Williams (1988), for example, points out the complexity surrounding the notions of representation and to represent whose meanings vary depending on the field being referred to, such as, for example, law, political, artistic or different branches of humanities and social sciences.

Figure 2.1 Sample of disciplines studying representation(s)
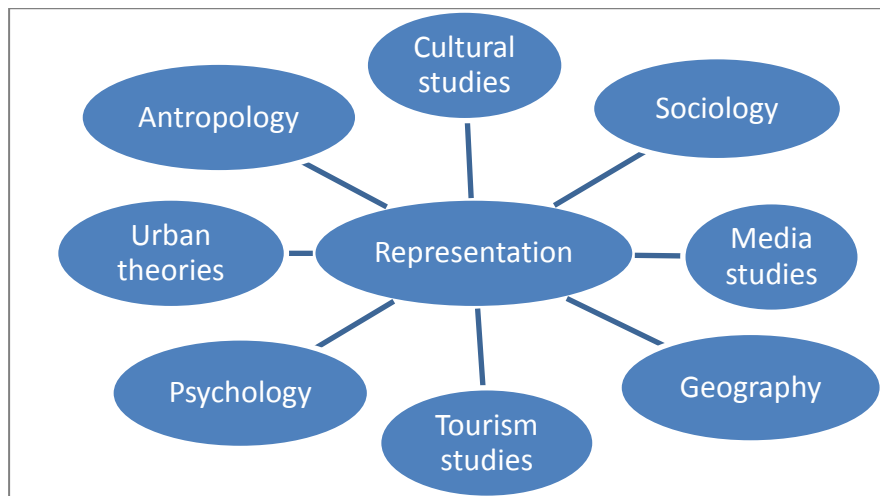
Source: Based on Jenkins (2000) and Hall (1997a)

Some authors reflect on the philosophical nature of representation. For example, Duncan and Ley (1993) focus more on the philosophy of representation discussing the different ways scholars attempted to understand and represent the world at different times in history, while other authors focus more on the practical side and regard representations as mundane and part of day to day life - "in everyday life, we fashion and receive countless representations" (Shields, 1996:228). Representations can be defined as a reflection of our understanding of the world at one particular moment in time; but also as means to record and convey messages; to interact with each other and express ourselves - as people are the main actors in the representational process, acting as both receivers and transmitters (Hall,1997a).

2.2.1 The roles of representations

As previously argued representations play important roles in understanding and explaining the world. One of them refers to their capacity to reflect ideologies. Representations are seen as complex entities that make use of specific techniques as well as human imagination: "representations are argued to be complex formations of material, techniques and ideologies in which social practice is indissolubly linked to social thought and imagination" (Shields, 1996:228). As ideologies are products of the human thought process and imagination, representations both reflect and form part of place ideologies (for example Shields, 1996; Ateljevic and Doone, 2002); the reverse is also

valid, identifying and understanding place ideologies is important in understanding representations. Chapter 3 explores issues of ideology with regard to political and urban regimes, as well as impacts on city built environment.

Representations also play an important part in cultural studies because they are thought to connect meaning and language to culture (Hall, 1997a). Unlike Duncan and Ley (1993), Hall (1997a) focuses on the practicalities of representation and defines it through its use of language: "representation means using language to say something meaningful about, or to represent, the world meaningfully, to other people" (Hall, 1997a:15). Representation is frequently associated or defined through language (for example Duncan, 1993a; Shields, 1996; Hall, 2003a; Hubbart, 2006). In addition, Williams (1988:269) sees representations as symbols or images as well as "the process of presenting to the eye or the mind", and even "the visual embodiment of something". The idea of defining representations through image reflects the complex relationship between the two notions. The relationships representation–language and representation-image are discussed later in a specific section.

Representations are also seen as means to affirm national and city identity. Morgan and Pritchard (1998:3), for example, argue that tourism marketers "through their marketing images create identities which represent certain ways of seeing reality, images which both reflect and reinforce particular relationships in societies". Young and Light (2001) emphasise that the main discourses of national identity and nation building are the basis for key processes of post-socialist identity politics. Palmer (2007:647) suggests that "the identities projected for tourism promotion purposes are a potentially powerful means by which outsiders comprehend the way in which a nation wishes to be seen". Tourism representation is perceived as a tool to build national identity in post-communist countries (Light, 2000a, 2001, 2006; Young and Light, 2001; Henderson, 2003; Palmer, 2007). This is because most cities in Central and Eastern Europe are going through a complex set of changes where issues of "identification, legitimation and commodification" are taking place (Ashworth and Tunbridge, 1999:105). Different countries are

reaffirming their identity in different ways. For example, Light (2001:2) stresses that Romania's focus on rural tourism "allows the country to affirm its post-socialist identity by stressing an earlier, pre-socialist past".

Capital cities are usually the most visible to the international community therefore they are more likely to represent the city to the outside world. Furthermore, "the processes by which the projected identities are selected for tourism promotion have received little academic attention to date" (Palmer, 2007:647). Light (2006) also focuses on issues of national identity and tourism promotion and underlines the importance of the EU integration for Romania. This process is seen as a chance to make the country more visible on the international tourism market, as well as re-affirm itself as a post-socialist modern state that has moved away from its communist past (Light, 2006). Bucharest is seen as one of the ways to achieve this (MT, 2007).

2.2.2 The characteristics of representations

Some authors (for example Duncan, 1993a; Hall, 1997a) describe representations as copies of the world reflected in both spoken and visual forms. Hunter (2008), for example, argues that representations are first of all a communicational mechanism through which we understand, explain and record the world, "a symbolic system to define tourism" (p356). In addition, Shields (1996:228) suggests representations can take many forms and elaborates on the "links between the visible that can be seen, and the articulate which is presented (or made visible) by representations". Although, as Hughes (1992:31) underlines, any type of representation needs to "be seen in the context of visual codes of communication that were current during the historic period of construction", as they are not static, they are dynamic and constantly changing (Hall, 2003a; Nelson, 2007).

In support of this argument, Duncan and Ley (1993) emphasize representations also as human interpretations of the world. They discuss four major modes of representation identified within twentieth-century Anglo-American human and cultural geography. The authors classify them into mimetic – revealing the "naked truth" and non-mimetic modes (Duncan, 1993a:39). These four modes outlined by Duncan and Ley (1993) reflect the way scholars attempted to

represent the world at different times. The descriptive fieldwork mode was dominant until the 1950s. It values observation and it is concerned with description and classification, values the concrete and the particular and avoids abstract theorising. On the other hand, the positivist science mode is interested in producing abstract, reductionist descriptions of the world, and more concerned with "the construction of spatial theory" (Duncan and Ley, 1993:3). That means it values the abstract and the general and ignores the differences between places produced by cultural variation. It became widely used after the 1950s. The postmodernism mode "distrusts and interrogates all meta-narratives including those of the researcher", and the interpretative-hermeneutics mode underlines the impact of interpretation and the interpreter/researcher's role within the research (Duncan and Ley, 1993:3). The first two are considered mimetic representations, while the last ones are non-mimetic.

Representations also need to be approached with caution – especially regarding their relationship with reality and truth - as they are highly subjective and selective by nature (Clifford, 1986). Because they are human endeavours, they are essentially the sum of actions or events and our interpretation of them. This makes them highly dependent on the capacity of the representation-maker to understand the issue or event and produce their own representations of them; but also on the capacity of the representation-receiver to perceive and interpret them. Looking at a painting for example, a person can see the visible – the painting itself, but what that painting wishes to express or represent depends upon the individual interpretations of the representation-maker and the representation-receiver (Clifford, 1986).

Duncan and Ley (1993:2) stress the need to 'represent reality' as closely as possible to its original form, to achieve "an accurate copy of reality". Defining representation through 'reality' is problematic and disputed because the very meaning of 'reality' is questionable – which reality/what is reality/who's reality/reality from what perspective? Events occur and are interpreted by the human mind in different ways based on the different levels of understanding and perspectives that individuals or groups have. This leads to multiple realities (Figure 2.2), each reflecting a 'partial truth' (Clifford, 1986).

Figure 2.2 The process - reality-representation

Occurring events/ Reality	Interpretation	Multiple realities	(Selective) Representations
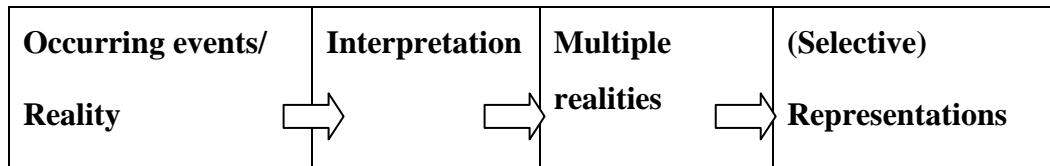
Source: Based on Clifford (1986)

The same argument can be made for Hunter's (2008 citing Brown, 1995:135) use of "true descriptions". It is argued the very use of 'truth' suggests a superficial understanding of representations; and that a very thin and blurred line exists between truths and lies when it comes to tourism. How true are destination advertisements? Hughes (1991), for example, points out that most tourism promotional literature blurs the boundaries between fiction and fact. Another example is the tourist bubble, where the tourist is essentially separated from the locals and experiences a manufactured tourist-friendly - yet unlike the real city - environment. Chapter 3 will further expand on this idea when discussing the topic of developing, promoting and selling the city.

Representations are not fictions either (Shields, 1996) and the question of how to best represent the world still persists. Duncan and Ley (1993:2) point out that "we should strive to produce as accurate a reflection of the world as possible". How best to achieve this is, however, unclear. It is impossible to replicate the world therefore representations can never be perfectly accurate and creating 'a perfect copy' is not achievable (Duncan, 1993a; Shields, 1996). A selection process may occur as 'representing' all realities and all aspects of each reality is not feasible. Which reality (or realities) are selected and represented and why may not be straightforward or easy to understand (Clifford, 1986).

In conclusion, representations are much more than simplifications of the world at a certain moment in time, they are complex and complicated records, the sum of messages and images, and may reflect broader ideological ideas. In addition, studying representations needs to take into account a large number of issues or factors. Even when striving for accuracy representation is no more than observational fieldwork and accounts are inflected by interpretations and perspectives. Bower's (1991) and Lacey's (2009) approach to studying media

texts provides a useful framework for identifying and organising these issues or factors, and will be discussed next.

2.2.3 Towards a framework for understanding representation

Bower (1991:6) proposes six areas of knowledge or question-categories to be considered when investigating any media text (the term text refers to written, picture, or video; television, newspapers, films or any other form of media output). This framework is used and developed further by Lacey (2009). These are the six categories:

1) Media agencies - Who is communicating, and why?
2) Media categories - What type of 'text' is it?
3) Media technologies - How is it produced?
4) Media language - How do we know what it means?
5) Media audiences - Who is the recipient, and how do they interpret it?
6) Media representations - How does it present its subject?

In Bower's (1991) view, media agencies refers to those who produce a text - such as media institutions for example, their roles in the production process but also economics and ideology, intentions and desired results or outcomes. Lacey (2009) argues identifying the maker or institution responsible is one of the most important step in understanding a text. The analysis of any representation should take into account its producer, its intentions and interests, as these strongly influence the desired message (Lacey, 2009). Media categories refer to: "different media outlets (television, radio, cinema, etc), forms (documentary, advertising, etc), genres (science fiction, soap opera, etc), other ways of categorising texts, how categorisation relates to understanding" (1991:17). Lacey (2009) defines text as written content - such as a book for example, visual - such as a photograph, or audio - such as music, however most of the times media texts use a combination of all, for example advertisements combine text with pictures, movies combine all three. Media technologies refer to: "what kinds of technologies are available to whom, how to use them, the differences they make to the production process as well as the final product"; but also the medium used to communicate - printed or on-line for example (Bower, 1991:17; Lacey, 2009). Media language asks: how the

media produce meanings; codes and conventions used; discourse or narrative structures (Bower, 1991:17). When explaining the fourth category media languages, Lacey (2009:2) writes about "image analysis and narrative" suggesting it is not just about the actual language used to convey meaning but also about the methods used to analyse it. The fifth category asks who is the message intended for and how is it interpreted. Media audiences deals with: "how audiences are identified, constructed, addressed and reached; how audiences find, choose, consume and respond to texts" (Bower, 1991:17).

The sixth category – media representations – refers to the actual representation and how the subject is being presented (Lacey, 2009). Bower (1991:17) describes it as "the relation between media texts and actual places, people, events, ideas; stereotyping and its consequences". He argues there are four major players in representations: text, reality, producer, and audience, and that "representation is not just concerned with the relationship between text and reality, but with the judgements or choices that both audiences and producers make about that relationship" (Bower, 1991:14) – see Figure 2.3. These choices are influenced by a considerable number of factors on both sides. For example, the experience and personal views of both consumer and producer; or external pressures on the producer such the company's agenda.

These six categories provide an organising framework to understand 'texts'. However, as Lacey (2009:2) writes, there is a close relationship between categories - for example: technology and language "because narrative and genre refer to how texts are structured while technology mediates this structure". Furthermore, Lacey (2009:1) also acknowledges the limitations of this framework arguing the separation is artificial because the categories are interconnected, for example media would not exist without technology, and without language it would be impossible to understand representation.

A similar understanding can be seen in Richard Dyer's work. Dyer's (1985) typography of media representation consists of four elements. In addition to language, agencies and audience, Dyer's fourth category is stereotypes, asking "to what extent are representations [of groups] typical of how those groups are in society" (1985:45). Stereotypes are also addressed in Bower's (1991) sixth category. Stereotyping is a process of categorisation and "a necessary element

of narrative, comedy and entertainment" (Bower, 1991:16). The concept of 'stereotyping' comes up frequently in tourism representation and image studies. For this reason, an extensive section on stereotypes and stereotypical images and representations within the CEE post-communist context has been included in Chapter 3.

Figure 2.3 Bower's media representations framework
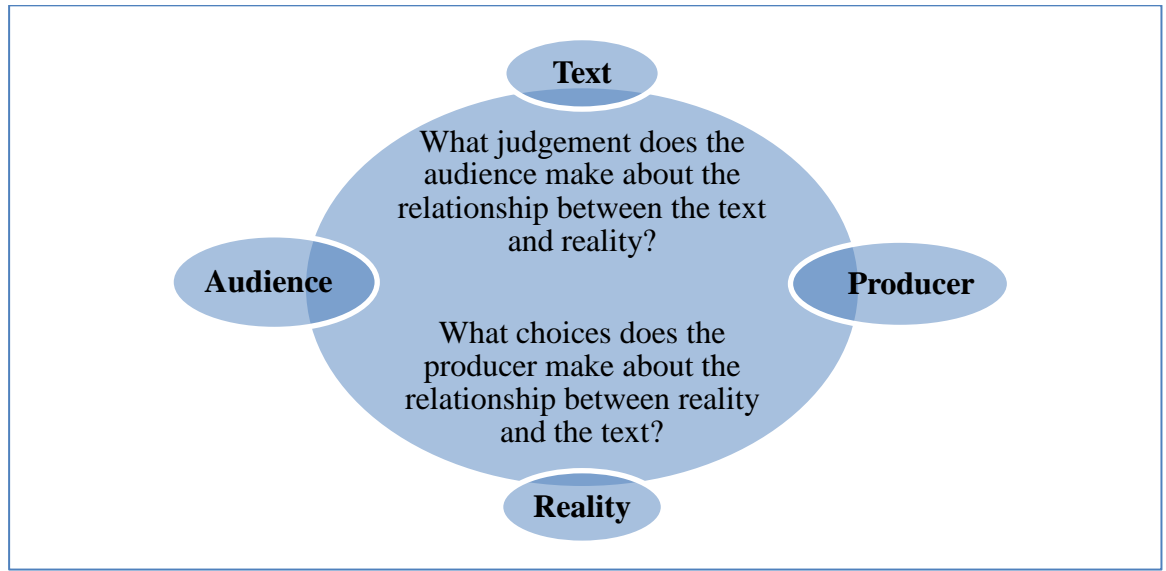
Source: Bower (1991)

Dyer (1985) also insists careful attention must be paid to the agencies responsible for representing and how they can influence that representation, but also to the audience who might interpret texts differently than intended by agencies. Dyer's (1985) interpretation of media language talks about the conventions used to represent the world to the audience, emphasising the role of media as mediator – "representation insists that there is a real world, but that our perception of it is always mediated by [the media's] selection" (Dyer, 1985:44). This is further evidence on the complex relationship between producer and consumer. This topic will receive further attention when discussing organic and induced images.

In conclusion, both Bower's (1991)/Lacey's (2009) and Dyer's (1985) theories stand as further evidence on the complexity of representations, suggesting they are the sum of different components: the agencies or actors responsible; the types and mediums used to covey the messages; the methods used to analyse

them; the targets and their interpretations of the messages; as well as the messages themselves.

It is argued, applied to tourism representations, Bower's (1991) and Lacey's (2009) model helps raise the following questions:

1) Agencies: Who is the representation maker or producer - (affiliation, ideology)? What is their role in the representation process? Why is he representing - (intentions)?

2) Categories: What types or forms of data are being used to represent: textual, visual, audio, all?

3) Technologies: What mediums are used to represent: printed, on-line, both?

4) Language: What is being communicated - (ideas, meanings, discourses, narratives)? What method is used to analyse the representations? Why the destination is represented such - (representation justification)?

5) Audiences: Who are the representations targeting? - Potential tourists, tourists, other representation-makers, investors? How are they interpreting the representations?

These categories and questions provide a useful thinking framework when trying to investigate representations.

2.3 The object of representation: capital cities

According to Duncan (1993a:39) a site of representation signifies "both the site to be represented (a geographical place), and the site (geographical, cultural, political, theoretical viewpoint) from which that representation emanates". Hall suggests that beyond the notion of a physical space there is also the cultural space - "it is the shared cultural space in which the production of meaning through language – that is, representation – takes place" (1997a:10).

There is little agreement on the definition of space and place. Bell (1997:833), for example, writes that space is more physical and "refers to the three-dimensional coordinates of things", while "place is a particular space that has meaning", however the author acknowledges the limitations of such a separation "for even the merest recognition of coordinates is a form of

meaning, of placement". In other words, space is argued to be a sum of physical structures - for example buildings, streets, green spaces (Smith, 2007), whereas place is more subjective and harder to define involving the more intangible elements such as atmosphere, personal experiences, routine and so on, therefore it is more difficult to represent (Relph, 1976; Smith, 2007). Smith (2002:14) on the other hands identifies two different interpretation of place image in literature, that of pictorial reconstruction and of "exemplifying a set of perceived attributes".

Yuen (2008:29), for example, points out that "place-making, with its emphasis on the projection of deliberately crafted images, is a salient motif of the new urban entrepreneurialism". Furthermore, Hubbard (2002:59) suggests that "space is constructed both in the realms of discourse and practice, and that it is impossible to conceive of any space outside the realm of language", where language is associated with representation. In other words, it is emphasised that "only through representation – words, images and data – that space exists, with all spaces being both 'written' and 'read'" (Hubbard, 2006:60). While Kotler et al (1993:2) points out that "places are more than budgets and businesses; they are people, cultures, historical heritage, physical assets, and opportunities".

Authors have long tried to identify, define and represent the city. Raban (1975 in Harvey, 1989:5) describes the city as "a theatre, a series of stages upon which individuals could work their own distinctive magic while performing a multiplicity of roles". Raban (1975, 1998) paints a very romantic vision of the city describing it as an encyclopaedia, a labyrinth, a theatre, "the city is somewhere where fact and imagination simply have to fuse (Raban 1975 in Harvey, 1989:5). The complexity of the city is emphasised by many authors (for example Raban, 1975, 1998; Harvey, 1989; Hubbard, 2006). Raban (1975, 1998) also sees it as complicated and undisciplined, impossible to control by any entity including those that are in charge of shaping its physical form. Representing the city is rather difficult because cities in themselves are such complex entities.

A number of authors point out the paradoxical nature of representing the city (Shields, 1996). This is because the idea of a city is debatable. As Shields

(1996:227) suggests, a city is the name given to a complex environment as a "result of a cultural act of classification", therefore, it could be argued that the city in itself is a representation of how we perceive a particular type of built environment. In other words, "cities are not only the subject of representation, but are also objects in representations" (Shields, 1996:228). Representing the built urban environment of the city might potentially be easier because it deals with the seen elements of the city, the visible side (buildings, parks and so on).

Representing the unseen is difficult. Bell (1997), for example, makes the link between the meaning of a place and the human experience of place with the notion of 'ghosts'. His argument is that "ghosts – that is, the sense of the presence of those who are not physically there – are a ubiquitous aspect of the phenomenology of place" and "also help constitute the specificity of historical sites" (Bell, 1997:813). This is a theme of dark tourism studies and is of interest when looking at sites associated with traumatic events such the 1989 revolution in Bucharest:

> "We moderns, despite our mechanistic and rationalistic ethos, live in landscapes filled with ghosts. The scenes we pass through each day are inhabited, possessed, by spirits we cannot see but whose presence we nevertheless experience." (Bell, 1997:813)

The notion of selectivity in city tourism representations is important (Hall, 1994; Del Casino and Hanna, 2000; Palmer, 2007). Representations only identify and promote some aspects of the city, while others remain hidden, out of sight (Shields, 1996). Therefore, the tourist inevitably receives only biased, selective information about the city:

> "Representations are treacherous metaphors, summarising the complexity of the city in an elegant model." (Shields, 1996:229)

It is not uncommon for the tourists' perceptions and images of the city to differ from the residents' images (Gartner, 1993). Representations may distort the nature of the place and its people by "representing them in ways that are alien to the residents of such places" (Duncan, 1993a:39). This creates tensions between residents and official city representations. Hubbard (2006), for example, discusses the duality of cities, referring to them both as places of

'good' as well as places of 'bad'. Cities have both positive and negative associations. Hubbard (2006) discusses these associations under the headings of 'pro-city' and 'anti-city'. On the one hand, cities are places of order, progress, power and learning. However, on the other hand, they are also places of alienation, not belonging and isolation. One of the representations of the city emphasised by a number of authors (for example Raban, 1975; Harvey, 1989; Hubbard, 2006) is the city as a 'melting pot' "providing opportunities for variety, social mixing and vibrant encounters between very different social groups" (Hubbard, 2006:66).

Raban (1975) sees city interactions as "a labyrinth honeycombed with such diverse networks of social interaction oriented to such diverse goals that the encyclopaedia becomes a scrapbook filled with colourful entries which have no relation to each other, no determining, rational or economic scheme". The city of interaction, connection and interconnection is part of the 'pro-city' movement; however that is not the only way the city is perceived concerning human relations. Hubbard (2006) also emphasises the negative, the city as a place of isolation and desolation, where individuality plays a major role and 'real human connections' are being questioned. The city as opportunity and the city as alienation is also mentioned, where anonymity and cultural disconnection becomes associated with feeling of 'not belonging'.

However, Hubbard (2006) also emphasises that the relationship 'pro-anti' city is complex and dynamic up to a point where the boundaries become blurred and the mythologies of 'anti-' are also mythologies of 'pro-'. Hubbard (2006) gives as example the loss of traditional values which signifies both a sign of social breakdown and of liberation from oppression - and could also be a sign of cultural renewal since values are also subject to change, transformation and renewal. Cultural change is a topic much debated by sociologists and cities are places where cultural changes can best be observed (Harvey, 1989). Bell (1972:11), for example, suggests that "culture has become the most dynamic component of our civilisation" with a "dominant impulse towards the new and the original". Its dynamism surpasses even that of technological renewal.

It is the very sum of interrelated meanings and symbolism of the urban built environment and landscape that makes representing the city so difficult:

> "Such a blurring of urban mythologies of the city, making ambiguous the distinction between simply 'pro-' and 'anti-', perhaps better reflects the true complexity of the social experience and representation of urban places." (Hubbard, 2006:67)

It is the complexity of the cities that attracts people to them. It can be argued capital cities amplify these characteristics as they are the "heart of the nation" (Ritchie et al, 2007:12). Due to their political, historical and cultural values, frequently capital cities are seen as representations or reflections of a nation's values and beliefs, for example:

> "Through their architecture and physical design, capital cities symbolise national identity and self-image and also promote national ideas/values and showcase history and culture" (Ritchie et al, 2007:12)

2.4 Representation and language

Both Lacey (2009) and Dyer (1985) talk about language as an essential part of representation. On the one hand language can be described as a device to create representations- for example, Duncan, (1993a) suggests the world is represented through linguistic and photographic (pictures) devices, as well as objects, while Shields (1996) refers to language and symbols. Lacey (2009:146) argues that the act of communicating in itself is "inevitably a representation" simply because "language is used to communicate to audiences". In addition, Hall (2003a) stresses that 'representation' is about language in all forms. The author discusses representation from the cultural point of view looking at "the production and circulation of meaning through language"; where language is seen as making use of all types of signs and symbols such as visual images, sounds, texts, and objects, regardless if they are created by technology, manmade, or a combination:

> "In language, we use signs and symbols – whether they are sounds, written words, electronically produced images, musical notes, even objects – to stand for or represent to other people our concepts, ideas and feelings." (Hall, 2003a:1)

'Representations' are also identified and associated with language in human geography studies where language takes the form of words, images and data

(Hubbart, 2006). Language can be both spoken (oral presentations, music and so on), or written (books, plays and so on). Representational objects can be: physical objects (such as art objects, photographs, paintings and so on); non-physical objects; or a combination. To copy or reflect any aspect of the world and to convey it back into a form that can be perceived by the human senses.

Representation through language is important because it is a way through which meaning is produced and circulated amongst different actors. It is a way to communicate and understand ourselves and the people around us. For tourism, it is a means of communicating with the tourist (Palmer, 2007). For example, Hunter (2008) points out that it is very hard to describe the complex way of life of a destination, furthermore "in any culture, there is always a great diversity of meanings about any topic, and more than one way of interpreting or representing it" (Hall, 2003a:2).

Hall (2003a) explains that meanings or messages, are coded within representations in order to be sent and 'intelligibly received' at the other end of the communicational chain. However, as mentioned earlier in the chapter, the initial message can be decoded and interpreted differently by the intended receiver than was desired by the sender; or the same message can be interpreted differently by different receivers. This is because "the receiver of messages and meanings is not a passive screen on which the original meaning is accurately and transparently projected" (Hall, 2003a:10). In other words the messages that the destination wishes to project through its representations might be received and perceived by tourists in different ways than intended. Why and how is this happening? One way to find the answer would be analysing the coding process itself and the sender – the representation and its producer. Another would be looking at the channel and seeing if there is any 'noise' or interference that is affecting the message. A third way would be looking at the receiver and the decoding process itself – how tourists perceive and interpret the representation.

Hall (2003a) also emphasises that the process is active, double-sided and interactive, with senders and receivers often exchanging roles: "Representation functions less like the model of a one-way transmitter and more like the model of a dialogue – it is, as they say, dialogic" (Hall, 2003a:10). Hall (2003a:11)

also supports the view that it is more appropriate to stop thinking of meaning "in terms of 'accuracy' and 'truth' and more in terms of effective exchange – a process of translation". Such a thinking mode acknowledges the presence of 'shared cultural codes' which facilitate the dialogue between sender and receiver, but it also recognises the differences and power relations between the different members of the representational process.

It is not clear how representation through language is actually constructed. Of use to this discussion are Hall's (2003b:24) three "theories of representation" where each can be considered an attempt to answer the questions: "where do meanings come from; and how can we tell the 'true' meaning of a word or image?" The immediate, interlinked question is: how is meaning conveyed through language and how can we analyse it? There are different approaches used to convey meaning – 'signs' (words, pictures, and objects), discourses, narratives, and more complex instruments such as synecdoche and metaphor; as well as the methods commonly associated with their analysis: semiotics, discourse analysis, narrative analysis, and thematic and content analysis.

The meanings or messages being transmitted are in themselves highly complex. They can take many forms and shapes: ideas or issues, signs, discourses, and narratives, synecdoche or metaphors; and have layers upon layers of meanings depending on the desired message. Hall (2003b:42) calls them "units of analysis". The following sections explore these different approaches to coding (and decoding) the non-physical - or 'meanings', in the physical – such as texts or pictures for example. It must also be mentioned that understanding the coding process goes hand in hand with the decoding one. This is directly linked with methodology (Chapter 5) - as semiotic, discourse, narrative, thematic and content analysis are frequently used methods for analysing representations.

2.4.1 Saussure and Foucault

Swiss linguist Saussure's view of representation and model of language analysis shaped the 'semiotic' approach to the investigation of representation in many fields including tourism (for example Hunter and Suh, 2007; White, 2012). Semiotics will be discussed in Chapter 5 on methodology. Saussure's

view was that language produces meaning; and "language is a system of signs", where sign' referring to words, images, or objects (Hall, 2003b:31). Saussure splits the 'sign' into two: the 'signifier' and the 'signified'. The 'signifier' refers to the 'form' (the physical); while the 'signified' refers to the 'idea' or 'concept' associated with the concept (non-physical). For example, the word 'pen' is a signifier, while its interpretation 'an instrument for writing" is the signified. As Hall (2003b:31) writes: "Both are required to produce meaning but it is the relation between them, fixed by our cultural and linguistic codes, which sustains representation". However, "there is also no logical association between the signifier and signified as the relationship between them is arbitrary" (White, 2012:123). Its attributed meaning is defined only by the codes of that specific moment in time, it is not permanent and will change once the cultural and social codes used to define and interpret its meaning change – words, for example, can change meaning over time. This links back to the point previously made that representations are not static, but open, temporary and changeable.

Saussure's major contribution is "to force us to focus on language itself", understand it as a valuable and important practice as opposed to "a mere transparent medium between things and meaning" (Hall, 2003b:34). Hall reflects on Saussure, arguing the "whole domain of meaning could, at least, be systematically mapped" (Idem). The author criticises this theory for being simplistic, narrow and limited only to the 'words' and their immediate meaning, not referring back to the real world – its 'reference'. Interpreting representations through 'signs' (words, pictures, videos, or objects) can be considered the first and most basic level of understanding; however, looking at each word and interpreting it in term of signifier and signified can prove difficult and time consuming - especially if a large body of material is under investigation - running the risk of losing track of wider, more complex meanings. To compensate, analysis of more complex units of conveying meaning developed such as: discourses, narratives, synecdoche, or metaphor.

Hunter (2008) argues representations are discourses; and discourses are basic forms of communication. Foucault – considered the 'father' of discourse analysis and having a major impact on "contemporary theories of

representation and meaning" (Hall, 2003b:51) – argues they are more than language "and includes many other elements of practice and institution regulation which Saussure' approach, with its linguistic focus, excluded" (Hall, 2003b:51). In addition, Foucault pays careful attention to the historic context, "seeing forms of power/knowledge as always rooted in particular contexts and histories" (idem). In other words, Foucault expands the 'universe' of representation to take notice of historical and power issues. This approach has been adopted by a considerable number of researchers. Duncan (1993a:53), for example, suggests that the representation process "always involves power relations and is mediated through historically changing institutions, class structures, taken-for-granted historical accounts and scientific assumptions". Ateljevic and Doorne (2002:649) also underline "the importance of deconstructing the cultural discourses of destinations in the wider context of social and political processes". And Barnes and Duncan (1992:12 in Hubbard, 2006:73) refer to discourses as "frameworks that embrace particular combinations of narratives, concepts, ideologies and signifying practices relevant to a particular realm of social action". According to Squire (1998:93), "discourses of destinations can only be understood fully from multiple perspectives and through multiple disciplinary lenses".

Foucault is also criticised for absorbing too much into 'discourse' and for neglecting "the influence of the material, economic and structural factors in the operation of power/knowledge" (Hall, 2003b:51). In addition, Hall (2003b:51) also points out some critics "find his rejection of any criterion for 'truth' in the human sciences in favour of the idea of a 'regime of truth' and the will-to-power (the will to make things 'true') vulnerable to the charge of relativism".

Another issues associated with Foucault is that of 'the tourist gaze' (Meethan, 2006). Urry's (1990) tourist gaze attempts to explain why people travel for leisure and visit places. His argument is that tourists are looking for visual experiences not normally found at home or work - "the main activity of tourists is 'gazing at signs': they look at particular features of a place such as famous cathedrals, beautiful landscapes or other attractions" (Hospers, 2011:28). Meethan (2006), for example, reflects on the discourses and imagery making up the tourist gaze:

"Whatever the form of tourism indulged in, people always travel with a set of expectations derived from various media such as brochures, TV programmes, the Internet and the popular genres of travel writing." (Meethan, 2006:5).

Meethan (2006) criticises these discourse as superficial and lacking depth or quality. Norton (1996:355), on the other hand, disagrees; his argument is that "discourses which are reproduced within and circulate through the tourism industry are not insubstantial or transitory: the stuff of holiday memories or pub-quiz trivia; they inform us of our identities and sense of place".

2.4.2 Narratives

Narratives are argued to be more complex than signs and discourses; not only incorporating both, but being incorporated in both: a narrative is "an account in any semiotic system in which a subjectively focalised sequence of events is presented and communicated" (Bal, 2005:272 in Aiello and Gendelman, 2008:159). Narratives are "constructed and presented in such a way that it can be seen as exemplum, as illustration, as a replacement for proof, when embedded within expository discourse; as a report of reality, in journalistic discourse; as typical, as case, in realistic narrative" (Bal, 1991:272 in Aiello and Gendelman, 2008:159).

In Meethan's (2006) view, narratives perceive tourism more deeply; more than the act of gazing, more than a discourse of power; but as complex reflections of place and self: "The term narrative allows us to get away from the notion that tourism is an activity that is solely governed by and privileges visual consumption. To use the term narrative also implies a more active engagement with the social world than that of gazing. This is not to downplay the significance of the visual, rather it is to argue that other aspects of tourism which encompass forms of performance and embodiment, of self-reflection and personal autonomy are also elements worthy of further attention, the social world and being in it is more than a discourse, and place is more than just a passive container within which activities occur." (Meethan, 2006:7)

In other words: "By looking at the narratives of place, the stories, histories and myths that are associated with people and place, and by acknowledging the

complexities involved in the ways in which people actively engage with their environment, together with the tensions between expectations and realization, we can arrive at a more nuanced understanding of the production and consumption of tourist spaces." (Meethan, 2006:7)

Narratives also have weaknesses. They are selective and subjective: "any narrative only reveals specific portions of a certain world, while inevitably excluding others" (Aiello and Gendelman, 2008:160). Narratives 'frame' reality "through the subjectivities that speak through them, the truth claims they make and the means of representation that are used to deliver them" (Aiello and Gendelman, 2008:160).

Narratives are stories, histories and myths – both destination stories, and tourist stories, or "institutional and amateur/personal tourist narratives" as Aiello and Gendelman (2008:161) calls them; they "can be found not only in linguistic text, but also in still and moving images, material objects, body movements and gestures, and combinations" (Barthes,1975 in Aiello and Gendelman, 2008:159).

In addition to narratives, more complex units of conveying meaning do exist. According to the Soanes and Stevenson (2009:1), metaphor constitutes "a thing regarded as representative or symbolic of something else"; while synecdoche is "a figure of speech in which a part is made to represent the whole or vice versa". Both synecdoche and metaphor can be found in narrative structure.

2.5 Representation and image

While the previous sections explored the complex relationship between representation and language, this section focuses on image and destination image. The relationship between tourism representation and image is controversial. Some authors argue that images are part of representations, while others argue that representations are part of images (Maitland, 2012b). Authors such as Bandyopadhyay and Morais (2005), Pritchard and Morgan (2001), Ryan (2002) and Hunter (2008:356), for example, argue that representations "precede the image because they provide the means to convey the discourses of destination image from sender to receiver and back again".

On the other hand, behavioural geographers consider tourist images as a subset of tourism representation: Lew (1991) suggests that tourists represent the destination according to their own perception and image of the place.

Nevertheless, a large number of researchers acknowledge the complex role tourism representations play in understanding and explaining destination images. Hunter (2008:355), for example, argues that "representations offer a more direct way to understanding image (both in terms of the tourist and in terms of the destination)"; they can be highly influential and extremely persuasive (Nelson, 2007); are an important factor in the destination selection process (Pearce, 2005); and are a useful tool for "understanding the conflicting ideological forces that shape destination image" (Bandyopadhyay and Morais, 2005:1006). In addition, San Martin and Del Bosque (2007:2) point out that "terms such as 'impression', 'perception' or 'mental representation' of a tourist destination are generally used in order to conceptualize destination image in tourism research".

Some destination image definitions associate and define the concept through the notion of 'tourist representations'. Stringer (1984 in Pearce, 2005:92), for example, defines destination image as "a reflection or representation of sensory or conceptual information". Frigden (1987 in Pearce, 2005:92) sees it as "a mental representation of an object, person, place or event which is not physically before the observer". Smith (2002:11) describes image as "a representation or reconstruction of a person or object, whether that be a physical reconstruction or one which is predominantly discourse-based". Baloglo and McLeary (1999) describe it as "an attitudinal construct consisting of an individual's mental representations of knowledge, feelings and global impression about an object or destination".

2.5.1 Image and destination image

Kotler et al (1999:160) defines image as "the sum of beliefs, ideas and impressions that people have of a place"; essentially, images "represent a simplification of a large number of associations and pieces of information connected" with a place (Kotler et al, 1999:160). 'Image' is a topic widely debated in a variety of fields such as marketing, advertising, communication,

tourism, geography, cultural sciences, architecture, and psychology and so on. An agreement on the meaning(s) and definition of 'image' has not yet been reached. A number of authors stress that it is a highly subjective term (for example San Martin and Del Bosque, 2008; Bigné et al, 2001; Gallarza et al, 2002; Leisen, 2001). Pearce (1988:162), for example, refers to it as "a term with vague and shifting meanings". This is because 'image' has different meanings for different people. On the one hand, 'image' is perceived as being a very practical tool frequently used in marketing related fields, and on the other it is a deeply philosophical and cultural concept with intricate meanings and functionalities. Williams (1988) points out that the term 'image' has both physical and mental attributes. In his debate on the meanings of 'image', Williams (1988:158) uses complex notions such as "physical figure or likeness", "the sense of phantom and of conception or idea", and "perceived reputation or character". Williams (1988:158) also points out the complex relationship that exists between 'image', 'imagination' and 'imaginary', terms which seem to suggest "mental conceptions, including a quite early sense of seeing what does not yet exist as well as what is not plainly visible". 'Image' is seen also as an important "commercial and manipulative process" playing a very important role in advertising and politics (Williams, 1988:158). On the role of 'image', Morgan and Pritchard (1998:3) stresses that image is a multi-functional tool used to "convey ideas and messages".

The importance of 'image' has been emphasised in fields such as literature and arts, however Williams (1988:158) believes that the term gained new depths with "the growing importance of visual media such as television", and potentially even more with the rapid development of the internet. The importance of image in tourism has been stressed by a number of authors (for example Chon, 1990; Leisen, 2001; Chen and Uysal, 2002; Ritchie et al, 2007) since image "influences tourism related attitudes and behaviours" (Kim and Richardson, 2003:216). Images, beliefs and perceptions may in fact have an impact on destination visitation even more than the actual resources present in the tourism destinations (Hunt, 1975).

Image and representations are widely associated with tourism marketing. For example, Kim and Richardson (2003:216) consider image as "a crucial

marketing concept in the tourism industry" and Pearce (1988:162) acknowledges its link to "advertising and consumerism". As a tourism marketing concept, image is considered important in understanding, explaining and predicting human behaviour; and also a very important part of the destination decision-process (Kim and Richardson, 2003). Morgan and Pritchard (1998) point out that images and representations are much more than marketing tools, and have much deeper, significant meanings. Destination representations have broader cultural meaning; they reflect national identities and ideologies, as well as dominant value systems and meanings (Morgan and Pritchard, 1998).

The notion of destination image has been widely discussed and analysed (for example Gartner, 1993; MacKay and Fesenmaier, 1997; Baloglu and Brinberg, 1997; Baloglu and McCleary, 1999; Gallarza et al, 2002; Kim and Richardson, 2003; Beerli and Martin, 2004; Bandyopadhyay and Morais, 2005; San Martin and Del Bosque, 2007 and many more). The meaning of destination image is disputed however there is as yet no unified understanding of the concept (Tasci et al, 2007). Most definitions are abstract or charged with multiple meanings. Words such as knowledge/information, feelings, opinions, expectations and intentions are commonly used to describe destination image. Tasci et al (2007:200), for example, says that destination image is "an interactive system of thoughts, opinions, feelings, visualizations, and intentions towards a destination" whilst Pearce (2005:93) also emphasises that destination image represents "a totality of beliefs, feelings and expectations and that it is an accessible mental schema or information store".

In the past few decades image has played an important role in city tourism studies - for example, Selby (2004), who discusses place image within the framework of urban marketing; or Lynch (1994) and Nasar (1998), who emphasize the notion of city image from the inhabitant's perspective linking it to tourism. The importance of understanding the tourist images of the city has also been widely discussed in the literature (for example Gunn, 1997; Page and Connell, 2006). According to Page and Connell (2006:418) few studies exist about "how individual tourists interact and acquire information about the urban environmental".

Enhancing city image is vital for attracting tourists and investment and knowing the 'perceived image' can help communities and destinations guide their tourism promotional and marketing efforts (Gunn, 1997), in order to "maintain, diversify, or bolster local economies" (Nasar, 1998:37). In other words, "enhancing the image of the city is often integral to urban tourism development" (Selby, 2004:17).

2.5.3 Image formation sources and the thinning line between organic and induced

The process of destination image formation has long been the focus of extensive research. Nonetheless, when considering perceptions, image and image formation, one influential model is Gunn (1987, 1997) who speaks of organic and induced images based on "the different stages of the decision-making process" (Selby, 2004:69), where 'organic image' is based on non-commercial sources, as a result to exposure to communication channels independent from the destination's marketing efforts, such as education, literature and arts, family, friends and mass media (Gunn, 1997, Selby, 2004; Hankinson, 2004). Hankinson (2004:6) for example speaks of the image's association "with history, heritage and culture in shaping the perceptions of places as tourism destinations", also emphasizing the extensive period of time taking for such images to form.

However, the 'induced image' is the result of commercial sources of information and promotional efforts "by deliberate portrayal and promotion by various organizations involved in tourism" (Page and Connell, 2006:63), which according to Gunn (1997) are: paid advertising, publicity, public relations and incentives. The key element of this concept is that induced image can be controlled whilst organic image is harder to influence (Page and Connell, 2006).

Of particular importance is also the idea of differentiating based on time of visit. Bruner (1951), for example, identified a three-phase process also known as the traveller image theory, which speaks of the importance of recognizing "the psychology of traveller images, from the beginning to the end of trips". The first phase of this theory is hypothesis and consists of a traveller's

attitudes, beliefs, and expectancy before reaching the destination, it suggests that tourists have a mental image of the destination and expect certain things, and at the actual destinations "tourists are likely to see what they anticipate seeing" (Gunn, 1997:29) and if their expectations are met they are more likely to become repeaters. What exactly determines and manipulates these expectations is a complex idea. The second stage is input based on environmental stimuli from participation and experience at the destination "when the material truth is revealed" (Gunn, 1997:29) and memories of the destination and experience are formed. The final phase is check or the comparison between expectations or original attitudes/images and actual experience, which "may be similar, better or worse than the expectations" (Gunn, 1997:29).The ideal for marketers and destinations is to exceed expectations, for the actual experience to be much better than original expectations.

It can be considered that whilst in the last two stages marketers can be proactive, 'induce' and shape images, in the first stage this is harder and control may be impossible. This is more when the 'organic' images come into play, opinion sustained by Gunn's (1997:29) affirmation that "the realm of hypothesis is not within the control of developers; it is the result of the traveller's lifetime of mental accumulation from a great many sources". These images are very hard to study, however tourist behavioural research can represent a useful source of information according to Gunn (1997) and Page and Connell (2006), as "the notion of image is closely related to behaviour and attitudes" (Cooper et al, 2006:62-63).

Gartner (1993) developed Gunn's model into an image formation continuum where one can identify the physical forms, or textual and visual sources of information, as well as their makers (Table2.1). Hall (2003a:9) points out that "representation can only be properly analysed in relation to the actual concrete forms which meaning assumes"; however, different authors describe the physical forms of representations in different ways. For example, Duncan (1993a:43) argues that linguistic and photographic devices "allow people being studied to speak for themselves as they truly are"; while Pudliner (2007) refers

to tourism related brochures, monologues, newspaper accounts, novellas, novels, sketches and paintings, as 'travel narratives'.

Textual and visual data sources are varied. Suvantola (2002:182) notes that "photography is one of the most usual things to do on travel". Taking pictures usually serves as proof of experience, prestige, or sharing experience: "pictures confirm the involvement with the exotic or prestigious and thus indirectly with what they represent" (Idem). According to Hall (1997:5) "photography is a representational system, using images on light-sensitive paper to communicate photographic meaning about a particular person, event or scene".

Other forms often analysed by researchers include: advertisements (for example Stern and Schroeder, 1994); tourism maps as representations of places and spaces - maps are geographical representations of places (Duncan and Ley, 1993) and are "understood to be realistic images for every city" (Shields, 1996:229); tourist brochures and guidebooks; or newer forms such as blogs and forums. For example, Pudliner (2007) underlines that weblogs and blogging are powerful cultural and promotional tools. The researcher describes travel blogging as "a form of digital story-telling" (Pudliner, 2007:46). They are a 'modern age' form of 'travel narratives' (Pudliner, 2007). Choi et al (2007) considers blogs as representations of the perceived images of the travelling public. They also take many forms: tourist blogs - either posted on individual blog platforms, or hosted by tourist experience websites; host blogs – people actually living in the destination; professional blogs – similar to travel writers; or even tourism professionals' blogs – such as for example hosted by government officials.

Gartner's (1993) model in Table 2.1 organises image formation agents under organic and induced. In today's consumer society, representations often come in clusters where one representation is accompanied by others–for example, films often spark other consumer-related representations such as fan-sites, blogs and so on; or one or more representations can be created and projected at the same time – often visual representations are accompanied by textual representations explaining them. This blurs the line between organic and induced.

Table 2.1 Gartner's image formation continuum

Image formation agent	Description
Overt induced I	Traditional forms of advertising such as TV, brochures, billboards, print, internet advertising
Overt induced II	Information produced by tour operators
Covert induced I	Second party endorsement via advertising
Covert induced II	Second party endorsement via (unbiased) newspapers, travel programmes, travel guides and travel articles
Autonomous	News and popular culture, documentaries, films, television programmes, novels and magazines, websites, products, study and education
Unsolicited organic	Unsolicited information received from friends and relatives
Solicited organic	Solicited information received from friends and relatives
Organic	Visitation

Source: Gartner (1993:210)

For example, literary and filmic influences on destinations are commonly associated with Gunn's (1997) 'organic image' because the destination has little control over the content of films and novels and what authors and producers say in regards to the locations they choose for their work. Literary tourism involves visiting places associated with writers and their writings. Film tourism and television tourism involve visiting the places where the actual scenes have been captured. It is becoming more and more common for destinations to become actively involved in the filming and promotional process or even in the creation process itself, using novels and films to promote themselves. This is because "it is generally believed that consumption

of film and television products can induce tourism to destinations featured"
(Young and Young, 2008), therefore it could potentially have beneficial
economic as well as social (Mills, 2008) and image related impacts. In other
words, destinations are increasingly competing in becoming the location for
major films and TV series and partnerships between destinations and producers
are becoming more common. Visual images have a high 'pull power' over
tourists being a vital component of destination marketing and promotion
(Jenkins, 2003).

The internet has taken the place of the printed word as the most important
medium for transmitting information. Destination marketers are adapting their
marketing strategies and making more and more use of 'new' media such as
Facebook, Twitter, or Apple's iPhone applications. These encourage
participation making the dialogue between tourist and destination
representation makers more immediate than ever. The speed with which
technology is changing and marketers are adapting has yet to be captured by
academic researchers.

2.5.3 Types of destination images: projected and perceived images

Destination images can be split into projected and perceived; or destination
and tourist images. A number of authors have made the distinction between
projected and perceived image in their image studies (for example Lawton and
Page, 1997; MacKay and Fesenmaier, 1997; Jenkins, 1999, 2000, 2003;
Andreu et al, 2001; Beerli and Martin, 2004; Grosspietsch, 2006; Choi et al,
2007). Andreu et al (2001) suggests that the separation aids a better
understanding of image both from a methodological and managerial
perspective. Some authors focus on only one aspect, for example the perceived
images (for example San Martin and Del Bosque, 2007), or the projected
images (for example Lawton and Page, 1997), however most acknowledge
both (for example Andreu et al, 2001; Jenkins, 2000, 2003; Grosspietsch,
2006). According to Lawton and Page (1997:126), "projected images are
ultimately derived from the structure of the tourism supply, while received
images are related to the consumers' predisposed constructs".

In terms of 'push' and 'pull' factors, projected images relate to the 'pull' aspect, while perceived images relates to 'push' factors according to Andreu et al (2001). Their role is to attract people to destinations by means of different communication programs. Also, Andreu et al (2001) is just one example of authors arguing that tourism offices, tour operators and travel agencies are in fact responsible for constructing the projected images of a destination. However, it can be argued the construction of projected images is more complex and involves a variety of tourism and non-tourism actors and factors as Beerli and Martin's (2004) model illustrates (Figure 2.4).

Figure 2.4 Model of destination image formation
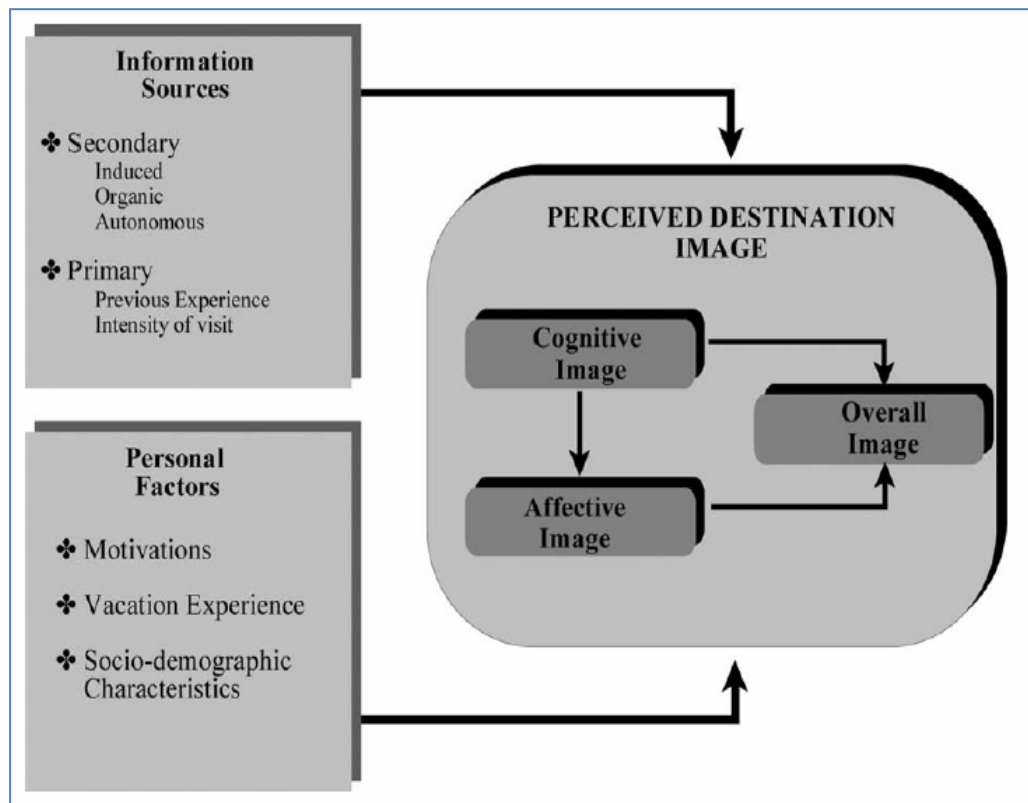
Source: Beerli and Martin (2004:34)

Tourism representations are often linked and discussed in the context of projected and perceived images, or as Kotler et al (1993) refers to them, the promoted and perceived images. Choi et al (2007), for example, attempt to identify the 'destination image representations' of Macau on the internet by analysing the content of www-pages. The authors take into consideration a variety of representation makers and their websites: the NTO official tourism

website, tour operators and travel agents websites, online travel magazines and guide websites, and online travel 'blogs'. With the help of correspondence analysis, Choi et al (2007) study image and representation by developing two dimensions. The first dimension divides travel blogs and magazines from travel trade websites and official tourism websites. The second dimension divides websites from the viewpoint of demand and supply. In the first dimension, travel blogs and magazines are considered the representations of consumers or tourists over the destination – 'tourist representations'; and travel trade and official tourism websites are considered 'destination representations' managed by promoters and suppliers of the destination experience. One of the findings emphasized by the first dimension is that blogs are tourist representations, and official tourism websites /travel trade are destination representations:

> "The bloggers' viewpoints, to some extent, represented the perceived image of the English-speaking travelling public, while the MGTO/travel trade's choices of words and visuals reflected the projected or intended images of Macau." (Choi et al, 2007:127)

Figure 2.5 Destination image and its 'satellites'
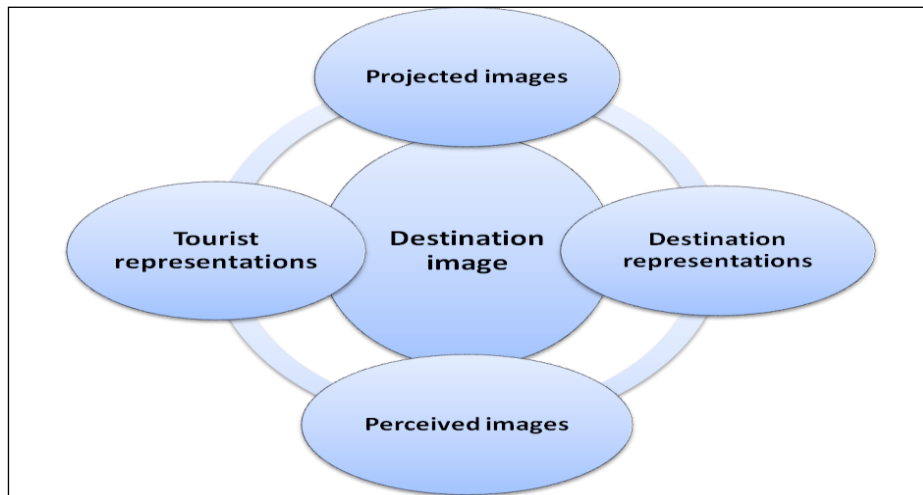
Source: Author

A number of authors isolate and discuss the notion of 'tourist images' separately from that of destination image. Alhemoud and Armstrong (1996:76 in Smith: 217) defines tourist images as "ideas or conceptions held individually or collectively of the destination". However, the relationship

between all these concepts has received limited attention (Figure 2.5). The following section develops this idea to that of the 'circuit', 'circle', or 'process' of representation.

2.6 The process of representation

A tight link is evident between culture (in all its forms: heritage, events art, or even the complex notion of 'local culture') and urban tourism (Selby, 2004). However, as Selby (2004:123) argues, "despite the potential of cultural studies in understanding urban tourism", more attention needs to be placed on understanding the process of communication of urban tourism 'texts' from producer to consumer and vice versa. Furthermore, a number of authors such as Squire (1994) argue any analysis of the process of communication needs to incorporate "the consumption of landscapes and representations into the model" (Selby, 2004:123). Of particular value are Jakobson's (1960) 'model of linguistic communication' and Johnson's (1986) 'circuit of culture framework', as well as Du Gay et al (1997) and Hall's (2003) 'circuit of culture'. Although differences exist between these models, they all suggest the process is cyclical in nature. This 'circuit' approach is also argued by Jakobson and Taylor (2006), Squire (1994), and Morgan and Pritchard (1998). Selby (2004) justifies it by suggesting that linear models of cultural communication have limited value as urban tourism texts are the result of negotiation and dialogue between producers and consumers and therefore the process is a two way street. Jakobson's (1960 in Squire, 1994) model, for example, incorporates both producer and consumer, and the message being sent and the rules governing it (Figure 2.6).

Figure 2.6 Jakobson's (1960) model of linguistic communication
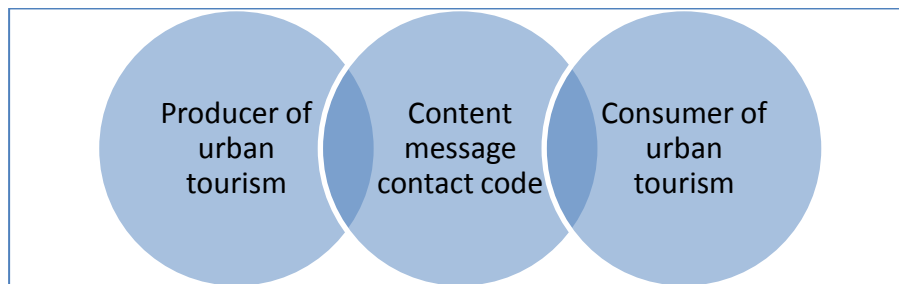
Source: Selby (2004:118)

Selby (2004:118) points out that the model is useful "for conceptualising the producer and consumer of urban tourist texts" - individual producers and consumers, and market segments; and because it "emphasises the relationship between the producers and consumers of cultural texts, and the fact that meaning is transformed during the process of communication". Furthermore, it can be argued that it is this relationship between producer and consumer and how meaning is transformed that presents the greatest interest. Johnson's (1986:284) framework adds further knowledge on these issues. The framework suggests that in addition to producer and consumer, the different forms of texts, as well as the wider cultural and social context, both play important roles in the circuit. As Figure 2.7 shows, both the production and consumption are conditioned, by private and public perceptions, and by abstract and concrete ideas. As Selby (2004) points out, it is the movement from private to public and back again that presents interest. 'Production' means taking the private perceptions and images of producers and turning them into public representations of place; while 'consumption' takes these public representations and digests them into a subjective but private understanding and interpretation by the consumers or targets of these representations.

Figure 2.7 Johnson's (1986) circuit of culture framework
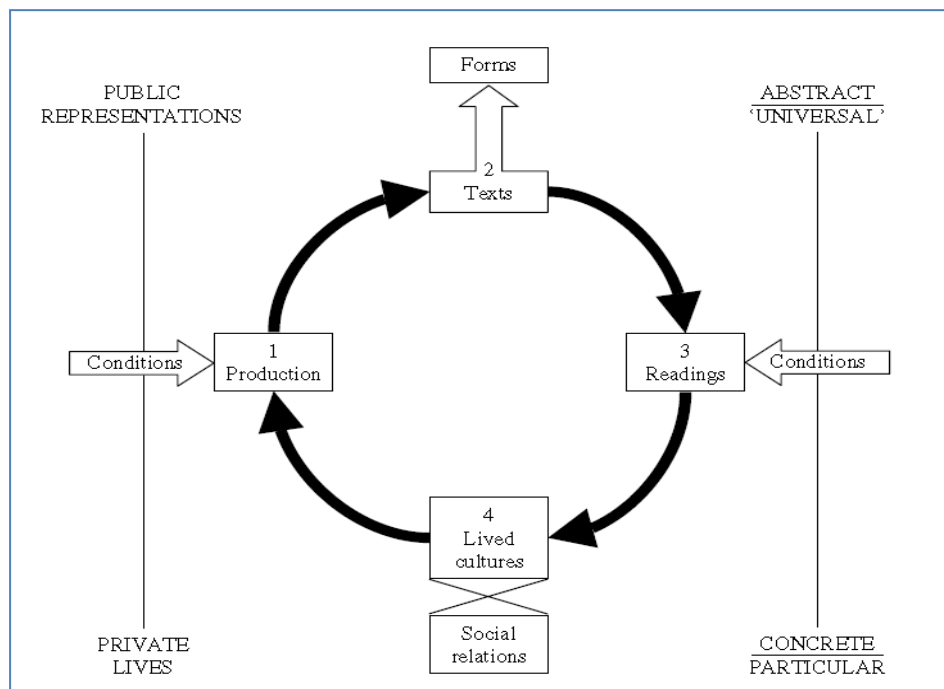
Source: Selby (2004:120) and Chronis (2005:388)

As for the actual production and consumption of meaning, Chronis (2005:387) writes: "Texts are initially formed by producers and then become part of differential interpretations by readers who assign to them their own meanings. Transformed meanings of the text enter the existing cultural reservoir of discourses and the new transformations of meaning become raw material for fresh production. Producers, their product (text), their readers, and lived cultures are all seen as part of the circuit of culture, which undergoes perpetual change". Once again, the cyclical, ongoing nature is underlined. It is for this reason that identifying the starting point or the end result are unlikely endeavours. It is a subjective process both on the production and consumption sides where meanings are encoded by producers, and then decoded and recoded by consumers and sent back (Herbert, 2001).

Different consumers "read the text in different ways" (Selby, 2004:122). For example, projected representations and image are inevitably associated with advertising. Judd (1995:176) for example suggests that "the competition for tourists begins with advertising, the essence of which is the projection of an image". Advertisements employ a number of techniques such as attractive visuals, catch-phrases and slogans in their drive to portray positive images emphasizing the attractiveness and desirability of the city. The purpose is to 'spoon-feed' a small selection of city attributes and cultural and historical ideas to the tourists in the hope they will come.

> "The positive images projected by civic boosters or the advertising firms they hire amount to a 'coaching' process: advertisements and tourist articles (such as those found in tourism trade journal and airline magazines) interpret a city's essence, its history and culture, and tell the tourists what to do, even what to feel." (Judd, 995:177)

It is not uncommon for the projected images of a destination to not be perceived and interpreted by tourists in the manner intended (Stabler, 1988 in Smith, 2002).

Selby (2004:122) argues that "Johnson's conceptualisation has both theoretical and methodological implications for researching urban tourism". This is because "texts should not be separated" (Idem). Norton's (1996:360) "circuit

of culture framework", adapted from Johnson (1986), sets the circuit within a box where public representations and mediated representations, private lives and experience help interpret and define the circle. Tour operators for example produce texts such as brochures; these are read and a sense of anticipation is generated; the product is consumed or experienced at the tourist place; a reflection takes place which adds to the home culture, which in turn helps tour-operators produce new texts and the circle continues.

Figure 2.8 Du Gay et al (1997) and Hall et al's (1997a; 2003a) 'circuit of culture'
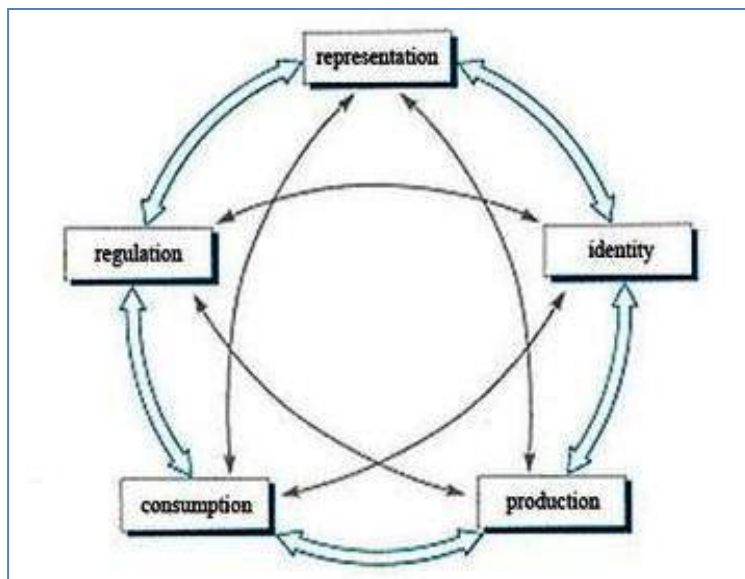
Source: du Gay et al (1997) and Hall et al (1997; 2003a).

Perhaps the most influential 'circuit of culture' model is that of Du Gay et al (1997) and Hall et al (1997; 2003a) – Figure 2.8. Their framework suggests that when studying any product of culture one must look at five interconnected elements: representation, identity, production, consumption and regulation. The theory was first initiated by Du Gay et al (1997) who undertook a study on 'Sony Walkman' as an object of culture. The authors underline that "any analysis of a cultural text or artefact" should include the 'circuit of culture' where it is imperative to explore how the object "is represented, what social identities are associated with it, how it is produced and consumed, and what mechanisms regulate its distribution and use" (Du Gay et al, 1997:3). Hall (2003a:1) underlines the importance of representation within this circuit as "one of the central practices which produce culture". Hall (2003a) argues that

culture is about shared meanings and understandings. The production and exchange of meaning takes place through language which operates as a 'representational system' encompassing all forms of visual, audio and written elements, or even actual physical objects (Hall, 2003a).

This raises the question: What would the circuit of representation look like? Jenkins (2000, 2003), drawing from Hall's (2003a) 'circuit of culture' discusses the concept of 'circle of representation', also referred to as the 'spiral of representation' (Jenkins, 2003). Jenkins (2003) argues that the two concepts of 'circuit of culture' and 'circle of representation' aid marketers and scholars in understanding and explaining tourist behaviour. The research conducted by Jenkins (2000, 2003) investigated the 'circle of representation' in the case of backpackers to Australia by looking at visual representations - photographs, both projected by the destination in its travel brochures, and taken by tourists. Jenkins (2003:305) "investigates evidence for the 'hermeneutic circle' whereby tourists (backpackers) reproduce the iconic images of destinations in their personal photographs". Jenkins's (2000, 2003) 'circle of representation' (Figure 2.9) has as main components the projected and received images and the icons that were visited and photographed. Jenkins (2000, 2003) describes the process as following;

> "Reading from the top, images of the destination are projected collectively by the mass media. These images are perceived by individuals and may inspire travel to the destination. At the destination the tourist will likely visit the main attractions or tourist icons seen in the projected images and record his or her experience using a camera. These personal photographs are displayed back home to friends and relatives partly as proof of the visit. They may be thought of as another form of image projection, which begins the cycle again by influencing the perceived images held by other individuals. Tourism advertisers and marketers aiming to propagate attractive images may also be involved in image projection." (Jenkins, 2000:262; 2003:308)

In an attempt to understand the relationship visual images and photography behaviour, Jenkins (2000) builds her own 'circle of representation'. The model draws knowledge from visual cognition studies which focus on how an

individual encodes, stores and processes data – the individual approach. But it also draws knowledge from the fields of sociology, cultural studies, cultural geography and social anthropology which focus their attention on how groups of people form and share collective representations of places – the society/collective approach. The author argues that the projection of images takes place at the collective level, where marketers are also active. However, the receiving of images and the visitation and photographs taking is strictly at an individual level.

Figure 2.9 The 'circle of representation' for tourist destination images
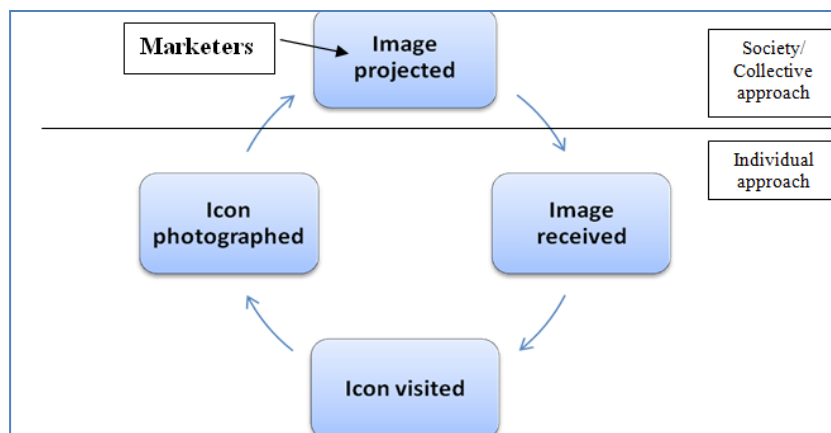
Source: Jenkins (2000; 2003)

The study nevertheless has some limitations, one of which is identified as a topic for further research – "investigating the notion of circles/spirals and cycles of image transmission within a culture" (Jenkins, 2000). Although it does take into account and records the transmitted images, the study does focus more on the perceived images of tourists and their own representations of the destination. In other words, the research looks at how tourists' photographic representations of the destination reflect the iconic images projected by the destination within what is called 'a hermeneutic circle'.

The research identifies the images and icons that were projected the most, however it does not question why they existed and why specific images were projected in the first place. The author suggests as future research an analysis on the 'image projectors'. This is one of the areas of interest for this study: identifying what are the destination representations for Bucharest, followed by an in-depth analysis of why these images exist by looking at both public and

private 'image projectors'. Additionally, Jenkins study only takes into account one category of tourists – backpackers.

> "Future research could focus on the 'image projectors' – those people who choose the advertising photographs and why they choose to use particular images." (Jenkins, 2000)

A number of researchers discuss the notion of a 'hermeneutic circle' (for example Urry, 1990; Jenkins, 2000, 2003; Caton and Santos, 2008). For example, Jenkins (2000; 2003) and Canton and Santos (2008) are some of the researchers that have included the 'hermeneutic circle' in their research of tourist travel photographs. While Jenkins (2000, 2003) focuses on backpackers and nature-based tourism, Caton and Santos (2008) focus on hosts and host cultures. The study of Caton and Santos (2008) analyses the photographs taken of hosts in different countries in Asia, Africa and Latin America by participants in a study abroad program that takes place on a university campus cruise ship. The study shows that the photographs tend to reproduce the images depicted by Western tourism-related media. The 'hermeneutic circle' is a type of 'circle of representation' that focuses on "the ways tourists replicated and reinforce media depictions" in their own tourism representations of the destination (Caton and Santos, 2008:7). In their own representations, tourists tend to reproduce the images already seen in destination representations such as brochures, postcards, television programmes and so on.

Authors who have studied and compared the projected and perceived images of destinations have usually concluded that differences do exist between the two (Lawton and Page, 1997; Grosspietsch, 2006). For example, Grosspietsch (2006) studied the images of Rwanda as a tourist destination by determining and comparing the images projected by international tour operators and the images perceived by tourists. The study identified that there were major differences between the two and that in fact the perceived images held by tourists were more positive than the ones projected by the international tour operators who emphasized inadequate or even negative images of the country in terms of safety, range of activities and the value of visitors' encounters with the local people at the destination. Lawton and Page (1997:123) undertook an analysis of 160 brochures from different tourism operators and a tourist survey

as a reflection of urban projected and perceived images. Their results showed that while the industry was offering outdoor and adventure activities, tourists were interested more in "undertaking urban activities". The issue of incompatibility between supply and demand has long been the focus of many tourism research projects. Many destinations are concerned with formulating and promoting images that are compatible with and satisfy supply attributes.

2.7 Conclusions

Although acknowledging Hunter's (2008) view, for example, that 'representations' are functional, objective and symbolic, this research adopts the view that they have a dual nature: both truth and fiction (a mid ground between Brown's (1995) request for 'truth' and Foucault's rejection of 'truth'); both reality and fiction; both subjective and objective; both philosophical and practical at the same time; and because they are reflections of the world at a certain time, they are also transitory. In order to stay 'in the present', they would have to be updated, changed, adapted. In addition, as Bower (1991:15) argues, 'representations' are directly dependent by the ideas, thoughts, feelings, perceptions, opinions and intentions of those making and consuming them, both at individual and group level – "it deals with as much with judgements by audience and by producers as it does with meanings apparently contained within texts".

Cities in general and capital cities in particular are complex entities and represent different things simultaneously (Raban, 1975, 1998; Harvey, 1989; Hubbard, 2006). The idea that the city cannot be disciplined and controlled by its representation makers (Raban, 1975) and also that its complexity and ambiguity strongly affects any representation (Hubbard, 2006) renders the task of city representation rather difficult. Their profiles are complex and constantly changing and evolving. This is why the key is not to seek and clarify what the city is actually like but to understand how it is being perceived and represented by the multiple entities that co-exist within its boundaries. Similar debates exist in place image research studies. Smith (2002:13), for example, writes that in place image research "the emphasis is not on investigating places as material entities but on how people perceive or imagine them". On this issue, Dichter (1992:54), for example, suggests that it is 'the aura', the image of a person or

product, or in the case of tourism – of the place or destination, to which people react to rather than what it actually is.

Cities have multiple layers of culture and history attached to them. The research attempts to understand to what extent city culture, historical background (major historical events and heritage), political ideology, and national and city identity issues play a role in city representations and images and how are they projected to tourists. As Hall's (2003) 'circuit of culture' theory points out, new 'cultural meanings' are constantly being produced and circulated through a number of representations such as "language, text and images in the media and in society itself" (Jenkins, 2000:274). Sometimes the new 'meanings' are compatible with the old ones, but most of the time they are not; nevertheless contradictory meanings may successfully coexist in a destination. It has been shown that most tourism representations only focus on a limited number of 'cultural and historical meanings' at a time. Which story gets told and why is a topic of great interest in tourism as well as in other fields of research.

Figure 2.10 Representations as multiple-way communicational devises
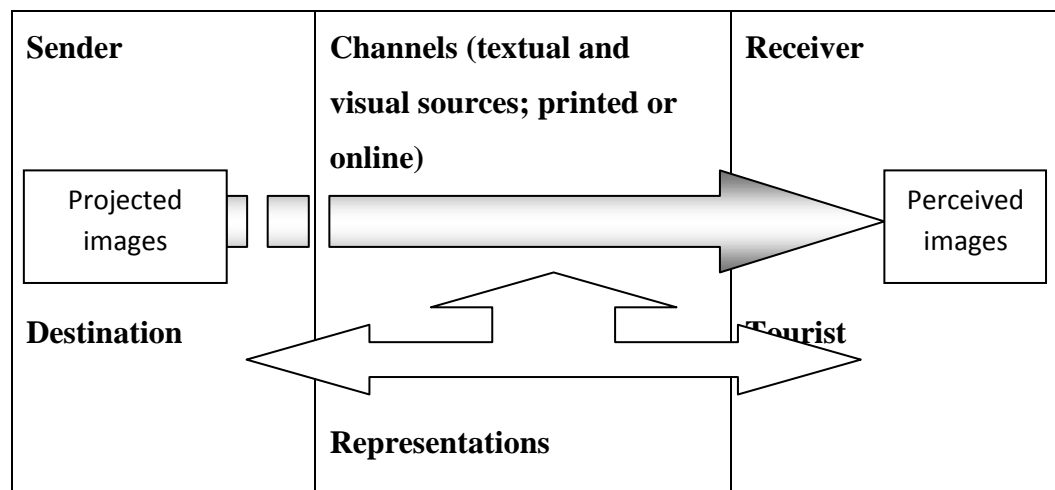
Source: Author

This study will add further knowledge to the topic of 'circles of representations' by looking at representations within their cultural and historical context and studying the destination 'image projectors', as well as questioning and providing evidence for or against the 'hermeneutic circle'. Lawton and Page (1997) points out that a complex relationship system exists

between representations projected and perceived images and destination supply and demand issues (Figure 2.10). Image and representation can be viewed from a number of angles. Understanding and defining image and representation differs from the point of view chosen. Projected images can be both organic and induced/official, adopting Gunn's organic/induced model. The focus of this research is on understanding official/induced projected images and representations and their effects on tourist images.

Chapter3. Representing the post-communist capital city

3.1 Introduction

The previous chapter explored issues related to representation in tourism and textual and visual data, this chapter focuses on some of the main issues characterising post-communist Central and Eastern European capitals and their tourism representations. The chapter starts with a brief discussion of some of the main issues characterising the switch from communism to democracy in capital cities: privatisation, power shifts and new urban regimes. This is followed by a reflection on communist heritage.

The chapter continues with a discussion on marketing the post-communist capital for tourism. Capitals such as Berlin, Prague or Budapest focused most of their efforts on re-imaging and re-branding in order to re-launch themselves on the highly competitive global tourism market. Particular attention has been placed on culture. These measures are being copied by late bloomers such as Latvia, Bratislava or even Bucharest. As the section will argue one of the main debates is the loss of authenticity and the risk of different places looking very much the same. The chapter concludes with a reflection on stereotypical images of CEE.

3.2 Tourism and capital cities in transition

The fall of communism was followed by a period of transition when many long and complex reforms took place. Saarinen (2008:409) writes that 'transition economies' refers to "countries that have moved, or are moving, from a primarily state-planned economy to a more market economy". As a result, in a relatively short period of time, Central and East European countries went through a complex process involving difficult cultural, political, economic and social changes at all levels - national, regional and local. 'Privatisation' was a key process at this stage with most goods and properties being transferred or sold from public to private ownership.

The notion of power and its connections and relationships with tourism are highly complex and debated (Storey, 2008). It has been noted that different authors approach tourism power from relatively "different conceptual starting points and using different terminology" (Storey, 2008:217). Traditionally, power is associated with issues of control, authority, influence, force, and manipulation (Lukes, 1974 in Coles and Church, 2007). Stone (1993:3) refers to power as the "capacity to overcome resistance and gain compliance"; or Horn (1997:60 in Palmer, 2007:647), who stresses the power struggle usually involves the public and the private sector, and suggests that "who gets to tell the story is the battle of the day". On the other hand, Church and Coles (2007) identify three major dimensions: power, performance and practice; power, property and resources; and power, governance and empowerment. For CEE countries and their capitals the fight to get hold of formerly state-owned good began almost immediately after the 1989 revolution. Klepper (2002) writes that in the aftermath of the revolution chaos reigned. This allowed many opportunists to get hold of properties and resources at questionable prices. In other words, 'corruption' was a considerable element in the power shifts from public to private. Some countries reduced corruption faster than others. Romania is known to be criticised as being one of the most corrupt countries in CEE and Europe (BBC, 2009a).

The 2004 and 2007 integration of several post-communist countries in the European Union was seen as proof of great progress and a sign that the power relations between private and public had reached normality. The notion of 'urban regimes' is particularly useful when attempting to understand power relations in urban environments. Urban regime theory is part of urban politics and became increasingly popular from mid 1980s with the publication of Stephen Elkin's research on Dallas (Elkin, 1987) and Clarence Stone's research about Atlanta's urban regimes (Stone, 1989). Although it originated in the US, Davies (2001) points out that regime theory has been applied to most of the western world, including for example New Zealand and much of Europe. Urban regime theory focuses on public/private cooperation in the capitalist society (Stoker, 1995). It underlines the need for governmental and non-

governmental entities to cooperate and coordinate in order to deal with economic and social change:

> "Urban regimes focus on the internal processes of city government in the broadest sense of the word, which seems to indicate that cities themselves are strong forces and that choices on the urban level themselves can determine the direction of the city." (Van Ostaaijen, 2007:3)

Stoker (1995:54) also argues that urban regime analysis is useful for understanding how cities cope with change: "Regime theory holds substantial promise for understanding the variety of responses to urban change". Post-communist capitals could benefit most from urban regime analysis as it would allow a better understanding of urban change and power relations. Stone's (1989) Atlanta urban regime is mainly characterised by stability and cooperation; however, for CEE capitals stability and cooperation have been 'under constant fire'. In the course of less than a century Romania and Bucharest have gone through multiple and major ideological regime changes such as shifting from monarchy to communism, or communism to democracy. Power not only relates to regimes. Coles and Scherle (2005) underline that power relations are closely tied with issues of work practice and ethics, and local culture. They may also be linked with issue of national identity (Winter, 2006). In other words, it can be argued that power and urban regimes are closely linked to deeper issues concerning national identity. Investigating unstable urban regimes such as those of CEE post-communist capitals may produce interesting and valuable information. Yet, the topic lacks much academic attention.

Limiting power and urban regimes to industry and government would be a mistake. Tourists also need to be considered. Crouch (2006:45) argues that because the tourist is an active participant in the process of tourism it is a "key player in the exercise of power in tourism". Treating a governmental organisation as 'one' entity is a superficial view. Within that organisation, each department, and perhaps each person who can influence decisions and

measures need to be looked at. Many stakeholders are involved in any tourism activity (Timothy, 2000; Timothy, 2007). For cities, this may include other, non-tourism departments in City Hall or the Ministry for Tourism, other ministry departments; the European Union, as well as non-tourism organisations both national and international; in other words, an "amalgam of different businesses and sectors" (Page, 2003:280). However, identifying all of them is often difficult and prone to failure.

In conclusion, the exercise of power in tourism may involve tourists, government, non-government, businesses, and community, to name just a few. Each participant to power has "limited resources and therefore a limited capacity to impose their will on someone else" (Stone, 1993:13). The importance of power in the representational process is underlined by a number of authors (for example, Stoker, 1995; Horn, 1997; Hall, 1997; Morgan and Pritchard, 1998; Palmer, 2007). Duncan (1993a:39) underlines that "representation operates in the service of power", and only "by analysing these relations of power, we can more clearly see how interests play a constructive role in vision and representation". Hall (1997) emphasises that power frequently intervenes in representational discourses and is a fundamental part of the 'representation process' because it continuously circulates through meaning and knowledge influencing their intensities. Power and representation go hand in hand. The power dynamic between destination and tourists may influence or impact both projected and perceived representations and images.

3.3 Communist heritage and the post-communist built environment

Parallel to political and economic changes in the post-communist capital, the last two decades have also been characterised by social and cultural changes, made visible including in architecture and cityscape. Of particular interest are the interpretations attributed to communist history and heritage by different actors; a dilemma between commercialising an unwanted past or 'deleting' its existence by modernising communist heritage to the point where it may no longer be recognised as such.

Some academic literature suggests that the communist past and its heritage are becoming more attractive for tourists (Light, 2000a). This can be seen in the increased numbers of visitors to Germany's Berlin Wall (Light, 2000a) and Romania's Parliament Palace/House of the People (Light, 2000a; 2001); or Hungary's Szoborpark (William, 2008; Light, 2000a) and Lithuania's Grutas Park (William, 2008) – containing statues and artefacts from the communist era. Light (2000) suggests this phenomenon is the result of a diversifying tourist gaze. The questions of who are the communist heritage tourists, or even who are the CEE tourists, have received very little academic attention. It can be argued that more research is needed on tourists' interpretations and representations of post-communist heritage for tourism, as well as on what images tourists have of communist heritage.

Local actors – such as city officials, architects, developers, as well as the majority of the population seem to be rejecting communist heritage (for example Light, 2000b; Czepczynski, 2008). Ashworth and Tunbridge (1999:105) suggest that this is perfectly normal because "a central part of the transition now underway is rejection of many aspects of an immediate past, a resuscitation of other, previously suppressed, pasts and a reconstruction of a new past in the service of the newly envisaged futures". Lowenthal (1995:41) writes that "the past is integral to our sense of identity", both as individuals and as nations; the "ability to recall and identify with your own past gives meaning, purpose and value". That awareness of history "enhances communal and national identity, legitimising people in their own eyes" (Lowenthal, 1995:44). History is vital in "constructing national identity" (Evans, 2002:13). When the past is unwanted, it may have complex repercussions, including on national identity, built environment and tourism representations. It must also be noted that this is not the full extent of the phenomenon. Another dimension exists where a degree of nostalgia and regret for communism exists. The presence of one may not necessarily exclude the other (see for example Molloy, 2009).

Hayden White, defines history as "a narrative discourse, the content of which is as much imagined / invented as found" (Jenkins, 1995:134). According to

White, these narratives are infused with metaphor, metonymy, synecdoche and irony. Each history told inevitably has a sub-text attached and one must read the lines as well as between the lines. The 'story' in 'history' needs to be closely investigated. According to White, this is due to the historian and his or her 'conceptual strategies' used to represent the 'data'. Historian Edward Carr also stresses the importance of the historian in the process of 'making', 'un-making' and communicating history.

> "In 'making history', the historian begins with a provisional selection of facts and a provisional interpretation in the light of which that selection has been made – by other historians working in the field as well as by himself/herself. As the historian works on, and as new information (both 'primary and 'secondary') is processed, so both the interpretation and the selection ordering of facts undergoes subtle changes through the reciprocal action of the one on the other. This reciprocal action also involves reciprocity between the present and the past. Thus facts and interpretation, past and present, intermingle in a unity of scholarly duty" (Jenkins, 1995:55).

This suggests that 'history' is in fact 'alive'. It is not a static database of information but a human process, moody and even unpredictable at times, subject to interpretation and even manipulation. In other words, history itself seems to be subjective and limited by the understanding, interpretation and intentions of those with the power or resources to 'make' it. Past meanings may be constantly regurgitated as present meanings if needed. Furthermore, history may differ from one historian to the next. Although the essential facts remain the same, their interpretation may differ greatly. 'Interpretation' is key here, and seems to be closely linked to 'power' (Jenkins, 1995:54). In other words, it comes of no surprise that tourists' perceived history of a place differs from that projected by destination marketer, for example. Understanding how each interprets a place's history; contrasting and comparing their opinions may prove useful when trying to understand the tourism representations of a destination.

A new dimension is added to the discussion by some academics' view that cityscapes represent the ideologies of the existing rulers (for example Light, 2001; Blockmans, 2005; Czepczynski, 2008). Blockmans (2005) underlines that "by their shape, location and decoration, the buildings express the vision of political power as the rulers wanted it to be disseminated" (p33). For example, as Kolbe (2007:84) says, "the socialist transformation standardised the architecture in Central and Easter Europe" and "monumental planning and representative building in capital cities manifested the new political order" (Idem).

The communist regime is not the first or only to do that. Czepczynski (2008), for example, focuses his research on how monuments of power in the communist era in East Germany, Czechoslovakia, Poland, Hungary, Romania and Bulgaria, are being reinterpreted as capitalist monuments of power. He stresses that new regimes often 'delete' or 'modify' heritage that recalls unwanted memories or are not in line with their own agenda and messages. The Parliament Palace in Bucharest is a good example. Meant as the dictator's greatest achievement and a symbol of communist power, the post-communist society and politicians rejected its old meaning. The building survived demolition because locals reinterpreted it as a symbol of Romanian craftsmanship and talent (Czepczynski, 2008). As Stanilov (2007) says more research is needed focusing on changes in urban form and structure of post-socialist Eastern European city built environment.

Attractions often act as representations of the place (Suvantola, 2002). According to Suvantola (2002:169) "the determination of what the attractions are representations of, is an essential component of the tourist discourse". An attraction as a representation "is more than a physical object or visible phenomenon; it is a signifier of a concept or idea" (Suvantola, 2002:169). Urry (1990) argues that attractions are more than just objects, they are signs which are meant to symbolise something "like an ideal or national identity" (Suvantola, 2002:170). Suvantola (2002) reinforces this by giving as example the Eiffel Tower, a symbol and sign of Paris which ultimately and easily identifies not only the city but also the country in the mind of the tourist.

Experiencing it can result in anything between awe or disappointment (Suvantola, 2002).

Manipulating heritage produced by an unwanted piece of national history may have negative repercussions on tourist experience. Judd (1995) points out, city marketers have been 'reconstructing' the built environment in order to attract tourists not push them away; mostly by cutting out what they thought was 'ugly', or are ashamed of, or they think would have a negative impact on tourism. A debate exists on how compatible these redevelopments are with the needs of the city's visitors and about loss of authenticity and standardisation. Smith (2007), for example, discusses the connections between space, place and 'placelessness' within the urban context. The notion of 'placelessness' is receiving growing attention because it looks at standardisation of destinations as a result of the "globalisation and homogenization of culture" (Richards, 2007b:330) - the "could-be-anywhere feeling experienced by tourists in many global cities" (Smith, 2007:91). While on the other hand, there is more and more evidence tourists are looking more and more for originality and a sense of 'distinctiveness' in places (Richards, 2007b).

Judd (1995) is one author that points out the importance of memorable cityscape on image construction and projection. For example, city elements such as Times Square, Wall Street, the Empire State Building easily help identify New York; Golden Gate Bridge does the same for San Francisco, Hollywood for Los Angeles, Big Ben for London and so on. Such city symbols can be very powerful and can even "overwhelm all other images of the city" (Judd, 1995:177). This is why it is important to understand whether iconic cityscape has positive or negative image associations.

The importance of memorable cityscape is not only limited to big, well-known cities and their iconic buildings and districts. Memorable cityscape also has great impacts on cities with lower tourism profiles. Judd (1995) gives the example of the Gateway Arch in St. Louis, Missouri. Situated in the Jefferson National Expansion Memorial Park, this memorial monument is considered a very successful tourist attraction spot and a symbol of St. Louis, being an

integral part of any city marketing and advertising campaign. It must be noted that this monument has positive image associations being constructed "to commemorate the westward growth of the United States between 1803 and 1890" (SLFP, 2009:1). Of course, as argued, problems occur when city landmarks have negative image connotations or even both negative and positive associations. Most of East-European landmark cityscapes fall into that category with communist and post-communist associations mixing together and potentially producing both negative and positive city images. Bucharest's Palace of Parliament is one such example.

Often city marketing campaigns and travel literature use the city's urban characteristics – the diverse architectural style of its buildings for example, to emphasize the attractiveness, uniqueness and originality of the place. Of course, most cities are characterised by diverse architecture as Goodwin (1993) points out - "the social and spatial landscape of any city is constantly changing as urban geographies are continuously developed, abandoned and restructured" (p148). It is that specific blend of architecture and urban design that makes a place unique. For example, Bucharest's architecture is a 'unique' mix of neo-classical, Art-Deco, communist and modern as one UK guidebook to Romania and Bucharest argues:

> "Its perplexing mismatch of eras – grey housing blocks from Ceauşescu's brutal rebuilding phase, deliberately French palaces with baroque clam-shaped canopies, (limited) remains of medieval churches and courts, 21st-century office buildings –means that even a short walk around blurs time." (Le Bas, 2009:1)

The question becomes why modify unwanted heritage or build new tourism spaces when in fact it is the mismatch and chaotic nature of the city that grants it originality. Ateljevic and Doorne (2002:648) argue that by producing "powerful social and cultural representations of place", marketing is capable of reinventing the identities of destinations. Reinvention that ignores the local culture of a destination may lead to loss of authenticity (Bramwell and

Rawding, 1996). This paradox of destination's loss of authenticity and tourists' search for uniqueness is further discussed in section 3.5.

3.4 Selling the post-communist CEE capital for tourism

In their drive to achieve economic and social success as a result of tourism activities, cities are becoming actively involved in two areas. First, in city infrastructure and urban regeneration – "refurbishing run-down areas, touting for conference business, building shopping malls and creating 'carousal' zones" (Judd, 1995:175). Second, in city marketing – re-imaging themselves, developing a new brand, developing efficient websites, using advertising and public relations, developing a positive relationship with the media, producing attractive promotional materials (brochures, flyers, guidebooks, postcards and so on), networking and attending international travel shows, and so on. Hughes (1992) writes that destinations employ marketing more than development; this is mostly because of cost issues, Kotler et al. (1993) identifies four strategies that places employ in order to attract visitors: image marketing, attractions marketing, infrastructure marketing, and people marketing. City breaks and culture are also popular tools (for example Dunne et al, 2007).

The change from a centralised society governed by one-party communist governments took place in an increasingly competitive and globalised world affecting all industries, including tourism. For example, as Jansen-Verbeke (1996) points out, from a tourism industry perspective "this process of transformation occurred at a time when tourism has been characterised by flexibility and segmentation in contrast to the mass standardised market of the mid-20th century" (Hughes and Allen, 2005:173).

During communism, tourism in Central and Eastern European countries was focused primarily on domestic travel and travel between other communist countries (Hall, 1998a; Hughes and Allen, 2005). The communist tourist industry was characterised mainly by traditional forms of mass tourism (Hall, 1998b). For example, sun and sea tourism - the Back Sea coasts of Romania, Bulgaria and the Crimea attracted eastern Europeans and Soviet citizens during the summer holidays; mountain tourism - the Carpathian mountain resorts were

preferred for skiing during winter, and hunting and spa treatments during summer; also wildlife tourism - places such as the Danube Delta in Romania were known for wildlife and fishing (Dawson, 1993). The fall of the Iron Curtain disrupted this flow and opened up the possibility of targeting western tourist markets instead (Hall, 1998b; Hughes and Allen, 2005). In many cases, this meant switching from mass-tourism to niche tourism markets in order to adapt to the global tourism market. And as Hughes and Allen (2005) point out, most focused on the same niche markets: rural and city tourism, including capital tourism, sport and activity tourism, health or spa tourism, and cultural tourism.

Cities compete in a highly demanding market. However, they compete on a very unequal basis. Their success or failure depends on a number of limited resources – financial, employee training and experience; as well as much wider and complicated factors such as historical, geographical and cultural discourses, political regime (past and present), destination competition, the city 'needs and wants', and so on. Duncan (1993a:44) underlines that the site of representation is not often "seen in its own historical and cultural specificity". Another factor is image. Regardless if positive, negative or mixed, most CEE capitals are trying to sell themselves for tourism. Communism itself had a negative aura to non-communist countries due to lack of information or negative media reports, therefore most if not all capitals had to address these issues. Some of the tools they used are discussed next.

Place marketing and promotion has long been a topic of interest in the academic world (for example Kotler et al, 1993; Holcomb, 1993; Ward, 1998). Fuelled by a variety of objectives, it seems that "every town, city, region and nation…is now frenetically selling itself with assertions of its competitive place advantage" (Ward, 1998:1). The countries of Eastern Europe are no exception - "the collapse of Communism (where it has not precipitated a descent into ethnic barbarism) has signalled the comprehensive entry of the cities and nations of eastern Europe into the place marketing 'game'" (Ward, 1998:1). The high level of competition has led to an increasingly professionalised marketing work-force (Holcomb, 1993). Many cities around

the world now have a well-organized, highly-skilled body that specializes in place marketing. It is being suggested that a strong relationship may exist between the level of skill and experience of city marketing organizations and professionals and the success of the destination. This could potentially explain why many East European cities lacking skilled marketers and industry experience fail to produce marketing and promotional campaigns that have the potential to make a significant difference on the image of the city.

The relationship between marketing and representation is complex, both in terms of destination and tourist representation. Hughes (1992:31) points out that "the fusion of tourist representations and marketing philosophy blurs the boundaries between reality and fiction". Firat and Venkatesh (1993:246) stress that today's marketing "is the conscious and planned practice of signification and representation". City-marketing is commonly associated and discussed in conjunction with issues of partnership, advertising, visual and textual representations such as brochures, videos and websites, public relations, special cultural and sports events (Ward, 1998). Most studies connected with selling cities for tourism acknowledge the importance of place-image construction and reconstruction (for example Kearns and Philo, 1993; Ward, 1998; Mancini, 2004).

Smith (2005:399) writes that "city re-imaging is the deliberate (re)presentation and (re)configuration of a city's image to accrue economic, cultural and political capital". A similar point is made by Yuen (2008) who argues that cities compete for economic development in a very 'cut-throat' environment. Imaging and re-imaging a destination requires the creation and projection of carefully and deliberately crafted images. This is where representation becomes a tool for imagery. Marketing or destination representations go hand in hand with marketing imagery.

> "If destination image is a term used to refer to mental perceptions, impressions and ideas about a particular location, then 'imaging' and 're-imaging' is the process via which these images are deliberately altered and manipulated. (…) City imaging involves reducing the

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cityscape into an identifiable and consumable representation and is particularly important for the city destination because the diversity of the city destination is inaccessible to the imagination unless it is reduced and simplified into a recognisable image" (Smith, 2002:38)

It is being suggested that tourism representations reflect the way the destination is being imagined and re-imagined by different driving forces at one point or another. Ateljevic and Doorne (2002:662), for example, refer to imagery as "a political process that reflects and reinforces the dominant ideologies of the time". By employing discourse analysis of tourism related texts and visual images of New Zealand at the beginning and end of the 20th century, the authors argue that the narrative and visual representations of those periods reflect the way the destination was being imagined by the political and ideological forces of the time.

The literature seems to suggest that imaging and re-imaging a city takes places both at the visible, physical level by reshaping the built environment and at the invisible, conceptual level by employing a range of marketing and public relations strategies. Ateljevic and Doorne (2002), for example, discuss imagery in connection to place construction and representation. The authors suggest that tourism destinations are first constructed and then represented.

Economic redevelopment, urban regeneration and revitalization are frequently associated with imagery in tourism studies. The physical environment of cities is first re-shaped to accommodate and satisfy tourism needs and then represented as an ideal place for tourism consumptions. Iconic buildings, tourist bubbles and cultural quarters are examples of such constructions. Yuen (2008:29) argues that "infrastructure-based image-building" is often costly and inflexible by nature.

The imaging and re-imaging of destinations does not necessarily have to be linked with place construction, it can also be linked with place promotion. Frequently, imagery has been explained in relation to advertising, marketing and promotion, branding, positioning, selling' the city and so on. Morgan and Pritchard (1998), for example, argue that tourism imagery together with

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tourism representation aid destination promotion. Yuen (2008) mentions 're-imaging' together with 'hard branding' as effective strategies used in city marketing. As Gran (2010:26) underlines, "to make brands out of places has become a trend in marketing and in the tourist industry", therefore city brands are a natural outcome of city marketing efforts (Kotler et al, 1999; Kavaratzis, 2004; Kavaratzis and Ashworth, 2005) and part of the city marketing strategy (Caldwell and Freire, 2004). Gran (2010:26) writes that "brand building is the art of making images; it is 'mise en scène par excellence', thoroughly directed and displayed for the eye of the viewer – the customer". Today, branding applies to products, places and people.

Cities all over the world are adopting branding strategies, including east-European ones. Lack of place-marketing experience encourages east-European cities to draw knowledge from western marketing practices. Kavaratzis (2004) underlines the dangers that can occur with marketing knowledge transfer. Difficulties occur "mostly due to the peculiar nature of places in general and cities in particular as marketable assets". Many factors affect cities: geographical, historical, cultural, sociological, and political and so on. City branding will differ greatly from city to city, eastern or western, and any branding strategy needs to be adapted if not crafted specifically for the city in question.

> "Cities throughout Europe are increasingly importing the concept and techniques of product branding for use within place marketing, in pursuit of wider urban management goals, especially within the new conditions created by the European integration." (Kavaratzis and Ashworth, 2005:506)

3.6 Authenticity and identity

Authenticity refers to and incorporates many elements that characterise the tourism experience such as marketing campaigns and projected representations, but also buildings and facilities, atmosphere and service (Hughes, 1995; Richardson and Fluker, 2004). One way of understanding authenticity is by looking at it from two angles, that of the tourist and that of

the destination. From a tourist point of view, the search for authenticity may play an important role in choosing a destination. As Richardson and Fluker (2004:81) point out "some people satisfy the needs that motivate them by placing themselves in an entirely fabricated atmosphere". Other people are motivated by the need to learn and experience something new and add to their existing knowledge of the world; therefore they seek places that they see as authentic or 'real'. Richardson and Fluker (2004:81) define an authentic place as "being genuine, reliable and unspoiled". The authors also point out that authenticity is subjective, continuously changing and adapting, and plays an important part in a cultural experience. Depending on the targeted tourist market, there is demand for both staged and authentic experiences. Poon's (1994) idea of a 'new tourism' and the 'new tourist' suggests that more and more people are seeking an authentic setting for their travelling experience.

In general the debate regarding authenticity revolves around interpreting authenticity – debating what is authentic and what is not (Richardson and Fluker, 2004), or understanding the negative impacts that staged authenticity has on the destination and its hosts. The question of authenticity and what this means for the countries of CEE has received little academic attention – yet these countries are interesting because they have to manage authenticity and at the same time deal with the controversial post socialist heritage and maintain their claim of a modern city.

Authenticity is closely linked with identity. Richardson and Fluker (2004:82) suggest that "authenticity can be interpreted in terms of national identity" because it projects the 'true' identity of the destination. This underlines the need to develop representations that reflect the identity of the city and its inhabitants and not be manufactured based on the expectations of an external market. The concept of 'identity' has been widely discussed in the field of tourism destination image. Identity can be understood and defined differently depending on the different perspectives and angles being analyzed. From the tourist point of view it is possible to discuss 'tourist identity' in relation to the destination. From the destination point of view it would be appropriate to discuss 'destination identity' or acknowledging the complexity of the concept

– 'destination identities'. The focus of this thesis is on 'city destination identities'. It is possible for multiple identities to coexist within any given place and also be part of broader identities. For example, a city's identity is part of a wider regional and even national identity. A capital city's identity is part of a wider national identity. Identity is also often associated with authenticity. Judd (1995:176) is just one author that stresses projecting an authentic 'place identity' is important in attracting tourists.

3.6 Stereotypes and stereotypical images

Previous research has argued that tourist images of CEE countries are often limited and stereotypical, where recent historical events (such as communism and the 1989 revolutions), the (often negative) media images, prejudices and also ignorance, play an important part (Roberts, 1996; Hall et al, 2006). It is considered useful to look at the characteristics of place stereotypes, how they are formed, how they are communicated or made known to the world, and to what extent they influence the image of a tourism destination.

Stereotypes are so common that there are even stereotypical assumptions associated with them such as the notion they are: simple; always wrong and misleading; that they are about other groups or individuals we usually have very little or no contact with but never about one's own group (and for that reason we are often unaware of our own stereotypes); that they are rigid in nature and unlikely to change; or that they can help predict the behaviour of those holding them (Lacey, 2009). The idea of stereotypes was first defined by Walter Lippmann in 1922 to describe "pictures in head". Today the term means "a readily available image of a given social group, usually based on rough, often negative generalizations" (Lehtonen, 2005:64). Perkins (1997:80) argues stereotypes are "a concept", highly subjective and selective in nature, but also highly recognisable and durable. Essentially, they are a set of preconceived images or knowledge about a place or people that result from common beliefs by other groups of people. The key to identifying a stereotype is frequency. An image or knowledge or characteristic about a place or people that keeps being repeated over and over is most likely to be considered a

stereotype: "Stereotypes are views that most people recognise, otherwise they could not work as stereotypes" (Lacey, 2009:155).

Stereotypes take many forms and names depending on the perspective and the field: social stereotypes, cultural stereotypes, place stereotypes. However, these are artificial separations as most often they overlap. Stereotypes can be applied to almost anything but they are usually about nationality, race and gender (Schneider, 2004). Stereotypes represent important topics of debate in sociology, cultural studies, media studies, psychology, and tourism. Within tourism they are mostly linked to 'destination image', such as for example 'destination image stereotypes' (Pike, 2002; Echtner and Ritchie, 2003). In studies about tourism representation they are often an essential part of studies related to 'the other'. Research on stereotypes tends to be of two kinds: the traditional approach that focuses on the collective or group stereotypes, and the newer approach that focuses on the individual, their process of cognition and the formation of stereotypes at individual level (Jenkins, 2000). Nevertheless, as Stangor and Schaller (2000) argue, both the collective and individual approaches have the same function, to help make sense of the world.

Perkins (1997) argues that stereotypes may become problematic as they may block the capacity for objective and analytical judgement leading to prejudice and ignorance. Most often a negative stereotype is the most effective "tool to denigrate a region and its people" (Lacey, 2009:153). And although stereotypes often range from the very negative to the very positive, and contradictory stereotypes can coexist successfully, it is often the case that negative stereotypes are the strongest and most likely to be reproduced and retransmitted (Lehtonen, 2005). Romania is often linked to negative issues involving political instability, as well as "poverty, gypsies and squalid orphanages" (Roberts, 1996:188). Studies on Romania, both general and tourism specific, over the past two decades often bring up these negative issues, their frequency suggesting they are now stereotypes of the place.

Dyer (1993) defends stereotypes arguing they are necessary and the better alternative to having no knowledge at all. Essentially they are a way of

referring to the world, "they are social constructs and, as such, are a type of re-presentation"; they are simplifications of the 'real' world and "short-cuts to meaning" (Lacey, 2009:154). Their role is to help human beings organise their thoughts about the world and society in general and if employed with caution they can be very useful to the holder but also very interesting to investigate (Dyer, 1993).

As previously argued, 'place' takes many forms. Here it is used to refer to a broader geographical and cultural region – Central and Eastern Europe, a narrower region – The Balkans, country/nation – Romania, capital city - Bucharest. Often 'national stereotypes' are the sum of attributes associated with both the physical place and the people leaving there (Golledge and Stimson, 1997). Lehtonen (2005:62), for example, writes that "a country, like all collectives, is perceived by observers as an entity that has personality, its own feelings and ways of reacting to stimuli".

There is difficulty in identifying and understanding the factors that create and influence place stereotypes. Among them media outlets are thought to rank high (Lacey, 2009). Television in particular holds a very important position as it requires the least amount of information search and it is the easiest to access and absorb by most people (Perkins, 1997). Television may in fact encourage negative stereotypes, especially news programmes. Information deemed to be 'news worthy' is often negative in nature.

As Lacey (2009:153) argues "while the media has a strong influence on the dissemination of stereotypes, it must be remembered that they were not created by the media; they are concepts that are part of everyday life". Defining and understanding 'everyday life' is however difficult. Even its definition is complex and disputed (Douglas, 1971). Overall, issues related to current events, atmosphere, but also broader issues such as culture, history, location or geography, or even politics all are thought to play a role in forming place stereotypes. Lehtonen (2005:63) writes that "stereotypes are maintained and transported by various means of communication: everyday cultural jokes, phrases and conceits, the wording of news items in newspapers, cartoons,

films, TV ads; practically all acts of communication". The formation and communication of stereotypes appears to be closely linked, potentially feeding off each other. A parallel is drawn here with the complex relationship that seems to exist between image and representation. Both topics need further investigation.

There is a highly complex relationship between stereotypes, prejudice and denigration. This is particularly important in this case considering both the CEE region and Romania seem to have mostly negative stereotypes associated with them. Eliminating or changing negative stereotypes is highly unlikely. The relationship between place and stereotype is much more complex depending on who is the target. Outsiders may be responsible for creating stereotypes about a place but so can insiders. Lehtonen (2005), for example, discusses the relationship between stereotypes and identity, pointing out that a stereotype can be used to suggest certain characteristics or communicate a certain image about a place by the people living there. The author draws parallel with the image of a corporation arguing that "the aim of identity advertising is to teach the target group a stereotypical perception of the organisation" (Lehtonen, 2005:61). Stereotypes can be created from the outside as well as from the inside and can be used as advantage points or even manipulation tools, linking stereotypes with place communication, advertising and place branding. Creating positive 'place-manufactured' or 'insider-manufactured' stereotypes is not an easy endeavour. As Lacey (2009:154) points out "one of the most powerful 'short-cuts' to meaning is stereotypes' use of iconography", like for example "yellow cabs are in New York; red buses in London". Easily recognisable icons can be used to represent stereotypes but they may also be used to create stereotypes. For example, easily recognisable physical objects or buildings are often crucial in the stereotype formation process of places. The previous two examples may suggest stereotypes can be used even to identify and distinguish between places.

Gran (2012:27) writes that "image is not the same as stereotype, but it is related to it: 'both being simplifications of a complex reality". As the previous

section argued, there are strong similarities between stereotypes and destination image (Jenkins, 2000). Similar to image, stereotypes can be both induced – created by the people living in a certain place to communicate place identity for example; and organic – created by outside groups or individuals without deliberation or choice or control from the people living there. They are both prescriptive and descriptive and can help people make sense of a place. For tourism, stereotypes are thought to play an important role in shaping the expectations and motivations of people making stereotypes both descriptive and prescriptive in nature (Lehtonen, 2005:71). In terms of motivation, it is generally agreed that a negative image, stereotypical or not, may discourage visitation. Research on CEE stereotypical images is fairly limited. Hughes (2008) and Hughes and Allen (2008) argue that CEE tourist images are positive, mainly associated with rich culture. More research is needed on understanding to what extent CEE capital city representations are stereotypical?

3.7 Conclusions

For the countries and capitals of Central and Eastern Europe, the last two decades have been characterised by complex changes at all levels. Moving from a centralised state to a free-market economy meant the privatisation of many publicly-owned assets. These economic privatisations were often accompanied or affected by politics and corruption. Economic change came hand in hand with complex political changes - a realignment of power structures and urban regime modifications characterised by instability and more change. Any investigation of tourism representations needs to take into account the urban regime and the power structures and disputes characteristic to that particular place.

Change can be seen also in the built environment; specifically, local actors (locals, marketers and business) perceive buildings made during communism – or communist heritage – negatively, while foreign tourists appear to be manifesting curiosity and interest in communist history and heritage. CEE capitals may be are rejecting their communist past (at least at an official level)

by changing them not only in terms of purpose, but also their physical aspects, in an attempt to confer new meanings and interpretations (for example Czepczynski, 2008). Issues of 'placelessness' come into play here, when places start looking like each other if the same model is copied everywhere.

There are many actors involved in capital city tourism. In order to understand the tourism representations of a capital city, it is argued that only a clear focus; and choosing actors based on the needs of the project can provide a consistent and understandable working framework and comparable results.

Chapter 4. Bucharest case-study

4.1 Introduction

The purpose of the chapter is to provide a broader context in which to understand the city, and reflect on similarities and differences with other CEE capitals where relevant. It briefly explores the city's history, heritage, economics and politics, followed by a summary of Bucharest's tourism, focusing mainly on the Bucharest tourist.

4.2 Bucharest: key facts

On the surface, Bucharest presents the same characteristics as any other post-communist capital. It reflects a complex historical, economical, cultural and social context marked by communism and the change to democracy. It has an economy and society struggling to find its feet in a globalised arena. And its built environment has communist architecture. A deeper look reveals a set of differentiating characteristics from other CEE capitals. Bucharest's culture is influenced by its status as the only Latin orthodox capital in the world, as well as Turkish and Russian domination. Its beginnings are attributed to Vlad the Impaler Dracula. And the city suffered major changes during communism due to the visions of Dictator Nicole Ceausescu.

Bucharest is a fairly young capital compared to Paris or Vienna. The unification of Romania took place at the end of the First World War. Up till then the territory was split between three provinces: Wallachia, Moldova and Transylvania. Bucharest became the capital of Wallachia in 1459. This status was reconfirmed in 1862 when the unification with Moldova took place and again in 1918 when the unification with Transylvania took place (Klepper, 2007). Bucharest's history may be divided into five broad periods: early Bucharest, royal Bucharest, inter-war Bucharest, communist Bucharest and post-communist Bucharest. Each period can be tied to a particular set of heritage. Figure 4.1 shows a tourist map of the city.

Bucharest is said to have been founded by a shepherd called Bucur sometime in the 12th century. Other legends state that the city was founded in the 14th

century by Negru Voda, a Romanian prince, ruler of Wallachia (Colfescu, 2003).

Figure 4.1 Bucharest tourist map
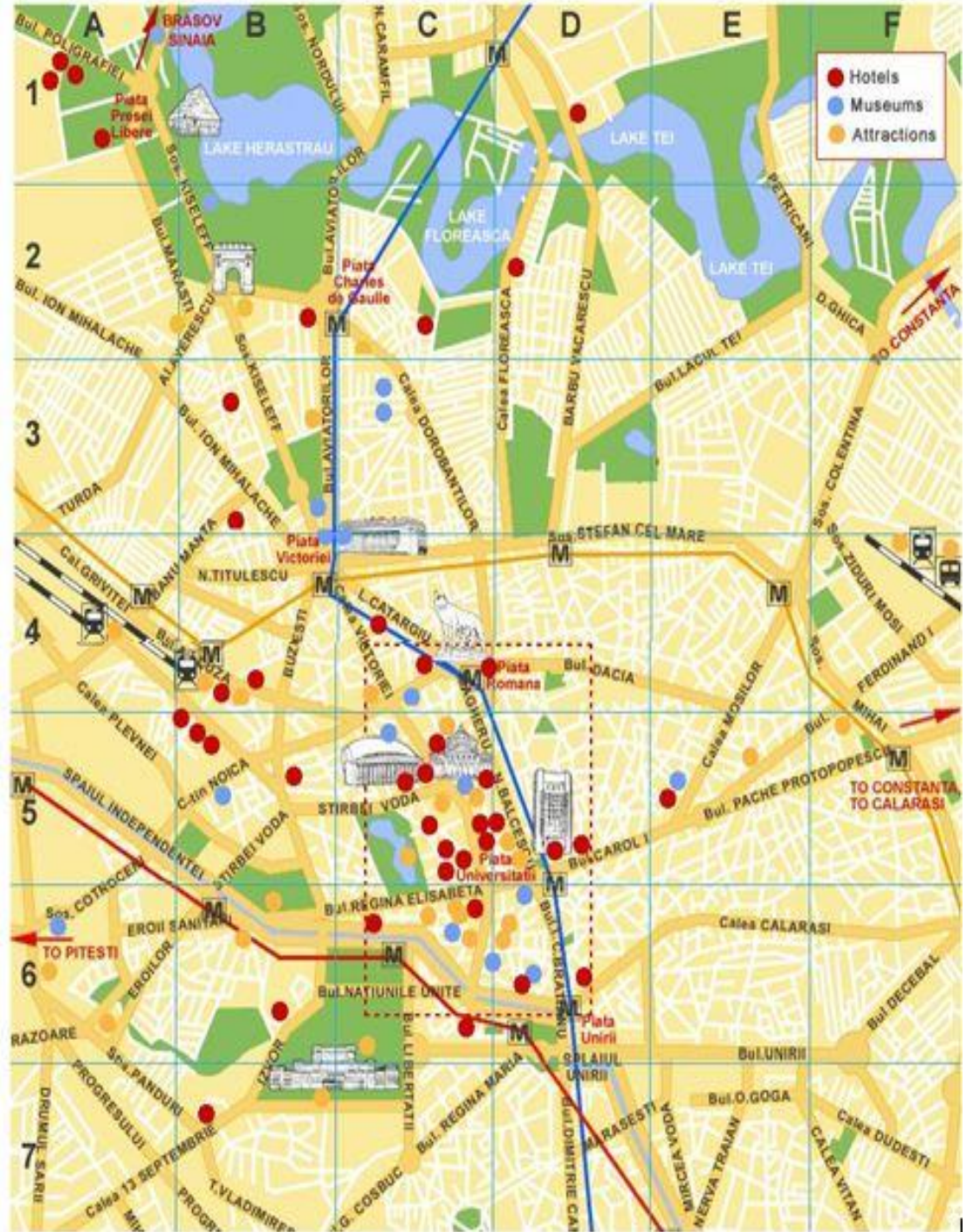
Source: Romanian Tourist Office (2012)

The city owes much of its early developments to Vlad III Teapes (Vlad the Impaler/Dracula), prince of Wallachia, who moved his court to Bucharest in

1459 (Colfescu, 2003). The popular name given to Bucharest's historical quarter is Lipscani. This includes the ruins of the old palace, religious heritage, and a maze of cobbled streets dating back to the Middle Ages; the style of architecture being influenced to a great extent by the Otoman invasions. It was known as the 'merchant's quarter' (Nedelcovici, 2007). The dotted red square in Figure 4.1 marks the historical area on the map.

The city developed around the old royal court and the commercial quarter Lipscani. Bucharest evolved as a series of districts or suburbs. Most of the old districts no longer exist. Communism was responsible for much of their destruction (Popescu, 2007; Nedelcovici, 2007; Pandele, 2009)**.** Liscani was the only part of the old city that survived systematisation under communism (Popescu, 2007; Nedelcovici, 2007; Pandele, 2009). At present, around the historical area there is a mix of architecture styles from an old wooden country inn with interior courtyard, to buildings constructed during the royal age, and communist tower blocks.

Small shops inhabited Lipscani selling or repairing almost anything cheaply. The area was also known for its creativity, with many music and art studios and shops. Because some of the buildings were vacant due to ownership issues, gypsies were occupying them illegally, making the area somewhat unsafe (Mucenic, 2004; Stahl, 2006). Bucharest City Hall planned to regenerate the area for a long time. Ownership issues and lack of funds affected the restoration of the area (EVZ, 2009). Renovation and modernisation schemes unveiled more medieval remains. Excavation and infrastructure updating took many years and have yet to be completed. Most of the historical buildings were reclaimed by their pre-communism owners, sold and renovated by investors and expats (EVZ, 2009).

Between 1866 and 1947 Romania becomes a kingdom. Bucharest embraces Western designs, predominantly French, Mediterranean, Oriental and Balkan influences in its built environment. A large number of attractions and palaces are built at this stage including the Royal Palace, now the National Museum of Art. Wide boulevards such as Victory Avenue, Elisabeth Boulevard and Enescu Square, monuments such as the Romanian Athenaeum or The Triumphal Arch, and French neoclassical and art-deco structures such as The

Macca-Villacrosse Passageway and The CEC Palace are built (Parusi, 2009; Stahl, 2006; Popescu-Limina, 2007). Because the aspect of the city reminds visitors of Paris, the city gains the reputation of Little Paris or Paris of the East (Colfescu, 2003).

Bucharest preserves its strong connection to the rural world. Two of Bucharest's main attractions, The Village Museum, and the Peasant Museum, are also built at this time. Both capture the Romanian rural architecture and lifestyle. Bucharest's two major parks are also the result of this period: Cismigiu Gardens and Herastrau Park (Parusi, 2009)

1920s to 1930s are considered Bucharest's best years (Popescu-Lumina, 2007). The decade was characterised by a booming economy because of grain exports; a growing foreign investments; a booming construction industry; a large increase in new residents; and culture at an all time high with artists, writers and musicians such as Brancusi, Eliade, or Enescu, achieving international fame (Colfescu, 2003; Popescu-Lumina, 2007).

1947 to 1989 marks Bucharest's communist years. Ceausescu's greatest achievement being the Parliament Palace (Pandele, 2009). Post-communist Bucharest is frequently associated with scandals involving gypsies and petty thefts and public scandals in EU member states, orphans, stray dogs and animal rights activists, and political instability, for being polluted and not having enough green spaces, for being dirty, congested by traffic, and poor transport infrastructure (Parusi, 2009).

Romania and Bucharest are not the only country and capital with troubled pasts, or classifiable as fairly 'young' compared to Western Europe. Most Central and East European countries and capitals share the same historical and heritage characteristics. For example, Bulgaria being under Turkish/Ottoman rule for many decades; Moldova claiming its independence from the former USSR/Russia only two decades ago; Czechoslovakia breaking into two independent countries, are further examples of the regions troubled nature, but also tourist potential, as they are all fairly new, unexplored destinations.

From another perspective Bucharest and Romania differentiate themselves from other CEE countries and capitals. Historically, Bucharest is one of the

poorest capitals in Europe. For example, Dawson (1993:145) ranks a number of countries based on their economic development during the 19930s, mid 1970s, and late 1980s. Countries such as Netherlands, Switzerland, and Sweden registered at the top for all three periods; while Romania positioned itself at the bottom. For the late 1980s, the bottom six places are taken up by at that time communist states: Czechoslovakia, Yugoslavia, Hungary, Bulgaria, Poland and in last place Romania.

4.3 Bucharest tourism

Although Romania has a long tourism tradition, Bucharest has been neglected due to lack of confidence in the city's tourism potential and tourist appeal (INCDT, 2007). The '2007-2026 Tourism Master Plan' (Ministry for Tourism, 2007) is the first tourism policy to set out specific actions for developing Bucharest tourism. The plan was part of the EU integration package. The plan stated the development of Bucharest as a weekend-break destination (Ministry for Tourism, 2007).

Figure 4.2 Bucharest tourist number estimate
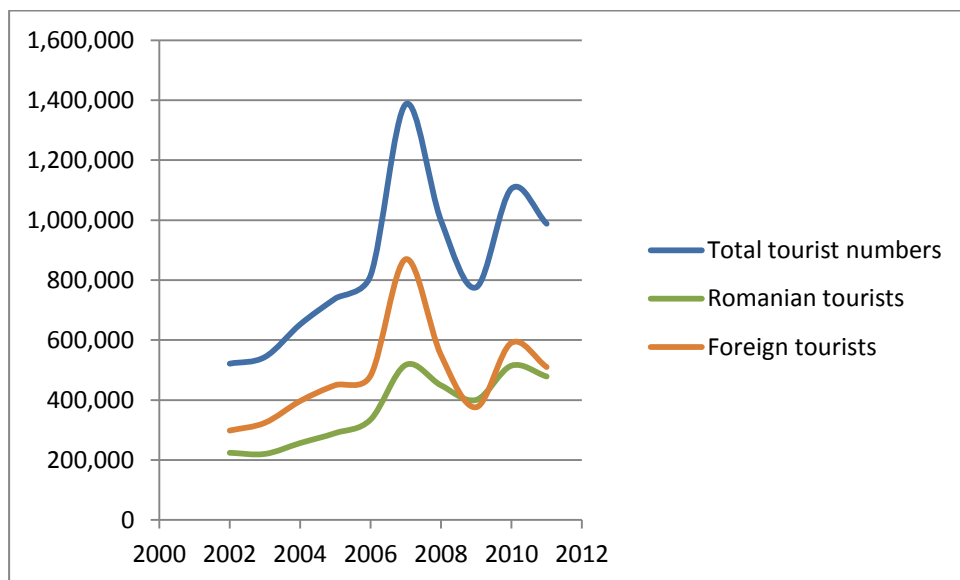
Source: Estimate based on INCDT (2007); INS Regional Statistics 2007 to 2011.

In terms of tourist numbers, Figure 4.2 presents an estimate of tourist numbers over the past ten years. Foreign tourist numbers have been on a slow upward patch. 2007 attracted most foreign tourists; while the 2009 marked a dip. For

2007, this can be explained by the EU integration and the celebrations taking place at the beginning of the year as well as the increased positive publicity; while 2009 marks a year with economical crisis in Europe and political crisis in Romania and negative press coverage. On average, each year after that, Bucharest attracted half a million foreign tourists.

Before putting together the Master Plan, the National Institute for Research and Development in Tourism was responsible for putting together an analysis of Bucharest tourism supply and demand (INCDT, 2007). This is the only existing official research on Bucharest and provides a basis for understanding the Bucharest tourist. The purpose of the INCDT (2007) research was to identify the main issues and problems concerning Bucharest tourism from the perspective of foreign tourists. The research was undertaken in the period 2-15 July 2007, on 278 foreign tourists, in key tourist locations: House (Palace) of Parliament, The Village Museum, Lipscani historical centre, Otopeni Airport and a number of tourist pubs.

Table 4.1 Motivation for visiting

Visit motivation	Number	Percentage (%)	Rank
Leisure/holiday	179	64.4	1
Business/Conferences/Professional reasons	38	13.7	2
VFR	31	11.2	3
Sports and Cultural Events	7	2.5	5
Shopping	4	1.4	6
Other (religion, health etc.)	19	6.7	4
Total	278	100.0	-

Source: INCDT (2007:113)

In relation to the Bucharest tourist profile: the majority (36.7%) are aged 20-29; with a university degree (61.1%). The majority come from US (12.6%), UK (11.9%) and France (10.8%). 62.2% are male. 6.3% are independent travellers and only 23.4% came with a tourist agency (INCDT, 2007). As Table 4.1 shows, the motivation for visiting was mainly leisure or holiday.

Table 4.2 Factors determining the visit

Factors	Number	Percentage (%)	Rank
Thirst for knowledge	168	51.8	1
Received recommendations	32	9.9	3
Accessibility	23	7.1	4
Price	18	5.6	5
Other factors	83	25.6	2
Total	324	100.0	-

Source: INCDT (2007:114)

Table 4.2 presents the main factors determining the visit. Thirst for knowledge came first, recommendations from other people took second, accessibility third, and price came fourth. The research does not explore the deeper reasons behind the motivations expressed earlier and the factors determining the visit, or provides explanations for them.

Table 4.3 Visit informational sources

Informational sources	Number	Rank
Internet	174	1
Tourist Guides	109	2
Relatives/friends	88	3

Previous visits	32	4
Radio/TV/Press	26	5
Tourists Agencies	25	6
Specialized magazines	13	7

Source: INCDT (2007:116)

The research does stress the sources used by tourists. Internet, tourist guides and relatives and friends came first (Table 4.3). It is unknown if these are sources used to prepare for the trip or used during the trip or both. A pattern is emerging when looking at having received recommendations as a second factor influencing the visit and relatives and friends sources of information. Word-of-mouth appears to have a strong impact on the Bucharest tourist.

Table 4.4 Main tourist objectives visited

Main tourist objectives	Number	Rank
House of Parliament	193	1
Village Museum	39	2
The city in general	37	3
Museums	34	4
Old centre / Lipscani	30	5
National Museum of Art	20	7
The centre	18	8
Herastrau Park	14	9
The churches	13	10
The clubs	13	10

Cismigiu Park	12	11
Arcul de Triumf, replica of the French 'Arc de Triomphe'	12	11
Bellu Cemetery	12	11
The buildings in general	11	12
The restaurants	9	13
Ateneul Roman / Romanian Opera House	6	14
The culture	6	14
National Theatre	5	15
Historical places	5	15
Cotroceni (The President's Headquarters)	4	16
Romanian Peasant's Museum	4	16
Other options	29	6

Source: INCDT (2007:117)

In terms of attractions visited, The Parliament House ranked number one. The city in general also ranked high. It is not clear what the category actually means. It is not explained in the report. A major limitation for the INCDT survey is the lack of clarity. For example, 'Bellu cemetery' is listed between the attractions. An explanation why is not provided and it is unclear if it has anything to do with the dictator being buried there.

There is an overlap between questions. Table 4.5 lists the aspects most liked by tourists. The categories overlap with those discussed by Table 4.4. Tourists liked mostly the people, the architecture, the Parliament House, and the city in general (Table 4.5).

Table 4.5 Aspects mostly liked by tourists

Options	Number	Rank
People	53	1
Architecture	37	3
House of Parliament	23	4
The city in general	20	5
The clubs	17	6
The restaurants	16	7
The girls	16	7
The atmosphere in general	14	8
Old buildings	14	8
The food	14	8
The history	12	9
The old centre	11	10
The boulevard/streets	9	11
The parks	9	11
Herastrau park	8	12
The culture	7	13
Cismigiu Park	7	13
The churches	6	14
The buildings / the old-new	5	15

combination		
The climate	5	15
Public transport	5	15
Peasant's Museum	4	16
Other options	37	3
No opinion	47	2

Source: INCDT (2007:118)

Tourists liked least the traffic or agglomeration, the dirt or dust, and the streets under repair (Table 4.6).

Table 4.6 Aspects tourists did not like

Options	Number	Rank
Traffic / Agglomeration	79	2
Dirt / Dust	23	4
The streets under repair/ the city under construction	32	3
The drivers / taxi fares	18	6
Climate	13	7
Beggars	12	8
Dogs	12	8
Bad services	9	9
The buildings	7	10
The inexistent information centers	6	11

Fear of being deceived and robed	3	12
Too many cars	3	12
Unfriendly and not smiling people	3	12
Other opinions	19	5
No opinion was formed	89	1

Source: INCDT (2007:119)

In addition, 70.10% were first time visitors, while 20.90% were repeat visitors. 91.40% would recommend the city, while 7.50% would not recommend the city to others. The research provides a limited understanding on the Bucharest tourist and does not explain the options given to tourists. A qualitative investigation could provide more details on the images and profile of the Bucharest tourist.

4.4 Conclusions

Like any other city in the world, Bucharest presents different representation. These heritages will be reflected in the different representations of the city. These representations could potentially conflict with the images that tourists have of over the city. For example, the tourism master plan argued the city should be promoted as a city break destination (MT, 2007). Statistical data on which attractions receive more tourists reveal the Parliament Palace is the most popular (Light, 2001; INCDT, 2007), suggesting tourists may be attracted by the communist past to some extent. More research is needed in order to understand the representations of the city for tourism and the images tourists have of Bucharest.

Studying all CEE capitals in-detail is not feasible due to language, time and financial reasons. Studying Bucharest may provide knowledge applicable to other capitals in the region because the city shares similar historical and heritage characteristics with other CEE capitals.

Chapter 5. Methodology and methods

5.1 Introduction

Echtner and Jamal (1997) argue it is essential for the credibility and academic value of any tourism study to satisfy five key principles: to be holistic and integrated; to generate a theoretical body of knowledge; to attempt an interdisciplinary focus; to have a well developed and clearly explained theoretical and methodological base; and to use diverse qualitative and quantitative methods according to the study's specific needs (Figure 5.1).

Figure 5.1 Echtner and Jamal's key principles of tourism studies
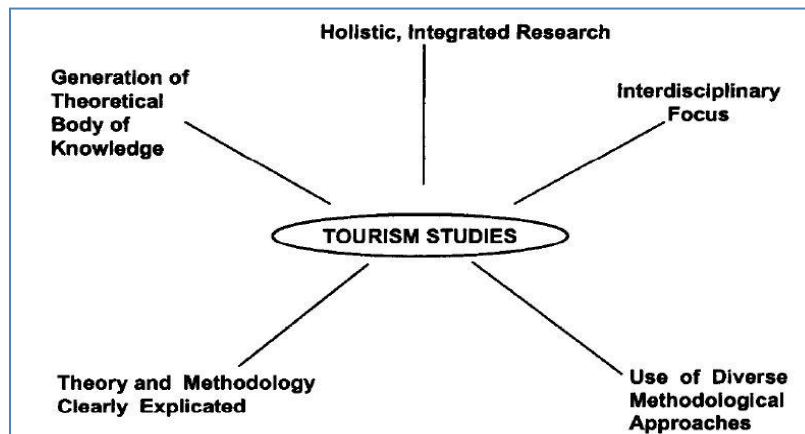
Source: Echtner and Jamal (1997:880)

Chapters 2 and 3 focused on outlining the theoretical base of the study. The purpose of this chapter is to explain the methodological approach chosen, research methods, fieldwork, and the analysis framework implemented. Chapters 6 to 9 will focus on presenting data and answering each research question. In addition, Appendixes 1 to 4 provide further support for this chapter. Appendix 1 looks at the methodological approaches of different articles on tourism representation; Appendix 2 gathers all the data collecting instruments such as interview questions and focus group questions; Appendix 3 includes lists of all data collected such as the bibliography of destination materials and blogs collected, or participant details; Appendix 5 consists of tables with keyword frequencies or picture frequencies.

5.2 A qualitative approach in-line with the social constructivist paradigm

A variety of methods have been used for the investigation of representations in relation to tourism. A review of a number of studies on tourism representation by authors from different disciplines revealed a number of characteristics (please see Appendix 1). Figure 5.2 is a visual representation of these observations. The main characteristics of these studies are: the use of a mixed methodology (quantitative and qualitative); and the close relationship between methods of gathering data and those for analyzing it – with a predilection towards content analysis. Most studies use a mixture of content analysis of textual and visual data - text and photographs – and surveys or interviews of tourists or tourism professionals.

Figure 5.2 Key characteristics of tourism representation studies
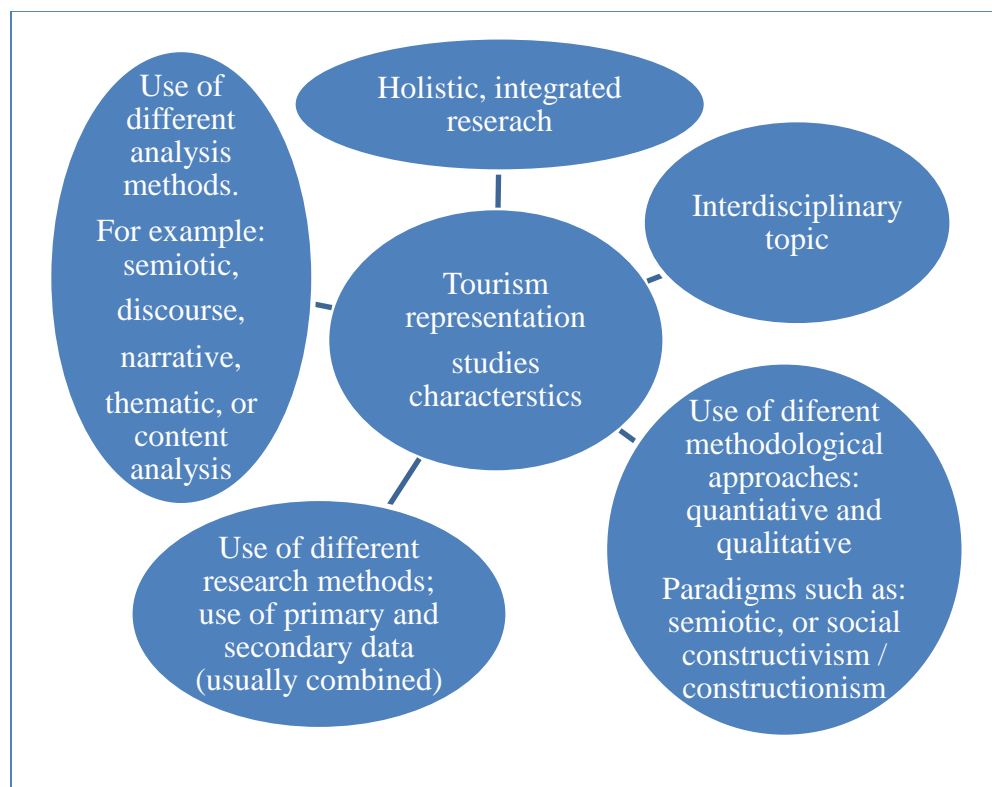
Source: The author based on Appendix1.

Very few studies on tourism representations set their chosen methods of investigation and analysis in a wider methodological context defined by

paradigms, ontology and epistemology. Yet methodology should be the foundation of any academic investigation because it influences and supports the choice of methods (Jennings, 2001).

A paradigm is a set of beliefs meant to guide the research process, deeply rooted and dependant on ontological, epistemological, and methodological assumptions – "it represents a worldview that defines, for its holder, the nature of the 'world', the individual's place in it, and the range of possible relationships to that world and its parts" (Guba and Lincoln, 1994:107). Jennings (2001:33) stresses that it is important to choose a paradigm that will "be able to maintain consistency between the approach being adopted for data collection and the subsequent construction of 'knowledge' from data". 'Ontology' refers to the nature of 'reality, or the topic under investigation. 'Epistemology' refers to the relationship between the researcher and the subject or object of investigation and the study of knowledge, how we know about the world and what counts as knowledge (Jennings, 2001).

A simplified way of understanding methodology is by separating between quantitative and qualitative. Traditionally, the processes of conducting and analysing qualitative and quantitative research differ greatly and require different types of understanding. Phelps et al (2007:217), for example, point out that qualitative research and analysis is "concerned with non-measurable aspects of data" such as text, audio, video and image data; on the other hand quantitative research and analysis "deals with data that is quantifiable, i.e. it can be measured in numerical terms". Phelps et al (2007) write that up to a certain extent qualitative data can be quantified as well. Broadly, quantitative research is focused on 'checking' while qualitative research focuses on 'discovering' (Denscombe, 2007).

The aim of the project is to understand the process of representation and the tourism representations of a post-communist Central and Eastern European national capital from multiple perspectives; or as the literature review argued, tourism representation from a projected and perceived perspective. Four research questions were developed. The first two look at destination tourism representation

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from the projected angle, both in terms of destination materials and the destination actors responsible for them. While the last two questions focus on the perceived angle: on potential and actual tourists. The purpose of the study is to identify and investigate in-depth how a city is projected and perceived. It is an exploratory study and falls in line with the interpretivist paradigm. Table 5.1 summarises the main characteristics of interpretivism by comparing it to positivism.

Table 5.1 Basic assumptions fundamental to the positivist and interpretative paradigms

Assumptions	Positivism	Interpretivism
Alternative names	Empiricism, normative	Hermeneutic
Ontology	External realist	Internal-idealist, relativist (local and specific constructed realities, holistic and dynamic)
Epistemology	Dualist objectivist	Subjectivist, transactional, interactive
Methodology	Quantitative Nomothetic, experimental, manipulative: verification of hypothesis	Qualitative Ideographic, dialectical, hermeneutical
Inquiry aim	Explanation, prediction and control	Understanding, interpretation and reconstruction
Characteristics	Society and the social system Medium/large-scale	The individual Small-scale research Human actions continuously

	research	recreating social life
	Impersonal, anonymous forces regulating behaviour	Non-statistical
		'Subjectivity'
	Model of natural sciences	Personal involvement of researcher
	'Objectivity'	Interpreting the specific
	Research conducted 'from the outside'	Understanding actions/meanings rather than causes
	Generalizing from the specific	Investigating the taken-for-granted
	Explaining behaviour/seeking causes	Micro-concepts: individual perspective, personal constructs, negotiated meanings, definitions of situations
	Assuming the taken-for-granted	
	Macro-concepts: society, institutions, norms, positions, roles, expectations	Phenomenologists, symbolic interactionists, ethnomethodologists
	Structuralists	Practical interest
	Technical interest	
Further separation of paradigms	Positivism, post-positivism	Social-constructivism, social-constructionism, phenomenology, ethnography/ethnomethodology, symbolic interactionism,

		grounded theory

Source: Adapted from Arthur et al (2012:18); Scott and Usher (1996); Cohen et al (2004:35).

The choice of methodology and paradigm is influenced mainly by the specific 'needs' of the study and the position of the researcher (Jennings, 2001). A quantitative methodology is not appropriate because the aim of the research is not to make general, quantifiable statements about a large population, but to identify and explore a phenomenon in-depth which requires the use of a qualitative methodology and methods (Veal, 2006). Qualitative research generates qualitative data which is non-numerical, mostly in the form of text, but may include other formats such as images, video or audio. Methodologies are governed by specific paradigms such as: positivism; interpretative social sciences; critical theory; feminist perspectives; postmodernism; and chaos theory (Jennings, 2001).

Representations are complex and identifying their 'needs' can prove very difficult. Phelps et al (2007) argue that it is useful for the researcher to locate the research project within an appropriate approach to qualitative research and analysis. The authors point out that "the range of approaches to qualitative research is diverse and each arises from different epistemological and methodological understandings" and that "there is often overlap and that research does not always fit neatly into one category" (Phelps et al, 2007:208). The three approaches identified by Phelps et al (2007) are: language orientated research approaches (content analysis, discourse analysis, ethno-science, structural ethnography and symbolic interactionism), descriptive/interpretive research approaches (systematically organises data in topics and themes which gives the research a somewhat quantitative orientation), and theory-building research approaches (most often associated with grounded theory). Because the research deals with textual and visual representations, in this case the language orientated research approach is most suited. This orientation focuses on how language (in all forms) is used to communicate meaning (Phelps et al, 2007).

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From a linguistic perspective, Hall (2003b:24) argues "there are broadly speaking three approaches to explaining how representation of meaning through language works": "the reflective, the intentional, and the constructionist or constructivist approaches". Hall (2003b:24) writes that "in the reflective approach, meaning is thought to lie in the object, person, idea or event in the real world, and language functions like a mirror, to reflect the true meaning as it already exists in the world". The author explains this as 'mimessis' - where language mirrors or imitates nature, and such theories are called 'mimetic' – "the theory which says that language works by simply reflecting or imitating the truth that is already there and fixed in the world, is sometimes called 'mimetic'" (Hall, 2003b:24). The problem with this theory is its simplicity and ignorance of the author: it does not take into account for human imagination, which can create (unique) representations - that are not to be found in the real world; or his/hers own (unique) perceptions of the world; and, as previously argued, the idea of 'truth' is highly disputed.

The second theory opposes the first. As Hall (2003b:25) writes, "it holds that it is the speaker, the author, who imposes his or her unique meaning on the world through language". Although this theory does acknowledge the author and his/her imagination and understanding of the world, it can be criticised for ignoring the rules, codes, and conventions stored within language and needed to successfully convey meaning, and to decode and understand meanings from one individual to another. Otherwise, as Hall (2003b) argues, we would all have private languages and fail to be understood by others – "language is a social system through and through" (p25).

The constructivist/constructionist approach is the third category. As Hall (2003b:25) points out: "The third approach recognises this public, social character of language. It acknowledges that neither things in themselves nor the individual users of language can fix meaning in language. Things don't mean: we construct meaning, using representational systems – concepts and signs." In addition, Hall (2003b:25) warns about confusing the 'material' or 'real' world and the "symbolic

practices and processes through which representation, meaning and language operate". In his opinion:

> "Constructivists do not deny the existence of the material world. However, it is not the material world which conveys meaning: it is the language system or whatever system we are using to represent our concepts. It is social actors who use the conceptual systems of their culture and the linguistic and other representational systems to construct meaning, to make the world meaningful and to communicate about the world meaningfully to others." (Hall, 2003b:25)

The adopted understanding for this study is that representations have both a physical and non-physical side – in tourism, the physical or material side can be a guidebook for example, while the non-physical refers to the messages being conveyed (see Chapter2). It is argued that in order to understand the non-physical one can look at the physical first. In other words, by studying textual and visual destination data deeper meanings can be uncovered. However, it is being acknowledged that another way is by talking to the 'meaning' makers. This thought process sets the basis for method selection. As 5.4 will further develop, in order to understand tourism representations from a destination perspective, analysis of textual and visual data can be complemented by interviews with professionals at the destination.

Watson and Waterton (2010) identify two major methodological frameworks are used in the culture and heritage and their visual representations: social semiotics and social constructivism. Their arguments are that social constructivism approaches are cantered around "the consumption of heritage sites and objects through interpretation" (Watson and Waterton, 2010:3); while semiotics is mostly associated with visuality, visual design, tourist images, and an anthropological view on representation in tourism (Watson and Waterton, 2010). Semiotics takes Saussure's 'sign' theory to the next stage – previously discussed in Chapter 2. Semiotics is commonly known as the theory of signs (Robinson and Groves, 2007). Echtner (1999:50) writes that "semiotics is concerned with examining a

system of signs in order to uncover the recurring patterns (determine structure) and the various layers of meaning" of a phenomenon. Signs and symbols are closely linked to human perception and expression. Representations such as language, writings, and art and so on, all contain a complex system of signs and symbols meant to create and communicate certain meanings. In other words the study of systems of signs and of the structure of meaning is called semiotics (Echtner, 1999). Echtner (1999:49) writes that from an ontological point of view "semiotics views 'reality' as a social construction, consisting of systems of signs, in which language plays a primary role". Also, "epistemologically, the aims of semiotics are to identify the codes and recurring patterns in a particular sign system and to understand how they are used to construct and communicate meaning" (Echtner, 1999:50). It is frequently applied to the study of still and moving pictures, as well as small and large amounts of text and has been developed into a research paradigm (Foote and Azaryahu, 2009; White, 2012). Echtner (1999:50) points out that semiotics have been frequently used in marketing - "especially in the examination of the sign systems used in advertising (…) and in understanding the symbolic nature of consumption". Usually disciplinary perspectives such as anthropology, sociology, linguistics and socio-linguistics focusing on tourism issues have chosen the semiotic paradigm (Culler, 1981; Echtner, 1999). However Echtner (1999) points out there is need to diversify the perspectives from which semiotics is used. Echtner (1999:47) underlines that "the usefulness of this approach for uncovering the systems of signs and 'deep structure' of meaning in tourism marketing discourse". However, semiotics is criticised for being unstructured and disregarding historical context and power issues (Echtner, 1999). In addition, as Hall (2003b) points out

> "In the semiotic approach, representation was understood on the basis of the way words functioned as signs within language. But, for a start, in a culture, meaning often depends on larger units of analysis – narratives, statements, groups of images, whole discourses which operate across a

variety of texts, areas of knowledge about a subject which have widespread authority." (Hall, 2003b:42)

From this perspective, it must be stated that this study fits in Watson and Waterton's (2010) first category. Its purpose is to focus on the process of production and consumption of tourism representations in a holistic manner, analysing it from as many angles as possible with the current resources (time, financial and staff). It is built around the idea of a close relationship between text and pictures (Stern and Schroeder, 1993), but focusing more on the overall message; and less on analysing a text word by word, or pictures and video frame by frame. It is argued that attempting to understand the process of representation and at the same time the 'private' meaning of each word and picture runs the risk of 'no longer seeing the forest because of the trees'. Nevertheless, it is acknowledged that if that were the case, the semiotic paradigm would provide the best methodological framework.

Ateljevic et al (2007) point out that the social constructivist paradigm is known as the naturalistic, hermeneutic or interpretive paradigm, and Jennings (2001) sees social constructivism as a synonym for phenomenology. The social constructivist paradigm "holds an ontology (worldview) that recognizes multiple perspectives in regards to the research focus, an epistemological stance that is subjective in nature and a methodology which is predicted on qualitative principles" (Jennings, 2005:104). Constructivism has been heavily criticised for advocating a world that is defined by relativism and is therefore unreliable and subjective (Suchting, 1992). Furthermore, social constructivism must not be confused with social constructionism. Young (1999) argues that social constructionism focuses on attributing meaning to places, less about actors 'defining' the world and more about the social context in which meaning is produced.

This is a qualitative study focusing on understanding a phenomenon and the constructivist paradigm is closest in terms of the researcher's own personal interpretation of the world: that social actors 'define' reality and the world, it can be both subjective and objective, both questionable and reliable, in a constant state

of 'duality'. Therefore, the projects' research needs and the position of the researcher fall in line with the social constructivist paradigm.

5.3 Research methods and stages

The social constructivist paradigm was considered the better option because it is more suited for the project and allows an appropriate framework for gathering and analyzing data. It acts as an umbrella for the study's research methods.

These are the research questions and sub-questions:

- Research question 1: How do textual and visual destination materials represent Bucharest for tourism?
- Research question 2: Why do these destination representations exist and what factors are affecting them?
  - Sub-question 2.1: How do tourism professionals perceive Bucharest tourism representations and why do they think these representations exist?
  - Sub-question 2.2: What factors influence Bucharest tourism representations according to tourism professionals?
- Research question 3: To what extent do tourist textual and visual materials reflect destination tourism representations?
  - Sub-question 3.1: To what extent and how do destination representations influence tourist experiences?
  - Sub-question 3.2: To what extent tourist images reflect destination representations?
- Research question 4: How do potential tourists perceive and interpret destination representations and how far do destination representations match potential tourists' images?
  - Sub-question 4.1: What images to potential tourists have of Bucharest and where do these images come from?

- o Sub-question 4.2: How do potential tourists perceive and interpret induced tourism representations and how far these actually match their own images of the destination?

As can be observed, each question targets a specific issue: destination materials, tourism destination professionals, actual tourists, potential tourists. Although each research question is linked, having the same common goal to understand the tourism representations and the process of representation, applying the same research method to all is not possible. A multi-method approach is needed; each method focusing on a different research question.

Table 5.2 Approach to research taken

	Objective:	Approach:	Focus on (and data gathered):	Order of execution (stages)
RQ 1	How do textual and visual destination materials represent Bucharest for tourism?	Analysis of destination materials (text, picture, video)	Tourism materials (105) produced by a sample of: Government; Industry; Media	Stage 1
RQ 2	Why do these destination representations exist and what factors are affecting them?	Semi-structured in-depth interviews with professionals at the destination	Tourism professionals (42). A sample of: Government; Industry; Media	Stage 2
RQ 3	To what extent do tourist textual and visual materials	Analysis of tourist blogs (text, picture)	UK tourists (54)	Stage 3

	reflect destination representations?			
RQ 4	How do potential tourists perceive and interpret destination representations and how far do destination representations match potential tourists' images?	Focus groups (employs photo and video elicitation)	Potential tourists from UK (3 focus-groups, 18 participants)	Stage 4

Keats (2000) stresses that multi-method research has not been particularly popular because it requires great attention in dealing with different sets of data and cross-referencing the themes resulting from each. It is different from triangulation because "cross-validation and triangulation are used to refer to comparisons between two or more approaches to the same problem" (Keats, 2000:81), however, here each method targets a different part of the research aim. The four research questions will therefore each have their own research method, although the analysis method will be the same. Table 5.2 summarises the research approach, organising it in four stages.

5.3.1 Sampling

Sampling has been identified as a major element of the success or failure of each stage of fieldwork. According to Clark et al (1998) there are two main types of sampling methods: probabilistic and non-probabilistic. Probabilistic means that each element in a population is randomly selected and has a known, non-zero chance of being selected (Arber, 1993 and Chisnall, 1991 in Clark et al, 1998). On the other, non-probabilistic sampling involves choosing items not randomly but purposely (Clark et al, 1998). Although different methods of data gathering are

employed, the sampling needs are similar for each. Probabilistic methods are hard to apply as the population is difficult to determine for any of the four stages; including actual tourists for the simple reasons numbers are estimated therefore questionable. Non-probabilistic sampling methods such as convenience sampling, quota-sampling and snowball sampling all satisfy the needs of the study. They each require a sample of materials or participants that provide enough information to understand the phenomenon not quantify it. In addition, reaching a level of saturation in data – information becomes repetitive and new knowledge becomes scarce – is taken as a sign the needs of the study have been met (Clark et al, 1998).

Sample size is affected not only by time and money issues, and by the research method. According to Riley (1990), qualitative methods - such as interviews and focus groups - demand a small sample size as its role is to produce the in-depth view of a small number of individuals, as opposed to quantitative methods which require a large sample base in order to produce statistically reliable data.

Table 5.3 Fieldwork and analysis time-line

	Method preparation (planning, research instrument, pilot study)	**Fieldwork (data collection)**	**Analysis period**
Stage1	October-November 2009	November 2009 - January 2010	December 2009 - May 2010
Stage2	May-June 2010	June-September 2010	July-November 2010
Stage3	November 2010	December 2010	December 2010 – February 2011
Stage4	December 2010 – February 2011	February 2011	March-June 2011

Stage 1 and 3 are compatible with 'convenience sampling' which requires "taking as a sample whoever is available" if they "meet the general parameters of the study" (Clark et al, 1998:87); while stages 2 and 4 with 'snowball sampling' which "involves identifying a member of the population of interest and asking them if they know anybody else with the required characteristics" (Clark et al, 1998:88). They are both particularly useful when the research objectives are essentially qualitative and the population of interest is small and possesses unusual characteristics (Clark et al, 1998). This means identifying and analysing only 'a few' 'representative' materials and blogs, and 'a few' professionals and potential tourists. Each stage has its own special characteristics as developed next. In terms of time-line, the fieldwork and analysis took place over a period of roughly two years: October 2009 to June 2011 – see Table 5.3.

5.3.2 Stage 1: Analysis of destination materials

The need for analysing textual and visual destination data has been underlined in Chapter 1 and developed in Chapter 2. In order to understand the projected tourism representations of Bucharest, it is argued that first of all these representations need to be identified and explored from a destination perspective, in other words, understand what is being transmitted to the potential and actual visitor or tourist by the different destination marketers and promoters. Therefore, the first stage of research attempts to identify the official induced tourism destination representations of Bucharest. All forms and types of data were gathered: text, pictures, and video; brochures, guidebooks, website pages, or travel articles. For better clarity these materials were organized into tourism government ('overt induced I'), tourism industry ('overt induced II'), and tourism media ('covert induced I and II') categories (Table 5.4). It was argued that this separation by producer type would allow the researcher to better identify any debates, contradictions and/or agreements that may exist when representing the city.

Table 5.4 Review of induced image formation agents / induced destination materials

Type of producer	Type of material produced
Overt induced I **Governmental tourism sources**	Traditional forms of advertising such as TV, brochures, billboards, print, internet
Overt induced II **Tourism Industry**	Information produced by tour operators
Covert induced I and **Covert induced II** **Tourism Media**	Second party endorsement via advertising (as a result of familiarisation trips for example). Second party endorsement via (unbiased) newspapers, travel programs, travel guides and travel articles

Source: Gartner (1993)

In addition to understanding what information reaches and influences tourists and potential tourists, the main advantage of this type of secondary research is the richness of data and being able to gather a multitude of perspectives that would otherwise be difficult to achieve and take longer to collect. One of the major disadvantages refer to sampling – which materials will be selected and why those and not others (Hall and Valentin, 2005). Only material in English, directly targeting the UK market was included.

For the first stage, the specific sampling and selection criteria were materials in English produced by government, industry and media bodies about Bucharest as a tourism destination, such as tourism guides, or articles related to visiting Bucharest (produced by travel magazines for example). All materials had to satisfy the 'induced image' criteria. As a reflection of this, most industry and

media materials selected include a link to the ministry for tourism website for further information on the destination or reference government sources in some way. In addition, materials could be both printed and online; regardless of length; text and images, as well as videos; produced after 1 January 1990 up till the end of January 2010.

A total of 105 materials were gathered. 19 printed materials were collected in person from the two government bodies, as well as tourist information centres, and bookshops. Online materials (86 materials including 10 videos) were gathered using different browsers (Internet Explorer, Firefox, and Google Chrome). Online materials dominate the count, testimony to the importance of the medium in promoting a destination - a number of printed sources are available online. During selection it was observed that some sources repeated themselves or referenced each other, for example TripAdvisor information was included in the British Airways website. Such incidents were recorded and taken into account; however the information was coded only once to avoid repetitions.

The materials selected comprised of a total of 17 materials produced by government bodies. These were collected and organized into 2 sub-categories: Ministry of Tourism (12 sources) and Bucharest City Hall (5 sources). These sub-categories were created to identify the makers even further if needed when presenting the findings. Overall 7 printed brochures (4 Ministry of Tourism, 3 Bucharest City Hall), 6 web-sites (including 2 social media pages supervised by the Ministry for Tourism), and 4 videos (Ministry of Tourism) were analyzed.

32 industry materials were collected and organised into 4 sub-categories: tour operators and travel agents - separation being made between UK based (10 sources) and Bucharest based (19 sources); attractions (5 sources); accommodation and catering providers (5 sources); and transport providers (3 sources). Overall 1 printed guide (Bucharest travel agency), 29 web-sites, 2 videos (1 Bucharest travel agency, 1 hotel) were analysed. Finally, 56 media materials were collected and organised into: guidebooks (15 sources); travel articles (32 sources); travel programs (3 sources); and travel advisors (6 sources). Overall 11

printed materials (only guidebooks, a note being made 5 of them could be accessed online), 41 web-sites, and 4 videos (1 guidebook and 3 travel programs) were analysed.

These are not all the materials that exist but only a limited sample that satisfies the selection criteria and based on the frequency they came up in searches, it is argued these are some of the most popular choices by tourists and potential tourists searching for information about the destination. A list of materials and their full reference can be found in Appendix 3. Data collection and analysis of the first category (governmental materials), revealed a number patterns in data. These patterns helped put together a data gathering instrument used for the rest of destination materials in an organised fashion, allowing comparisons and making the coding process easier (see Appendix 2).

5.3.3 Stage 2: Semi-structured in-depth interviews with tourism professionals

The second stage aimed to identify the reasons behind destination representations and the factors affecting them, but to act as a validation method for analysis of destination materials, confirming or adding to already identified destination representations. For this stage, tourism professionals were targeted as they are involved in putting together the Bucharest representations. Interviews were considered the most appropriate method for this stage. It is argued that any other method – such as questionnaire or focus-groups - would not produce significant results or prove feasible.

The three types of interviews are: structured, semi-structured and unstructured. While structured interviews are "like a questionnaire which is administered face to face with a respondent" (Denscombe, 2007:175); unstructured interviews places the focus on the interviewee's thoughts allowing them to develop their ideas with very little interference from the interviewer. However, while one can be criticized for being too rigid and quantitative, the other can be criticized for being too subjective and unreliable. Semi-structured in-depth interviews stand in the middle,

combining "the flexibility of the unstructured interview with comparability of key questions" (Finn et al, 2000:75):

> "With semi-structured interviews, the interviewer still has a clear list of issues to be addressed and questions to be answered. However, with the semi-structured interview the interviewer is prepared to be flexible in terms of the order in which the topics are considered, and, perhaps more significantly, to let the interviewee develop ideas and speak more widely on the issues raised by the researcher. The answers are open-ended, and there is more emphasis on the interviewee elaborating points of interest." (Denscombe, 2007:176)

The specific type of interview chosen is the semi-structured in-depth interview. Semi-structured interviews are a feasible option because they "will have specified questions but will allow more probing to seek clarification and elaboration" (Finn et al, 2000:73). This will produce relatively large amounts of information from a relatively small number of people (Veal, 2006). According to Jennings (2001), the advantages of semi-structured interviews are that it studies multiple realities, provides rich data, and establishes a rapport and trust between the interviewer and interviewee. Nevertheless, there are some disadvantages. According to Finn et al (2000:75), "bias may increase as interviewer selects questions to probe and may inhibit comparability of responses". There is the question of subjectivity and bias from the researcher's point of view. Participants and phenomenon issues-where participants may not provide their true opinions but what they think the interviewer wants to hear (Jennings, 2001). Furthermore, duration may represent a problem as working professionals are usually very busy.

In terms of feasibility, Denscombe (2007:174) writes that before deciding on this particular method the researcher needs to reflect on two basic issues: if it is possible to gain access to the prospective interviewees; and if the interviews are viable in terms of the costs in time and travel involved. Where possible, decision makers at top levels will be interviewed. As the researcher is a resident of Bucharest, accommodation for the duration of the fieldwork was not an issue. In

addition, face-to-face interviews are desired; however, the alternative would be email or telephone. In addition, as most interviews should be carried out at the destination, in Bucharest, in Romanian, there is the issue of translation to be considered. Translation strategies outlined by Newmark (1988 in Ordudari, 2007) have been adopted. As 'word-for-word' translation is not possible due to language differences, 'communicative translation' will be used instead. This form of translation "attempts to render the exact contextual meaning of the original in such a way that both content and language are readily acceptable and comprehensible to the readership" (Newmark, 1988:47 in Ordudari, 2007:3). Interviews were recorded if permission was given by the interviewee; they were then transcribed and translated; and analysis was done based on the transcripts. As for sampling, the same producer categories defined in Stage 1 were targeted.

Overall, 42 interviews were carried out. All interviews except one were carried out in Bucharest. In total 68 potential interviewees were approached but only 42 said yes and the interview took place: 11 governmental participants from different departments of different government organisations; 25 tourism industry; and 6 tourism media. Selection was determined by sampling criteria (categories and participants identified by textual and visual analysis; and snowball sampling through recommendations made by interviewees. There were very few recommendations, suggesting they are not very much aware of each other, the usual recommendation was ministry for tourism and city hall. The pilot study was conducted in London at the UK based tourist office. The main issue resulting from the pilot study was that participants would have very limited time. The interview outline consisted of three main questions. These allowed participants to talk as much or as little as they wished and expand on their answers (see Appendix 2).

Potential interviewees were called first in order to request a face-to-face meeting. Interviews were conducted face-to-face (majority), by telephone (if interviewee refused a meeting because of availability, but still wanted to participate), or by email (a couple, again because it was not possible on the phone or if the interviewee had to cut the meeting short and answer the additional questions by

mail). The main reason for rejection was the lack of time (agencies, attractions, public institutions mostly), followed by a lack of interest in the topic (pubs, clubs, restaurants, hotels mostly). Upper management level was usually targeted, but because of availability some suggested their assistants could provide necessary data. All interviews were included, the shortest being 5 minutes by telephone – governmental interview, was included because it provided some valuable information and suggested other participants, and the longest 57 minutes. The average interview was 20-30 minutes.

5.3.4 Stage 3: Analysis of tourist blogs

The third research stage consisted of analysing tourist blogs. Focus-groups or interviews with actual tourists / people that have visited the destination were considered; however, this approach was chosen because it adds originality to the work and it creates symmetry with destination materials analysis, and because of the limited resources of the project. In addition, Pudliner (2007), for example, argues that tourist blogs best capture the experiences of tourists at the destination and have a significant influence on potential tourists. Therefore, they play roughly the same role as destination material, although it is not their main purpose.

 They are unsolicited types of data. A platform for communicating inner thoughts and feelings to the outside world (Conhaim, 2003). Their main advantage is their richness of data. As they are produced under no restraints or pressures, they are more likely to provide a wealth of knowledge that an interview might not be able to collect – "blogs are a visual and written descriptive of the day to day excursion of a tourist society" (Pudliner, 2007:46). In other words, they do not have the disadvantages of interviews or questionnaires, and they limit the potential bias or interviewees influence. However, they do have disadvantages. Their 'honesty' is a major factor. As they are 'free' of any restraints, bloggers can write whatever they wish, they might rely more on imagination than actual experience, there is very little control over the validity of the data, how accurate or true it actually is.

Knowing who the blogger is and where he is from is another major issue that could affect the validity and reliability of this project. The topic of blogging lacks sufficient academic research; however, after careful consideration and researching different blog platform, it was concluded that there are many types of blogs: from forum types of blogs, to independent blogs, to experience websites. While accessing the profile of the author is virtually impossible on most forums, experience websites such as 'Virtual Tourist' allows the reader to see not only where the blogger is from, but when he/she visited the destination, and so on. The following chapter will further develop issues related to sampling and data collected.

In total, 54 blogs were selected. As previously stated, the focus of this method is on the on-line representations of UK visitors to Bucharest. When talking about 'visitors' the focus is on actual tourists or people who have visited the destination, and therefore have experienced Bucharest directly. 'UK' refers to travellers who are UK based or live in the United Kingdom, regardless of nationality (excludes Romanian nationals living in the UK). The main sampling criteria are: the representations of people who have been to Bucharest and live in the UK. Additionally, the experiences cannot be older than 20 years because the focus is on recent experiences, after the 1989 revolution. And it has to be apparent from the testimonial that the main purpose of visit was leisure.

Table 5.5 Tourist blogs sampling criteria

- Direct experience of the city through visitation (actual visitors).
- UK based visitors (residing in the UK regardless of nationality, excludes Romanian nationals).
- Testimonials of visits that took place within the last 20 years (from 1 January 1990 till the present day).
- Main purpose of visit has to be leisure.

- Websites that focus on the overall representation and experience of the city.
- Websites that allow a clear identification of the place of residence of the member, and dates of travel.

The selection criteria limited the number of materials available for collection and analysis. As previously stated, a wide range of on-line platforms offer tourists the possibility to share their experiences, such as 'tripadvisor.com', 'lonelyplanet.com', 'travel-rants.com', and so on, however, while all of them specify the date when the review was posted, not all of them make it possible to identify where the reviewer is from or when the trip took place. For example, a search for experiences about Bucharest on the website 'www.tripreport.com' returned 9 results. However, none of these results can be included in the study because it is not possible to view the profile of the person therefore clearly determining that it is an actual visitor (by date of visit) or the home location (currently living in UK).

The focus is on overall representations of the city not on reviews of individual venues. For example, websites such as 'tripadvisor.com' or 'lonelyplanet.com' not only do not offer the possibility to identify the visitor but the reviews are more of individual venues than the city itself. Reviews of individual places as part of the overall experience are however the exception. The date of travel is not only useful in proving the visit took place but it can be an important variable allowing comparison between experiences by time (acknowledging that the medium itself is still new therefore most posts are fairly recent). After multiple searches using search engines 'Google' and 'Yahoo', with key words such as 'tourist experience websites' or 'UK travel forums'. It was decided that the most appropriate were blogs hosted by tourist experience websites. Websites such as 'virtualtourists.com', 'wonderlust.co.uk' or 'travbuddy.com' not only meet the

criteria set in Table 5.6, but they provide a standardized platform for people to post their experiences.

The first stage consisted of determining the best medium for gathering post-visit testimonials – blogs on visitor/tourist experience websites; and identifying relevant websites to look for Bucharest tourist blogs by UK travelers. In terms of pilot study, one testimonial from each one of the website was reviewed. Based on the characteristics of each individual website a standardized data collection instrument was created to allow compatibility between websites. All type of materials: text, picture, video were targeted. The data collection instrument was retested on the collected blogs and perfected. Some bloggers posted the same information on multiple websites. Their testimonials were collected from all websites in one file and clearly marked. For some testimonials it is suggested that it is two people posting in one blog. These were clearly marked. Text and pictures are dominant. 2 videos were identified but they were both under 30seconds, wordless, and of the same place – the square in front of Parliament Palace. Therefore the data which will be analysed is text and pictures**.**

5.3.5 Stage 4: Focus-groups with potential tourists

The last stage of research consists of focus-groups with potential tourists. This method has been chosen as it is considered best in evaluating destination tourism representations both in their physical and non-physical forms. The focus group used photo elicitation - where the conversation revolves around images and text extras chosen prior. Ali (2004) stresses that this is a "straightforward way of using imagers in conjunction with other methods", and "is most commonly used in the context of interviews and focus groups" (p276). It is argued that photo and video elicitation, as well as questions can best show how potential tourists perceive destination materials and representations. Finn et al (2000:78), for example, writes that "the idea behind focus groups is that a small group of people interacts with one another and a group leader to explore a topic in a relatively unstructured way". The key is for ideas to be generated based on group dynamics. In addition, Peterson (1994) writes that the 'focus group' discussion method is frequently

utilized in general marketing research, however not as much in travel and tourism. Nevertheless, focus groups are frequently used to investigate "points of view, opinions and attitudes towards tourism-related concepts such as destination image, product testing, attitudes and values associated with host-guest interactions, and the attitudes and values of local residents to tourism development" (Jennings, 2001:172). Therefore, it is an appropriate method for the last research question.

One of the major advantages of focus-groups comes from the group interaction especially when dealing with a less known topic. By hearing other people's answers, participants may recall ideas, events or issues that they did not know they had. However, the researcher's skills and an appropriate atmosphere are very important in a focus-group. The atmosphere needs to be relaxed and informal to encourage the free flow of conversation and ideas. Petersen (1994), for example, argues that it is important for participants to feel comfortable. This is why an appropriate location (low noise levels, temperature room – not too high nor too low, room space – flexibility for the arrangements of chairs and desks in the room) needs to be identified to encourage discussion. In terms of language, time and data recording, although no specific rules exist, Finn et al (2000:78) do write that "discussion may last between one and two hours, and are tape-recorded, with the researcher making observation notes during the discussions". Similar to interviews, focus-groups will be recorded, transcribed, and analysed based on transcripts. Petersen (1994) argues the success of any focus group discussions depends on the appropriate selection of participants – he stresses the idea of 'relevant participants'.

Three focus-groups with potential tourists to Bucharest were carried out. As previously argued, the purpose of the focus group is to explore the images of people that have never been to a destination before; and their opinions on exiting city tourism representations, in this case Bucharest, capital of Romania. The selection criterion for participants was UK residents who had not been to Bucharest, but showed interest in visiting, would like to visit, or were planning to visit. Participants were checked to confirm they matched the criteria during the

initial email contact. In both the 'Consent and participant details request form' and 'Part1 answer sheet' of the focus group, questions were included meant to tease out the reasons behind their interest or wish to visit Bucharest.

Distribution of the call for participants was done printed and on-line – for example, Romanian National Tourist Office (printed leaflet); Bucharest In Your Pocket website and Craig Turp's BucharestLife.net; Destinations Show at Earls Court (printed leaflet); Romanian Cultural Institute event (printed leaflet); SABE research scholar emailing list; tourist experience websites forums; Friends emailing lists. Participants were given an incentive of £25 in cash or Ryan Air voucher. In terms of recruitment: 28 people answered the ad and manifested their wish to participate in the study however only 17 actually participated (7, 5, and 6 participants in each focus-group). Reasons for not participating in the end referred mostly to location (for example, one request came from Northern Ireland), or no longer being available on the day. Notably, one cancellation occurred because the participants confused the name of the city they were planning to go:

> "I am sorry my friend and I will no longer be attending your focus group on Saturday as we have realized that you are researching Bucharest, not Budapest where we are intending to go. Apologies for the mix up." (Denise, email on 14.02.2011)

The focus-groups topic-guide consisted of four parts with a total of 10 questions. 'Part1 explored the images that participants have of Bucharest and where those images came from. In other words, participants were asked to answer the 4 question first in writing and then to discuss their choices with the group. Parts 2 and 3 explored how participants react to the images projected by induced representations and how far these actually match their own images of the destination. In other words, participants were shown 10 pictures and 3 videos and prompted to comment each picture and video (for the picture-exercise a booklet with written questions was provided and they were asked to write down their answers before discussing them with the group). While part 4 asked one closing

question meant to gather their final opinions. For more information please see Appendix 2.

In terms of time-line, preparation for focus-groups with potential tourists started October 2010; recruitment took place early-January to 17 February; the pilot-study for the focus-group took place late January; and the focus-groups took place in a conference room booked at University of Westminster, Marylebone campus, on Saturday, 19th February at 11am and 2pm; and Saturday 26th February at 12pm. The average length of the focus-group was 2h23min (2h09min; 2h36min; 2h29min). Appendix 4.4 includes the call for participants, further details on distribution, the 'Consent and participant details request form', as well as the 'Focus-group questions and guiding notes to participants'.

One of the limitations specific to this stage and its fieldwork refers to location. All three focus-groups took place in London however it targeted UK residents in general. As a result 15 people were from London, 2 from Colchester, and 1 from Luton. However, targeting only London residents could not be justified. In addition, the inexperience of the researcher in moderating focus-groups is acknowledged as a limitation. For support and guidance in conducting focus-groups Morgan (1991) was used. It must be stated that having more resources (both time, financial and staff), would have meant more focus-groups could have been conducted; however, by the time the third focus-group ended a level of saturation in new information was observed. Chapter 9 on focus-group findings will further develop this issue.

Finally, the 10 pictures and 3 videos used to help generate focus-group responses were selected from destination materials gathered in Stage1. They were thought to be representative of findings obtained from the previous three stages. Although, it can be argued their choice proved successful in that they generated ideas, arguments and debates between participants, it is acknowledged that their choice is justified by researcher expertise and intuition, and another person might have chosen different pictures or videos.

5.4 Approach to data analysis

Different studies use different analysis methods. This section looks at the data analysis adopted for this study as well as the two main alternatives taken into consideration.

5.4.1 Content analysis

A frequently used method for analysing text and images is content analysis (Baloglu and Assante, 1999; Singh et al, 2007). Hall and Valenting (2005:191) for example point out that content analysis "is often used as a companion research instrument in multi-method studies employing diverse methods (…) although it can clearly be used as a research tool in its own right". Content analysis is employed when analyzing tourism representations such as guidebooks (for example Lew, 1991; Mercille, 2005), brochures, tourism maps (for example Del Casiono and Hanna, 2000), photographs (for example Hunter, 2008), websites and web pages (for example Choi et al, 2007; Davidson and Yu, 2005; Govers and Go, 2005; Stepchenkova and Morrison, 2006), and so on.

What is content analysis? Content analysis started out as a journalistic technique of investigation. Early content analysis consisted mostly of quantitative newspaper analysis - "measuring column inches that newspapers devoted to particular subject matters" (Krippendorff, 2004:5). Today content analysis is used in a large number of fields and has developed/evolved into a complex set of techniques (on a quantitative and qualitative continuum) for analyzing non-statistical/qualitative data - textual, verbal, pictorial, symbolic, and communicational. In tourism, content analysis focuses on secondary material such as "tour company brochures, destination promotional material, the travel pages in newspapers, travel programmes on the television or radio, holiday photographs or postcards" (Finn et al, 2000:135).

A debate exists regarding the nature of content analysis and what techniques can be classified as content analysis (Finn et al, 2000; Neuendorff, 2002). This is because a standard definition does not yet exist and different authors have

different approaches (Finn et al, 2000). The debate is fuelled by the specific approach taken and the distinction made between quantitative (categories and frequencies) and qualitative (themes) content analysis:

> "Approaches to content analysis range from the purely quantitative where frequencies are counted within categories through to an approach that focuses on meaning in which inferences are drawn from data and the data is considered in context." (Finn et al, 2000:135)

Krippendorff (2004:3) writes that "content analysis entails a systematic reading of a body of texts, images, and symbolic matter, not necessary from an author's or user's perspective". The author defines content analysis as "a research technique for making replicable and valid inferences from texts (or other meaningful manner) to the contexts of their use" (Krippendorff, 2004:18). Neuendorff (2002:1) writes that "content analysis may be briefly defined as the systematic, objective, quantitative analysis of message characteristics". Although Krippendorff's (2004) understanding of content analysis is more qualitative referring to the importance of context, and Neuendorff's (2002) understanding is more quantitative as the definition itself suggests, both authors use the word 'systematic'. This refers to the idea that any content analysis (quantitative and qualitative) must be done in a systematic manner in order to ensure approach and findings are objective, reliable, replicable, validity and can be generalised (Finn et al, 2000; Neuendorff, 2002; Hall and Valentin, 2005).

When discussing content analysis it must be mentioned that most authors differentiate between content analysis and other forms of data analysis – such as discourse analysis, semiotic analysis and so on (Finn et al, 2000; Jennings, 2001; Neuendorf, 2002; Tonkinss, 2004; Hall and Valentin, 2005). Finn et al (2000) and Jennings (2001), for example, write that content analysis, discourse analysis and semiological analysis are distinct but related research techniques (Echtner, 1999). However, other authors include these data analysis methods under the content analysis umbrella. Hijmans (1996) and Krippendorff (2004) see discourse analysis, narrative analysis, rhetorical analysis, ethnographic content analysis,

structuralism or semiotic analysis, conversation analysis, interpretative analysis, normative analysis, and critical analysis, as qualitative content analysis methods.

On the content analysis process, Singh et al (2007:134) writes that each step in the content analysis step should be carried out based on explicitly stated rules and procedures and "even though it requires the researcher to use her/his judgement in making decisions about the data, the decisions must be guided by an explicit set of rules that minimize – although probably never quite eliminate – the possibility of subjective predisposition". Different authors have different perspectives on what the content analysis process should consist of however all approaches present similarities. Hsieh and Shannon (2005:1285), for example, write that all content analyses should be done according to a seven-step analytical process: "formulating the research questions to be answered, selecting the sample to be analyzed, defining the categories to be applied, outlining the coding process and the coder training, implementing the coding process, determining trustworthiness, and analyzing the results of the coding process".

Similarly, Finn et al (2000) propose a six-stage process: aims and objectives, sampling, record/coding, data reduction, analysis, the research report. While Weber (1990 in Finn et al, 2000:136) identifies eight steps: defining the record units (for example the units of text to be classified) – by word, by word sense, by sentence, by theme, by paragraph, and by whole text; defining the categories; pre-test the coding on a sample of text; assessing the accuracy of the coding; revising the coding rules in response to the previous step; repeating steps 3, 4 and 5 until reliability and accuracy is at satisfactory levels; coding the text; and assessing the levels of reliability and accuracy. The categories of the analysis grid are determined by the research objectives and by the specific nature of the data being analysed. Veal (2006) writes that themes can come in a deductive manner – consciously searched, from the conceptual framework and research questions, or inductive – unprompted, from the reading of the text, or both. The analysis implies absolute frequencies, relative frequencies (percentages), cross-tabulations and the testing of associations (Finn et al, 2000).

Therefore, the key stages evolve around: defining the content analysis's objectives, sampling, defining the categories, defining the coding process, implementation and analysis. Neuendorf's (2002) model is one that incorporates all these stages and presents a more holistic and complex process. Hall and Valentin (2005) adapted and applied this model on the examination of media coverage of the terrorist attacks of 9/11.

Table 5.6 The typical process of content analysis research

1. Theory and rationale: identification of content that is to be examined, commonly deriving from the literature	
2. Conceptualization: conceptual definition of variables for particular study	
3. Operationalization (measures): ensuring internal validity	
4a. Human coding schemes: a. Codebook b. Coding form	4b. Computer coding schemes: codebook (such as dictionaries)
5. Sampling: - if census of content possible, then #6 - if sample randomly selected (by time period, by page etc.), then #7a	
6. Training and pilot reliability: agreement on coding of variables	
7a. Coding Use at least two coders, code independently, 10% overlap for test Human coding	7b. Coding Apply dictionaries to sample text to measure frequencies Computer coding

Final reliability: calculate reliability figure	
Tabulation and reporting: univariate, bivariate, multivariate techniques of reporting should be evaluated Socio-cultural linguistic-economic context	

Source: Adapted from Neuendorf's (2002) and Hall and Valentin (2005:196)

This is one side of content analysis - the traditional or quantitative. Quantitative content analysis focuses on categorizing and counting repeating data with the assumption that there is a direct connection between the frequencies of certain key themes and their importance (Hannam, 2002). But different types of qualitative content analysis exist that focus on emerging themes and patterns in data. For example, Tonkiss (2004) and Ahuvia (2001) both discuss not only traditional content analysis, but 'interpretive' qualitative content analysis – which is similar to qualitative thematic analysis focusing on frequencies as well as the interpretation of textual meaning (Seale, 2002 in Tonkiss, 2004), and Ahuvia (2001) mentions 'reception based' qualitative content analysis. Jennings (2001:203) writes about four types of qualitative content analysis: summation; explanation; structuration -– the data are ordered according to a predetermined set of categories or in a order determined through the texts themselves"; and objective.

Hsieh and Shannon (2005:1277) identify the summative, conventional and directed approaches. Out of the three, summative was given the most thought. Jennings (2001:203) points out that in summative qualitative content analysis "the data being analyzed are reduced into categories that integrate and generalise the major themes of the documents". Hsieh and Shannon (2005:1277) describe the summative approach as "a summative content analysis involves counting and comparisons, usually of keywords or content, followed by the interpretation of the

underlying context". The main difference between the three is about how initial codes are developed (table).

Table 5.7 Major coding differences among three approaches to content analysis

Type of content analysis	Study starts with	Timing of defining codes or keywords	Sources of codes or keywords
Conventional content analysis	Observation	Codes are defined during data analysis	Codes are derived from data
Direct content analysis	Theory	Codes are defined before and during data analysis	Codes are derived from theory or relevant research findings
Summative content analysis	Keywords	Keywords are identified before and during data analysis	Keywords are derived from interest of researchers or review of literature

Much like any other method, content analysis has its strengths and weaknesses. Babbie (2004) writes that probably the greatest advantage of content analysis is its economy in terms of both time and money compared to other analysis methods; nevertheless, it may be time consuming and may require extensive investments in computer software packages. On the other hand, content analysis "permits the study of processes occurring over a long period of time" and is unobtrusive by

nature (Babbie, 2004:324), therefore it is possible to repeat the study over a certain period of time using the same framework and compare results.

In addition, there are concerns over issues of subjectivity, interpretation, validity and reliability (Sigh et al, 2007). More specifically, researcher bias and the potential influence of the researcher is a major concern in content analysis (Hall and Valentin, 2005). Neuendorf (2002) stresses that the researcher may easily (consciously and unconsciously) manipulate the data collection, analysis and interpretation in favour of a certain outcome; this is more likely in the case of qualitative data analysis than quantitative. Hall and Valentin (2005:191) write that content analysis "is no different from any other social science research method in that the value of the application of the method depends on the skill and appropriate exercise of judgment on the part of the researcher and appropriate reflection on the research process".

There are two ways of analyzing qualitative data: manually and using computer software - like for example word processors, spreadsheets and database programmes, or more specialized programmes generically named CAQDAS (Computer Assisted Qualitative Data Analysis Software - for example NVivo) (Phelps et al, 2007). The project deals with large amounts of information which makes manual analysis unfeasible and impractical. In this case the best option was choosing computer-assisted content analysis.

5.4.2 Data analysis method chosen: quantitative and qualitative/thematic content analysis using computer software NVivo8

Keats (2000:80) argues that "the level of analysis can be directed to words, phrases or themes". Computerised content analysis focusing on word frequencies and themes is chosen here. This is due to the high level of gathered data and the need for comparability between results gathered by different research methods, but the need for rich, in-depth data analysis.

According to Phelps et al (2007:210) Computer Assisted Qualitative Data Analysis Software (CADAS) "essentially supports the coding, categorization,

organization and retrieval of data, providing enhanced flexibility and helping you to manage notes or memos made during analysis". Phelps et al (2007) classify these programmes into categories based on their level of complexity and data processing capabilities: text retrievers (e.g. INTEX, WordSmith, VBPro); text-base managers (e.g. AskSam); code and retrieve programmes (Kwalitan, Ethnograph); code-based theory builders (HyperRESEARCH); and conceptual network builders (NVivo, Atlas.it). The authors point out that that there are debates for using specialized computer programmes. For example, one of the arguments against is that positivist (quantitative) forms of research most commonly use computer software (for example SPSS) therefore using computer software on qualitative data may produce results that have a quantifiable aspect (numbers and percentages) and not exploratory (qualitative) (Phelps et al, 2007). Debates revolve around the volume of data, time and bias. However, pro and con arguments are subject to the research needs of the project. This is why deciding to use computer software to analyse qualitative data should be made on reflection of the following (Phelps et al, 2007; QSR, 2008a; QSR, 2008b; QSR, 2009).

First, the theoretical and methodological underpinnings of the research or the specific type of analysis required to answer the research questions. From this point of view using NVivo8 is deemed appropriate because the research project requires content analysis and NVivo8 is a content analysis type of software that facilitates both quantitative and qualitative content analyses - or discourse analysis - by allowing the identification of themes and patterns within text and images, as well as providing numbers and percentages query tools. Second, the size of the project and the amount of data generated. The research deals with a large volume of data both from visual and textual representations and from interviews therefore NVivo8 is recommended both in terms of data volume and time. Third, the format of the data and the depth and complexity of the analysis you wish to perform. NVivo8 is compatible with the theoretical approach of this project, because of its capacity for supporting text, images, video and audio material; and because it supports and manages all types of data (allowing you to store all data in the

programme, not just the analysis part, but videos, audio files, pictures, transcripts); it is flexible allowing data to be managed as appropriate; it offers a wide variety of possibilities to present data visually. And last, available funds need consideration. NVivo8 is price-accessible and has been purchased for home use. And last, the inclination, interests and expertise. The programme is compatible with the researcher's skills and appropriate training has been attended and materials have been acquired (QSR, 2008a; QSR, 2008b).

The alternative considered was CATPAC II, which is one of the most frequently used computer software packages for quantitative content analysis – for example: Choi et al (2007). CATPAC II is "a text-mining software program based on artificial networks" (Choi et al, 2007:121). However CATPAC II has limited data analysis abilities (only counting) and it has some major deficiencies. For example, the programme is difficult to use because the interface is very old and hard to understand, only works with 'txt' extension files and has not been upgraded since 1997. And although it does provide valuable word-counting/frequency capabilities, so does NVivo. Other quantitative content analysis software packages such as Leximancer compensate for those deficiencies, however not from a cost-wise perspective.

In conclusion, this research used NVivo software (8th version) for content analysis purposes. NVivo (QSR, 2008a,b; QSR, 2009; Veal, 2006) has many advantages and is a theory-building programs that organizes and retrieves textual, visual (images – photographs, postcards, and videos) and audio data; codes data; explores relationships and connections between codes; and develops graphic networks representing relationships between different data – in other words visualize and mind-map the data. There are disadvantages as well that came out while using the software. For example uploading information is best done manually through the copy-paste option instead of importing information directly – the program closes unexpectedly when importing large amounts of information such as 'pdf' documents (therefore it is better to copy the information by hand from the 'pdf' into the program which is time-consuming); and if the information

is in a printed version only, this needs to be uploaded by hand which is again time-consuming.

The disadvantages and problems are balanced by the advantages and while uploading the information into the program is time-consuming, the analysis options and the flexibility in working with the data are time-saving and highly enjoyable and motivational. Therefore NVivo8 is most appropriate and will be used for content analysis purposes in this project. NVivo8 was used to analyse not only the textual/visual material but also the interviews, blogs and focus groups. The analysis framework developed is explained in section 5.5.

5.4.3 Alternatives considered: discourse and narrative analysis

Discourse analysis focuses on analyzing 'discourses' within both textual and visual representations. Discourse analysis is a complex set of methods and practices – "methodologically, theoretically and analytically, the field of discourse analysis is extremely diverse" (Richardson, 2007:21). A number of discourse analysis methods exist. Richardson (2007), for example, develops the method of Critical Content Analysis for analysing newspapers.

The main differences between content analysis and discourse analysis is that discourse analysis has the ability to: "offer interpretations of the meanings of texts rather than just quantifying textual features and deriving meaning from this; situate what is written or said in the context in which it occurs, rather than just summarising patterns or regularities in texts; and argue that textual meaning is constructed through an interaction between producer, text and consumer rather than simply being 'read off' the page by all readers in exactly the same way" (Richardson, 2007:15).

Both content analysis and discourse analysis have their own fierce advocates. However, while "content analysis attempts to apply a rigorous and structured analysis to what are difficult, contentious and usually subjective cultural objects" (Pritchard and Morgan, 2001:172) and its research process aims for objectivity and clarity, the discourse analysis process is less clear and highly subjective.

Nevertheless, content and discourse analysis have been known to complement each other. Pritchard and Morgan (2001) argue that employing both content and discourse analysis is appropriate when analyzing textual and visual data because it encourages systematic and comparable (through the use of content analysis), as well as rich, in-depth and complex (through the use of discourse analysis) interpretations of representations. It can be argued that a qualitative approach to content analysis using computer software has a similar effect.

In terms of analysis process, Tonkiss (2004:376) points out that a strict set of rules for analysing discourse do not exist, however the key stages are similar to content analysis: selecting and approaching data, coding and analysing data; and presenting the analysis. In addition, as Richardson (2007:21) "the terms 'discourse' and 'discourse analysis' are vigorously contested concepts". Nevertheless, the main lesson taken onboard is that study needs differentiate between different actors and take account of their competing interests.

Narrative analysis is perhaps less used compared to other methods, but becoming more and more popular with studies analysing tourist experiences. For example McCabe and Foster (2006) argue it is a good method for analysing less structured materials such as unstructured interviews or unsolicited materials from the web, tourist blogs and forums do fall into that category. Aiello and Gendelman (2007) apply it to both tourist sources and destination materials - tourists' photographs and travel guides – in an attempt to identify the relationship between them. It involves identifying the 'stories' with the texts. Most often those stories tell more about the tourist himself, his identity and world (McCabe and Foster, 2006).

However, this method could be criticised for being too subjective, assuming too much, and claiming too much. Because there is very little clarity and consistency on how to apply the method, one could argue that the story the researcher is reading could be more his own; or at best, what he thinks is the story based on previous readings and knowledge. Even if the researcher was well trained and objective; and the analysis guide clearly set out, another threat exists due to language and culture barriers.

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Figure 5.3 Representation of analysis methods on an objective-subjective continuum

Quantitative	**Semiotic**	**Qualitative**	**Discourse**	**Narrative**
Content analysis	**analysis**	**Content analysis**	**analysis**	**analysis**

OBJECTIVE   **Computer assisted content analysis**   **SUBJECTIVE**

(Word frequencies and thematic analysis)
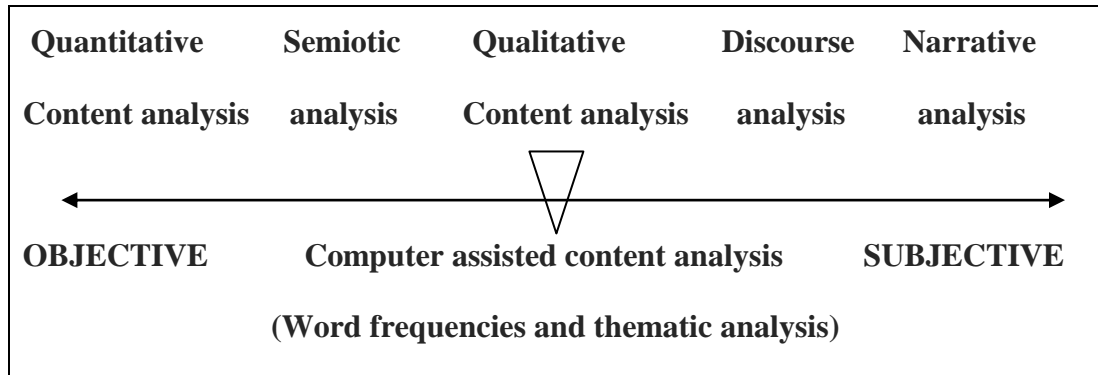
Source: The author

A researcher of one language (or culture), trying to understand stories in another one could be criticised for superficiality or lack of understanding local culture and subtexts, or personal culture and personality. Set on an objective-subjective continuum, it could be placed at the far end of subjective (Figure5.3). Furthermore, applying it to a large volume of data requires considerable resources (Aiello and Gendelman, 2007).

As Figure 5.3 shows, if placing the analysis method on a continuum based on the level of subjectivity or objectivity: quantitative content analysis would be the most objective as it would deal with word frequencies or closely formulated analysis procedures, but it has the highest rigidity and the narrowest view; narrative analysis is at the opposite end, highly subjective and dependant on the researchers' abilities. Choi et al (2007) points out that combining quantitative with qualitative is most appropriate in order to provide comparable data as well as depth of argument. A content analysis programme such as QSR's Nvivo8 does just that, offering quantitative tools such as word frequencies, as well as a qualitative platform to aid coding considerable amounts of data into themes and identify patterns in data. In conclusion, the method that was carried forward and developed is that of content analysis using computer software.

5.5 Analysis framework and emerging findings

Table 5.8 summarises the analysis framework. The process started with data gathering based on pre-determined sampling techniques. All data is turned into text, picture, or video format (scanned and transcribed where needed) and imported into NVivo8 under Sources. Each step is characterised by reading and careful coding into themes or nodes as they are known in NVivo. Themes are generated by the data itself, from keyword frequencies to the text itself. Each stage has been conducted separately and coded separately for better clarity and transparency; however, the names of the themes are kept the same throughout all four stages if the issue being discussed is the same. This allowed an easier cross-tabulation of findings across all four stages at the end. The analysis framework is the result of experimenting with data and continuously improving the process. The analysis 'pilot-study' was conducted in the winter of 2009-2010 on governmental materials in Stage 1.

Table 5.8 Data analysis framework

Step		Procedures
1	**Data collection**	- Each method is approached separately (data collection and analysis process) - Data is collected in printed (e.g. brochures, guidebooks etc.), or Word formats (on-line material, transcripts) - All printed data is digitalised (scanned and saved as Word document or JPEG)
2	**Uploading in NVivo8**	- All documents are uploaded in NVivo8 as 'Sources' - The data for each method is uploaded separately, in its own Source folder - Each document or picture is clearly named

		- Videos are split into dominant frames/pictures and text - Pictures are given the same name where they show the same object/building
3	**Part 1 analysis: quantitative**	- Using the word frequencies functions in Nvivo8 and systematic reading of the text the most frequently used words and keywords are determined suggesting emerging themes and patterns in data. - Based on their contents and previously determined analysis names, pictures are coded into 'Nodes' and quantified.
4	**Part 2 analysis: qualitative**	- Each document, picture or video is taken one by one and coded into 'Nodes'/themes - Each stage generates its own set of themes - Where discussing the same issue but in different stages, the same name is used (e.g. bad image 1 to mark stage1 or destination material, bad image3 to mark stage 3 or tourist blogs) - 'Memos' are attached to 'Node' if needed to record comments and observations
5	**Cross-tabulation of themes across all four stages**	- The themes from each stage (1 to 4) are cross-referenced using their names

Expanding on the quantitative analysis process, for each stage a general word frequency query was run meant to see the frequency of all words in the texts based on producer category. The formula used was: Queries - New Query - Word

Frequency Query. Results are presented in Appendix 5. Based on the results of this query, and systematic reading of the texts with emphasis on context, drawing from knowledge from the literature review (the themes and issues identified), keywords were formed and individually searched within the texts separately for each producer category. The formula used was: Queries - New Query – Text search query – Search for (using the provided connectors between words based on Boolean logic: AND, OR, NOT). Common words such as 'street' or 'museum' were excluded from the results. This helped identify emerging themes and patterns in data.

In terms of picture analysis, as argued in Chapters 1, the focus of the project is not on detailed picture analysis but on detailed city tourism representations analysis. For this reason, Stern and Schroeder's (1993) approach on the synergy between words and pictures was adopted. Pictures collected and analysed in stages 1 and 3 confirm this approach. Appendix 6 presents a selection of pictures from the data collected. Chapters 6 and 8 incorporate pictures within the overall presentation of findings, using them were needed to support the argument.

Cross-tabulating between the four stages, Table 5.9 presents a number of common 'surface' themes. The word 'surface' is used because they are Bucharest's main tourism representations; however, each one presents different and similar issues across the five categories of actors (government, industry, media, tourists, potential tourists), revealing common 'deeper' themes. This has had an impact on data presentation. Due to the wealth of data generated and to avoid superficiality or chaos and lack of clarity, the presentation of findings will be done in separate chapters, each one answering one research question (Chapter 6 to 9). Chapter 10 compares and contrasts the 'deeper' themes resulting.

Table 5.9 Emerging themes and patterns in data

Emerging themes	Keywords
Theme related to culture	- Cultural Bucharest - Cultural city - Cultural centre
Theme related to 'Little Paris' image	- Little Paris - Paris of the East - Paris of the Balkans
Theme related to communism	- Communist - Communism - (Nicolae) Ceausescu - revolution
Theme related to old Bucharest	- Lipscani - Old town
Themes related to Dracula	- Dracula - Vampire
Themes related to entertainment	- Nightlife - Clubbing - Stag weekends - Gambling

Themes related to modern	- Modern
	- Changing city
	- European
	- Chaotic
	- Contradictory
Themes related to bad/negative image	- Gypsies
	- Stray dogs
	- Safety

5.6 Overall limitations of chosen approach to research

The four research stages are the result of careful consideration of the project's needs. Because the project focuses on understanding the process of representation from projection to perception and back again (see Chapter 2 on the representation circle), and the issues characterising CEE capitals for tourism, a multi-method/multi-stage approach where each method targets another element or actor of the circle was considered best. Each stage or method comes with its own advantages and disadvantages.

Sampling, objectivity, and the sheer volume of material are three of the main limitations of this study. First, sampling is a limitation. Not all the materials about Bucharest could be collected; not all the relevant interviewees could be approached and included in the study; not all the blogs about Bucharest could be identified and collected; and not many participants could be found for the focus-groups. Only 105 destination materials were collected. What was selected and what was left out may be subject to scrutiny. How relevant these materials are to the study as well as what specific data within them was selected and analysed constitute limitations. The number of interviewees is limited and the positions of

those participating are not always middle significant to the study. The blogs collected present similar limitations to destination materials: why those and not others? Focus-group participants are few and only 3 focus-groups were actually carried out. A limited, potentially subjective sample is a major limitation for the study. On the other hand, a significant amount of different data was gathered. This leads to analysis limitations and managing and overwhelming amount of information. This makes it hard to compare when dealing with different methods generating different sets of findings.

5.7 Conclusions

The chosen approach to methodology is consistent with qualitative analysis and striving for objectivity, with a relativist ontology and constructivist epistemology. In other words, the research adopts a qualitative approach, influenced by the social constructivist paradigm. The choice has been determined by the researcher's own view of the world, previous research on tourism representation, and the needs of the study. In addition, the analysis method employed is that of quantitative content analysis focusing on keyword frequencies and qualitative content analysis focusing on themes using computer software NVivo8.

Four research questions have been developed, each research question needing a different data gathering technique: for the projected perspective, analysis of destination materials and interviews with professionals; for the perceived perspective, analysis of tourist blogs and focus-groups with potential tourists. An alternative methodology based on the semiotic paradigm was considered, however, the richness of data; the focus of the project; as well as the resources at hand, could not justify such a detailed analysis of data.

In conclusion, the methodological approach has been laid out and the advantages and disadvantages of each method/stage considered. Each stage was developed and applied separately. Data collected by the four stages provided enough information to answer the four research questions. Chapters 6 to 9 will further develop this point.

Chapter 6. Evidence for research question one: How do textual and visual destination materials represent Bucharest for tourism?

6.1 Introduction

This is the first of a series of four results chapters, each aimed at answering one research question. The purpose of this chapter is to answer the first research question aimed at identifying how textual and visual destination data represents the capital city. As the literature review argued, the assumption is that looking at destination materials is a way to identify capital city tourism representations. The chapter starts with a brief presentation of general observations on data and profile of materials and their producers; it moves on to a detailed discussion of each tourism representation. For each representation, agreements and disagreements between producers are underlined.

6.2 General observations on data

105 materials were analysed, a selection from different producer categories. Table 6.1 presents the data collected organised by category and sub-category.

Table 6.1 Tabulation of materials

	Producer type	Number
A.	**Tourism government**	**17**
a.	Ministry for Tourism	15
b.	Bucharest City Hall	2
B.	**Tourism Industry**	**32**
a.	Tour operators and travel agents	19
b.	Attractions	5
c.	Accommodation and catering providers	5

d.	Transport providers	3
C.	**Tourism media**	**56**
a.	Travel guides (guidebooks)	15
b.	Travel articles	31
c.	Travel programmes	3
d.		6
Total		**105**

6.3 Cultural Bucharest representation

References to the cultural character of the city or to cultural activities or cultural venues are present throughout government, industry and media materials. Few differences about this representation are noted between tourism government, industry and media. The only significant aspect identified is the strong emphasis placed on culture and derivates (character, events, and venues) within government materials. The expressions most often used when talking about, introducing or describing the city by Ministry of Tourism and Bucharest City Hall materials are related to or include the notion of 'culture'. Examples of expressions used include: 'cultural Bucharest' (Material 1, Governmental, Ministry for Tourism, RoNTO; Material 2, Governmental, Ministry for Tourism, RoNTO), or 'cultural city' (Material 3, Governmental, Ministry for Tourism, RoNTO), or 'cultural centre' (Material 16, Governmental, Bucharest City Hall). Furthermore, government materials suggest that a tight link exists between the cultural character of the city and cultural events and heritage. The main government representation of Bucharest is that of a city of culture. The following three parts (a, b and c) will summarize the findings related to culture in terms of character, activities and heritage. There is lack of disagreement between producers on these issues. This is due mostly to their fixed nature – most of them relate back to history, or are faithful copies of government

information – it has been noted industry and media at times reiterates what has been said by official governmental sources.

6.3.1 Cultural character

This section presents findings about how Bucharest's cultural character is represented and the factors that have influenced it according to the three different producers. Aspects related to the origins of the city, its historical development, and its geographical position, as well as city characteristics most emphasized such as multiculturalism, importance of religion, the 'green' element, and traditions and customs will be explored.

Present in both government and media sources is a reference to the Latin origins of the Romanian people and the language. This reference is usually accompanied by the image of a statue, a replica of the original in Rome symbolising the Latin roots - 'Mother-wolf with Romulus and Remus' (below). Government materials contain a large number of pictures of Mother-wolf with Romulus and Remus arguing it is a symbol of the country's long history and Latin culture.

Picture 6.1 Mother-wolf with Romulus and Remus statue

(Source: Material 1, Governmental, Ministry for Tourism, RoNTO)

However, the actual origins of the city are relatively unknown. The most common reference is to the legend of a shepherd called Bucur (approximate translation 'joy'). However, as government materials acknowledge,

archeological evidence proved the city dates back more than 3000 years: "Historians, tolerant of the legend's romanticism, have shown that Romania's current capital has been inhabited since the Middle Paleolithic and Neolithic times, owing to its favorable location for the traffic of people and goods. Traces of several Geto-Dacian dwellings dating back to 1800-800 BC and of Dacian and Roman settlements erected here between the 3rd and 10th centuries have been preserved" (Material 1, Governmental, Ministry for Tourism, RoNTO). Such traces can be found in the oldest area of Bucharest called 'old town Lipscani'. Nevertheless, the city is considered to be 'young', little over 500 years, and the first written evidence of Bucharest's existence as a settlement dates back to September 20th, 1459, and is associated with Vlad the Impaler (also known as Dracula). It is also the moment Bucharest becomes the capital of Wallachia, one of the three Romanian principalities, separated at the time. The unification takes place in 1859 with Moldavia and 1862 with Transylvania and Bucharest officially becomes the capital of Romania.

Government materials stress the cultural development of the city took place mostly during the 1862-1944 (considered by some sources the 'Little Paris'): "Bucharest becomes the capital of Romania in 1862. Simultaneously, the city's cultural life starts throbbing more and more forcefully. (…) It is the very instance that finally marks the upsurge of Bucharest as far as culture, arts and science" (Material 1, Governmental, Ministry for Tourism, RoNTO). Government materials also pay great attention to "figures who marked the life of Bucharest" (Material 1, Governmental, Ministry for Tourism, RoNTO): "During the inter-war period, many world-famous people such as Marcea Eliade, Eugen Ionesco, Emil Cioran or Serfiu Celibidache, lived in Bucharest and helped define its cultural character" (Material 3, Governmental, Ministry for Tourism, RoNTO). Statues of historical, political and cultural figures such as King Carol I, Wallachian princes Mihai the Brave and Constantin Brancoveanu, and so on (Material 2, Governmental, Ministry for Tourism, RoNTO; Material 3, Governmental, Ministry for Tourism, RoNTO). A link is noted between the cultural character of the city and 'Little Paris' reference which will be explore later in the chapter.

References to the geographical position of the city are also made within all producer categories. The city being described as the place where West meets East, this having an impact on the city's culture and economy: "A city at the crossroads - Located at the meeting point of roads and cultures where East meets West, on the very border between strange and eccentric" (Material 1, Governmental, Ministry for Tourism, RoNTO); "on the main trade route between east and west" (Material 56, Tourism Media, Travel guides). This position is also reflected in the city's sights and attractions. Travel agencies active in Bucharest even offer tours with the theme "Bucharest at the Crossroads between West and East" (Material 23, Tourism Industry, UK travel agents and tour operators) which includes visits to sites reflecting western, French influences such as the Romanian Athenaeum and Eastern, Russian influences such as the Russian Church.

A result of this position, as government materials point out, is the multicultural nature of the city: "Bucharest is one of the most cosmopolitan capitals in the world. There is a Bucharest of the Jews, one of the Armenians, another of the Bulgarians, another one of the Hungarians... Each of the almost 20 major ethnic communities that coexist in the capital today has its own Bucharest" (Material 1, Governmental, Ministry for Tourism, RoNTO).

Government materials emphasize that Bucharest is a politically correct city where measures are taken to protect its minorities, such as for example, the roma (gypsies): "Roma, for whom a governmental policy was drawn up to improve their living standards" (Material 1, Governmental, Ministry for Tourism, RoNTO). Industry and media materials give great emphasis to Jewish heritage, media guidebooks for example including special sections on 'Jewish Bucharest' with references to the holocaust (Material 50, Tourism Media, Travel guides). And tours are offered by travel agencies exploring Jewish heritage: Coral temple, the Jewish History museum, Jewish cemetery (Material 24, Tourism Industry, UK travel agents and tour operators). Tours that include Ottoman, Turkish and Russian heritage are also being offered by companies (for example industry sources 18-25).

Bucharest is described as a 'religious city'. A special attention to religion is given mostly in government materials: "Stories of Faith - In Bucharest, a church will always be the centre of the city regardless of its location." (Material 1, Governmental, Ministry for Tourism, RoNTO); however the theme appears in some industry (tours are offered exploring churches inside and outside Bucharest, for example industry sources 18-25) and media materials as well. One media source points out "one thing you cannot fail to notice while in town is the devoutness of Romanians of all ages" (Material 53, Tourism Media, Travel guides). Linking back to the previous section on Bucharest as a 'multicultural city', government materials also emphasize the richness of religious architecture: "Around the zero milestone of Bucharest - the place from which the distance between all the other cities and the capital is measured - is a genuine mosaic of religious architecture: a typically Russian church, an Italian one, an Armenian one, an Anglican chapel, a Greek church, a Catholic church, a mosque and a synagogue" (Material 1, Governmental, Ministry for Tourism, RoNTO). Furthermore, detailed descriptions of some of the main churches in the city are offered by government materials where the focus is on their architectural and historical significance.

Throughout most sources is the Bucharest as a 'green' city reference, referring to the parks built at the beginning of last century. Other media sources point out Bucharest's parks are too few to keep up with the demands of a developing city (Material 101, Tourism Media, Travel advisor). Traditions and customs receive very little attention in government materials. Only one reference exists (Material 3, Governmental, Ministry for Tourism, RoNTO) in relation to the Village Museum which houses traditional buildings gathered from across the country. However limited information is provided and the only significant detail is a picture showing traditional costumes. Neither industry nor media materials offer much detail on customs and traditions, Romanian in general or city specific. In terms of food, government materials point out: "Romanian cuisine is a mixture of Balkan flavors" (Material 1, Governmental, Ministry for Tourism, RoNTO), similar ideas are present within guidebooks (materials 50-64).

6.3.2 Cultural activities and events

In terms of cultural activities and events, government, industry and media materials agree there is a varied offer. Industry and media mostly reproduce government materials emphasizing Bucharest has a "buzzing cultural scene" (Material 5, Governmental, Ministry for Tourism, RoNTO), offering all types of activities and events: "Bucharest offers numerous theatres with a great variety of performances, stages, and shows; art galleries with painting, photography, sculpture exhibitions; book fairs" (Material 6, Governmental, Ministry for Tourism, RoNTO). The message is that Bucharest offers diverse cultural activities and it is an active destination with a lot to offer in terms of culture. However, one media material speaks about the censorship Romanian culture suffered during communism reflecting on the fact that many writers were forced to leave the country, either forced exile or had to sneak out of the country and claim asylum abroad, if their work criticised, made fun of, or opposed the communist regime: "Under the reign of Ceausescu, Romanian writers, artists and performers suffered censorship and prosecution. However, many (such as writers Norman Manea and Herta Müller) fled the country" (Material 58, Tourism Media, Travel guides). The end of communism also meant a boom in terms of cultural expression and freedom of speech as underlined by one government material (Material 2, Governmental, Ministry for Tourism, RoNTO).

Cultural events are also an important part of culture for government materials. An aspect which characterises government materials is the attention placed on theatre, calling Bucharest the international "capital of the Theatre" (Material 1, Governmental, Ministry for Tourism, RoNTO), although, one material acknowledges plays are mostly in Romanian (Material 5, Governmental, Ministry for Tourism, RoNTO). Festivals and events held in Bucharest and organized by government officials have increaseed in number over the years and a diversification of themes. Examples include: Bucharest International Music Festival "EuropaFest" (May); Bucharest of Old Festival (May); 'GayFest' Gay Pride Festival (May); Bucharest 'ArtPhoto' Image and Photography Festival (May - June); Bucharest International Film Festival

(April); Bucharest City Challenge - Car Racing (August); George Enescu Music Festival (September); Romania Tennis Open - an ATP event (September);" (Material 5, Governmental, Ministry for Tourism, RoNTO). The most important event, discussed at length by all three categories is the George Enescu classical music festival which attracts the attention of the international classical music community every two years.

6.3.3 Cultural heritage and venues

Bucharest is characterised by rich cultural heritage (government sources 1-6). In terms of cultural venues, there are as many as 37 museums, 22 theatres, 2 concert halls, and one opera house according to one source (Material 5, Governmental, Ministry for Tourism, RoNTO The same message is reproduced in industry and media materials. The venue that attracts the most attention in government materials is the Romanian Athenaeum. Most sources mention it multiple times even within the same material. It has its own 4 minutes long promotional video. Built in 1888 with direct contributions from citizens, the building is described as: "an emblematic presence in the capital (...) a real symbol of Romanian culture and nationality" (Material 1, Governmental, Ministry for Tourism, RoNTO); "a symbol of Bucharest" (Material 2, Governmental, Ministry for Tourism, RoNTO). The building hosts the Enescu Festival and it is the number one image that appears in government materials.

Picture 6.2 Romanian Athenaeum

(Source: Material 12, Governmental, Ministry for Tourism, RoNTO)

Remarked by a number of government, industry and media sources is the historical representation of Romania on the interior walls of the venue: "The frescoes which adorn it summarize many important moments of Romanian history, starting with the Dacians and the arrival of the legions of Emperor Trajan, to the Union of the Romanian Principalities under ruler Al. I. Cuza in 1895, obtaining National Independence in 1877 under Carol I, and the creation of Great Romania in 1918 under King Ferdinand" (Material 3, Governmental, Ministry for Tourism, RoNTO).

6.4 'Little Paris' representation

The following section focuses on the 'Little Paris' theme which appears in almost every government, industry and media material. The focus is on presenting how each producer category discusses 'Little Paris' and on exploring the differences that exist between their views. Government sources refer to Little Paris as the idealistic image of the glory days before communism, an essential part of the identity of Bucharest, but with the fall of communism also the symbol of regeneration and return to the West, attempting to bring back the 'good old days'. On the other hand, industry materials see 'Little Paris' as part of a bigger picture, a complex cluster of heritage that also includes the communist legacy. Media materials criticizes the image of 'Little Paris' arguing it belongs to the past and very little of its characteristics can be recognised today.

Government materials underline the importance of this image calling it 'the heart of Bucharest' and emphasising it validity even today: "The elegant atmosphere of the city along with its exuberance won the capital the name 'Little Paris' some time ago. A name that you will find appropriate even today, should you have the curiosity to discover the heart of Bucharest" (Material 1, Governmental, Ministry for Tourism, RoNTO). The image is due to the historical and cultural links with the French capital and the architectural development of the city roughly between 1850-1950, the highlight of this period occurring between the two world wars 1920 to 1930: "Remodeled in the late 19th century by French and French-trained architects, the city features large neoclassical buildings, fashionable parks, and even its very own Arc de

Triomphe on the elegant Soseaua Kiseleff, an avenue longer than the famed Champs-Elysees and home to the city's mansion district" (Material 11, Governmental, Ministry for Tourism, RoNTO); "Not only its architecture gave the Bucharest of former days a Parisian air, but also the outlook of its inhabitants. The clothes of the well off were influenced by Paris fashions, and French was widely spoken by the upper classes. Parisian newspapers and periodicals were also widely read" (Material 1, Governmental, Ministry for Tourism, RoNTO).

Government materials emphasise the importance of Little Paris image for the identity of the city writing that communism interrupted this identity which is now slowly being restored: "Towards the end of the nineteenth century, the city's Balkan air gave way to a more occidental, specifically Parisian aspect. (...) However, the constructions of the communist era were brutally to intrude in this composite but harmonious style. Now, at the beginning of the twenty-first century, Bucharest has gradually begun to regain its identity." (Material 2, Governmental, Ministry for Tourism, RoNTO); "the swagger and gentle arrogance of the ancient regime has returned" (Material 1, Governmental, Ministry for Tourism, RoNTO).

Picture 6.3 Black and white 1920s Bucharest

Victory Avenue

(Source: Material 13, Governmental, Bucharest City Hall, RoNTO)

Black and white pictures are used by government materials to illustrate the atmosphere of inter-war Bucharest. References to better times for the city are also being made: "old palaces reminding one of the opulence of past times",

"Bucharest's parks (…) have their own atmosphere that evokes the magic of old stories" (Material 1, Governmental, Ministry for Tourism, RoNTO).

Most industry materials do not contradict this image however they do offer a more complete image of the city including communist heritage in the picture, arguing that it is the complex, complicated mix of opposing styles that attracts and intrigues, and Little Paris is just a small part of the image Bucharest has today: "Once known as the "Little Paris", (...) you will be intrigued by the city's eclectic mixture of architecture, from old monasteries to Orthodox Churches, Second Empire mansions, the solid Stalinist architecture of the communist years and the colossal Parliament House" (Material 18, Tourism Industry, Romanian travel agents and tour operators); "The city reflects an interesting heritage of mixed cultures influenced by: the old Romanian aristocracy educated in France, the German King Carol I, and the communist society" (Material 26, Tourism Industry, Romanian travel agents and tour operators).

Media materials on the other hand challenge this image arguing Ceausescu's demolitions changed the image of the city fundamentally: "Paris in the Least: Known as 'Little Paris' or 'Paris of the East' in the 1920s and 30s, there's little left in Bucharest today to convince the visitor of the merits of this title" (Material 62, Tourism Media, Travel guides). Also, the fact that a comparison to Paris lacks originality is also emphasised by media materials. In addition, the aspect of the city today is more Russian than French: "Paris of the East or Balkan Moscow? From Saigon to Prague, it seems that every second city wants to be Paris" (Material 56, Tourism Media, Travel guides).

6.5 Communist Bucharest representation

There are not many references to communism in the materials. Usually the word is mentioned when describing an attraction related to that era, and it is often accompanied by a reference to the negative impacts of communism such as lack of freedom, demolition of historic buildings to make room for the Palace of Parliament, or censorship in culture and literature. Only one government material speaks about the communism period but focuses on the industrial development of the city during those times (Material 16,

Governmental, Bucharest City Hall). Industry and media materials however display a fascination with the era even arguing positive aspects: "not every industrialization project was a failure: Ceausescu left Romania with a reasonably effective system of power generation and transmission, gave Bucharest a functioning subway, and left many cities with an increase in habitable apartment buildings" (Material 26, Tourism Industry, Romanian travel agents and tour operators). Also, some Bucharest based travel agencies offer communism themed tours: "Red Bucharest: Let us present to you a different face of Bucharest. Capital of the Socialist Republic of Romania. We will tour the city, pointing the remains of the "Golden Era", while we will lecture you about the good and many bad things that happened during the rule of Ceausescu" (Material 19, Tourism Industry, Romanian travel agents and tour operators).

The attraction most associated with communism is the Palace of Parliament. Government materials refer to it as: "Nicolae Ceausescu's legacy (…) an interesting introduction to the dictator's megalomaniac vision" (Material 5, Governmental, Ministry for Tourism, RoNTO), and mostly emphasize its grand size and its controversial nature: "The huge investment in its construction and perpetual upkeep makes the Parliament Palace one of the most controversial buildings in the world" (Material 6, Governmental, Ministry for Tourism, RoNTO). Media materials, are less critical of it and appreciate the building even calling it "big and beautiful" (Material 80, Tourism Media, Travel articles). Media materials emphasize the tourist appeal of the palace due to its communist link: "Ceausescu draws tourists 20 years after firing squad: Twenty years after his execution by firing squad, the former Romanian dictator Nicolae Ceausescu has become a major tourist draw despite lingering memories of his despotic regime. It is now Romania's top attraction for foreign tourists" (Material 71, Tourism Media, Travel articles). It is therefore being suggested that communism, and even Ceausescu are becoming tourist attractions in their own rights. Attention is also paid to the entire communist complex built after the demolition of part of the city: "Inspired by the grandiose architecture of North Korea, Ceausescu decided in the Eighties to refashion Bucharest completely by building a vast 'civic centre' district

dominated by the 'Palace of the People'. (...) It is grotesque, but utterly compelling" (Material 73, Tourism Media, Travel articles). And guidebooks include communist tours of the city including visits to the grave of the dictator and his wife.

Nevertheless, industry and media materials do emphasize the controversial nature of the palace for the locals especially: "many years after the overthrown of the communist regime, the "House of the People" reminds Romanians of the communist years" (Material 26, Tourism Industry, Romanian travel agents and tour operators); "Not many Romanians like talking about Nicolae Ceausescu, twenty years after the downfall of the tyrant's despised regime, the memories are too close for comfort" (Material 87, Tourism Media, Travel articles); "building's association with a regime that most Romanians would prefer to forget" (Material 92, Tourism Media, Travel articles).

6.6 Entertainment, nightlife, stags and gambling representations

Two of the government materials emphasize Bucharest's entertainment industry focusing specifically on clubbing and gambling, although the reference is general and doesn't offer much in terms of content, only a long list of venues (government sources 1 and 3). Industry and media materials however are dominated by this theme. Emphasis is placed on the increasing attention Bucharest is getting for its nightlife and music scene. Both industry and media sources point out clubs attract some of the best international DJs, with customers the 'new rich' as well as foreigners: "Truly, most people come to Bucharest for its incredible energy and noisy nightlife" (Material 62, Tourism Media, Travel guides); "Bucharest is fast becoming popular with London clubbers for an alternative 'city clubbing' destination" (Material 74, Tourism Media, Travel articles); "In art and music circles, Bucharest is being branded the 'new Berlin' thanks to its creative scene" (Material 91, Tourism Media, Travel articles); :The nightlife in Bucharest is outstanding, with a superb array of cool underground bars and clubs, as well as the super-clubs" (Material 32, Tourism Industry, UK travel agents and tour operators).

A number of government, industry and media agree gambling is part of the city's appeal, the increasing number of venues being linked to the economic

boom of 2000-2008: "In recent years, however, more and more casinos have opened up in Bucharest, one of the few cities in east-central Europe offering gambling opportunities" (Material 5, Governmental, Ministry for Tourism, RoNTO); "Many 18th and 19th Century palaces and mansions now house elegant beaux-arts casinos, where guests can play blackjack, poker, craps, roulette, baccarat and other games of chance, dine on sumptuous buffets and dance all night to live music" (Material 26, Tourism Industry, Romanian travel agents and tour operators); "There's a rash of casinos in Bucharest, which pander unashamedly to the pretensions of travelling businessmen and the city's nouveaux riches" (Material 57, Tourism Media, Travel guides).

Stag-nights and stag-weekends are a new development for the city, not mentioned in any government materials; however packages are being offered by UK based travel agencies. Bucharest is promoted as a new, up-and-coming destination – "Unlike other capitals, Bucharest hasn't been overly exposed to the mass surge of touring Stags" (Material 32, Tourism Industry, UK travel agents and tour operators); very cheap – "Nightclub entrance fees are cheap, ranging from nothing to £1" (Material 32, Tourism Industry, UK travel agents and tour operators), safe and friendly stag destination for the UK market - "Bucharest is an exciting city for a stag weekend abroad. The people in Romania are extremely friendly and embracing of our funny UK stag culture, which always makes fancy dress groups feel a lot more at ease" (Material 32, Tourism Industry, UK travel agents and tour operators). However, as one source does mention, Bucharest nightlife does not limit itself to 'safe partying', and the offer is more varied than that: "Bucharest has a bit of an unsavoury reputation for hardcore hedonism when it comes to escort services, erotic massage, strip clubs and the like" (Material 62, Tourism Media, Travel guides).

6.7 Dracula representation

Only 1 of 17 government materials mentions Dracula referring to him as: "Dracula, the romantic vampire, sometimes bloody, sometimes lonely and searching for love, who has haunted the world since his father, the Irishman Bram Stoker, created him in an 1897 novel" (Material 3, Governmental,

Ministry for Tourism, RoNTO). Although the brochure acknowledges the link to Vlad the Impaler, a clear distinction between fictional character and historical figure is made, the focus of the text is on the official attestation of the city by Vlad, as well as details about the ruler himself, who is described as "a hero of those time" (Material 3, Governmental, Ministry for Tourism, RoNTO) and a defender of Christianity. A detailed account of his reign is provided and references are made to the context in which he ruled and to other rulers of the time: "The Impaler reigned in the 15th century - the time when Henry VI was alive, and the English where fighting the War of the Roses, when Hungary was led by the Romanian King Matei Corvin, and when Mohamed the Second was frightening all of Christian Europe with his army" (Material 3, Governmental, Ministry for Tourism, RoNTO).

Industry and media materials however focus on Dracula tourism. UK based travel agencies and tour operators sell the city mostly as a Dracula package in conjunction to other places in Romania associated with the character such as Transylvania and Sighisoara, his birth city. Tours are also offered by Bucharest based companies and Dracula-themed venues are also on the rise. Industry materials go even further linking Dracula and Bucharest to vampires and Twilight emphasizing the wave of attention the theme of vampires has been receiving lately. Also, some sources poke fun at the character and its commercial exploitation: "In Bucharest, the vampire tourist visits the Count Dracula Club. Diners ring a chain bell and are ushered to dining rooms in the dungeon decorated with plastic heads of Turks and ancient torture instruments. The waitress bats her eyelids. Later, after flambéed blood-berry pudding, we spot Dracula at the bar - nursing what looks like a Bloody Mary" (Material 96, Tourism Media, Travel articles).

6.8 Modern, European, chaotic, contradictory representations

Another representation of Bucharest is that of a modern, European city. However, while general agreement exists that the city has gone through a complex process of change and has embraced Western standards of living, government materials focus on underlining similarities with other western European capitals, such as the international atmosphere and global brands,

while media materials focus on the differences, characterising Bucharest as an up-and-coming city destination, a place of opportunities, both exiting and confusing, mysterious and interesting, active and dynamic, a place of contradictions.

Government materials emphasize that Bucharest is "a true European metropolis" (Material 6, Governmental, Ministry for Tourism, RoNTO). This is achieved by stressing the city has all the elements and amenities found in any international city, such as for example global brand names, and that it meets Western standards of quality and service. This is valid both for the everyday life of locals as well as in terms of tourist offer and infrastructure. For example, Ministry for Tourism brochures present a long list of hotels (government sources 1 and 5) which includes all types of accommodation from 5 start hotels run by international chains such as Marriott and Intercontinental to economy hotels and boarding houses.

A point is made that Bucharest has all the conditions necessary for tourism which can be found in any other European city offering quality at international standards as well as options for a limited budget: "Bucharest's accommodation is extremely varied. From deluxe five star hotels offering conditions and services that can compete successfully with Western standards, to student hostels, Bucharest is the place where you can always find an invitation that suits both your pocket and your requirements" (Material 1, Governmental, Ministry for Tourism, RoNTO).

The international aspect is also emphasized in catering, a detailed list of restaurants serving international cuisine is provided - "a mosaic of restaurants that offer dishes from the most distant countries of the world" (Material 1, Governmental, Ministry for Tourism, RoNTO) such as Belgian, Brazilian, Chinese, French, German, Turkish, Hungarian, Indian, Italian, Lebanese and so on. This is valid also in terms of shopping, for example a list of "elegant malls with international brand names" (Material 1, Governmental, Ministry for Tourism, RoNTO) is provided and pictures of stores bearing the names of "Marks and Spencer" or "L'Oreal' are also included.

The modern atmosphere of the city is also emphasized in the large number of pictures showing glass buildings. Most of the buildings are bank headquarters and office buildings, such as the one below called Financial Plaza, the image most used throughout government, industry and media when talking about the modern element of the city (the text reads "The shiny Financial Plaza overlooking the Dambovita River").

Figure 6.4 Dambovita River and Financial Plaza
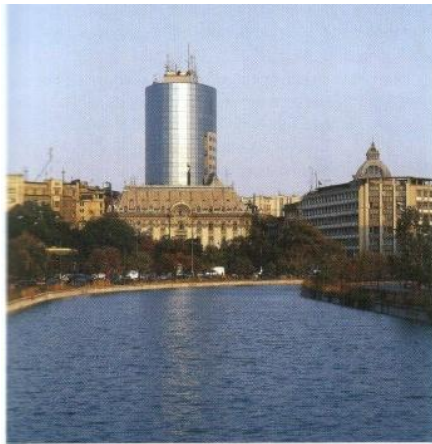
○ The shiny Financial Plaza overlooking the Dâmbovița River

(Source: Material 53, Tourism Media, Travel guides)

Most industry and media materials do not argue against this representation of Bucharest but do add other dimensions to it and media materials in particular focus on representing Bucharest as a modern, dynamic city with considerable potential for development but also chaotic and full of major social contradictions. The focus is on the many changes and transformations that have occurred during the last 20 years transitioning from communism to democracy. Comparisons are made to African and Asian cities that are currently going through similar stages of development: "Two decades after communism's collapse, Bucharest is still a work in progress, with parts looking more like an up-and-coming Asian city than the capital of a newly arrived EU state" (Material 69, Tourism Media, Travel articles). For example, references are made to the chaotic, busy streets of Cairo: "Bucharest: where Warsaw meets Cairo" (Material 51, Tourism Media, Travel guides), describing a city suffocated by traffic, pollution and noise: "the exhaust from an ever increasing number of cars pollutes the air. Faithful jalopies and top-end limousines jostle

for position at traffic lights, their drivers honking as they race along, scattering pedestrians in their path" (Material 59, Tourism Media, Travel guides), an image frequently seen in developing cities.

Attention is paid to the opportunities brought by this change, both for the city and its people - "a life-affirming place where anything is possible" (Material 51, Tourism Media, Travel guides), but also to its chaotic, uncontrolled and volatile nature which can make the city be seen as a place of contradictions: "Bucharest is a city of extremes and ironies" (Material 60, Tourism Media, Travel guides); "Imagine, if you will, a city where old women sell parsnips on street corners, and regularly get drenched by expensive-car driving tyros for their troubles. It is a city of extremes, but one which can at times appear to go out of its way to highlight those extremes" (Material 97, Tourism Media, Travel programmes). Decentralization and the change towards democracy brought great opportunities and wealth to some but also increased the gap between rich and poor.

As media sources point out, over the past two decades the city has known massive investments in the construction industry with modern office buildings, new housing units and new infrastructure underway including two new motorways linking the capital with the seaside and the mountain: "Bucharest is the hub of Romania's most dynamic changes. (…) Since the 1989 revolution, the capital city has acquired a gleaming financial plaza, and glass-and-chrome high-rise buildings are sprouting everywhere" (Material 59, Tourism Media, Travel guides). These 'dynamic changes' were also seen in business and employment with new firms entering the markets as well as international companies setting up offices in the city, while in terms of tourism this meant more and more new hotels, cafes, bars, restaurants, cinemas, and clubs open every year.

Nevertheless, as one media article (Material 69, Tourism Media, Travel articles) points out, the gap that exists between Bucharest and western European cities or even other eastern European cities is visible even after 20 years of transition and the city is still going through a complex process of change that can be felt both in the built environment and its citizens:

"Bucharest is still rehabilitating its crumbling facades, learning democracy and teaching its citizens how to smile" (Material 62, Tourism Media, Travel guides); "Conservationists and businesses have restored some of the capital's pretty town houses, but much remains to be done" (Material 59, Tourism Media, Travel guides). However, it is this very process of change and transformation that presents interests as one source calls it "a process that makes the city increasingly fascinating each year as it painstakingly labours to restore its former glory" (Material 62, Tourism Media, Travel guides).

Furthermore, according to media sources Bucharest is made attractive by the fact that it has not yet filled that 'gap' and is not as 'European' as Prague or Berlin or other East European cities but still keeps some of the atmospheres of pre-communism/Little Paris and communism alike, while at the same time adopting western elements: "the former communist outpost hasn't gone 'bling' like the Baltics (…) other cities of the former Eastern Bloc have edged west in character in the 18 years since communism's demise but Bucharest remains intriguingly close in spirit to Soviet Moscow, with a whiff of the Moulin Rouge" (Material 93, Tourism Media, Travel articles). "Still relatively undiscovered compared to its Eastern neighbours Prague, Budapest and Dubrovnik, (...) Romania's capital city has been off the city break radar for years and is often confused with its Eastern European neighbour" (Material 65, Tourism Media, Travel articles).

In spite of name confusion with Budapest, the city does not resemble its neighbours and still has novelty value. Furthermore, while some sources point out that Bucharest doesn't exactly have a positive image (for example media sources 54, 55, 56) and may not be as tourist friendly as other places in Europe, it is this very aspect that forms part of its appeal: "For of all Europe's capitals none keeps its charms as hidden as Bucharest. Cities around Europe have a habit of showing off what they do best. Bucharest eschews such nonsense. It's as though the city revels in its reputation as the kind of place you wouldn't even send your mother-in-law. And it is exactly this devil-may-care attitude that makes it so vital, so real. And it's why Bucharest is a city worth persevering with" (Material 97, Tourism Media, Travel programmes).

Furthermore, industry and media materials, while acknowledging the diversified tourist infrastructure and international brands, as well as the changing landscape of the city, also focus more on the local characteristics of the city such as fresh vegetable and fruit markets: "New shops open daily as the city continues down the road of reform, but at the same time retaining its endearing charm of simple daily living with its busy flea market and throngs of small street traders" (Material 30, Tourism Industry, UK travel agents and tour operators).

The energy of the city and the dynamic lifestyle are emphasised by media sources: "Few cities in Europe have the go-ahead, can-do attitude of Bucharest at the moment" (Material 97, Tourism Media, Travel programmes). Media materials emphasize Bucharest as being modern but 'different'. The argument is that while the modern lifestyle of the locals is now marked by fascination with global brands of clothes and cars, however underneath the lingering memories of the recent past are still present influencing their decisions and actions, and this forms the base of the city's dynamic feel and energy:

> "On the surface, Bucharest is just like any other European capital. The same brand names advertise themselves in bright lights from city-centre rooftops, the city's young population shamelessly flaunts its new-found attitude or wealth, and expensive cars park haphazardly on pavements with utter disregard for passers-by. Underneath, however, Bucharest is different. Even the bright young things zooming the city's streets on their trendy mopeds have vague recollections of the recent past, when queuing for basic foodstuffs was a day-to-day activity. The legacy of those days most visible in today's young Bucharest buck is the need to do everything instantly; why live for tomorrow? It is this that in many ways gives the city its dynamism" (Material 53, Tourism Media, Travel guides).

In conclusion, while government materials paint the picture of tourist friendly, modern, European, international, global city, media focuses on the energy and atmosphere of the place and its chaotic charming nature: "while the race is on today to modernize the city as quickly as possible, something of its chaotic

charm remains" (Material 59, Tourism Media, Travel guides). It is argued that the sense of mystery and unpredictability as well as the combination of modern and old makes the city interesting: "At times confusing and even exasperating, Romania's capital is never dull" (Material 59, Tourism Media, Travel guides); "Bucharest is vibrant yet depressed, sophisticated yet primitive, elegant yet haunted" (Material 78, Tourism Media, Travel articles).

6.9 Conclusions

The chapter presents findings resulting from textual and visual analysis of destination material. The purpose is to provide evidence for the first research question to identify the official Bucharest representations, and the issues associated with them, including any debates, agreements and contradictions. Findings reveal a number of key themes with different levels of importance and emphasis for each representation maker. Government produced material reflects aspects related to 'cultural Bucharest', 'Little Paris', 'religious city', 'green city', 'modern capital', 'cosmopolitan/multicultural city'. The focus is mainly on culture and the image of 'Little Paris'/inter-war Bucharest, a strong link being evident between the two especially in Ministry of Tourism materials. The representation of the city is that of a culturally rich, modern, European capital, with strong historical and cultural links to the West reflected in its Little Paris image which is still valid today.

Industry materials however focus on a more complex image of Bucharest where Little Paris is just one element, also on communist Bucharest, nightlife and stags, and Dracula. The representation is that of a city full of contrasts in terms of heritage, but which successfully combines different eras and cultures – medieval, Turkish, Russian, Jewish, French, communist, modern – within its boundaries. The focus of media materials is on communist Bucharest, entertainment and nightlife, Dracula, and the dynamism and many contradictions that characterise the city. Tourism media sources represent Bucharest as a dynamic, energetic city, developing, full of possibilities and opportunities, a place still going through a complex process of change, characterised by social contradictions. Agreements between producers are mostly in terms of culture, characterised by diversity. Disagreements are noted

especially in terms of Little Paris image. Differences of opinions are noted throughout most themes. After identifying and exploring the Bucharest representations, the next step is to understand them. For that, interviews at the destination have been carried out and their findings are presented in the next chapter.

Chapter 7. Evidence for research question 2: Why do these destination representations exist and what factors affect them?

7.1 Introduction

The purpose of this chapter is to provide evidence for the second research question by identifying and exploring the reasons behind the Bucharest destination representations as well as the factors affecting them according to views expressed by Bucharest tourism professionals. The chapter starts with observations on data and the profile of participants. This is followed by a discussion of the main debates flagged up by interviewees regarding Bucharest's main tourism representations. The chapter ends with a presentation of the factors affecting Bucharest tourism representations.

7.2 General observations on data and profile of participants

On a governmental level, Bucharest's organisation and function is characterised by many competing actors: Ministry for Tourism; Bucharest City Hall; Ministry for Culture; Sector/District City Halls; RATB/public transport. The main characteristic is individualized agendas and individual initiatives. Each organisation has its own agenda or 'yearly plan' and develops its own programmes. For example, development and promotional programmes such as: 'Urme' by the Association for Bucharest Museums' consisting of a project on literary tourism in Bucharest; religious tourism in outer Bucharest organised by RATB with support from the Ministry of Tourism.

As a result of uncoordinated efforts and individualised agendas, different organisations may be doing the same thing because they are not fully aware of each other, or disagree. For example, there are two information centres, one belonging to the public sector/City Hall that mainly has brochures about cultural events, and another that is a private initiative providing mostly information about accommodation and catering; or City Hall organizes events, and ArCuB also organizes events although they are sister organisations, but "each does its own thing" (Interviewee 3, Ministry of Tourism, Department for Tourism Development). Other characteristics of these programs are that they are generated by individual initiatives, usually started by one person or

institution, are limited in nature and impact, and supported by funding programmes from the European Union (Interviewee 12, Association for museums).

Table 7.1 Tabulation of participant details by producer category

	Producer type	**Number**
A.	**Tourism government**	**11**
a.	Ministry for Tourism	5
b.	Bucharest City Hall	4
c.	Ministry of Culture	2
B.	**Tourism Industry**	**25**
a.	Professional association	2
b.	Information centre	1
c.	Catering facility	4
d.	Travel agency	4
e.	Tour guide	3
f.	Accommodation facility	4
g.	Museum	5
h.	Entertainment provider	2
C.	**Tourism media**	**6**
a.	British travel writer (based in Bucharest)	1
b.	Local travel writer	5

Total	42

Table 7.1 organises interviewees by category. Interviewees are organised by category and sub-category similar to destination materials (stage 1): government, industry, and media. However, this separation is to aid the analysis. The line between public and private is blurry. Museums for example are under the supervision of the Ministry of Culture (not Tourism). They have autonomy and will produce their own representations of the city. They were included in the industry category here to clearly differentiate between those responsible for 'official' or governmental tourism representations, and those producing 'unofficial' tourism representations. Bucharest's urban regime can be described as chaotic, highly fragmented and uncoordinated.

The research suggested that the relationships between governmental institutions, as well as between private and public seem to be tension-driven, passing on responsibility and blaming each other. For example, the Ministry for Tourism saying Bucharest tourism is the responsibility of the City Hall, whilst City Hall blames the Ministry for excluding it from international promotional efforts (Interviewee 6, Bucharest City Hall, Department for Tourism). Further evidence is that although all types of governmental institutions identified earlier were approached for interview, most declined because they did not consider themselves responsible for Bucharest's tourism representation and suggested contacting the Ministry. In other words, would not confirm or recognise their role in the process of tourism representation.

Many participants discussed Bucharest and Romania interchangeably, especially when it came to negative aspects and the overall reasons affecting the representations such as politics or bad image - for example: "They have to be realistic in the way that they pitch the country, sorry, city." (Interviewee 37, Local travel writer). This suggests the issues they identify as being responsible for Bucharest's tourism representations can be generalised to some extent to Romania as well.

Last, this state of tension and lack of trust, or even habit of collaboration and association, was argued as responsible for the lack of partnerships and collaborations. Interviewee 12, for example, explained how putting together Bucharest's first association of museums was very difficult – "The Museum of Contemporary Art for example didn't even want to hear it. I suppose it is fear of associating yourself with something new, unusual in Romania. He simply wanted to do things on his own. (…) I struggled a lot to do something. It's practically impossible to get support or even an open mind and ear to hear you out." (Interviewee 12, Association for museums). Bucharest's chaotic, uncoordinated urban regime is another factor affecting the city's tourism representation. It must also be acknowledged that the same can be said about many capitals. Although for Bucharest the status of transitional economy might explain the chaos, it is nevertheless functional and not unique to transitional economies.

7.3 Results for sub-question 2.1: How do tourism professionals perceive Bucharest tourism representations and why do they think these representations exist?

As previously stated, in addition to identifying the deeper meanings and factors behind the Bucharest representations, interviews were designed as a validation method for the first stage of investigation. In other words, to confirm, or contradict, or potentially add new dimensions to the representations identified through content analysis of destination materials. Previous evidence suggests Bucharest has a very complex and convoluted tourism representation system. As identified in the previous chapter, there is not one but many representations, differently constructed by the different representation makers. Discussions with tourism professionals confirmed these findings but added new elements.

In addition, it must be stated that when asked how they thought Bucharest was being represented and why, all interviewees talked about the government's role When industry and media interviewees were asked about their focus on government, some explained that they thought representation and marketing was the government's business and admitted never having thought about the idea of getting involved or that they could get involved (for example

Interviewees 15, 17, 20, 21). However, one interviewee pointed out that at tourism consumer shows some attractions or travel agencies are invited but they have to contribute financially? (Interviewee 30). Some interviewees refused to talk about what "other people were doing 'bad' or 'good'" (Interviewee 32, Museum) and only wanted to talk about what they were doing. Others declared their indifference - "I don't know, their business!" (Interviewee 36, entertainment provider); or defended the official representation makers - "I don't know. They are doing what they think is right. Who am I to comment?" (Interviewee 33, Museum).

Interview findings narrowed down the representations identified by destination materials into 'official' or governmental, and 'unofficial'. The 'official' tourism representation is built on the following elements: cultural Bucharest, Little Paris, old Town Lipscani, and modern and European (mentioned in the responses of 39 of the 42 interviewees). For example: "Like a beautiful, sunny city, with amazing architecture, cultural and modern. (…) They are organising many events in Lipscani area, which is now the main tourist area for the city. Lots of festivals like the Timisoraeana bear sponsored festival with old costumes from the 1930s. (…) all very classic, Paris of the Balkan, culture and architecture." (Interviewee 17, Lipscani area catering facility). Others mentioned business tourism as a desired representation (Interviewees 1, 4, 6, 7, 13, 15, 26, 37).

While 'unofficial representations' referred to: different and off-the beaten track capital (Interviewees 23, 37, 39, 41, 42), communist heritage elements (mentioned in the responses of 15 interviewees); nightlife and stags (Interviewees 24, 35, 36, 37); multicultural-multiethnic Bucharest (Interviewees 30, 42); and events (Interviewees 6, 9, 35, 36); three interviewees also mentioned religious tourism (Interviewees 4, 20, 42). Very few participants had enough time to allow detailed discussion of each element of official and unofficial representations.

7.3.1 'Official' representations

One justification for the main official representation of Bucharest as city of culture, incorporating here Little Paris as well as old city centre heritage and

cultural events, is that it is a "safe" and "true" representation (Interviewees 6, 10, 41). A couple of government participants argued that culture is a product everybody can support: "It is a product we can easily sell. Everybody understands culture. (…) and nobody gets upset" (Interviewee 6, Bucharest City Hall, tourism development department). "I doubt anybody would argue Bucharest doesn't have culture." (Interviewee10, Ministry for Culture, Department for Culture and Cultural Heritage). This is directly linked with an argument made previously that Bucharest the urban tourism regime is conflicted? and in order to receive support a promotional programme has to be neutral and generate as little debate as possible (Interviewee 6, Bucharest City Hall, Tourism development department; Interviewee 38, Local travel writer). In addition, culture is seen as "an image building tool" and is recognisable to tourists (Interviewee6, city hall, tourism development department). Or in other words, government officials think culture is what tourists expect and that it attracts them to the city.

Some participants argued culture is used to underline Bucharest's place as "a major European capital" (Interviewee 37, Travel writer). One way of doing it is through major international cultural events such as Bucharest's Days and the Enescu Festival (as argued by Interviewees 1, 6, and 9). Interviewee 40 argues that Bucharest is experiencing a cultural rebirth, being free of communist censorship and enjoying freedom of speech and expression: "We are no longer under the influence of the communist regime and censorship. (…) we are having a period of cultural rebirth." (Interviewee 40, Travel writer). Another way is through the historical and cultural link with Paris – or the Little Paris image and representation. Two interviewees pointed out a degree of nostalgia for "better times" is involved (Interviewees 6, city hall, department for tourism development); "Yes, nostalgia for a great period in this city's life." (Interviewee 40, Travel writer). But also a wish to disassociate Bucharest and communism in the minds of tourists: "(…) freeing ourselves from the communist image" (Interviewee 40, Travel writer).

A number of interviewees oppose the official city representations by arguing they are superficial, unrealistic and creating false expectations (Interviewees

37, 39, 42). For example: "The people who are presenting Bucharest's and Romania's image abroad, they want it to sound as though it's the greatest city on Earth – 'You have to come to Bucharest because it's the most fantastic city on earth!' which is clearly not true because it isn't. (…) You know people will come here because there are things to do. You show them there are things to do, things to see and they will come. But don't tell them they will see the most gorgeous city in Europe. And that's where the whole Little Paris comes in. I think they need to steer away from the Little Paris because otherwise you are going to create and represent it as an architectural feast which it clearly isn't unless…it is a city that is different." (Interviewee 37, Travel writer).

This argument is particularly relevant as one topic discussed by a number of interviewees was the loss of heritage. This appears to be closely linked with modernisation. The issue was flagged up by representatives from the Ministry of Culture. They are in charge of preservation and conservation of public and private buildings of heritage value. Both interviewees argued that many investors buy buildings listed under heritage and protected by law and abandon them until they become public hazard and need to be demolished (for example, Interviewees 10 and 11). As a result, the city's landscape is changing rapidly. Powered by economic development but pressured by lack of available land and high prices, developers seem to care very little about the age of a building or its historic value. Their place is taken by new office buildings made of steel and glass or new modern houses, then sold at high prices to 'the new rich' as one interviewee says: "This is a rich city. Always been. It's the capital. (…) It is where the wealth is. (…) The new rich build their palaces on the outskirts of Bucharest and glass skyscrapers pop up in the centre." (Interviewee 25, Tour guide)

The fall of communism led to opportunities opening up for entrepreneurial individuals who invested in property; under communism people were limited to having only one house and any new building was done by the state (Interviewee 25). While some argued that it is, nevertheless, a city characteristic and mainly because of lack of education in the conservation spirit: "Lack of education. Yes, and we weren't educated in that spirit. We

were educated in a city of constant demolition and reconstruction. I think it's normal. It makes sense for our culture. Or lack of it!" (Interviewee 42, Travel writer).

One interviewee pointed out that the modernisation of the city took place at the expense of Bucharest's tourist appeal and attractions (Interviewee 23, Local tour guide). Others saw it in positive light arguing it is progress (for example Interviewee 20 and 28). Interviewee17 (Lipscani area catering facility) had a similar point of view, arguing that there should be a balance but Bucharest moved too fast into capitalism: "We didn't know what capitalism meant. (…) The city developed. That's not a bad thing. There should have been a balance but I don't think it is a bad thing we are modernising and have skyscrapers like in New York."

However, one interviewee pointed out when discussing the issue of communist heritage that heritage loss seems to be a broader phenomenon. Interviewee41 suggested there is a form of 'modernisation fever': "It's not like we are losing our communist heritage, it is like we are losing all our heritage. Everything is being modernised, inside and out. (…) So, no I'm not surprised they don't want communist buildings anymore. The rehabilitation programme of communist tower blocks is another example. (…) But first they renovated inside, taking down walls, because it is more Western to have the kitchen and living room as one room. More space, yes, but these are two room apartments most often, somebody lives in that kitchen slash living room slash bedroom." (Interviewee 41, Local travel writer).

One interviewee pointed to modernisation as necessary and a sign of a city in search of its style (Interviewee 18, Lipscani area catering facility). In addition, the process of modernisation is influenced by the myth that the West is much better and needs to be copied (Interviewee 41). Lipscani is Bucharest's main tourist area that has known intensive modernisation of old heritage. Not everybody likes this. Some argue that it is becoming over-commercialised and losing its original charm; and there are too many cafes that don't respect the original architecture of the buildings. While others argue it looks fake and has lost its charming slightly rundown personality (Interviewee 41).

Another issue raised is the place of communist heritage in Bucharest tourism. Interviewee 41 pointed out that even communist heritage is being modernised. This related to a deeper issue of rejection of the idea that communist buildings are heritage in the first place (Interviewee 18). Nevertheless, some consider communist heritage an attraction, as an alternative representation for the city.

In conclusion, there seems to be a contradiction between the official representations of Bucharest as a city of culture, both in terms of heritage and events, and the neglect and loss of valuable historical buildings - not just from the Little Paris or inter-war period, but also communist heritage – and the current obsession with modernisation. In addition, Interviewee 42 spoke about the weak identity of the city, acknowledging the city is very much trying to rediscover itself and recapture or reinvent itself, therefore, the choices of what to represent are a bit chaotic: "I don't think we know what we want, I don't think we know who we are." Bucharest's and Romania's confused identity or identity crisis is argued by other interviewees as well: "We are confronting ourselves with an identity crisis, both on a national and city level" (Interviewee 38, Local travel writer), or as Interviewee 40 argues "a search for the identity" (Interviewee 40, Local travel writer).

7.3.2 'Unofficial' representations

One industry participant justified his representation of Bucharest for tourism with the phrase "whatever sells", including erotic massages (Interviewee 14, private tourist information centre). In addition, governmental participants want to represent Bucharest as 'a great city' and a cultural centre, while some industry and media interviewees focus on 'different' (for example, Interviewees 23, 37, 39, 41, 42), where 'different' has varied meanings. One interviewee described it as "a chaotic pit of chaos but it's fun" (Interviewee 23, tour guide); while another spoke of the elements that separates it from the West in terms of atmosphere, people, and traditions (Interviewee 39, local travel writer).

One justification for 'different' is related to the types of tourists being attracted to the city: "Bucharest has a lot going for it. Even more if it was sold to the right people in the right way. Exactly to this people, the curious traveller who

wants to go to a place a little bit different." (Interviewee 37, Local travel writer). Therefore, as Interviewee 37 argues the city is not a mass tourism destination or a classic weekend break destination, or even a family destination as Interviewee 42 argues. Another reason is the desired image of the city by government: "You know that could be the city slogan 'Bucharest, it's a bit different!' but again it comes back to the image the city wants to portray for itself. They would never ever even consider marketing it that way – 'Bucharest, it's a bit different!'. They wouldn't. They don't want to be a bit different, they don't want to be seen as a little bit different, they want to be seen as great." (Interviewee 37, Local travel writer). Therefore, as Interviewee37 argues, the desire to be like everywhere else, to be like the rest of Europe, to fit in, to not be different, by government officials is on purpose. This links back in with communism and communist heritage as Bucharest was different for a very long time.

In addition, one local travel writer (Interviewee 38) argued the specificity of communism in Bucharest and its legacy makes Bucharest stand out, it is a distinctive representation of the city. Interviewee 40 spoke about disassociating Bucharest from its communist past as it is perceived to be a threat to the desired image of the city; while Interviewee 42 argued that communist heritage is already being represented however it is the wrong heritage: "Of course it sells tickets. Nobody comes to the House of the People to see chandeliers, they come for communism. But, that is not where communism is. Communism is in the old prisons (…) there is a chain of communist prisons around Bucharest, now in a poor, derelict state. The old temples of hunger turned malls. The working man's districts. That's where communism used to be, not in that palace. It is a manipulation of communism, glorification of it. It is not what communism was." (Interviewee 42, Local travel writer). Therefore, it is being suggested only a certain part of communism and communist heritage is represented, the appealing side, the bright side and not the dark side.

7.4 Results for sub-question 2.2: What factors influence Bucharest tourism representations according to tourism professionals?

In addition to the issues discussed above, interviewees discussed common macro-factors. The factors can be classified in three main categories: transition, politics and change; negative image, and as one interviewee calls it, the 'wild-wild East' factor.

7.4.1 Transition, 'change' and politics

One set of factors is mostly concerned with social and political issues. First of all, a number of interviewees argued the highly politicised nature of the system characterised by frequent government changes brought on by political instability; constant change of institutions and highly volatile structures; frequent restructuring (people get moved around, or institutions change names and functions or objectives). Another issues is the constantly changing tourism priorities, both in terms of the place of Bucharest in the overall strategy for Romanian tourism, and in terms of what to officially promote for Bucharest (especially under the new minister for tourism, went from weekend tourism to spa tourism and now nobody can say). And also the stop and go systems – structures work now, but stop their activities at the first sign of political or financial trouble (for example Interviewees 3, 19, 38, 40). Interviewee 3 (Ministry of Tourism, Department for Tourism Development), stressed that "everything in Romania ends up being affected by politics and political wills" and a new government or new leadership leads to new tourism direction and focus. In addition, scandals such as the 2009 Ministry for Tourism funds embezzlement, or the 2010 new brand logo plagiarism, are quite frequent and "turn into a media circus" (Interviewee37, local travel writer).

Imposed conditions for a loan from the International Monetary Fund (IMF) to cut down numbers in public sector, and reduce wages in public sector by 25% as a result of the economic crises implemented in 2009-2010, meant job instability and "fear for tomorrow" (Interviewee 3, Ministry of Tourism, Department for Tourism Development). The economic crisis is leading to chaos in society, in addition to negative impacts of economical crisis such as slow business, going from 'boom to gloom', and taxes increase (Interviewees

13, 15, 17, 26). A number of interviewees expressed negativity on how Romania is doing now referring to political and social crisis, for example strong references to a social crisis (medicine, education) and a lack of faith that the current government can help Romania recover from the crisis (Interviewees 12, 39). Romania and Bucharest are perceived as difficult places to live in; for example, one interviewee argued he does not wish for his children (Interviewee 12, Association for museums); while another argued that his relationship with the capital has more downs than ups (Interviewee 37, Local travel writer).

7.4.2 Negative image awareness

A number of interviewees stressed Bucharest's and Romania's negative image as a major factor affecting tourism representations (for example Interviewees 1, 2, 3, 4, 5, 6, 13, 22, 26, 29, 34, 40). Most of the participants raising these issues talk about stereotypical images such as gypsy, orphans, beggars, taxi scams, political scandals, or "the wardrobe of the" now "former minister of tourism" (Interviewee 40, Local travel writer). Governmental interviewees paid particular attention to this issue arguing that it is making life hard for them having to try change a strong negative image. For example, one interviewee stressed "it is impossible to explain to my colleagues at exhibitions that we are not like that" (Interviewee 9, Bucharest City Hall tourism representative). Nevertheless, one interviewee stressed the negative image was part of the appeal of the city as it created negative expectations that would "definitely be changed once they got here" (Interviewee 42, local travel writer).

Nevertheless, novelty value and slow positive change, together with what an interviewee called the "wild-wild-East" factor (Interviewee 18, Lipscani area catering facility) make the destination appealing for investments. To a degree this affects tourism representations because it helps generate interest. It is characterised by lack of control or the ability "to do as you please" (Interviewee 42, Local travel writer), and therefore encourage opportunists. Nevertheless, the city is perceived as a good investment opportunity, especially when people can apply for EU funding (as argued by Interviewees 1, 5, 13, 17,

26, 39). For example, one interviewee (Interviewee 17, Lipscani area catering facility) talked about business opportunities on Victoriei Boulevard, "the most important boulevard", as it has many of the Bucharest attractions (near Lipscani) and museums, art deco buildings, it is associated with Little Paris image, and considered the most important historically relevant high street.

7.5 Conclusions

The purpose of this chapter has been to answer the second research question: Why do these destination representations exist and what factors are affecting them? Interviews with tourism professionals at the destination confirmed the findings of textual and visual data analysis by identifying the same city tourism representations (although fewer in number and less rich in nuances). Furthermore, the tourism representations were narrowed into two categories – official and unofficial – and the main reasons and issues surrounding each of them were discussed, as well as broader reasons affecting both categories. In addition, evidence shows it is commonly known that the government is considered responsible for representing Bucharest for tourism.

As identified in the previous chapter and confirmed here, the government representation of the city for tourism is built around the notion of culture: events, heritage, Little Paris, old Bucharest. Amongst the reasons why are: first, it is a safe representation, undisputed by other destination stakeholders, and recognisable by tourists and potential tourists; and second because it constitutes a reaffirmation of belonging to Europe, of being same as other European capital cities. A paradox has been identified while talking to professionals. On the one hand the focus is on culture, on the other culture is being destroyed. This refers to the obsession with modernisation sweeping the capital and country for some time now; where all types of heritage, from old buildings of historical value, to communist tower blocks, are all being modernised and their appearance changed. This, coupled with the opinion of an interviewee about the city's lack of a clear identity, help argue the city is still undergoing a complex process of transition and change, as well as self-image and identity search.

Unofficial representations such as 'different' or 'communist capital' are justified by debates over communist heritage; and the desired image of the city and the official wish to ignore anything that does not fit into their agenda. A contradiction exists between the official desired representation and the needs and wants of tourists: while industry and media professionals argue that tourists look for distinctiveness and original elements, including communist heritage; the government wants to 'fit in', to project itself as a European capital - no longer different, no longer communist, but European.

The existence of these tourism representations is influenced by a set of complex factors. Bucharest tourism is complex, chaotic and highly politicised. Constant political scandals and changes at government level lead to instability and fear of job loss. A characteristic of changing ministers for example is personnel change at almost every level. In addition, the negative image of Bucharest and Romania make it difficult to market the city and any tourism representation has to battle those negative stereotypical images. And thirdly, on a more 'positive' note, the presence of chaos means the presence of opportunity and opportunists. There is great room for investments and control is low.

Bucharest tourism representations are characterised by contradictions and paradoxes: rich in culture but slowly losing it; a strong 'official' desire to be like everyone else and fit into the European family; however, political instability also means that everything is temporary; and social tensions are on the rise. These are the main factors affecting both official and unofficial city tourism representations coming out of the semi-structured in-depth interviews with tourism professionals at the destination.

Chapter 8. Evidence for research question 3: To what extent do tourist textual and visual materials reflect destination tourism representations?

8.1 Introduction

The third stage of research attempts to identify how tourists perceive and interpret the city and its tourism destination representations through their unsolicited testimonies. As previously argued, blogs are becoming important sources of information for potential tourists when researching a destination. In addition to understanding how the destination is represented through destination material (research question one) and why (research question two), it is also of value to understand how visitors themselves understand and represent the city after visitation. This chapter presents findings on the tourist experience and the influence of destination materials on it; and the relationship between tourist images and destination tourism representations.

8.2 General observations on data and profile of participants

Chapter 5 on methodology mentioned a total of 54 blogs were collected from 8 different websites using a standardized data collection form. Before proceeding to the analysis, a number of observations need to be made. First of all, in terms of blog content, some blogs read like a diary, even containing personal comments about the traveller, friends and family. Others read like a play, containing bits of dialogue meant to capture interactions between themselves and other people, either locals, staff in restaurants or hotels, or other travellers. And some read like professional travel articles adopting a style similar to travel magazines or guidebooks even. A few adopt a rather telegraphic tone with short sentences while others take the form of a story.

Only UK bloggers were targeted. Table 8.1 summarises the participant details. The majority were located in England - a total of 41, with 15 in London; 3 live in Scotland and 1 in Wales. The majority of visits took place in 2009 (16 blogs) and 2010 (12 blogs). The majority of bloggers visited Romania from 2007 after the European Union integration; however none of the blogs even mentions the 2007 EU integration. Most visits took place during spring and

summer, especially April, July, and August. In addition, when gathering the data it was also possible to see if the trip to Bucharest was part of a tour or not. This revealed that a popular choice was including Bucharest and Romania in a tour of Eastern European countries and capitals.

Table 8.1 Tabulation of bloggers details

	Category	Results
1	Websites	Total: 54 blogs, 8 websites in total o 4 blogs have the same information on two websites 1. VirtualTourist.com: 15 2. TravelPod.com: 24 3. TravBuddy.com: 7 (plus 2 who are repeated in other websites) 4. Wonderlust.co.uk: 4 5. RealTravel.com: 2 6. TravelCiao.co.uk: 2 7. Epinions.com : 1 (repeated information, this was collected through another website) 8. TravelBlog.org: 1 (repeated information, this was collected through another website)
2	Location	1. England: 42 o London: 17 2. Unknown: 9 3. Wales: 2 4. Scotland: 1

3	Time of visit	1. 2009: 17
		2. 2010: 11
		3. 2008: 10
		4. 2007: 6
		5. 2006: 4
		6. 2005: 2
		7. 2002: 2
		8. 2003: 1
		9. 2001: 1

8.3 Results for sub-question 3.1: To what extent and how do destination representations influence tourist experiences?

A strong influence of destination materials is clearly visible within the blogs. Bloggers frequently refer to their sources of information, mostly guidebooks and other travellers, and comment on them. For example: "Day 3: Walk to Peasant Museum, like (...) Good but not as great as guidebook makes out" (Blogger 43). The blogs are not always factually accurate. For example, one blogger writes: "Walk to Peasant Museum, like. Ethnographic museums of Bulgaria and other CEE countries" (Blogger 43), however the Peasant Museum is in no way linked with Bulgaria or CEE (based on official website for the museum). It is evident that bloggers expressed information freely however little evidence of fact checking is apparent.

In terms of overall tourist experience, most tourists declared they had a positive experience in Bucharest – "A very different experience, cheap prices, glorious history" (Blogger 16). However, some had very negative experiences, like for example: "Leaving the main station, Gara de Nord, I was immediately confronted by a dead dog recumbent in the gutter. Judging by its state of decomposition, it had been there for some days and, although this was a major

thoroughfare in the city centre, nobody had bothered to remove it. Can't imagine this happening in Budapest, I thought. Canine corpse apart, my initial impressions were of dust, dirt, choking petrol fumes and crumbling pavements and buildings. I had to remind myself that this was the capital city of a European country" (Blogger 19). The main problems tourists experienced were "Stray dogs, ugly buildings, taxis, tourist traps, pollution, rudeness" (Blogger 12); "we walked up the whole of the boulevard with its electronic advertising boards with flashing glowing lights which lined the road and overlooked the boulevard, with its heavy traffic, stray dogs and dog poo laying on the pavements" (Blogger 20).

Blogs focused a great deal on safety, lack of atmosphere, and attractions. First, safety was a major issue addressed in almost all blogs. Most bloggers emphasized they felt safe in Bucharest – "We found Bucharest to be a safe and friendly city on the whole. We never felt threatened or unsafe at any time of day or night, we didn't experience any real hassle from touts, beggars or scammers and we barely even noticed the stray dogs" (Blogger 5); "I'm happy to report that I only ever saw a couple of stray dogs together and they didn't particularly look the savaging kind, the taxis to and from the airport were some of the cheapest I've been in and the Mrs didn't get hissed or honked at all (I think she was slightly disappointed)" (Blogger 19).

Some blogs point out that although Bucharest has its positive aspects, caution is advised at all times – "Bucharest (Paris of the east) can be a wonderful place to visit with many tourist attractions incorporating history with modern day life, just be careful, cautious and safe" (Blogger 16).

A number of tourists had issues with taxi drivers. For example, "Not knowing anything about Bucharest, where we were, or indeed what we wanted to achieve in this day, we got confused very soon and started arguing about which way we wanted to go. In the end we got into a taxi, after much hassling and haggling: "Ok, but on the meter" "Ce? (what)" "Meter" "O Meter, Nu merge (Not working)" "Ok we'll go somewhere else" "Nu mergeti acolo, sunt tiganele, Problem!! (Don't go there, there are problems with the gypsies)"

"We'll brave it" "Ok Aparat – meter" "Ok" and we got in the car, with a feeling of dread. True enough, we got shafted – ripped off, for those of you that don't get the slang" (Blogger 44).

Second, an issue discussed by a number of bloggers is Bucharest's lack of atmosphere and boring feel to the city: "Overall I thought Bucharest was a bit tatty, a bit frayed round the edges. The buildings in the city centre were a mix of old and new with the obligatory smattering of communist apartment blocks – lots of building work going on as well but the kind that looks as if it will still be going on in a year's time and not much further forward. The centre also lacked any kind of buzz or atmosphere even though it was the May Day holiday (we were in Kiev over the same period last year where the streets were crowded with people enjoying live music, fairground stalls etc). I think Bucharest suffers in the respect that there is no natural centre just a series of squares that in reality are more traffic intersections and car parks than natural focal points" (Blogger 18), "the city seeming eerily quiet as we wandered the streets and the stark post-Communist architecture" (Blogger 21).

A few blogs commented on the unfriendliness of the locals that contributed to the feeling of not being wanted that some bloggers expressed having: "sullen, unfriendly and sometimes downright scary Bucharestians (…) Romanians are, I'm afraid, often not the friendliest bunch. Don't take it personally, it's not just cos you're a tourist, they're like that with each other, too. Eastern Europe is just not a polite place. (...) Romanians yell a lot to intimidate you" (Blogger 1).

In terms of sights and attractions, all bloggers discussed the Parliament Palace. Some declared they were impressed by the building while others less so – "The second biggest building in the world, it can be seen from the moon, which we walked around for an hour, and were not impressed" (Blogger 44). The association made by all bloggers was with the communist past and a few commented on the fact-driven tour and the demolition of the historic city to make room for the building: "Now, it's such a big thing in Bucharest that you really do have to see it. And the interiors are incredible. But bear in mind that you have to go round in a tour, and what you will be told are things along the

lines of, "These curtains are 16 feet high and are made of real Romanian silk produced by real Romanian silk worms!" Yep, the people who work here are all about the national pride, never mind the fact that 70,000 people were made homeless in the construction of this largely pointless building. So pay your 15lei (a lot of money in Bucharest), observe quietly the ostentation and refrain from asking how many schools and monasteries were wiped out for it. Oh, and don't use the toilets" (Blogger 1)

The other attraction mentioned by most bloggers was the Old Town Lipscani - "After a couple of beers and some good chatting we headed out to the Old Town/Historic Quarter once again, this ramshackled area which is currently being rejuvenated comes alive at night with bars and restaurants. We sat in a bar next to the main street and all watched Romania's *beautiful ones* walk past!" (Blogger 25), **"**We walked up the Bulevardul Unirii to the Piata Unirii, a square of fountains, then into the unknown. We found a dug-up area of town, in the center, makeshift pylons supporting rickety boardwalks, meandering off between shabby cafes and cheap shops. It had its magic so we chilled out for two hours, drinking a cola each" (Blogger 44).

In terms of accommodation, most bloggers declared they had a good experience, a few discussed issues related to lack of internet and somewhat unfriendly staff: "The staff – you must work very hard, but if you do, you will be rewarded. They can be so lovely and helpful. They can also be spectacularly rude. So if they are rude, keep smiling and be patient. This is a good rule for Romania, actually" (Blogger 1).

Similarly, for catering, most bloggers declared they were happy with the experience in spite of the shabby aspect of the city: "We ate in some recently established, smart and stylish restaurants which would do well in London, but at a third of what you'd pay in London. Cars covered in dust and grime lined the streets. We found one gorgeous traditional Romanian restaurant that signified just how far Bucharest has come" (Blogger 21).

8.4 Results for sub-question 3.2: To what extent do tourist images reflect destination representations?

Analysis of blogs started out by first looking at the title and opening of each blog. This revealed a number of themes and issues that were then confirmed by the analysis of blog contents. For example, an analysis of blog titles reveals that while 29 bloggers adopted a neutral name for the blog by simply calling it 'Bucharest', the other 25 chose titles that adopted a positive, negative or mixed tone, reflecting their images, motivations, experiences of the city, and to some extent summarising the content and tone of the blog. 'Tone', refers both to words chosen and phrasing of sentences to convey meaning.

Some bloggers adopted a clear negative tone to introduce their blog: "Not a great introduction to Romania!" (Blogger 26); "Bucharest what a let down" (Blogger 29); "It Niiiice.........Not!" (Blogger 32). Others chose to point out negative aspects of the city in their titles such as rude people, dirty streets, problematic taxis and stray dogs: "Bucharest and dodgy tracksuits" (Blogger 43); "Dirt and dust and no rest in Bucharest" (Blogger44); "It is mandatory all times to keep clean! Bikini-clad government ministers and how to get buggered in a taxi" (Blogger 48); "The city of 200,000 stray dogs" (Blogger 51). In addition, a number of titles made direct references to Bucharest's negative reputation: "Fellow travellers told me it was ugly and they were not wrong" (Blogger 53), "Bucharest: Some time in the Unloved City (Blogger 46); "Bucharest, One of Europe's Dodgiest Cities!" (Blogger 1). Others, however, defended the city arguing that although 'dodgy', it did not in fact deserve the bad press it was getting: "Bucharest, Romania – It doesn't quite deserve the bad press it gets!" (Blogger 53); "Bucharest: More interesting than the guidebook" (Blogger 9).

A few bloggers choose titles with a clear positive tone: "Big, beautiful Bucharesti" (Blogger 2); "Wow, what a great place" (Blogger 7); "An interesting city" (Blogger 3); "An interesting stay!" (Blogger 13); "Bucharest – don't overlook it!" (Blogger 17). Some, however, reflected an undecided tone:

"At second sight..." (Blogger 40); "Hmm..." (Blogger 50); or could be categorised as in-between: "The good, the bad and the ugly" (Blogger 45).

Some blog titles reflected deeper issues related to visitor motivations. Interest in mixed heritage and fascination with history, especially the 1989 revolution and communism was particularly evident: "A mixture of styles and wires" (Blogger 10); "The least affluent of the former Warsaw Pact countries" (Blogger 19); "Taxi drivers and Turks. Retracing the Revolution like a story with dialogue" (Blogger 35); "Going back in time" (Blogger 47); "A vital travel experience for all you Roam-maniacs" (Blogger 36).

In conclusion, references to Bucharest's negative reputation and image, but also the appeal of the city in terms of history and mixed heritage, dominate the blog titles. In addition, the majority of bloggers start out by discussing their perceptions of Bucharest, mostly focusing on the negative images projected by different sources of information, while others simply start telling the story of their experiences from the moment they arrived.

8.4.1 Stereotypical images

A number of bloggers point out Bucharest is not a popular or liked city: "poor old Bucharest. Not treated kindly by the 20th Century and not much loved by Romanians; many of its residents and certainly not by travellers today (...) It's a hard city to assess" (Blogger 46). This is directly linked with the negative image of the city which will be discussed in the next section. Some bloggers find explanations for this in its historical background and the troubled events that marked its evolution: "Broken down at a historical crossroads with all the financial life siphoned out of its rusted petrol tank ever since the Romanian Revolution in 1989 (and long through the Eighties already), it's only just getting the jump-start it needs to head in one direction or the other" (Blogger 46). In terms of sources of information used, most bloggers mentioned 'Bucharest In Your Pocket' guide.

The defensive tone present in some of the titles is also seen in the contents of blogs when describing the city especially when discussing negative aspects - some bloggers immediately after mentioning a negative aspect, mention a

positive one. Like, for example, lack of physical appeal but some nice interesting architecture, lots of traffic but nice parks, cheap: "It's not always a pretty city – I'd say that concrete is a dominant theme – but there are some stunning buildings if you look around. There are downsides; it's very busy and the traffic fumes are horrible in summer. However, there are lots of parks in which to escape the hustle of bustle and some lovely pavement cafes in the Lipscani area's pedestrianised streets. Another plus is that, for a capital city, it's still reasonably cheap although you can spends lots if you really want to be lavish" (Blogger 17), "Weaknesses: Dodgy pavements; Quite a lot of drab, communist style buildings; Stray dogs; The sights are a bit spread out. Strengths: Cheap; Beautiful women everywhere; The people are proud of their heritage; Lots to see; Lots of grand buildings; Safer than you think." (Blogger 53).

A couple of bloggers chose to differentiate themselves by picking up on less common issues: "If they call America the land of opportunity, then Romania is the land where you have freedom to do anything you damn well want. Especially Bucharest" (Blogger 44), "They drink a lot it seems in Romania. Anyway, not a very nice city, a bit "third world" looking you could put it, but the people in between the concrete and rust were very nice (if a bit drunk)" (Blogger 24).

The issue discussed by a number of bloggers is Bucharest's negative image and reputation as a result of unfavourable sources of information. Therefore, some bloggers argued that the information sources consulted prior to visit depicted Bucharest in a negative light. In the bloggers own words, the negative images of the city were the result of: bad press in Britain, such as the scandal about orphans in the 1990s – "Bucharest has some negative press in the UK" (Blogger 14), "certainly, television documentaries showing children living in underground stations and openly sniffing glue on the streets cannot have done anything positive for the city's image" (Blogger 17); unflattering guidebooks – "The guide books and websites that I used for research weren't very encouraging" (Blogger18); and other travellers – "I'd heard bad things about Bucharest" (Blogger 52), "had spoken with quite a few people in the hostels

and nobody really had a good word to say about Bucharest" (Blogger 53). The issues travellers referred to were mostly related to safety. According to travellers, their sources of information warned about stray dogs, gypsy thieves, taxi scams – "packs of dogs roam the streets and had actually killed a Japanese businessman, women are routinely 'honked and hissed' at and getting into a taxi was an absolute lottery as unlicensed mafia painted their vehicles to look like official ones" (Blogger 18); "roving gangs of gypsy children waiting for the chance to rob unsuspecting tourists. Finally there were the wild dogs which hospitalised eight people a day! Packs patrolled the streets relishing the prospect of sinking their rabid chops into legs and buttock" (Blogger 53). The second issue some sources warned about was the lack of attractions other than communist heritage – "there was nothing to see apart from Communist era concrete" (Blogger 52), "They said that the only thing that was worth seeing was the President's Palace" (Blogger 53).

In other words, the city is depicted as a dangerous place with no particular appeal. This constitutes an interesting issue as it gives insight into how tourists perceive and interpret the information given by both induced and organic sources of information. It is evident negative aspects are more likely to be memorised and retransmitted, as none of the blogs pointed out anything positive they had read or heard from any of the information sources used. Some bloggers went as far as quoting their guidebooks in order to reinforce their argument the city was being depicted in a negative light: "Our guidebook to Bucharest was the most downbeat guidebook I have ever seen. It said 'even its fiercest advocate would readily admit that when taken at face value Bucharest is Europe's most unappealing capital' and that 'you probably aren't coming for the sights" (Blogger 9); "We also entertained ourselves by reading our pocket guide to Romania for the first time. This is what it had to say about Bucharest: "...until Brasov – in so many ways the centre of Romania – gets itself an international airport, it is almost certain that you'll arrive in Bucharest. This is unfortunate because you should be under no illusions about the capital's attractions: it is a dirty, noisy, often overwhelming city whose charms are not obvious..." (Blogger 27).

After pointing out the negative image they had prior to visitation as a result of exposure to different sources of information, most bloggers are quick to argue against this image and defend the city underlining that it is not as bad as 'advertised' and there is a lot to see and do, and even that the guidebooks were not to be trusted – "I think this is most unfair as there is plenty to see in Bucharest (…) In a nutshell, don't believe the guide book" (Blogger 9); or that the city was entertaining and enjoyable in spite of the negative things being said about it – "I only spent a couple of days in Bucharest, as everyone I had met who had been through the city had been quite uncomplimentary about it. I personally didn't think it was too bad, and definitely prefer it to Sofia" (Blogger 26). Even bloggers that experienced negative aspects of the city were quick to defend it pointing out that the guidebook over dramatized the situation: "Saw some glue sniffing gypsy kids by station – thought they were an over-exaggeration by LP guide" (Blogger 43).

Some bloggers commented on their expectations based on the negative images being portrayed. While for some, this created stress – "So it was with a degree of trepidation that I landed at Bucharest Baneasa Airport" (Blogger 18), "only stayed here overnight, mostly due to all the warnings I have had about Bucharest" (Blogger 50), "Have an awkward feeling about this trip. Maybe because there have been so many negative posts about Bucharest on here. Having done a bit of research though I think there will be a few good things to see" (Blogger 45); or lead to low expectations – "Expectations were relatively low due to all the pessimism surrounding Bucharest" (Blogger 25); it also surprised bloggers: "Once again, I was struck by how much better Bucharest seemed to be in the flesh as opposed to in the print" (Blogger 53); "Found plenty to entertain ourselves here and, in truth, surprised how much we enjoyed our stay here" (Blogger 14). In addition, it is evident this negative image presents appeal to some bloggers as they wish to find out for themselves if it is true: "I was excited to be heading out and looking forward to making my own judgements regarding the city" (Blogger 25). One blogger agreed with the guidebooks however argued that in spite of that the city is fascinating: "As all the guidebooks suggest, things are pretty run down in Bucharest, and it's pretty

miserable and dodgy. Stray dogs abound. But I can't help but be totally fascinated by it, hence my returning here after my brief taster last summer" (Blogger 43).

Furthermore, some bloggers argue the city improves on multiple visits – "Up until recently I was tour leading around Eastern Europe, and Bucharest was one of the cities I had the joy of visiting frequently and fielding the most negative comments of the tour about it. But in Bucharest's defence, even though I too hated it on my first visit, it got better and better with each subsequent visit. And the main reason for this was that I began to discover little things about Bucharest that made me... well, fond of it. So I genuinely want others to go there and discover a good side to it too, and hopefully, together, we'll (…) change its reputation" (Blogger 1); "After visiting Romania six times I have picked up some survival tips along the way. I hope this advice helps anyone planning to travel to Bucharest (Romania)? After the initial shock (...) I started to discover some of the city's best kept secrets. These secrets have made my time here surprising, enjoyable, and unforgettable" (Blogger 16). The idea that both bloggers emphasize is discovering what makes Bucharest different. This is linked with the next theme regarding Bucharest's appeal which will be discussed next.

8.4.2 Other images

When talking about why they visited the destination or why they consider the city attractive and interesting, 'The real Eastern Europe'/off the beaten track/non-touristy place, is one reason bloggers give. For example, some bloggers argue Bucharest is unlikely "to be high on anybody's 'must do' City Break" (Blogger 18) and therefore still presents the charm of an undiscovered place. While others argue that Bucharest is "the real Eastern Europe" (Blogger 1), the perfect place "for those wanting a taste of what Eastern Europe was like before it became overly touristy" (Blogger 32). The idea of Bucharest being different than other post-communist cities is also emphasized by Blogger 17 – "Since the fall of the "Iron Curtain", several of the eastern European capitals have become popular tourist destinations. Unlike, say, Prague, Tallinn or

Budapest, the Romanian capital, Bucharest, has not enjoyed so much interest" (Blogger 17). Among the reasons Bucharest is different, bloggers mention: "decaying grandeur and some serious individuality" (Blogger 1), but also differences in image, architecture and history. Blogger 17 for example points out that Bucharest stands out because of the negative image, Bucharest's different heritage as a result of strong communist interference, as well as the revolution and execution of the two dictators: "There are, perhaps, three reasons that Bucharest has not caught the imagination of travelers in the same way as those cities. The first must be due to the reputation the city has as a dangerous crime-ridden place. (…) Second, Bucharest does not have the well-known "Old Town" other eastern bloc capitals have; it lacks the golden onion domes of Sofia or the fairy tale towers of Tallinn or the romantic castle of Prague. In fact, many of the older buildings in the centre of Bucharest were bulldozed in order to make room for the huge monstrosity that was the bricks and mortar symbol of Ceausescu's regime, ironically named "the palace of the People". Finally, the overthrowing of the Communist regime in Romania was much less peaceful than the events in other countries and it was played out on our television screens. Anyone old enough will surely remember the images of Nicolae and Elena Ceausescu being executed and there are reminders of those bloody events all over the city" (Blogger 17).

Some bloggers also argue that the appeal of the city comes from the gap that exists compared to other western cities: "The city of Bucharest maybe behind the times compared to the west but this is what makes Bucharest magical" (Blogger 16). In addition, the process of change is what makes the city interesting according to some bloggers: "after surviving two world wars and 45 years of communism, the city has been slowly recovering itself to former glory. People here are still learning democracy, going through the painful process of learning to smile again, opening new offices and restaurants, continuing ancient traditions and discovering new trends. All are part of a "get healthy" process which I find makes this city more fascinating year after year" (Blogger 16); "I would love to visit Bucharest in the future and see how the development of the city has changed the city" (Blogger 38).

The words 'city of contrasts' also appears in a number of blogs. On the one hand this is associated with the communist past –"Bucharest is a city of contrasts, much as you would expect from this outpost of Europe struggling to shake off its Communist past and Ceaucescu's oppression" (Blogger 21); "As one of the last cities in Eastern Europe to still exhibit significant signs of its Communist past, I would recommend a visit purely for a different perspective" (Blogger 21). Other bloggers, however, use the words to refer to Bucharest's mixed heritage reflected in the city's architecture – "A very interesting place to walk around for a day, as there is such a strange mix of architectural styles. Monolithic soviet buildings (fortunately not common) could be standing side by side with very modern structures and turn of the century buildings. One coffee shop seemed to be a 1920's building with a glass office block growing out of the top" (Blogger 26), "It is a city of contrasts with some opulent buildings lying side by side with the some of the most poverty stricken areas in Europe" (Blogger 11); "Bucharest city centre is a bizarre mix of styles. Some fantastic old buildings, mixed with churches and then alongside some hasty concrete apartment blocks" (Blogger 48). Some bloggers offer explanations for the aspect of the city linking it back to history: "Bucharest bears the scars of the troubles and uncertainties it's faced in the last hundred years most notably to the casual visitor in its schizophrenic architecture. 'Eclectic' is often the adjective of choice but is too kindly a word as it implies a certain amount of intent" (Blogger 46).

Little-Paris is also mentioned by a number of blogs: "Of course, there is much more to Bucharest than the revolution. After all, this is the city that used to be called Little Paris and The Paris of the East" (Blogger 17). However, criticism is brought to the idea of Bucharest as 'Little Paris', bloggers oppose this association based on their experience of the city: "In the early part of the 20th century Bucharest was known as Little Paris due to its tree lined boulevards and architecture. Although it still boasts an Arc de Triumph and a statue of de Gaulle this description is probably pushing it a bit these days." (Blogger 18); "My Rough Guide informed me that Bucharest was once known as "The Paris

of the East," a ludicrous soubriquet which, at that point, seemed solely justified on the basis that it was east of Paris" (Blogger 19).

Culture is not an issue brought up much in the blogs. Few bloggers chose to refer to it, mostly by retransmitting information from one of his sources of information: "To say Bucharest is a city with a lot of culture would be an understatement. It has (according to one website, not Wiki!) 37 museums, 18 art galleries (I'm sure this must be the larger ones as it surely can't include the myriad tiny independent galleries), 22 theatres and several opera houses as well as jazz clubs, a full-time permanent circus and dozens of live music venues" (Blogger 17).

9.5 Conclusions

The purpose of this chapter was to answer the question: To what extent do tourist textual and visual materials or blogs reflect destination tourism representations? Evidence suggests tourism representations have a strong impact on tourist testimonials. Other tourists and word-of-mouth, as well as tourist guidebooks shape and influence tourist testimonials; it is their representations that are reflected in tourist blogs. At times the blog content focuses on comparing experience with knowledge from these two sources, arguing for or against; as a result blog tourism representations reflect to a great extent representations projected by tourist media materials – guidebooks - from negative city image to the 'dodgy' aspect of the city. They also emphasize that most of the negative issues are actually part of the appeal of the city as a different, of the beaten track, real Eastern European destination.

Chapter 9. Evidence for research question 4: How do potential tourists perceive and interpret destination representations and how far do destination representations match potential tourists' images?

9.1 Introduction

This chapter presents findings on how potential tourists perceive and interpret induced destination representations. This research question was broken down into two sub-questions. The chapter starts by presenting the Bucharest images resulting from potential tourists' individual answers and group discussions, and ends with a discussion of findings on how potential tourists perceive induced tourism representations.

9.2 General observations on data and profile of participants

The research method employed was focus-groups with potential tourists. The themes resulting and the issues discussed were similar for all three focus-groups: a complex image where media reports played a major role, as well as friends from Romania; or a 'rejection' of both 'official' and 'unofficial' destination representations. This saturation shows that enough data has been collected and analysed to provide reliable and comparable results. Table 9.1 presents information on participants.

Table 9.1 Focus-group participant details tabulation

	Category	Results:
1	Are you:	☐ Male: 6 ☐ Female: 12
2	Age group:	☐ 18-25: 0 ☐ 26-35: 15

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		☐ 35-45: 1
		☐ 45-55: 2
		☐ > 55: 0
3	Nationality:	☐ By region: Western Europe: 9; Eastern Europe: 5; Asia: 2; Middle East: 2
		☐ By country of birth: British: 5, Italian: 2, Belarusian: 2, Iranian: 2, Taiwanese: 2, Belgian: 1, Danish: 1, Serbian: 1, Israeli/Serbian: 1, Ex-Yugoslavian Bosnian/Croatian: 1
4	City of residence in the UK:	☐ London: 15 (Croydon: 1; Harrow: 1; Erith, Bexley: 1)
		☐ Colchester: 2
		☐ Luton: 1
5	How did you hear about this focus group:	☐ Romanian National Tourist Office: 1
		☐ Bucharest In Your Pocket and Bucharest Life: 1
		☐ Destinations Show at Earls Court: 0
		☐ Romanian Cultural Institute event: 0
		☐ SABE research scholar emailing list: 4
		☐ Friends emails: 13
		☐ Forums on experience websites/blogs: 0
6	When are you thinking of going to Bucharest:	Ordered by period of time (from earliest to latest):
		☐ This year: 8 - 'Early March': 1, 'June 2011': 1, 'Summer 2011': 4, 'This summer or winter (2011)': 1, 'Autumn this year': 1
		☐ Within the next 2 years or more: 5 - 'In the next two

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| | | years'/'Next 1-2 years'/'In two years': 4, 'Maybe several years': 1 |
| | | ☐ Don't know yet: 5 - 'Didn't plan yet'/'Don't know yet': 5 |

Part1 of the focus-groups which focused on identifying tourist images of the city had two elements: a written one and an oral one. Four questions were used - the first focused on identifying previous knowledge on the destination; the second on identifying where the knowledge comes from; the third asked participants what images they had of Bucharest; and the fourth to state the reason why they would like to visit the city. The written element was meant to provide a starting point for discussing tourist images and not to provide strict answers to each question. Analysis started with the written elements and continued with the oral answers; while findings have been structured around major resulting themes encompassing both written and oral answers.

Looking just at the written answers an observation needs to be made. For some participants, answers for questions 1, 3 and 4 appear to closely complement each other suggesting there seems to be a close relationship between the knowledge and images participants have of the destination and their reason to visit (focus-group1/participants 1, 3, 4, 6, 7; focus-group 2 / participant 4, focus-group 3/ participant 1, 6). One participant listed 'Dracula' as one of the five things that comes to mind about the destination and as reason to visit she wrote: "To see if there is anything real about Dracula" (Focus-group 1 / Participant1); similarly participant3 in focus-group1 wrote on question1 "no knowledge" and on question4 "learn, discover"; or Participant 6 in Focus-group 3 listed 'communist heritage' for both question1 and question4, and also mentioned "communist style architecture" as part of his image of the city. In conclusion, it can be argued that to some extent, for potential tourists the images they have – both positive and negative - fuel their desire and motivation to visit.

Participants seemed to belong to two broad types: the 'non-touristy tourist', and the communist and post-communist 'history buff'. A number of potential tourists argued they did not like touristy places (Focus-group 1, participants 1 and 2; Focus-group 2, Participant 3; Focus-group 3, Participant 1). For example: "The less tourists the better! I think no advertising is good. I like to go where there are few tourists, not so crowded and people are nicer, not so stressed…" (Focus-group 1, Participant 2); "I've been to places where they had 'Tourists go away!'" (Focus-group 1, Participant 1); "I think Western Europe in general is touristy." (Focus-group 1, Participant 2). Or they preferred non-touristy places; for example: "The best thing about it is that it doesn't look touristy. If that's the most important tourist area looks anything but touristy; dug-up streets…it's interesting, different, but will go away in a few years anyway..." (Focus-group 1, Participant 7).

Some participants expressed their wish to see how the city and country are developing after communism (Focus-group 1, Participants 4 and 6). Or because they originally come from a communist country themselves and what to see how the change has affected CEE countries and to make comparisons: "I think it should be interesting. I don't know how much of communism is left or is it like here, but I can compare it to China. I've been to Prague and Budapest and I found very little resemblance, but I was told Romania is more Eastern." (Focus-group 2, Participant 5).

9.3 Results for sub-question 4.1: What images do potential tourists have of Bucharest and where do these images come from?

The themes related to Bucharest images held by potential tourists have been organised under four categories: the first focuses on the capital-country-region image overlap; the second gathers stereotypical images such as communism or Dracula; the third 'complimentary' or non-stereotypical images such as different or non-touristy; while the fourth category gathers images referring to the built environment. Some overlap between categories does exist and it is acknowledged in the sections where it occurs.

9.2.1 Capital-country-region image overlap

An aspect dominating potential tourists' answers is the overlap between country and capital. This aspect will be emphasised throughout the chapter, however, this section discusses the main themes associated with it: lack of a distinct image, overlap with national image elements, and image association with and within CEE.

First, a common discussion point throughout all three focus-groups was that when participants started answering the questions on paper they immediately put down images that were more of Romania than Bucharest. Their justification was that they had very little specific knowledge on Bucharest and therefore were unable to pinpoint images unique to Bucharest; however, some participants pointed out that Bucharest did not have a distinct image from Romania (Focus-group1, Participants 3 and 5; Focus-group3, Participants 3, 5 and 6). For example: "Bucharest and Romania is not like London and UK. London has its own image, separate from UK. Nobody would say the same things about the two. But for Bucharest and Romania I think they would. Because it is the capital and it does not have its own individual image, I believe the two share this image. It is very similar." (Focus-group 3, Participant 3). In other words, Bucharest does not seem to have its 'own' image and it is difficult to differentiate between capital and country. The other participants agreed with this point of view during the discussion in both focus-groups. They justified it by the lack of publicity arguing it is in fact a very good thing: "With all these other cities…so many advertisements…but with Bucharest…seems like a really unexplored place." (Focus-group 1, Participant 1); "It's a bonus, it's a huge opportunity…to communicate what's there…for someone like me…I don't know what's there, completely misinformed, have all the wrong ideas, old-fashioned maybe...so, yes, it's a great opportunity." (Focus-group 1, Participant 3) – "There isn't a common preconception, is there? So, in a way they've got a huge palate to work with." (Focus-group 1, Participant 5).

There is a strong overlap with the national image; because Bucharest itself does not have a distinctive image, evidence suggests the image of the country is rubbing off on the capital. For example: "Prince Charles was raving on about some place where it was all very rustic and medieval…where people still lived like in medieval times…all rustic and untouched. (…) And that's how we should all be living because it's all organic, living with nature and stuff." (Focus-group 1, Participant 3). However, as previously argued, the overlap extends far beyond this section, it is a common theme throughout all three focus-groups and a considerable number of answers make reference to Romania although the question was about Bucharest. The images of the two overlap the most in potential-tourists.

The CEE association plays a very important part. One participant spoke of the name confusion with Budapest, which sparked acknowledgements of this from other participants: "And I always confuse it with Budapest. Yes. I have that minute of going 'Yes it's that one, OK!' Yea…takes a minute, Budapest, Bucharest. It's just name confusion. I know which is which. Budapest is the capital of Hungary, Bucharest of Romania…right? Similar pronunciation." (Focus-group2, Participant3); "(…) Me too. Bucharest, Budapest, very similar. I have the same, and I've been to Hungary but it takes a minute." (Focus-group 2, Participant 1).

Almost all participants argued the CEE association. For example: "The first thing I wrote is Eastern Europe and with that communism. (…) I was a big fan of Milan Kundra; he wrote on Eastern Europe and communism. Although not about Bucharest I think. But that's an image I have. Eastern Europe! Communism. And difficult region I think. Very different from the West. At least back then!" (Focus-group 1, Participant 6); "I don't have strong impressions about Romania. (…) I put Romania in a group of Eastern Europe. I don't have a strong image of Romania. I can't say I differentiate between Eastern countries." (Focus-group 2, Participant 4). Going deeper into this image it becomes evident that deeper issues

associated with the image of CEE as a former communist part of Europe and the physical and non-physical 'heritage' left behind are at play.

Not all participants agreed. In the first focus-group, one participant argued that her image of CEE and Bucharest is not of communism or communist buildings: "But are there many communist buildings? Because I thought it was westernised. I think it is more Western now. Like lots of small cafes, small streets. Modern, tall buildings, lots of glass. Like Western, historic city. More like Prague." (Focus-group 1, Participant 1). This sparked contradictions, as one participant argued: "I don't know… That's where Prague seems different to me to the rest of Eastern Europe. It just seems closer and more Western compared to places like Romania and Hungary and places like that. They seem more Eastern to me than Prague does. And I don't know why but I've got this image in my head like that. Maybe it's advertising. It just seems more like Western Europe – Prague than…, so no I don't think it's like Prague at all." (Focus-group 1, Participant 5). In other words, the image of CEE is not homogenous. Participants argued this was mainly the fault of advertising: "I think it's because of the advertisements. Prague…we know about Prague from advertisements, but there are not that many advertisements on Bucharest so we don't really know what it's like." (Focus-group1, Participant1); "There are lots of images of Prague out there aren't there..." (Focus-group1, Participant5); "Seems to be everywhere, very popular city but not Bucharest..." (Focus-group 1, Participant 1). Once again, the lack of information on Bucharest is emphasised. As the next section will argue, the images that people do have are stereotypical to a great extent.

9.2.2 Stereotypical images

As discussed in, Chapter 2 'stereotypical images' are images that are so imbedded in popular culture as to be virtually inescapable. This is confirmed here. Bucharest's stereotypical images revolve around the following issues discussed by potential tourists: communism and revolution, Transylvania and Dracula, and negative image awareness. The first two were written down on paper by almost all

participants. Further discussion led to all participants acknowledging these issues. Their high frequency shows that they are stereotypical.

The first issue relates to communism and the revolution; however it must be stressed that the revolution was mentioned more than communism because the shooting of the dictators was televised: "Should have put shootings, I remember that from the news, he totally deserved it. That was the image they gave us" (Focus-group 1, Participant 5). Therefore, the most 'iconic' image of the country seems to be an execution on television. One participant argued she did not know there had been violence: "I don't remember anything about there being violence. I don't know if I'm too young…" (Focus-group 1, Participant 7); while another argued that "It was a bit like North Africa at the moment" (Focus-group 1, Participant 3).

The second stereotypical image refers to Dracula and Transylvania. An observation is made here on the crossover between capital and country image. For example, participant6 in focus-group1 argues that part of her image is Dracula; however, she acknowledges that it is less about the image of Bucharest and more the image of Romania: "And Dracula…I don't know where it comes from, books yes and movies…but more for Romania and Transylvania, don't know why I put it for Bucharest, guess I'm confusing the two…" (Focus-group 1, Participant 6). Other participants in other focus-groups also acknowledged this. For example, "I think I may have written images I have more of Transylvania." (Focus-group 3, Participant 2).

The negative image awareness is a particularly interesting aspect as participants put down 'negative image', and did not argue they thought Bucharest had a negative image, they argued that: "I am aware Bucharest has a negative image but I don't think that is all there is about the place" (Focus-group1, Participnat1). This sparked agreements between participants arguing that it was the result of negative press mostly: "I also put orphans…it was a lot of coverage on the TV (Focus-group 1, Participant 5) – "Yes…it was awful' (Focus-group1, Participant 3); "The

conditions of these poor children who were looked after by the state." (Focus-group 1, Participant 5).

9.2.3 Other images

Bucharest's image is far more complex than stereotypical images. A number of other images were also identified. First, an issue richly discussed in the first focus-group, with all participants agreeing, was that Bucharest was a non-touristy place, meaning it is not a place that attracts too many tourists usually and as a result the negative impacts of too many tourists did not exist: "I think people are friendly because it's not exposed to all those other influences like Western Europe, not that touristy, not many tourists, so I think they are a bit more welcoming." (Focus-group 1, Participant 5). This links back to the profile of the tourist.

Second, that it was new, unexplored, and different. These images were explained by the perceived characteristics of the country and capital by participants. The word 'Mediterranean' was by 4 participants; for example: "I think it is more Mediterranean, sunny, full of Mediterranean spirit. (…) Worm, natural…." (Focus-group 1, Participant 2). Others made references to snow and cold: "Snow. And cold. I don't know, for whatever reason I think it is one of those countries constantly covered with snow. Long winters. All that region gives me this feeling… long, cold, snowy winters." (Focus-group 1, Participant 5); "Cold and grey! Maybe big differences summer, winter." (Focus-group 3, Participant 4). While others argued for green: "I don't know, for whatever reason, I think it must be green, I don't know why! You said it's like a snow country but my image is of green, very green country." (Focus-group 1, Participant 6). Or hot: "Very dry as well. Hot like Italian cities. Mediterranean. It just gives me this feeling of Southern Europe, not Eastern." (Focus-group 2, Participant 2).

In addition, an issue expressed in all three focus groups was the position of the country between East and West cultures. 'Different' is closely linked with the geographical position; however this was discussed in relationship with culture and

heritage which will be looked at next, for example: "I do know it is between cultures, European and Asian. (Focus-group 2, Participant 4).

9.2.4 Built environment and heritage images

All participants mentioned built environment or heritage elements in their answers. Their images suggest an architecturally rich city. A number of characteristics are evident. First, as previously mentioned, the diverse architecture is argued by some participants as the result of being at the crossroads between cultures: "Kind of where East meets West! On the border. Where Christianity finishes and then you've got Islamism, and Turkish influence. I find that quite interesting as well. Where cultures collide. I don't know if it's like that but it's my image…And multicultural. It's also on the sea so I imagine there are people running in and out for lots of centuries." (Focus-group 1, Participant 5); "But nice architecture. Kind of Austrian, French, Russian, mixed" (Focus-group 1, Participant 2) – "I think the contrast is nice. Ornate buildings and tower-blocks…I've been to Budapest recently and I imagine Bucharest being the same, like a city in two parts. Romantic... I mean it's architectural. Quite ornate. Grand but faded. That is what I mean by romantic. And then big, communist buildings, grey…contrasting. Big contrasts!" (Focus-group 1, Participant 7).

Second, the image of a city rich in architecture but in poor state of maintenance and falling apart; for example: "The first thing I wrote is Eastern Europe and with that communism. I had a trip to Armenia and I have an image like that – similar buildings, old fashioned, communist-looking, but some older…in poor condition…" (Focus-group 1, Participant 6) – "Rough" (Focus-group 1, Participant 4) - "No, not that rough, some were quite beautiful, but certainly not like London. …" (Focus-group 1, Participant 6); "Poor, a bit run-down. Grand buildings but faded. Not really cared for. "(Focus-group 2, Participant 3); "Just a bit grey." (Focus-group 3, Participant 3); "Historic buildings needing repair." (Focus-group 3, Participant 5).

And third, the fascination with communist heritage and ignorance over Little Paris. Communism and communist architecture are interlinked, and some participants argued it should be 'sold' better as they believe there is fascination with that period: "Communist architecture. That would be my first image." (Focus-group 2, Participant 1); "I would sell that. Because it was the forbidden world people want to see that." (Focus-group 2, Participant 4); "There is that post-communist thing. That big memorabilia of kind of communist rupture so I think that would sell very well." (Focus-group 2, Participant 3); "Because there's no more danger from it anymore so now we're like…wow!" (Focus-group 2, Participant 4).

Little Paris image and heritage however was mentioned only by a few participants (Focus-group 1, Participant 2; Focus-group 3, participant 1), but still in association with communism: "Also, in my brain, for some miracle reason, from school books maybe, is that in the late 18th century maybe, beginning of 19th, attracted artists from the West and it was called Small Paris. So, in my brain it is Small Paris, full of interesting architecture. But in the communist era things changed." (Focus-group 1, Participant 2).

9.2.5 Sources of information used

In terms of sources of information identified as responsible for their images, 17 out of 18 participants put down media; 16 referred to school; while 9 to friends. For example: "Friends. My Moldavian friends told me about it. (…) Yes, good things, some not so good. But it's a good place. Capital, you know…much better than other cities, more opportunities, richer…big difference from other cities." (Focus-group 1, Participant 2); "Studies and friends. I have a friend from Romania, as I said, I'm going to her wedding." (Focus-group2, Participant 1) – "Yea. People that I know. A friend who knows a friend who is Romanian. But old media as well. But from back home before moving here. Not BBC." (Focus-group 2, Participant 4); "Report about European Union. Agriculture, largest proportion in Europe compared to others…from the Economist. Films about vampires, Dracula,

or dragons…Harry Potter." (Focus-group3, Participant 2). Therefore, as previously mentioned, negative issues are dominant: "History lessons in school…pops in TV series…it's Bucharest itself…something to do with gangs…It's got that criminal element. It's one of those countries that when it pops up in TV it's more to do about violence or something not necessarily good." (Focus-group 2, Participant 3).

9.3 Results for sub-question 4.2: How do potential tourists perceive and interpret induced tourism representations?

In order to understand how potential tourists perceive and interpret destination representations they were shown 10 pictures and 3 videos and asked how they perceive each one and to what extent it matches their own image. Each of the 10 pictures and 3 videos sampled one or two of the destination representations previously identified:

a) Little-Paris and culture (picture 2)

b) Communist heritage and Ceausescu (pictures 1 and 4)

c) Dracula and Lipscani/old town heritage (picture 3)

d) Negative image: gypsies and traffic (pictures 5 and 6)

e) Modern city (picture 7)

f) Nightlife (picture 8)

g) Multicultural, multiethnic (picture 9)

h) Rural (picture 10)

i) The 'official' representation: city of culture, Little Paris, modern (videos 1 and 2)

j) The 'unofficial' representation: different, rough around the edges (video 3)

Analysis of findings revealed three main themes: the strength of organic images; a rejection of destination tourism representations; and the search for 'authenticity' of potential tourists

9.3.1 The 'strength' of organic images

The strength of organic images has been observed by comparing the answers participants gave in written format for the image questions with the picture exercise. From the comparison it was concluded that most of those who wrote an image and recognised that image in the picture immediately put 'yes' to the question 'How far does each picture match your image of Bucharest?'. For example, Focus-group 3, Participant 1 put down 'traffic' as an image in part 1 and 'yes' when seeing picture 6 with a clogged up intersection. However, that was not valid for everyone and another dimension was identified where although they had the image and the picture represented that image participants did not recognise it. For example, Dracula - Focus-group 3, Participant 4 put down Dracula as an image but when shown a picture of Dracula the participant did not recognise it. This suggests that recognising an image very much depends on the particular pictures associated with it; or in other words, the statue of Vlad the Impalor is not part of the Dracula image, but "a creepy man with cape and fangs" (Focus-group 2, Participant 5) is. Although, it must be stated that the majority of participants did in fact associate the picture to Bucharest, just for different reasons, mainly related to the building in ruins behind the statue, in other words heritage and culture: "Mysterious, interesting, opportunities, heritage, run-down." (Focus-group 1, Participant 3); "Ruins, history, tourist potential, historic figure." (Focus-group 3, Participant 2).

The pictures that closely matched are mostly part of the stereotypical category; for example, pictures 1 and 4 of Parliament Palace and the dictator couple generated the following reactions. Shown a photograph of the People Palace (picture 1) almost all participants thought it matched or closely matched their image of Bucharest. Although communism proved to be the most iconic image of the city, its physical counterpart is not. On the other hand the picture with the two dictators scored highest for the closely match column; further confirmation in order for the image to match the representation it has to be popular to a degree. Other

stereotypical images were 5 and 6 of gypsies and traffic jams that scored 12 and 10 on the closely match columns. A particular interesting aspect here was the use of the words 'wild wild East', similar to interviews, and roughly associated with the same issues – of Bucharest as a city of potential, developing: "Busy, interesting, authentic, fun. Istanbul feel, wild wild East." (Focus-group 3, Participant 3).

Little Paris could not be classified as a stereotypical image because it was only argued by two participants as previously discussed. Participants arguing they did not recognise the Paris resemblance but the 'Latin' feel of the building: "Green, Italian style, elegant, heritage, classical." (Focus-group 3, Participant 6); "Museum, pretty grounds, architecture, clean, neutral." (Focus-group 3, Participant 1); "Grand building, heritage/culture, Roman influence." (Focus-group 3, Participant 2). One picture that opposes the stereotypical argument is that of entertainment Bucharest where 12 people said it matched but simply because "all cities have clubs" (Focus-Group 3, Participant 2).

Shown a photograph of a country house (picture 10), 9 participants associated the rural representation with Bucharest arguing it is part of their image of the city: "Original life, local people in Bucharest." (Focus-group 2, Participant 5). While 5 said they did not associate it to Bucharest but to Romania as it is part of their image of Romania and would not expect to find something like that in the capital: "Interesting, but would not associate with Bucharest, I think Bucharest is more modern than that." (Focus-group1, Participant1); "Definitely not. I think there is a big gap between Bucharest and the rest of Romania, so definitely no." (Focus-group 1, Participant 2); "Romania, lovely, nice, I would like to go! Romania not Bucharest." (Focus-group 2, Participant 4); "Rural, traditional, quaint, romantic, traditional Romanian life." (Focus-group 3, Participant 6). The overlap country-capital is confirmed y as out of the 9 people who said yes, 8 agreed that perhaps they were thinking more of rural Romania than urban Bucharest; however one participant underlined that he did expect that as Bucharest is more Eastern and

therefore less developed and would expect country life to still be present in the city (Focus-group 2, Participant 3).

Picture 9 representing multicultural/multiethnic Bucharest is another example of stereotypical image, but linking it with the Eastern Europe image overlap, as well the search for 'authenticity. This was identified as closely matched by 13 participants: "This is how I picture Romania, place to visit during one lovely warm day, spiritual, authentic, cute." (Focus-group 3, Participant 3). In addition, this particular representation generated the most amount of recognisability. Potential tourists used arguments such as: "Persian/Eastern influence, tourist hot-spot, national heritage/identity, wealth and history." (Focus-group 3, Participant 2). "Moscow!" (Focus-group 1, Participant 6); "Russia, very Eastern Europe." (Focus-group 1, Participant 3); "A mixture of Islamic architecture…" (Focus-group 1, Participant 4); "It is isn't it; Byzantine architecture?!" (Focus-group 1, Participant 5); "I love it." (Focus-group 1, Participant 4). Discussions emphasised that the choice was justified mainly by the 'East-feel' of the picture and participants started agreeing that it may have more to do with what they imagine the place to be because it is in Eastern Europe and that is part of the Eastern Europe image, but also because it is original and what they would like to see. Pictures were interpreted according to pre-existing organic images, mostly stereotypical – arguably the strongest types of images; and impression of what the place might be like and what they desire to see.

9.3.2 'Rejection' of destination tourism representations

The video elicitation generated the most discussion. The pattern throughout all three focus groups was rejection and disagreement with what they were seeing and a plea for originality. The three videos - the 'official' representation: city of culture, Little Paris, modern (videos 1 and 2), and the 'unofficial' representation: different, rough around the edges (video 3) – all generated the same types of negative reactions.

First, participants argued the short governmental promotional video and the media video made with information obtained from governmental sources gave out the "Could be anywhere!" (Focus-group 1, Participant 6) feeling. Participants across all three focus-groups argued it looked like something you would see in any European capital city and argued they could not pinpoint which city was being shown if "the commentator hadn't mentioned Bucharest all the time" (Focus-group 3, participant 2). For example: "Vienna or Rome." (Focus-group 1, Participant 4); "Prague" (Focus-group 1, Participant 3); "European marketing campaign" (Focus-group 1, Participant 5); "There was that Archway like Paris" (Focus-group 1, Participant 5); "Same as Italy." (Focus-group 2, Participant 1); "Well, it was European." (Focus-group 2, Participant 5); "Any European capital! (Focus-group 3; Participant 5). The third video received similar comments that it could be anywhere in Europe, but the discussion in the second focus-group focused on the East-European feel of the places being shown, mostly because the buildings needed repairs and the people were dressed differently; for example: "I think it's more in Eastern Europe now." (Focus-group 2, Participant 1); "They do look different. Darker skin tones. The clothes are different too." (Focus-group 2, Participant 2)

The videos shown to participants in the focus-groups were perceived as unoriginal, boring and blunt. Words like boring, westernised, common, homogenised were used frequently to describe the videos. For example: "It was quite blunt." (Focus-group 1, Participant 3); "Generic." (Focus-group 1, Participant 5); "Generic and boring. Very westernised. Nothing original about the region or the city. Boring." (Focus-group 1, Participant 2); "Yes, it was quite boring." (Focus-group1, Participant3); "The only interesting part was the music." (Focus-group 1, Participant 7); "(…) anything to differentiate it you know….it just looks common. Common music hall, common archways, common buildings…." (Focus-group 2, Participant5); "…homogenised Europe." (Focus-group 1, Participant 5); It's all homogenised." (Focus-group 2, Participant 2). The third

video was perceived as less unoriginal; however, it was also argued the elements being showed could be found anywhere: "I like the authenticity of it … But it's lively. Less orchestrated, down to earth, more real." (Focus-group 1, Participant 5) – "Definitely better, but boring, Sushi places, cafes, yea, you can find these here, why go there for sushi!" (Focus-group 1, Participant 7).

For the first video, one issue raised was that none of the elements showed were recognisable (Participants 3 and 4 in Focus-group1; Participants 1, 4 and 5 in Focus-groups 3). For example, one participant argued the representations mean something for locals but they do not have international recognisability: "I think one point I understand now are the two iconic pictures you showed us earlier. For somebody that doesn't know these places, they wouldn't stand out, but I think for you who knows these buildings it makes you proud, or it is supposed to make locals proud but we don't understand them. Having all these together…it is too…boring…and seeing the Marble Arch would not make you go to Bucharest…" (Focus-group 1, Participant 4).

All participants in all three focus-groups argued against focusing too much on Little Paris. For example: "It wouldn't even make you go to Paris." (Focus-group 1, Participant 5); "It's supposed to say Little Paris!?" (Focus-group 3, Participant 1); "Little Paris is just…I've heard that about Lebanon, Buenos Aires, everybody's at it…" (Focus-group 1, Participant 5); "I thought the French influence on architecture was interesting but that's as far as it goes. Because where are the absinth bars, the cafes, the art…the actual French…those things that actually characterise Paris." (Focus-group 1, Participant 7).

On the other hand, participants would have liked to see more communist architecture and more about the Parliament Palace. Some participants remarked on the absence of images with communist heritage from the governmental video (Focus-group 3, Participant 1); for example: "The Palace of Parliament was better represented I think than in the previous video. Lets you see the full scale. Considering it's the most important attraction, it was very little in the previous

Evidence for research question 4: How do potential tourists
perceive and interpret destination representations and how far do
destination representations match potential tourists' images? | Chapter 9

video." (Focus-group 1, Participant 7). While all argued it is a distinctive feature of Bucharest and should be represented more "simply because of its size" (Focus-group 2, Participant 4).

One focus-group participant argued this was made on purpose and the message is to suggest a safe destination, like any other European city so you know what to expect: "I imagine the Romanian tourist board are aware of their own image, they know these things. They know so that to me is a classic…safe…they are trying to tell us they are European, they are safe, you can get around, modern, glass buildings. I don't think it…I don't think it's about us…what we want…I think it's more what they think we need to hear to go there…that they are not too foreign or too alien. There's lots of reassurance in that ad." (Focus-group 1, Participant 3) – "It's a safe bet, isn't it?" (Focus-group 1, Participant 5) – "It's blunt, but it's safe." (Focus-group 1, Participant 3).

Some of the elements from the official promotional video created confusion and led to discussions the government needs to be careful what it represents and how as it may send out the wrong message. This refers to the presence of the bride. For example: "The bride made no sense. Are they advertising wedding tourism?" (Focus-group 1, Participant 7); "Good quality brides from Romania!" (Focus-group 1, Participant 2); "Russian brides from Romania." (Focus-group 1, Participant 1); "Why? Are they trying to get people to get married there?" (Focus-group1, Participant 7); "Sex tourism." (Focus-group 1, Participant 2).

While the 'official' tourism representations of city of culture, Little Paris, safe destination were recognised and acknowledged, they were also rejected. A similar argument could be made for 'unofficial' representations as well, although the video did not generate as many negative comments as the previous two. This is mostly explained by a common characteristic of answers. This refers to the search for something Romanian, for local culture "It's crushing the local culture…" (Focus-group 2, Participant 1); "Nothing really Romanian." (Focus-group 3, Participant 1). Therefore, a common theme across all three videos and focus-

groups was the rejection of European, globalised, 'could be anywhere types of images.

9.3.3 Potential tourists' search for 'authenticity'

Negative comments against induced – official and unofficial – destination tourism representations were often accompanied by statements of what potential-tourists wanted to be represented. The main common topic agreed upon by all focus-groups was the need for originality, uniqueness, authenticity. For example: "It should show something unique, or different, exists only in this place. (…) they need to preserve what is characteristic of the place, Eastern, different, theirs …" (Focus-group 1, Participant 2). What potential tourists would like to see represented are the local characteristics, not the modernised, globalised elements: "The eastern aspects are missing. It shows the western parts more than the eastern parts and that doesn't attract you." (Focus-group 1, Participant1); "Yes, exactly." (Focus-group1, Participant 3); "If it attracts Eastern Europeans, the western aspects are attractive; but for westerners it is not appealing." (Focus-group 1, Participant 1).

The 'eastern' elements refer to food, wine, shopping, local markets and home-raised vegetables and fruit, typical local architecture and attractions, and local traditions: "having good wine…or food that might look different…anything to differentiate" (Focus-group 3, Participant 5); "Rummaging through stuff, having a good time. Shopping, eating, drinking…" (Focus-group 1, Participant 5); "And I think it exists. Markets with fresh vegetables, fruit, peasants selling at the market…the real Eastern Europe." (Focus-group 1, Participant 2); "But it's missing here." (Focus-group 1, Participant 1); "Yes. If you have gypsies, you have markets, most colourful of all maybe." (Focus-group 1, Participant 2); "Bucharest is unknown, that's the difference between Bucharest and other cities, nobody knows Bucharest. They need to make us aware of iconic buildings, food, local culture…" (Focus-group 2, Participant 4). In other words, the representations

potential tourists are looking for refer more to 'local' elements and not to supermarkets or global brands.

9.4 Conclusions

The purpose of this chapter was to answer the last research question: 'How do potential tourists perceive and interpret destination representation and how far these actually match their own images of the destination?' Evidence suggests that potential tourists reject destination representations to a considerable extent (both 'official' and 'unofficial'). And without previous experience of the destination they are inclined to reinforce and reaffirm their own pre-existing or organic images and interpret any induced representation according to them. In addition, potential tourists have their own representation 'agendas' or elements which they wish to see projected in destination representations; this is informed mostly by what they desire and attracts them to the destination.

How the destination wishes to be seen or how different actors wish for the destination to be seen has very little impact on potential tourists. Desire for visitation is fuelled mainly by how they 'feel' about what they already know about the destination/their organic images, their personality, and why they travel and wish to see and experience there. In other words, interpretation of organic images and tourist motivation is more important than induced destination tourism representations.

In conclusion, the main issue that characterise tourist images and opinions on destination representations refer to: a strong overlap between country and capital city image; dominance of stereotypical images; strong disagreements with induced destination representations; and the appeal of 'local' elements in food, drinks, and transition and change after communism.

Chapter 10. Discussion of findings

10.1 Introduction

The aim of this research is to understand the process of tourism representation and the issues that characterise the destination representations of a post-communist national capital, through a case-study on Bucharest. This is achieved by looking at representation from multiple angles and focusing on different destination representation-makers. Four research questions allowed the study of tourism representation from production to consumption. Each question required and generated answers through a different research method or approach. The findings for each question are presented in chapters 6 to 9. This chapter brings the discussion back to the aim of the research: it reflects on the process of representation and the issues that characterise it; and summarises the issues that characterise Bucharest's destination representations by focusing on emerging macro-themes and attempting to look at the bigger picture and linking findings to the academic literature.

10.2 The process of tourism representation

A number of observations can be made on the meaning, characteristics and process of destination representation by drawing on the findings of this case-study and building on previous knowledge such as du Gay et al (1997) and Hall's (1997, 2003) 'circuit of culture', Jenkins' (2000) 'circle of representation', and Bowker (1991) and Lacey's (2009) media components.

The approach to representation taken by this study is that representations have both a 'visible' side – referring to the actual textual and visual forms of representations, such as destination promotional material for example; and an 'invisible' or communicational side – referring to the messages and ideas it wishes to convey. While there are many ideas circulated about Bucharest not all can be called city tourism representations. It is the frequency of appearance or the intensity with which they are being projected to the tourism community that identify them as city tourism representations. Of interest is how different

representation-makers perceive, interpret and argue these representations, the differences and similarities, the debates, the agreements and contradictions.

The Bucharest representations can be summed up as: Little Paris (or Paris of the East); city of culture; communist city; old Bucharest/Lipscani; modern city; European capital; religious city; green city; chaotic city; different/off the beaten track/'the real Eastern Europe'; Jewish Bucharest; multicultural;/multiethnic city; rural Bucharest; gypsy Bucharest; nightlife destination; clubbing destination. Some representations are more influential and debated than others. Developing the 'official' and 'unofficial' categorisation which was chosen to aid presentation of findings, seems to suggest that destination representations can be classified within two main categories: primary and secondary.

'Primary representations' are those representations mentioned by most if not all representation makers – arguably, the main or dominant representations. They have the highest frequency but also present the highest level of argument and debate. For Bucharest, the primary or dominant representations are: Little Paris, communist city, and old Bucharest/Lipscani. For example, not only is Little Paris discussed by the majority of government, industry, media, tourists and potential tourists; but strong disagreements were observed in most destination materials, interviews, blogs and focus-groups: while government sees Little Paris as the main representation together with city of culture; most industry and media argue it is outdated and very little of Little Paris survives today; this view is shared by tourists/bloggers; and last, potential tourists view this representation as unoriginal and unappealing. Similarly, while the communist representation is shunned by some (mainly government), it is desired by others (mainly media and potential tourists).

'Secondary representations' refers to those representations that are less popular but which are nevertheless shared amongst a number of different representation-makers., Some of them may be debated, for example 'nightlife destination, while others may be rather bland, making them rather descriptive and difficult to argue with, like 'city of culture' or 'green city' (where 'green' refers to the number of parks and green spaces the city has). Therefore, while

the destination may have a large number of representations, some of them are 'more popular' than others judging by their frequency within representation-makers categories and sub-categories.

Classifying city tourism representations based on their popularity is helpful in identifying their level of importance and understanding them better. It helps show their generic character. They could easily be applied to most cities in the world. This is most evident for official or governmental tourism representations (city of culture, modern, multicultural, multiethnic, religious, green). However, looking at the issue more deeply through interviews with the actual representation-makers, it becomes evident that this 'generic' character is desiredand deliberate. For example, on the representation of Bucharest as a city of culture one governmental interviewee said: "It is a product we can easily sell. Everybody understands culture. (…) and nobody gets upset" (Interviewee 6, Bucharest City Hall, tourism development department). Therefore, as suggested in this example, generic representations are chosen because they are not considered controversial; because they help manage the interests of different representation-makers; and because they avoid major confrontations. In addition they underline Bucharest's place as a major European capital (for example Interviewee 37, Local travel writer). As Chapter 7 on the analysis of interviews with producers discussed, mixed views are noted on whether the official representations should be more daring and interesting or the government has an interest in keeping the official representation of the city as "neutral as possible" (Interviewee 38, Local travel writer).

This links to another issue that characterises Bucharest representations - two main categories of representations emerge for Bucharest, that of generic representations and distinctive representations (Figure 10.1). In short, generic representations such as 'cultural capital' are perceived by government officials as easy-to-use image-enhancement tools, and a fairly clear way of asserting that Bucharest belongs in the same category as mainstream European capitals; they are perceived as safe and true and very little controversy surrounds them unlike more problematic representations such as 'communist city' or 'nightlife

city' which are preferred more by industry, media, tourists and potential-tourists.

**Figure 10.1 Categories of capital city tourism representations**
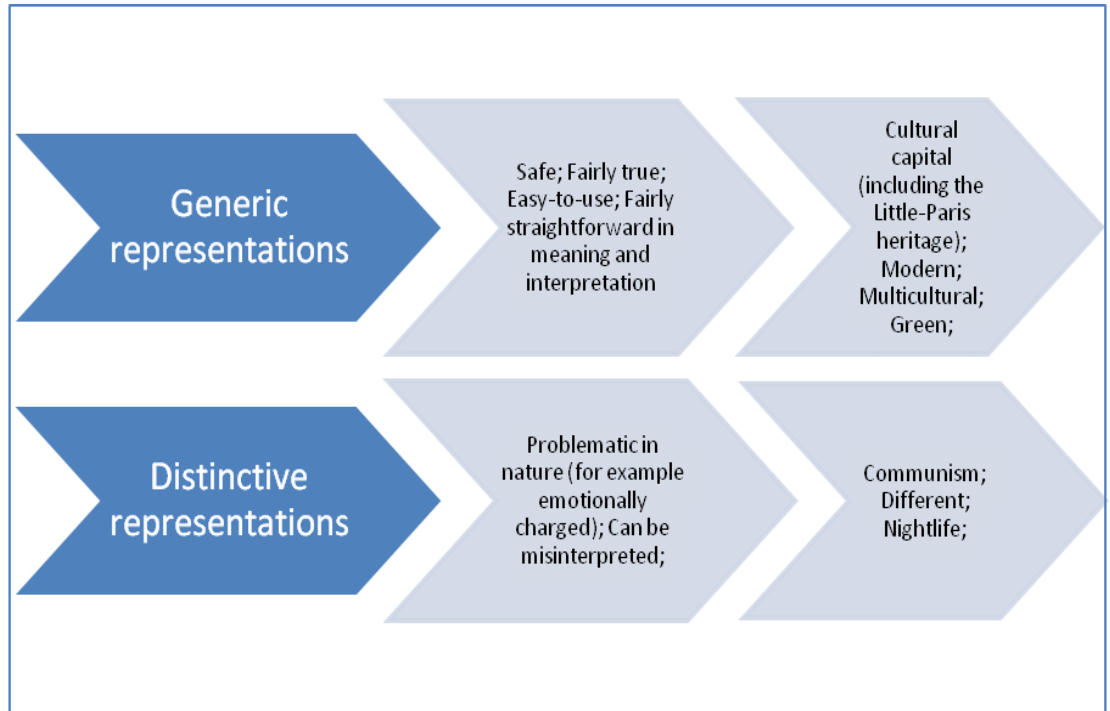
Identifying representations according to their frequency and then looking at each one in-depth is a useful approach to the investigation of city tourism representations. Nevertheless, the representations themselves are not clear-cut. The evidence suggests that representations overlap, they complement or contradict one another. This aspect has been identified in other research. Novy and Hunting (2009:93) in their work on Berlin argue that contradictory representations can coexist successfully: just because Berlin is celebrated for its "historical landscape", does not stop it from being perceived and represented as "a place of ongoing social and cultural change, experimentation and progress", or as a "green city on the water". This is also true of Bucharest. For example, Little Paris and culture, modern and European complement each other for tourism government; and also coexists successfully with communism and distinctive/of-the-beaten track complement each other for tourists and potential tourists. Or nightlife and clubbing do overlap to some extent; although Bucharest nightlife also includes clubbing, gambling and even prostitution. These relationships very much depend on the representation-

maker and their overall representation of the city as the Bucharest case-study reveals. Nevertheless, as one local travel writer (Interviewee 38) argued the specificity of communism in Bucharest and its legacy makes Bucharest stand out, it is a distinctive representation of the city.

By looking at multiple representation-makers, a wider number of destination representations can be identified. Representation-making is actually the prerogative of a limited number of entities, which originate or reproduce representations of Bucharest. That means that representation makers can be classified in two categories: producers and re-producers (Figure 10.2). Very few actors actually 'initiate' or 'generate' representations, while most actors 'distribute' or reproduce them, and to some extent add their own view to the already existing representation.

The exact starting point of a representation is difficult to identify, especially when acknowledging non-tourism or 'organic' representation-makers such as general press, or word-of-mouth. Nevertheless, the text being repeated in almost the same form from some sources to others suggests that there are leaders of opinion and representations can be traced back to them to some extent. Their popularity as representation-makers was identified by looking at the frequency with which other destination materials, but also tourist blogs, referenced them and also at the language similarities and the time they were created. For example, the copy-paste process involved in representation-making can be seen in these two examples from destination materials analysis. First, the phrase 'they used to call it Paris of East' first appears in government materials (RoNTo's Bucharest Simply Surprising Promotional Video, 2002-2010) but then the exact words are t used by a number of industry websites and media materials (including Mojo.com, 2009); Second, tourists reproduced paragraphs from guidebooks in their Bucharest blogs. There are two ways of tracking down a key representation-maker: by language – identifying what and who said it first, and by its popularity among other representation-makers.

Figure 10.2 The two main types of representation-makers
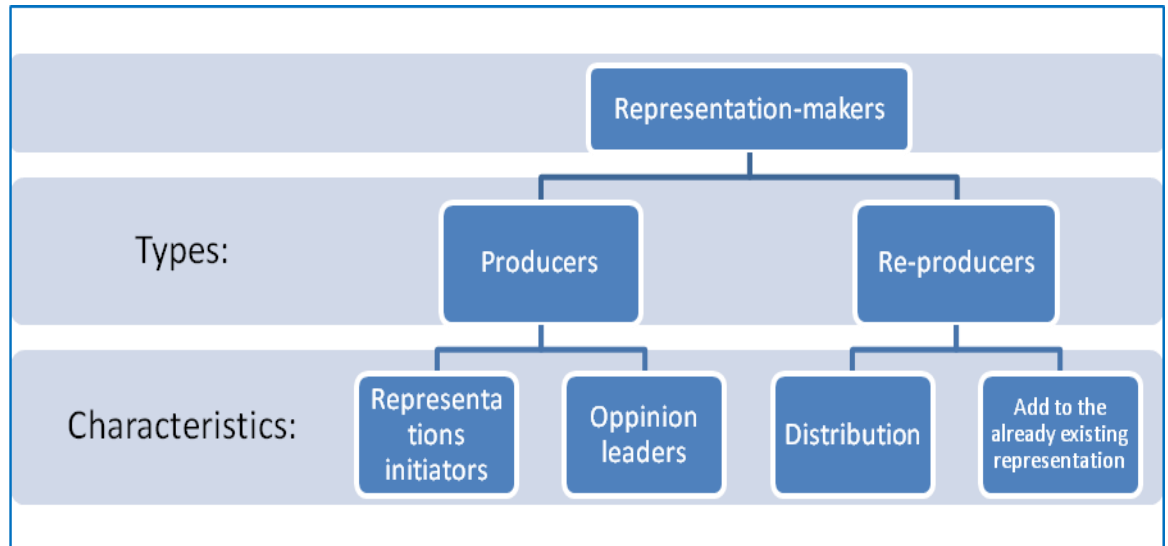
The influence of the government on the tourism industry and media is expected and acts as confirmation of the induced nature of the representations. However, the crossover guidebooks–blogs is evidence of the ever thinning line between organic and induced sources of information. In addition, it seems to have implications for the channels of communication or the channels used to represent; specifically on the debate between old and new media.

Most of the tourist literature on new media adopts a very limited perspective, only looking at the implications of one specific channel at a time like tourist blogs, or TripAdvisor, or Twitter (for example Lee et al, 2012; Li and Wang, 2012; Lee, 2012). This research looked at a variety of 'old' and 'new' media and findings reveal 'new' media is very much dependent on 'old'. It could be observed that Bucharest visitors relied mostly on guidebooks for information about their visit and also for recalling their views and experiences of the city in their blogs. Nevertheless, it is acknowledged the line between 'old' and 'new' media is a blurry one as well, as most online guidebooks encourage the interaction with readers and reproduce their views in print (for example Offbeat guides).

It is possible to follow the movement or evolution of a representation from one representation maker to another. Looking at the 'communist Bucharest' representation for example, it is evident the representation is cyclical (Figure 10.3). Acknowledging the actual starting point could be attributed to general media such as news report, within the circle, the 'communist Bucharest'

representation 'starts' out with the government ignoring its existence; continues with the tourism industry acknowledging it as a business opportunity; it is widely discussed within tourism media, seen as an essential element of the destination; appreciated by tourists; and desired by potential tourists. This apparently attracts the attention of the government which is currently considering promoting it. Not only has the representation has come full circle but the impact each new representation-maker has is interesting to observe and if communist heritage should become officially promoted at government level, it would be interesting to see its impact on the circle.

Not all representations go through all representation-makers. A full circle characterises the main representations, common to all representation-makers. The representation of Bucharest as a nightlife destination is not found in focus-groups. The example in Figure 10.3 not only suggests how a representation evolves from one producer to the next but also gives an insight into how representation-makers influence each other. Figure 10.4 summarises these interactions and reflects on the dynamic nature of the circuit.

A parallel can be drawn here with du Gay et al (1997) and Hall's (1997, 2003) 'circuit of culture', comprised of five elements: representation, identity, production, consumption and regulation. However, here the elements are the different representation-makers. Du Gay and Hall argue that these elements are interconnected and should not be studied in isolation but together. A similar argument is made here - in order to understand how a city is represented looking at one producer is not enough because it provides a limited view. As Figure 10.3 shows there is no starting point in the circle and no ending either. It can start at any point and go in either direction, clockwise or anticlockwise.

Figure 10.3 The cycle of evolution of the 'communist Bucharest' representation
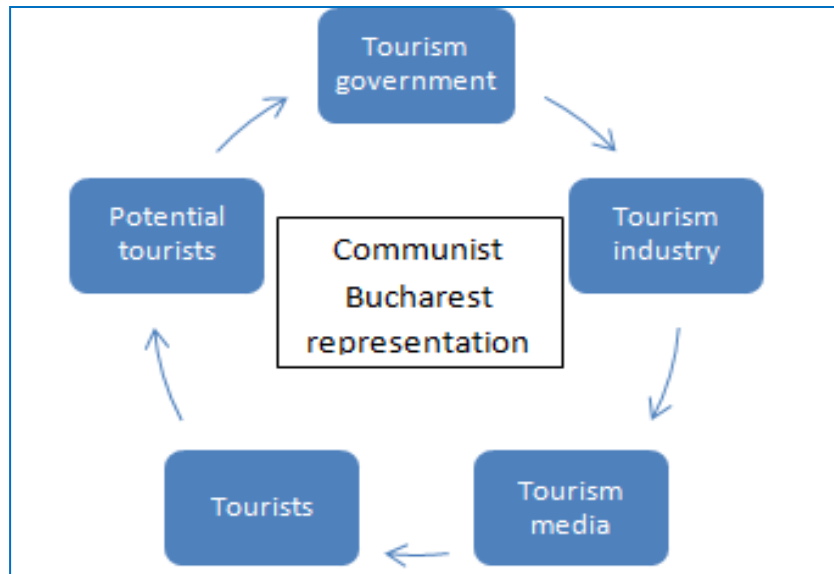
The circuit is complex and can generate a considerable number of scenarios and situations; it is not a linear process or a clear cut circle. This suggests that the process of tourism representation is not fixed, it is adaptable and flexible; it can start at any point; it can skip components or add them depending on its purpose and size; it is cyclical and each element has an impact on others. This challenges Jenkins' (2000) model, arguing it is too simplistic and defining representations under projected and perceived is not enough.

The representation-maker categories themselves are complex and not as straightforward as suggested by the classification employed here: tourism government, tourism industry, tourism media, tourists and potential tourists. Analysis of destination material revealed that media can be divided into two categories: government-influenced - with the help of familiarisation-trips ('fam trips') for example, and independent. This model only takes into consideration five main representation-makers, but it argues the principles would stay the same if others were added.

Figure 10.4 The circuit of tourism representation (with 5 representation-makers)
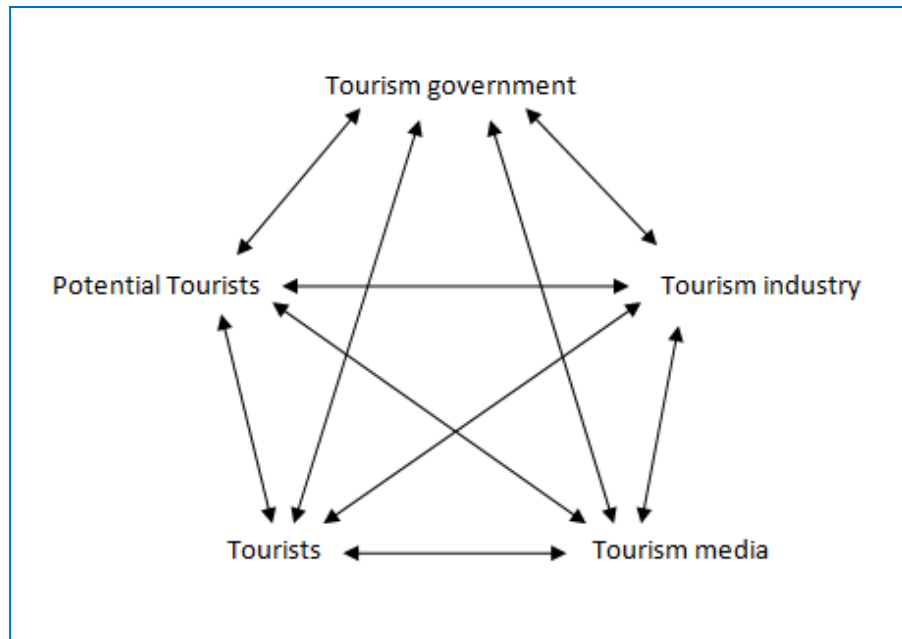
Bowker (1991:14) writes that "representation can be a difficult and contentious area, (...) "this happens because it is conceptualised too narrowly". Bowker (1991) and Lacey's (2009) proposed six categories of components in order to understand media: agencies, categories, technologies, language, audiences, and representations. This research adapted those components turning them into questions: who made the representation and who are they targeting; how is it communicated – what types of communication and what channels are being used; how are they perceived and interpreted; and what do they say. This framework of thinking helped organise the present research and produce the results seen in the previous four chapters.

Findings of this particular case-study have identified a number of additional issues that need to be considered when conceptualising tourism representations: how important is that representation – what is its place amongst other destination representations; and how do other representation-makers perceive it.

In conclusion, the elements included in the process of representation can be summed up in Figure 10.5, bearing in mind the complex set of relationships that may exist between the components. The construction of a representation is influenced by the producer, the channel used, and the target; similarly for its communication. Furthermore, its consumption is influenced by the channel

used; but also, due to the cyclical nature of representations, representations can be consumed by the very producer that made them.

Figure 10.5 The elements of the process of tourism representation
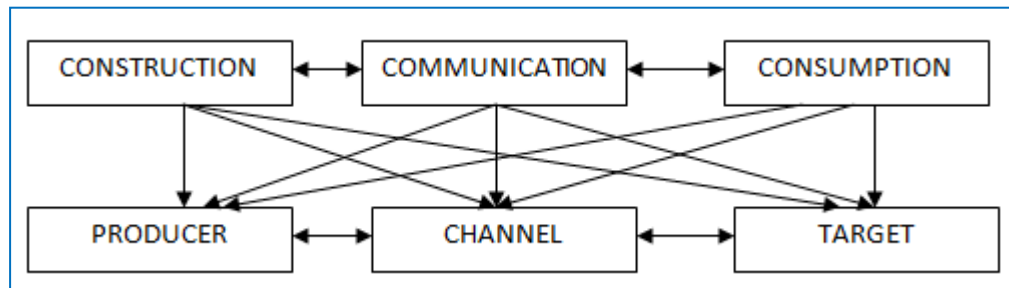
There are four main themes that characterise the Bucharest representations which will be explored next: image and the relationship capital-country; built environment, symbolism and regeneration; image and managing history; transition and change.

10.3 Bucharest tourism representations macro-themes

This section summarises the characteristics of Bucharest's tourism representation. These have been grouped under four major categories: the image and the relationship between capital and country; built environment and symbolism; identity and managing history; and transition and change.

10.3.1 Image and the relationship capital-country

Image plays a very important part in the tourism representations of Bucharest. It could be observed throughout the investigation that both representations and images are deeply dependent on the status of the city as national capital and there is considerable overlap between the image of the city and the image of the nation. Stereotypical images best reflect this aspect: "I don't have any knowledge of Bucharest…it's completely unknown. I'm informed only by media coverage in the late 80s with all the political upheaval that happened in Eastern Europe, that's my only point of reference" (Focus-group 1, Participant 3). The overlap goes beyond that and the use of Bucharest and Romania interchangeably could be observed imbedded in all four sets of data: "They

have to be realistic in the way that they pitch the country, sorry, city."
(Interviewee 37, Local travel writer).

Although a neglected topic for a long time, the importance of 'capital tourism' is starting to be acknowledged (Maitland, 2012a, 2012b; Maitland, 2010; Maitland and Newman, 2009). Questions like: 'To what extent are or should capital cities use their 'capitalness' to promote and represent themselves?' are now becoming of interest, for example Diekmann and Cloquet's (2012) research on the role of the 'capitalness' factor in city branding. They argue that although 'capitalness' very much depends on the specific characteristic of each capital and nation, the capital city status has strong marketing implications and is a significant tourist pull factor.

The 'capitalness' factor plays a major role in Bucharest's tourism representations. This suggests that without the national capital status Bucharest would probably not even be considered a tourism destination by marketers or national tourists, let alone by international visitors - "We are not used to talking about Bucharest as a tourism city (…) many still think: why waste time on Bucharest when there are better, more interesting cities in this country" (Interviewee 19, local travel agent). Cities like Brasov or Sighisoara are considered traditional tourist destinations by most Romanians because of their historic centres and specific medieval architecture; Bucharest on the other hand is commonly considered a business destination (Interviewee 29, hotel manager), and also a gateway and starting place for different themed tours (Interviewee 5, Ministry of Tourism representative).

To some extent, this perception of Bucharest as a non-tourism/non-touristy place seems to be mirrored by tourist blogs and is part of the city's negative image as a place where there is nothing to see and so not worth visiting. However, the importance of Bucharest as the main cultural, economic and political centre of the country is acknowledged by most representation-makers. Therefore, while Romania has a strong domestic tourism, Bucharest is not considered a traditional national destination for leisure tourism. This is in spite of Bucharest's strong cultural scene (Interviewee 38, Local travel writer). It can also be argued that some of the negative images and perceptions tourists

and potential tourists have can be traced back to the negative images and perceptions Romanians have of Bucharest.

As a result, tourism marketers have to start very much from the beginning in representing the city. Cities like Sighisoara and Brasov arguably have very strong tourism identities; however Bucharest has a very strong overall identity as a national capital, but a weak identity as a tourism destination. Furthermore, as discussions with government officials revealed, in spite of this lack of confidence and experience in promoting Bucharest for tourism, due to its capital status, the city simply 'has' to be promoted, the driving force being the 'unofficial' competition with neighbouring capitals – "We are looking at what Budapest and Sofia are doing. (…) Bucharest should not be neglected" (Interviewee 9, city hall tourism representative). It seems that 'capitalness' is becoming a popular marketing tool in CEE countries (Rozite and Klepers, 2012; Smith and Puczko, 2012) and that official representation-makers when building their representations consider what the competition is doing and not what the tourist and potential tourist wants, or the actual assets of the destination. More research is need on this topic; as Diekmann and Cloquet (2012:20) point out, there are only a handful of studies that "focus on the relationship between the status of capital and marketing and branding strategies".

Representing Bucharest for tourism is made particularly difficult by its previous representation as a communist symbol. It is widely acknowledged Ceausescu changed the landscape of the city to match his ambitions. Essentially, Bucharest was used as a tool to express his power. Of course, all communist capitals have had issues switching from a communist capital to a democratic capital, and many had their landscape dramatically altered by the previous regime, but Ceausescu's high visibility amongst other communist dictators of the world and the size of his most prominent legacy, the Parliament Palace makes it even harder to re-represent. Returning to a pre-communist city identity and focusing on the Paris-like heritage seems logical. Therefore, changing representations in this case is highly problematic, both at general level and tourism specific, both at national and international level.

Furthermore, another layer of difficulty is added if consideration is given to the symbolic role of the capital within the country, and the complex relationship between capital and national identity (White, 2012). These relationships between Bucharest representations and national and city identity will be discussed later on in the chapter after exploring issues related to heritage and history.

On a projected level, Bucharest's lack of a tourist past and strong communist links are problematic; on a perceived level there are major overlaps between Bucharest's image and Romania's image. The overlap with the country's image was a major theme for potential tourists in all focus-groups; one focus-group participant argued Bucharest did not have a distinct image from Romania – "I don't think Bucharest has a distinctive image. It's not like London for example. Everybody knows London. But when you say Bucharest, people usually think of Romania" (Participant 3, Focus-group 2). When participants were asked to write the first five things that come to mind when Bucharest is mentioned, two of them wrote Transylvania (Focus-group1, Participant 7; Focus-group 2, Participant 3), one wrote vampire/dragon (Focus-group 2, Participant 2), one wrote horse and carriage (Focus-group 1, Participant 7), and one wrote 'wild animals' (Focus-group 2, Participant 5). When they were asked to expand on their answers, participants acknowledged the images they had of Bucharest were very much the same as the images they had of Romania. Further discussion at group level confirmed this image overlap and in group3 this overlap was discussed after watching the promotional videos, participants arguing that the reasons they did not agree with the images being shown was that perhaps the things they were expecting to see – traditional clothes, customs and dances, and food - were valid more for Romania in general. This overlap is not confined to potential tourists. References to Romania and the overlap of city and country image are present throughout the research. For example one interviewee stressed the negative image Romania had inevitably influenced Bucharest's image (Interviewee 9, City hall tourism representative).

Some overlap is inevitable considering the national capital status; however it does raise the question of how strong is this overlap (Figure 10.6). For Bucharest this overlap is strong however more research is necessary as it falls outside the scope of the current research.

Figure 10.6 What is the degree of overlap between the country and capital images?
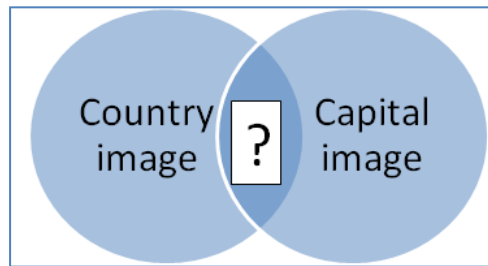
One of the questions explored in the literature review was: What is the relationship between image and representation? It was emphasised there are mixed views: some say image is part of tourism representation; others say representation is part of destination image (Lew, 1991; Morgan et al, 2002; Maitland, 2012b). The present research seems to suggest images form part of representations and there are far more images than representations. Bucharest has a wide variety of destination images. Some are negative - poverty, gypsies, stray dogs, taxi scams; some positive – mixed heritage, culturally rich, diverse, interesting, and so on; and some have both positive and negative connotations – chaotic city, rough around the edges. However, the representation of Bucharest as a modern European capital constructed by government officials for example is made up of only those images that support the government's message: 'Bucharest is a modern European capital'. For that reason, references to poverty, gypsies, stray dogs, and taxi scams are not common in official destination materials. Instead, both text and pictures emphasize Paris-like heritage and glass office buildings as they are thought to best say European and modern. Nevertheless, as government interviewees acknowledged, they are fully aware of the existence of these other images – "Romania has a negative image because of gypsies and Bucharest has a bad image because of stay dogs" (Interviewee3, ministry for tourism, tourism development department).

Representations may be constructed differently by independent media which argue against the Paris-like image but emphasize the modernity of the place through glass buildings and the fact Bucharest has everything other modern European capitals have, from shopping and dining to Starbucks, famous brands and the latest technological gadgets Potential tourists too built their modern representation of Bucharest with the EU association: "I do not have a vivid picture of the city - big, busy city, western-like probably as Romania is now part of the EU, mysterious, gothic-Dracula-like" (Focus-group 1, Participant 6).

Therefore, although the representation shell is similar, the image selection very much depends on the representation-maker. This goes back to the circuit of representations previously discussed and the relative separation between producers and re-producers of representations. As this Bucharest example suggests, different producers can interpret the same images differently and can use different images to build similar representations or they can enhance or modify the current representation by challenging or adding new images. Essentially, it is a subjective process and different producers select what they believe are the relevant images for a representation based on their own perceptions and the message they want to convey. In other words, any numbers of image permutations are possible; it all depends on the representation maker and his desired message.

However, the images available depends on place characteristics: the specific local elements. These are more or less unique to that particular place, generically titled local heritage, history, culture, and so on; the status of the city - for example national capital, and the common global knowledge. This refers to those images frequently associated with that representation by other places, for example glass buildings are usually interpreted as symbols of modernity – "Bucharest is just like any other European capital. The same brand names advertise themselves in bright lights from city-centre rooftops" (Material 53, Tourism Media, Travel guides). The message itself can be complex; especially when considering its potential interpretations. As the focus-groups revealed, there is a gap between the government's intended

message and the interpretations given by its targets – the use of Little-Paris was not interpreted as symbolizing the link to Europe but as fake and inappropriate. This is directly linked to the clash between the desired destination image and the tourist image. While the main desired governmental representation of Bucharest is that of a mainstream European city, the images selected by tourists represent Bucharest as a 'distinctive city', different tom other European capitals making use of expressions such as: 'off the beaten track', 'rough around the edges', or 'the real Eastern Europe'.

This clash is of particular importance considering Kotler et al's (1999) theory that for place images to be effective they must be: valid, believable, simple, appealing and distinctive. In other words, the projected image or representation of the destination needs to be as close to 'reality' as possible - arguably, it has to convince potential visitors and therefore cannot be too far from the organic images they already have otherwise that could create confusion or be classified as fake. Fake or unrealistic images have a negative effect on the experiences of tourists at the destination, they create expectations that if not met lead to disappointment and negative experiences. Too many images create confusion. The image must suggest why people would want to visit the place and they work best when they are different from the images projected by the competition. Gran (2010:27) underlines these criteria "tell us that the image must be related to some relevant reality that is unique, (…) this 'relevant reality' has to do with identity, essence and values; the image is seen as a representation of some deeper and truer reality".

The strong desire of government officials to promote the city as modern is evident in their search for a Bucharest tourism brand - "we don't have a city brand yet but we are working on it, and we use Twitter, Facebook and YouTube" (Interviewee 5, Government official, Department for Marketing and Communication). Gran (2010), for example, underlines that brands have become so popular they are now synonymous with modernity and capitalism. Therefore, brands are perceived as fashionable methods of drawing attention to a place and Bucharest officials are keen on having one; it could be argued that having a brand and using social media are ways to communicate a modern and

up-to-date destination. Furthermore, evidence suggests that building a brand around culture and the Paris heritage reflect the government's desire to be perceived as 'European'.

As Kottler et al (1999) and Gran (2010) points out the main purpose of a brand is differentiation – "a continuously globalised capitalism demands further differentiation of products and companies" (Gran, 2010:25). Culture is a popular choice among Western and Eastern European destination. It could be argued that the choices are therefore unoriginal and indistinguishable from other European destinations, contradicting the very purpose of a brand. Whether this is intentional or not could not be clarified in the interviews undertaken with government officials, however one media interviewee argued they are aware and doing it on purpose, they would rather Bucharest be seen as everywhere else rather than different (Interviewee 37, Travel writer). The choice to copy everybody else may be on purpose and another way to stress the link to Europe by government bodies.

This suggests Bucharest's representation has synecdoche and metaphor elements. Synecdoche is a figure of speech in which a part is made to represent the whole or vice versa. Hunter (2011:4-5) writes that the synecdoche is "a mechanism for containing the complex reality of large cities by making a projected city image focus on one or more highly visual elements of the landscape".

10.3.2 Built environment and symbolism

Two major interconnected issues emerged regarding the built environment. The first reflects on the symbolic value attributed to each set of Bucharest's main heritage buildings; and the second on the specific characteristics of the regeneration process taking place in Bucharest. The term 'built environment' rather than 'heritage' is used here to emphasize the complexity of Bucharest's landscape and the controversial nature the notion of 'heritage' has for the city.

Much like any city in the world, Bucharest is a sum of different layers of heritage interpreted in different ways by different actors. Furthermore, the representations themselves are selective over which heritage to show. They

focus mostly on three main types of heritage, each with a specific symbolic value, each acquired under certain circumstances: the 'European' heritage: Little-Paris; the 'communist' heritage: Parliament Palace; the 'Romanian' heritage: Old Town Lipscani. For example, the Romanian Athenaeum is part of the Little Paris representation of the city, both in terms of text and pictures, it dominates government materials. It is used as a symbol to reinforce the link to the west because of its common features with other places. Potential tourists however interpret it as lacking in authenticity. one interviewee argued The Athenaeum should not be used as the 'Little Paris' image symbol but rather 'Calea Victoriei' boulevard (Interviewee 16, Catering facility). The Parliament Palace and communist heritage is controversial heritage as Light (2000a, 2000b) suggests because of the link to communism and an unwanted past, but because it meant destroying a great deal of the historical centre, -one author calls it "architectural vandalism" (Nedelcovici, 2006:1).

Old Town Lipscani is an classic of culture-led regeneration, copying the western model of 'cultural quarter' and leading to commoditisation and perceived loss of authenticity. Urban spaces, undertaking a complex process of culture-led regeneration, where the ultimate goal is supposedly better competitiveness on the tourism market, often end up losing their individuality and originality and simply looking like each other or "indistinguishable variations of each-other" (Miles, 2006:242). Smith (2007:91) talks about this under the umbrella of 'placelessness' or "could-be-anywhere feeling experienced by tourists in many global cities". For Bucharest, this theme was largely brought up in interviews and focus-groups in relation to Old Town Lipscani; however, when comparing findings from tourism professionals and potential tourists, two opposite arguments can been identified. On the one hand, potential tourists interpret the images of 'modernised' 'old' Bucharest as lacking authenticity and appeal, arguing it looks like any other European destination. On the other hand, for Bucharest officials 'placelessness' translates into 'belonging'- "we look like you therefore we are you" (Interviewee 40, Local travel writer). In other words, the process of 'placelessness' appears to be purposeful and part of the desired representation of the city.

Furthermore, before the project of regeneration started, Lipscani preserved certain characteristics reflecting the old identity of Bucharest: the small specialised shops and the decaying yet bohemian-looking buildings. The arguments that started the process of regeneration initially drew on the lack of safety of the area and the need for repair of both streets and buildingsHowever the process of regeneration lead to small shops and independent art galleries closing down and being replaced by pubs, bars and restaurants and souvenir shops, so regeneration of the area appears to be slowly leading to the loss of its identity. This is phenomenon well acknowledged in literature, for example Zukin (1982:837) writes that when standardised attractions come into play it is often that "place identity is sacrificed on the altar of culture-led regeneration". However, another way of interpreting this phenomenon is that one identity is being replaced by another. In many ways the regeneration of the area not only made it tourist friendly but gave it a tourism identity. In the past Lipscani was simply a cheap shopping area for locals, however now it is becoming the main tourist area for the city. And the creation of this area can be considered a response to a frequent guidebook line that Bucharest does not have one clear city centre. This suggests the regeneration of the area has some impacts on city geography and local lifestyle removing the shopping element for locals and concentrating the tourist activity, especially nightlife as many bars and clubs have located there.

Many businesses, making use of loopholes and a weak conservation policy of historical buildings, renovate them without respecting their original aspect. Furthermore, the power struggle between 'heritage' and 'modernisation' is not limited to the historic centre. Existing literature and new developments in the destination reveal that the phenomenon of regeneration and modernisation has spread out to other areas of the city. For example, a scandal was started in winter 2011 when a new infrastructure project was passed by the government requiring the demolition of a number of streets with historical significance close to the North Train Station to make room for a new wide boulevard (ProTV, 2011). The destruction of historical neighbourhoods such as Uranus to make room for communism constructions such as the Parliament Palace was highly contested at the time but was not an isolated incident and such

redevelopment has continued to be part of everyday practice in Bucharest. As one interviewee argued, in Bucharest after communism started and even after the revolution the focus has never been on preservation and conservation of heritage (Interviewee 21, Local travel agent).

It seems the visual or physical identity of 'old' Bucharest (defined through old buildings classified under heritage) is replaced by the identity of 'European' Bucharest as it is perceived and defined by officials: modern and standardised. This argument is supported by Stahl (2006:xiii): "...even though immature, if we had kept him, the old Bucharest would have developed its own individual character and identity, perhaps becoming a new Nuremberg; but we are modernising instead, copying the west." This is linked to the debate of landscapes of power. If Ceausescu used the landscape to emphasise his power and the strength of the communist regime, the post-communist governments are using it to emphasize a modern European capital.

Taking into considering that blog analysis revealed the main attraction of Bucharest is its off-the-beaten track, slightly rundown feel, it can be argued a clash between what tourists want and what officials want is evident here. Government officials want modern and European while tourists and potential tourists want authentic and 'real'. Officials and many businesses want 'touristy', while tourists want 'non-touristy'. This reflects the place held by tourism within the overall plan, suggesting that tourist opinions take second place to political views on what Bucharest attractions should look like and communicate.

It can be argued here that there are major differences between the city regeneration and heritage conservation in the western and eastern capitals of Eastern Europe. In their 2008 article, Ratz et al. emphasized that Budapest's regeneration is characterised mainly by a separation between the old historic centre and newer modern developments at its periphery. A similar situation applies to Prague and Berlin. However, Bucharest's situation is different. It is an example of where glass and modern buildings are taking the place of heritage in the city centre?. The type of transformation Bucharest is facing is not culture-led regeneration but as one interviewee puts it "money-driven city

refurbishment" (Interviewee19, local travel agent). It seems Bucharest is being pushed out of Bucharest. Instead the creation of islands of heritage is taking place - Lipscani as the physical representation of old Bucharest; Victoriei Avenue (Calea Victoriei) and the area surrounding the historic city as 'Little-Paris' representation; and Unirea Square, the Civic Centre and and Parliament Palace as representations of communism - only that even these islands are reinterpreted in a modern fashion. Furthermore, there seems to be a contradiction between the representations of the city for tourism and wider city conservation and regeneration issues; a paradox between the marketing of culture at government level and the systematic destruction of old buildings and the encouragement of modern developments.

On an official level, Europeanization is desired and pursued, not individuality, although cracks are apparent and not everyone agrees with this representation of Bucharest. There seems to be a struggle between 'being Romanian' and 'being European' amongst destination marketers. Being 'European' may be interpreted as having cultural heritage and being 'modern; but in order to make room for modern the physical element of culture – the heritage - is pushed out to make way for modern. Even Bucharest's major tourist attraction, the Parliament Palace received a modern facelift when the top floors of one of the wings were dressed in glass. The glass exterior was meant to reflect the changed interior – the rooms that housed the dictators sleeping quarters now hosts the Contemporary Art Museum. Johnson (1999:187) argues that heritage tourism is "not just a set of commercial transactions, but the ideological framing of history and identity"..

10.3.3 Identity and managing history

A major theme coming out of the research is related to identity and history. Interviewees argued that Bucharest had a weak city identity due to its troubled past: "I don't think we know what we want, I don't think we know who we are." Bucharest's and Romania's confused identity or identity crisis is argued by other interviewees as well: "We are confronting ourselves with an identity crisis, both on a national and city level" (Interviewee38, local travel writer), or

as Interviewee40 argues "a search for the identity" (Interviewee40, local travel writer).

It will be argued Bucharest's representations reflect a confused city identity as a result of its (troubled) past. History is a common theme to all four stages of research, taking up considerable amounts of space within each stage. History is a common theme in studies about representation. For example, the edited volume by Waterton and Watson (2010) on culture, heritage and representation, gathers findings from 14 different studies where history emerges as a dominant theme. The collection of essays reflects the many shapes, forms and associations history can have - history can be associated with authenticity (see Jones, 2010); with branding (Waterton, 2010); with heritage (Watson, 2010; Mordue, 2010); with memory (Wilson, 2010).

'History' is a complex topic, much like 'culture' it can be perceived in many ways and 'defining' it very much depends on the case-study. Overall, for Bucharest, history is mostly associated with memory, nostalgia and identity. It is referred to directly – in terms of historical events, facts and figures; or indirectly – associated with heritage, culture and identity. Almost all destination materials, with very few exceptions, contain a section entitled 'history' or referring to historical facts. Within interviews, it is often discussed together with culture and heritage. Blogs dedicate good portions of the text, often quoting destination materials, as previously discussed. Focus-groups brought up history and historical events. There are four main historical periods reflected in tourism representations: the period between the two world wars (known as 'Little-Paris' era) – a dominant theme especially in governmental materials; communism – a dominant theme in materials produced by the media, as well as blogs and potential tourists; the 'official' beginnings of the city associated with Vlad the Impaler (Dracula) – not known by potential tourists; and transition or post-communist years – a dominant theme especially in interviews with professionals at the destination.

The idea that countries or cities with difficult history often choose to ignore certain elements and focus on less problematic parts of it is not new. In many ways it is similar to a process of management – minimising the damage,

maximising the profit - in other words 'managing history'. This is the case for Bucharest. Different representation-makers manage history in different ways. Government focuses on a pre-communist past to separate itself from a difficult period and emphasise a link with Europe.

When interpreting and communicating history, tourism representation-makers do take on a role similar to that of the 'historian' in that they actually 'make' history by adopting a selective view of what to include and what to leave out. However marketers are not usually trained historians, and although their histories are 'less formal' than a trained historian, they are nevertheless influential and reach a considerable number of people, perhaps far more than academic history.

Taking this discussion even further, it can be concluded that there is not one history, but a series of possible histories, each one the interaction between facts and interpretation. In the present context, history is used as a tool to convey certain messages about Bucharest, and it is used in different ways by different representation-makers. Some governmental officials wanting to represent Bucharest as a European capital 'use' those historical facts that are most relevant such as the Paris link – "France was regarded "as the Latin older sister of Romania". French influence, which had been felt since the nineteenth century, persisted until the communists came to power" (Government materials 2, Cultural Bucharest brochure). Some industry and media actors focus on easily identifiable and highly commercial elements such as the Dracula histories (for example the link to the official beginnings of the city); other industry and media pay extended attention to the communist history and the revolution – "Romania was nearly the last of the Eastern European communist regimes to fall; its fall was the most violent up to that time. Although the events of December 1989 are much in dispute" (Industry material 9, local travel agent guide). Essentially, there are different versions of the national and local story told by different actors.

Light (2000a; 2000b; 2001) and Hall (1998a, 1998b, 1999) suggest the change from communism to transition was a traumatic experience that created an identity vacuum. As a result many post-communist states avoided difficult

histories and focused on less traumatic ones. In fact, memory itself is selective. Selective histories and memories are normal, as Urry (1995:166) writes "social memories are in fact always selective and there is no real memory to counterpose to the supposedly false memory of the visitor. The memories of 'locals' will be as selective as those of visitors", for Romania and Bucharest this translated into avoiding a difficult heritage and using a particular past (Little Paris) to emphasise European link and 'better times' for the city, glorifying the 1930s. A complex process of denial and nostalgia took place. The inability to cope with a problematic or contested past and the issue of erasing or ignoring the dominant past, in favour of a lighter, less 'stressful' past is a common practice in destination marketing (for example Timothy and Boyd, 2003). So is the issue of nostalgia and glorifying certain aspects of history – "disenchantment with today impels us to try to recover yesterday" (Lowenthal, 1995:33). These two phenomena characterise Bucharest. Selective memory, distorted pasts, or manipulation of historical events are part of the Bucharest politics of representation. Cottle's (1976) research identifies four main goals in revisiting the past: explaining the past – understanding why certain things happened; searching for the golden age – simply reliving happy times; self-aggrandizement – reaffirming value and glory that has long gone; and changing the past – "the past as we know it is partially a product of the present; we continuously reshape memory, rewrite history, refashion relics" (Lowenthal, 1995:26). Although Cottle's research investigated men and women as individuals, one could argue that to some extent the four reasons make sense to places as well. The last goal is closely linked to Carr's (1961, 1990) understanding of history as a living, changeable entity.

In addition, "nostalgia is today the universal catchword for looking back. It fills the popular press, serves as advertising bait, merits sociological study; no term better expresses modern malaise" (Lowenthal, 1995:4). As Lowenthal (1995:4) argues, nostalgia is profitable – "If the past is a foreign country, nostalgia has made it the foreign country with the healthiest tourist trade of all; (…) nostalgia's profitability incites real estateagents to drum up interest by digging out every shred of history; (…) people love nostalgia and firmly believe that what is old is necessarily good, developers capitalize on proximity

to historic dwellings; the old building adds credibility and status to the new building". This may be true for the UK; however, in Bucharest nostalgia takes a different, complex, rather contradictory form. On the one hand, historical buildings are being destroyed, on the other, Paris heritage is pushed forward; plus, old buildings are being dressed up in glass as the previous section argued. For Bucharest, the period between the two world wars - also known as Little-Paris era - is glorified in government brochures. It is seen as a period of development for the city, of innocence, and culture and opportunity. Black and white pictures in government brochures show old cars, busy streets and elegant looking people. However, the uncertainty of the time, the poverty that characterised the country and the city, the lack of education and literacy, the horrors of the First World War and the threat of a new one are overlooked.

The last relevant issue is 'managing' communism and selling it. Communism is tackled with caution by government materials but being sold successfully to foreign travellers by some industry interviewees and is the main theme in media materials. However, there is new evidence the government is willing to accept and promote disputed representations at national level. In 2011 the Minister of Tourism went to China and hearing that Chinese people are interested in communism in Romania, decided to promote 'red tourism' - "From a tourist point of view, it is extraordinary to exploit the places where the last great dictator of Eastern Europe lived. (…) It is of great interest, people have gotten over their rage about the dictator…For foreigners it is great" (Badea, 2011), declared former Tourism Minister, Elena Udrea in an interview for Romanian TV station B1TV in August 2011. More specifically she intended to put together a circuit of all the places linked with Ceausecu, from the old country house where he was born some 150 miles from Bucharest, the prison where he was held a number of times between 1933 and 1944 due to his communist convictions before taking up the leadership of the communist party and becoming president, the palaces he had throughout the country, the Parliament Palace, to the military facility in Targoviste where he was executed with his wife.

The reactions in the written press, TV and social media to this news have been complex. Most argued for caution, historian Marius Oprea, for example, emphasised that focusing only on Ceausescu could send the wrong message about the dictator, potentially glorifying him, and challenged the ability of the government in sending the right message (Marius Oprea for NewsIn, 2011). To some extent they reflect the mixed feelings of Romanians over Ceausescu and their superstitious nature. Matei (2011), for example, wrote in her article about the house where they were shot - "The Ceausescus were shot on Christmas Day 1989 in a military facility in Targoviste. The building where they were judged and executed is empty to this day, although the military facility is fully operational. What shocks most people is the fact that the outside wall of the building is always wet. Regardless if summer or winter, the stain never dries off. People say the wall is wet because of the tears of Ceausescu who never stops weeping". Former tourism minister, Dan Matei Agaton, argued such a representation would upset most Romanians, as a great deal of nostalgia still persists over that period (Grigore, 2011). On the other hand, Badea's (2011) survey of 2.184 readers of online newspaper Ziare.com revealed that while 42.31% were against, 53.98% agreed with the idea of promoting communism. However, when analysing the online comments made by readers, Badea (2011) emphasised most comments were ironic in nature, and while still supporting this representation, there were many references made to the difficulties faced during communism and after communism. In conclusion, this debate reflects the contradictory nature of communism which falls in line with the findings of this study and previous knowledge captured by academics investigating CEE countries, communism and communist heritage. Therefore, not only the present research supports the ideas of Light (2000a; 2000b; 2001) that communism and communist heritage, including the Parliament Palace, is still perceived as problematic, but adds to it by stressing that the revolution itself is still very much a topic of debate and contradiction more than 20 years after, and the difficult transition years, the EU integration, and the ongoing economic crisis are further enhancing its problematic nature. Not only there is no reconciliation with a difficult past but the past itself seems to be constantly 'replayed' in the minds of its citizens due to the many economic difficulties the city and country have been facing these past 23 years.

10.3.4 Transition and change

On why people yearn for times gone by, Lowenthal (1995) writes this may be due to: "a devotion to relics, the treasuring of antiques and souvenirs, a tendency to value what is old simply because it is old, the rejection of change" (p33). Both change and the rejection of change are affecting Bucharest. Transition has been identified as the main factor affecting this post-communist destination. All other themes are linked to issues of transition and change. Van Ostaaijen (2007:3) writes that "urban regimes are about coping with change". It can be argued the dysfunctional urban regime present in Bucharest can be explained through the lack of stability the country and capital has and is facing.

Change has emerged as an important theme for all actors, both as part of the representations and as explanation for them. However it has different associations for each one. While tourists, potential tourists and some media outlets see change in a positive light, government bodies and some industry members see it in a more negative light. For government and industry, change is mostly associated with transition, and brings out issues related to both opportunity and progress, but also instability and anxiety. For tourists and potential tourists change is linked with communism and the idea of physical, social and cultural transformations and evolution of the city since the revolution, and is perceived as interesting and appealing, an attraction in itself. In other words, government bodies and institutions, including government owned tourist attractions, see transition and change as a weakness reflecting their lack of know-how and their failure to catch up to the west and being a late entry on the tourists market. The change from communism to democracy followed the same stages in Romania as in other CEE countries, where a long process of privatisation is taking place. However, this process proved longer and difficult than in other countries. Lesley Roberts in his analysis of tourism development in Romania wrote that "assessments of Romania's progress in transitional processes paint a picture of procrastination, instability and inefficiency" (Roberts, 2004:57). His conclusions were based on the 2000 Travel and Tourism Intelligence and 2002 OECD reports. Based on the answers given by interviewees, it can be argued that although more than ten

years have passed since those reports were published, the situations in Romania and Bucharest still follow the same patterns.

The influence of 'politics' is very strong in Bucharest and Romania. Bucharest tourism is highly politicised - "Of course it is political, everything is political in this country" (Interviewee12). Constant change of personnel due to political regime changes is one example. Due to the 2011 and early 2012 riots, the prime minister and his cabinet - including the Minister for Tourism - resigned. Almost immediately the new government started changing the old staff. This level of instability and negative change is one reason for the lack of a coherent and appealing message; but it also impacts the image of the capital and the nation it represents.

10.4 Conclusions

The purpose of this chapter has been to bring together the macro themes resulting from the four research stages in order to summarise the aim of the thesis: the process of representations and the characteristics of Bucharest capital city tourism representations. In addition, findings suggest that based on their importance, representations can be organised into generic and distinctive. Such categorisations, together with that based on producer-category or actor – such as official if governmental and unofficial if industry or media - helps organise and understand them. For example, some representations are stronger than others, identifying the dominant tourism representations, and their representation-makers, is a first step in understanding how the destination is being represented for tourism.

In terms of the process of representation, this seems to be a cyclical process. Due to rapid developments in new media such as Twitter or Facebook, and the focus on direct communication and interactivity with the tourist, the line between producer and consumer is being blurred. The characteristics of Bucharest tourism representations suggest that tourism representations are governed and determined by the agenda of that particular representation-maker, even if it contradicts the images of tourists or potential tourists.

The issues that characterise Bucharest tourism representations can be summarised in three categories. First, there is a strong overlap between the image of the capital and that of the country. Bucharest does not appear to have a strong individual image. Instead it shares a strong set of stereotypical images with Romania: communism and revolution, Dracula and Transylvania, or negative image elements such as poverty or gypsies. In addition, the 'official' or governmental representation is driven by the agenda of emphasizing a European link; culture and Little Paris are used for that purpose. However, leisure tourist and potential tourist images and interest in the city are characterised by words such as different, Eastern, or non-touristy. These are influenced but also influence tourism industry and media representation-makers. The strength of organic images as a result of negative media reports and word-of-mouth or friends was observed as responsible for these images in tourists and potential tourists. On the induced image side guidebooks appear to be the main source. A gap exists between the official desired representation and the needs and wishes of tourists and potential tourists. The gap is explained by the desire of government officials to be seen as European or 'like everyone/everywhere else', while tourists and potential tourists want 'different' and Eastern.

Second, the built environment reflects different heritages, each a result of different historical periods, each imbedded with the symbolic meanings of the political regime when built, each debated and attacked by the next political regime. Old Bucharest heritage is out staged by royal heritage; both were disapproved by the communist regime with half the city's old buildings replaced by communist architecture; which is then transformed using modern means of renovation, in addition to the city adopting glass covered buildings as the city's symbol of modernism and capitalism. The built environment is also heritage, and heritage of all types is part of both official and unofficial tourism representations. A gap exists between modernisation and tourism representations.

Third, history and its interpretations, together with a weak city identity as a result of a troubled history shape the city's tourism representations. Not only

do different histories fascinate different people, but different people interpret the same history differently. While tourists and potential tourists show fascination for communism, some representation-makers exhibit denial and rejection, while other focus on commercialising an unwanted past. Or, while the Little Paris representation is associated with nostalgia by destination representation-makers, it ignored by potential tourist, or argued against by many representation makers and consumers alike. And last, transition and constant change, a problematic urban regime and the highly politicised nature of tourism complete the picture.

Chapter 11. Conclusions, limitations and recommendations for further research

11.1 Introduction

The aim of this chapter is to conclude the thesis by attempting to understand to what extent the issues identified and discussed for Bucharest apply to other CEE capitals; to reflect on the methodological framework post-analysis; and to identify some further directions for study.

11.2 Concluding remarks

The research set out to understand the tourism representations of a post-communist capital city. The aim was to understand the process of tourism representation from production to consumption and the issues that characterise the representations of a post-communist Central and Eastern European national capital. The case-study is Bucharest, capital of Romania. Bucharest was chosen because it promised to be an interesting and complex example of post-communist CEE capital. Not only does it present both typical characteristics compared to other CEE capitals – for example communist heritage; but also some unique characteristics – such as the violent nature of the revolution, or the unique characteristics in terms of location impacts, religion, history, or language.

Fieldwork started with an analysis of a variety of textual and visual destination materials (a selection of case-study destination guidebooks, brochures, travel articles and websites, as well as social media) in order to identify tourism representations. This was followed by semi-structured interviews with tourism professionals at the destination in order to understand the reasons behind these destination representations. The third question looked at how tourists perceive destination representations and to what extent they influence tourist experiences. This was achieved by analyzing a selection of tourist blogs. The last research question attempted to understand approach how potential tourists interpret destination representations. This was achieved by conducting focus groups with potential tourists that manifested an interest in visiting the

destination. Analysis of findings employs NVivo8 content analysis programme.

Findings reflect on the thin line between representation producers and consumers and on the cyclical nature of the process of representation. In addition, cross-tabulation of findings helped argue Bucharest representations are rigged with stereotypical images of the destination, both on the projected and perceived side. There is a strong overlap between the representations and images of Romania and that of its capital, Bucharest. The tourism representations projected by Bucharest representation-makers seem to be determined by an ongoing process of self-rediscovery and reaffirmation of a European identity.

Bucharest's projected governmental tourism representations are strongly affected by politics, transition and change. Therefore, they may be unstable and adapted to satisfy new political wills and urban regimes. On the other hand, tourists and potential tourists are attracted by the distinctiveness of the city, by its 'Eastern' characteristics, and by the change from communism to democracy. In addition, while tourist testimonials seem to be strongly influenced by tourism media destination representations, especially guidebooks; potential tourists perceive projected destination representations as unappealing and creating false expectations. Gaps exist between the 'official' (by government) and 'unofficial' (by tourism industry and tourism media) projected capital city tourism representations, and tourist and potential tourists' perceptions and representations of the city.

Bucharest revealed some interesting issues however, the question raised now is: To what extent can Bucharest findings be generalised to other CEE capitals? Or perhaps even to non-CEE national capital cities. First of all, it can be argued here are strong similarities between Bucharest and other CEE capitals (for example Sofia, Riga, or Bratislava), while at the same time there are strong differences with other CEE capitals (for example Budapest, Prague or Berlin) on a number of issues. For example, unlike Budapest who did try promote some soviet-related attractions (Puczko et al, 2007; Smith and Puczko, 2012), Bucharest tried to ignore and avoid it much like Riga did

(Rozite and Klepers, 2012). It can also be argued that Bucharest is considerably behind other CEE capitals like Budapest or Prague from a tourism perspective. Although the same tools have been used to aid tourism development, positive image building and tourism representation, such as urban regeneration and cultural tourism, Bucharest's development has been slower and is far from complete while Bucharest's urban regime is a dysfunctional one, highly politicised and marked by many conflicts and scandals and accusations of corruption.

These similarities and differences need to be acknowledged before attempting to generalise. The issue of similarities and differences with other CEE capitals has also been noticed by other authors as well, like Rozite and Klepers (2012:63), who write: "In describing the development of tourism in Riga, the most striking parallels are with the other two Baltic capitals Tallinn and Vilnius". Therefore trying to understand how a number of CEE capitals cities tackle the same issue presents academic interest even more than exploring one destination in detail. Of course, as evident in so many studies on CEE, even if the focus is on one or two of topics outlined above, all these issues merge together at one point or another, so the danger in focusing on more than one case-study has always been that the topic becomes far too wide and difficult to handle, leading to chaos and a muddled approach. However it is argued that by adopting a clear focus and research framework, these potential problems can be overcome and the benefits of comparative studies between different CEE capitals would be greater.

The research wishes to contribute to current debates on the production and consumption of tourism spaces. Although adopting a different methodological approach, the theoretical background and the themes coming out of findings are similar to those explored in the edited volume by Kevin Meethan, Alison Anderson and Steve Miles – Tourism consumption and representation: narratives of place and self (Meethan et al, 2006). One of these is the impacts of globalization. As Meethan et al (2006) identify, globalisation is a major factor affecting tourism representations. This was evident here as well. However, more than that, from a projected perspective or the destination angle,

Europeanization played the major role. As argued a number of times, the desired official representation is to be seen as European and part of the European community.

UK tourist are looking to escape the Westerness and find the Easterness, which is difficult to find in any type of destination materials: "The eastern aspects are missing. It shows the western parts more than the eastern parts and that doesn't attract you." (Focus-group1, Participant1). In other words, while tourists and potential tourists want to escape globalisation and Europeanization, tourism government desires them, tourism industry exploits it, and industry media reflects it. Out of all types of destination materials, tourism media appears to be most aware of the tourist type and what they are looking for.

The reasons behind these contradictions are of interest. As previously argued, after decades of being 'different' under the communist regime, 'different' or 'Eastern' is not desired. The question is does this apply to other for post-communist capitals? Is the Easterness of Eastern Europe just a myth? What is Easterness – what are or were the characteristics specific to CEE (according to different actors)? Are there differences between Central and Eastern Europe in that respect? Has globalisation and the wish to fit in/integrate into Europe altered the local/Easterness? Therefore, although the search for 'different' and 'Eastern' is an interesting finding it raises more questions than answers. In addition, to what extent is the UK Bucharest tourist the same for all CEE capitals? Is this the profile of the CEE tourist: an explorer looking for 'different' and 'Eastern', or a special interest tourist looking to observe change? In a highly globalised society, marked by economic crisis, are UK travellers looking for distinctness 'closer' to home within Europe itself?

11.3 Reflections on methodological approach post-analysis

This section reflects on the research approach adopted. It sums-up the methodological approach's strengths and weaknesses post-fieldwork and analysis. The first issue raised is the relationship between aim, research questions, methodology, research methods and analysis methods.

The separation and phrasing of research questions is the result of an extensive review of literature on tourism representation. The approach to representation or assumption is that tourism representations have two sides: a visible one, meaning textual and visual data such as guidebooks, brochures and so on; and non-physical or 'meaningful' side referring to the messages being communicated both on a superficial and deep level. Arguably, analyzing the physical side gives insights into the non-physical side. So the first research question tackles just that – textual and visual destination data – in order to identify destination tourism representations. An alternative would be to ask the representation makers themselves how do they represent the destination and why. The value of such an approach is that it would provide the reasons behind destination representations and factors affecting them, but it would also act as a validation method for textual and visual data analysis.

There are many representation makers and the purpose of the study is to understand representations from multiple angles, therefore relevant but limited samples - in line with the requirements of a qualitative study - of textual and visual data were gathered from different representation makers. These were roughly grouped under government, industry and media, however, as Chapter6 argued, these categories were created to organize data. The same structure was adopted for interviewees as well. Research questions three and four targeted tourism representation consumers. Tourist blogs were chosen in part because they reflect the ever thinning line between organic and induced as they are a form of destination representations; and in part because they provide rich data, unaffected by the researcher. The purpose of the third research question was to see the existence or absence of destination representations from tourist testimonials. While the fourth to see it from potential tourists' perspective. It was considered the most direct way was focus groups using data elicitation. Therefore, the choice of research questions and primary and secondary research methods is justified because understanding the process requires looking at tourism representations from 'beginning' to 'end'; and the questions themselves target different actors and require different methods. Applying the same research method to all is not feasible; however, adopting the same

analysis approach under the form of computerized content analysis is. Adopting the same analysis framework is needed to ensure data comparability.

There are a number of limitations and problem areas that need to be acknowledged. One is that the research design might be overly complicated and a simpler way could have been found; interviews with professionals and focus-groups with actual and potential tourists for example, or even focus-groups throughout. Although, one could argue richness of data would have been lost and originality in research design, nevertheless, this approach would have followed tourism representations from creation to consumption and satisfied the aim. So, other approaches can be conceived. Also, the method choice used for each of the four research question could have been different. Not only that but the methods used each have advantages and disadvantages. However, no method or research design is perfect. Furthermore, the approach proved successful by providing rich data which answered the research questions.

The originality of the research comes from analysing representations from multiple perspectives and using different methods. In other words, first, looking at both the projected and perceived perspective to build a complete picture of Bucharest tourism representations; and identify any agreements and disagreements. Second, the methods chosen are designed to complement each other and explore the same issue from different perspectives. Although each method explored a different angle, findings suggest the methods validate and reinforce each other. In addition, the approach was feasible and manageable because the study is qualitative in nature and needed fairly small samples from each producer category and subcategory. A limitation regarding the subjectivity of the analysis process due to the use of only one coder (the researcher) is acknowledged.

This touches on the second issue needing discussion, that of validity, reliability and the potential of applying the same research approach to other capital cities. The project relies on gathering a sample of different data sets by different producers and comparing and contrasting them. The fact that different methods produced comparable findings and discussed similar issues is an argument of

validity and reliability. Although the approach is far from perfect and troubleshooting may be required due to the specificity of each case-study, there are no obvious impediments to asking the same questions about a different capital.

Last, the project analysed tourist blogs. Since the project started, new media and social media have developed considerably and new research has emerged on the topic. Due to time restraints this has not been incorporated in the study. Nevertheless, its existence is acknowledged.

11.4 Recommendations for further research

In addition to the application of the research framework (methodological approach, research methods, and analysis method) to other CEE capital cities to confirm or develop the process of tourism representation argued by this study, a number of other issues need further investigation.

The project focuses only on tourism materials; however, the influence on non-tourism sources of information needs to be considered. In addition, previous research on the profile of the CEE traveller is limited. Most look at the images tourists have of CEE, where culture plays a major role (for example Hughes and Allen, 2008). The focus seems to be more on the tangible elements such as heritage, rather than the intangible such as local atmosphere and characteristics. Research that compares the two is needed; the image of the region and the self-image of the tourist, for example.

The countries and capitals of Central and Eastern Europe have and are receiving a considerable amount of academic attention. As a result, a wealth of knowledge now exists on a considerable number of CEE destinations (for example Berlin, Prague, Budapest, Sofia, Riga, Tallinn, Ljubljana, and Bucharest). This knowledge is fragmented and case-study driven. It is argued here that, while this case-by-case approach has considerable advantages in allowing in-depth understanding of specific locations, it needs to be complemented by a wider, more integrated approach looking at a larger number of capitals - if not all – within the same study or project. In other

words, the investigation of post-communist CEE capitals needs to move past individual cases to group cases.

This would allow a better, more integrated understanding of issues such as: post-communism and transition; EU integration tourism impacts and its potential benefits and drawbacks on non-EU CEE capitals; destination image; capital city representation; marketing and branding; city and nation identity; and so on. There is need for research looking at more than one capital at a time, comparing and contrasting tourism representations to identify the messages being conveyed, as well as the tourist profile.

In terms of original contribution to knowledge, the research contributes on three levels: theory, methods, and case-study. First, the project contributes to existing knowledge on tourism representation. Building on Bower's (1991) and Lacey (2009)' media components, and du Gay et al (1997) and Hall's (1997, 2003) 'circuit of culture', the research proposes a framework for understanding how tourism representations are constructed, communicated and consumed by different actors. Five elements should be considered when analysing any representation: agencies or actors – the representation maker or producer and their affiliation, ideology and intentions; categories – the types or forms of data being used to represent (textual, visual, audio, all); technologies – the mediums being used to represent (printed, on-line, old or new media) and the relationships and how they influence each other; language - what is being communicated (ideas, meanings, discourses, narratives) and why; and audiences – who are the representations targeting (potential tourists, tourists, other representation-makers, investors) and how they are interpreting the representations. Findings revealed the process of tourism representation is cyclical and complex. It is not fixed but adaptable and flexible.

Second, the research develops an analysis approach for textual and visual data. The research acknowledges the thin line between qualitative and quantitative (Phelps et al, 2007), and the need for specialised computer software to analyse large amounts of qualitative data. To ensure a higher reliability and comparability of qualitative data results, the project suggests using both quantitative and qualitative content analysis elements. The analysis process

starts by identifying keywords through word count functions. The keywords are then looked at in context and themes emerge.

Last but not least, the project contributes on a case-study level. Bucharest's tourism representations are identified and analysed in-depth. As previously argued, compared to Berlin, Budapest, or Bratislava, Bucharest is one of Central and Eastern Europe's post-communist capital cities in need of more research. The case-study findings may also have marketing implications. For example, by identifying and understanding the Bucharest tourism representations from multiple perspectives Bucharest marketers can make adjustments to existing marketing and advertising campaigns or develop new campaigns to better meet the needs and wishes of tourists.

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Appendices

Appendix 1. Analysis of methodological approaches for tourism representation

Table 1.a Methodological approaches to tourism representation research

Author(s)	Focus	Methodology	Research methods	Analysis methods
Stern and Schroeder (1994)	Advertising imagery in tourism	Qualitative: interpretative methodology	Secondary data: analysis of tourism ads.	Content analysis combining literary and visual analysis.
Norton (1996)	Safari tourism and the circuit of culture framework	Qualitative: ethnography	Mixed - primary and secondary: interviews with tourists and analysis of brochures	Ethnographic and textual analysis
Zhou (1996)	Measuring the effectiveness of brochures	Qualitative: exploratory	Primary: survey	Statistical analysis
McGregor (2000)	The relationship between guidebooks and tourists	Qualitative	Primary: interviews with tourists	Thematic analysis

Pritchard and Morgan (2001)	Tourism representation in destination branding	Mixed-qualitative and quantitative	Secondary: analysis of promotional marketing materials	Content and discourse analysis.
Andreu et al (2001)	Relationship between perceived and projected image of Spain: tourists and destination material	Quantitative	Mixed - primary and secondary: survey and brochure analysis.	Statistical analysis of destination image attributes
Ateljevic and Doorne (2002)	Tourism imagery and ideology	Qualitative: critical theory	Secondary: analysis of promotional marketing materials	Discourse analysis
MacKay and Couldwell (2004)	Destination image investigation through visitor photography	Mixed-qualitative and quantitative	Mixed - primary and secondary: survey, interview, and focus group and visitor employed	Content analysis

			photography	
Govers and Go (2005)	Projected destination image online	Quantitative	Secondary: website analysis	Website content analysis of pictures and text
Davidson and Yu (2005)	Destination website analysis	Quantitative	Secondary: website analysis.	Internet site analysis through content analysis
Grosspiets ch (2006)	Perceived and projected images: tourists and tour-operators	Qualitative	Mixed – primary and secondary: survey with open-ended and closed-ended questions and brochure.	Statistical analysis of destination image attributes; and content analysis for open-ended questions and brochures.
Iwashita (2006)	UK tourism representati ons and images constructed by popular cultural forms of media such as films, television	Mixed-qualitative and quantitative	Mixed – primary and secondary: survey and interviews with potential tourists to the UK, and analyses of a sample of popular media.	Content analysis and semiotic analysis

	and literature			
Molina and Esteban (2006)	Importance of brochures as image generators and influence on destination selection	Quantitative	Primary: survey	Statistical analysis
Prebensen (2007)	Using differet techniques for identifying potential tourists' images of distand destinations	Qualitative	Primary: interviews but using word association, picture association and collage techniques	Content analysis
Pudliner (2007)	Tourist experience analysis through weblogs	Qualitative	Secondary: tourist weblogs analysis	Content analysis
Aiello and Gendlema	Narratives of a tourist	Qualitative	Mixed - primary and	Narrative analysis of

n (2008)	attraction		secondary: interviews with tourists and analysis of destination material and tourist photographs.	tourist literature (guidebooks) and tourist experience accounts and photographs
Hunter (2011)	Projected destination image in promotional photographs	Qualitative	Secondary – photograph analysis.	Visual analysis using content analysis
Smith and Puczko (2012)	Budapest's cultural tourism and marketing, branding, image and identity	Mixed-qualitative and quantitative	Mixed - primary and secondary: surveys and content analysis of various marketing and promotional brochures, leaflets, and websites.	Content analysis

Appendix 2. Research instruments

Appendix 2.1 Stage1: Destination materials data collection instrument

Table 2.a Destination materials data collection instrument

	Main organisational categories:	**Type of data collected:**
1	General	• Introduction statement (the first ideas or issues being said about Bucharest – usually consists of an introductory paragraph or section on the city). • Statistical data – for example: comments related to location. • History.
2	Attractions	• Museums; art galleries; • Tourist areas – for example: Old town Lupscani. • Parks and green spaces.
3	Accommodation	• Hotels – for example: high-end luxury hotels, or low-budget accommodation such as youth hostels.
4	Catering	• Restaurants and coffee shops.
5	Transport	• Transport – for example: getting there; and around.
6	Entertainment	• Culture: theatre, opera, festivals and other events classified under 'culture' by destination

		materials.
		o Nightlife: advice on nightlife, clubs, discos and bars. Also stag-nights or stag-weekends.
		o Gambling
7	Shopping	• Shopping - for example: offer (e.g. international brands), and major shopping areas (e.g. communist catering halls – popular name being 'Temples of hunger'/'Templele foamei' turned into modern glass-covered shopping malls).
8	Safety	• Safety - such as stray dogs, taxi scams and so on.
9	Other	o Miscellaneous – for example: trips outside of Bucharest
Observations: Data collected includes: advice and listings (e.g. Museums: general comments or advice on museums such as which are best to visit; and listing of all museums mentioned and comments made on each). Not all 105 materials collected filled all these categories.		

Appendix 2.2 Stage2: Semi-structured interviews outline

Table 2.b Semi-structured in-depth interviews outline

	Type of information targeted and collected:	Questions:
1	How do interviewees represent the city themselves?	What role do you play in Bucharest tourism? How do you represent Bucharest for tourism on the international tourism market? UK market?

	Why?	Why?
2	How do interviewees think the city is being represented officially? Why?	In your opinion, how is Bucharest represented officially on the international tourism market? UK? Do you agree with these representations? Why do you think these official representations exist?
3	What factors influence Bucharest tourism representations?	What do you think are the main issues that characterise Bucharest's tourism representations in general? What do you think are the main factors that influence Bucharest's tourism representations?
4	Additional questions: What issues characterise Bucharest tourism image and tourism industry?	What do you think are the main issues that characterise Bucharest's tourism image? What do you think are the main issues that characterise Bucharest tourism? (for example problem areas and main attraction points)

Appendix 2.3 Stage3: Tourist blogs data collection instrument

Table 2.c Tourist blogs data collection instrument

Tourist blogs data collection instrument	
Number:	1 to 54
Blogger Name:	
Username/Online	

Name:	
Lives In:	
Occupation:	
Member Since:	
Link:	
Review title:	
Review date:	
Last Visit to Bucharest:	

Intro/Overview: (Content from the website: text, photos)

Photos: (separate from the ones associated directly with the text)

Tips: (separate reviews of individual attractions, restaurants, hotels and so on)

REVIEW

- ✓ Intro/Overview: yes/no (delete accordingly)
- ✓ Photos: (number)
- ✓ Video: (number)
- ✓ Tips: yes/no (summary of types of tips: accommodation, restaurants, and so on)

Tour details

(In case the visit was part of a bigger trip, to identify any tourist movement patterns.)

Appendix 2.4 Stage4: Focus-groups outline

   a) **Call for participants**

Figure 2.a Call for participants add

Focus Groups Call for Participants

We are looking for people that have never been to Bucharest to participate in one of our focus-groups.

The purpose of the focus group is to explore the images of people that have never been to a destination before; and their opinions on exiting city tourism representations, in this case Bucharest, capital of Romania.

All participants receive a 25 pound voucher for Ryann Air to fly to any of their destinations valid for 1 year, or 25 pounds cash.

Focus-groups take place in London at University of Westminster (Marylebone campus, across from Madame Tussauds) on **Saturday, 19th** February: 11am or 2pm; Saturday, 26th February: 12pm.

If you are a UK resident and have never been to Bucharest but would like to go sometime in the future, and you are interested in sharing your representations, images and perceptions of Bucharest in our focus-group please send an email to Claudia Sima at claudia.sima@my.westminster.ac.uk with the subject 'Participation Focus-Groups'.

This research is undertaken with the support of the University of Westminster as part of a PhD research project. For further details please visit: http://www.westminster.ac.uk/schools/architecture/tourism/phd-study.

Places are given on a first come first served basis.

Please reply by 17th February.

b) Distribution

Printed and on-line: Romanian National Tourist Office (printed leaflet); Bucharest In Your Pocket website and Craig Turp's BucharestLife.net; Destinations Show at Earls Court (printed leaflet); Romanian Cultural Institute event (printed leaflet); SABE research scholar emailing list; tourist experience websites (blog platforms) forums; Friends emailing lists.

Figure 2.b BucharestInYourPocket.com and BucharestLife.net website add

Bucharest In Your Pocket

Calling all UK visitors to Romania
www.bucharestlife.net

Calling all UK visitors to Romania. Earn cash (or a Ryan Air voucher) for taking part in a focus group! Focus Groups: Call for Participants We are looking for potential UK visitors to Bucharest to participate in our focus-groups. All participants receive a 25 pound voucher for Ryan Air to fly to …

c) Consent and participant details request form

1. Are you:

☐ Male

☐ Female

2. Age group (please tick which applies):

☐ 18-25

☐ 26-35

☐ 35-45

☐ 45-55

☐ > 55

3. Nationality:……………………………………………………….
4. City of residence in the UK:…………………………………...
5. How did you hear about this focus group? (tick all that apply)

☐ Romanian National Tourist Office

☐ Bucharest In Your Pocket

☐ Destinations Show at Earls Court

- ☐ Romanian Cultural Institute event
- ☐ SABE research scholar emailing list
- ☐ Friend
- ☐ Forum:…….…………………………………………….
- ☐ Other:…………………………………………………

6. When are you thinking of going to Bucharest? (if applicable)

………………………………………………………………….

7. If you wish to receive the reward, please tick the one you want:

☐ If you would like to receive the £25 Ryann Air gift voucher please provide your name as it is written on the passport (requested by Ryann Air):

………………………………………………………………………… ………..

Your voucher will be sent by email shortly after the event.

To redeem write the voucher code in the appropriate box when you pay for your ticket.

For further details please see: http://www.ryanair.com/en/vouchers

OR

☐ Would like to receive £25 cash

8. I give my consent for the researcher to use the information I give in the focus-group:
- ☐ Yes
- ☐ No

d) Focus-group questions and guiding notes to participants

Information given to participants at the beginning:

The purpose of the focus group is to explore the images of people that have never been to a destination before; and their opinions on exiting city tourism representations, in this case Bucharest, capital of Romania. There will be 4 parts.

In the first part I will ask 4 general questions - the purpose is to tease out any images and prior knowledge you may have of Bucharest. In the second and third you will look at 10 pictures and 3 short videos – the purpose is to see your reactions to them and your opinions on them. The videos are no more than 5 minutes all three put together. And part four contains a couple of closing questions. For part one and two you are asked to write your answers briefly in the answer booklet provided, and then discuss your answers. Please write your initials in the space provided on each answer booklet.

I am interested in your honest and true impressions. So please don't be afraid of expressing negative images. Don't worry about being wrong. There are no correct and incorrect answers. Anything that comes to mind is welcomed, either related to history or geography or what you heard on the news. Your answers are anonymous, and any reference in the thesis of you will be done through a code. The focus-group is designed to last between one hour and a half to two hours. I hope you will have an enjoyable experience!

Part 1 – Opening questions

Participants were given a sheet with the title 'Part1 answer sheet' including the four questions with spaces for answers between, as well as their initials and instructions.

Instructions given to participants before completing 'Part1 answer sheet':

The first part aims to tease out your existing images of Bucharest. Could you please take 5 minutes to look at them and write what you think?

1) Write the first 5 things that come to mind when I say Bucharest?
2) How do you know about Bucharest? Can you remember where your knowledge comes from? For example what (type of) sources of information you came across?
3) Do you have an image or picture of Bucharest in your head? How do you picture the city?
4) Can you state a reason why you would like to go to Bucharest?

Part 2 - Picture association exercise

Part2 consisted of two questions and then pictures:

5) What do think of when you see each picture? Write down the first 5 words you think of when you see each picture.

6) How far does each picture match your image of Bucharest?

The interpretation attributed to each picture (the heading under each picture) is not provided to participants; it is included here only for better clarity. The purpose is to influence them as little as possible, but also for the researcher to clearly state what each picture is supposed to represent.

Instructions given to participants before completing 'Part2 answer sheet':

Pease look at each photograph and answer the questions. Thank you.

Table 2.d Focus-group picture exercise

Participant initials:				
	Write down the first 5 words you think of when you see each picture:	How far does each picture match your image of Bucharest? (tick one for each picture)		
		Closely match	Somewhat match	Do not match
1 Communist heritage				

2 Little-Paris heritage and cultural symbol				
3 Dracula/Vlad Tepes and Old Town Lipscani				
4 Ceausescu dictators				
5 Gypsies				

6 Traffic jams				
7 Modern buildings				
8 Nightlife, clubbing				
9 Minority/Russian heritage				
10 Traditional heritage (rural)				

Source: RoNTO website; Bucharest City Hall website; Bucharest In Your Pocket; Bloggers 5, 9, and 37.

Part 3 - Video exercise

Instructions/questions addressed to participants:

You will now see 3 very short videos. After each one we are going to stop and comment on your impressions about the video and how you think the video is representing the city.

- Video1 – National Tourist Office

Description: Official promotional video for Bucharest.

Source: http://www.youtube.com/romaniatouristoffice#p/u/13/S1Fpg2WG9RE

Duration: 0.56min

    7) What are your opinions of how the video is representing the city?

- Video2 – Mojo guide

Description: Travel-guide video made with information obtained from official sources.

Source: http://www.watchmojo.com/index.php?id=6766

Duration: 02.30min

    8) What are your opinions of how the video is representing the city?

- Video3 – Bucharest In Your Pocket

Description: Independent travel-guide video.

Source: http://www.youtube.com/watch?v=kUS4Bavq8co

Duration: 02.38min

    9) What are your opinions of how the video is representing the city?

Part 4 - Closing question

Instructions/questions addressed to participants:

    10) Have today's materials changed your image of Bucharest in any way? How? What is missing?

Appendix 3. List of materials and participants

Appendix 3.1 Stage 1: Destination materials

Table 3.a List of destination materials

	Reference in text (NVivo code name)	**Full reference and type (author, year, title, publisher - if other than author; type of material: printed, on-line, brochure and so on)**
A	**Governmental materials**	
a	**Ministry for Tourism**	
1	Material 1, Governmental, Ministry for Tourism, RoNTO	RoNTO (2009) Guide to Bucharest, Romanian Tourist Office, Ministry for Tourism, printed brochure.
2	Material 2, Governmental, Ministry for Tourism, RoNTO	RoNTO (2009) Cultural Bucharest, Romanian Tourist Office, Ministry for Tourism, printed brochure.
3	Material 3, Governmental, Ministry for Tourism, RoNTO	RoNTO (2009) Bucharest, Romanian Tourist Office, Ministry for Tourism, printed brochure.
4	Material 4, Governmental, Ministry for Tourism, RoNTO	RoNTO (2009) Romania Travel Planner, Romanian Tourist Office, Ministry for Tourism, printed brochure.
5	Material 5, Governmental, Ministry for Tourism, RoNTO	RoNTO (2009) Romania, Romanian Tourist Office, Ministry for Tourism, printed brochure.

6	Material 6, Governmental, Ministry for Tourism, RoNTO	RoNTO (2009) Meeting Romania, Romanian Tourist Office, Ministry for Tourism, printed brochure.
7	Material 7, Governmental, Ministry for Tourism, RoNTO	RoNTO (2009) Bucharest, Romanian Tourist Office, Ministry for Tourism, official website, (online) Available at: http://www.romaniatourism.com/bucharest.html [Accessed 15.11.2009]
8	Material 8, Governmental, Ministry for Tourism, RoNTO	RoNTO (2009) Bucharest, Romanian Tourist Office, Ministry for Tourism, United States Agency for International Development (USAID), website, (online) Available at: http://www.romaniatravel.com [Accessed 15.11.2009]
9	Material 9, Governmental, Ministry for Tourism, RoNTO	RoNTO (2009) Bucharest posts, Romanian Tourist Office, Ministry for Tourism, social media, Facebook, website, (online) Accessed at: http://www.romaniatourism.com/bucharest.html [Accessed 15.10.2009]
10	Material 10, Governmental, Ministry for Tourism, RoNTO	RoNTO (2009) Bucharest tweets, Romanian Tourist Office, Ministry for Tourism, social media, Twitter, website, (online) Accessed at: http://www.romaniatourism.com/bucharest.html [Accessed 15.11.2009]
11	Material 11, Governmental, Ministry	RoNTO (2009) Discover Bucharest, Romanian Tourist Office, Ministry for Tourism, video,

	for Tourism, RoNTO	(online) Accessed at: http://video.google.com/videoplay?docid=3586 874199723248583#docid=- 1291005677422354513 [Accessed 15.11.2009]
12	Material 12, Governmental, Ministry for Tourism, RoNTO	RoNTO (2009) Romania Simply Surprising, Romanian Tourist Office, Ministry for Tourism, official promotional video, (online) Accessed at: http://www.tripbase.com/Bucharest-Tourism-Romania.html [Accessed 15.11.2009]
13	Material 13, Governmental, Ministry for Tourism, RoNTO	RoNTO (2009) Romania Simply Surprising, Romanian Tourist Office, Ministry for Tourism, video, (online) Accessed at: http://video.google.com/videoplay?docid=3586 874199723248583#docid=4073376293097841 645 [Accessed 15.11.2009]
14	Material 14, Governmental, Ministry for Tourism, RoNTO	RoNTO (2009) Bucharest in images, Romanian Tourist Office, Ministry for Tourism, video, YouTube account (online) Accessed at: http://www.youtube.com/romaniatouristoffice [Accessed 15.11.2009]
15	Material 15, Governmental, Ministry for Tourism, RoNTO	RoNTO (2009) Bucharest Romanian Athenaeum in images, Romanian Tourist Office, Ministry for Tourism, video, YouTube account (online) Accessed at: http://www.youtube.com/romaniatouristoffice [Accessed 15.11.2009]

b	**Bucharest City Hall**	
16	Material 16, Governmental, Bucharest City Hall	BCH (2009) Bucharest, Bucharest City Hall, website (online) Accessed at: http://www1.pmb.ro/pmb/index_en.htm [Accessed 27.11.2009]
17	Material 17, Governmental, ArCuB	ArCuB (2009) Bucharest, General Council of Bucharest, Bucharest City Hal, website (online) Accessed at: http://www.arcub.ro/about.php [Accessed 15.11.2009]
B	**Tourism Industry Materials**	
a	**Tour operators and travel agents** (Source: http://www.romaniatourism.com/upcoming-tours-romania-uk.html	
	- **Based in Romania**	
18	Material 18, Tourism Industry, Romanian travel agents and tour operators	Delta Travel (2009) Bucharest, Delta Travel, website (online) Accessed at: http://www.deltatravel.ro [Accessed 19.11.2009]
19	Material 19, Tourism Industry, Romanian travel agents and tour operators	Velvet Tours (2009) Bucharest, Velvet Tours, website (online) Accessed at: http://www.velvettours.com [Accessed 19.11.2009]
20	Material 20, Tourism Industry, Romanian travel agents and	Visit Romania (2010) Bucharest, Visit Romania, website (online) Accessed at: http://www.visit-romania.ro/sectiuni/engleza/bucharest/bucharest.ht

	tour operators	m [Accessed: 12.2.2010]
21	Material 21, Tourism Industry, Romanian travel agents and tour operators	Cultural Travel and Tours (2010) Bucharest, Cultural Travel and Tours, website (online) Accessed at: http://www.cttours.ro [Accessed: 12.2.2010]
22	Material 22, Tourism Industry, Romanian travel agents and tour operators	J'Info Tours (2009) Bucharest, J'Info Tours, website (online) Accessed at: http://www.jinfotours.ro/detalii_bucuresti.html [Accessed: 13.12.2009]
23	Material 23, Tourism Industry, Romanian travel agents and tour operators	RoCultours (2009) Bucharest, RoCultours/CTI, website (online) Accessed at: http://www.studyabroad.ro/cti/en/10.htm [Accessed: 13.12.2009]
24	Material 24, Tourism Industry, Romanian travel agents and tour operators	Jolly Tours (2009) Bucharest, Jolly Tours, website (online) Accessed at: http://www.jollytours.ro [Accessed: 13.12.2009]
25	Material 25, Tourism Industry, Romanian travel agents and tour operators	Bucharest City Tours (2010) Bucharest, Bucharest City Tours, website (online) Accessed at: http://www.bucharestcitytour.com/ [Accessed 07.01.2010]
26	Material 26, Tourism Industry, Romanian travel agents and tour operators	Entertainment Bucharest (2010) Bucharest, Entertainment Bucharest, website (online) Accessed at: http://www.entertainmentbucharest.com/briefhistory.htm [Accessed 07.01.2010]

	- **Based in the UK**	
27	Material 27, Tourism Industry, UK travel agents and tour operators	Travel Cities (2010) Bucharest, Travel Cities LTD, website (online) Accessed at: www.travellerscities.com [Accessed: 12.2.2010]
28	Material 28, Tourism Industry, UK travel agents and tour operators	Explore Worldwide (2010) Bucharest, Explore Worldwide, website (online) Accessed at: www.explore.co.uk [Accessed: 12.2.2010]
29	Material 29, Tourism Industry, UK travel agents and tour operators	Voyages Jules Verne (2010) Bucharest, Voyages Jules Verne, website (online) Accessed at: www.vjv.com [Accessed: 12.2.2010]
30	Material 30, Tourism Industry, UK travel agents and tour operators	Romania Travel Centre (2010) Bucharest, Romania Travel Centre, website (online) Accessed at: http://www.romaniatravelcentre.com/docs/city_information.aspx [Accessed: 12.2.2010]
31	Material 31, Tourism Industry, UK travel agents and tour operators	Regent Holidays (2010) Bucharest, Regent Holidays, website (online) Accessed at: www.regent-holidays.co.uk [Accessed: 12.2.2010]
32	Material 32, Tourism Industry, UK travel agents and tour operators	Vamos Travel (2010) Bucharest, Vamos Travel, website (online) Accessed at: http://www.vamostravel.com/city_breaks/buchares [Accessed: 13.2.2010]
33	Material 33, Tourism	Sunvil (2010) Bucharest, Sunvil, website (online)

	Industry, UK travel agents and tour operators	Accessed at: http://www.sunvil.co.uk/sunvil/home/destinations/Romania/Bucharest/default.asp?source=menu3 [Accessed: 13.2.2010]
34	Material 34, Tourism Industry, UK travel agents and tour operators	Eastern Europe Travel Centre (2012) Bucharest, Eastern Europe Travel Centre, website (online) Accessed at: www.easterneuropetravelcentre.co.uk [Accessed: 13.2.2010]
35	Material 35, Tourism Industry, UK travel agents and tour operators	Archers Direct (2010) Bucharest, Archers Direct, website (online) Accessed at: www.archersdirect.co.uk [Accessed: 13.2.2010]
36	Material 36, Tourism Industry, UK travel agents and tour operators	Cox and Kings (2010) Bucharest, Cox & Kings website (online) Accessed at: www.coxandkings.co.uk [Accessed: 14.2.2010]
b	**Attractions**	
37	Material 37, Tourism Industry, Attractions	Parliament Palace (2009) Bucharest, Parliament of Romania, Chamber of Deputies, website (online) Accessed at: http://www.cdep.ro/cic/index.html [Accessed: 24.11.2009]
38	Material 38, Tourism Industry, Attractions	Romanian Peasant Museum (2009) Bucharest, Romanian Peasant Museum, website (online) Accessed at: http://www.muzeultaranuluiroman.ro/home.html [Accessed: 24.11.2009]

39	Material 39, Tourism Industry, Attractions	The National Museum of Art of Romania (2009) The National Museum of Art of Romania (2009) Bucharest, The National Museum of Art of Romania, website (online) Accessed at: http://www.mnar.arts.ro/EN_home.php [Accessed: 24.11.2009]
40	Material 40, Tourism Industry, Attractions	Cotroceni Palace and Museum (2009) Bucharest, Cotroceni Palace and Museum, website (online) Accessed at: http://www.muzeulcotroceni.ro/engleza/index_eng.html [Accessed: 20.12.2009]
41	Material 41, Tourism Industry, Attractions	National Opera House (2010) Bucharest, National Opera House, website (online) Accessed at: http://my.operanb.ro/content/view/14/27/lang,en/ [Accessed:12.01.2010]
c	**Accommodation and catering providers**	
42	Material 42, Tourism Industry, Accommodation and catering providers	Intercontinental Hotel Bucharest (2009) Welcome to Bucharest, Intercontinental Hotel Bucharest, website (online) Accessed at: www.intercontinental.com/bucharest [Accessed: 15.12.2009]
43	Material 43, Tourism Industry, Accommodation and catering providers	Radisson Blu Hotel Bucharest (2009) Bucharest, Radisson Blu Hotel Bucharest, website (online) Accessed at: http://www.radissonblu.com/hotel-bucharest/location [Accessed: 15.12.2009]
44	Material 44, Tourism Industry,	Tiny Club Hotel (2010) Bucharest, Tiny Club Hotel, website (online) Accessed at:

	Accommodation and catering providers	http://tinyclubhotel.ro [Accessed: 16.12.2009]
45	Material 45, Tourism Industry, Accommodation and catering providers	Athenee Palace Hilton (2009) Bucharest, Athenee Palace Hilton, website (online) Accessed at: http://www.hilton.com [Accessed: 16.12.2009]
46	Material 46, Tourism Industry, Accommodation and catering providers	Bear Wagon Restaurant (2009) Bucharest, Bear Wagon Restaurant, website (online) Accessed at: http://www.carucubere.ro/en/about_us [Accessed: 16.12.2009]
d	**Transport providers**	
47	Material 47, Tourism Industry, Transport providers	Wiz Air Guides (2009) Bucharest, Wiz Air, website (online) Accessed at: http://wizzmagazine.com/destinations/2008/Bucharest/index.html [Accessed: 16.12.2009]
48	Material 48, Tourism Industry, Transport providers	Blue Air (2009) Bucharest, Blue Air, website (online) Accessed at: www.blueair.ro [Accessed: 17.12.2009]
49	Material 49, Tourism Industry, Transport providers	British Airways (2009) Bucharest, British Airways, website (online) Accessed at: www.britishairways.com [Accessed: 16.12.2009]
C	**Tourism media**	
a	**Travel guides**	
50	Material 50, Tourism Media, Travel guides	Turp, C. (2010a) Bucharest In Your Pocket, December/January 2010, no. 62, website (online)

		Accessed at: www.inyourpocket.com [Accessed: 18.1.2010]
51	Material 51, Tourism Media, Travel guides	Turp, C. (2010b) Bucharest, Bucharest In Your Pocket website (online) Accessed at: www.inyourpocket.com [Accessed: 18.1.2010]
52	Material 52, Tourism Media, Travel guides	Turp, C. (2010c) Bucharest Video Guide, Bucharest In Your Pocket, You Tube account, (online) Accessed at: http://www.youtube.com/inyourpocket#p/u [Accessed: 18.1.2010]
53	Material 53, Tourism Media, Travel guides	Turp, C. (2009) City Spots Bucharest, Peterborough: Thomas Cook Publishing.
54	Material 54, Tourism Media, Travel guides	Vorhees, M. (2009) Eastern Europe travel guide, Romania chapter, Bucharest section, Lonely Planet Publications, 10th edition, p. 676-688.
55	Material 55, Tourism Media, Travel guides	Masters, T. (2009) Europe on a shoestring travel guide - Romania, Bucharest section, Lonely Planet Publications, 6th edition, p. 957-963.
56	Material 56, Tourism Media, Travel guides	Reid, R. and Pettersen, L (2007) Romania and Moldova Guide - Bucharest chapter, Lonely Planet Publications, 4th edition, p. 61-92.
57	Material 57, Tourism Media, Travel guides	Longley, N. and Burford, T. (2008) The Rough Guide to Romania – Bucharest section, The Rough Guides, p. 7, 55-102, 201-2.
58	Material 58, Tourism Media, Travel guides	The Columbus World Travel Guide (2009) Bucharest Travel Guide, Columbus Travel Media

		Ltd, website (online) Accessed at: http://www.worldtravelguide.net/city/21/city_guide /Europe/Bucharest.html [Accessed: 12.01.2009]
59	Material 59, Tourism Media, Travel guides	Juler C. (2007) National Geographic Romania – Bucharest chapter, London: National Geographic, p. 11, 47-63.
60	Material 60, Tourism Media, Travel guides	Berlitz (2009) Berlitz Pocket Guide Romania – Bucharest section, London: Berlitz, p. 13-17.
61	Material 61, Tourism Media, Travel guides	Le Bas, T. (2008) Insight Guides Romania – Bucharest chapter, London: Apa Publications, p. 113-232.
62	Material 62, Tourism Media, Travel guides	Bucharest Life (2009) Bucharest Romania Travel Guide, Bucharest Life, website (online) Accessed at: http://www.bucharest-life.com/ [Accessed: 08.12.2009]
63	Material 63, Tourism Media, Travel guides	Frommer (2010) Whats On When Bucharest Guide, Frommer's website (online) Accessed: http://www.whatsonwhen.com/sisp/index.htm?fx=l ocation&loc_id=131830 [Accessed: 13.01.2010]
64	Material 64, Tourism Media, Travel guides	Stowe, D. (2010) Thomas Cook Romania – Bucharest chapter, Thomas Cook traveller guides, Peterborough: Thomas Cook Publishing, p. 26-49.
b	**Travel articles**	
65	Material 65, Tourism Media, Travel articles	Hardingham-Gill, T. (2009) Blooming Bucharest: The affordable capital that oozes Parisian style, Daily Mail, 30.12.2009, website (online) Available

		at: http://www.dailymail.co.uk/travel/article-1236980/Blooming-Bucharest-The-affordable-capital-oozes-Parisian-style.html [Accessed: 13.01.2010]
66	Material 66, Tourism Media, Travel articles	White, R. (2005) Bucharest Romania, Daily Mail, 12.04.2005, website (online) Available at: http://www.dailymail.co.uk/travel/article-592614/Bucharest-Romania.html [Accessed: 18.01.2010]
67	Material 67, Tourism Media, Travel articles	Maitland, J. (2009) Romania mania: A package holiday with a difference, Daily Mail, 30.03.2009, website (online) Accessed: http://www.dailymail.co.uk/travel/holidaytypeshub/article-592610/Romania-Mania.html [Accessed: 18.01.2010]
68	Material 68, Tourism Media, Travel articles	Bose, M. (2008) The Orient Express lives! Well, just about, Daily Mail, The Mail on Sunday, 22.09.2008, website (online) Accessed: http://www.dailymail.co.uk/travel/article-614936/The-Orient-Express-lives-Well-just-about.html [Accessed: 18.01.2010]
69	Material 69, Tourism Media, Travel articles	Pawlak, J.(2009) Travel Postcard: 48 hours in Bucharest for architecture buffs, Thomson Reuters, Reuters, Fri 6.11.2009 9:28pm IST, website (online) Accessed: http://in.reuters.com/article/lifestyleMolt/idINTRE5A536F20091106 [Accessed: 18.01.2010]

70	Material 70, Tourism Media, Travel articles	Teodorescu, A. (2009) Ceausescu draws tourists 20 years after firing squad, Bucharest for AFP Published: 2:23PM GMT 22 Dec 2009, website (online) Accessed: http://www.telegraph.co.uk/expat/expatnews/68660 31/Ceausescu-draws-tourists-20-years-after-firing-squad.html [Accessed: 17.02.2010]
71	Material 71, Tourism Media, Travel articles	Day, M. (2010) Nicolae Ceausescu palace 'to be turned into shopping mall', Telegraph, 04.2.2010, website (online) Accessed: http://www.telegraph.co.uk/news/worldnews/europ e/romania/7148097/Nicolae-Ceausescu-palace-to-be-turned-into-shopping-mall.html [Accessed: 17.02.2010]
72	Material 72, Tourism Media, Travel articles	Bridge, A. (2009) Romania: beauty and the beast, Telegraph, 04/11/2009, website (online) Accessed: http://www.telegraph.co.uk/travel/hubs/1989-revisited/6503007/Romania-beauty-and-the-beast.html [Accessed: 17.02.2010]
73	Material 73, Tourism Media, Travel articles	Breaking Travel News (2009) Aer Lingus to launch flights to Bucharest, Breaking Travel News, 19.10.2009 at 07:43 AM in Airline News - Tourism News, website (online) Accessed: http://www.breakingtravelnews.com/news/article/ae r-lingus-to-launch-flights-to-bucharest/ [Accessed: 18.01.2010]
74	Material 74, Tourism Media, Travel	Dowling, T. (2008) A mini guide to Romania, The Guardian, Tuesday 27 May 2008, website (online)

	articles	Accessed: http://www.guardian.co.uk/travel/2008/may/27/romania [Accessed: 12.01.2010]
75	Material 75, Tourism Media, Travel articles	Racaru, C. (2008) City guide: Unsung, The Guardian, Saturday 8 November 2008 website (online) Accessed: http://www.guardian.co.uk/travel/2008/nov/08/top-100-city-tips-unsung [Accessed: 12.01.2010]
76	Material 76, Tourism Media, Travel articles	Turp, C. (2008) Go east, The Guardian, Saturday 20.12.2008 website (online) Accessed: http://www.guardian.co.uk/travel/2008/dec/20/bucharest-krakow [Accessed: 12.01.2010]
77	Material 77, Tourism Media, Travel articles	Ray, J. (2004) Out of the shadow, The Guardian, Saturday 31.7.2004 website (online) Accessed: http://www.guardian.co.uk/travel/2004/jul/31/romania.shortbreaks.buchares [Accessed: 18.01.2010]
78	Material 78, Tourism Media, Travel articles	Ferguson, J. (2007) 48 Hours In: Bucharest, The Independent, Saturday, 1.9.2007 website (online) Accessed:http://www.independent.co.uk/extras/travel/48-hours-in-bucharest-463763.html [Accessed: 18.01.2010]
79	Material 79, Tourism Media, Travel articles	McCurrach, I. (2009) City Slicker: Bucharest, The Independent, Sunday, 19 April 2009, website (online) Accessed: http://www.independent.co.uk/travel/europe/city-slicker-bucharest-1670777.html (article - text); http://www.independent.co.uk/travel/europe/city-slicker-bucharest-1670777.html?action=Popup

		(article - pictures) [Accessed: 18.01.2010]
80	Material 80, Tourism Media, Travel articles	Dunnett, R. (2001) Enescu Festival, Great Concert Hall, Bucharest, The Independent, Saturday, 29.09.2001 website (online) Accessed: http://www.independent.co.uk/arts-entertainment/music/reviews/enescu-festival-great-concert-hall-bucharest-671194.html [Accessed: 18.01.2010]
81	Material 81, Tourism Media, Travel articles	Lebor, A. (1999) European Times: Bucharest: Paris of the East looks westward, The Independent, Friday, 29.01.1999 website (online) Accessed: http://www.independent.co.uk/news/european-times-bucharest-paris-of-the-east-looks-westward-1076951.html [Accessed: 18.01.2010]
82	Material 82, Tourism Media, Travel articles	Guja, R. (1994) Metro: City slicker; Bucharest, The Indpendent, Monday, 19.12.1994 website (online) Accessed: http://www.independent.co.uk/life-style/metro-city-slicker-bucharest-1390159.html [Accessed: 21.01.2010]
83	Material 83, Tourism Media, Travel articles	Rowe, M. (2004) The best of Bucharest, The Independent, Sunday, 13.06.2004, website (online) Accessed: http://www.independent.co.uk/travel/europe/the-best-of-bucharest-732078.html [Accessed: 21.01.2010]
84	Material 84, Tourism Media, Travel	Anon (2010) The world's coldest capitals Tuesday, The Independent, 12.01.2010, website (online) Accessed:

	articles	http://www.independent.co.uk/travel/news-and-advice/the-worlds-coldest-capitals-1865628.html [Accessed: 18.01.2010]
85	Material 85, Tourism Media, Travel articles	Dunlop D. (2009) Trail Of The Unexpected: Ceausescu's Bucharest, The Independent, *Saturday, 30 May 2009* website (online) Accessed: http://www.independent.co.uk/travel/europe/trail-of-the-unexpected-ceausescus-bucharest-1693033.html [Accessed: 24.01.2010]
86	Material 86, Tourism Media, Travel articles	Thompson, N. (2009) Bucharest is simply monumental, Mirror, 26.01.2009, website (online) Accessed: http://www.mirror.co.uk/advice/travel/2009/12/26/bucharest-is-simply-monumental-115875-21923428/ [Accessed: 26.01.2010]
87	Material 87, Tourism Media, Travel articles	Anon (2010) This week's late travel deals, Mirror.co.uk 23.01.2010 website (online) Accessed: http://www.mirror.co.uk/advice/travel/2010/01/23/this-week-s-late-travel-deals-115875-21988341/ [Accessed: 26.01.2010]
88	Material 88, Tourism Media, Travel articles	Thompson, N. (2010) Top 10 great holiday escapes for 2010, Mirror, 2/01/2010 website (online) Accessed: http://www.mirror.co.uk/advice/travel/2010/01/02/top-10-great-holiday-escapes-for-2010-115875-21935945/ [Accessed: 18.01.2010]
89	Material 89, Tourism	Thompson, N. (2010) Your guide to what's going

	Media, Travel articles	to be hot in 2010, Mirror.co.uk, 1.01.201,0 website (online) Accessed: http://www.mirror.co.uk/celebs/news/2010/01/01/your-guide-to-what-s-going-to-be-hot-in-2010-115875-21936062/ [Accessed: 28.01.2010]
90	Material 90, Tourism Media, Travel articles	Wilson, T. (2010) Instant weekend... Bucharest, The Observer, Features section, Sunday 30 March 2008 website (online) Accessed: http://www.guardian.co.uk/travel/2008/mar/30/bucharest.romania [Accessed: 28.01.2010]
91	Material 91, Tourism Media, Travel articles	Middleton, M. (2003) Bloodsuckers of the world, unite, The Sunday Times, Times Online, October 19, 2003 website (online) Accessed: http://www.timesonline.co.uk/tol/travel/destinations/europe/article997143.ece?token=null&offset=0&page=1 [Accessed: 28.01.2010]
92	Material 92, Tourism Media, Travel articles	Redman, N. (2007) Instant weekend: Bucharest, The Sunday Times, March 4, 2007, website (online) Accessed: http://www.timesonline.co.uk/tol/travel/destinations/europe/article1462360.ece [Accessed: 18.01.2010]
93	Material 93, Tourism Media, Travel articles	Bale, P. (2005) The charm of Bucharest, Times Online August 31, 2005 website (online) Accessed: http://www.timesonline.co.uk/tol/news/world/europe/article560642.ece [Accessed: 18.01.2010]
94	Material 94, Tourism Media, Travel	Boyers, R. (2009) Twilight arrives - and vampire fans flock to Dracula's home, The Times, December

	articles	26, 2009 website (online) Accessed: http://www.timesonline.co.uk/tol/news/world/europe/article6968081.ece [Accessed: 14.01.2010]
95	Material 95, Tourism Media, Travel articles	Turp, C. (2009) In defence of Bucharest/Why Bucharest? BucharestLife.net, Nov 26th 2009, website (online) Accessed: http://www.bucharestlife.net/2009/11/26/decat-o-revista-in-defence-of-bucharest/ [Accessed: 18.01.2010]
96	Material 96, Tourism Media, Travel articles	Anon (2005) Ceausescu lives, Psst.ro, Posted in Arts and culture section on Wednesday, May 25, 2005, website, (online) Accessed: http://www.psst.ro/article.php?id=85 website [Accessed: 18.01.2010]
c	**Travel programmes**	
97	Material 97, Tourism Media, Travel programmes	WatchMojo.com (2009) Travel Guide - Bucharest, Romania video, WatchMojo.com, uploaded March 5, 2009 13:49, Duration: 02.33 minutes, website (online) Accessed: http://www.watchmojo.com [Accessed: 15.12.2009]
98	Material 98, Tourism Media, Travel programmes	Eux.tv (2010) Bucharest, Eux.tv, Duration: 05.53 minutes, website (online) Accessed: http://www.youtube.com/watch?v=FQ7IO9Qdc44 [Accessed: 18.01.2010]
99	Material 99, Tourism Media, Travel programmes	BBCExplore (2010) Bucharest Parliament Palace, BBCExplore, You Tube channel, Duration: 10.07 minutes, website (online) Accessed:

		http://video.google.com/videoplay?docid=-1291005677422354513#docid=612486139955739388 [Accessed: 18.01.2010]
d	**Travel advisor**	
100	Material 100, Tourism Media, Travel advisor	TripBase (2010) Bucharest, website (online) Accessed: http://www.tripbase.com/Bucharest-Tourism-Romania.html [Accessed: 27.02.2010]
101	Material 101, Tourism Media, Travel advisor	Route 66 (2010) Bucharest, Route66, website (online) Accessed: http://www.route66.com/Bucharest [Accessed: 18.01.2010]
102	Material 102, Tourism Media, Travel advisor	WikiTravel (2010) Bucharest, WikiTravel, website (online) Accessed: http://wikitravel.org/en/Bucharest [Accessed: 18.01.2010]
103	Material 103, Tourism Media, Travel advisor	Travel Grove (2010) Bucharest, TravelGrove Inc, website (online) Accessed: Reference: http://www.travelgrove.com/travel-guides/Romania/Bucharest-Travel-Guide-c1633045.html [Accessed: 02.02.2010]
104	Material 104, Tourism Media, Travel advisor	TripAdvisor (2010) Bucharest, TripAdvisor, website (online) Accessed: http://www.tripadvisor.com/ [Accessed: 18.01.2010]
105	Material 105, Tourism Media,	Bucuresti.roWebDirectory (2009) Bucharest, SC Internet Service SA, website (online) Accessed:

	Travel advisor	http://www.bucuresti.ro/ [Accessed: 12.12.2009]

Appendix 3.2 Stage 2: Semi-structured in-depth interviews

Table 3.b List of interview participants

	Reference in text (NVivo code name)	Position of interviewee and name of institution	Type and duration of interview
1	Interviewee 1, Ministry for Tourism, RoNTO London	Director, Romanian National Tourist Office for UK and Ireland	50min Face-to-face
2	Interviewee 2, Ministry for Tourism, Department for Tourism Marketing	Assistant to director, Ministry for Tourism, Department for Tourism Marketing	13min Telephone
3	Interviewee 3, Ministry for Tourism, Department for Tourism Development	Employee, Ministry for Tourism, Department for Tourism Development	E-mail
4	Interviewee 4, Ministry for Tourism, Department for PR and Communication	Department Spokesperson Ministry for Tourism, Department for PR and Communication	6min Telephone
5	Interviewee 5, Ministry for Tourism, Department for EU Funds Management	Assistant, Ministry for Tourism, Department for EU Funds Management	12min Telephone

6	Interviewee 6, Bucharest City Hall, Department for Tourism Development	Assistant to director, Bucharest City Hall, Department for Tourism Development	25min Telephone
7	Interviewee 7, Bucharest City Hall, Information Centre	Employee, Bucharest City Hall, Information Centre	17min Face-to-face
8	Interviewee 8, Bucharest City Hall, Department for Urbanism	Employee, Bucharest City Hall, Department for Urbanism	6min Telephone
9	Interviewee 9, Bucharest City Hall, Department for Public Event Organising	PR assistant ArCuB, under General Council of Bucharest, which oversees Bucharest City Hall	14min Telephone
10	Interviewee 10, Ministry for Culture, Department for culture and cultural heritage for Bucharest	Employee, Ministry for Culture, Department for culture and cultural heritage for Bucharest	10min Telephone
11	Interviewee 11, Ministry for Culture, Institute for Culture	Assistant to director, Ministry for Culture, Institute for Culture	18min Telephone
12	Interviewee 12, Association for museums	Director National Network for Romanian Museums	56min Face-to-Face

13	Interviewee 13, Association for travel agencies	Representative National Association for Travel Agents and Tour Operator	12min Telephone
14	Interviewee14, Private tourist information centre	Employee, Gara de Nord Tourist Information Centre	14min Face-to-Face
15	Interviewee 15, Lipscani area catering facility	Employee, Pals Cafe	19min Face-to-Face
16	Interviewee 16, Lipscani area catering facility	Employee, Arcade Café and Restaurant	11min Face-to-Face
17	Interviewee 17, Lipscani area catering facility	Owner, Chocolate	12min Face-to-Face
18	Interviewee 18, Lipscani area catering facility	Employee, Beer Wagon Restaurant	20min Face-to-face
19	Interviewee 19, Travel agency	Tourism Agent, J'info Tours Romana	36min Face-to-face
20	Interviewee 20, Travel agency	Employee, Happy Tour	12min Telephone
21	Interviewee 21, Travel agency	Tourism Agent, Delta Travel	19min Face-toFace
22	Interviewee 22, Travel agency	Tourism Agent, Big Travel	26min Face-to-face

23	Interviewee 23, Tour guide	Independent agent, recommended by Happy Tour	14min Telephone
24	Interviewee 24, Tour guide	Independent agent, recommended by Happy Tour	12min Telephone
25	Interviewee 25, Tour guide	Employee, Big Travel	14min Face-to-face
26	Interviewee 26, Accommodation facility	Concierge, Intercontinental Hotel	20min Face-to-face
27	Interviewee 27, Accommodation facility	Human Resource Manager, Hotel Bucharest	14min Telephone
28	Interviewee 28, Accommodation facility	Receptionist, Hotel Citadella	10min Face-to-face
29	Interviewee 29, Accommodation facility	Hotel manager, Hotel Bliss	Email
30	Interviewee 30, Museum	PR representative, Village Museum	12min Telephone
31	Interviewee 31, Museum	PR representative, Geological Musem	16min Telephone
32	Interviewee 32, Museum	Employee, George Enescu Museum	11min, Face-to-face
33	Interviewee 33, Museum	Ticket seller, Peasant Museum	12min

			Face-to-face
34	Interviewee 34, Museum	Ticket seller, Bucharest Metropolitan Museum	17min Face-to-face
35	Interviewee 35, Entertainment provider	Public Relationship Manager, EMagic	22min Telephone
36	Interviewee 36, Entertainment provider	Assistant, EMagic	Email
37	Interviewee 37, Local travel writer	Editor British travel writer (based in Bucharest) Editor for Bucharest InYourPocket; but also author of Bucharest City Guide; and editor of BucharestLife.ro; and correspondent for WizzAir In-Flight Magazine.	58min Face-to-face.
38	Interviewee 38, Local travel writer	Freelance travel writer Occasionally writes for Trips and Travels Magazine and Economic Magazine	49min Face-to-face
39	Interviewee 39, Local travel writer	Freelance travel writer Occasionally writes for Trips and Travels Magazine	Email exchange

40	Interviewee 40, Local travel writer	Freelance travel writer Occasionally writes for Trips and Travels Magazine	21min Telephone
41	Interviewee 41, Local travel writer	Freelance travel writer Occasionally writes for Trips and Travels Magazine	26min Telephone
42	Interviewee 42, Local travel writer	Freelance travel writer Occasionally writes for Trips and Travels Magazine	36min Telephone

Appendix 3.3 Stage3: Tourist blogs

Table 3.c List of tourist blogs

Reference in text (NVivo code name)	Blog name	Lives in	Web-site	Review date	Visited Bucharest in
Blogger 1	Sophie	Shrewsbury, Shropshire, England	VirtualTourist.com	14.12.2007	October, 2007
Blogger 2	Dao	Wakefield, England	VirtualTourist.com	3.06.2010	May, 2010
Blogger 3	Fergy	London, England	VirtualTourist.com	22.05.2005	September, 2001

Blogger 4	Andy	London, England	VirtualTourist.com	6.11.2008	November, 2008
Blogger 5	Janathan	Sheffield, England	VirtualTourist.com	26.03.2008	March, 2008
Blogger 6	Nauman	London, England	VirtualTourist.com	26.01.2004	December, 2003
Blogger 7	Pod	London, England	VirtualTourist.com	6.11.2008	November, 2008
Blogger 8	Marabuzo	London, England	VirtualTourist.com	18.07.2008	March, 2007
Blogger 9	Sally	Great Missenden, England	VirtualTourist.com	17.01.2009	January, 2008
Blogger 10	Barbara	Abergavenny, Wales	VirtualTourist.com	14.04.2009	November, 2008
Blogger 11	Marie	Billinghal-on-Tess, England	VirtualTourist.com	12.01.2003	August, 2002
Blogger 12	George	London, England	VirtualTourist.com	25.02.2008	July, 2007
Blogger 13	Joss	London, England	VirtualTourist.com	9.08.2009	January, 2009
Blogger 14	Alan	Rowell, Nottingham, England	VirtualTourist.com	18.10.2010	September, 2010

Blogger 15	Alec	York, England	VirtualTourist.com	21.09.2007	September, 2007
Blogger 16	Damo	London, England	TravelCiao.co.uk	28.04.2006	April, 2006
Blogger 17	Fiona	Newcastle, England	TravelCiao.co.uk Epinions.com	10.05.2009 31.01.2010	May, 2009
Blogger 18	Imj	Newport Pagnell, Milton Keynes, England	Wonderlust.co.uk	2.07.2010	June, 2010
Blogger 19	David	Bellshill, Lanarkshire, Scotland	Wonderlust.co.uk	5.11.2002	May, 2002
Blogger 20	Daniel	Stevenage, England	Wonderlust.co.uk TravBuddy.com	18.02.2009 28.03.2009	January, 2009
Blogger 21	Vavs	London, England	Wonderlust.co.uk	28.04.2010	April, 2010
Blogger 22	Foolsgold	Nottingham, England	TravelPod.com	1.07.2006	June, 2006
Blogger	Marty	Glasow,	TravelPod.com	18.04.20	April,

23		Scotland		07	2007
Blogger 24	Sam	Brighton, England	TravelPod.com	19.04.2009	April, 2009
Blogger 25	Linton and James	UK	TravelPod.com	12.08.2010	August, 2010
Blogger 26	Gen	Waterlooville, Portsmouth, England	TravelPod.com	27.11.2005	November, 2005
Blogger 27	Sian and Jim	London, England	TravelPod.com	4.06.2006	June, 2006
Blogger 28	Ben	London, England	TravelPod.com	25.03.2009	March, 2009
Blogger 29	Pablo	UK	TravelPod.com	16.08.2008	August, 2008
Blogger 30	Helen	London, England	TravelPod.com	21.07.2005	July, 2005
Blogger 31	Lanemik	Carterton, Oxfordhire, England	TravelPod.com	19.05.2008	May, 2008
Blogger 32	Sranmal	Bridgwater, Somerset, England	TravelPod.com	4.11.2010	November, 2010
Blogger 33	Robert	UK	TravelPod.com	21.10.2010	October, 2010

Blogger 34	Noodlerhead	UK	TravelPod.com	16.04.2009	April, 2009
Blogger 35	Englishanddrunk	UK	TravelPod.com	19.10.2008	October, 2008
Blogger 36	Simon	Beverley, England	TravelPod.com TravBuddy.com	9.04.2009	April, 2009
Blogger 37	Niki	UK	TravelPod.com	11.08.2010	August, 2010
Blogger 38	Bruce	London, England	TravelPod.com	23.08.2007	July, 2007
Blogger 39	Lizzy	UK	TravelPod.com	10.08.2010	August, 2010
Blogger 40	Ada	UK	TravelPod.com	24.09.2010	September, 2010
Blogger 41	Elaine	London, England	TravelPod.com	14.10.2008	October, 2008
Blogger 42	Richard	Gloucester, England	TravelPod.com	28.04.2009	April, 2009
Blogger 43	Eolr	London, England	TravelPod.com	30.08.2009	August, 2009
Blogger 44	Gabador	UK	TravelPod.com	22.07.2009	July, 2009
Blogger	Ian	Glasgow,	TravelPod.com	6.11.200	Novemb

45		Scotland		9	er, 2009
Blogger 46	Steve	Brighton, England	TravBuddy.com	1.07.2009	July, 2009
Blogger 47	James	Westerham, England	TravBuddy.com	16.02.2010	February, 2010
Blogger 48	Matt	Leeds, England	TravBuddy.com	12.08.2009	August, 2009
Blogger 49	Neken	London, England	TravBuddy.com	15.05.2009	May, 2009
Blogger 50	Victoria	Pershore, England	TravBuddy.com	12.07.2008	July, 2008
Blogger 51	Christina	Leicester, England	TravBuddy.com	11.08.2009	July, 2009
Blogger 52	Jason	Brighouse, England	TravBuddy.com TravelBlog.org	6.07.2010	July, 2010
Blogger 53	Adrian	Leeds, England	RealTravel.com	7.09.2009	September, 2009
Blogger 54	Nicolle	Sherwood Park, England	RealTravel.com	3.10.2006	October, 2006

Appendix 3.4 Stage4: Focus-groups

Table 3.d List of participants

	Reference in text	**Initials used on**	Participant details

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	(NVivo code name)	materials	
Focus Group1	**Saturday, 19th February – 11am**		
1	Participant 1	AA	Female, 26-35, Iranian, London
2	Participant 2	VD	Male, 25-35, Belarusian, Colchester
3	Participant 3	MT	Female, 45-55, Belarusian, Colchester
4	Participant 4	EN	Female,45-55, South Africa, Luton
5	Participant 5	JM	Male, 26-35, Iranian, London
6	Participant 6	NP	Male, 45-55, British, London
7	Participant 7	CH	Female, 26-35, British, London
Focus Group2	**Saturday, 19th February – 2pm**		
1	Participant 1	AA	Female, 26-35, Italian, London
2	Participant 2	YC	Female, 26-35, Taiwan, London
3	Participant 3	CM	Male,26-35, British, London
4	Participant 4	OR	Female, 26-35, Serbian,

			London
5	Participant 5	JL	Female, 26-35, Taiwan, London
Focus Group3	**Saturday, 26th February – 12pm**		
1	Participant 1	RC	Male, 26-35, British, Erith
2	Participant 2	MJ	Male, 26-35, Danish, London
3	Participant 3	SC	Female, 26-35, Croatian, London
4	Participant 4	MF	Female, 26-35, Serbian, London
5	Participant 5	LM	Female, 26-35, Belgian, London
6	Participant 6	AA	Female, 26-35, Italian, London

Appendix 4. Further evidence: sample of findings set in context

Appendix 4.1 Chapter 6 – Evidence from destination materials

1) "Capital of contrasts. There is not just one Bucharest. A place of contrasts and of paradoxes, a settlement built in the middle of a plain that seems endless, Bucharest gathers within its boundaries several towns that coexist, ignoring one another. Side by side with the steel and glass buildings are old palaces reminding one of the opulence of past times." (Material 1, Governmental, Ministry for Tourism, RoNTO)

2) "Stare in awe at the sheer size of Bucharest's excessive Palace of Parliament. Allegedly the world's most expensive administrative building, it was designed and built during communist rule. From there, follow wide boulevards to the city's grand 20th-century Arch of Triumph, originally built to honour Romanian soldiers who fought in World War I. Hunt for treasures in antiques shops on the narrow streets of Lipscani (Old Town) and discover hearty Romanian fare in its rustic restaurants." (Material 49, Tourism industry, Transport provider)

3) "Casinos have become a feature of the Bucharest nightlife scene in recent years. (…) As well as bullet holes deliberately left in places, several monuments around Piala Revolutiei commemorate the events of 1989." (Material 61, Tourism Media, Travel guides)

4) "There is a great vibe amongst the young, arty and student community. Jazz, Folk, Classical and Opera in Bucharest all play significant roles; as does the exciting nightlife that so many younger visitors enjoy. Even the occasional UK stag weekends in Bucharest can be spotted enjoying the atmosphere of this alluring city. For weekend breaks, Bucharest will offer the perfect blend of history, culture and night life, making it one of the most must-see cities of the world. Come to Bucharest now, you can't possibly miss the chance of our Dracula Tours, Transylvania holidays and countryside excursions." (Material 32, Tourism Industry, UK Travel agents and tour operators)

5) "The balcony from which dictator Nicolae Ceausescu addressed a crowd shouting "Jos (Down) Ceausescu before fleeing Bucharest in a helicopter is still there and so are the bullet and shrapnel holes in the neighbour buildings around the square." (Material 93, Tourism Media, Travel articles)

Appendix 4.2 Chapter 7 – Evidence from interviews with professionals

6) "We have problems with our conservation policy. It doesn't seem to work. There's nothing we can do. People abandon the buildings until they come down on their own or are declared public hazard. (…) we have buildings needing demolition because of earthquake danger and they stay up, but buildings needing minor repairs are lost because people don't care about them. (…) Land is expensive in Bucharest."(Interviewee 10, Ministry for Culture, Department for Culture and Cultural Heritage)

7) "I think it's normal. Every city goes through this. It's progress. You can't fight progress!" (Interviewee 28, Accommodation facility)

8) "The city developed. That's not a bad thing. There should have been a balance but I don't think it is a bad thing we are modernising and have skyscrapers like in New York." (Interviewee 17, Lipscani area catering facility)

9) "It's not like we are losing our communist heritage, it is like we are losing all our heritage. Everything is being modernised, inside and out. (…) So, no I'm not surprised they don't want communist buildings anymore. The rehabilitation programme of communist tower blocs is another example." (Interviewee 41, Local travel writer)

10) "Yes Lipscani looked bad before, but the renovation went too far. (…) I've been to Paris. Paris is not like that. It is quite grey and buildings a bit more real." (Interviewee 41, Local travel writer)

11) "The first problem with promoting Bucharest or Romania itself if you think about it, because for promotion I think they are one, I don't think Bucharest is promoted individually from Romania now on the international market or national even. When it comes to promotion I think it is obvious we don't know

what we want. Our ministry is trying to get British, Chinese, I don't know, Americans, everybody and nobody. A key principle in marketing is identifying your client. And they say they've done that but I don't think they are not thinking realistically. Who can we get? Americans? They are too far. Chinese? Maybe for immigration, we've been invaded by them lately but why would they come for tourism? It's very far as well and why settle for Little Paris when you can get big Paris? British? Yes, a drunken few maybe looking for kicks in nightclubs and erotic massage parlours. Because I don't think Bucharest is a family destination. We barely have enough to do for our own kids. Best case scenario maybe a few independent travellers who have been everywhere and ran out of places to see. But how many? So who is left then? Well how about looking closer to home. In communist times we were a destination for other eastern Europeans." (Interviwee 38, Local travel writer)

Appendix 4.3 Chapter 9 - Evidence from tourist blogs

12) "Somewhere, we don't know where, we got off and started walking around to find Gara de Nord. It wasn't far and found it in the mist of concrete apartment blocks and other grey buildings. On the way, the major thaw from recent heavy snowfall is melting, the roads dirty, wet and one thing we noticed, a lot of dog poo. Stray dogs everywhere! This is because the former communist leader of Romania (who by the way was overthrown in Christmas 1989 and was killed with his wife on Christmas day that year) demolished a certain area of the city, so he could build the Palace of Parliament (2nd largest administrative building after the Pentagon). So a lot of houses, apartments came down, a lot of people homeless for a while and the pet dogs had no where to go, so they were strays and populated." (Blogger 21)

13) "We're staying in a building that was clearly a part of Ceausescu's communist thrashing of Bucharest after WWII and the earthquake in the 1970s. It's very bland and square and uninspiring. It makes me want to go to the factory and get to work I guess. The apartment we're in has been redone so it's quite nice on the inside so we'll be quite happy there for the next couple of days."

(Blogger 31)

14) "Right so all we needed to do now was to find our way into the Palace, which was a lot harder than you'd think, as there were gates all around it ready for some car racing event to take place! So, we thought let's ask a policeman who will help us, and he did - or so we thought!!! He told us to head left, right around the other side of the Palace & the entrance would be there - yeah nice one Mr Policeman!! One& a half hours later, dripping with sweat, we arrived at the entrance, but guess where it was - a few metres to the right from where we asked the lovely Policeman - we were fuming! Obviously a little prank they play on unsuspecting tourists like us that keeps them amused & entertained for hours when they see them come round the other side - ha ha very funny - NOT!!" (Blogger 29)

15) "I had spoken with quite a few people in the hostels and nobody really had a good word to say about Bucharest. They said that the only thing that was worth seeing was the President's Palace. However, I was optimistic - surely there were undiscovered gems to be found in Bucharest." (Blogger 53)

16) "Bucharest is a cool capital city that is rebounding from communism. We didn't spend too much time here...just a stop in our quick sprint across the country. You can see the effects that communism once had on the country...but you can also feel a sense of revitalization as capitalism makes its move into the country. Bring on McDonalds!!! All 4 of them!" (Blogger 54)

Appendix 4.4 Chapter 10 - Evidence from focus-groups with potential tourists

17) **Question 1. Write the first 5 things that come to mind when I say Bucharest?**
- Focus-group 1, Participant 1: Romania, smth. unknown, mysterious.
- Focus-group 1, Participant 2: Capital of Romania, worm, natural, big town, sunny, full of life as any Mediterranean, gypsies, Chaushescu, Drakula, small Paris, not boring.

- Focus-group 1, Participant 3: Old, run-down, mysterious, no knowledge, foreign.

  It's not very complementary I'm afraid!

- Focus-group 1, Participant 4: East-Europe, Romania, communist, 2nd world war, revolution.

- Focus-group 1, Participant 5: Caucescu, domes, new streets, boulevards, orphans.

- Focus-group 1, Participant 6: Communism, Dracula, similar buildings, Eastern Europe.

- Focus-group 1, Participant 7: Ornate timber carving, Baroque architecture, gothic – regional rather than city-specific, Transylvania, Michael Palin's Eastern Europe, horse and carriage.

- Focus-group 2, Participant 1: Dictatorship, big city, architecture, culture, gipsies.

- Focus-group 2, Participant 2: Capital of Romania, East Europe, vampire, dragon, old city, not very pleasant weather.

- Focus-group 2, Participant 3: Romania, Transylvania, East Europe, USSR, Budapest/Hungary.

- Focus-group2, Participant 4: Romania, neighbour, Chaushesku, difficulties during communism, synagogues.

- Focus-group 2, Participant 5: Big city, garden, summer, crowded, animals.

- Focus-group 3, Participant 1: Casa populuii, graffiti, stray dogs, taxis, traffic.

- Focus-group 3, Participant 2: Weekend breaks, cheap flights, Eastern Europe, Romania, good value for money holidays.

- Focus-group 3, Participant 3: Border with Yugoslavia/close to Yugoslavia; Chausesku, Drakula – somewhere near, developing, capital city.

- Focus-group 3, Participant 4: Capital of Romania, Casa populi, Danube, Ex-president, gypsy music, Dracula, this is more for the whole Romania.

- Focus-group 3, Participant 5: East, Budapest, Romania, trip, poverty.

- Focus-group 3, Participant 6: Romania, communist heritage, exciting, EU member, Italian/Roman influences.

18) **Question 2. How do you know about Bucharest? Can you remember where your knowledge comes from? For example what (type of) sources of information you came across?**

- Focus-group 1, Participant 1: I have a friend from Bucharest, smth. about people, general news about Romania from the internet.

- Focus-group 1, Participant 2: Media, Wikipedia, school education, friend Cosmin, Moldavian friends.

- Focus-group 1, Participant 3: TV news, politics.

- Focus-group 1, Participant 4: News, history, Russia.

- Focus-group 1, Participant 5: News on Caucescu – TV/newspapers, capitals of countries for geography quiz – school books.

- Focus-group 1, Participant 6: Mostly from what I have heard from different people related to communism in Eastern Europe, Milan Kundra's books.

- Focus-group 1, Participant 7: TV – Michael Palin, architecture tutor – trip to Transylvania.

- Focus-group 2, Participant 1: Primary school, EU studies, friends.

- Focus-group 2, Participant 2: films, magazines, friends, from Economist, BBC news, friends discussions, economy, European Union.

- Focus-group 2, Participant 3: History, colleagues, books, TV.

- Focus-group 2, Participant 4: I was born in Yugoslavia. Romania was a neighbouring country. Yugoslav media and Romanian nationals living in Serbia or Serbian people going to trade in Romania.

- Focus-group 2, Participant 5: It comes from friends.

- Focus-group 3, Participant 1: 'City Spot' travel guide book and 'Bucharest in Your Pocket' website.

- Focus-group 3, Participant 2: News, websites, web.

- Focus-group 3, Participant 3: From the school books, Romanian friends.

- Focus-group 3, Participant 4: School, TV, news, newspapers, internet, friends.

- Focus-group 3, Participant 5: Geography at school, newspapers, touristic websites, Wikipedia.

- Focus-group 3, Participant 6: News items – e.g. EU accession, friends who have visited.

19) **Question 3. Do you have an image or picture of Bucharest in your head? How do you picture the city?**

- Focus-group 1, Participant 1: I don't have a vivid picture of the city, big, busy, western-like (as R is now part of the EU), mysterious, gothic-Drakula-like.

- Focus-group 1, Participant 2: Fairly big, about 3 millions, renewed, some hills, little Paris in the past, warm, mixture of Austrian – Hungarian and Soviet architecture.

- Focus-group 1, Participant 3: Poor, not much (tourism) infrastructure.

- Focus-group 1, Participant 4: Full of rough tall concrete buildings.

- Focus-group 1, Participant 5: Dome churches, tall dark sexy men, wide streets, snow, old historic buildings in need of repair.

- Focus-group 1, Participant 6: Wide streets, similar but beautiful buildings, green.

- Focus-group 1, Participant 7: Ornate architecture, romantic – small scale (historic buildings, squares and courtyards), but with contrast – imagine some modernist (soviet) housing blocks and wide boulevards.

- Focus-group 2, Participant 1: Modern buildings, communist architecture, vibrant, busy.

- Focus-group 2, Participant 2: not really – no image, old – 19th century.

- Focus-group 2, Participant 3: nope – no image.

- Focus-group 2, Participant 4: Classic European architecture, Russian communist interventions cutting through the old historic centre; new economic developments; big contrasts – in terms of architectural styles and wealth of the population; excitement…

- Focus-group 2, Participant 5: Farmers and animals.

- Focus-group 3, Participant 1: Very busy, graffiti on Calea Victories and lots of traffic at Piatti Universitate, Victorie, Romun.

- Focus-group 3, Participant 2: Old buildings, redevelopment, strong heritage.

- Focus-group 3, Participant 3: Similar to Sofia (Bulgaria) but slight Mediterranean flair.

- Focus-group 3, Participant 4: Big city, lots of nice old buildings (perhaps not well maintained), plus many of the socialist architecture – huge blocs; I would imagine it's quite green as well, wide streets.

- Focus-group 3, Participant 5: White building (I think the Parliament), orthodox churches (oriental style).

- Focus-group 3, Participant 6: Communist style architecture, grand but austere; heritage, crafts, influences of rural life.

20) **Question 4. Can you state a reason why you would like to go to Bucharest?**

- Focus-group 1, Participant 1: To discover what it's like.

- Focus-group 1, Participant 2: New town (always interesting), it is probably more safe now, architecture (this region is great), wine, food.

- Focus-group 1, Participant 3: Learn, discover; go somewhere unusual, different.

- Focus-group 1, Participant 4: How communist changed the city and its lifestyle; life after relief from communist government.

- Focus-group 1, Participant 5: Met a Romanian guy who was hot; like to try food; gay life in the city; cultural interest in East meets West in the region.

- Focus-group 1, Participant 6: To see if there is anything about Dracula; to see historical buildings and architecture.

- Focus-group 1, Participant 7: Architecture, food; interest in Eastern – less familiar in terms of culture, food, history; mystery.

- Focus-group 2, Participant 1: I am going to Bucharest for a friend's wedding.

- Focus-group 2, Participant 2: Friends, culture.

- Focus-group 2, Participant 3: Curiosity.

- Focus-group 2, Participant 4: Finally see my neighbour.
- Focus-group 2, Participant 5: Someone said that's a good city, I should be there in my life.
- Focus-group 3, Participant 1: I want to visit Romania to improve my language; as it's the capital city it seems like the most logical choice.
- Focus-group 3, Participant 2: Explore a city and country I haven't been to.
- Focus-group 3, Participant 3: Something new, where I haven't been before, but certainly it is not on my priority list.
- Focus-group 3, Participant 4: To see how it is, compare with my hometown; I would like to go for music festival or a concert of Romanian music – ethno plus jazz.
- Focus-group 3, Participant 5: Visiting a different culture, in the middle of Europe and Eastern countries.
- Focus-group 3, Participant 6: Exciting new destination; communist heritage; to learn something about this part of the world.

Appendix 5. Tabulation of results

Table 5.a Cross-tabulation of keyword frequencies (sample)

No.	Keyword (includes variations and related words)	Rank by producer category							
		Stage 1 and 2						Stage 3	Stage 4
		Government		Industry		Media		Tourists	Potential tourists
		S1	S2	S1	S2	S1	S2	S3	S4
1	Communist	26	12	86	32	200	9	23	45
2	Ceausescu	15	2	68	16	177	7	27	47
3	Parliament Palace	8	7	36	31	200	5	48	45
4	Little Paris	12	9	15	23	62	6	27	36
5	Lipscani	56	12	38	27	148	22	38	12
6	Culture	42	18	21	32	96	35	13	34
7	Nightlife	5	2	19	9	65	8	13	18
8	Revolution	8	5	44	7	136	3	45	34
9	Dracula	3	3	29	17	64	23	34	56
10	Stray Dogs	1	3	35	3	7	23	34	18

(Abbreviations: S1 = Stage1; S2 = Stage2; S3 = Stage3; S4 = Stage4)
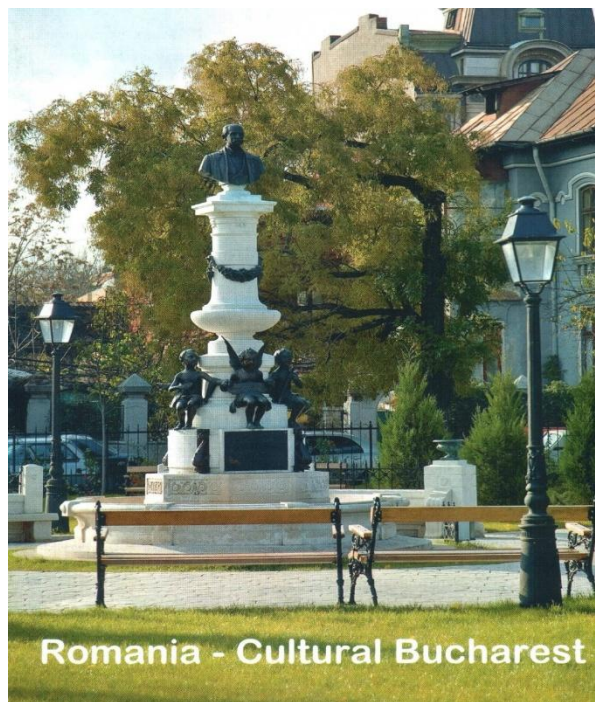

Appendix 6. Sample of pictures

Picture 6.a European Union integration celebrations at Parliament Palace

(Source: Material 5, Governmental, Ministry for Tourism, RoNTO)

Picture 6.b Cover Page Government Material 2

Romania - Cultural Bucharest

(Source: Material 2, Governmental, Ministry for Tourism, RoNTO)

Picture 6.c Parliament Palace, view from Park Carol

(Source: Blogger 10)

Picture 6.d Bucharest stray dog

(Source: Blogger 20)

Picture 6.e Parliament Palace and gypsies sweeping the street

(Source: Material 72, Tourism Media, Travel articles)

Picture 6.f Arch of Triumph

(Source: Blogger 41)

Picture 6.g Map of Bucharest