The Role of Literary Texts in Tourism Destination Management, Place Creation and Marketing: A Case Study on Concarneau in Finistère, Brittany, and the Simenon Novel, *The Yellow Dog*.

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Author's Declaration for PhD Submission

I, Charles Mansfield, declare that the PhD Thesis submitted to Plymouth University, with the full title:

The role of literary texts in tourism destination management, place creation and marketing: a case study on Concarneau in Finistère, Brittany, and the Simenon novel, The Yellow Dog.

is my own original work. Furthermore, at no time during the registration for the research degree has the author been registered for any other University award. No work submitted for this research degree at Plymouth University forms part of any other degree either at the University or at another establishment,

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Abstract

This doctoral thesis approaches literary tourism initially from an historical perspective in order to define the phenomenon through a review of the existing academic literature in the field. The forms of literary tourism are analysed to provide a typology and from this the value of literary tourism is explained both from the visitor's point of view and the destination manager's. Current theories underpinning the existing literature on literary tourism, including Bourdieu's concept of cultural capital are reviewed. To extend the current state of research and to answer the research questions a case study of successful urban literary tourism is identified, in this case in Brittany, France. The uses of French literature in literary tourism are reviewed to provide a sound basis on which to examine French texts and tourist destinations. Novel methods of field research are developed to formalise and to make reproducible the methodology for this study and for future work drawing on, and seeking to combine both literary theory and ethnography. Following a pilot study on the French Riviera the full discovery instruments are designed and applied in fieldwork on the case destination, Concarneau, using the detective novel, *The Yellow Dog*, which is set in Concarneau. Analysis of the findings from this provide a new contribution to the field of literary theory, in the area of reader interpellation, and answer the research questions in the form of a new set of recommendations for DMOs and tourism stakeholders. From the empirical study that used Web 2.0 social media, only available since 2013, an analysis of which novels do stimulate literary tourism is presented for the first time. Out of the research process new methods have been evolved, and are presented in the conclusion, for the DMO to synthesise and leverage digital resources. This provides DMOs with interpretation processes for its managed heritage to use with its local stakeholders in hotels and in tourism businesses. Finally, an innovative conceptualisation of what constitutes tourism knowledge is proposed.

Keywords

Contents

List of Figures

List of Plates

List of Tables

Full PhD Title

The role of literary texts in tourism destination management, place creation and marketing: a case study on Concarneau in Finistère, Brittany, and the Simenon novel, *The Yellow Dog*.

Research Questions

How do literary texts work to make a tourism destination more attractive to a potential visitor?

How can the novel be used sensitively by the DMO to create tourism demand and to add value to the visitors' experiences?

Aims and Objectives

The aim of this research is to investigate literary tourism from a new standpoint in order to understand the relationship between the literary text and the enjoyment or additional value visitors experience when they have read a novel that is linked to a town they are visiting. In its conclusion and recommendations the research will endeavour to propose uses for the knowledge it creates; a gap often exists between academic research and the use of knowledge in the tourism and leisure industries (Xiao & Smith 2007) and yet knowledge use is essential for decision-making, by the visitor, by the tourism business, and during policy-making, by the larger regional DMO (Xiao & Smith 2007). To this end, this research identifies a successful example of literary tourism in a French town, Concarneau, on which, to date, no study has been published. The research investigates in detail the relationship between literary tourism and the policies of the regional and local DMO responsible for that resort town in order to arrive at a position of new knowledge where valid and informed recommendations can be made. Since this research also seeks to understand the general mechanisms which make a literary text or its author a motivating factor for tourism demand, social media research is completed to access a wider respondent group than simply the visitors to the case study resort. A case participant study is completed on Concarneau to focus on the resort town where literary tourism has been successful. Furthermore, this research aims to both develop processes for eliciting

new tourism knowledge and to express that new knowledge within this thesis so that the processes may be adopted and used in the industry by DMOs, businesses and visitors. Since the case study resort is in a French region, both French literary texts and French DMO structures will be examined and described often for the first time for an English-speaking audience. The history of literary tourism finds precedents in journeys from Britain to French-speaking Europe which further supports the choice of a French resort and a French-language novel as the case study focus for this doctoral research. In summary the aims are:

Aims
1. to investigate literary tourism from a new standpoint in order to understand the relationship between the literary text and the enjoyment or additional value visitors experience when they have read a novel that is linked to a town they are visiting;
2. to develop processes for eliciting new tourism knowledge and for transferring that new knowledge.

Objectives
- to contribute to the development of literary tourism scholarship, provoking scholars of literary tourism to engage critically with the importance of the novel for the promotion of tourism destinations and tourist satisfaction;
- to define literary tourism and sub-sets of this activity;
- to complete empirical research to add to the knowledge base on literary tourism;
- to develop and refine methods that will elicit data for use in proposing recommendations to DMOs involved in literary tourism.

Acknowledgements

1 Introduction and Choice of Case Study

Introduction

> Going to the Champs-Élysées Garden was unbearable for me. If only Bergotte had described it in one of his novels, I would probably have wanted to get to know it, like all those things whose 'double' had been planted in my imagination. Description warmed the things, made them live, gave them a personality, and I wanted to find them again in reality; but in this public garden nothing was attached to my dreams.
>
> Aller aux Champs-Élysées me fut insupportable. Si seulement Bergotte les eût décrits dans un de ses livres, sans doute j'aurais désiré de les connaître, comme toutes les choses dont on avait commencé par mettre le « double » dans mon imagination. Elle les réchauffait, les faisait vivre, leur donnait une personnalité, et je voulais les retrouver dans la réalité; mais dans ce jardin public rien ne se rattachait à mes rêves.
>
> <div align="right">Marcel Proust (1913, 386) À la Recherche du temps perdu</div>

Literary tourism is a phenomenon that can be studied. The novelist, Marcel Proust, in the epigraph above, expresses the effect literary texts have upon the places described within them, at least in the minds of certain readers. This research is particularly interested in finding and understanding this certain type of reader and their visitor experience since it endeavours to uncover what brings value to the literary tourist. Literary tourism has received academic attention, as the literature review of the next two chapters will demonstrate in detail, but as yet many questions remain unexplored, particularly, why novels stimulate travel and the nature of the relationship between reading fiction and holidaymaking. Tourism and reading literary texts have strong links since they are both leisure activities pursued for pleasure, distinguishing themselves from work, even though reading and travelling are also work activities in everyday life. Unravelling whether a novel has contributed to visitor numbers at a particular destination, though, is fraught with complexity since the writer of the novel may have chosen the setting of the story because it already was a holiday destination; the classic example of this is Proust's fictional seaside town of Balbec, which has been identified as the French resort of Cabourg in Normandy (Proust 1987). If knowledge of the literary connection makes certain visitors behave differently at the destination then this reveals what value literary tourism has to offer; it is this group which is of most interest to this study since their decisions at the resort may well provide a basis

for improving the experience of the literary visit. Chapter 2 is a longer historical view of the phenomenon drawing on Watson (2006) and shows the British intelligentsia, inspired by a 1761 novel in French by Jean-Jacques Rousseau, making the decision to travel to the continent to see the novel's setting. Rousseau's novel, *Julie, ou la nouvelle Héloïse,* is a valid starting point for the history of modern literary tourism since the novel's theme concerns the authentic life; it shows two characters making choices without submitting to the will of others, including the social pressures that surround them. Authenticity, being true to oneself when making life choices, is renewed in twentieth-century French literature, as chapter 3 will show. Tourism studies itself often returns to this theme first, as consumers choose destinations to visit and later, on holiday, when they make micro-decisions on what activity to do next, freed, as they are, from the everyday constraints of work. Ideas of authorisation, permission and even guilt surround these decisions during leisure time and the analysis in chapter 9 uncovers these in a participatory case study. Visitors on literary holidays do have a source of authorisation or leadership provided by the author of the novel when they are interrogating their cultural capital for knowledge on what to do next. New approaches to analyse this process are successfully carried through by this research.

Through methodologically developed forms of narrative confession after Riessman (1993), Denzin (2014) and Foucault (2014), this research has been able to access the cultural capital that forms the identity of holidaymakers (Caughey 2006) to discover how the visitor creates experiences and hence, value, from being at the literary place. From this, the researcher constructs new grounded proposals (Charmaz 2006) on what is happening at specific sites in the holiday destination, and uses this to answer why novels give certain readers a desire to visit places and, once there, to explore those places in a way that brings pleasure. We are fortunate in tourism research to be able to examine pleasure and value in leisure activities and this work advances and contributes to that study.

The Choice of Concarneau and Simenon's *The Yellow Dog*

This doctoral research examines the phenomenon of literary tourism from a new standpoint that is useful for the DMO, tourism business managers and literary visitors

alike, to that end a case study was undertaken on the literary tourism of Concarneau, which is both current and successful as a literary visitor attraction. Georges Simenon's detective story, *The Yellow Dog* (1931 French original) is a popular novel, currently promoted as summer reading, indeed in May 2011 it was re-packaged by its French publishers, Le Livre de Poche, and aimed at the holiday reading market in France. It is a novel which has no currently available film associated with it and so the investigation of tourism purely from reading is not obscured by movie-induced tourism. In addition the French national daily newspaper, *Le Monde*, ran a summer reading promotion making Simenon's novels available every Thursday from June 2011 until October (please see promotional material reproduced below). The novel, *The Yellow Dog* is available in both English translation and in its French original, and has been since the 1930s. In November 2013, 75 of Simenon's novels enjoyed a re-packaging by the UK and US publisher, Penguin, for the English-speaking mass market (Greywoode 2013, personal correspondence), attesting to the continued popularity of Maigret detective fiction. This re-launch included the case study novel, *The Yellow Dog* set in Concarneau; Penguin Classics repackaged and republished this novel on 6th March 2014 keeping it current and in the public eye.

The specific references in the literary text of *The Yellow Dog* contain actual place names and sufficient detail to allow readers and researchers to explore the seaside and port town of Concarneau in Finistère, the western-most *département* of Brittany in France. Identifiable places are a key aspect of this study since the research looks in detail at the experiences of literary visitors as they derive pleasure from being at a precise spot in the action of the story they have read. Novels with known places, then, were considered for this study and the work of Georges Simenon provides these in *The Yellow Dog* and in *Liberty Bar*. Concarneau itself was already developed as a resort in the early 1930s (Belbeoch 1993), when the novel is set and was written, and the town is now part of active and documented Destination Marketing and Management processes at a range of government and private stakeholder levels (Finistère 2008), which makes the case study component of this research valuable for the insights it provides to stakeholder engagement in literary tourism initiatives. In the year of publication of the original French detective novel, *Le Chien jaune*, 1931, Georges Simenon also published nine other Maigret titles (Trussel 2005) instituting a popular literary *œuvre* which is enjoyed as easy or escapist reading even today, as

attested by Penguin's investment in re-publication. The French colloquial term for a police detective novel is *polar*. A characteristic of the *polar* is a recognisable hero detective character that re-appears across a series of novels. Simenon's Maigret character enjoys this reputation; in the stories he is a *commissaire* in the Judicial Police, a senior commanding police detective close in rank to the British detective chief superintendent.

Concarneau, where the action of the novel takes place, is a seaside town, fishing port, and commune, with a population of 19,048 (INSEE 2012) on the estuary of the river Moros. As a site for tourism research, Concarneau is an urban seaside resort with a history of tourism use comparable with many European post-mature cold-water resorts (Cooper 1990); similar English resorts are examined in Agarwal & Brunt (2006). It is therefore valuable to see how literary tourism, in what may be regarded as a typical cold-water resort, inserts itself into the urban seaside resort cycle and acts as a renewal catalyst in the DMO's mission to enhance the offering for a town's visitors; for more detailed discussion of the seaside resort cycle in England, see Agarwal (1997). The findings of this study therefore are applicable to that range of resort towns across Western Europe, where a literary link can be uncovered by the DMO; consider for example, Fowey in Cornwall and its links with Sir Arthur Quiller-Couch, Kenneth Grahame, Dame Daphne du Maurier and Leo Walmsley. Concarneau itself boasts a built heritage that includes a walled island from the thirteenth century with ramparts refortified by Vauban (1633-1707), an engineer under Louis XIV (Dennis & Griffith 2006); Concarneau's cultural heritage provides an additional tourist attraction which adds a useful complexity to the study. As this study will show, urban literary places often share the space of existing visitor attractions making it difficult to separate and quantify the value provided by the literary connection. However, findings from the case study demonstrate that even mundane built heritage is given a gratuitous value (Bourdieu 1977) by the reading of the novel set there.

Simenon's detective character, Maigret has kept a strong fan base, with notable amateur specialists online and in academic circles. One notable specialist and enthusiast is Steve Trussel of Oahu Island, who has maintained a web-site and forum on Maigret since 1997 (Trussel 2005) that acts as a gathering place for popular

research on the books, their more accurate publication dates and translations, film adaptations and the characters of the novels. Trussel's Maigret Forum (Trussel 2005) shows how the novel has maintained a public presence over the years since its first publication in French:

1931   *Le Chien jaune*, Paris, Fayard.
1932   Film: *Le chien jaune*, with Abel Tarride.
1939   *A Face for a Clue*. (tr. Geoffrey Sainsbury), London.
1987   *Maigret and the Yellow Dog*. (tr. Linda Asher), New York.
2003   *The Yellow Dog*. (tr. Linda Asher), London, Penguin.

(Trussel 2005)

Owners and publishers of what is called the literary property have also kept the title alive and in the public eye in the UK, US and France by re-packaging the text, most recently, for the holiday reading market. Book-covers are reproduced to show this commercial re-packaging in Plates 1-6 at the end of this chapter. Chorion Ltd, under the chairmanship of Labour Lord, Waheed Alli, owned the literary property, which includes *The Yellow Dog*, with finance from 3i Group plc, a London-based private equity and venture capital company, from 2006 until debt problems resulted in the sale of Simenon's literary estate, to Peters Fraser & Dunlop of London at the beginning of 2013. These anonymous workings of capital in the metropolis are a reminder of Georg Simmel's (Featherstone & Frisby 1997) writings on money in the social space, a theme explored by Simenon in the novel. The final, exciting outcome of the change of ownership of the literary property for this study is the re-publication of 75 titles from the Maigret series by Penguin Books Ltd, the first book being *Pietr the Latvian*, in November 2013 (Greywoode 2013). The publicity, the revised translation of *The Yellow Dog* by Linda Asher (Greywoode 2013) and the ready availability in UK bookshops of the novels, validates and justifies the value of examining the effects of Simenon's writing on tourism in the second decade of the twenty-first century.

The successful and clearly identifiable literary tourism activity connected with this detective novel is the annual festival held in venues within Concarneau called 'Le Chien Jaune – Festival du Polar de Concarneau', The Yellow Dog – Concarneau's Detective Novel Festival. The twentieth festival takes place from 18th to 20th July 2014. Whilst the festival and the Yellow Dog are not visible at the higher levels of Concarneau's tourism destination image, TDI, in the marketing materials of Brittany

region, Finistère department, and Concarneau town, the 2010 festival poster, reproduced below, does indicate that support or sponsorship is provided by these public bodies alongside the more local support from private companies for the costs of the festival and its promotion. In recent years, too, the town library and schools in Concarneau and its suburb of Beuzec-Conq have begun to engage with activities connected to the festival. The energy and drive for the creation of a literary tourism activity, the festival, has emerged from the efforts of a very small group of enthusiasts whose shared enjoyment of the novel raises research questions about meaning, cultural capital, identity, authenticity, pleasure and tourism knowledge.

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Plate 1 The French Publishers, Le Livre de Poche re-packaged Maigret novels at the end of May 2011 for the Holiday Reading Market.

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Plate 2 Map of Brittany showing case study town, Concarneau (Concarneau 2014).

Figure (Text/Chart/Diagram/image etc.) has been removed due to Copyright restrictions.

Plate 3 Annual Literary Festival Organisers in Concarneau use The Yellow Dog in their logo

Plate 4 Penguin re-published the English translation of *The Yellow Dog* in 2014

Plate 5 Poster from 16th Annual Police Detective Fiction Festival held in Concarneau in 2010

Plate 6 Communications Agency 'Amour' won the contract to market *Le Monde*'s Maigret Promotion of Summer 2011, Amour, Agence de Communication, 56 rue Ordener, 75018 Paris.

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2 Literary Tourism in Context

History of Leisure Travel related to Literary Works

This section aims to separate literary tourism from other travel activities to arrive at a history of literary tourism along with a definition. In an initial attempt to define literary tourism, the key relationships between narrative texts of fiction, authors, readers, places and travel to those places are explored historically. Early practices that can be dated, and that bring together texts that were set down for transmission of a narrative and the deliberate, motivated movement of people to access that narrative are the mystery plays staged in late medieval towns in Europe (Parussa 2008). York, London and Paris all staged these carefully scripted events, often over several holy days to attract audiences to consume the stories offered (Small 2009). Small (2009) points out that the town of Lille, in northern France, staged up to three mystery plays a year between 1382 and 1544. These required investment, particularly in buying and copying the script, and in staging the event but they also brought visitors, profit and prestige to the town. The texts were authored and carefully copied for performances that would attract both performers and visitors to the central areas of these powerful cities. The texts of Simon Gréban, for example, (*circa* 1470) are still extant and are known to have been played over nine days at Bourges in 1536 and again in Paris at the Hôtel de Flandres in 1541 (Simon Gréban *circa* 1470). Some indication of the number of people travelling to witness or participate in these stories can be gleaned from the fact that Gréban's mystery play has parts for 500 actors. The participants of the play's story would be there to consume the play's message, too, which concerned urban order, power and hierarchy in late feudalism (Parussa 2008). Staging, but also the text, its characters and its directions would situate the action of the story in places other than the city centre location of the play itself; the extant documents of the play provide a list of characters from hell. The participants and visitors would have had some understanding that the action was taking place in a fictional elsewhere.

But a new technology was emerging at the end of the 1400s, mechanised book production, which would effectively mobilise the text itself, lessening the need for the consumer of stories to travel to participate in staged mysteries in the urban centres at

specific times of the year, holidays. The following diagram helps to isolate the components in this process of literature and travel:

Historical Models of Consumption of Literary Texts

14th to 16th C.

Consumer or participant

Travels to urban centre (tourism?)

on holy days (holidays)

URBAN CENTRE

The Story enacted

Author and producer

Fictional Scene of Action eg Hell

Printing & Book Distribution Technologies Emerge

May travel to read book

The Story enacted

Consumer or participant

or book moves to reader

The Story enacted

URBAN CENTRE

Printing centres: London, Strasboug & Book distribution

producer

Author

Fictional Scene of Action eg Hell

Figure 1 Historical Models of Consumption of Literary Texts (The author)

The consumer of the story can be seen travelling to a space that, thanks to narrative, is no longer undifferentiated. The hypothesis, put forward here, is that the order imposed by narrative on spaces differentiates them. The enactment of the story makes the consumer believe the space can be understood and hence consumed. A further component is that places normally inaccessible because of power or fear, hell, in the example above, are rendered comprehensible by narrative and plot resolution, and thus can be enjoyed at close proximity whilst remaining safe. Derek Longhurst, in drawing out what makes detective fiction pleasurable, points to the reasoning used by the main characters, for example, Sherlock Holmes (Longhurst 1989) and how the hero's rationality and positivist world view can resolve the fears of the readers (Longhurst 1989). The spaces that have been narrated in fiction gain an added value, an artistic heritage, through being worked by the author and the consumers. To this value, could also be added the memory of the enactment and resolution of the story

which adds *aura* to the urban space. Walter Benjamin's concept of *aura* in the built environment, as Savage explains, extends Proust's work on the recovery of memory and helps understand why places within towns have value (Savage 2000). Sites have value because an anxiety was resolved there.

In stage two of the diagram in Figure 1 printing, book production and distribution technologies improve to separate the author from the site of production and further still the place where the story is enacted. The portable book, although still very expensive, was consumed by larger numbers of people and in less public spaces, but, more importantly for this discussion, at a stroke, in a place separate from the fictional scene of action of the story. This fragmentation by technology instantly generates four distinct spaces that may hold the artistic appeal attributed to the authentic site of resolution of the story: (i) the site of reading, (ii) the site of production, (iii) the author's place of writing, and (iv) the fictional scene where the action unfolds. Aaron Santesso notes this difference between the sites where Renaissance playwright, Ben Jonson worked and the theatres playing his work, explaining from his analysis of biographical writing from 1700 that 'The site of performance […] is less important than the site of creation.' (Santesso 2004, 382).

A second influential medieval tradition in combined story-telling and travel, which is brought into the European Renaissance (14th to 17th century) via William Caxton's early printing in 1478, is highlighted by Nicola Watson (2006). She points out how the pilgrimage from Southwark in London to Canterbury in *The Canterbury Tales* by Geoffrey Chaucer (1343-1400) is a journey accompanied by story-telling. Later she suggests (Watson 2006) that this pilgrimage was a form related to necro-tourism which she says shifts with the Enlightenment (1650-1800) away from visiting the shrines of murdered religious leaders to visiting the graves of writers. The importance of Canterbury Cathedral (built 1070) for Renaissance visitors was the murder and burial there of Thomas Becket (1118-1170), who was Henry II's Lord Chancellor. In *The Canterbury Tales* a company of 29 pilgrims gather at a hostelry south of the river Thames on Borough High Street in London before beginning their journey, the place was called the Tabbard; the Middle English thorn þ, makes the name of the inn look like *ye* Tabbard in the manuscript, please see below:

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Plate 7 Detail from folio 1 of BL Harley MS 7334 re-copied circa 1410
    Byfel that in that season on a day,
    In Southwerk at þe [ye=the] Tabbard as I lay
    Redy to wenden on my pilgrymage
    To Caunterbury with ful devout corage,
    At nyght was come into that hostelrye
    Wel nyne and twenty in a compaignye
                  (Chaucer c.1399, f 1)

However, making the journey of the 29 fit into the category of literary tourism is problematic. The allure of the cathedral as the visited place may have been created by political history writing but can it be said to be the site of a murder mystery? It was certainly not a fictional mystery at any rate, since it had not featured in any fictional account in that era. Ye Tabbard Hostelrye, though, had it not been demolished in 1873, would qualify as a site of literary tourism under this emerging definition, since it is referred to in Chaucer's fictional *Tales*. Indeed, Aaron Santesso (2004) discovers that John Dryden writes about the Tabard in Southwark in the preface to his *Fables, Ancient and Modern* (1700) tantalisingly saying 'I see […] all the Pilgrims in the *Canterbury* Tales, their Humors, their Features, and the very Dress, as distinctly as if I had supp'd with them at the *Tabard*' (Dryden 1700, Preface).

Watson (2006) sees the portability of the book by the late eighteenth century inducing a desire in the now growing mass of reading public to authenticate their loss of more direct or intimate contact with the author. She speculates whether this new mood can be seen as romantic, using the term as a link to European Romanticism, which appeared in the last half of the eighteenth century, during the Enlightenment, partly as a reaction to the order of both aristocratic power and power from rationalist thought. It is worth a short discussion of the term romantic here since it is so closely linked with the novel and fiction writing. In French the word for novel is *roman*, whilst in English the root, roman-, can be seen in the word romance which suggests a love story or more simply an embroidered or fictional setting-down of a legend. The stories of King Arthur, that bring tourists to sites in Cornwall and Brittany, were

called romances; and, one of these, the late fourteenth century romance *Sir Gawain and the Green Knight* brings literary tourists to Lud's Church where the final confrontation with the Green Man is set. Lud's Church is a natural geological cleft in the millstone grit about 18 metres deep and is easily accessible from the A53 between Leek and Buxton in the Peak District (from author's own fieldwork). The manuscript for the romance of *Sir Gawain and the Green Knight* is held in the British Library, as MS BL Cotton Nero A.x. Scholars' visits to examine the manuscript in London do not fit the definition of literary tourism but journeys specifically to see, for example, the tenth century codex, MS 3501 in the Exeter Cathedral Chapter Library, because it contains the eighth century Anglo-Saxon poem, 'The Ruin', which is displayed for visitors, are literary tourism. This poem from the *Exeter Book*, is believed to be the oldest extant description of English urban space in Old English, and refers to Bath being visited by a Saxon writer 300 years after the Romans had left the town (author's own fieldwork):

> Wrætlic is þes wealstan, wyrde gebræcon;
> burgstede burston, brosnað enta geweorc.
> 'The Ruin' opening lines circa 8th.C AD

> Wondrous is this wall-stead; weirds broke it
> Town-yard streets were smashed; the work of giants is decaying.
> Roofs are fallen, ruinous towers,
> The frosty gate with frost on cement is ravaged,
> Chipped roofs are torn, fallen,
> Undermined by old age
> 'The Ruin' Modern English translation of opening lines.

Of course, visiting the book as an artefact, was something that interested readers were doing even in the Middle Ages, as the first diagram seeks to show. Visiting the very early copy of 'The Ruin' in a Devon library, though, with the earliest description we have in English by a visitor to the ruins of a town to describe the built heritage has many components of tourism. Not least is the drive to draw closer to the author or the act of composition as the next section discusses.

Finding the Author

Plate 8 Entrance and Visitor Route into Shakespeare's Birthplace, Stratford-upon-Avon, Author's own fieldwork, photo: C. Mansfield 9.11.13.

Watson (2006) takes as an example of this drive to find the author, their life and working practice, the development of the birthplace of William Shakespeare (1564-1616), again a Renaissance author. Watson is able to actually date early literary tourism in Stratford-upon-Avon to August 1769 (Watson 2006), when actor and producer, David Garrick (1717-1779) organised a procession of 170 characters from Shakespeare's plays through the streets of the town ostensibly to celebrate the poet's 200th birthday. However, as this side of the literary tourism industry began its interventions to develop birthplaces and the author's early life, Watson notes that visitors reported that they were disappointed in the actual sights and experiences they had during the visit (Watson 2006) both to Stratford and to Alloway, to see the cottages associated with Robert Burns' (1759-1796) childhood. She finds this again in her research into travel writing from visitors to Walter Scott's (1771-1832) Abbotsford just over the border from Northumberland, where the scenery does not

live up to the novels; the visitor is bored and disappointed by the site even though Scott's house was actually constructed as a visitor attraction (Watson 2006).

Watson uses a method of enquiry into historical literary tourism practices that analyses the correspondence and travel writing of later authors as they visit the birthplace or childhood homes of earlier authors. For example she draws on the descriptions by Elizabeth Gaskell (1810-1865) and the letters of Patrick Brontë to theorise about the creation of Haworth as a literary visitor site (Watson 2006). Gaskell did visit Charlotte Brontë (1816-1855) during her own life-time in 1855 and so, using her own writing practice as a realist novelist, Gaskell provides topographical accuracy of the view from Keighley towards the moors above Haworth village, home of the Brontë sisters (Watson 2006). Watson proposes that, coupled with the appearance in print of *Black's Picturesque Guide to Yorkshire* in 1858, the place of the literary work of the Brontë sisters becomes a site for literary tourism. Indeed, by the end of 1900, she points out that 3000 visits per year were being made (Watson 2006); Alastair Durie also publishes data from the *Register of Visitors* to Scott's Abbotsford House (Durie 1992). Here Watson (2006) has identified a layering of professional written mediation, including biography and travel writing that give value to the author and her place of work primarily simply because she has been written about, and more profoundly because her life has been made comprehensible and accessible in a locatable place.

Topographical Accuracy

The use of topographical accuracy by novelists to site their purely fictional events, Watson shows (Watson 2006), is a powerful catalyst for the creation of sites of literary pilgrimage. Watson steps back a century to the publication in 1761 of *Julie, ou la nouvelle Héloïse*, an epistolary novel exploring authenticity, by Jean-Jacques Rousseau (1712-1778). As early as 1764, Watson discovers (Watson 2006) using her methodological approach of working through travel writing and journals or travel diaries, that James Boswell (1740-1795) is the first literary tourist to follow up the search for the fictional character, *Julie* and her haunts (Watson 2006). As a note here, the sentimental, in the context of novels in the mid-1700s, including *Julie*, is still considered then as a powerful and serious challenge to feel true emotions rather than allowing oneself to be subsumed by rationalism. As such it was taken up by the

writers of the later phase of Romanticism in Britain, in the early 1820s: Mary Shelley, Percy Bysshe Shelley, John Keats and Lord Byron.

It is these poets who, mobilised by the Grand Tour, follow in Boswell's footsteps from Britain to *Lac Léman*, Lake Geneva where Rousseau lived and set his novel. Watson introduces a new methodological approach to her investigation of the literary tourist, a close-reading of the catalyst text itself, *Julie, ou la nouvelle Héloïse*. The use of close-reading to shed light on tourism practices is used in the current research, and is explored at length in Chapter 9 as part of the case study on the Simenon novel, *The Yellow Dog*. The story of Rousseau's novel is narrated using letters; here Watson uses the letters sent from the male protagonist, Saint-Preux to illuminate literary tourism:

> [In his letters] St Preux vividly delineates a mentality common to the reader-tourist, who typically suffers from a desire to be included within or to experience first-hand the fiction, but, invisible, unnecessary, and secondary to the fiction, he or she is forever doomed to frustration.
>
> (Watson 2006, 137)

This structural analysis of the novel uses a critical practice developed by Catherine Belsey (1980) to demonstrate how *Julie, ou la nouvelle Héloïse* **produces** tourism. In passing, too, Watson unearths an early documented use of the phrase 'the precise spot' in the *Journals of Mary Shelley*, 'We went again to the bosquet de Julie, and found that the precise spot was now utterly obliterated' (cited in Watson 2006, 142). Note, a bosquet is a small copse of trees, a naturalistic garden or orchard setting. Again, Watson's method will be returned to during the case study on Concarneau and *The Yellow Dog* to examine in detail how the literary text presents and tantalises the reader-visitor with descriptions of the precise spot, linking fiction with real places in towns.

The method of critical enquiry employed by Aaron Santesso (2004) into the history of literary tourism, uses, like Watson (2006) published correspondence from authors, for example the letters of Henry James (1843-1916), along with extracts from travel writing. Further, Santesso, also brings into his argument one of Henry James' short stories, 'The Birthplace' (1903), thus using fiction to support his claims about an author's understanding of tourist visits to literary birthplaces. Santesso uses the short fiction as a truthful, or at least, a revealing text. In this way he demonstrates a

discursive practice that places high value on the work of fiction as a worthy source of valid information about the real world. This humanist tradition, arguably dating back to Petrarch (1304-1374), illustrates why the novel is held in such high esteem in Western culture. This tradition of treating fiction as a source of knowledge about the human condition may go some way to accounting for tourists' interest in visiting the settings or sources of these texts. Fiction may be imaginative creation but even in the twenty-first century it is still considered to hold data for understanding the real world; Santesso (2004) uses 'The Birthplace' by James to determine facts about those who manage visitor sites, its DMOs. From his reading, Santesso proposes his first, or Stratford Model, for the way Shakespeare's birthplace is managed (Santesso 2004) but then elaborates a second model based on John Milton (1608-1674), author of the epic poem *Paradise Lost* (1667), with its depiction of hell, and his birthplace in Bread Street, London. Using his reading of *Brief Lives*, biographies compiled by John Aubrey (1626-1697), Santesso proposes the earliest documented example of tourists visiting an English author's birthplace (Santesso 2004). Santesso pinpoints the exact location as near the Mermaid, in a building called the White Bear on Bread Street, where Milton's father worked as a scrivener (Santesso, 2004, 389).

Turning the tables on Santesso, and reading his academic writing as historical urban description, a picture of 'urban noise and frenzy' (Santesso, 2004, 391-392) is painted just east of St Paul's Cathedral. The new cathedral was built in 1677 on Lud Gate Hill, where Geoffrey of Monmouth has the pre-Roman King Lud buried at the highest point in the City. Here is the inspiration for Milton's Pandemonium, a building in hell, frightening yet exciting. Just lower down at the Mermaid, the playwrights and wits, including Shakespeare, visit their literary club, the Bread Street Club and this site becomes the centre of night life. Travellers arriving by ferry from Queenhithe water-gate or on the coaches which arrived in Bread Street from Devonshire would not be as disappointed as those arriving in Stratford or Abbotsford. In passing, Santesso mentions that the literary club on the corner of the two streets, Bread Street and Friday Street, was founded by Sir Walter Raleigh, author of 'What is Our Life?' and 'The Lie'. Raleigh was arrested in 1603 in The Exeter Inn, 26 West Street, Ashburton, Devon, so, with Bread Street being the terminus for Devonshire coaches, Santesso's image of a dangerous yet exciting urban meeting place with a literary history dating back to Raleigh does have plausibility.

Milton's Bread Street, in its day, was a complex urban site to visit, but since the Great Fire of London and the twentieth-century office blocks the Milton Model of Santesso is an absence, 'the anti-Stratford' (Santesso 2004, 396), less than a ruin, nothing remains. The Milton Model requires of the tourist a purely imaginative engagement without markers. Santesso cites Graham Holderness (1988) as a contrast to the modern-day Bread Street experience; Holderness draws a parallel with medieval pilgrimage where the literary tourist today pursues icons and relics. Santesso proposes though, that 'the absence of an object for the gaze is liberating' (Santesso 2004, 395) which collides with Holderness' claims that literary tourism has a material dimension which cannot be ignored (Holderness 1988). This apparent discrepancy between imagination and the external world may be reconciled by investigation of the experience of visitors within the literary space, asking what do they do there? This experience is not reduced to a focussed gaze upon a relic but consists of the whole sense of the visitor's body moving and adjusting its position, turning, walking, arriving, anticipating distance and being physically present in this space. This is taken up below in the discussion of Richard Ladwein's (2003) phenomenological work in methodologies and a resolution proposed in one of the data collection methods.

Guide-Books and Material Authenticity

In examining the corpus of material used by researchers in the field of literary tourism both the guidebook and, a genre of text defined by Watson as the Literary Country (Watson 2006), a term also used by Busby, Brunt & Lund (2003) and by Douglas Pocock to discuss a DMO-created regional image on North Tyneside (Pocock 1992), provide useful additional discursive practices for analysis. For example, Watson uses both *Baedeker's Guide* (1887) and the guidebook by R N Worth (1879) *Tourist's Guide to North Devon and the Exmoor District* to demonstrate again tourists' disappointment at setting eyes upon the rural fictive site. In passing, too, she pinpoints a clear reference to *Lorna Doone* (1869) as a novel creating literary tourism to fictive places within a decade of its publication (Watson 2006). Watson attributes this successful literary tourism linkage to R D Blackmore's genre of fictional writing, documentary realism. She also draws on tourism discourses such as the sign at the

Exmoor Visitor Centre to support her arguments, 'FACT: Did you know that Lorna Doone is a fictional character?' (cited in Watson 2006, 164). The Literary Countries books are a category of writing that Watson defines as originating between 1880 and 1920, which 'tie verifiable topography, whether rural or urban, primarily to an author's works, rather than to authorial biography' (Watson 2006, 169). A work fitting this category which is relevant to the current research on *The Yellow Dog* is *Concarneau et l'univers de Georges Simenon* (2006) by Jean-Paul Ollivier. In the title itself, Ollivier proposes a whole universe for Simenon's writing, and the world of Simenon is used in promotional discourses by the publisher to re-package and market his novels.

William Gilpin (1724–1804) is best remembered for his series of, what later came to be considered as guide-books to the aesthetic pleasures of visiting English landscapes. He is often credited with the valorisation, if not the invention, of the picturesque, a combination of the beautiful and the sublime (Michasiw 1992). Volume 1 of his guide-books began to appear in 1776 between the two phases of Romanticism, and their titles initially lead readers to believe they are exclusively related to the countryside, *Observations on several parts of England, particularly the mountains and lakes of Cumberland and Westmoreland, relative chiefly to picturesque beauty, made in the year 1772*. However, he has a special attraction to the Norman heritage of England, too, which he calls ruins, giving the architecture the same attention as the eighth century poet of 'The Ruin':

> Ruins are commonly divided into two kinds: castles, and abbeys. Of the former perhaps few countries can produce more than this island; for which various causes may be assigned. The feudal system, which lasted long in England, and was carried high, raised numerous castles in every part. King Stephen's reign contributed greatly to multiply them. And in the northern counties, the continual wars with Scotland had the same effect. Many of these buildings, now fallen into decay, remain objects of great beauty.
>
> <div align="right">(Gilpin 1776, 13-14)</div>

Gilpin is aware of the feudal system and the reign of Étienne de Blois (c.1092-1154), grandson of William the Conqueror, as King of England from 1135. These ruins, which represent a loss of feudal power, combine for Gilpin, and his new sensibility, an authenticity and, simultaneously, a feeling of security that this brutal type of power is no longer wielded. Arguably, it is this built heritage which he invites his contemporaries to read as beautiful since its ruin contains a history of the struggle

between the overlord and the more enlightened age in which Gilpin lives, where nature and the everyday, local appropriation of building materials gently gain the upper hand.

Figure (Text/Chart/Diagram/image etc.) has been removed due to Copyright restrictions.

Plate 9 Penrith Castle (built 1399-1470) illustration from Gilpin (1786)

The authenticity of English ruins includes the idea that the building is true to itself; this includes both the building materials and practices and the truth of what took place at those buildings. The invention of the tourist view happens not only in Gilpin's guides but also in English literature; Karen Valihora (2007) in examining *Mansfield Park* (1814) by Jane Austen, proposes that a Gilpin-like view of a scene, even the view from above or from a distance, actively engages the viewer, absorbing the character of the novel in the action. Valihora's analysis then extends this engagement from the character in the novel to the reader, and ultimately, to the tourist (Valihora 2007). By extension the reader and the tourist if sufficiently engaged and hence absorbed by a scene, through knowledge of its history, its importance to the story and its beauty are both satisfied by the authenticity of what they are seeing and experiencing. This is returned to in the case study during analysis of the case participants' reactions to the ruins of the fort on the headland at Cabellou in Brittany.

A recent research project on material authenticity in literary tourism sites develops three versions of authenticity: modernist, rationalist, and eclectic-interpretative (Cormack & Fawcett 2001). The analysis by Cormack & Fawcett (2001) helps to move tourism theorisation on authenticity out of the stalemate position it had reached by the end of the twentieth century where the discussion was still grappling with the aftermath of mass tourism. Their use of the term rationalist is clear where they describe the use of the building that was the inspiration for the Green Gables house in *Anne of Green Gables* (1908) by Canadian author Lucy Maud Montgomery (1874-1942). The DMO for the site, Parks Canada, use historical records and scholarship to determine what may be included in the property. The property itself was in existence during the period of Montgomery's writing and life nearby, having been built forty

years before her birth (Cormack & Fawcett 2001). This rationalist version of material authenticity will be returned to in the analysis of data from the current research during the close-reading of the case study novel and in fieldwork to the town under study. The rationalist version of Cormack & Fawcett (2001) most closely describes the drive for authenticity for those literary tourists seeking the exact spot upon which a fictional event took place.

Authenticity and the Imaginary

Authenticity, as a term from existential philosophy, describes the choices and actions of the fully conscious self (Reisinger & Steiner 2006). A failure of authenticity occurs when external, often material or social, pressures are succumbed to and subjects make choices that are not true to themselves. Both Simone de Beauvoir, in *Les Belles Images* (1966) and Jean-Paul Sartre in *L'Age de Raison* (1945) use the realist novel to demonstrate authentic choices and the opposite, acts of bad faith, by their characters. Trying to incorporate the existentialist definition of authenticity into tourism gives rise to two areas of study, firstly, the choices made when planning to travel to a particular literary site whilst being subjected to the pressures of advertising and yet still trying to be true to one's self. Secondly, at the destination site, when trying to determine the authenticity of the experiences the visitor wishes to encounter that remain true to their desires. Desire, though, the drive or seduction to be face-to-face with otherness needs to be reconciled with being true to one's self.

Sartre's *analogon* (Sartre 2010), which is the imaginary equivalent of an object really perceived, is the basis of freedom in humans. Sartre says that if we can imagine a different existence we are free. Humans with will can make the world from within their imagination rather than being enslaved by the real. Literary visitors, if sufficiently prepared in their imaginations, Sartre uses the term *l'Imaginaire* or the Imaginary for this (Sartre 2010), can make the site real for themselves. An analysis of the following aspects of human imagination are necessary for an understanding of the phenomenon of experiencing the real in literary tourism:

- Knowledge – and from that, meaning, which may be represented in the symbolic order,

- Value – additional knowledge through experience, satisfaction at what is discovered at the literary site,
- Desire fulfilment – which may not be communicated using the symbolic.

Beate Rössler (2002) looks in depth at some of these issues of autonomy of choice when set against desire, as understood by Lévinas. A final story from Sartre, which helps to see how to research into the desiring imagination, though, is worth recounting here because it shows the qualitative nature of the imaginary. Sartre takes a passage from Émile Alain (1920) in which the Panthéon in Paris is used an example of how the image of a building is held in the imaginary. The Panthéon is a neo-classical mausoleum completed in 1790 and is now the burial place for at least six French writers: Voltaire, Rousseau, Hugo, Zola, Moulin and Dumas. This makes it the French 'Westminster Abbey' for literary pilgrims. See Plate below:
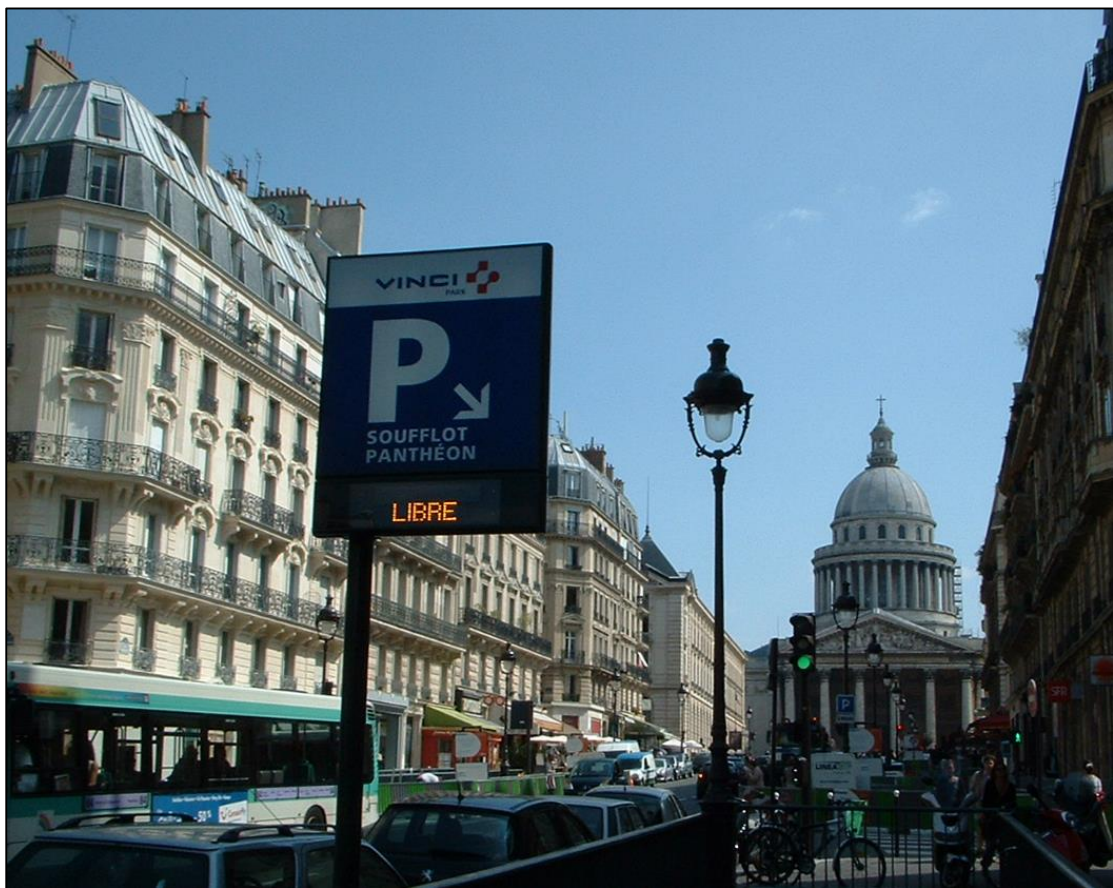
Plate 10 Soufflot's Panthéon in Paris, Photo: C Mansfield, Author's own fieldwork 30.8.2007

Visitors who have been to the Panthéon can easily conjure up an image of this view in Paris, the columns, the triangular pediment and the raised dome. Alain, and Sartre,

ask their readers to picture the Panthéon in their minds. The image is clear. Now, the challenge comes, they ask, 'How many columns does the Panthéon have?' Try as you might you cannot move around and count them in your imagination. Sartre analyses this impossibility and draws the following conclusion:

> Thus we are led by this analysis to recognize that the space as imaged has a much more qualitative character than does the area of perception: every spatial determination of an object as imaged is presented as an absolute property.
>
> (Sartre 2010, 128)

Further research is thus needed into how the potential visitor forms an image for a space or, using the above example, a building with literary significance, especially when a fictional work contributes to the formation of that unreal object in their imaginations. The image must be held authentically, too. The data for this may lie in the text of the novel itself since the text is the starting point for the reader's imagination.

John Caughey examines the human imagination but from a social point of view rather than starting with Sartre's psychological standpoint. From the 1980s right through to the early twenty-first century Caughey has used ethnography to look at the cultural imagination (Caughey 1984 and 2006) of his respondents. From his analysis of a series of testimonies, for example, he proposes that readers establish, in their imaginations, social relations with the characters in the fictional works. In one account from a university-educated female respondent from Pakistan, terms including 'identify with', 'attachment', and 'appeal' underline the social value the novel has for the reader, part of the account is reproduced below, where she speaks of the character Rhett Butler, in the historical romance set during the American Civil War (1861-1865) by Margaret Mitchell (1900-1949) *Gone with the Wind* (1936):

> [Rhett Butler] was, for me, an incarnation of the ideal person to be in love with. I admired him for being a self-made man, and the fact that he was a deviant in his society and strong and confident enough to cope with the shortcomings of life undauntingly made me, sort of, identify myself with him. […] the situation in which he is depicted is an historical fact, and this made him more credible and hence more realistic and appealing. I looked upon him as an actual person that I knew; to me, he represented the ultimate in manhood….
>
> (Caughey 1984, 72-73)

Even in this opening part of the testimony, Caughey's proposition that reading fiction can be understood as a social act, with the value of relationships formed between the

reader and the character, seems plausible and credible. The respondent continues, this time focussing on the artefact of the physical object:

> I simply idealized the book. It was one of my most treasured possessions, and in spite of my slim pocket allowance I thought it was worth having a copy of each edition…. I had my name scrawled all over the book and was, of course, too possessive about it to consider lending it to anyone.
>
> (Caughey 1984, 72-73)

This is of value to the DMO, since a visitor who already owns their favourite book is not necessarily prevented from consuming and enjoying the same text presented in alternative formats, for example, first editions and illustrated editions. Note her use of the word, 'worth' around which the notion of value hinges. The character becomes a role model for the respondent, Caughey explains (Caughey 1984) and the respondent is socialised through her relationship with this imaginary figure into acceptable norms of American society so much so that her identity has changed in engaging with this cultural artefact. This concept of socialisation is taken up in chapter 3 with reference to Bourdieu's sociological definition of the *doxa* in society (Bourdieu 1977). Caughey returns to ethnographic practice twenty years later to argue that his exploration of the social imagination can be deployed as an effective research strategy for examining cultural practices from a social rather than from Sartre's psychological standpoint (Caughey 2006).

Conclusion

Watson's study of literary tourism has been taken as the key model for this part of the literature review since her methodological approach to the phenomenon of visiting sites associated with writers of fiction provides a useful starting point for both testing her approach and for making a new contribution to the knowledge of literary tourism. To recap, (i) she introduces and validates close-reading as an illuminating method, and other authors follow this same approach with valid results. (ii) Watson also visits writers' houses, often in the company of her daughters, she is clear about this method of enquiry but never names it as a methodological practice. However, further research into methods shows that her personal visits can be categorised as auto-ethnography (Jones 2013) and recent work in tourism research shows how this method is gaining solid foundations (Ren, Pritchard & Morgan 2010), and where Alexandra Coghlan re-uses her autoethnographic field-notes as source data for later

analysis (Coghlan & Filo 2013). A third strand of how previous authors have investigated this field begins to emerge in this chapter, and (iii) the importance of the readers' imaginations and the play of the *doxa* in the social sphere. These three considerations are expanded in the methodology and in the results chapters in this research.

Ruins, along with the monumental buildings of urban space which have lost their original power, have taken on a new meaning since Gilpin proposed their aestheticisation in the eighteenth century. This research focusses on the town as a place of resort, rather than countryside holidaymaking, so will concern itself with the relationship between buildings, books and visitors and how the built environment may be consumed as an object of cultural tourism. For that reason opportunities are made to examine streets and buildings as seen through the symbolic order of literary texts.

-o0o-

3 The Forms and Value of Literary Tourism

To travel hopefully is better than to arrive.
Robert Louis Stevenson (1881) *El Dorado*.

Place Capital and Cultural Capital

In summarising the various forms of literary tourism, previous researchers take into consideration place, the author, the literary work and the processes of mediation, for example, Butler (1986) cited and developed in Busby & Klug (2001) and, more recently, Tobelem (2003), while MacLeod *et al.* (2009) develop a typology of literary trails. In fact it is place, quite naturally, that forms the main focus for researchers in tourism since the management of a destination or attraction is of key interest in both academic tourism studies and for commercial tourism destination management. The DMO, too, may have control of the organisation of physical space for tourism within destinations or in heritage sites, which can include writers' houses. Tobelem's two main categories are spatial, too: writers' houses and literary places (Tobelem 2003). Even when the DMO does not control the physical space, they are often involved in the mediation of the place through marketing and by providing interpretation. One example of this complex owner and DMO relationship is the Izaak Walton Cottage, which is located on Worston Lane, Stone, Staffordshire, where web promotion is the responsibility of Stafford Borough Council (Stafford Borough Council 2012).

While Busby & Meethan (2008) work with the concept, first proposed by Pierre Bourdieu, to develop an idea of cultural capital, it is illuminating to return to Bourdieu's original fieldwork in Algeria in 1958-1962 and his study of the Kabyle people from which he sketched his *Outline of a Theory of Practice* (*Esquisse d'une théorie de la pratique* 1972). It is the value of a place, or at least a piece of land that first prompts Bourdieu to propose:

> We must always analyse in terms of the same logic the mechanisms which sometimes endow a piece of land with a value not always corresponding to its strictly technical and (in the narrow sense) economic qualities. […] a piece of land will sometimes take on a symbolic value disproportionate to its economic value, as a function of the socially accepted definition of the symbolic patrimony.
>
> Bourdieu (1977, 182)

> Pour éviter un retour offensif du matérialisme réduit et réducteur, il faudrait analyser en détail les mécanismes qui confèrent parfois à une pièce de terre une

valeur qui ne correspond pas toujours à ses qualités proprement techniques et économiques (au sens retreint). […] il arrive qu'une terre prenne une valeur symbolique disproportionnée avec sa valeur économique en fonction de la définition socialement admise du patrimoine symbolique.

<div align="right">Bourdieu (1972, 374)</div>

Bourdieu continues to try to understand how this additional, symbolic capital is generated for a place and urges researchers to examine all the practices that are connected with place, including disinterested or gratuitous practices, which he says social scientists should study as if they were economic practices directed towards maximising symbolic profit (Bourdieu 1977) and (Bourdieu 1972). In a more contemporary society these gratuitous practices may be considered to include several forms of mediation. By this is meant the production of literary texts, of films, drama and poetry whose aim is not to market a place. Although Yi-Fu Tuan (Tuan 1979) in his early writing attempts to develop a concept he calls fields of care, Tuan's idea is insufficient for understanding visitors' relationships with a distant resort since in Tuan's concept the sense of place is only developed in those who live in a space. Further inquiry is needed to understand what takes place when an encountered discourse, for example, a novel, or travel brochure affects a potential visitor's relationship with a distant space. Busby & Klug, though, do go further by opening a discussion of the mediation of place through forms of mass media, for example, film and television, even adding travel writing to Butler's four forms of literary tourism (Busby & Klug 2001). So much so, that understanding the agents that mediate place can give a clue to literary tourism development. The prime discourse which mediates space in literary tourism is the written work, the novel or text itself. Readers seem to hold that a literary author is not seeking any economic gain when they include an identifiable place in their writing, and hence believe that the author is acting in a neutral way. It seems that the truthfulness, or at least the financial disinterest, of fiction gives literature its neutrality. Advertising in a novel would be seen as an attempt at indoctrination. Jay Bernstein (1995) argues that identity is formed during a process of self-narration as beliefs are tested. For beliefs to have the value of true beliefs they must be acquired without indoctrination or censorship (Bernstein 1995).

The visited place must be perceived as somewhere where the potential visitor anticipates that they will find emancipation, fulfilment or satisfaction so it is

necessary that their perception of the place matches their values. This is close to the term nexus used by Busby & Meethan (2008); the nexus is a high level of engagement which results in a satisfying visitor experience. This draws close to the research question of this study, which asks, how can the novel be used sensitively to create tourism demand? Hanlan and Kelly (2006) find that DMOs run the risk of being out of touch with the way organic destination image is communicated:

> […] how DMOs function and their operational focus are inappropriate in contemporary markets where consumers have developed cynical attitudes toward mass media and rely on alternative information sources which they perceive to be more credible.

> (Hanlan & Kelly 2006, 367)

Seen in these terms, the DMO must understand the demand defined by the personal cultural capital of their potential visitors. For visitors to Cornwall, for example, this understanding must survey the visitors' value of the novels or the characters created by, for example, Daphne du Maurier and how that matches the readers' values and beliefs, particularly the educated readers of the twenty-first century who are the DMOs contemporary visitor-base (Busby & Hambly 2000). A further consideration is that personal cultural capital increased dramatically between 1970 and 2010 if numbers in higher education are used as a guide to the new knowledge society, see following table from the ONS. This increase needs to be considered by DMOs in charge of cultural and heritage tourism sites. The new consumer of tourism will have a high personal cultural capital from spending additional time in further and higher education. Men's participation has risen from 400,000 to over a million in Higher Education in that forty year period whilst women's participation has leapt from 200,000 to over 1.4 million completely outstripping the percentage of men educated to university level.

Table 1 Students in Further and Higher Education, Office for National Statistics 2010 Social Trends Number 40, Newport. p.32.

Figure (Text/Chart/Diagram/image etc.) has been removed due to Copyright restrictions.

Categorising Literary Tourism

Initially a set of three groups of literary tourism are proposed here, A, B & C in the tables below, based on examples of observable literary tourism. Then a further classification of the forms drawn from theoretical writings is proposed in the conceptual framework. The three groups below are developed from Butler (1986) taking into account the later research which confirms Butler's forms. In the later research Busby & Laviolette (2006) use a web-based message board The Internet Book Database of Fiction at ibdof.com, which is still active at the time of writing (2012). Using a direct question approach on the message board as their research method they elicit responses that confirm Butler's four forms, along with the two new forms of Travel writing and Film-induced literary tourism. Their approach generates high-content qualitative data which can be mined for further analysis. For example, two respondents raise the question of urban space, two respondents expressing strong positive feelings for the small city of Truro (Busby & Laviolette 2006).

Proposed Forms of Literary Tourism by Categories

Group A Categories based on the fiction, the text.

1 Centred on a fictional character:	
Author is anonymous or name is lost or too distant in history	Use by Disney of Snow White and fairy tale characters in Disneyworld and Disneyland.
Author is known and place associated with fictional character is accessible	Kronberg Castle, Elsinore, Denmark, home of Shakespeare's character Hamlet.
2 Centred on place within the story:	
The fictional work has sufficient clues to mark the actual place used by the author, and the place still exists.	The Cobb, Lyme Regis where Louisa jumps down the steps to Captain Wentworth in Austen's *Persuasion*.
The place cannot be identified precisely from the text, and may be fictional, but mediation has determined a location now commonly accepted	Lud's Church as setting for *Sir Gawain & the Green Knight*.

Group B Categories based on the author

1 Centred on author's personal life	
Author's birthplace	Charles Dickens' birthplace museum, Portsmouth

Author's houses, homes or hotel stays.	Thomas Hardy's cottage outside Higher Bockhampton, Dorset. Jacques Prevert's stay at the Black Eagle (L'Aigle noir – see Figure below), Fontainebleau. Agatha Christie's secret stay at The Seven Stars, Totnes, Devon.
Author's grave or memorial	Westminster Abbey Poets' Corner. Katherine Mansfield is buried in Fontainebleau-Avon, where she spent time at the Institute for the Harmonious Development in 1922.
2 Centred on author working at writing or performing	
Café or place known to be frequented by author and important to their creative practice	Elephant House Café, Edinburgh where J K Rowling wrote her early novels. The Black Eagle Hotel in Fontainebleau, where Jacques Prévert stayed and wrote, please see plate below.
Performance space used currently by author or in the past	Morden Tower, Newcastle Upon Tyne where Seamus Heaney and Allen Ginsberg performed their verse. City Lights Bookstore, San Francisco where Allen Ginsberg, Jack Kerouac and Yves Bonnefoy performed their work.

Group C Categories based on mediation and promotion

1 Centred on books as objects	
Original papers or manuscripts are held in a physical form accessible to tourist or visitor (often specialist libraries)	The Exeter Book in Cathedral Library, Exeter, Devon. National Poetry Collections at London Southbank, Scottish Poetry Library on Edinburgh's Canongate, Morpeth Small Press Poetry Collection in Northumberland.
2 Centred on events	
Literary festivals and book festivals with or without the author present but using their work	Hay-on-Wye Festivals, Edinburgh Literary Festival.
Curated gallery or non-permanent museum exhibitions celebrating the author or their work, eg centenaries.	
3 Filming	
Film locations used to make film of the book, even when shooting location is not setting of the novel.	New Zealand and Tolkien's *Lord of the Rings* trilogy.
4 Council intervention or DMO tourism signage	
The 'Country' as a promotional space	Sunderland and coastal Wearside as

	Catherine Cookson Country.
Town names or place names are changed to connect with literary heritage	Illiers in Lower Normandy renamed to Illiers-Combray after the fictional village of Combray in Proust's *À la recherché du temps perdu*. Westward Ho! in North Devon named after Charles Kingsley's eponymous novel.

Plate 11 The Black Eagle Hotel in Fontainebleau, where Jacques Prévert stayed and wrote 'Presque'. Hotel management have added signage. Photograph: Author's own fieldwork, C. Mansfield 2.6.2012.

An alternative approach to understanding the forms of literary tourism can be taken by using the points where researchers have theorised about the literary tourism they have studied and the type of literary tourists encountered. In this categorisation process, four key forms can be proposed, which this study will develop in the conceptual framework chapter.

Knowledge, Social Capital and the Unplanned Value of Literary Links

Literary association with a place brings an unplanned value to an area which may or may not already be a tourist destination. This link may remain unknown to visitors

and unknown to the DMO or developers of the area. Literary links just happen to be there, and are so unplanned that they may be considered as organic attributes in the same way that 'attractive location factors [which] may happen to exist' contribute to visitor experiences (Saxena 2005, 288). The literary connection could be considered as part of the knowledge stock of a place if that knowledge can be mobilised or transferred in the way discussed by Scott, Baggio & Cooper (2008) and 'put 'in actu' by other actors of the network' as developed by Ren, Pritchard & Morgan (2010, 894). Scott, Baggio & Cooper (2008) examine knowledge transfer within tourism destinations and between tourism organisations from DMOs to individual SMEs that are delivering hospitality services or tourism products. The process of shifting from unknown to known may be thought of in terms of knowledge. *'Knowledge stocks'* are those attributes of a place that are known (Scott, Baggio & Cooper 2008, 45); however Scott, Baggio & Cooper (2008) go on to show that learning shared across the organisations and people of a tourist destination is required for knowledge transfer, and it is through knowledge transfer that destinations improve their competitiveness (Shaw & Williams 2009) and (Scott, Baggio & Cooper 2008). Knowledge transfer, though, requires specific conditions to start to take place and traditional, fragmented hierarchical structures do not facilitate this, rather, Scott, Baggio & Cooper (2008) show that knowledge transfer requires social capital, while Gareth Shaw and Allan Williams conclude that the role of human mobility in transferring tourism knowledge needs more attention from researchers and DMOs (Shaw & Williams 2009).

Social capital is not an individual possession, but rather it is a function of the time spent communicating in a social network when knowledge transfer has become balanced through the internal governance of that network (Scott, Baggio & Cooper 2008). A balanced network of actors, including the DMO, the tourists themselves and the competing suppliers and tourism companies who have a stake in the development of a literary tourism site will have high social capital if they have systems in place for the distribution of knowledge about the site. This has implications for the study of, for example, Brittany as a regional DMO and its relationships with its towns where tourism is under development and much of the knowledge about literary connections may only be tacitly held by individuals. The value of knowledge increases with its distribution but management of the mobilisation from tacit knowledge to shared knowledge is still weak in the tourism industry (Scott, Baggio & Cooper 2008) and

between the industry and university researchers (Honggen & Smith 2010). SMEs need, what in network analysis is termed absorptive capability; this capability is improved if existing knowledge stocks are high but the organisational culture of the SMEs needs to be open to encourage knowledge transfer; Scott, Baggio & Cooper (2008) even go as far as to suggest that SMEs need to invest in systems for EIP, Exchange of Information with the Public, since the more an employee communicates outside the organisation the greater their productivity (Tushman 1977). Gunjan Saxena has examined this in some detail by network analysis of the Peak District National Park in England and has developed the concept of the learning region in tourism network analysis and concludes:

> the learning regions are not merely a 'container' in which attractive location factors may happen to exist, but should be seen as a milieu for 'collective learning', achieved through intense interaction between a broadly composed set of actors who respond to networks by reworking them to suit their goals. As the impetus of the learning regions increasingly hinges on productive art, craft, local foods and tourism, it is one way of gauging how the learning processes can engender the overall well-being of the community.
>
> (Saxena 2005, 288)

Tony Maltby (2012) points to the newer online social media tools including Google+ circles, as a new way of leveraging the tacit knowledge of small firms. Note too, that Google launched a wider, more accessible implementation of circles known as Google+ Communities in autumn 2012. Maltby's (2012) case study demonstrates that web-based social media can rapidly convert tacit knowledge into a form where it becomes the actual product of the enterprise whose individuals held that original knowledge; the value of the knowledge is thus quickly realised by the start-up company. The increase in social capital, that is the number and balance of the nodes or actors in the network of the social media package, is directly linked to the success and profitability of the small company.

From Social Capital to Destination Branding

Guiseppe Marzano (2008) shows how power is exerted by destination stakeholders in the design of the inorganic image that will be used in tourism branding by the DMO because stakeholders believe that a created inorganic TDI, Tourism Destination Image, influences tourists' choices (Pike 2009). The literary link of a destination, as shown above, begins life as part of the organic and often tacit knowledge of a place.

Using network theory concepts, for example, social capital and knowledge transfer, researchers and tourism professionals could understand better how to mobilise that tacit knowledge of a place's literary heritage. However, this area of research and professional practice is still relatively unexplored, Pike (2009) for example identifies nine gaps in the research on TDI and place or destination branding, at least three of which, echo the need for an understanding of social capital, although Pike does not refer to the concept by that name, these are:

> 3. Buy-in of the Host Community – problems arise when locals are not active participants in brand identity creation.
> 6. Customer Relationship Marketing – Pike discovers practical challenges in dialogue with visitors with whom the DMO has little contact at present
> 7. & 9. Effectiveness of destination branding – here Pike raises the idea of brand equity.
>
> (Pike 2009, 860-861, original point numbering retained).

Marzano's (2008) understanding of the social nature of effective destination branding is valuable, both as a way of seeing how existing knowledge gaps are simply reinforced because certain of the participants in the design process are more powerful and how governance in collective networks of destination stakeholders, including the visitors, might facilitate a brand which has higher equity from Pike's ideas of consumer-based brand equity (Pike 2009). Skilfully-managed knowledge transfer networks may shift the consumer to being a producer of brand equity. Marzano uses a reading of Foucault (1980) which illuminates tourism destination branding projects by discussing how power in exercised through the networks of stakeholders who may be consulted by the DMO (Marzano 2008). By combining the fieldwork of Pike (2009) on destination brand equity with the theoretical discussions from network analysis the organic contribution to destination image by the consumer is made more explicit at one level while at the level of design of inorganic branding, including slogan and copy-writing, the significance of unknown or, more technically, tacit knowledge in the stakeholder community is brought to the fore. These two routes both relate strongly to unlocking the knowledge of literary links in an area suggesting that network analysis or the implementation of a social media site to elicit literary tourism knowledge may prove a fruitful and productive method of enquiry. This will be returned to in the chapter on methodology. Furthermore, a study using new, networked social media tools is completed during this research and reported upon in chapter 9(2).

In closing this discussion of knowledge networks it must be kept in mind that tourism crosses language boundaries. Robert Kenny (2012) presents data on the ability for Europeans to participate professionally in on-line knowledge transfer and while over 30 per cent of internet users in France and a more than 40 per cent in Spain are prepared to write in a second language only ten per cent of UK users will write in a second language. While users in Spain are taking advantage of knowledge transfer he concludes that:

> In time, Google Translate and similar tools may develop to the point that they materially reduce linguistic barriers. However, at the moment they are primarily useful to the determined researcher working on familiar ground. It would simply not occur to most knowledge seekers to use such tools to find relevant information in languages they did not know, and even if it did, the process is (for the time being) laborious.
>
> (Kenny 2012, 8)

This means that cultural tourism sites will only find their way into networks if the translation is complete; one multilingual example cited by Kenny is: Europeana - Explore Europe's Cultural Collections. An exploration of their web-site shows how it uses the Web 2.0 technology of Google+ for the Chrome browser to make it straightforward for owners of Google+ Communities (Eridon 2012) to share cultural items from *Europeana* with their on-line social media network. Keyword searches can be performed on place names. Web 2.0 allows previously passive users to write to Internet servers so that they, too, participate as producers. Western Europe in 2010 had regions with high Internet penetration (Kenny 2012). Scott, Baggio & Cooper (2008) consider that hyperlink connections between tourism web-sites reflect the social processes linking two organisations and hence a count of these links can be used as data in network analysis. This method is applied in the case study on Concarneau in Brittany later in this research.

Using an ethnographic practice, David Crouch (2001) examines how knowledge*s*, Crouch uses the plural here, of places and networks of friendship and social groups can be used to understand two key aspects in holidaymaking:

> One concern is to understand the processes through which people encounter the world in its complexity, spatially. The second is to understand and to interpret how such encounters may be used in making sense of that spatial world, its contexts and representations.
>
> (Crouch 2001, 61)

His research practice presents fragments of speech from his respondents, captured during fieldwork with caravanning couples, and analysed within his research findings, for example:

> At one rally this bloke steamed up with a cloud of
> smoke coming from his bonnet and I fixed
> him…Another time we ran over and dragged a van
> out of the mud in the corner of the site. 'That's
> another friend you've made'.
>
> (Fred, Yorkshire 1996) (Crouch 2001, 66)

In his analysis Crouch (2001) points out that this form of ethno-methodology, where he takes on the role of the caravanning holidaymaker, allows the researchers to encounter the 'chaotic arrangements' (Crouch 2001, 66) of being in the social network of the groups and couples using caravan sites. This chaos or complexity is precisely the area suited to network analysis in the study of tourism (Scott, Baggio & Cooper 2008).   This method, from Crouch will be returned to in the chapter on methodologies, and in particular in the case study.

Value in Literary Text

Jean-Paul Sartre's work (1947) *What Is Literature?* (*Qu'est ce que la littérature ?*) ushered in three decades of academic work on the meaning of the literary text, so that by the 1980s what came to be called critical practice had developed a view of how meaning is constructed by the realist novel:

> Realism is plausible not because it reflects the world, but because it is constructed out of what is (discursively) familiar. The process of constructing meaning by reproducing what is familiar can be illustrated briefly and clearly by reference to a non-literary signifying system, advertising.
>
> (Belsey 1980, 47)

Catherine Belsey returns to ask what the novel does. She defines the novel that uses real places plausibly as 'the classic realist text', and shows how this text works upon its readers:

> The strategies of the classic realist text divert the reader from what is contradictory within it to the renewed recognition (misrecognition) of what he or she already 'knows', knows because the myths and signifying systems of the classic realist text re-present experience in the ways in which it is conventionally articulated in our society.
>
> (Belsey 1980, 128)

She also brings capitalism and consumerism into her examination of literary criticism by proposing that the literary author has become a brand name which diverts the consumer or reader into a preoccupation with assessing the value of the text (Belsey 1980) whereas critical readers should strive to be productive themselves. Belsey's language, her use of the terms, value, brand name, packaging, advertising, and particularly consumption, open the study of literature to the wider field of production that is now being studied in tourism and leisure (Ladwein 2003). She continues:

> As readers and critics we can choose actively to seek out the process of production of the text: the organization of the discourses which constitute it and the strategies by which it smoothes over the incoherences and contradictions of the ideology inscribed in it

<div align="right">(Belsey 1980, 129)</div>

In this way she feels that readers will arrive at a real knowledge. It is useful then to take this knowledge acquisition that literary texts can provide back to the analysis by Scott, Baggio & Cooper (2008) from the section above. Belsey's suggestion for a more educated apprehension of the novel will itself create knowledge. When this is looked at in the light of Saxena's learning destinations, for example the English Peaks (Saxena 2005), it can be seen that educated communities have a greater chance of producing knowledge that can be shared by visitors interested in the region.

Jacobsen (1997) points out that learning can be a central motive for tourists when they want to experience places. He connects this learning need to the employment of tourist guides and the reading of more detailed guide-books, for example Baedeker, by certain groups of tourists. More interestingly for this research, though, is the way that Jacobsen cites and uses the realist novel *A Room with a View* (Forster 1908) within his research. By focussing on the character, Lucy, and her visit to Santa Croce in Florence without her guide-book he uses the realist scene as his data to analyse and subsequently support one of his arguments for tourist experience. Jacobsen, as a researcher, has extracted a value from the literary text and used it to illuminate his theorising on place and experience by remaining in the discursive practice of literary analysis.

Literary analysis has not stood still since Belsey in the 1980s. Franco Moretti in this century has proposed new interdisciplinary approaches for deriving knowledge and

value from the novel, using graphs, maps and ecology (Moretti 2007). Of particular interest to this study is Moretti's application of geographical techniques to help understand why London visitors have found the stories of Mary Mitford (1787-1855) in the five volumes of *Our Village* (1824-1832) so attractive, buying and appropriating them as tourist guide-books for walks around Three Mile Cross, Berkshire (Moretti 2007). Moretti maps out the stylised image painted by Mitford of the strip village demonstrating that her stories take place in a circle rather than imitating the long row of houses that stretch along the road to Hampshire. Personal relationships act as the points of the first, inner ring on Moretti's circular graph of the topology of Mitford's fictions. The outer orbit plots events from nature and from collective village life (Moretti 2007). Drawing on his materialist background as a theorist, Moretti then overlays the spatial divisions of labour onto the first graph. Historiography often terms this configuration of places of material activity and of the work of everyday life, the *mentalité* of an area, Moretti points out (Moretti 2007). This is how Mitford's stories work, he proposes, they convert the *mentalité* 'into a ring of pleasure' (Moretti 2007, 42). This, he says, is the creation of ideology out of *mentalité* because the text reverses the symbolic associations of the points on the map from work to pleasure.

Pleasure, Point of View and Identification

David Glover (1989) summarises four key areas where the literary text gives pleasure, he writes particularly of thriller and detective fiction, which are both relevant to this study:

- Crime fiction allows social and psychological adjustment
- The mystery is a pleasurable puzzle with elements of postponement
- A hero against an uncertain, often opaque world , leads to reader-identification
- A hero set to re-establish order

(Glover 1989, 69)

This research also examines French responses and attitudes to detective fiction as a pleasurable form of reading in the next chapter by drawing on the survey by Annie Collovald and Érik Neveu (2004). More detailed study, using grammar as an analytical tool, is currently being carried out at the Université Nancy 2 within the

Research Unit, ATILF (*Analyse et traitement informatique de la langue française*). Bernard Combettes and Annie Kuyumcuyan (2010) propose that their analysis of Georges Simenon's detective fiction reveals how this type of literary text is pleasurable to readers. They have identified a stylistic device within Simenon's writing which consists of successions of nominal phrases. These are not the descriptive pauses identified by earlier researchers of narrative but instead continue the rhythm of the story and the intrigue so much so that they designate a new category of verbless phrase, *les événementielles* (event phrases) Combettes & Kuyumcuyan (2010). They give as an example of this 'event phrase clustering' from *Le Chien jaune* where the characters are walking out along the White Sands bay in the French original:

> Au sommet de la falaise, un hôtel, ou plutôt un futur hôtel, inachevé, aux murs d'un blanc cru, aux fenêtres closes à l'aide de planches et de carton.
> (Simenon 1931, 35)

A literal translation of this yields an ungrammatical sentence since it lacks verbs, and would read as a list. It also lacks an observer; no one is identified as seeing the hotel:

> At the top of the cliff, a hotel, or rather a future hotel, unfinished, with walls of a raw white, with windows sealed by planks and by cardboard (translation mine)

Asher chooses to introduce the past tense verb, 'was', to render the sentence grammatically correct in her translation, thus:

> At the top of the cliff was a hotel — a future hotel, rather — unfinished, its walls raw white, its windows sealed by planks and card-board.
> (Simenon trans. Asher 1936, 20)

In doing so, Asher, many years before Combettes & Kuyumcuyan (2010) had seen Simenon's device but felt it too strange to keep in the English translation. Combettes & Kuyumcuyan (2010) interpret this series of perceptions as the subjective mind of Maigret taking note of every detail around him during his walk, which he adds to his investigation. This, they suggest, is a source of pleasure in the reading since the plot is not interrupted by static descriptive passages. However, they go further and put forward that these successions of event phrases, since they are not explicitly mediated by a character, give the illusion of proximity, immersing the reader in the action and the pleasure of being inside the subjective mind of the detective (Combettes &

Kuyumcuyan 2010). Thus the reader empathises with the position of the hero in the story; this is a component of identification with a character, which is one of Glover's four key areas of reading pleasure above (Glover 1989). Belsey (1980) also develops from Althusser's idea of interpellation (Althusser 1971), and her work on Lacan, the proposition that the reader is hailed by the literary text (Belsey 2000). The reader is called in to 'work by themselves in the social formation' (Belsey 2000, 67) going on in the novel and in the capitalist society that has produced the discursive practice of the realist novel. In the analysis of participant case data in chapter 9 of this research Belsey's conception of interpellation after Althusser and Lacan, is seen to form a productive starting point to consider not just the role of the subjects in the reading and writing but also the spatial positions of these subjects implied by the detective novel under study.

Combettes & Kuyumcuyan (2010) also bring into their discussion of textual pleasure the narrative device called *'le discours indirect libre'*, DIL, as they try to establish from whose point of view of their event phrases are uttered (Combettes & Kuyumcuyan 2010, 31); in British English, this is called free indirect discourse and in American English, free indirect style. Franco Moretti explains free indirect style as a third voice between character and narrator, 'the slightly resigned voice of the *well-socialized individual*' (Moretti 2007, 82). Moretti illustrates free indirect discourse with this extract from Jane Austen's *Mansfield Park* (1814), where the main character's thoughts are first presented, leaving the over-analytic reader unsure whether it is the narrator or the character herself who thinks that 'nobody was in their right place':

> It was the abode of noise, disorder, and impropriety. Nobody was in their right place, nothing was done as it ought to be. She could not respect her parents, as she had hoped.
>
> (Austen 1814, Ch 3)

Grammatically speaking the narrator's voice is only re-asserted with the use of the third person: 'She could not', so those first two sentences are free, that is, neither the narrator nor the character is speaking, hence Moretti's third voice is at work. Reading, or rather, devouring novels for pleasure, readers probably do not stop to question the grammar as Asher did during her translation work above. Instead, in the same way

that ideology works, as Moretti begins to suggest, even the specialist finds it difficult to isolate and ascribe an agent to the utterances. Free indirect discourse, then, presents a text of persuasion. The pleasure-reader believes the utterances because no way of determining the speaker's reliability is offered, for example, the text does not say 'Dr Michoux thought that …'. If it did then the reader could check on the reliability of the doctor. Moretti takes this further, using an extract from Zola's *Germinal* (1885) which employs free indirect discourse to perform, as Moretti says, 'implicit and almost invisible, social mediation' (Moretti 2007, 88).

For Moretti this stylistic device in the modern novel is a half-way house between the individual voice and social *doxa* (Moretti 2007). Pierre Bourdieu has defined *doxa* in sociological terms:

> Every established order tends to produce the naturalization of its own arbitrariness […] out of which arises the *sense of limits*, commonly called the *sense of reality* […] which is the basis of the most ineradicable adherence to the established order. […] This experience we shall call *doxa*
> (Bourdieu 1977, 164)

The voice of free indirect discourse speaks with the authority of *doxa*, that is, what can be thought and what can be uttered, it thus socialises but contains and restricts the behaviours and thoughts leaving the liveable world limited but comprehensible. In the same way that the holidaymaker is faced with a blank social canvas when arriving in a new town, the reader of the novel is initially free to interpret any utterance in any way, social mediation begins to limit the practices that may be played out until the reader-tourist adheres to the established order. In the novel this social mediation is performed by the third voice, the free indirect discourse. The DMO needs to be aware of what social norms this discourse establishes in any novel chosen to form part of their destination image branding in order to handle it sensitively for the reader-visitor. This process of socialisation by the text is returned to in the analysis of findings in chapter 9(3) when some surprising results are encountered, headed *Being in the text*.

Conclusion

Belsey (1980) is not afraid of advocating that literary criticism should also examine the production of the text and brings into question the difference between knowledge and value. However, the tourism industry is a complex network of public bodies,

profit-making companies, SMEs, enthusiasts for literary works, and holidaymakers whose break from their normal productive work is valuable to them if it produces some satisfaction for them. This chapter shows that a huge uptake of university education, since the first publication of Belsey's text, will have produced two generations of graduates by 2015.   In this new knowledge society of the second decade and third decade of the millennium, rather than the information society of the 1990s, visitor satisfaction could very well be derived from the creation and sharing of knowledge; if DMOs can insert themselves into this cycle of knowledge sharing by a better, and properly critical, use of the literary works associated with places in their region they may be better able to engage with and understand the needs of their tourists. One key area of this understanding is the recognition of the socialising practice of reading the modern novel after Moretti (2007), Bourdieu (1997) and Combettes & Kuyumcuyan (2010) which suggests that during place branding, which uses literary texts, a close-reading of those texts would furnish additional information on the type of socialisation its readers have experienced.

Competence in Web 2.0 technologies, ubiquitous Internet access and European language skills are now a part of the lives of tourists, well-funded organisations have developed projects, for example *Europeana*, to form social links with these competent and educated users. By harnessing the sophistication and complexity of social media, destination organisations can increase their social capital by providing transfer pathways for the tacit knowledge which lies hidden in their region or town.

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4 French Literature and its potential for Literary Tourism

> She wanted to die, but she also wanted to live in Paris.
> *Elle souhaitait à la fois mourir et habiter Paris.*
> Gustave Flaubert (1857, Ch 9) *Madame Bovary*

French urban space in nineteenth century literature

This section identifies aspects of French literature and the literary tradition in France which determine the potential for literary tourism. It argues that the literary canon of French literature that is found in English-speaking cultures displays three key characteristics which will have an important effect on whether literary tourism can take place, and what type of literary tourism has actually evolved in France. In brief, these three characteristics are: (i) the literary genre that crystallised during the nineteenth-century which made the French novel serious rather than a form of escapism, (ii) the importance given in the novels to the modernisation of the city, and (iii) the significance given to social class differences by writers after the political upheaval of the French Revolution. These three points are expanded on through the following discussion.

The literary canon of France has a central theme that repeatedly deals with modern urban culture in an analytical way. This theme is expressed through the development of the French novel in the nineteenth century and to some extent through the new styles of poetry of Baudelaire and Rimbaud in a way which is quite different from English literature in the same period. The realist writer, Balzac (1799-1850), for example presents a series of novels that chart life in Paris after the fall of Napoleon in 1815 which is very different in approach from Charles Dickens (1812-70); ultimately, this does have an effect on literary tourism associated with these writers today. Even though Dickens is examining London life in the nineteenth century their literary styles are very different; Dickens uses humour and irony whereas Balzac tackles the issues of class in a more direct, unforgiving manner. Using a non-comedic approach, like Balzac, Zola (1840-1902) embarks on a self-declared, serious scientific project in his series of novels to investigate human nature in nineteenth century Paris, where the railway and the rapid re-building of the inner city were throwing people into new ways of living together. Zola's novels highlight the public building works and the

development of new department stores, which were exploiting new technologies in steel production and transport, as framing devices and realistic backdrops to his presentation of the psychology of his characters. But these public building works had sprung from something far more disturbing than the new technologies of transport and building:

> The sheer size of Paris, coupled with strong class divisions and the presence of the national government, was conducive to political mobilisation, and the results were frequently explosive: after the traumas of the first Revolution and its imperial aftermath [ending in Napoleon's fall in 1815], the nineteenth-century city was wracked by three bouts of social conflict which grew progressively more violent: the July Revolution of 1830, the February Revolution of 1848 and the Commune in 1871.
>
> (Lodge 2004, 199)

Under Napoleon III's Second Empire (1852-70) Paris was undergoing a huge rebuilding programme to widen the boulevards, wipe away the medieval streets and integrate the railway stations. The rebuilding was led by Georges Eugène (Baron) Haussmann (1809-1891), who was *préfet* of the Seine from 1853-1870. Haussmann's use of the axial straight line in town-planning, his *culte de l'axe*, led to the further development of the Grands Boulevards of Paris, by adding, amongst other streets, Boulevard Haussmann, where, incidentally Proust lived at number 102 from 1906 to 1919. A key aim of Haussmann's urbanism was the rapid deployment of troops from out of town via the railways to crush rebellion in the inner city. After all, Paris had witnessed three revolutions and military coups in eighty years and was heading for the 1871 Paris Commune and its subsequent brutal repression. Consider, for example, Haussmann's Boulevard de Strasbourg opening from the front of the Gare de l'Est, a major railway station which had operated since 1849. The new road displays Haussmann's characteristic straight axis driving south into the 2nd and 3rd arrondissements carving through Les Halles to reduce the urban friction for troop movement. Commerce, too, needed this type of free movement to develop at the time. Produce and labour from the hinterland of Paris could now be easily transported via rail into the heart of the city. Places of work changed, commuting practices changed and the use of city centre property changed, in ways that were a huge upheaval in the everyday lives of people in the city, as David Harvey writes:

> When, for example, a planner-architect like Le Corbusier, or an administrator, like Haussmann, creates a built environment in which the tyranny of the straight line predominates, then we must perforce adjust our daily practices.
>
> (Harvey 1991, 204)

This upheaval is both documented by the French novel but also constitutes the root of much of the anxiety that the novelists attempt to resolve; all this creates a specific type of literature. The novel *L'Assommoir* (1877) by Zola, the title is rarely translated but refers to a drinking den where cheap spirits are made on the premises, examines daily working practices just before Haussmann. Arguably, Zola includes these working practices in his literature because he wants to deal with the social problem through his writing and publishing; the net result is a novel which is read today as a serious social critique, and thus creates a specific type of enthusiast for this French literature, and potential literary tourists, very different from those who read detective fiction purely for pleasure. Although at other points in his fiction Zola does telescope events, this part of the story can be dated quite accurately, as if it were a real history. For example, the suffrage law of 31 May 1850, which required three-year residence in Paris to win voting rights, is mentioned in the story; this sets the action of the novel in 1850, with the coup of 2nd December 1851 by Louis-Napoléon Bonaparte, to create the Second Empire, close at hand. Zola presents realist characters, for example Lorilleux, a goldsmith, who works with his family at home in a dilapidated apartment block manufacturing gold chain for necklaces. Small-scale manufacturing, which is dirty and dangerous, is going on as close to the centre of Paris as the 10th arrondissement. In fact, the fictional space where the drinking den of the title may have stood is celebrated with a street sign today: Place de l'Assommoir, such is Zola's attention to factual dates, laws and, more importantly for potential literary tourism, the use of real street names and a coherent map of Paris. The main building there now is a Post Office and cash-point which appear to take no advantage of the potential for literary tourism, please see photographic plate below.

Plate 12 Place de l'Assommoir, north of Gare du Nord, Paris. Photograph: C. Mansfield, Author's own fieldwork, 11.5.2006.

Zola's attention to detail and his Naturalist approach mean that his literary sites can be identified today, yet here the city council of Paris has made no attempt as a DMO to exploit this place beyond the simple street sign. Danielle Bishop catalogues the buildings identifiable from Zola's novels whilst demonstrating their importance to his work: *Le Ventre de Paris* – Les Halles covered food markets, *L'Argent* – the Stock Exchange building, *La Bête humaine* – St Lazare railway station (Bishop 2011) and the department store Bon Marché, built under the Second Empire in 1867, where Zola spent several hours a day researching for his novel *Au Bonheur des Dames* (Bishop 2011). Buildings from this era do enjoy a type of tourism but it is very difficult to separate the literary enthusiast visiting to recapture moments from the novels of Zola from the everyday shoppers and the tourists coming to see the architectural style themselves.

Second Empire architecture and the great department stores are a powerful visitor attraction for Paris in the twenty-first century. Many of the buildings of this period are extravagant mixtures of architectural style using references to gothic but with new

building technologies, for example the iron girder, which reflect both France's imperial status and its material gains. The French empire included both Vietnam and Algeria during this period, indeed the 1885 Maupassant novel, *Bel Ami* begins with its main character, Duroy, returning from military service in Algeria, and later in the story, land speculation in Algeria contributes to his wealth. The novel appears in English as *The History of a Scoundrel* in 1903 and gives a description of the *Folies Bergère*, a visitor attraction which had only opened in May 1869. At the time of writing a further film adaptation of *Bel Ami* has been released (2012) directed by Declan Donnellan, demonstrating the continued importance of French literature as shared cultural source material in the UK and US.

This dual legacy from the nineteenth century of a burgeoning built environment and a highly politicised intelligentsia of writers provides readers and visitors today with a rich resource for literary tourism. It is a type of literary tourism fuelled by what may be termed, narrated Place Books, for example Graham Robb's (2010) *Parisians* and Edward Hollis' (2009) narrative approach to the built heritage. This genre of writing, which combines academic research with narrative literature, reminds educated readers of the literary figures of particular eras, and re-inserts their work into the city of today. The genre, for which this research proposes a new term, Place Books, may even be the only reading a twenty-first century tourist undertakes and the serious novels from the canon described here may not actually be completely read by this type of visitor. Thus, the fame or the importance of the books, and more particularly, their authors, mediated through the new Place Books provides sufficient impetus for literary travel. This question of genre seems to be key in an understanding of literary tourism. Which type of books lead visitors to undertake and enjoy literary tourism and also create leaders, imprimaturs or hero figures that visitors want to follow? As early as 1957 Roland Barthes (Barthes 1972) had remarked upon the mythologising process that happens when a new text places famous writers in a real setting in his piece 'The Writer on Holiday' (Barthes 1972, 29-31); and Barthes was not immune to the mythical moment of being in the same place as a famous writer. In his autobiography he declares that he once saw Nobel laureate, André Gide (1869-1951) eat a pear in the Lutétia brasserie, Paris (Barthes 1977). Edmund White adds to this growing genre of Place Books which incite visitors to go to Paris to be in the same places as the writers who have become leaders in how to think about life (White

2008); thus this leadership role is conflated, leadership in how to live becomes leadership on where to go on holiday and how to act.

Harvey uses two nineteenth century French novelists as a basis for his categorisation of fiction writing into genres (Harvey 1991), positioning Zola as a realist and Flaubert as a modernist (Harvey 1991). Harvey uses Flaubert's *L'Éducation sentimentale* (published in 1869 after a long gestation) to demonstrate modernism in literature by referring to the spatial mobility of the book's main character, Frédéric Moreau.

> Flaubert, for example, explores the question of representation of heterogeneity [...] Frédéric Moreau, the hero of Flaubert's *L'Éducation sentimentale*, moves from space to space in Paris and its suburbs, collecting experiences of quite different qualities as he goes. What is special is the way that he glides in and out of the differentiated spaces of the city, with the same sort of ease that money and commodities change hands.
>
> (Harvey 1991, 263)

Apart from the gliding motion of the urban character, the young Moreau also seems to appear from nowhere, giving the character an effortless mobility across the city, as here, abruptly, at the opening of chapter III:

> Deux mois plus tard, Frédéric, débarqué un matin rue Coq-Héron [Les Halles], songea immédiatement à faire sa grande visite.
>
> (Flaubert 2003 [1869], 70)

> Two months later, Frederick, having debarked (*sic*) [disembarked] one morning in the Rue Coq-Héron, immediately thought of paying his great visit.
>
> (Flaubert & Walter Dunne (trans) 1904)

This gliding, or being instantaneously at the scene of important action in a different part of the city, is a very different mobility, achieved thanks to improved roads and carriages but also to the character's wealth to pay for this rapid transport. It is a type of mobility that the tourist in the twenty-first century can experience with the Paris metro. This enables today's visitor to plan their own tour of the spots in the novel, re-enacting the progress of the main character in a feasible time frame. Again, Flaubert's detail, exact dates and his use of real street names provide today's tourist with a map of places to stand; even the opening lines of the novel give readers details of a river boat journey, including Quai St. Bernard, the Île St. Louis, the Cité, and Nôtre Dame which tourists using the boats of the Bateau Mouche can re-enact today, see plate below.

73

Plate 13 A Bateau Mouche pleasure boat on the Seine. Photo: March 2012 C. Mansfield, Author's own fieldwork.

Today's street names permit visitors an opportunity of retracing the progress of Frédéric on the Left Bank, where tourist restaurants and a McDonald's fill rue de la Harpe, situated as the slope down from the Sorbonne levels out near the river:

> Il allait dîner, moyennant quarante-trois sols le cachet, dans un restaurant, rue de la Harpe. Il regardait avec dédain le vieux comptoir d'acajou, les serviettes tachées, l'argenterie crasseuse et les chapeaux suspendus contre la muraille. Ceux qui l'entouraient étaient des étudiants comme lui.
>
> (Flaubert 1869)

He went to get a dinner for forty-three sous in a restaurant in the Rue de la Harpe. He glanced disdainfully at the old mahogany counter, the soiled napkins, the dingy silver-plate, and the hats hanging up on the wall. Those around him were students like himself.

<div align="right">(Flaubert & Walter Dunne (trans) 1904)</div>

Plate 14 Rue de la Harpe, Paris 75005. Photo August 2007 C. Mansfield, Author's own fieldwork.

By way of concluding this discussion of Flaubert's use of real locations which can be found today, a type of literary tourism can be proposed and probably does take place around Paris. It is difficult to detect the practice of this type of literary tourism since the crowds of other categories of tourist and students fill the same spaces. However, this type of writing, with its attention to locatable places, and especially novels in which trajectories may be traced for the characters through literary analysis does provide the material for a type of literary tourism that mobilises the visitor through the city. It would be valuable for the DMO to seek out and consider novels of this category.

The built environment is a vital component of the nineteenth century French novel, especially as the fabric of the city was transformed from medieval defence into a

pleasure ground for a much larger society whose modes of accumulation had shifted from feudalism to capitalism. The buildings themselves, even those comprising comfortable apartments, were a source of earnings, in the form of rental income after Haussmannisation, rather than as workshops for cottage industries. The Third Republic (1870-1940) gave the towns of France layers of private and public ownership and strong state regulation by public authorities, a structure which impacts on tourism destination development projects today, as Shaw & Williams explain:

> [...] while the right to commodify a tourism asset may rest with those with the title deeds to that land, the right to regulate and control it may be vested in the public authorities on behalf of the community.
>
> (Shaw & Williams 2004, 22)

Over the same period Lodge charts a state-sponsored improvement in literacy, starting with the Falloux Law of 1850 which led to 90 per cent of Parisian children attending school by 1860 through to the Ferry Laws of 1881 which 'made state primary education for all non-fee-paying, non-religious and compulsory' (Lodge 2004, 202). It was this new readership that created a mass market for the novel and the *roman-feuilleton* or serialised novel so that authors made a proper living from their work. The serialised novel in France was closely tied to journalism with all of its political, commercial and entertainment functions, for example, *Bel Ami*, discussed earlier, appeared in parts in a daily newspaper called *Gil Blas*, the newspaper is named after a character in an earlier picaresque novel.

The economic and social climate favoured the production of this type of literary writing which has left a legacy of literature dealing seriously with the concerns of urban life. This legacy provides readers today with insights into how to navigate urban life, making the novels guides for understanding the city by drawing on the notion of the *flâneur* from the French literary tradition (Seaton 2002). As the next section explains evidence can be found for how visitors use the literary texts of this period.

Ross and Rimbaud: Reclaiming the City

US academic, Kristin Ross spent periods of travel research in Paris in the 1980s (Ross 1988) to develop a new method of inquiry linking literary text and urban space. Her working methods will be discussed in the later section on methodology whilst her

findings will be used here to explain some of the key aspects of social space in French cities. She chooses poetry as her data source quite deliberately, giving a challenging rationale for this decision. Whilst the study of narrative prose in the nineteenth-century novel is conducted in French Studies departments of British and American universities with an unexplained assumption that these texts are a social production of reality, Ross argues that verse is considered to be 'a desiring production that is mere fantasy or wish fulfilment' (Ross, 1988, 11). Her study values poetry as a discursive practice that can yield data on the social developments of an era. Her key argument, or finding, from her textual analyses is that social space was transformed during the period of the Prussian's Siege of Paris, the Commune and the decade of the 1870s in France. Daily routines initially broke down under the privations of the siege but then:

> In the midst of this disintegration sprang up new networks and systems of communication solidifying small groups: local neighborhood associations, women's clubs, legions of the National Guard, and, above all, the social life of the *quartier* —

> (Ross 1988, 41)

In French society today, when, for example, we examine the complex management arrangements of literary visitor attractions we can still see the authority that communal groups can hold and use to achieve collective aims. Ross argues that the working class and skilled artisan class seized the opportunity to reclaim the city centre. Urban development had been removing workers to the north-eastern peripheries of the city (Ross 1988). She proposes that sites of authority, for example the Louvre Palace were now made more open by the group who had assumed power. Some accessibility to public buildings remains to this day, creating a freedom for visitors to wander freely around the imposing buildings of central Paris, for example, the Louvre, originally a heavily guarded palace. In contrast to Ross, Colette Wilson contests this position, arguing that the incursion into the city centre was only a temporary, Bahktinian carnivalesque moment and that the changes of the Commune were too short-lived to take hold (Wilson 2004). Interestingly for literary trails in fiction, Wilson traces the route of an excursion taken by working-class characters in Zola's *L'Assommoir* following the rue Saint-Denis and ending at the Louvre.

A second part of Ross's findings is the right to laziness that the poet Rimbaud gives voice to. It is tempting to see this as the stirrings of a desire for leisure time by the working classes but Ross counsels against this, 'It is crucial in this context […] not to

mistake laziness for leisure' (Ross, 1988, 61). This laziness can instead be understood as the state of authenticity that even the urban dweller has, a state normally attributed to some fictional local group when gazed upon by the visitor in a non-urban holiday location. Further, this state is a catalyst for moving between *métiers* (occupations or professions), the stirrings of social mobility. Arguably, nineteenth century literature is useful for critical writers and for the enthusiast because it portrays the different social classes. It provides the visitor an imaginary space where access to other social classes is possible. Normally, the tourist cannot visit private homes nor engage with locals.

The Book and the Building in French Popular Imagination

The novel *Notre-Dame de Paris* (1831) by Victor Hugo (1802-1885) explores the relationship between books and buildings. At a key moment in the story, Hugo's medieval characters air their fear that the new technology of book printing will destroy the public's ability to 'read' architecture, with the line « Hélas! dit-il, ceci tuera cela. » (Alas, *this* [the mass printed book] will kill *that* [the awe felt for Gothic architecture]) (Hugo 1831, Bk 5, Ch. 2). *The Hunchback of Notre-Dame* has been translated into English at least nine times over the last century testifying to its popularity, and has been made into film ten times, even by Disney for a children's audience. A dozen adaptations into musical theatre have been made, too. The book's effect on tourist numbers to see the cathedral of Notre Dame de Paris in incalculable though; the Office du Tourisme et des Congrès de Paris estimate well over 13 million visitors stand on the *parvis* outside the cathedral or enter the building, please see table below.

Table 2Visitor Numbers for the Top 10 Cultural Visitor Attractions in Paris, source (ParisInfo 2012, 5)

Figure (Text/Chart/Diagram/image etc.) has been removed due to Copyright restrictions.

But Hugo's use of Notre Dame and his relationship with the building is not accidental. Hugo was part of a group of writers and architects who had begun to develop a sense of monumental heritage. The two other figures important for this study are the Gothic restorer and architectural writer, Eugène Viollet-le-Duc (1814-1879) and Prosper

Mérimée (1803-1870), author of the short novel *Carmen* (1845). Viollet-le-Duc undertook the building of *une flèche* or spire onto the centre of the cathedral (see plate below) between 1858 and 1861 (Foucart 1997) as part of his restoration. It was an approach supported by Mérimée, as Fermigier explains they were in a 'crusade against the misdeeds of the industrial age' (Fermigier 1997, 1612-1613). Mérimée, although educated in law and letters, was appointed as the Inspector General of Historic Monuments from 1834-1860 (Fermigier 1997).

Plate 15 Cathédrale Notre-Dame de Paris, showing the central spire added by Viollet-le-Duc in 1860. Photo: Author's own fieldwork, C. Mansfield 10.2.12.

Despite the new era of *laïcité*, the consensus, which found voice in Hugo's novel, was that the building was worth saving. It had, after all, become a grain store after the Revolution, an important function in central Paris (Hollis 2009), and during the Commune had 'narrowly escaped complete destruction when chairs in the choir were set alight' (Wilson 2004, 348). The conclusion of this discussion on Notre Dame is that the sensibilities of writers coupled with the promotional power of a novel had

come together to save a building that a century later became one of France's iconic tourist attractions. Deeper than that too, is that this restoration is a reminder that each society invents what is culturally significant (Brown 1999). The building could have remained a grain store, or have been demolished, but the new post-Revolutionary society chose to make it an attraction. New democracies may choose to sweep away the palaces of previous regimes or incorporate them into the tourism economy; Place Books, including Edward Hollis' narrate the changes of use of monumental buildings for both a consumer readership and an academic audience. However, re-learning to read buildings using these narratives requires education and an active will on the part of the reader.

Staying with Hugo for a moment, his novel *Notre-Dame de Paris* reveals Hugo's own insight into the way the visitor experience of events and attractions is not merely passive. Shaw & Williams use the term 'multiply-conditional' to describe the tourism experience which 'depends not only on the performance of a number of producers, but also on that of the individual tourist, and other tourists present at the site of the experience' (Shaw & Williams 2004, 23). This helps explain the complex production-consumption dialectic; Hugo illustrates this in an early scene in the novel, set ostensibly in the late Middle Ages. Visitors watching a mystery play being enacted on the *parvis* in front of the cathedral are lured away from being a passive audience to participate in a game of face-pulling, which requires their intervention, and later their decision-making or voting for a king. This scene can be described as grotesque realism within the concept of carnivalesque, first identified as a literary process by Mikhail Bakhtin (1895-1975) in his analysis of the writing of François Rabelais (1494-1553) when social hierarchy is turned upside-down for example, during a holiday. Can-Seng Ooi (2002) applies Bakhtin's literary analysis concepts, including dialogics, to the understanding of cultural tourism. Ooi's theoretical approach will be re-visited in the section on methodology. The birthplace of Rabelais may be visited today; La Devinière, the 15th-century house where François Rabelais was born, is in Seuilly, near the vineyards of Chinon. The literary author Mérimée adds to this growing connection between writers and the built heritage of France; he created France's first formal documentation of its historical built heritage. His writing, in the form of reports from around the country, went to form the Mérimée Database in 1978.

It is a list of all protected historic buildings in France. It was put on-line in 1995 (Base Mérimée 1978).

Crossing into the twentieth century in French literature

Marcel Proust was born just weeks after the Paris Commune of 1871 and his life reaches into the twentieth century and through the First World War. Born into one of the successful bourgeois families that emerged from the revolutions, his documented life and his own novels present a leisured social class in which a young man could choose to be a writer. His narrating character in his major novel, *À la Recherche du temps perdu* (published over the period 1913-1927), is called the young Marcel, and with Proust's declared intent to scientifically investigate personal memory, the volumes of *À la Recherche* often hover between fiction and autobiography. Actual figures from the time are mentioned, for example, Viollet-le-Duc, which further connects the novel with the real history of this era. While Proust's critical writing challenges nineteenth-century literary criticism's biographical emphasis, which was the legacy of Charles Sainte-Beuve, Proust's fiction reflects on the biographical details of becoming an author.

Proust's own life meant that he could enjoy the long summer holidays of the bourgeoisie in the cold-water seaside resorts where farms were being converted to hotels and new villas were springing up to accommodate the families and servants of the new capitalists and educated technical professionals. Jean Le Foll (Le Foll 1995) places Proust on holiday on Concarneau Bay in September 1895 by using Proust's correspondence and his incomplete and fragmentary novel *Jean Santeuil*. The novel is probably started around that same time, as Le Foll notices that Proust writes about the poor quality paper available at the hotel. A French version of *Jean Santeuil* appears long after Proust's death, in 1952 and Gerard Hopkins translated an English edition in 1955 (this is still available in Penguin, referenced here as, Proust 1985). The novel opens with these lines helping situate the action and giving insight, if fiction is used as source data, into tourism in Brittany in the mid-1890s:

> I had gone to spend the month of September with a friend at Kerengrimen, which
> in those days (1895) was a farm tucked away among apple orchards on the Bay
> of Concarneau, miles from any village. A great many Parisians and English
> people were in the habit of going there for the summer and using the house as an

hotel. But the owner old Père Buzaret still called it a farm, and was at pains to see that it should look like one.

(Proust 1985, 3)

In passing, too, the farmer or rather, hotel owner was already concerned with staged authenticity in his endeavour to retain the rustic charm of the rural setting. In a letter to his friend back in Paris, Proust heads the notepaper Hôtel Fermont, Beg-Meil, Finistère, September 1895. Beg-Meil means the Mill on the Headland in Breton, something like, Millpoint. Le Foll has tracked this location down today to being the Grand Hotel on the site of the farm called Le Penquer Lanroz (Le Foll 1995), with a view over the bay to Concarneau. Indeed in the novel, Proust returns to describe this view, with the Glénan Islands (Proust 1985), the grey stone Norman-style church and, reflected in the waters of the calm Bay of Concarneau, 'the lovely fourteenth-century ramparts' (Proust 1985, 375) of Concarneau itself. Proust's character, Jean is beginning to provide future holiday-makers with a list of acceptable activities to pursue at the seaside. For example, the next section of the novel is called 'Reading on the Beach' (Proust 1985, 376), and the Beg-Meil section is rounded off with philosophical speculation on the relation between the symbolic order and place that supports travel and tourism to a specific spot:

It seems that the beauty of art can grow roots, can by degrees, become part and parcel of the place where it inhabits, a thing unique, not now dependent upon any man, something that we can never experience again unless we return to that one spot where first it came to us.

(Proust 1985, 375)

It explains, too, what tourists with a whole season ahead of them were seeking to experience and Proust returns to this in the second volume of his mature and massive work, *À la recherche du temps perdu* (*In Search of Lost Time*) (1913-27); one of the longest European novels at 1.2 million words. Volume II, *À l'ombre des jeunes filles en fleurs* (1919) unfolds on the foreshore of the fictional town of Balbec, a seaside resort that has been identified as Cabourg in Lower Normandy. This place identification testifies to the public's reception of the novel as a text that can be decoded as the story of the writer's own life and progress in his chosen profession. The narrator, the young Marcel, describes a season of fine dining, promenades along the front and people-watching. It is a social milieu clearly delineated from the local working population, and their haunts fit well the diagram drawn a century later by

Shaw and Williams (2004) to make sense of the resort foreshore, please see figure 2 below.

Figure (Text/Chart/Diagram/image etc.) has been removed due to Copyright restrictions.

Figure 2 Zones of control and pleasure (Shaw and Williams 2004, 217)

Proust's settings still are resorts which attract inward investment from travel companies. From 2002 to 2006 the German company, now called TUI AG (Touristik Union International) re-structured its operations dramatically, shifting from being ship-owners, Hapag Lloyd and Preussag, to becoming a tour operator and travel agency, owning amongst others Thomson in the UK and, in France, Nouvelles Frontières (Monereau 2008). Nouvelles Frontières TUI now operate a large resort in Proust's Beg-Meil through its Club Vacances brand, with half- and full-board offerings in a newly-built complex of 24 apartments, 108 bungalows and 46 caravans (Nouvelles Frontières 2012).

Proust's two novels, examined above, have settings in seaside towns that had already become resorts of the new leisured class of post-revolutionary France as well as of English tourists; this presents a problem for research into literary tourism. What methods of enquiry can separate tourists who have been attracted to the resort for the same reasons as Proust, that is, cultural shifts in fashion, appropriate climate, geography and geology, availability of hotel accommodation, accessibility from Paris, from reasons associated with literary tourism, discussed in the table section above? Certain clear themes emerge in the French literary landscape, though:

- The seriousness of the undertaking when authors embark on the practice of novel writing, a scientific process is often declared by the author, consider for example Zola on innate frailty, Proust on memory, and later the Existentialists who used narrative as a vehicle for their ideas on how to live;
- The use of contested urban space and the changing built heritage as settings for the story;

- An embracing of the social class difference between the characters portrayed in the novel;
- Use of the French novel by human geographers and literary and social researchers as a source of valid data for social and political conditions in Paris.

Furthermore, the hero, or main character offers readers an opportunity for self-identification, and as the next section explores, the hero becomes a guide for how to deal with the conditions faced by the new complexities of metropolitan life.

How shall we live? – Post-war Novels

Simone de Beauvoir, Albert Camus and Jean-Paul Sartre all use literary texts to develop and communicate their philosophical ideas of existentialism. Rather than rely on academic texts to communicate how people should live to liberate ourselves after the Second World War, they dramatise their ideas in novels and plays. Simone de Beauvoir uses the aftermath of WWII to have one of her characters in *The Mandarins* pose a key, and serious existential question, 'And then how shall we live?' (De Beauvoir, 1954, 35) to encourage her readers to examine their own lives rather than accept the social norms weighing upon them. '[H]ow shall we live?' is a challenge to everyone to take responsibility for what they decide to do next. The area of Paris known as Saint-Germain-des-Prés with its three important cafés, Les Deux Magots, Café de Flore and across the street at 151, Boulevard Saint-Germain, the Brasserie Lipp, has become a noted literary urban zone, see for example Andy Martin (2012) in his biography of Camus and Sartre, written as a Place Book according to this research. As early as 1949 a US director chose Les Deux Magots as a key film location for making *The Man on the Eiffel Tower* (Burgess 1949), a film based on the Georges Simenon novel *La Tête d'un Homme* (1931), in English (1939) as *A Battle of Nerves*; incidentally, Trussel lists this novel as being written during the winter of 1930-31, while Simenon was staying at Beuzec-Conq, now a suburb of Concarneau (Trussle 2005). Inevitably this type of mediation contributes to the fame of an urban zone. However, in this case it is a fame based on the lives and relationship of the three existentialist writers who used these restaurants as meeting places, not because the places can be found in scenes from their novels. In contrast, then, it is worth comparing the cafés of the existentialists with the hotel district around the

Montparnasse railway station, since the streets here are named and *are* easily located from scenes within one of Sartre's main novels *L'Âge de raison* (1945) from his trilogy *Les Chemins de la liberté* (1945-49):

> Au milieu de la rue Vercingétorix, un grand type saisit Mathieu par le bras ; un agent faisait les cent pas sur l'autre trottoir.
> - Donne-moi quelque chose, patron ; j'ai faim.
>
> (Sartre 1945, 9 opening lines)

> HALF-WAY down the Rue Vercingétorix, a tall man seized Mathieu by the arm: a policeman was patrolling the opposite pavement.
> 'Can you spare me a franc or two? I'm hungry.'
>
> (English translation Eric Sutton 2001, 5)

In the opening lines from Sartre's *Age of Reason*, above, the spoken register of the tall guy, *grand type*, addressing Mathieu has been changed in the English translation. His speech has been rendered in a polite register, a more direct translation would take notice of the imperative '*tu*' form of the verb and produce: 'Give me something, boss'. This version is more of a challenge to Mathieu, the hero of the novel. Arguably, it renders more faithfully the menace experienced in this zone in the original text. On the face of it, this novel displays features that should make it a catalyst for literary tourism, encouraging its readers to re-live the dangers of Vercingétorix Street in Montparnasse as they identify the places from the novel, walking in the footsteps of the hero, Mathieu. In fieldwork in June 2011, it was found that the Montparnasse area is a busy thoroughfare for passengers arriving in the city and for the theatre district just across the wide Avenue du Maine (please see plate below); however, visits to the hotels and restaurants reveal no plaques to Sartre's monumental work, no references can be found for Mathieu drinking in one of the bars. Local attractions and tourist businesses have not used the fact that the *Age of Reason* opens here. The project of the existentialists seems too serious for local stakeholders to provide anything that would add value for their literary visitors.

Plate 16 Looking south along Avenue du Maine. Rue Vercingétorix starts in the brown curved buildings and cuts behind the tall white Paris Pullman Hotel in centre of picture, emerging onto the roundabout of the Plaisance where the circular building can be seen.

While literary tourism is not apparent in this zone, between Plaisance and Montparnasse, the recent biographer of Camus and Sartre, Andy Martin, shows that visitors focus instead on the ostensible place of creation:

> I [..] went to Paris in search of them [Sartre and Camus], returning to the still thriving Café de Flore on the Boulevard Saint-Germain where they met with Simone de Beauvoir. […] But the philosophers had all gone, leaving only the occasional plaque […] and a flourishing tourist trade.
>
> (Martin 2012, 295)

At least four categories of literary places are accessible for enthusiastic readers of de Beauvoir, Sartre, and Camus, (i) the place of creation, (ii) the identifiable sites from the work of fiction, (iii) the places where the writers lived and a fourth category, constantly expanding in France, (iv) the commemorative street name, the *odonyme*. In 2006 La passerelle Simone-de-Beauvoir, a new foot-bridge, was opened crossing the river Seine directly onto the parvis of the new national library building, the Bibliothèque François-Mitterrand, attesting to de Beauvoir's continued importance as a literary figure, and commemorating her with a new *odonyme*.

Pleasure and Socialisation in Narrative Writing

Moretti provides an up-to-date explanation of how narrative fiction is constructed, when he discusses free indirect style (Moretti 2007). Moretti shows why readers enjoy and participate in the socialisation process that reading novels entails. Tracing free indirect style back to an article by Adolf Tobler on French grammar from 1887, in French literary theory the term is abbreviated to *le DIL - le discours indirect libre*, Moretti shows how the novelist changes from distance to emotion within two sentences. Past tenses are used to tell the story, these tenses provide distance. Yet attitudes and emotions are expressed as well. Moretti proposes that the reader is addressed by a well-socialised third voice (Moretti 2007) which may account for the pleasure of slight superiority the readers feel. Later he calls this a collective voice in his examination of Zola's novel *Germinal* (Moretti 2007), and suggests that the novel's free indirect discourse (*DIL*) contributes to social mediation. In *DIL* these collective thoughts are not reported as direct speech, nor is there any introductory phrase, for example, she though that. The result is that the reader is left unsure whether it is the narrator or the character who has put forward the, often opinionated, thought. Here is an example from Simenon's *Liberty Bar*; the lines that are free indirect discourse are underlined:

> "Waiter," called Maigret, "the same again." [two Pernods] He regretted it instantly. He wanted to cancel the order, but it would look silly. It would be a confession of his weakness. For years he would remember this hour spent on the terrace of the Café Glacier on Place Macé in Antibes. . . . It was one of his rare moments of weakness, of surrender. Certainly the surroundings did not help. The air was soft and warm. [...] It was too much like a vacation.
>
> (Simenon 1940, 66)

The underlined phrases could possibly be taken as Maigret's thoughts but could also be the narrator making judgements on the situation. They are not quoted as direct speech, nor signalled as indirect speech, as in this alternative wording, 'Maigret thought that he would look silly if he cancelled the order'. When the narrator states clearly, 'The air was soft and warm', the reader is in no doubt that background colour and information are being supplied. Yet the lines of free indirect discourse introduce the feeling that Maigret may be breaking the rules of work, slipping away into a relaxed holiday mood and the reader is not quite sure who is being judgemental; is it the detective upbraiding himself? Or the clear voice of the narrator? It is neither, and the net effect is an emotional identification with the hero's slide into relaxation. The

reader is socialised, using Moretti's very useful term (Moretti 2007), into sharing the surrender whilst still feeling it to be weakness. This opinionated indirect discourse, free from any attribution, provides a justifiable excuse for pleasure. It could be argued that pulp fiction readers do not concern themselves with the intellectual analysis of free indirect discourse when reading for pleasure but this is the very point. Pleasure reading devours the text leaving the consumer with feelings, emotions, and socialisation provided by this imperceptible discourse that is attributed to no-one. In the close-reading chapter of this research the novel that has been successful as a literary tourism generator, *The Yellow Dog*, will be subject to this same detailed analysis to uncover the points of pleasure and socialisation that readers experience.

Under this heading of pleasure and socialisation it is worthwhile to try to draw conclusions on French attitudes to what constitutes pleasurable reading using the substantial survey by Collovald & Neveu (2004), introduced in the previous chapter. Their research report is based on detailed interviews with 40 avid readers of detective fiction, fiction which they term *polars* and *récits policiers*. One in five books sold in France are detective fiction, this includes titles from Simenon's Maigret series (Collovald & Neveu 2004). Both explicitly and implicitly throughout the work of Collovald & Neveu (2004), detective novels are considered low-brow, not intellectual literature and hence, initially at least, outside the category of serious reading that this chapter has argued is a distinguishing characteristic of French literature. For Collovald & Neveu the detective novel is escapist, indeed the term they use is *évasion*, the same word used in French advertisements for holidays; one of their respondents says he never touches the detective novels which have yellow covers because that evokes in him 'railway station books', the inference being they are beneath his dignity in cultural capital terms (Collovald & Neveu 2004, 214). However, at the heart of their analysis of the pleasure of escapism afforded by the reading of detective novels appears a revealing paradox:

> Si le policier fait s'évader, c'est bien souvent vers le drame, la mort, la peur. […] Bref, loin de fonctionner à la sollicitation de modèles convenus (tropiques et cocotiers, romance, mondes futurs) et/ou rassurants, le policier offre le curieux paradoxe d'une évasion dont le vecteur serait cela même à quoi l'évasion est en général réputée faire écran et diversion : la réalité du monde social et spécialement ses aspects les plus déplaisants
>
> (Collovald & Neveu 2004, 29)

> If detective fiction provides escapism, it is often towards drama, death, and fear. […] In short, far from using the accepted, reassuring models of escape, to the tropics with coconut trees, or through romance, or to future worlds, the detective novel offers the curious paradox of an escape into that which is generally thought the reader wants to be screened from or diverted from: the reality of the social world and especially its most unpleasant aspects.
>
> (Collovald & Neveu 2004, 29) [English Translation: C. Mansfield]

This desire in the reader of fiction to escape into a social milieu more frightening and depraved than their own comfortable lives will be used to inform the close-reading of *The Yellow Dog* in the findings and analysis section of this current research.

Conclusion

This survey of French literature from the nineteenth and twentieth centuries shows that from the supply side of the consumption equation a rich resource exists in terms of literary texts, their writers and recognisable places to visit in French urban space. Later writers, who have documented their visits to the French city, including academics or authors of guides or travel books, give an indication that the demand is there for literary tourism, too. The survey also shows that, at the level of urban planning, the spaces from the literary canon are preserved through street names or odonyms and the protection of buildings and their function, for example the cafés on the Rue de la Harpe and Les Deux Magots may still be visited by tourists. However, a gap remains between the urban planning authorities, the marketing function of the DMO, and the individual tourism businesses: hotels, restaurants, tour guides, visitor attractions. This gap is the communication of literary aspects of the spaces that tourists may visit. A better understanding of which genres of literature provides pleasure and how those texts work technically would provide benefits for the DMO and the tourism business in their development work for the visitor.

Further, a genre of serious literature in French can be identified which does not attract visitors to the places described in the literary text even though its authors' working sites do stimulate literary visits. Balanced against Moretti's (2007) discussions on free indirect discourse it is proposed that only certain genres or styles of writing can attract visitors to the places where the story is set. These genres include so-called leisure reading, for example detective fiction, the *polar*. For this reason the *polar* is selected and examined in detail in the later case study to understand why it stimulates literary

visits to places identifiable in its settings. Finally, a genre has grown up, and is flourishing today, that this research will call the Place Book, which acts as a catalyst by making leaders out of the writers, mythologising them and the cafés they frequented in a golden-age setting of intellectual ferment.

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5 Defining the DMO and the Value of Literary Tourism to the DMO

Towards a Definition of DMO

In formulating a response to this study's second research question, 'How can the novel be used sensitively by the DMO to create tourism demand and to add value to the visitors' experiences?', it is important to define and understand the term DMO, and particularly how the term may differ between the UK and France. The DMO is a complex group of stakeholders; previous researchers note a spread of responsibilities across several groups of people, and over a variety of geographical spaces, notably Bornhorst, Ritchie & Sheehan (2010) and Pike (2002). Pike (2002) shows that a DMO may be responsible for a state, a resort, a city or a whole country. While other authors have defined DMO in terms of its processes, the study by Barros et al. (2011) in particular of DMOs in France, takes the approach that the DMO is there as the machinery of efficiency:

> a destination is a geographical area in which a tourist can live at least one tourism experience and which, from a Destination Management Organization (DMO) point of view, can be managed i.e. can be organized and developed to attract tourists. In this case, a destination is seen as a firm with inputs (its tourism attractions) and outputs (bed-nights, employments…) and the DMO objective is to achieve maximum efficiency through a proper use of its inputs. This technical efficiency in the utilization of tourism resources can be considered as a proxy of the concept of destination competitiveness.
>
> (Barros et al. 2011,143)

Thus, above, the DMO is seen as an agency that has power over the organisation and development of tourist attractions in a particular area. The abbreviation DMO, covers a variety of roles ranging from the individual job of Destination Marketing Officer to a department or private company, the Destination Management Organisation, as seen above in Barros et al. (2011). Even the term, destination, in the abbreviation DMO, encompasses a range of scales from the size of a country, for example the UK, or England, through to the region, eg the South West or Brittany, down to district or town level, Torbay or Torquay, finally focussing on the management of particular tourist attractions, if they cover large areas. For instance, managing DisneyWorld in the USA and the Palace of Versailles in France are considered as DMO roles (Bornhorst et al 2010) but managing a Writer's Museum or House may fall outside the scale and scope of DMO. The management function of a Writer's House would

probably be termed, a director or a curator; however, as we shall see, this role is often combined with the responsibilities of a town's or region's DMO; for that reason the term stakeholder is used in this study when a wider group of businesses and interested parties is discussed. Agapito et al (2001) do refer to the term DMO for the region they study, Lagos and the Algarve, and make passing mention of The Strategic Plan of the Municipality of Lagos, but do not spend any time interrogating the role and significance of the Municipality of Lagos as a DMO as they put forward the requirements for understanding Tourism Destination Image or TDI, leaving something of gap between the DMO and who does the work of TDI creation and maintenance for a destination. However, the title of Elsevier's new journal, launched in 2012, the *Journal of Destination Marketing & Management* signals the DMO's two functions of marketing and of management. This latter term, management, infers that the DMO has access to finance and can change the infrastructure of the destination. If this is so, the DMO will have a relationship with the local authorities through the town planning process, indeed the DMO may even be the local authority. A recent research team have given this definition of the role of the DMO, which reinforces the duty the DMO owes to local residents:

> In summary, the roles of the DMO, in the broadest of terms, are: to work towards enhancing the well-being of destination residents; to do everything necessary to help ensure that visitors are offered visitation experiences that are at a minimum, highly satisfactory, and where possible, highly memorable; and while doing so, to ensure the provision of effective destination management and stewardship.
>
> (Bornhorst, Ritchie & Sheehan 2010, 573)

In Bornhorst et al (2010) the public duty of the DMO suggests that it must consist of democratically-elected representatives or have access to spending public funds raised from taxation. This section, then, attempts to isolate the component stakeholders in the DMOs of some literary tourism sites to set out concrete examples of who makes decisions, takes responsibility, gains value in some way, not necessarily financially, and where authority or power lies, especially over spending and investment in literary tourism. Stephen Pike endeavours to clarify this dichotomy:

> A contentious issue in the field of destination marketing has been the recent tendency by some authors to refer to destination marketing organisations (DMOs) as destination management organisations. This nomenclature infers control over destination resources, a level of influence that is in reality held by few DMOs.
>
> (Pike 2013, 247)

Since this study focuses on France and is for a British audience, and in order to better understand the increasing professionalisation of tourism management and the intellectual creativity required for roles in tourism development, this section also explains the emerging links between higher education and the work of the tourism engineer. The term engineer is now applied to qualified, practising tourism consultants in France.

Qualified Tourism Consultancy in France

The Département of Finistère's Strategic Plan for Tourism Development (Finistère 2008) alerts its readers to the advanced scientific level reached by tourism consultancy in France by explaining that it contracts to qualified specialists in this field, MaHoC. MaHoC is a private, Paris-based tourism engineering consultancy who, in turn, gain accreditation from Géfil. Géfil is a public body, the Syndicat National de l'Ingénierie Loisirs Culture Tourisme and has links into the degree and postgraduate teaching at the University of Angers and the Institute of Research and Higher Studies in Tourism at the University of Paris 1, Panthéon-Sorbonne. Géfil manage the accreditation of company qualifications in what is considered engineering in France in the field of leisure, culture and tourism in turn from OPQIBI. OPQIBI is the national organisation for all company engineering qualifications across building, industry, energy, environment and tourism, and a membership organisation for engineering companies. Through OPQIBI's online database local councils can select and view consultancy firms based on specific qualifications. For example, selecting the qualification 'Interpretation and valorisation in leisure, culture and tourism' yields ten small companies accredited to perform this work as *maîtres d'ouvrage* or principal contractors.

A direct financial relationship exists between the universities that teach tourism and the tourism industry via the apprenticeship tax. The apprenticeship tax has to be paid by companies employing one or more employees. This tax must not be confused with the tax paid by the employers for the development of in-service training. Apprenticeship tax is 0.5% of the gross payroll calculated on the previous calendar year. It can be paid to the state, or employers can choose to pay it directly to a

university, for example, for tourism companies, the Institute of Research and Higher Studies in Tourism at the University of Paris 1, Panthéon-Sorbonne.

Although, as the above discussion shows, France is strongly centred around its institutions, a technically literate workforce means that the adoption of new technologies is very rapid across the country. France had installed Minitel across the whole country by 1982 after trials in Brittany at the end of the 1970s. Min*i*tel, not to be confused with Mintel, was a system for text messages, directory enquiries and online bookings fully operational a whole decade before the worldwide web began to appear (Drake 2011); on visits to even the smallest hotels as long ago as the mid-1980s hotel managers would have the Minitel computer terminal on the check-in desk and use it as an online reference resource to help guests. This national leadership in telematics is still in evidence thirty years later, for example, a privately-owned publisher and social media network, Rezotour, also manages the publication of the main French academic journal aimed at tourism: *Mondes du tourisme*. The Paris-based, Rezotour portal brings together academics, job seekers in the tourism industry, tourist information offices, offers of work placements in tourism companies, invitations from DMOs to tender for tourism development work or to supply equipment and a calendar of events in the industry and academia. This type of tourism knowledge transfer between universities, business and the public sector is not yet visible in, for example, the UK or US.

The Smallest DMO Unit in Literary Tourism

Although slightly artificial, the smallest management unit for a literary tourism site may often be the writer themselves, for example, Zola kept open house for his intellectual friends and we have seen well-documented examples of writers using their houses for a type of self-marketing earlier (Watson 2006). Other examples of writers welcoming visitors to their own homes, especially once their books start to enjoy success, may be found, here for example is a note from a new biography of Albert Camus (1913-1960):

> Over the winter, Camus had been living and working in the village of Lourmarin, between Aix and Avignon in Provence. He and Francine had bought an old house there in 1958 with his Nobel Prize money. Here he was as contented with life as he had ever been. [...] He could have written a lyrical pitch for a real-estate agent or the Loumarin tourist office. 'The intense light, the infinite space

transport me.' He rhapsodized about lizards and wisteria. Here he felt at home, mingling with poets (René Char, an old friend from Resistance days) and footballers (members of Lourmarin United).

<div align="right">(Martin 2012, 268)</div>

Martin's speculation on the village using their literary connection as part of their destination image or place-branding is correct; Lourmarin's web pages in summer 2012 do indeed show a silhouette of Camus and an edited quotation from the author's essay on the city of Florence, 'Le désert':

> [Mais] qu'est-ce que le bonheur sinon l'accord vrai entre un être [Lourmarin use the gender-specific word *homme* here, changing Camus' original text, *être*] et l'existence qu'il mène ?"

<div align="right">(Camus 1959, 65)</div>

> But what's happiness other than the true agreement between a being [man] and the existence it leads?

<div align="right">[Translation mine, C. Mansfield]</div>

The commercial relationship for tourism and the property market in Lourmarin is quickly established in this simple destination branding by the small town with a population of only 1000. With a little more research, Loumarin's DMO could have used Martin's new biography to offer more information for English-speaking tourists; this suggestion will be examined in detail in the final chapter on recommendations. When considering the earlier definition of elected DMOs with public-funding, the true smallest DMO unit may well be the French town, like Lourmarin, which is defined as a *commune* in French; the word itself a reminder of the political changes wrought in the 1800s which this study has investigated earlier through the prism of nineteenth-century literature. However, for tax and spending purposes these communes create a problem of uneven size since they may have a population as small as Lourmarin or as large as Paris. There are about 37,000 communes, so over 2000 of the smaller ones are, since 1992, allowed to federate into *communautés de communes*. Income for this level of administration is raised by a business tax and is spent under Article L5214-16 of French law on two areas directly related to tourism growth:

- promoting economic development in the communes
- upkeep and management of public space

Usefully, for this look at French government and legislation, the full text of French laws can easily be found on-line, please see link to Legifrance web-site (Legifrance 2003).

If we return to the writer's house again, and take as an example, the home of writers, Elsa Triolet (1896-1970) and Louis Aragon (1897-1982), it is easy to demonstrate the ownership and management mix. Aragon willed their house direct to the state upon his death, with the wish that it should become a centre for research and literary creation. It contains some important literary tourism artefacts, for example, Triolet's writing desk, movable property from a legal point of view (Midoux 2011).

Figure (Text/Chart/Diagram/image etc.) has been removed due to Copyright restrictions.

Plate 17 The French Post Office issued a set of 4 commemorative stamps celebrating Elsa Triolet in Spring 2010, maintaining her image and importance in French cultural life.

The state, in this case represented by the Ministry of Culture & Communication, has given responsibility to a legal association, under the 1901 law, for the management of the writers' house, now called La Maison Elsa Triolet-Aragon. The association has changed its name, in order to accept paying membership subscriptions to support its work to, l'Association pour le soutien de la Maison Elsa Triolet-Aragon (Midoux 2011). Financial support for different events at Triolet's house comes from the state, the region, the département and the commune. Entrance fee is under 10 euros. The table below provides an overview of the complexities of ownership of Writers' houses in France:

Table 3 Ownership of Writers' Houses in the Ile-de-France, after (Midoux 2011, 56)

Writer's House	Opened	Owners
Zola (Médan)	1985	State supported (Willed)
Maerterlinck (Château de Médan)	1990	Privately owned
Maison littéraire Victor Hugo (Bièvres)	1991	Private partnership

Maison Elsa Triolet-Aragon (Saint-Arnoult)	1994	State owned (Willed)
Daudet (Draveil)	1996	Privately owned
Mac Orlan (Saint-Cyr-sur-Morin)	2009	Municipality of Saint-Cyr-sur-Morin (Willed)
Cocteau (Milly-la-Forêt)	2010	Society of Friends of Jean Cocteau

The acquisition of a writer's house in the UK and western Europe will necessarily be a large investment by any DMO or start-up enterprise, for example, a group of enthusiasts for a writer, since property has become an integral part of capital accumulation. The initial purchase and renovation of Jean Cocteau's house, for example, required 4.5 million euros (Midoux 2011); set this against visitor numbers, estimated at 40,000 a year at 10 euros each, leaves investors a long period to recuperate their capital. On top of annual maintenance, the human resource costs need to be found each year, too. The opening and support of Cocteau's house is achieved through skilful sponsorship arrangements with six public bodies and Cartier, the French jeweller. We shall see this pattern of multiple sponsorship from the public and private sectors in other forms of literary tourism, demonstrating the funding management skills of the entrepreneurs involved.

The Hierarchy of Government Divisions for Tourism in France

Preamble

In order to better understand the governing structures that affect tourism development and the management of Tourism Destination Image in France an overview of the hierarchy of the divisions of responsibility is presented here. This will be particularly helpful as a clear definition of the political structures that are used to govern the geographical divisions of the country when the case study is analysed.

Départements

Départements, which will be spelt with the accented é to distinguish the term from the English word, were created by the Revolutionary government in 1791 to replace the provinces of the old regime. When départements are compared with the counties of

England and Wales, the French département is 2½ times larger in land area but has less than ⅔ the population. Mainland France is divided into 96 départements each administered by an elected *conseil général* with a president. Interestingly for tourism specialists the names given to the départements are those of rivers, mountains and seas, geographic names rather than the culturally charged historic names of French regions. Tourism management at the level of the département includes:

1. Raising income, for example by local taxation or from National government or in direct sales or in public-private partnerships.
2. Authority over land use, through law or through democratic processes
3. A tourism strategy
4. Technical competence to manage and to spend

The département of Finistère, for example, out on the western-most tip of Brittany, the End of the Earth or Land's End in translation, has an area of 6,733 square kilometres and a population of 886,500. Finistère has an elected council of 54 *conseillers généraux* and an annual budget of a billion euros. Finistère, numbered CG29, has its own place-branding (*une marque* in French) which uses the slogan, 'Everything starts in Finistère', '*Tout commence en Finistère*', which plays on the place-name that actually suggests that it all ends here (CG29, 2012). It carries this place-branding through into its work as a tourism DMO, with the slogan *'Mes vacances commencent en Finistère*', 'My holidays begin in Finistère', but with an alliteration of '-ances' with '-encent' that the English translation loses.

Régions

The 27 administrative regions of France are the largest sub-division of land and population (approximately 2.5m people live in each one) below the state. In June 2014, François Hollande, the first Socialist Party president since François Mitterrand (in office May 1981-May 1995) announced a transition to just 14 regions demonstrating their political significance whilst also reminding the country of the centralised power of French government. Since 16 March 1986 the regions have elected their own representatives. Regions can raise taxes and spend these on infrastructure and education, and can help business owners. They are much larger in area than English counties, perhaps a close spatial comparison would be between the

region of Brittany and England's South-West. Although a more detailed quantitative comparison can be made with Wales as a region:

Table 4 Brittany is larger than Wales in Area and Population

	Area in Square Kilometres	**Population in 2012**
Wales	20 779	3 064 000
Brittany	27 208	3 139 000

In order to understand the part a French region plays in tourism development and hence how the region can be seen as a political DMO, this section focuses on Brittany. The working staff who can be called Brittany's DMO are *le Comité Régional du Tourisme de Bretagne*. The Regional Tourism Council, this is a more meaningful translation of *Comité* than Committee in this case, runs an observatory to capture tourism and hospitality data and then make that data available for tourism professionals and enterprises. It also pursues a more sophisticated research process to examine the consequences of tourism and tries to predict changes in the tourist economy (CRT de Bretagne 2012). It runs a *Pôle Ingénierie et développement*, Tourism Engineering Centre, and high in its list of development priorities is identifying '*le patrimoine potentiel inexploité',* potential heritage that is still unexploited; it has funds, too, to accompany the development of tourist sites. It also has a remit, and funds, to improve human resources and HRM, the management and development of people in employment, in the tourism and hospitality industry across Brittany, not just in its own offices.

One such engineering project of the CRT Brittany, led by Servane Piron, is the project Destination Brocéliande. Brocéliande is today called Paimpont Forest, and is the place where the legendary wizard, Merlin finally goes to live in the stories of King Arthur. The earliest literary mention of the forest of Brittany is by the Jersey-born poet, Wace (1110-1174) in his chronicle composed between 1160-70 *Roman de Rou* (Story of Duke Rollo, written in Old Norman-French). Wace's writing is also the first mention of the round table and the name of the sword, Excalibur (Linton 2012). CRT Brittany's project is less explicitly literary than a comparable initiative run by Literature Wales (Wales 2012) which comprises a series of eight, mainly walking, events between May and October with literary themes at a cost of £7 per person;

however, the project Destination Brocéliande is a literary initiative by a French regional DMO. This demonstrates that literary connections are used in the design of place brands.

In identifying the value of a place brand or destination image with a strong literary tourism component for this type of elected, and publicly-funded DMO it is reasonable to look at how successful CRT Brittany are in communicating the new image or identity that they are constructing for the region. CRT Brittany may even have metrics to measure their success. This offers the tourism researcher two areas for investigation, an analysis of the content or messages transmitted by the DMO so that the researcher is able to determine the characteristics of the new image; for example, is it - Romantic? Connected with nature? Studious? Outdoors? Food oriented? And, secondly, to what extent has this new image been incorporated into the identity of the local destination. Here, field research may reveal a re-naming of restaurants or hotels from the Arthurian legends, or the use of the DMO's text in interpretation panels. Content analysis would be a useful tool in unlocking the meanings from these two sets of textual data. These two sets of data can then be considered alongside any metrics furnished by the *observatoire* of the DMO.

The value to the DMO, then, could be presented from such a research activity. It may be that regional DMOs in France also relate value to their own survival or expansion or increase in budget. If individual tourism engineers within, for example, CRT Brittany, were interviewed it may reveal that job security or career progression are also measures of value to the DMO. In the wake of the reduction in the number of regions from 22 to 14 a question over the redeployment of staff connected with managing and developing the destination's image has arisen. How can the knowledge of these human resources be best used? In the case study and in the conclusions and recommendations chapter the issue of human resources and careers in an increasingly knowledge-based society is dealt with.

Turning outwards, though, it would be useful to identify the point of leisure contact at the destination where new meaning is enjoyed by the visitor; it is a theoretical place and combination of events, social interactions and cultural capital which this research proposes to call the toureme. Research needs some method of determining the value

of this experience or potential experience, as well as identifying the toureme point. Ethnography is the discipline where researchers interact with their informants to collect field notes (Krippendorf 2013). These field notes can then be subject to content analysis in a way similar to the first two sets of data from DMO web-sites and interpretation literature. In the methodology, and later in the case study, this ethnographic data collection method is refined and validated within a methodology to answer the research questions in a more precise, functional way.

State

At state level, the French government has had an increasing effect on tourism over the twentieth century through regulation and promotion. In 1910 l'Office National du Tourisme was first opened and by 1920 a state-sponsored tourist information bureau had been opened in London to attract in-bound visitors to France. State intervention is not considered unusual in French culture, as Hugues Séraphin reveals in his comment on the growth of tourism in France, 'this expansion is *naturally* accompanied by the setting-up of specialist public bodies whose remit is to define and establish national policies on tourism' (italics mine) (Séraphin 2012, 52). The republicanism won during the struggles of the nineteenth century began to evolve into a fairer distribution of France's economic successes, so that by 1936 the Law of 20th June made paid holidays a legal requirement of employment. Over the next fifty years the number of weeks of legally paid holidays gradually increased to five, and a reduction in working hours to a 35-hour week increased leisure time still further as employees may now 'bridge' the weekend or accumulate hours for use in the summer.

Communal association, which at times seems a feature of French working class culture, is apparent in the creation in 1949 of social groups for holiday-making. It is difficult to separate whether it is a well-meaning government or a genuine desire for group holidays that gives rise to club type holidays in France. Underpinning them, though, is the French state's view that it is a citizen's right to take time off from work; the state implementation of Holiday Cheques, rather like Luncheon Vouchers, in the 1980s supports this. Large companies also maintain holiday villages for their employees, for example, Caisses d'Epargne, a large savings bank, still owns, in 2012, eight seaside and six mountain holiday locations for its employees, its retired staff and their families.

In considering again the key theme of this examination of French political structures, it can be seen that the motivation of profit is often the least important aspect of the relationship between the state-owned DMO and the public. Well-being, communal participation, employee rights and quality of life are far more important values for the state-owned DMO. These values are not just for the visitor either, they apply equally to the local service staff who run and manage, for example, the writer's house visitor centre. This has impacts on the service ethic, which may become apparent when visitors from, for example, the US or UK, interact with French civil servants at attractions owned by the state.

Mathilde Sempé explains that a process to decentralise cultural identity from the State, essentially in Paris, to the territorial collectivities began in the 1970s (Sempé 2012). She looks in particular at Brittany, and notes that cultural policy for France's regions and départements now includes the field of tourism as another category of intervention (Sempé 2012). She sees in this a form of cultural competition. In this respect the DMO for Brittany then, might consider value as some action which increases their cultural identity, setting Brittany apart from what may be perceived as its competitors, including the other regions in France and even regions on Britain's south coast. These campaigns or projects to seek new cultural identities are quasi-political but have strong links with place-branding and destination marketing, an over-arching aspect of them is a quest for authenticity, too. So, for example, the policy of books and reading started by Brittany is in the process of being written into the social history of the region, if it can be positioned as authentic it is then available for tourism consumption.

Production of Place Cultural Capital by the DMO's Tourism Policy

Sempé, after Bourdieu (1980) proposes that regions are brought into existence by being spoken about and written about, even though superficially geographic they are symbolically produced (Sempé 2012). This proposition may be difficult to accept when Brittany is considered with its long history of being culturally defined, the same applies to Wessex, although its literary construction is more apparent. However, an example of a blank space being symbolically produced was enacted on 22 August

2012 during this research in literary tourism. The NASA rover, Curiosity, made the first drive of its tour of Gale crater on Mars. The NASA science team decided to name the site, where the rover touched down on the planet's surface, as Bradbury Landing to celebrate the birthday of Ray Bradbury, 22 August (1920-2012), author of *The Martian Chronicles* (1950). Thus a policy act of literary tourism on Mars begins to invest cultural meaning onto the blank canvas of Martian geography, or, rather areography. Manuela Taboada et al (2010) show too, in their own brand development of Waterfall Way in New South Wales, Australia, how a consultancy team can marshal the discursive practices of a stakeholder group to actually design a place brand for a geographical area. One valuable aspect of their published work on this process is the design practices they employed based on eliciting local tacit knowledge (Taboada et al 2010) which may also be used as a research method to examine tacit knowledge from a region or place. This is discussed further in the chapter on methodology.

Sempé goes further with her analysis of regional identity creation, claiming that whilst homogenisation takes place within each region, a process of distinction is also at work to separate regions from one another (Sempé 2012). Sempé considers culture as a symbolic universe from her reading of Bourdieu; thus regional identity is constructed symbolically by the groups who have credibility in the domains of the symbolic order of text, image and naming, these include intellectuals, the media and the political agencies. She calls this cultural identity creation arbitrary (Sempé 2012). Considering these policy decisions on identity as arbitrary is problematic, since it creates a break in the continuum between nature and culture. The pristine areography of Mars is scorched by the landing of the rover vehicle before it is named Bradbury Landing and thus entered into the symbolic order of American literary culture. In the same way the natural granite of Brittany is quarried and incorporated into buildings long before new identities are grafted onto the region. However, Sempé points out that the political DMO aims to institutionalise the spaces it controls (Sempé 2012). The reduction in conflict that this brings about could be considered as one of the increases in value the DMO seeks by place branding or identity renewal. The political DMO is creating a regional identity for consumption by tourists, so a sensitivity to local issues is needed in the process.

The cultural movements in Brittany of the 1960s and 1970s replayed many of the issues first aired in Wales and in French-speaking Québec. A Breton image of the countryside in which the tourist, often conflated with the Parisian, was seen as a problem, and even the enemy, grew up in these decades (Sempé 2012); Sempé uses extracts from the author Michel Le Bris (b.1944) to present and illustrate the stigmatised identity of the Breton. Le Bris is the director of the St Malo literary festival 'Étonnants voyageurs'. Bourdieu writes on how a stigmatised provincial identity can be the basis for mobilising groups to struggle against this damaging image of themselves (Bourdieu 1980). Thus the place branding aspect of a DMO's tourism policy is so inextricably linked to the legitimisation of a particular identity for a region that the DMO's promotional team could find itself translating and adjusting the locally-created culture. This can be seen as the creation of cultural capital for a region, since it is a culture that can be traded upon through increased tourism. Busby & Meethan (2008) actually propose a term for this, destination-based cultural capital. On 2 June 2014, François Hollande announced the merging of 15 French regions, creating a challenge for those DMOs charged with developing a new image for their destinations whilst simultaneously containing any disruptions felt by local feelings of regional identity.

The DMO and TDI (Tourism Destination Image)

A conceptual framework for examining the Tourism Destination Image is available (Gallarza, Gil & Calderón 2001) which helps the DMO and the researcher to consider many of the aspects of consumer choice and the opportunities for developing a branded image of the destination. In literary tourism the novel and the author associated with a tourism destination will already have contributed to the organic TDI. The DMO does have the opportunity to adjust this image, TDI may be considered as a manageable instrument according to Gallarza, Gil & Calderón (2001) which can change over time and distance. The geographical location of the potential consumer and the destination do have an effect, they specify:

> The greater the distance, the greater the distortion of reality, and the shorter the distance, the greater the meaning of the details.
>
> (Gallarza, Gil & Calderón 2001, 72)

Researchers of TDI over the 25 years studied by Gallarza, Gil & Calderón (2001) have consistently attempted to examine the ideas formed in the mind of the tourist.

This is achieved by questioning the visitors or by content analysis, as Gallarza, Gil & Calderón (2001) go on to show in their figure showing methodological procedures, included below. These approaches and the concept of TDI are close to this study on literary tourism, not simply because the novel helps shape the TDI but also because the mediation processes of the DMO extend the destination image creation right into the destination as it is being visited. It is at this point, internal to the literary place being visited that the DMO has the opportunity to adjust the visitor experience. This may be achieved through additional mediation, for example, interpretation panels or detailed guide leaflets, or by gathering museum-type artefacts to enhance the visitor experience. Where the visited site is dispersed over the area of, for example, a town or part of a city the DMO can provide spoken guided tours with guides or mp3 recordings, and again this additional mediation should be seen as further adjustment of the TDI, which, if conceived with care will add to the tourist experience of the literary place.

Poorly conceived or unplanned mediation and poor placement of artefacts at the literary site may on the other hand reduce the satisfaction of the visitor. The prime example of this is when souvenirs in the gift shop, for example, do not conform satisfactorily with the image already held by the visitor. The objects for sale may offend the visitors' assumptions and beliefs about the writer or their work, or the objects may appear to the visitor as inauthentic in some way. The literary visitor may feel that the writer has been trivialised by some of the objects on sale. This disjunction is measurable by opinion surveys and, more commercially, by recording sales by type of artefact. Literary gift manufacture and sales is a sophisticated market in the UK, summed up by the subtle humour of Penguin book mugs which may be bought online, from companies whose names reflect the definition of the market, too, Bookish England and The Literary Gift Company as well as on Penguin Books' own web-site.

The sales of artefacts as souvenirs, then, can provide added value to the literary visitor as well as earning value for the DMO in three distinct ways:
- directly as income at the literary site
- if unique or collectable, as a magnet to draw repeat visits

- as marketing metrics to fine-tune the offering in the visitor shop

Creating a Tourism Space with Human Resource Management

Where DMOs are professional with a degree of sophistication, and are well capitalised, they will have the time and the competences to express their aims, that is, what will give them value, and how they will measure, or at least, detect that accrued value. The councils of Brittany, of Finistère or of small units, for example, town councils acting as DMOs often present their aims via publically-available strategy documents or as web-sites. Their achievements, too, may be readily available online. In fact, since the appointment of Aurélie Filippetti, as Minister for Culture and Communication in May 2012, the web-site of the Ministry has been redesigned to combine communication with culture, to more rapidly publish government policies in the heritage management, and to show the hierarchical management of the regional DRACs more clearly, the Regional Directorates of Cultural Affairs. Via the legal pronouncements of the Ministry as recently as 2011, professionalised career paths are now available for the lecturer-guide in tourism, and for heritage docents, in French these are *le guide-conférencier* and *les animateurs de l'architecture et du patrimoine*.

However, the amateur trying to initiate a micro-enterprise around their enthusiasm for a writer or novel will often not express their aims, nor even write a business plan. Often they are under-capitalised or have zero capital to realise their creation of a literary tourism space. Shaw and Williams reflect on this problem in similar terms when examining how human resources create tourism spaces. Their work shows that labour costs can be as much as 32% of revenues in the tourism and hospitality industry (Shaw & Williams 2004), but they also show that labour productivity in the tourism industry is a function of skilled management. The financial costs of labour can be saved by using what Shaw & Williams term work orientation in occupational communities (Shaw & Williams 2004). By self-exploitation and family- and friend-exploitation, a low-cost labour force can be created by the micro-enterprise. This type of tourism business, which, for example may host literary walks on almost zero-capital start-up costs, will win value which is much more embedded in the psychological rewards of those contributing their labour for free. The National Trust in England, for example, use free labour as room guides to literary houses, Agatha

Christie's house, Greenway in Devon is one such case (Author's own fieldwork 2010). The value to this type of voluntary worker may be in the association they enjoy in Shaw & Williams' occupational community with other NT volunteers. It is often, too, access to training courses, and with younger volunteers, cv building, which places these in the group: entrepreneurial oriented workers (Shaw & Williams 2004), who hope to accumulate employability capital.

Measuring Value in Place Branding and TDI

The DMO of any size may collect feedback from the literary tourist on the sensitivity with which the site, trail or literary attraction has interpreted the writer or their work. With effective instruments for the collection of this feedback, for example the recording of gift-shop purchases mentioned above, a visitor book, or a web form to capture comments from the visitor the DMO establishes a consumer-supplier relationship with the visitor. A more nuanced relationship than this consumer-supplier link exists between the large public DMO, for example Brittany Council's regional branding, with its tourism suppliers, which include hotels, restaurants, attractions and literary tourism sites or trails. Uncovering feedback from both the final consumer and the intermediary user of branding is explained by Woodside (2010). His work on case study research proposes searching for and collecting unsolicited web-log reports from consumers. The reports he recommends are self-reports, for example stories in which brands are seen as causing inciting incidents (Woodside 2010). Woodside also seeks out stories where the brands have enabled consumers to enact myths. In consumer story-telling theory, and inciting incident is one where normal life is thrown out of balance (Woodside 2010) and a myth is a narrative pattern with archetype characters and resolution. This type of data collection and its analysis will be returned to in the section on methodologies. While Zenker & Martin (2011) feel there is a lack of performance measurement in place marketing, leaving the DMO unable to judge the value of a particular marketing campaign that has promoted a specially-designed image, Govers, Go & Kumar (2007) offer a new approach to measuring TDI, which they call Virtual Destination Image. They use content analysis, but based on narratives elicited from respondents, on how respondents imagine a particular destination would feel. Their results, using

ThoughtView mapping in CATPAC, show how destinations may stand out or share many similarities with other, competing destinations (Govers, Go & Kumar 2007).

Figure (Text/Chart/Diagram/image etc.) has been removed due to Copyright restrictions.

Figure 3 Perceptual Map of Tourism Destinations and their Image Components from Govers, Go & Kumar (2007, 990)

The lesson for DMOs charged with managing a place brand, from this perceptual mapping, is exemplified by Morocco in the figure above (Govers, Go & Kumar 2007), more effort should be made by the DMO of Morocco to promote a product that has a unique identity and makes more use of its local identity, to shift it away from Singapore, for example. If clear attributes were projected by the DMO Morocco's node on the perceptual map would be surrounded by a cluster similar in density to the one surrounding Dubai, seen in the top left of the map.

Conclusion

In conclusion, then, looking for direct financial value to the DMO in literary tourism attractions and operations misses many of the perceived values gained by, or hoped for, from managing a literary tourism venture. The very personal and imaginative responses that literature evokes attract individuals whose prime motivation is to immerse themselves in the work of the writer by making a micro-enterprise from their enthusiasm. The DMO, when it is part of a town council or regional local government, has a duty to their electorate and tax-payers to provide cultural spaces. Hence the concept of value for a regional DMO lies in maintaining and discovering literary sites that will continue to give enjoyment and education to the public; and these may be loss-making in commercial terms. In the case study section of this research this value relationship is considered with reference to Brittany, Finistère and motivated groups of enthusiasts in Concarneau itself.

Capitalisation fundamentally affects the type of literary tourism venture than can be developed and maintained. Writers' houses require several millions of pounds of investment, as this section has shown, which demands from the DMO the skilful

management of fund-raising, whereas the hosting of literary walks, can be achieved by a relatively low investment in advertising and relationship-building with venues, including bars, property owners and museums.

Finally, cultural place capital may accrue as a by-product value of the operations of an enthusiast. The DMO must make a change in their operations to take advantage of this to make the place or activity more accessible and better interpreted for the literary tourism visitor. No clear study is available of the relationship between a destination image using literary themes alongside an explicit interrogation of an elected DMO. Brittany as a region, this section has found, fits this category, and, although Sempé (2012) has taken a critical look at identity formation in Brittany, a gap still remains in the literature for an understanding of the literary place branding that is taking place in this French region.

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6 Conceptual Framework

Un roman est comme une ville inconnue dans laquelle je déambule. Nous prenons connaissance de la littérature, d'un roman en particulier, en marchant, comme dans une ville où on est arrivé de nuit.

A novel is like an unknown town in which I wander. We make sense of literature, of a novel in particular, as we progress, as we do in a town where we've arrived at night.

<div align="right">Antoine Compagnon 2006, 798</div>

Elements of the Conceptual Framework

Although the table of categories of literary tourism in chapter 3 proposes the forms that can be observed, a link is still needed to the motivations and hence the identity and values of the types of tourist who will engage in these forms of literary tourism. Since three elements form a complex and, as yet, unresearched structure for this study, an inductive approach has been taken to set out a conceptual framework which can then be tested by applying a series of methods. The following questions identify the problem from which the framework for this study will be proposed:

(1) Is literature important to tourism? Can a DMO detect literary tourism, of any form, taking place? (2) Can a corpus of novels set in specific places be identified that are being used by categories of visitors for literary tourism? and (3) Literary theory; how is fiction valued and used in contemporary society, including close-reading and critical practices that have grown out of literary studies in a knowledge society? Europe's knowledge society strategy was re-launched in Lisbon in 2000 (European Council 2000) and is a well-documented programme of investment to improve the EU's competitiveness and social cohesion through the development of an economy based more firmly on knowledge workers educated beyond school age (De la Porte, Pochet & Room 2001). Expressed in the form of a Venn diagram, these elements overlap to form a new interdisciplinary body of knowledge to answer the research question, and its ancillary questions, please see figure below:
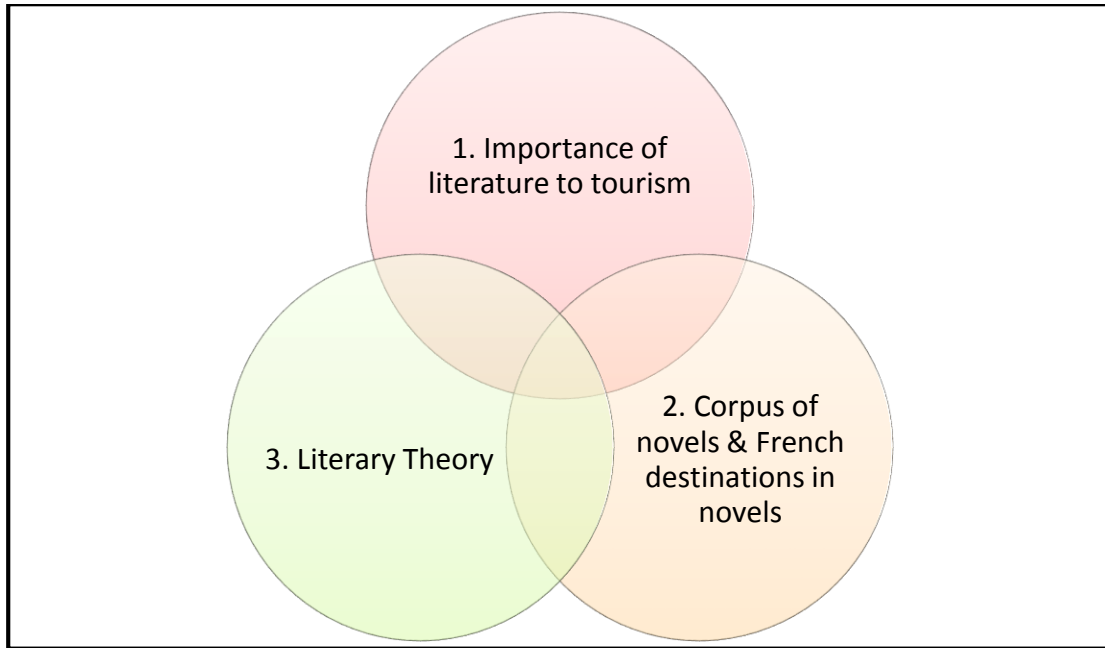
Figure 4 Venn diagram of Conceptual Framework for this Research

What is Knowable in the Field of Literary Tourism?

The type of questions to pose in this field include: Is literature important to tourism? Can literary tourism be seen or experienced in some way? How do people make decisions about where to go on holiday? What are the spaces they use in the towns they visit? How does the novel affect the way they consume these spaces? What discourse is at work in the novel, and what effects does that have on visitors' perception, memory and desire in relation to the town? Does the visitor consider value and knowledge as important facets of their relationship with the destination as seen through their reading of the text? What do tourists do at the literary site? This last question is fundamental for DMOs wishing to respond to this study's two key research questions:

- How do literary texts work to make a tourism destination, and by extension, a town and its specific urban spaces more attractive to a potential visitor?
- How can the novel be used sensitively to create tourism demand?

The tourism business or attraction, in contact with the visitor, will also use the novel and its author in interpretative ways to enhance the experience of the tourist visiting their site. In the most direct way for tourism consumption, it would be useful to know how many visitors a particular novel has drawn to a particular site in an urban space. This helps answer the basic question, does literary tourism as a physical displacement

actually take place? The example of Notre Dame Cathedral in the centre of Paris and the 1831 novel of Victor Hugo, *Notre-Dame de Paris* has been discussed in depth earlier and it is immediately clear that attempting to gather statistics on visitor numbers who have been attracted by the novel would be impossible. The Paris Convention and Visitors Bureau, who annually compile visitor statistics, consistently place la Cathédrale Notre-Dame de Paris at number one of their top twenty monuments, with 13,650,000 visitors in 2009 (PCVB 2010). However, even the PCVB state that they can only estimate this number despite the investment they make in recording tourist figures for the capital.

The large number of visitors may have been drawn to this site by the novel, or by the films made from the novel, or simply by the architecture of the monument and its central location on a square that is readily accessible to tourists. Indeed, it may be that urban planning contributes more to the popularity of urban sites and for this reason the researcher needs to distinguish between the functions of urban planning, planning consent and the practical developmental roles of the DMO in building and property development, if any. So much so, that focussing research on a less architecturally attractive building than Notre Dame might yield more credible results; with this in mind the case study will look at more mundane buildings in the town under study. However, the status of the writer also contributes to the attractiveness of a site for tourism. Victor Hugo is a key figure in French literature and culture, forming part of society's and a reader's cultural capital. Victor Hugo's former home on Place des Vosges is managed by the Paris mayor's office. Here statistics are more readily gathered and press officer, Florence Claval reports, in personal correspondence, that they received 160,000 visitors in 2010 (Claval 2011). An example of how film and the surrounding media presentations can affect the organic image of a writer's house occurred at the start of 2013 when a new film of Hugo's *Les Misérables* was released (Trend 2013). Notably, for this study, the film is used as a headline in a London newspaper's travel section rather than its film pages, and Trend (2013) details locations from the novel for his readers. The impact on visitor numbers that the release of a new film will have, when promoted in this way through travel media channels makes quantitative measurements liable to change even during the research period. Long-running theatre productions will also create knowledge of a location in the imaginations of a growing audience; *Les Misérables* has been a

musical production since the 1980s. In this conceptual framework aspects of data must be isolated for analysis or a networked approach must be taken that can allow for unpredictable fluctuations in the tourism destination image (TDI).

Inducing tourism demand relies on a deep understanding of the motivational factors which drive destination choices as well as isolating the activities that visitors find rewarding. In literary tourism this means analysing the consumption practices of existing literary tourists to formulate theoretical models. Once identified these provide aims and objectives for the researcher to test. More specifically, in answering the research question: 'How do literary texts work to make a tourism destination or town more attractive to a potential visitor?' the investigation must focus on the structure and potential effects of the literary text itself, which may act through the reader's and by extension, the visitor's imagination. A constant dilemma for researchers and DMOs trying to understand what motivates destination choices and even holiday-making activities is whether the visitor is driven by the need for pleasure or by the need for meaning in their lives. These areas of psychological philosophy are examined in depth by Sigmund Freud (1856-1939), in his work on pleasure and the *id*, and the latter, the will to meaning, by Søren Kierkegaard (1813-1855), which was developed in the twentieth century by Viktor Frankl (1905-77) into logotherapy using existential analysis as therapy. A third force acting on potential tourists is social pressure. The political, social and economic pressures surrounding people's everyday lives lead them into making choices. These range from the more open, visible signs of advertising through to the hidden ideologies and social values a particular society imposes on its members; Michel Foucault (1926-1984) has contributed greatly to this field of enquiry.

An alternative approach to understanding the forms of literary tourism can be taken by using the points where more recent academic researchers have theorised about the literary tourism they have studied. In this categorisation process, four key forms of literary tourism can be proposed, which this study labels with lower-case Greek characters to distinguish the forms from earlier workers' proposals. These forms may not necessarily be tested by this research but a way of developing theory from empirical research is fundamental to this project since it seeks to provide guidance to

DMOs that may be generalised across all literary tourism sites under their management.

The Four Theoretical Forms: α alpha, β beta, γ gamma, δ delta.

α Knowledge Society Literary Tourism

Whilst Busby & Meethan (2008) have written of the level of cultural knowledge of the visitor at heritage destinations, this proposed form of literary tourism also displays an aspect of the knowledge society which has appeared since mass higher education began in the 1970s and which is seen in the work of Nuala Johnson (2004). Johnson charts a form of literary tourism where educated specialists, in this case humanistic geographers, simultaneously use the novel as a research resource and at the same time reinforce the belief that urban fiction generates the city; both Johnson (2004) here and earlier Brosseau (1995), cited in Johnson, use this creative term to suggest cultural production. Consequently, for the α-literary tourist, the complex urban novel, for example, *Ulysses* (1918-1920 & 1922) by James Joyce creates the city they will visit or are visiting. The ultimate aim is that they will know something new by participating in this type of literary tourism. Being workers in a knowledge society, this tourist activity both increases their stock of knowledge whilst reinforcing the work ethic of their value system. Thus, the tourist visit could be seen as an act of co-creation. The value to the reader-tourist is that they have gained more knowledge for their career and will even have taken pleasure from this activity. It must be remembered, though, that the type of knowledge that is gained has been codified and given gratuitous value by the society these α-workers inhabit; knowledge of the contents of a novel in themselves have no higher value than knowledge of the tides to navigate the tourist ferry. As discussed above, knowledges in the tourism industry are plural and rely in a network fashion on one another with no implied hierarchy.

The point here is that literary works are being used at a level of sophistication that enables their users to understand urban space; Johnson states: 'I wish to treat Joyce's works as metaphorical maps of the city, maps which tourists and natives can use to wander [...] through the city's streets and buildings.' (Johnson 2004, 91). Marc Brosseau (1995) comments on this use of literature by geographers, a decade earlier, as they try 'to extract traditional geographical 'facts' from novels' (Brosseau 1995, 90).

However, he does not then go on to dismiss the novel, rather, he proposes that the text itself has agency. Knowledge workers, and other emerging educated groups in society, can thus be seen using novels as sources of knowledge about a place. Their individual readings change the tourism product, in a way similar to Johnson's circuits of culture (Johnson 1986) and (Squire 1994) which are discussed later in this chapter. This type of reading and co-creative activity can be studied if the readers are prepared to keep journals of the changes in their own knowledge and identity that take place during their literary reading and again during their visits to literary locations. These journals would not be travel guides, nor commonplace books full of gathered and organised facts after Locke's design (Locke 1706) but rather reflections and confessions on identity, feelings and pleasure as they change over a period of time. Thus the reader-tourist would compile a notebook closer in character to the hypomnema, from the Greek ὑπόμνημα, which is a written artefact of thoughts accessible to re-use as the basis for forming more complex arguments.

This form of literary tourism is called by Chappel & Brown 'serious leisure' (Chappel & Brown 2006, 1765) after Stebbins (2001). In their illustration of serious leisure they identify Australians who have enjoyed careers from the 1960s to the 1990s and who have taken early retirement before the global depression began in 2009. Chappel & Brown explain that these are a new group of tourists, the grey-nomads who enrol in community education programmes to study history, philosophy and literature. This group, they propose, will enjoy structured literary tourism using even novels and writers that the tourist has not yet met. They propose reading lists to prepare the tourist for encounters with the destination's life and culture. This practice of serious leisure can be seen operating in commercial terms with companies such as Distant Horizons, Caldy, the Wirral, who organise scholar-led tours of countries including Persia, China and the Silk Road. Travellers with Distant Horizons to Persia are taken to visit the tombs of the poet, Hāfez (1325-1390) and the earlier writer, Saadi (1184-1283), who were born and lived in Shiraz. The heritage sites are well-managed and situated in two different gardens in the city. Travellers are prepared for the encounter with books recommended on the reading list for the tour a few months in advance. As with the Australian writers, the tourists are likely not to have heard of the authors before the booking of the holiday package. So, no pilgrimage element is involved; the main driver is to learn whilst on holiday. Classifying this type of literary tourism as

only consumption is thus problematic, since cultural production is taking place simultaneously. In the data collection, described later, for this research, a deliberate effort was made to find and recruit this type of respondent, pre-disposed to literary tourism, since they could potentially reveal what effects the novel had on them that was adding value to their visitor experience. One of the two key questions of the research is to understand the effects of the literary text on someone who enjoys the experience of literary tourism.

β Literary Tourism from Collateral Promotion

The β (beta) form is that of accidental literary tourism. Through marketing campaigns and promotional exercises *not* led by DMOs *nor* by travel or tourism companies, the image of a city can become strongly linked to the works of particular literary writers. An example is cited in Johnson (2004) in the form of the Irish £10 note issued in 1993:

Figure (Text/Chart/Diagram/image etc.) has been removed due to Copyright restrictions.

Plate 18 James Joyce on Irish £10 note from 1993 with *Finnegan's Wake* extract on obverse

Clearly if a travel or tourism company use a literary figure to promote their travel products, see the use of Joyce by Ryan Air, discussed in Patterson & Brown (2002), as an example, then this falls outside this type of collateral promotion since the literary place is being used inorganically to stimulate purchase of travel products, here, flights to Dublin. Other types of non-tourism promotional campaigns aimed at, for example, regional investors, plant this idea that the city is the defined by a particular group of writers and their works. One example is the use of Astrid Lindgren's character Pippi Longstocking by Google interlaced with their logo on their Swedish search engine site:

Plate 19 Children's book character used by Google (Lindgren 2012)

These accidental tourists are the business travellers and visitors drawn to a city for non-literary and often for non-tourism reasons who through the mediation they encounter extend their activities there beyond work and engage in literary tourism. In this form the buying and reading of a novel by the local author would constitute literary tourism if the novel were bought during a visit to a literary site. Again, though, thanks to their mobility these β (beta) visitors may also be knowledge-workers from, for example, high-technology industries which have seen a rapid growth since the 1970s and are discussed at length in OECD (1996).   Finally, into this β (beta) form of accidental literary tourism, fall the rainy-day visitors to writers' houses or sites. These are visitors who were drawn to the literary site, often a writer's home managed by a large, well-financed organisation such as the National Trust, not because they know the work of the writer, nor even know that the commemorated figure was an author but because it was an accessible attraction at the time they were close by. In the empirical data collection from visitor reviews of a writer's house, discussed in detail in chapter 9, this β (beta) form will be seen and analysed to test the inductive proposal that such a type of tourist exists.

γ gamma Literary Tourism from Challenging Images

Literary works often challenge the positive rhetoric of the marketing brochure. As an example, the short stories of James Joyce collected as *Dubliners* (1914) are discussed by Johnson in this light (2004). In particular, the short fiction called 'The Dead', later made into a film by John Huston (1987), which lets its readers see inside the middle-class homes of Dublin from the first decade of the twentieth century. These homes are the 'grey Eighteenth-century houses' of William Butler Yeats' poem (1865-1939) 'Easter, 1916':

I have met them at close of day

> Coming with vivid faces
> From counter or desk among grey
> Eighteenth-century houses.
> (Yeats 1916)

The effect of the stories of Joyce, and of Yeats' verse is nostalgia and even melancholy which contrasts strongly in language and tone with promotional copy for destination marketing. Further, the alienation of late nineteenth and twentieth century metropolitan life presented through the style of, for example, John Don Passos (1925) *Manhattan transfer* and the verse collections of Charles Baudelaire, offers simultaneously a challenge to the promotional texts of the DMO and a sense of excitement to the reader, since this literature depicts a challenging urban space that must be negotiated with skill. In Victor Hugo's (1862) *Les Misérables* it is the character of Jean Valjean, an ex-convict trying to make his way in life, who is constantly trying to avoid being unmasked by Police Inspector Javert, that provides readers with this excitement and danger. In chapter 9 when examining findings characters from fiction are discussed again as elements of literary tourism. A documented case of this γ (gamma) literary tourism, where interest emerges from a challenging image of a place, is the novel by Mikael Niemi which brought estimated visitor numbers of 7,000 to the small Swedish village of Pajala in 2004 (Ridanpää 2011). The theme of Niemi's novel is not the beauty of northern Sweden beautiful countryside but the degradation of minority cultures as an area of Finland is absorbed by Sweden.

δ delta Literary Tourism – Mapping Space

This form makes use of the spatiality of modernist writing which critics have drawn attention to; for example Brosseau (1995) explains how disparate social settings from New York City life are compressed to sit side by side by Don Passos' writing. In tourism terms, this spatial modernism finds expression in city walks, literary tours and pub routes. Bloomsday, 16th June 1904 celebrates annually the spatiality of Joyce's œuvre, particularly *Ulysses*, which contains these lines with the date:

> Miss Dunne clicked on the keyboard:
> —16 June 1904.
> Five tallwhitehatted sandwichmen between Monypeny's corner and the slab where Wolfe Tone's statue was not, eeled themselves turning H. E. L. Y.'S and plodded back as they had come.

(Joyce 1922)

Clearly identifiable places in the city of Dublin are listed by Joyce, which, coupled with the movements of his characters across the urban space as the novel proceeds, invite readers to unlock this mapping by attempting to follow the same route. MacLeod et al (2009) have analysed the trail brochures that mediate and present 46 of the literary trails promoted in the UK in 2003 using content analysis. From their work they propose a typology of three forms of literary trail:

1. Biographical, eg The Agatha Christie Mile in Torquay, Devon.
2. Literary Landscape Trail, eg The Robert Burns Trail in Dumfriesshire.
3. Generic Literary Trail, eg Bristol Literary Trail.

Since their work uses the mediation materials rather than fieldwork on-site the discussion provides DMOs with useful information on design and language use for their promotional materials:

> The language used often shares common characteristics with promotional copy written by advertisers and marketers and the stories emphasise the role of the city fathers and the institutions in developing and supporting the authors featured on the trail. This can result in a less authentic narrative as the trail is 'agenda driven' and evidence or research underpinning its development is limited.
>
> (MacLeod et al 2009, 168)

They suggest, too, that readers and potential visitors can detect the lack of research into the authors' lives and works in the brochures for this third type, The Generic Trail, eg Bristol Literary Trail. In their recommendations to trail designers and copywriters they suggest the following to make the trail more attractive to tourists:

1 Engagement stories
  a Emotional prompts
  b Sensory prompts

2 Personalisation opportunities
  a Interaction
  b Co-creation

                (after MacLeod et al 2009, 165)

In a similar way to Dieter Müller (2006) and his work on the literary theme park in Sweden, MacLeod et al (2009) draw attention to the complex range of stakeholders who do develop literary trails. Their stake and feelings need to be considered if a

larger agency becomes involved in commercialising the literary space. Stakeholders may include the author's relatives; consider for example, Carol Hughes in Devon for the Stover Park Poetry Trail using extracts from the verse of her husband, Ted Hughes, literary trusts, literary societies, and rights holders of the intellectual property, for example, Peters Fraser & Dunlop, for Agatha Christie and Georges Simenon. Indeed, some may simply be enthusiasts who began their interest as literary tourists themselves, and initially seek no financial gain from the development of a literary site or trail.

Müller approaches the issue of public planning in literary tourism pointing out that public planning is in place 'to sustain a public interest or a public good' (Müller 2006, 215) after (Hall 2000). Müller draws out public space as a resource common to all and as such, tourism development of a literary site, he suggests, may contest the free access to this resource (Müller 2006). In his two case studies Müller is concerned that marketing and land-use often fail to account for sustainability in literary tourism developments. In fact, he discovers that no planning documents are available for the development of the Astrid Lindgren's World attraction, and that the main planning was a set of decisions by the representatives of this attraction. Astrid Lindgren (1907-2002) is a children's author and screenwriter with huge international sales in translation. A 43% public, 57% private partnership company, Vimmerby Tourism plans the marketing of the attraction and Müller fears that participation in the planning process depends upon the ability to buy shares in this company, Vimmerby Tourism, rather than on any more democratic form of governance (Müller 2006). He notes that stakeholders are not invited to take part in the planning process. Often stakeholders in literary heritage are volunteers (Müller 2006) or their relationship with the literary heritage of an area is complex and not easily seen in terms of property ownership, again Carol Hughes relationship to the Poetry Trail in Devon is an example of this. When an enthusiast has been creative with a literary connection this can produce intangible heritage, which in turn can take on its own value, rather like Bourdieu's gratuitous spaces in cultural capital (Bourdieu 1972 &1977). Sensitivity is needed when dealing with these creations, for example, a regular literary event initiated by an enthusiast.

Among the other stakeholders Müller discovered are the local shopkeepers and entrepreneurs in the small town near the literary visitor attraction (Müller 2006). His stated methodology was to interview 20 of these entrepreneurs to compare against his two-hour interviews with tourism managers. His interview group is a guide to the range, number and complexity of stakeholders who provide the supply aspect of literary tourism. His findings show that the local shops can sell the author's books but not the licensed toys, which include branded products based on characters from the author's books, and that this leads to economic conflict:

> It is argued that there only was one *Pippi Långstrump* and she lives in the Park. The shop-owners in the town center [US spelling in original] complain about this strategy and try to attract visitors into the town center by arranging other events appealing to tourists.

<div align="right">(Müller 2006, 225-226)</div>

Apart from the simultaneously humorous yet effective idea of a business argument being based on the real living place of an imaginary character, Pippi Longstocking, Müller highlights, in this section of his work, that further supply is created from this conflict in the form of literary events. His work also shows that there are other forms of property to consider which are created around literary tourism, and, that these gain value through cultural meaning.

Layers of Cultural Meaning from Discursive Practices

Outside of the four theoretical forms, and often belonging to more than one of the forms discussed above, is the way in which certain places accrete layers of cultural meaning as texts from different eras slowly accumulate and inform one another. Shelagh Squire (1994) proposes this process in tourism after Johnson's (1986) more general Circuits of Culture Diagram. Whilst cultural production theory has moved on since Johnson's work in the mid-1980s, Squire (1994) presents a renewed model of the incorporation of literary meanings into readers' everyday lives. This model is still plausible and is interesting to this study since it so closely resembles the model that William Dowling abstracts from Paul Ricœur's work on narrative (Dowling 2011). In Squire's model the novel is public property, the reading by an individual produces a private meaning. Thus Johnson's circuits can be simplified into this diagram:
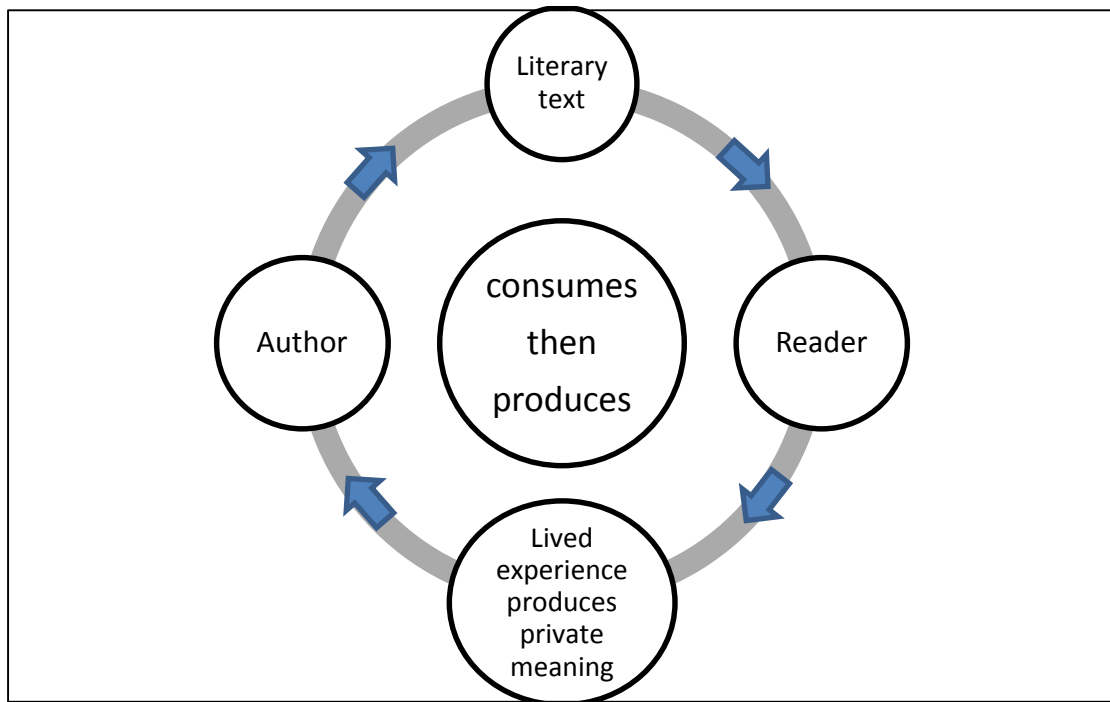
Figure 5 Simplified circuit of text production and consumption developed from Squire (1994), after Johnson (1986)

While Dowling renews Ricœur's *mythos* concept in a very similar way:

> What then comes to light is an alternative notion of *mythos* as what Ricœur calls an arc of operations, a complex movement that originates in culture understood as a symbolic order, that then passes into fixed or frozen form in a work like the *Iliad* or *Middlemarch*, and that is then finally reintroduced into the cultural sphere in the consciousness of listeners or readers whose way of being in the world has been altered by their reading.
>
> (Dowling 2011, 2-3)

If this single circuit is developed, and a new metaphor introduced, that of the archaeological layer, the model sheds light on literary destinations which are mediated over several eras. A literary author may be the first to write about a true event that takes place at a specific location using the event for dramatic effect in a story, for example, in the bay off Concarneau a ship carrying barrels of cement to Russia foundered and its spoilt cargo was used to build a new sea wall. The literary text with its mixture of fact and creative fiction then informs the next generation of writers. This next layer of writers may be literary authors and also guide-book writers, travel writers and even the DMO or promotional copywriters. Subsequent generations or layers will continue, each having consumed the earlier cultural production from the

public sphere and then adding their own mediation to any new production of their own. The DMO, for example, may re-name the built heritage using an aspect of the story, in Concarneau's case the reclaimed land is called the Russian Quay, please see plate below:

Plate 20 Spoiled cement barrels built into the sea-wall on the Russian Quay in Concarneau - photo Author's own fieldwork, C. Mansfield June 2010

In time, these layered eras of textual culture form an architectural bed which when first uncovered by the current generation of readers does not display all its influences. These circuits can only be seen in cross-section, as the cement barrels in the plate above, or through archaeological excavation from above. What is important from Ricœur, via Dowling's new reading (Dowling 2011), is that readers have had their way of being in the world affected by these narrative accretions. The ways that readers are affected is central to this research, a methodology that reveals the changes readers go through would be valuable in helping understand the value of reading a novel. This value approach to literary reading is returned to in the chapter on Methodology.

A parallel metaphor is the change of use in buildings at visitor destinations, for example, the simple change of name of a hotel from The Grand Hotel to The Admiral Hotel. A promotional decision by the new owners to reach a new target group of travellers, for example, yacht owners in new moorings uses language to give the hotel building a new cultural meaning. What would be useful in investigating literary tourism, though, is name changes brought about by the literary text entering the public sphere. For example, has Proust's stay at Beg-Meil, and the place's mention in Proust's early novel, *Jean Santeuil*, been celebrated or used promotionally with a name change to a hotel or restaurant in that area?

Plate 21 G[D] Hotel carved in stone reminds visitors of history of the Admiral Hotel, Concarneau. Author's own fieldwork, photo C. Mansfield June 2010.

The discursive practices, which include hotel names, fiction and toponyms, can take hold even though they are simply the creative mediation at a particular moment in time. A literary example of this is the twinning of the town of Totnes with Narnia. *The Chronicles of Narnia* were published between 1950 and 1956 although C S Lewis began work on the series between 1939 and 1949. Noel Longhurst (2011) draws attention to a fictional town twinning from a photograph in summer 2005 (Longhurst 2011, Figure 1.6). He explains how this literary twinning accords well with the discourse of alternatives in the period of post-capitalism that this Devon town continues to represent. Seven years later, at the time of writing, spring 2012, the road sign for Totnes on the approach from the A38 has again been painted with the Narnia

twinning text. This part of the South Hams cannot really claim any of the normal relationships to the author and his work as discussed in the literary forms above; C S Lewis lived at The Kilns in Risinghurst, Oxfordshire, and the name Narnia is close to that of Narni, a town in Umbria, Italy. It is local residents of Totnes shaping their own town with the fantasy of Narnia.

Plate 22 Totnes road sign, where the official twin town, Vire, has been over-painted with Narnia. Author's own fieldwork, photo: C. Mansfield, 13 April 2012.

Noel Salazar (2011) focuses 'on how otherwise lived spaces are shaped by and are shaping tourism practices and fantasies' (Salazar 2011, 3) and through this research demonstrates how imaginaries are socially transmitted. These imaginaries are assemblages that interact with people's personal imaginings, and in many ways have the same attributes as the concept of cultural capital. Tourists use them as devices to make meaning and to shape the places they plan to visit and are visiting. Salazar brings the term, the imaginary, back into play for tourism studies but he uses it in the plural in a way that can be linked to the circuits of culture model discussed above. Indeed he proposes that tourists are invited to imagine themselves using a set of cultural productions which pre-exist in connection with a holiday destination (Salazar

2011), again which mirrors the use of cultural capital. In his example, the local tourist guide draws on, and re-performs, the cultural myths to visitors in an interaction which has clear economic drivers. Critically, Salazar adds that within the circulation of cultural production can be seen regulation and power relations. A failure by the DMO and tourism scholars to understand how imaginaries are embedded within powerful institutions, for example, the state and local government, results in a loss of the development of new tourism practices (Salazar 2011); however he does claim that imaginaries can be studied even though their workings are hidden (Salazar 2011) and to this end develops a research methodology derived from ethno-methodology which will be discussed in detail in chapter 8 on methodology. In the findings chapter, too, evidence from social media comments can be seen to support Salazar's proposals that cultural production is often overlooked.

Hongyan Jia (2009) carries out a case study on a completely new, and designed literary tourism site in Jieshou, Gaoyou City, on the lakes about 300 kilometres north of Shanghai. Gaoyou Lake drains into the Yangtze River. The tourist development is based around the early life of the short story writer, Wang Zengqi (1920-1997), who was influenced by Sartre's existentialism in the 1940s (Zhang 2008).

Figure (Text/Chart/Diagram/image etc.) has been removed due to Copyright restrictions.

Figure 6 The relationship between the four authenticity theories (Jia 2009, 73)

In the construction of the literary site, Jia explains how four different types of authenticity were considered, please see figure 6 above, and even suggests that the tourists who visit the site may belong to these four groups, too (Jia 2009). Visitors who seek objective authenticity are interested in museum artefacts which can be objectively, using the term in the tradition of scientific rationalism, verified as belonging to an era or even a writer. When this objectivity is revised by construction and interpretation by both the consumers of culture and the tourism DMOs a new form of literary tourism is created, and this form appeals, proposes Jia (2009), to the

largest group who visit literary tourism sites. Disneyland is given as an example of the postmodern literary tourism site, since no original, authentic object or event is presented there. In his fourth category, existential authenticity, the tourists are not directly concerned with the objects presented; it is their own experience, if they feel free from everyday pressures, which is the ultimate aim of their quest for authenticity (Jia 2009, 72).

Lindy Stiebel (2004) also looks at a completely new, undeveloped geographical area for literary tourism, but differently from Jia in that her project is at an even earlier stage. Stiebel's funded research and resource development project takes her from the theory of authenticity into having to make real decisions of inclusion or exclusion of a writer and their work in her literary tourism database. In fact, as she designs her database of local writers and locations with her research team she is acting in much the same way as a DMO in the early stages of a new development. Examining her decision-making process, and later, reflecting on the value of the database, will provide a useful case study for DMOs developing new literary tourism projects. In her published work, however, Stiebel does not appear to consult with any stakeholders, in the way suggested by MacLeod et al (2009) and implied by Müller (2006). This may be necessary if any building work or promotional work is started because of the geographical politics of the area. Even a writer's birthplace is political, Stiebel points out since apartheid laws ruled where a person's place of birth actually was; it is a space ruled as place by the state (Steibel 2004). However, she does offer a theoretical basis for sorting her writers' places, after Said (1983), by deploying his terms, filiation and affiliation (Steibel 2004). Filiation represents ties of biology and physical geography, whereas affiliation is shown in social ties.

In constructing a new literary map of KwaZulu-Natal, Steibel considers literary tourism as a sub-set of cultural tourism and so deals with three key issues: (a) authenticity, (b) commodification, and (c) benefits. She emphasises that the question must be asked, who will gain benefits of any development work? KwaZulu-Natal is a province of the eastern coast of South Africa on the Indian Ocean. Although not the capital city, Durban is the best-known urban space here to UK visitors. The main language group is Zulu 80% with 13% English speakers. Durban hosts an annual writers' festival in March, its 15th edition was in 2012, see poster below.

Plate 23 Poster for Writers' Festival, Durban.

Juha Ridanpää (2011) discusses a case of literary tourism where the DMO moves into action almost immediately upon the success of the novelist. The author is Mikael Niemi who was born in 1959 in Pajala, a small community of 6400 inhabitants in northern Sweden; it is his 2000 novel, *Popular music from Vittula* that brought him success. As a case study the development of Niemi's imaginary is a valuable example of introducing place culture into a remote rural destination which was previously only considered marketable as a place of nature. The transformation project begins with a grant application for INTERREG funding from the EU in 2003. Ridanpää uses the notion of fictive geographies to explain the success of the council's literary tourism project by showing how the visitor can identify the buildings, even though the novel uses surrealism:

> [I]t is important from the viewpoint of a literary tourist that this 'surreal Pajala' is nonetheless bound up with locatable real-world places. The basic geographical question 'Where are we?' is constantly present in Niemi's novel. The fact of living in different streets, a few houses away from each other, forms a spatial and mental map against which boys' daily events, their relationships to each other and their personal identities become meaningful.
>
> (Ridanpää 2011, 108)

In fact, a further aspect of the novel comes out in Ridanpää's reading above; that a key theme of the novel is the question 'Where are we?', which may pre-dispose its readers and fans to have a developed sense of geographical space.

Summary and Conclusion

This study's conceptual framework changes Sartre's 1947 question 'What is literature?' by considering the stakeholders in the tourism industry, to pose the question from a

DMO's point of view, 'What is literature *for*?' An array of stakeholders becomes apparent, each with the possibility of benefiting from or enjoying literature through tourism:

Table 5 Stakeholders in Literary Tourism

PUBLIC BODIES	PRIVATE SECTOR	LITERARY WORLD
Town planning department of urban councils	Hotels, restaurants and cafés in the area. Transport and travel companies.	Publisher
DMO Regional	Tourist attractions and local shops.	Rights holder
DMO Department level	Specific literary visitor site, based on property.	Writer or beneficiaries
DMO town level	Non-fixed literary attraction eg tour guiding.	Enthusiasts. Readers and Tourists.

With so many diverse groups and individuals competing for the use of literary texts it is difficult to see a coherent connection between the destination site and the book and its writer. One analytical approach to interrogate this complexity is to compare the discursive practices of the three columns of stakeholders. In simpler terms the researcher could see what the DMO communicates through its creation of a destination image and compare that with the texts visible in the private sector, finally comparing them with the novel itself, or other discourses from the third column. The researcher could also look longitudinally in the columns for trickle down, examining in turn the regional destination image and then seeing how much of that TDI message is taken up and used by the *département* and the town in its marketing and finally, looking at the literary sites themselves for signs of the Regional DMO's discourse. Finally, in completing a research project with aims of giving recommendations to one of the stakeholder groups, in this case the DMO, this research also aims to discover productive practices to address some of the gaps in the DMO's provision to its visitors, for example: (i) by identifying how tourists and stakeholders use the emerging technologies, including iPads, Wifi, 3G, and (ii) how enthusiasts pursue their own quests for authenticity, eg through old post cards, by studying converted buildings, by walking routes from the novel or writer's life.

-o0o-

7 Methodology

What an odd thing a diary is:
the things you omit are more important
than those you put in.

Simone de Beauvoir (2006) *The Woman Destroyed*

The Structure of the Methodology Chapter

This chapter offers an initial discussion of what constitutes Tourism Knowledge, its range across traditional discipline boundaries, the research paradigms of its creation or discovery and the interface between academic research and the knowledge used by the tourism industry and the public sector. It then offers a justification for the methodology chosen for this particular research and for each of the data collection methods used, by referring to their use in work examined earlier in the literature review. The data collection methods are then adapted and specified more thoroughly for this study to address the gaps identified in the existing literature. Administration of the data collection is set out, and the fieldwork element is tested within a pilot study. Findings from this pilot study are reported briefly and lessons drawn for the larger study. Finally, limitations and ethical issues are examined.

The chapter will keep in mind the four key elements that have been identified from the literature review; these are fundamental to understanding literary tourism:

$$\text{text} - \text{tourist} - \text{town} - \text{TDI}$$

With the elaboration of a conceptual framework for this research these four elements are investigated under three overlapping areas:

1. The DMO and the place they manage and how important literary tourism is to the DMO, the place and the stakeholders of that destination. The tourist and whether they are taking part in literary tourism and whether value is accruing from that tourism activity. How the image of the destination is conceived and transmitted.

2. The corpus of novels and verse, and the places that feature in literary texts, which have some link with a destination.

3. Ideas from literary theory that inform social practices in a knowledge society.

These are reproduced in a Venn diagram below. Where these areas overlap, for example, where 2 and 3 overlap, this represents an area where research will be fruitful for understanding literary tourism. In the case of 2 and 3, a close-reading of the book or books that have stimulated literary tourism will illuminate the practices of literary tourism in that location since cultural tourists will be affected by their education in which literary texts played an important part.
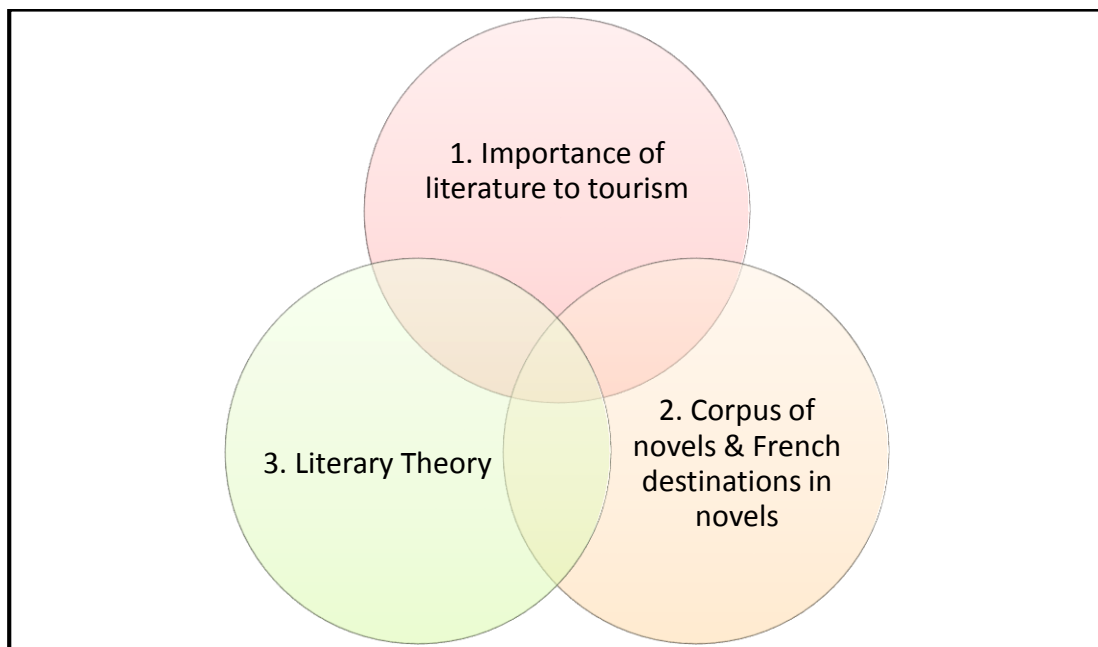
Figure 7 Venn Diagram of Conceptual Framework

Tourism Knowledge and the Paradigm for this Research

Tourism knowledge extends across disciplines from the earth sciences through socio-economics and into the symbolic realm of literature and art. Its transfer and management are at the heart of the phenomenon of tourism (Shaw & Williams 2009). Seaside tourism, in the UK and North-west France, for example, owes its initial existence to the geology of the area providing beaches, harbours for access by sea and outcrops of granite and limestone that, with the development of knowledge, could be quarried for building materials and provision of access by road. A region's climate

and geography, once understood, are used for food production and fishing; this becomes the *terroir* of the region and knowledge of the secure annual production of food and drink is transferred through agriculture and viticulture education. Once the built heritage is established, the economics of property development, the legal and political aspects of ownership and planning consent strongly affect how tourism can develop; knowledge of these socio-political systems along with the technical knowledge and regulation of building determine the ability of the tourism business to create a built environment suitable for its operations. In a mature tourist area and economy, where property and built heritage are in an advanced state of development, and where transport access is problem-free, tourism destinations appeal to their audience by differentiation. A large part of the knowledge that is traded within tourism is knowledge of this property, its quality, its availability and its accessibility. Destination managers seek to understand the behaviours of tourists towards the property, heritage, geography and geology of their regions or towns.

> In a destination marketing context, for example, background information or general knowledge about the history, sociocultural, economic, political, and demographic aspects of a potential market can often be put to conceptual use to develop plans. Behavioral information from surveys about how potential tourists from a target market choose hotels, purchase air tickets, use travel agencies, or spend time and money during their vacations can be instrumentally used by tour operators and destination service providers to create competitive packages. Evidence about the emergence of a potential market can also be used to establish priorities or justify operational schemes. Process knowledge can be used to update strategic marketing plans and to guide long-term decisions and policy formulations.
>
> (Xiao & Smith 2007, 313)

Thus the knowledge of the visitors, their particular education, their behaviours and their culture become as important as the knowledge of changing weather conditions is for a ski resort, as a component of tourism knowledge. This research concerns itself, on the whole, with the last part of this tourism knowledge and therefore uses an interpretive research paradigm drawn from qualitative approaches in tourism that have gained acceptance over the last decade and a half, see, for example, Riley & Love (2000), Echtner & Jamal (1997) and Crang (2003). The interpretive paradigm offers discovery instruments that provide insights into this type of cultural and behavioural knowledge. It is a type of knowledge that differs from the scientific knowledge of the geo-morphology of harbours and the technical expertise of, for example, ferry boat

engineering and operations. In tourism businesses, though, continuing the example of a holiday ferry boat crossing an estuary in a seaside town, a range of knowledge is necessary for continued operations that include an understanding of what makes the ferry ride fashionable, attractive and popular and how value can be provided for the passenger. Once established, the ferry timetable, its fares and its exact location become items of tourism knowledge that are valuable, not just to the ferry operator but to tourists, the DMO and other businesses, and this knowledge is traded through systems such as tour operators' brochures and social media sites, for example TripAdvisor. The ferry ride may be considered an attraction. However, unlocking its invisibility is one of the challenges of knowledge management for the DMO in tourism. Its existence continually needs to be re-discovered by successive generations, weekly one-time visitors, and changing demographic groups. This research sits along this line of how knowledge of the invisible attraction is discovered and then managed, whilst at the same time contributes new knowledge of how cultural attractions are rendered visible, how knowledge of attractions can be mediated and transmitted, and how they can be better enjoyed.

After Riley & Love (2000), Echtner & Jamal (1997), Crang (2003) and Veal (2006), the overarching knowledge paradigm for this research is interpretive, since the key focus is on how visitors make use of literary texts and the facilities provided by tourism businesses and DMOs, and how the visitors as readers explain the value of their own behaviours. Veal clearly explains how this approach to creating new knowledge is classed as interpretive:

> The interpretive model places more reliance on the people being studied to provide their own explanations of their situation or behaviour. The interpretive researcher therefore tries to 'get inside' the minds of subjects and see the world from their point of view. This of course suggests a more flexible approach to data collection, usually involving qualitative methods and generally an inductive approach.
>
> (Veal 2006, 37)

Veal's use above of the phrase 'get inside the minds of subjects' fits well with the autoethnographic work in this research, which interprets the effects of the literary text on the symbolic order held in the imaginations of readers. Honggen Xiao and Stephen Smith (2007) offer a reading of the work of Jürgen Habermas (1978) on the

uses of knowledge which may be visualised more clearly laid out in table format, please see table 6 below:

Table 6 Knowledge Drivers and their Paradigms after Habermas.
Developed from Xiao & Smith (2007, 317)

KNOWLEDGE DRIVER	RESEARCH PARADIGM
Technical interest for control, management and skills	Scientific positivism
Practical interest for meaning, understanding and insight	Constructivist interpretive methods
Emancipatory interest for freedom from falsehood and oppression	Critical theory

The knowledge derived from the hermeneutic reading of literary texts has a long tradition of using critical theory as its research paradigm (Belsey 1980) and this approach has found its way into tourism research, for example. Pritchard, Morgan & Ateljevic (2011) and Chambers (2007), which widens the paradigm of this case study beyond Veal's straightforward interpretive approach. The readers of novels are in search of some form of freedom, or emancipation, a quest which is emphasised by professional and academic researchers in the literary sphere, see for example the work of Kristin Ross (1988), discussed in detail below. During the close-reading component, this research will draw heavily on critical theory and rely on it as a paradigm when proposing new contributions to knowledge. The value of novels, though, for the purposes of this study, is strongly associated not only with their emancipatory potential but also the opportunity they provide for readers to construct meaning, and draw pleasure from that realisation of meaning, thus Habermas' system *would* consider the research in this study under the paradigm of constructivist interpretive methods. That incorporation of the two paradigms can be seen in the evolution of Critical Discourse Analysis, which is also explained more fully below in the detailed sections describing the methodological approaches taken by this study.

Ethno-methodology and field-notes in cultural tourism encounters

Salazar (2011) looks within the circulation of cultural production to investigate regulation and power relations. His motivation is that a failure by the DMO and tourism scholars to understand how imaginaries are embedded within powerful institutions, for example, the state and local government, results in a loss of the

development of new tourism practices (Salazar 2011). He shows that imaginaries can be studied even though their workings are hidden (Salazar 2011) by developing a research methodology derived from ethno-methodology which uses field-notes in a very similar method to Edgar Morin's work on Brittany (Morin 2013). Salazar presents what he calls, ethnographic examples. These are short narrative sketches of encounters between a local tourist guide and the tourists to whom he is providing a service (Salazar 2011). Neither Salazar nor his research fieldworker appears in the sketch, not even as the explicit narrator. The sketches are set in a different style of font to distinguish them from discussion. Salazar then presents a discussion which analyses the encounter. His paradigm, although un-stated, is interpretive but simultaneously draws heavily on the critical tradition and has strong similarities to the method of identity analysis developed by John Caughey from the 1980s to the first decade of this century (Caughey 1984; 2006). This results in plausible and comprehensible explanations for the tourism practices. In this research auto-ethnography is used in conjunction with respondents acting as fieldworkers to examine the importance of the readers' imaginations and the play of the *doxa* in the social sphere, see Jones (2013) and Coghlan & Filo (2013) for examples of this. The background to this research can be explained more fully with reference to this interpretive study of socialising factors and social practices in holidaymaking. The core text, *The Yellow Dog*, is identified as a socialising document from the realist tradition and was chosen for this reason since its use by the case participants will provide opportunities for the researcher to detect and analyse changes in social behaviour which have connections to points in the literary text. This decision to explore the social derives from Bourdieu (1977), Moretti (2007) and the concepts of the *doxa* and gratuitous place value and offers the DMO socially-acceptable practices to include in their site offerings. Even though the novel explores criminal behaviour the socialising action of the realist novel with its free indirect discourse (Moretti 2007) coupled with a reporting procedure which includes publicly-accessible writing by the participants reduces the likelihood that the respondent will reveal criminal practices which are unattractive to the DMO.

Observing Practices of Literary Tourism Consumption

For the DMO to understand the importance of visitors' practices in tourism Richard Ladwein (2003) questions how researchers might look at urban tourism using the concept of consumption and focuses on the actual practices of consumption at the urban destination (Ladwein 2003). He proposes that the complexity of the situations where tourism consumption takes place suggests that ethno-methodological and phenomenological approaches to researching these situations should be used to provide the detailed examples for inductive interpretation (Ladwein 2003). His own enquiry concerns the '*pratiques d'exploration de villes inconnues*' (Ladwein 2003, 85) and how these explorations in towns, initially unknown to the traveller, might reveal to the researcher the way in which consumers put into practice the tourist experience. This is different from looking at marketing and how consumers make choices; it is how the user consumes, *in situ* at the destination town. Ladwein is a member of the Normandy School of Consumption Research who have shifted focus to look at consumption practices since 2002. The concept of consumption, however, brings with it the strong notion of using up of resources or of the wearing out of goods or services at the urban resort. A danger may be present in this consumption terminology in approaching literary tourism, since the practices *in situ* may be more productive than consuming, at least in terms of knowledge or value. The practices are more akin to the research of everyday life by Luce Giard and Michel de Certeau (Giard 1990). Luce Giard sketches a history of their work which drew on *action social* and on encouraging ordinary people to develop a language to express their mundane activities using social science techniques of *observation-participation* (Giard 1990). The resulting historiographic writing shows how practices of everyday life produce meaning and provide value to the people who use public spaces for their own purposes. However, in trying to evolve methods for observing tourist behaviour, Ladwein uses observation and photography in the field, to see what tourists actually do in an urban holiday town setting. Watson (2006) makes use of this method of observing other tourists at the writers' homes she visits. The observer can deduce what is of interest to visitors in, for example, each room of the particular writer's house under investigation. This can be extended to an on-site shop to record what type of purchases tourists are making from those offered by the site manager or commercial stakeholders on site. These two types of example activity may be

observed at Greenway, the former home of crime writer Agatha Christie in Devon, since the house is laid out as if the author still lived there with her typewriter in the Fax Room, and in the site shop many of her detective novels are stocked in paperback, please see the two plates below (from author's own fieldwork 28.05.2013):
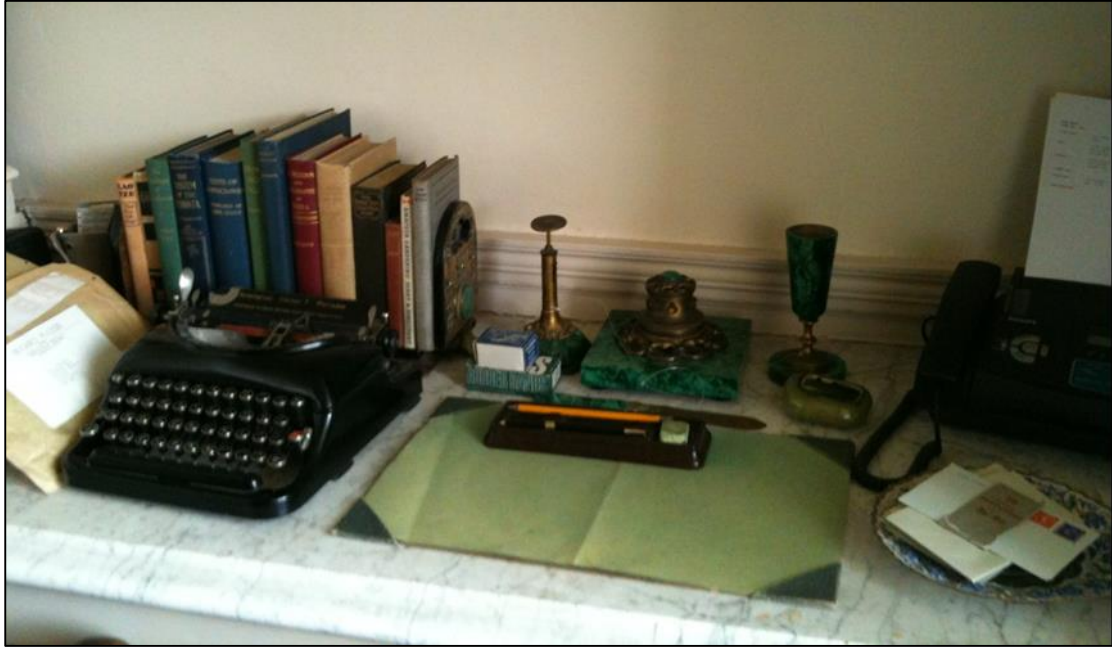
Plate 24 Agatha Christie's typewriter displayed in the Fax Room at Greenway, Devon. Photo C Mansfield, author's own fieldwork 28.5.13.

Plates continue below:

Plate 25 Detective novels by Agatha Christie on sale in the site shop at Greenway, Devon (Photo C Mansfield, author's own fieldwork 28.5.13)

Knowledge Exchange and Tourism Destination Image

The combined effects of place branding, specific marketing and the texts of literary works themselves all contribute to the Tourism Destination Image (TDI). Gallarza, Gil & Calderón (2001) present a taxonomy of methods that previous workers in the field apply to their research questions. Work on TDI and, in particular the comparison of organic destination image and the design of a new, inorganic destination brand, has been explored earlier under the heading of Network Analysis, based on research by Scott, Baggio and Cooper (2008). Manuela Taboada et al (2010) document a process of place brand development for Waterfall Way in New South Wales, Australia, that solves the problems of an area not being managed by a DMO by setting up and running public workshops and one-to-one interviews. The interviews in particular are unstructured in their approach, mainly using a simple open question 'What is special about your place?' (Taboada et al 2010, 6). This is very close to the idea of eliciting tacit knowledge, and indeed in their abstract Taboada et al (2010) do use this actual phrase to describe their work on tourism destination

image. Theoretical approaches to eliciting tacit knowledge, since it was coined as a term by Michael Polanyi in 1958, have been successfully deployed in management studies and policy planning, see, for example, Schraven, Hartmann & Dewulf (2011), who detect leakage of intelligence from organisations when tacit knowledge has been left untapped when a member of staff leaves. Within tourism, the tacit knowledge held by tourists has often been elicited through the tradition of the visitors' book in hotels and at cultural attractions such as museums as the following section explains.

Busby & Laviolette (2006) and later, Busby & Meethan (2008), discussed in an earlier chapter, successfully use visitor books and a web forum as sources of data which illuminate film and literary tourism. Their analytical approach borrows from both Critical Discourse Analysis, described above, and Content Analysis. However, in 'Narratives in the Net' Busby & Laviolette (2006) engage other web forum users both as respondents and as collaborators. This could be extended to use Web 2.0 systems, including collaborative social media sites, to work together with DMO professionals, stakeholders, for example, managers of writers' houses and enthusiasts in a field of literary tourism to accumulate a cultural, textual artefact that has value to the respondents thereby maintaining their contributions, and, simultaneously, having value in knowledge creation for the academic researcher. Essentially, this method could reveal how value is perceived since it provides an opportunity for the public to identify spaces as having gratuitous value, after Bourdieu, discussed at length earlier, whilst exchanging information in a social forum constrained by the *doxa* (Moretti 2007). To pursue this method of data capture on 15 June 2013, an entry was made on Google+ Communities to elicit narrative responses around the subject of *The Yellow Dog* and Concarneau (Yellow 2013). At the same time, TripAdvisor was contacted with a request to set up an attraction entry for the Yellow Dog Fiction Festival, this was subsequently refused by the company. On 16 June 2013 a more general Google+ Community was established, called *Travel and Books* (Travel & Books 2014); the purpose of this latter social media community is to elicit (i) data on instances of authors or their writing stimulating travel, (ii) to see if any further understanding of value and motivations for literary tourism can be found, and (iii) when the group is more mature, to ask what they would like to see added to literary sites by DMOs or attraction managers. In establishing these online communities using social media tools two processes are being explored, (i) the gathering of data on reading habits for

later analysis, and (ii) the engagement with the practices of social media in the field of literary tourism in a simulation of the possibility open to DMOs. In this latter process knowledge is being gathered on how social media communities can be used by the DMO to add value to the literary connections of their managed area or town. The lessons from this latter activity can then form part of the recommendations for the DMO at the end of this research. Literature on the implementation of networked information systems which make use of knowledge elicited from users is spread across a range of subject disciplines but is beginning to produce useful results, see particularly Meyer et al (2007), Hooland et al (2011) and Dong et al (2009). The airline industry went through a huge transition in the early 2000s, from using the Internet as a simple promotional brochure, termed e-Marketing, to allowing its users access to book their own seats directly on the airlines' legacy servers, termed e-Commerce (Egger & Buhalis 2008). Finding a secure way to give access to inventory is often termed leveraging. Experimental approaches to technology use in this research will seek to identify opportunities for leveraging the DMO's digital heritage on its legacy servers.

Critical Discourse Analysis (CDA), as a valid research methodology, has found applications today in investigating even contemporary phenomena. In this case, below, from texts on social media that are publicly available from institutional web-sites:

> This study of social media policy documents broadly adopts the analytical approach of critical discourse analysis (CDA). CDA views the use of language as a form of social practice. All forms of social practice are tied to specific historical contexts and are the means by which existing social relations are reproduced or contested. CDA seeks to make visible the ways in which institutions and their discourse shape our identities. As Fairclough (1992) has written, "critical' implies showing connections and causes that are hidden' (p. 9). CDA therefore attends to the ways in which language serves different interests. When 'doing' CDA one might, for example, interrogate whose interests are being served by a particular text.
>
> (McNeill 2012, 155-156)

The social media sites established for this research into literary tourism are monitored and analysed over a period of time with new questions posed to stimulate discussion. Strategies for encouraging new members to contribute to the forum are also pursued.

Close-reading of the Literary Text and Social Constructions of Space

This research proposes that literary theory informs the social practices of a knowledge society. The way literary texts are studied at school and university and the importance placed on reading English Literature by this society values authors and their works whilst rewarding those who master those critical approaches to literary reading. Further, as shown above, Habermas (1978) considers critical reading a knowledge paradigm in itself, with the rewards of emancipation for its mastery. Kristin Ross (1988) uses literary texts, particularly oppositional texts, to analyse the everyday activity in urban spaces, to this activity could be added the activities of leisure tourism. Her stated aim is to 'avoid an analytical structure that insists of starting from the (predetermined) result' (Ross 1988, 11). She dismisses the readings of literary production that only treat the text as a masterpiece, leaving the social history as an unanalysed landscape of 'ornamental drapery' (Ross, 1988, 11). She even argues that twentieth-century critical practices still bear the sterile trace of regarding practices of certain social groups as inferior to others; this results in unproductive approaches to the study of tourism since researchers cannot shed the prejudices they feel towards certain forms of consumption. Her new approach, to avoid these prejudices, combines close-reading of the literary text alongside other writings from the social period under study but with a critical practice that, over the last few decades has been formulated as Critical Discourse Analysis. Ross' approach may be applied not only to published high status texts but to all discursive practices. Since her own work from 1988 focusses on the construction of social space, that is, what is permissible and what is practised by people in public space, it will be used as a methodological approach during the analysis of the autoethnographic writing supplied by the case participants in this research. This is practicable since she prefaces one of her discussions by identifying a writing practice which Maurice Blanchot (1907-2003) calls the *récit* (Blanchot 1998); his definition of a *récit* coincides with sections of the autoethnographic testimony presented by the case participants in this research, please see chapter 9(3) part 2. A *récit* is an incident which the writer recounts as a single episode, describing something that has changed them (Ross 1988). What is of use to this research from Ross is that as respondents experience their holidays, and their leisure reading, then to establish any value from this experience there needs to be a method for recording and analysing what happened

to them, especially where changes in cultural capital, knowledge and identity occur. This type of *récit* analysis is applied in chapter 9(3) on the testimony of case participant Pete in particular.

Ridanpää (2011), discussed in an earlier section, uses close-reading and quotation from the novel to develop his understanding of how literary tourism is operating as a practice in a Swedish village. He states in his methodology '[The author] Niemi's work is interpreted through a certain form of loose application of discursive analysis, by counter-reading the text against the regional history of Pajala and Tornio Valley.' (Ridanpää 2011, 104); fundamentally, Ridanpää's method here directly answers the fears of Ross in that he attempts a dialectic reading of the novel to critically open up the history of the author's village. Like Ross (1988), he treats the literary text as a social construction of space by the novelist. As part of his method he identifies places that tourists visit in the village thanks to their appearance in the novel and compares them not so much with their description in the novel but rather with what social processes took place within them. For example, the novelist's schoolhouse is on the tourist trail yet Ridanpää's close-reading highlights a paragraph where the painful socio-political process of 'Swedification' was taking place in the school (Ridanpää 2011, 110). It is, in fact, these most emotionally charged descriptions of places in the novel, for example the schoolhouse, that give even mundane buildings value as literary sites. The researcher can identify these by critical close-reading. In this research, the same process of close-reading is undertaken as a method for unlocking the value of certain buildings or places in Concarneau that are embedded in the narrative of *The Yellow Dog*, rather than simply being described in guide-book terms by the text.

The research writing practice of Edward Hollis (2009) also uses narrative to investigate built heritage, particularly tourist sites. His historical story-writing is considered as academic research as well as literature and is very similar in style to narrated Place Books, which include for example Graham Robb (2010) *Parisians*. Martin's biographical writing, (2012) *The Boxer and the Goalkeeper – Sartre vs Camus* also performs a Place Book function for Paris but Martin's combined historiography and biography use the stories of writers' lives to engage the potential literary visitor; this biographical narrative can also be seen in the engagement stories

used on literary trails (after MacLeod et al 2009). This writing practice of dual historiography and biography coupled with a narrative approach, whilst causing debate in history research since the 1970s, has been noted as a valid synthesis of actual events (Hernandi 1976), more so because it requires multi-source research by the writer in several disciplines and produces a transfer of knowledge that is comprehensible to the reader thanks to the narrative structure carefully constructed by the researcher. This chapter and this research examine the role of narrative in the data elicited from respondents during research and how a narrative presentation can resolve the findings into new knowledge which can be apprehended more successfully by the readers of research results.

Case Study as a Methodology

Jia (2009) approaches literary tourism via case study, as seen earlier. Many of Watson's field visits (2006), too, are examples of case studies based on one literary site and its author. Woodside (2010) defines case study research (CSR) as focussing on a single case of the phenomenon under study, in this research, literary tourism practice in one particular site. According to Woodside (2010) CSR is an inquiry whose objectives include: 'description, understanding, prediction and control' (Woodside 2010, 6). Further, the objective of CSR is to achieve deep understanding of actors, interactions, sentiments and behaviours for a process over time (Woodside 2010). To achieve deep understanding CSR usually uses triangulation (Yin 2013), which often includes three types of different data capture:

- Direct observation by the researcher in the environment of the case – this corresponds well with Watson's (2006) field visits to literary places
- Probing, by asking case participants for explanations and interpretations, and
- Analyses of written documents and of natural sites in the environment of the case.

(developed after Woodside 2010, 6)

We have seen earlier how Woodside proposes a practical example of this third type of data capture and analysis in the researcher's use of unsolicited consumer self-reports

(Woodside 2010). In consumer story-telling, which may be found by searching the web-based customer review sites, the CSR researcher endeavours to uncover how the proposed brand image enabled the enactment of myths by the consumer, and to try to determine which archetype was enacted. This method within CSR lends itself well to studying how Brittany's branding of the region as a place of books and reading can be detected in the regional identity of the consumer self-reports found on the web. From Yin's (2013) position on CSR, the use of pilot studies and the early theoretical positions drawn from them will help guide further data collection and analysis; this case study will prefix its work with pilot studies.

Bruner (1991) shows how reality can be constructed through narrative and Bosworth & Farrell (2011) use narratives of local small tourism businesses to examine entrepreneurship in Northumberland using a case study approach. This work demonstrates how case studies often use a variety of methods for capturing and processing the data to form a more nuanced picture of the object of study. From a purely epistemological standpoint, individual examples discovered in the field enable the researcher to form an inductive view of a particular phenomenon; for example, the researcher may begin to accumulate expressions of disappointment from visitors to literary sites from travel journals, as Watson (2006) does, from meeting visitors and from their own feelings during site visits, again after Watson (2006). The researcher can then hypothesise from those examples, for instance, Visitors to rural literary sites are disappointed. From that hypothesis an experiment can be designed to test its truth or at least its validity, and then from the results a deductive proposal of new theory can be made. This may be nuanced by the findings from the fieldwork along the way, for instance, urban literary sites offer interpretation whilst rural sites remain undeveloped by DMOs.

An Experimental Pilot Project as a Mini Case Study

The opportunity to test data collection methods helps researchers refine both their approach and their theoretical propositions for a larger project (Yin 2013). A pilot study on literary tourism was therefore carried out for a discrete period from 1st January 2013 to 30th April 2013 to examine the relationship between a similar

detective novel and two seaside resort towns in France. The novel is Georges Simenon's (1932) *Liberty Bar*, which uses the same main character as the full case study described later, Maigret. The story is set in Antibes and Cannes, already holiday resorts in the 1930s when the action takes place. The choice of this novel and location is supported by the discovery of a documented quest by a tourist to discover an exact location from the literary fiction; this search for a precise spot has been discussed at length earlier. This fits perfectly with Woodside's research advice on using unsolicited consumer self-reports (Woodside 2010). The quest is recounted in narrative form on the Maigret enthusiast's web-site that has been maintained by Steve Trussel since at least the 1980s. The contributor is John Hendriks in May 2005, and the text is reproduced in full below since it provides a rich example of a literary tourist's testimony, combining, as it does, quotations from the novel, descriptions of place and the quest, lines spoken by the characters, facts about the author and expressions of pleasure and value. Photographs and maps are also shown on the original web-page, but only their captions have been retained in the long quotation below   (Hendriks   2005).

Figure (Text/Chart/Diagram/image etc.) has been removed due to Copyright restrictions.

Trussel, the owner of the web-site, reproduces a map of Cannes and adds this long caption:

> Map of Cannes. Guide Michelin, France, 1934. Cannes is eleven kilometres westward along the coast from Antibes. The Boulevard de la Croisette, which runs along the seafront, is numbered 28. The Casino Municipal is marked with the letter B and just to the west of it is the harbour where the yachts are moored.
>
> (Trussel 2005)

Using an ethnographic practice, David Crouch (2001), examines how knowledge*s*, Crouch uses the plural here, of places and networks of friendship and social groups can be used to understand two key aspects in holidaymaking:

> One concern is to understand the processes through which people encounter the world in its complexity, spatially. The second is to understand and to interpret how such encounters may be used in making sense of that spatial world, its contexts and representations.
>
> (Crouch 2001, 61)

Crouch uses very short narratives spoken by his respondents, and then documented in his field-notes as the basis for his analyses. This pilot study on *Liberty Bar* took a small focus group of five people, four of whom (aged 19-25) travelled to Nice in March 2013 as its respondents. Four key stages of data capture were identified as the respondents prepared for and then made the trip, and at the same time were introduced to, and engaged with the literary text, *Liberty Bar*, these were:

(a) Before – a preliminary question session which aimed to draw out (i) the network of influences for tourism destination choice, (ii) existing literary knowledge, (iii) existing spatial and geographic knowledge of the Nice – Antibes – Cannes Riviera; sketch maps were used for this. The aim was a network topology of social capital and cultural capital.

(b) During Reading – from the moment the respondents are introduced to the novel, *Liberty Bar*, they are considered as having been affected by the literary text. A process of documenting their responses to the text, both French and English versions were offered, was established. Using on-line text capture to record data immediately. Respondents were be asked to cite points in the literary text that have some value to their forthcoming trip, for example where the novel contributes to new knowledge, or draws out existing tacit knowledge.

(c) During Visit – respondents were asked to record a topography of exploration. A project mission to find Liberty Bar was set as a challenge to the respondents.

(d) After Visit – a de-briefing to assess 'What of the towns' spaces has increased in value thanks to the reading?' The new knowledge*s* of the respondents could be identified through asking to re-draw the maps. Value nets could be drawn see (Scott, Baggio & Cooper 2008), and any new social links will be drawn out. The key method to use, though, will be Riessman's prompt to recount a narrative of the experience of the trip and the book (Riessman 1993).

For the activities of 'During Reading' and 'During Visit' two traditional documents from French education were used: the *carnet de lecture* or reading notebook, *carnet* also carries the slight implication that the notebook is portable, too, and the *journal de bord* or *carnet de bord*, which is a type of travel diary. This latter term and layout

design is used by Ramadier, Petropoulou & Bronner (2008) to record travel activities around Strasbourg and link them to a map of the town, please see figure below:

Figure (Text/Chart/Diagram/image etc.) has been removed due to Copyright restrictions.

Figure 8 *Carnet de bord* used to record travel activities around Strasbourg, from Ramadier, Petropoulou & Bronner (2008).

The use of a *carnet* or *journal de bord* finds its genesis for this research in the short text by Camus (1959); the French tradition of this type of journaling is to provide a method of recording observations on the move with some reflection on the subject's own past, Camus, for example, tells how he grew up near the sea (Camus 1959). In the event, the documentation the respondents used on the train and during the walking to navigate Antibes, Pointe Bacon in Juan-les-Pins and Cannes included a small scale map, hard-back A6 notebooks, the carnets, and photography. This is an area of data recording that required further work for the main research fieldwork in terms of preparation and training of the respondents or case participants. For example, on arriving in Antibes the group was disoriented and eventually found and asked in the Tourist Information Office for directions to Café Glacier, initially the staff did not know the name but an older member of staff eventually assisted the group and told them of the name change of a restaurant on Place Générale de Gaulle. This is where, in the novel, Inspector Boutigues takes Maigret for a glass of Anisette on his arrival in Antibes; it is now called Square Sud. This incident for the respondents was not recorded in their note-books but, in hindsight, provides a very good lesson for the DMO on how the literary tourist approaches the unknown urban space.

A precedent exists for asking respondents about value in the literary texts that they read (Usherwood & Toyne 2002). The extensive UK study of the value of fiction reading by Usherwood and Toyne (2002) is particularly useful to this research both in the technical terminology their study uses, *viz.* 'value', 'reading identity', and in its methods of eliciting data from readers via focus groups and asking participants 'to talk

about their reading' (Usherwood & Toyne 2002, 33). This invitation to talk about the object of study, echoes the approach of narrative analyst, Catherine Riessman (1993). Usherwood and Toyne highlight three key findings from their study:

1. Reading imaginative literature satisfies needs
2. Reading transforms a person's life (*cf.* Dowling 2011 on Ricœur), and
3. Reading identity changes through time and personal development

<div align="right">(Usherwood & Toyne 2002, 33)</div>

Unfortunately, the term 'value' does not re-appear in these three key statements of synthesis from their work. However, reasons for reading are elicited from their respondents and categorised through discussion of the findings. Escapism is a typical response from fiction readers when asked what novels give them, but Usherwood & Toyne delve into the background to this and come to define escapism more precisely as relaxation for readers whose lives are busy and pressured (Usherwood & Toyne 2002). This gives value to escapism, which may have negative connotations either socially or in relation to a life of work in a capital-based economy. Escapism escapes from the association with laziness to become a restorative for the worker in the same way that holiday-making is seen as a necessary restorative leisure activity. Notably, too, Usherwood and Toyne (2002) found that this relaxation reason for reading imaginative literature extends into holiday time, creating a double leisure activity.

One respondent recounts a short narrative response to Usherwood and Toyne's questions demonstrating how the escapism of holiday-making has become part of the reader-respondent's life story:

> I like Catherine Cookson, I used to go on holiday with a friend of mine up to South Shields and I know all about that area. I know exactly what she's talking about and even the families. It brings it all back to me. [F75].
>
> <div align="right">(Usherwood & Toyne 2002, 36)</div>

Indeed the characters and the place that Cookson's novels posit have been fully incorporated into respondent F75's life narrative and her conception of holiday-making in South Shields. Usherwood and Toyne consider this type of deep engagement, along with respondents endeavouring to solve murder mysteries as 'development of the reader' (Usherwood & Toyne 2002, 36) and perhaps comes

closest to assigning value to reading imaginative literature, even going as far as to show, if not a measurable, then at least a discernible change, or increase in value. Their approach, with its similarity to Narrative Analysis Interviews, and with its fruitful results fits well into the conceptual framework for this research since it provides a type of new knowledge about the reader, the novel, the place of resort and the value of this configuration.

Usherwood and Toyne (2003) discover, too, that in 20 per cent of their focus groups the aesthetic pleasure of the text and language is mentioned. These readers enjoy the beauty and artistic crafting of what they are engaging with as they would a painting or sculpture. The educational value of reading is also drawn out through reference to improved literacy skills; one respondent explains how she has been empowered to write to the local council with confidence thanks to the vocabulary acquired through fiction reading. This is a political value, allowing more people to participate in the power structures of democratic societies. Instances of personal and self-development, what may be considered as identity and self-narration, occur through Usherwood and Toyne's data, many respondents relating how they could use the parallel experiences of fictional characters in their own emotional lives to better understand events (Usherwood & Toyne 2002). With these points of value, prompt questions may be proposed for this pilot study on Cannes, Antibes and *Liberty Bar*:

Interview and Question Design for Narrative Analysis

Bathmaker and Harnett (2010) explain that the narratives constructed and recounted by respondents in research interviews are complex and may be contradictory. The narratives created by the respondents reveal ambiguity rather than, in their words, tidying it away. Lives in the twenty-first century no longer follow fixed trajectories so identity is constructed through work by the individual. Narrative research provides a space for respondents to be research participants. In this way, they negotiate their developing identities through the stories they tell as they make meaning out of their experience (Bathmaker & Harnett 2010). For this reason in the experimental design of the Pilot Study in this research, the reader-respondents act as research participants, taking the role of readers but also of holiday-makers seeking out the places in the novel, *Liberty Bar*. This approach is developed later in the full-scale fieldwork in

Concarneau where the respondents are given more precise roles as case-participants, and asked to write longer, more narrative texts on their experiences. For tourism and leisure activities, narrative research analysis offers a useful method of inquiry, as Bathmaker alone explains, since this method looks at individual agency focussing on the way people shape their own lives (Bathmaker & Harnett 2010). Narrative inquiry can reveal practices which may be overlooked because they are taken for granted whilst, at the same time, show cultural features of those practices in the respondent group (Bathmaker & Harnett 2010). From these authors, the following questions were designed and posed to the pilot group of respondents:

> Q2. Think about the characters you have met so far in the detective novel, *Liberty Bar*. Is there any character that you identify with, even for just one problem or pleasure they face? Tell me about it…

> To focus in on the place of the leisure activity, the site of resort, this question is proposed:

> Q3. Tell me about one of the places in the story and whether it sounds attractive to you. Think about beauty, enjoyable activities, things the characters are doing, scenes of eating and drinking. Where are they?

Finally, in an attempt to focus on value and the changes that occur in the reader-respondent a Before-During-and-After questioning aims to elicit responses that illustrate any changes in value. This transition can be interrogated in the same focus session, see questions 1 and 4 below. However, it was hoped that the respondents would reflect on the visit and the reading on their return and then, using narrative techniques, be asked to provide additional data. The focus questions are as follows:

> Q1. Value. Tell me about the time you started reading and what sort of value you felt might come from the reading.

> Q4. Does reading satisfy something? Is there an increase in value for you as you are reading this novel? Are you learning something? Are you drawn in to solve the crime?

The use of the prompt, 'Tell me about...' is developed from Catherine Riessman's work on narrative analysis interviewing techniques. Riessman uses the phrase 'tell me what happened' to extend the reply from her respondent into a narrative thus providing story data to analyse rather than short replies (Riessman 1993, 54) Riessman would categorise Usherwood and Toyne's approach as ethnographic writing, since they choose particular excerpts to display their interpretive framework

(Riessman 1993). Riessman explains that narrative analysts are interested in the constitutive aspects of language; she uses attention to the passive voice as an example of this (Riessman 1993). The analyst seeks out grammar that may hide the agency in a respondent's story or picks out a problem in language or in the narrative flow as a point for reflection. Other narrative-based practitioners, for example, Peter Brophy re-iterate this quest for discordance (Brophy 2009); in his approach he uses Ricœur's theory of emplotment to understand narrative structure.

A Preliminary Analysis of the Pilot Study Data

Step 1 Enquiry Stage A Before

Four of the respondents completed an open questionnaire designed to elicit their reading habits, their value network of how they shared reading experiences, and their understanding of the places due to be visited during the fieldwork component of the project. In Chapter 3 it was shown that social capital is not an individual possession, it is rather a function of the time spent communicating in a social network when knowledge transfer has become balanced through the internal governance of that network (Scott, Baggio & Cooper 2008). This is the basis of the term value network in this study. The aim of the map question and the last questions was to identify if any attributes of the TDI of this region and its towns were already held by the respondents, bearing in mind the definition proposed by Chen, Chen & Okumus (2013, 200), reproduced in full below. The map included this schematic Riviera map, on which they were asked to identify the toponyms N, A and C.

> A destination image consists of attribute-based and holistic-based components. Each of these components contains tangible 'functional' and abstract 'psychological' characteristics. Furthermore, the image varies from common functional and psychological characteristics to unique holistic features.
> Three formation processes produce destination images: organic image, induced image, and complex image. An organic image is formed by daily exposure to mass media (e.g., television). Exposure to promotional materials, such as advertisements, can transform an organic image into an induced image. [...] After an individual visits a destination, the induced images (perceived image) become complex images [...]
>
> (Chen, Chen & Okumus, 2013, 200)
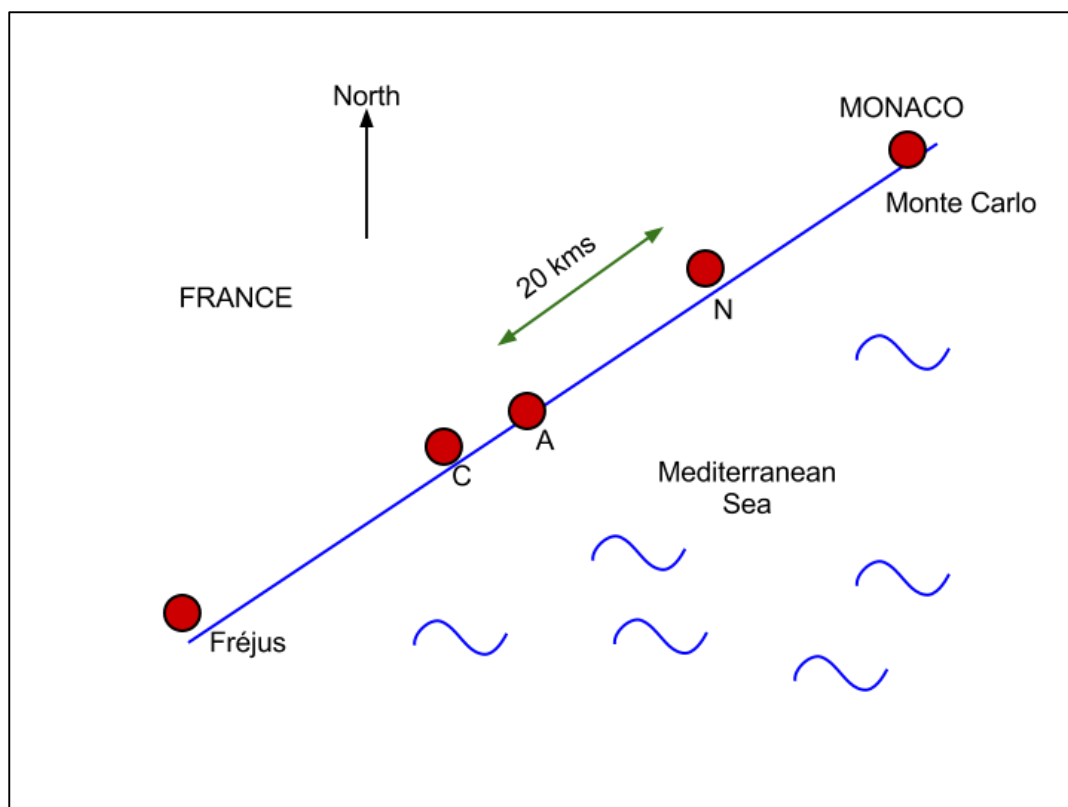
Figure 9 Schematic Map of French Riviera

Findings and Results of Previously held Tourist Destination Image

Table 7 Pre-Visit and Pre-Reading TDI of French Riveria

Respondent	Nice	Antibes	Cannes	Maigret
E	-blank-	-blank-	Correctly named	Nothing
H	Narbonne	Agde	Carcassone	It doesn't
J	-blank-	-blank-	-blank-	-blank-
M	-blank-	-blank-	-blank-	Nothing

The four respondents did not identify any of the towns marked on the map, except for a single respondent correctly identifying Cannes. When asked what the word Maigret meant to them, no one had a pre-formed idea of Simenon's character name. The respondents also made simple statements concerning their existing perception of Cannes, in particular, as a holiday destination:

> E: Cannes is stylish, simple, full of celebrities around the film season. To me it seems like a fashionable and calm place to visit, also with lovely weather.

> E: Visit small cafes, see sights that are not on the map (non-tourist) places that have value in the community. Tourist things that are also of value.

H: Cannes film festival

H: I haven't researched the place yet, so I do not know what is there yet.

J: Surfing?

M: An area in France, where the Cannes film festival is... Mr Bean's Holiday.

M: See the beach, and any new cultural things.

Step 2 Keeping the Journals – The Carnet de Lecture & Carnet de Bord

This stage, in which four of the respondents wrote up their hand-written notes in an on-line journal, was an attempt to detect the following points, discussed earlier in the Literature Review: Symbolic capital, gratuitous practices (Bourdieu 1977), nexus (Busby & Meethan 2008), value of true beliefs acquired without indoctrination or censorship (Bernstein 1995).

An example of the existing cultural capital of respondent J occurs in the carnets:

> J: As well as the name of Cafe Glacier, reminds me of my trip to Alaska in summer 2009. That's a quite interesting name for a Cafe.

Step 3 Focus Group

A focus group of the Interviewer with the 5 respondents was arranged (Cole 2004). Two of the respondents sent apologies, so that the 1 hour 5 minute recording only features the voices of these 4 participants:

Table 8 Focus Group Participants for Pilot Project

Key	Participant
Q	Interviewer, research leader and author, male, Speaks English, Advanced French.
J	Respondent, female, Speaks English, Cantonese, Beginner French
H	Respondent, female, Speaks English, Intermediate French
P	Respondent, male, Speaks English. Not planned to attend fieldwork.

To address one of the key components of the research questions for this study, the narrative analysis of the focus group examined the term 'value', and the pleasure derived by the reading in the words of the respondents:

```
Timer           Participant
2:01            Q: (Posed value question to J)
2:03            J: I started reading from January.  Do you want to go first H?
```

4:10	H: I'm now looking at the reading not as a chore.
4:36	Q: (Posed question about value again)
	Q: (Posed question about value again) Has value gone?
5:06	H: pleasure […] that has an understated value
[…]	
8:03	Q: (posed value questions to respondent P)
8:23	P: Value in a sense, that it […] would empty my head of […] work
8:39	P: Also things that I learnt [then describes position of La Croisette]

Even from these three replies it can be seen that the introduction of the idea of value is problematic; either the respondent does not want to answer, in the case of J, or there is some avoidance. Two of the respondents do tentatively link value with the pleasure or the escape of reading fiction which supports the findings from the Sheffield reading study of Usherwood and Toyne (2002). However, respondent P quickly re-establishes value in the geographical knowledge he extracted from the novel, for example the position of La Croisette, a promenade in Cannes.

Conclusions from Pilot Project

Geographical knowledge gives value to the reader, this can be seen in three clear aspects of the findings, namely, respondent P used Google to look for La Croisette, triggered by his reading of the novel. The Maigret enthusiasts' web-site provided maps for the quest by one of its correspondents, and the four respondents who undertook the preliminary test did not know the distribution of the towns along the coastline of La Côte d'Azur. The DMO could provide this geographical information, but would have to take care not to destroy the element of discovery by the reader-visitor. No questions were posed to elicit whether the mystery of placing the literary locations on a map contributed to the value of the literary tourism process. The Tourist Information Office could provide reproductions of the old maps from the era of the novel for interested visitors to assist their quest without solving it for them. This would provide a method of data capture for the DMO, since the number of requests for the old map would measure the number of interested literary visitors to an area. A major issue for the researcher is the lack of knowledge in co-opted respondents, and the key lesson to carry forward to the main research is that many more prompts will be needed to encourage respondents to divulge valuable data on value, practices and pleasure. This prompting will cause a tension for eliciting

narratives since the researcher will need to give more direction, and even pose direct questions in interview or on social media sites. An alternative is to design and seek out a sample group with greater initial knowledge, life experience and a more sophisticated vocabulary for articulating the concept of value. This could be the α-literary tourist, drawn from the Conceptual Framework of theoretical forms of literary tourism, who has a stake in the knowledge society, perhaps by working in writing, cultural tourism and literary teaching and research.

Now that the fieldwork of a literary place quest has been completed for two novels, *Liberty Bar* and, in greater detail, for *The Yellow Dog* a further question may be posed; do literary tourists inevitably follow very similar routes in their search for places from the novel? If they do then techniques from geocaching could be employed by the DMO to both supplement the visitor experience and to provide data for the numbers of literary visitors.

Design of the Main Participant Study and Case Visit to Concarneau

Following the lessons from the pilot project on Simenon's *Liberty Bar* and its setting, Cannes, and using approaches from Caughey to uncover identities and imaginative practices (Caughey 2006) the main participant study was designed; it was planned around the reading of the novel, *The Yellow Dog* between February 2014 and July 2014 and culminated in two researcher-led field visits to the town of Concarneau. As the pilot revealed, more mature respondents were required, who possess the cultural capital and who are capable of articulating more complex feelings, emotions and values to provide sufficiently sophisticated data for analysis. A more engaged relationship between the project and the respondents was also required to maintain commitment over a six-month period, note that two of the pilot respondents left the study when work commitments demanded their time. To solve this engagement issue, a new methodology was introduced from the field of inquiry, which is now called autoethnography, worked through productively in previous tourism research projects by Coghlan & Filo (2013) and by Ren, Pritchard & Morgan (2010). The study uses a practice Coghlan & Filo call, constant comparison method, which starts with data written previously by one of the researchers as an autoethnographic narrative documenting her experience of a tourist activity. Their practice of autoethnography,

relying on their process of constant comparison, is closely linked to grounded theory, especially after Tavory & Timmermans (2009). This is a suitable starting point for this main participant study of this research since the study has three key *a priori* questions and themed areas around value, pleasure, knowledge and self-identity but needs to build a more general theory of (a) literary motivations for tourism, and (b) improving value for literary tourists. In this way the theory may be applied by future DMOs to other book and town combinations. A mind-map diagram was developed to render these themes in a visual way for discussion with, and preparation of, the case participants, please see figure below:
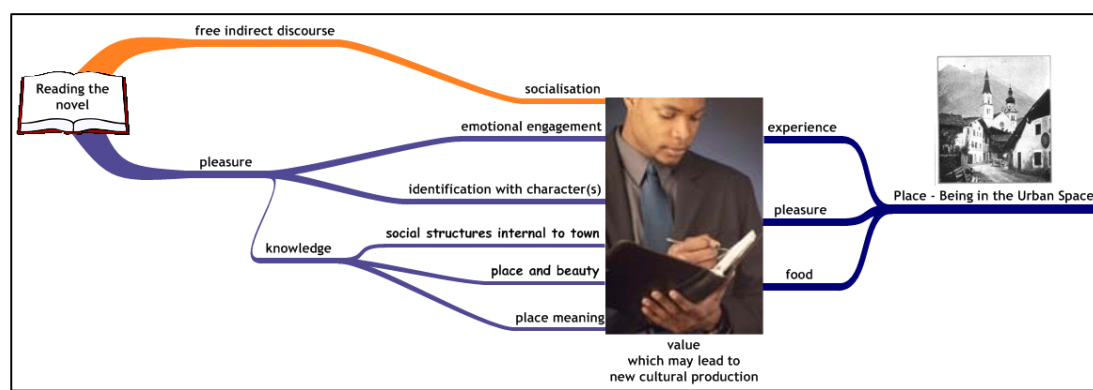
Figure 10 Visualising Value in Literary Tourism, C Mansfield 2014.

By re-casting the respondents as case participants, and providing training in conducting and writing an auto-ethnographic account of their reading and tourism practices whilst travelling, it was anticipated that greater motivation, better data productivity and a longer period of commitment to the work could be achieved. Evidence for this commitment comes from completed graduate films produced as auto-ethnographic projects, see for example Crofts (2013). Coghlan and Filo (2013) in tourism research re-use autoethnographic writing by Coghlan as data to understand the imaginative experiences of tourists. Their work is quite recent in tourism research and explains why in the two larger literary tourism studies Watson (2006), discussed at length in the literature review, and Ridanpää's (2011) study from the conceptual framework do not explicitly name their methods. Watson (2006) and Ridanpää (2011) use their own field observations and reflect on their own imaginative experiences at the literary sites that they visit but without explicitly acknowledging that this is a reproducible and verifiable process of data collection and analysis. Thanks to the work of Coghlan and Filo (2013) a method is available which separates

the self-reflection into autoethnographic writing and then uses that document in a second step as data. Importantly, these data can be verified by future researchers, too. The participant field study in this research starts with this methodological development from Ren, Pritchard & Morgan (2010) and Coghlan & Filo (2013) but then integrates the analysis of the effectiveness of the pilot study on *Liberty Bar*. The pilot study found a lack of data which is remedied by the introduction of a novel approach, not yet found in the academic literature. This comprises formal preparatory training in autoethnographic writing and in travel writing practices and a structuring of the recording process by the case participants into (a) a Reading Journal or *Carnet de lecture* and (b) a Travel Journal or *Carnet de voyage*, with opportunity for the latter document to be written-up, that is, further worked by the participant into a piece of travel writing. This process draws on the Sheffield study into reading imaginative literature (Usherwood & Toyne 2002). To analyse the written data thus produced, grounded theory was used, as described by Kathy Charmaz (2006), with open coding to move forward the theorisation from the following initial coded themes, listed below, after the work of Busby & Meethan (2008) and Busby & Laviolette (2006) on Visitor Books. Charmaz' well-documented method aims to produce new theory (Charmaz 2006) and, as such, lends itself to doctoral research where innovative theoretical constructs are paramount. Recent calls for tourism researchers to attend more closely to theorisation in their work have come from Goeldner (2005) and from Pritchard, Morgan & Ateljevic (2011). In chapters 9(3) and 10 of this work new theory is proposed.

The Initial Coded Themes:

Reading Journal – Initial themes and theorisation from novel

Value, identification with main character, socialisation through doxa of free indirect discourse, food and drink, pleasure, beauty, fear and crises in the language and its resolution,

Travel Journal – Initial themes and theorisation from being in the town

Validated life through connection with printed text of language's symbolic order, organic TDI, embodied phenomena of being in the field, eliciting tacit local knowledge, layers of meaning from earlier texts,

Specifications of Data Collection Methods

Data Collection from Participant Case Study (Reading & Visit)

Initially 12 potential candidates to participate in the study were approached but 3 main reasons were given for non participation: work commitments, lack of interest in the subject, lack of commitment to journal-keeping. Indeed, Adam, one of the final 6 recruited was unable to complete the journey through illness. A further qualification of the participants was their proximity to Plymouth for the journey to Concarneau; this may be considered a limitation, although choice of tourism destination is often affected by point of departure. Target respondents recruited were from the graduate and the α-literary tourist groups discussed earlier. The rationale for this is twofold, this group will potentially be associated with cultural capital that includes fiction reading since they are university-educated, and secondly, they will have vocabularies sufficiently sophisticated to articulate more complex ideas of value and pleasure than the undergraduate pilot group for *Liberty Bar*. The articulation of experience, feelings and value is vital to provide sufficient data for narrative analysis. A younger participant or one with a more restricted vocabulary may well be experiencing the same value but this cannot be detected from their writings. The table below shows the level of education of each of the 6 case participants in the Concarneau case study:

Table 9 Identifiers of the 6 Case Participants

Case Participant Identifier	Level of Education
E1 Adam	Completing PhD
E2 Antonio	Undergraduate
E3 Marie	Completing PhD
E4 Pete	PhD
E5 Glen	PhD
E6 Will	PhD

Prompts and Directions to the Case Participants

These 6 case particpants attended individual briefing sessions and were provided with examples of, and journal articles on, auto-ethnographic writing. They then read and maintained reading journals before the journey to Concarneau in A6 hard-back notebooks. These same notebooks became field notebooks and were used during the time on holiday in Concarneau. It was left as an option to the participants on whether

they typed-up their notes or simply returned the note-books. All these data are archived in the Appendix E Extra-Mural Fieldwork on Book and Town. Antonio's data were presented as developed, freely available travel writing published on his own web-log (Nobile 2014); this was agreed as part of maintaining commitment since this participant plans a career in this field. Two field visits were made to Concarneau, Adam was unable to travel on either:

8th April 2014 to 11th April 2014 with Antonio and Marie.
29th June 2014 to 2nd July 2014 with Pete, Glen and Will

Although the researcher spent some time in the company of the case participants, visits to particular places in and around the town were left to the participants' own discretion. The close reading documented in chapter 9(3) and the map developed from that in Figure 11 provide key points in the town, and two walking routes. These were communicated to the participants because the research seeks to answer how visitors experience locations that a DMO could find in a novel set in their town.

Data Collection from Social Media Research

Designing the questioning for the Social Media site went through an experimental phase in July 2013. Initially the published questions drew only 'Yes' responses, and failed to discover the title of the novel or the author. On reflection, it became clear that the question posed was too closed:

Have you ever wanted to visit somewhere mentioned in a novel?

On 21.7.13, a new more open question in the style specified by Riessman (1993) was published on the Google+ Community, using her technique for eliciting narrative style responses:

Tell me about an author or book that has made you want to visit somewhere.

Administration of Data Collection & Fieldwork

Appendices of the collected data are provided on the attached CD-ROM and use the following alphabetical naming system:

A. Analysis of Social Media Data Collection

A1 John Simenon - A Meeting with the Yellow Dog

A2 GoodReads - Yellow Dog Reviews corpus

A3 Amazon - English-language reviews

A4 Travel & Books - On Google Plus Community

A5 Travel & Books (2014) Cleaned data OLDEST FIRST

A6 Social media daily record of interventions

A7 NVivo data from TripAdvisor, requires NVivo software to view

Working within Google+ Communities produced the data for A4 and A5 which are public entries on the social media community called *Travel and Books*, created by the researcher specifically for this research. A table was used to administer the social media interaction. The table presents a daily record of the interventions by the researcher both for management of this project but also to act as a guide to DMO marketers who are interested in pursuing a social media campaign. The table is reproduced in the appropriate results chapter and Appendix A6.

B. Brittany Fieldwork

Appendix B is reserved for any materials collected in the field or during desk research and correspondence with individuals and institutions in Brittany. This includes Finistère and Concarneau. The attached DVD-CD-ROM contains an archive of the following:

B1 Newsletter - *Le P'tit vachic*

B2 Proust's Letter from Hotel Fermont Beg-Meil

B3 Christine Labbé 2012 Grand Hotel, personal correspondence

B4 Biographical Email Correspondence with John Simenon

C. Close-Reading of Novel

C1 Watson 2014 Penguin Plan Coverage for Simenon

C2 Watson 2014 Simenon Penguin Press Release

D. Data from DMOs, INSEE and Web-Sites

> D1 Defosse 2014 Daily Rates of Hotel Occupation in Cornouaille
>
> D2 Hyères 2014 Recruitment advertisement
>
> D3 Gerry Hones 2013 Literary Tourism and Q, personal correspondence.

E. Extra-Mural Fieldwork on Book and Town with 6 Case Participants

The Case Participant Identifiers are used to help locate the collected source data on the attached CD-ROM. The codes E1 to E6 refer to appendices. To further refine these for referencing the case participants' testimonies are sub-divided into stanzas or, when handwritten notes are used, into page numbers.

> E1 Adam
>
> E2 Antonio
>
> E3 Marie
>
> E4 Pete
>
> E5 Glen
>
> E6 Will
>
> E7 Ethics Approval Letter

Note: Limitations to the research are covered in the chapter on Recommendations and Conclusions.

Ethical Issues of the Main Study

Ethics

The Plymouth University ethical approval process was completed and signed off on 20.12.13. A copy of the Ethical Approval Letter No: FREC1314.16 is available on request, is archived in Appendix E7 on the DVD-CD-ROM, and is lodged with the Ethics Committee of Plymouth University. The key area identified which was addressed in the design of the data collection was as follows:

(i) the study will use publicly-accessible text contributions made by respondents to on-line social media web-sites. When respondents published these statements they did not know they would be used in research content analysis. Names will be removed from any texts reported on so that individuals cannot be identified from the

data. (ii) Semi-formal, unstructured narrative analysis questions will be asked, after Riessman (1993) at respondents' places of work or in holiday situations; again names will be removed from any responses reported on so that individuals cannot be identified from the data.

Note that the case participant travel and hotel accommodation arrangements and costs were covered by a combination of: a travel research grant from the Service & Enterprise Research Centre (SERC) at Plymouth University, the annual continued professional development (CPD) budget for the researcher from the School of Tourism & Hospitality and from personal funds of the researcher. For the case participants in the main Concarneau study the ferry fare, inland travel in Brittany, 2 nights' hotel and fixed contribution to meal costs were covered from these sources. The impact this may have on the interpretation of the findings is discussed in the limitations section at the end of chapter 10.

The Economic and Social Research Council's *Framework for Research Ethics* was used as a basis for ethical issues (ESRC 2012). Ethics Approval was granted on 20th December 2013.

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8 Research Questions from the Literature Review

Re-Iterating the Research Questions

This chapter re-iterates the research questions whilst drawing in the work of the literature review to see how the questions can be approached. The research questions are:

- How do literary texts work to make a tourism destination or town (urban space) more attractive to a potential visitor?
- How can the novel be used sensitively by the DMO to create tourism demand and to add value to the visitors' experiences?

The methodologies discussed earlier offer ways of discovering value and eliciting tacit knowledge about literary aspects of destinations, both of which are of use to the DMO and the visitor in their connection with the literary site. The systematic use of tacit knowledge by a DMO is not specifically documented in the literature to date but the project by Taboada et al. (2010) does make use of knowledge from local stakeholders; this means that the use of tacit knowledge is a relatively novel approach to gathering data for use in research on literary tourism. Turkson & Riley (2008) use narrative interviews to find managers' sources of knowledge in the hospitality industry when making decisions at work; Turkson & Riley (2008) do use the term tacit knowledge. Although the examples from the academic literature consider existing companies or organisations managing their knowledge, this investigation proposes that the tacit knowledge of the literary aspects of a particular place can be conceived of as an organisation which does not yet explicitly exist. This uses the concept of Taboada et al. (2010) in place branding processes which considers the place being branded as an emergent complex system. Taboada et al. (2010) use the term complex in its technical sense, that is, where there may be no specific governing leader and where actors adapt to one another as new relationships emerge within the system. Thus the role of the DMO, and indeed the researcher, would be to elicit this tacit knowledge and mediate it for transfer and use by visitors, possibly by being a catalyst (Taboada et al 2010) in the emergence of the literary destination. Turkson & Riley (2008) offer additional advice in their method, which is to ask the respondent to delve

back to recall the sources of knowledge involved in solving clients' problems. Taking this out into the field of eliciting literary tourism knowledge, the field research needs not only to find what a respondent knows of a literary link but also recall and show the source of that fact or story. In this way, the researcher, and ultimately the DMO or tourist, can gain access to the sources of knowledge for themselves.

> Proposed Direct Questions to ask of DMOs or their Web-sites:
> - How do you acquire new knowledge on cultural tourism in your area?
> - What are your sources of new information?
> - Do you use any social media technologies, for example, Google+?
> - Do you have links on your web-site, or inward feeds from other sources?

Eliciting Tacit Knowledge

An opportunity to experiment with the process of Turkson & Riley (2008) in practice arose in a field study conducted in Beg-Meil, Finistère, on 11th and 12th April 2013.

Two encounters with 3 local respondents were established:

- Two retired local men preparing to mow grass on an allotment, and
- Hotel and restaurant manager in local hotel.

Although the small seaside village of Beg-Meil is well-documented as the place where Marcel Proust began to write his first novel (Le Foll, 1995), and in fact Proust even names the village in the novel, the village has no interpretation panels nor does the DMO of Finistère include the village in any promotional literature on cultural heritage. During the unstructured interviews over the two days both sets of respondents demonstrated detailed tacit knowledge of Proust's time in the village. The two men discussed with each other and drew out the apocryphal story that Proust would take the ferry from Beg-Meil across Concarneau Bay to the town, a story that cannot be found in the literature. In this first encounter the source of the tacit knowledge was unclear but may have been the result of the interaction between two locals. In the second case, the woman who managed the restaurant and hotel at Beg-Meil, as she recounted the stories of where Proust stayed and his visitors, turned to the iPad behind the counter and retrieved the article by Le Foll which was stored on the tourism web-site of *La Communauté de Communes du Pays Fouesnantais*, and used short sections from this to support her claims and stories. However, as she pointed

out the places around La Cale, the slipway in English, Le Foll's (1995) article was brought to life.

Plate 26 Beg-Meil seen from Hôtel de la Cale. Main building in view was the Hôtel Fermont where Proust dates a letter in 1895, Appendix B2. Today this is the CNRS Agro Campus. Between the buildings is the slipway and jetty out into the bay with Concarneau town just visible on the horizon. Author's own fieldwork, C. Mansfield 11.04.2013.

The literary visitor takes value and pleasure from both these encounters, that is, the undocumented story of Proust sailing between old Concarneau and the village, and the use of Le Foll's literary site quest from 1995 as a performance by the hotel manager. However, whilst the literary tourist and the DMO can access and use the source of the latter's tacit knowledge, more sensitivity would be required in handling the material from the first two respondents. Arguably, this type of tacit knowledge forms part of these two residents' own identities. Manuela Taboada et al. (2010) use residents' stories in this way to develop place branding:

> Engaging multiple stakeholders in the creation of knowledge – the actual development of the visual and strategic components of the brand – with sometimes divergent points of view enriches and consolidates a regional identity that becomes more coherent in relation to expectations from hosts as well as tourists.
>
> (Taboada et al. 2010, 10-11)

The process designed by Taboada et al. (2010) resolves this question of sensitivity since their respondents are actively part of the place branding process. This approach of eliciting tacit knowledge goes some way to answering the first question; it offers, too, an approach for use with potential visitors and with residents of the host community: (i) Through carefully managed narrative questioning, respondents, who

166

have been given a particular novel to read, could provide data on how the text of the novel creates an interest in a particular place. (ii) Residents could be questioned to elicit literary connections for their area. A wider net for data capture are Social Media web-sites and communities. On 15 June 2013, part of the current research was to set up a Google+ Community to elicit narrative responses around the subject of *The Yellow Dog* and Concarneau. At the same time, the researcher contacted TripAdvisor to set up an attraction entry for the Yellow Dog Fiction Festival. On 17 June 2013, a more general Google+ Community was set up, called 'Travel and Books' with a French sub-title 'livres et voyages'; the purpose of this latter social media community is to elicit data on instances of authors or their writing stimulating travel. A membership account was also opened on GoodReads to engage with the group who have read and commented upon *The Yellow Dog* and *Le Chien jaune*. The aim, in these social media engagements, was to endeavour to see (i) how value is created for readers, and (ii) what motivates travel, if at all, in the reading or in relation to the author. These groups of respondents were also be more directly questioned on what the DMO could add to a literary site to improve their visit. John Caughey (1984 and 2006), in his ethnographic research on the imaginary, values day-dreaming and fantasy thoughts as data for cultural analysis; this type of questioning is taken further than Caughey's method and, via the social media sites, respondents are asked to imagine, or fantasise about, what the DMO should add to (a) their information on literary sites, and (b) their facilities at literary sites.

Direct Questions to Respondents in Social Media Forums

STEP 1

Have you ever wanted to visit a site mentioned in a novel?

Have you ever wanted to visit a place associated with an author?

Tell me about how the book or writer inspires a visit to a destination?

Which book or writer inspired you?

STEP 2

Tell me about any time you have visited a literary site. Did anything strike you as special or valuable there? What was worth doing or buying?

STEP 3

If money were no object what would you have liked to have experienced at the literary site? What should the owners of the site add to give you more value?

RESERVE QUESTION

If you never visited a site what stopped you? What would persuade you to go?

The experimental design of these questions takes into account the risk of overload, and thus the questions were released over a period of several months. This is particularly favourable to maintaining an on-going engagement with the respondent group since the nature of newer social media systems, post-2010, is often temporal, older comments and questions slipping from view. Older systems, for example, Trussel's Maigret web-site, have a design which appears as an archive to be consulted at any time, so that older comments and narratives lose no value from being old. One of the most important lessons learnt from the pilot study was that respondents need explicit prompting to move them into commenting upon value, and their practices, hence the directness and complexity of the questioning steps.

Experimental Stage to Test Social Media Questions

Posed to: Google+ Community: *Books that I like* 1096 members on 15.7.13

I am doing a research project at university on how books affect your travel. I would be very grateful if you could tell me about your experience on my Google+ Community called Travel and Books, please, it is at http://goo.gl/XgA6N

In the literature review the aspect of fear resolution is identified as a component of readers' pleasure in their use of fiction (Longhurst 1989, 52-53), (Savage 2000, 46); this presents the researcher with a difficult area to discuss with respondents. One approach is to ask for book titles in the response and then through further reading determine if this book is a resolution of fear fiction. Related to this is necro-tourism, which Watson proposes is a pre-cursor to visiting the graves of writers (Watson 2006, 33), a question from STEP 1, above, provides the opportunity for respondents to report on this: 'Have you ever wanted to visit a place associated with an author?' Watson's proposal that the loss of connection with authors brought about by the mass book market and is consequent drive to find the working practices of the author ia tested by this question (Watson 2006).

The disappointment of the literary tourist upon arrival at the site of pilgrimage forms a common theme unearthed by the literature review (Watson 2006, 88-89), (Watson 2006, 95), (Mary Shelley cited in Watson 2006, 142). In the author's own fieldwork, too, in South Brent on the trail of William Crossing (1847-1928) who wrote guidebooks to Dartmoor whilst living in South Brent, found similar disappointments, that is, a lack of any markers or local knowledge. This must be considered in relation to one of the research questions: 'How can the novel be used sensitively by the DMO to create tourism demand?' The word 'sensitively' not only contains notions of appropriateness and authenticity but also requires of the DMO that visitors find some value at a site for which the DMO is striving to create demand. It is tempting to ask a question about disappointment in STEP 2. However, in order to not cloud responses concerning value, and to avoid prompting a negative response, the direct question to the respondents in the social media sites are left until STEP 3, and again posed in such a way that negative connotations are avoided:

> If money were no object what would you have liked to have experienced at the literary site? What should the owners of the site add to give you more value?

Analysing the Literary Text

The text of the novel provides the researcher and ultimately the DMO with a source of already complex data related to the destination. The book may be analysed initially for the places in a town or seaside resort that can be identified with reasonable certainty. These places gain value from the process of place and cultural capital developed by Busby & Meethan (2008) after Bourdieu (1972 & 1977), which is explained in detail in the chapter on the Forms and Value of Literary Tourism. However, as discussed in the section Value in Literary Text in the chapter of Forms of Literary Tourism, the literary text operates on readers in a range of ways which may lead to emancipation (Belsey 1980), and that readers actively seek new knowledge through reading literary works (Jacobsen 1997) and (Moretti 2007). The process of reading involves identification (Glover 1989) and, coupled with the technique of close reading, literary texts can be analysed to reveal key moments which act powerfully on readers through realism and free indirect style to form what Moretti calls 'a ring of pleasure' (Moretti 2007, 42). Further, following Longhurst (1989) detective fiction in particular uses rationality, realism and direct representation to resolve mysteries or

169

fears where these have been set up as part of the plot. He argues that the stable middle-class, as it emerged as property-owning after the changes in society and economics of the late nineteenth century, feared attacks on property (Longhurst 1989) so that new scientific methods of detection and forensics acted as reassurance that the unknowable world could be controlled. Using close-reading techniques, then, a novel that has been identified as linked with literary tourism, eg *The Yellow Dog* detective novel, may be analysed by the researcher to uncover these moments with the purpose of confirming where the action of the novel relates to successful literary interpretation on the ground in Concarneau but also of identifying places that have not been recognised. Close reading will reveal the type of value readers may gain from these configurations of space, character and discourse and how this may be manifest in the buildings and features of the townscape setting of the novel.

Case Studies of Successful Literary Tourism

In the chronological literature review Watson (2006) provides examples from her research of visits to successful literary visitor centres. These do, and would, provide the researcher with exemplar activities, attractions and products that engage the tourist to different extents. The chapter on Forms of Literary Tourism provides examples from work by Busby & Klug (2001), Tobelem (2003), and MacLeod *et al.* (2009) where DMOs or tourism companies have mediated the visitor experience in ways to make the visit more attractive, hence increasing value. Furthermore, places that the literary author has lived or used gain value in the way described earlier through cultural capital, and the researcher could endeavour to identify these, extending the range of an existing site. Case Study research has been codified in Woodside's (2010) work to use triangulation, explained earlier, which reduces the problems associated with a single phenomenon ($n = 1$) and the blurred boundary it shares with its context and the single researcher.

How can the novel be used sensitively by the DMO to create tourism demand?

In two earlier chapters the DMO and the regional hierarchy of DMOs in France and to a lesser extent in other European countries has been discussed. Along with this understanding of the structures governing tourism investment a fuller picture is

needed of how Place Branding and TDI are currently pursued by a sample group of DMO actors (Pike 2009), and a clearly documented process of how an initiative to create demand is carried through and is manifest to the potential visitor. This process, which may for example, include an analysis of DMO web-sites can then act as a template to answer the key research question.

Data on tourism demand from the DMOs and their region and town will be required along with any metrics the DMOs have used to attempt to measure the impact their initiatives have enjoyed in the past (Woodside 2010); these were obtained and are available in Appendix D1. In this way the effectiveness of TDI and place branding by regional and by urban DMOs can be assessed since this may not be the way in which literary tourism demand is created. Literary tourism demand and satisfaction may be a more organic process or be a complex and emerging system (Taboada 2010) for which the DMO requires network and catalysis tools. One response to this, as a researcher, is to place a group of respondents in a position of reading a novel and then making the journey to the holiday destination whilst prompting them to keep a written record of where they gain value or see potential for increasing their value, or enjoyment of the literary place. It is this approach that was carried through successfully in the final part of the research and case study on Concarneau. Below is an extract from the prompts given to the case participants during their training and preparation and before the last stages of their travel plans were made for their time in Brittany:

> Direct Research Prompts to Potential Literary Visitors
>
> **Value of the Book to the Town for You**
> What is it about the novel that makes you want to visit the town? List any 'must do' or 'must see', 'well worth a visit' thoughts that you have, even if only linked in the slightest way to the novel. Tell me about those thoughts and the activity or process that you would give you value there, as a tourist.
>
> **During the Literary Visit**
> Three key points from the novel could be described as 'the exact spot'. Locations that are given value by your reading. I suggest that two of these are long walks out to the opposite edges of the town, Pointe du Cabellou, and White Sands. The third I leave to you. I'd like you to walk to each of these, alone or with a colleague or a local, and keep your notes on what they mean for you. And why?

The case participants' writing yielded a resource of written data which assists in measuring the destination image created in the participants (Govers, Go & Kumar

2007) and allows the research to determine if any of the elements of the DMO's place branding has found its way through the holidaymaking process (Martin & Zenker 2011).

Advancing the Research on Literary Tourism

Examples of fieldwork to investigate literary tourism, notably Watson (2006) and Ridanpää (2011) may be advanced by the introduction and specification of repeatable methods, in the way that these researchers have documented their methods for verification purposes: (Busby, Brunt & Lund 2003), (Busby & Laviolette 2006), (Busby & Meethan 2008). This research presents the design of its methods very clearly for re-use. Further, the field of enquiry can be advanced by including an application for the findings; in this research consideration is given to the DMO wishing to develop literary tourism and so the need to synthesise recommendations from the findings adds innovative analytical requirements.

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9(1) Close-reading of *The Yellow Dog* and *Le Chien jaune* texts within a Case Study on Concarneau.

A fondness for reading, properly directed, must be an education in itself.
Jane Austen (1814) *Mansfield Park*

Introduction to Close-reading for Tourism Knowledge

This chapter undertakes a close-reading of the detective novel, *The Yellow Dog,* and its original French text, *Le Chien jaune*, to better understand the way in which the town of Concarneau is imagined and presented to readers by the author, Georges Simenon. Close-reading as a method of enquiry, as the earlier sections reviewing the academic literature have shown, can reveal what effects a particular text can have on the visiting reader, as evidenced by Watson (2006) and later, Ridanpää (2011). In particular, this chapter also provides an analysis of the literary text in a way that sheds light on how a tourism stakeholder, for example, the DMO, can draw value from the text in their consideration of the town as a space for tourism development. It shows more directly how the text creates a specifically literary place and why the DMO would find it useful to understand the detail of the narrative to support any design decisions for future tourism use, again following the work of Ridanpää (2011) on Pajala, in Sweden.

Close-reading of a novel within the field of tourism knowledge is approached here as an engagement with primary data. The methodological approach that this research takes is to present key findings from the reading whilst simultaneously providing synthesis of how the text can be related to the real world, either by readers visiting the town or by tourism businesses wishing to offer sensitive interpretations for their customers. This approach, although grounded in earlier published academic research, does innovate by providing immediate synthesis as the data of the text is discussed. This synthetic close-reading keeps in mind the considerations of Müller (2006) and his work on the literary theme park, and of MacLeod et al (2009) who draw attention to the complex range of stakeholders that develop literary trails.

By way of introduction to the novel a preliminary set of six themes were extracted through careful analysis of both the story and the mechanical structure of the artefact of the book. As shown earlier, Moretti (2007) applies spatial models to the analysis of literary texts, including graphs, maps and trees so that through these visual metaphors the text yields up what readers have passed over but taken for granted. This close-reading renders these themes clearer for the DMO. These themes are present but not explicitly noted by the reader, whose main purpose for reading the detective novel is for pleasure, easy reading rather than literary and social analysis. Mechanically and physically *The Yellow Dog* novel is small. The Penguin edition is just 130 pages of print. If the chapters are broken down by page length and presented in table form, after Moretti (2007), this ease of reading becomes apparent from the author's design of very regular, short chapter lengths:

Table 10 Chapter structure of *The Yellow Dog* novel

Chapter	Chapter Title	Page count
1	Nobody's Dog	12
2	The Doctor in Slippers	12
3	Fear Reigns in Concarneau	13
4	Field Headquarters	12
5	The Man at Cabélou (Point)	12
6	A Coward	10
7	The Couple by Candlelight	14
8	Plus One	12
9	The Sea-Shell Box	12
10	The 'Pretty Emma'	11
11	Fear	9

Following Moretti (2007), if a map is plotted using his method of concentric rings to show in two dimensions where action takes place, chapter 1 unfolds at the crime scene and in the hotel bar at the centre of the map. Subsequent chapters are set further and further afield in a widening circle, with a plot that culminates away from this centre, as the figure below shows:
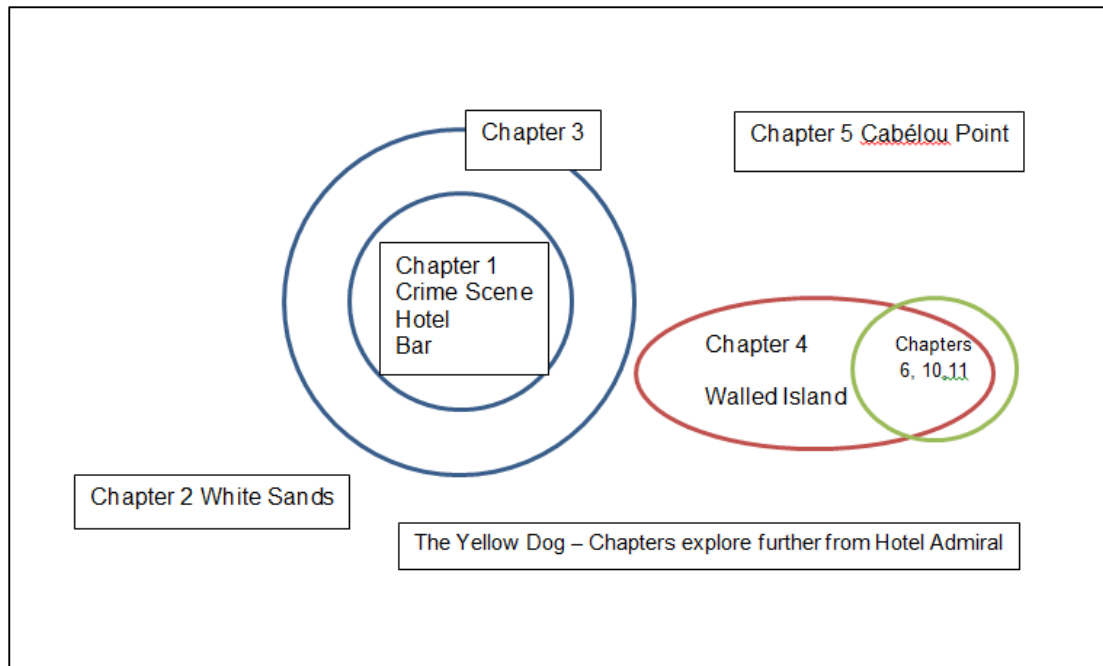
Figure 11 Chapters of *The Yellow Dog* mapped onto Concarneau

However, this initial mapping, whilst shedding light on the opportunities the book offers for exploring the town of Concarneau, does not deal adequately with the themes of the novel, in particular the third, or vertical dimension used by the author to powerful effect at key points in the narrative in chapter 7 of the novel, and to a lesser extent in its chapters 9 and 5. In fact the way readers engage with detective novels, which offer a rapid accumulation of new information about places, has a parallel in the way tourists build destination image as previously shown from the detailed definition cited earlier in full (Chen, Chen & Okumus 2012, 200). For this reason, themes have been extracted from the story that cut across the chapter structure; the close-reading process then uses these as recurring points of interest for the reader who is visiting the town. Further research on how readers produce their own image of Concarneau from their reading of the novel would be very valuable and is pursued later, but for the purposes of this reading these themes are proposed as being the points that would give a sense of place to the leisure reader and the mid-centric tourist who has not specifically begun to consider a literary visit to Concarneau:

> Characters Moving around Concarneau
> Fear and mystery
> Filmic style writing practice which positions reader
> Access to social classes
> Social Media and the Capital of Language
> Vertical Topologies which position reader

With these themes as headings the close-reading follows:

Close-reading of *The Yellow Dog* and *Le Chien Jaune*

Characters Moving around Concarneau

The action of the detective novel *The Yellow Dog* (1931 French original 1987, and 2003) by Georges Simenon unfolds in the seaside town and fishing port of Concarneau in November. In fact, Simenon gives the day as Friday 7th November, a day-date match that the literary enthusiast interested in the author's life can easily track down to a time that actually occurred in 1930. The following close-reading of the text uses productive literary analysis derived from Belsey (1980) to show how the main character, Superintendent or, in French, *Commissaire* Maigret moves around the town to create associations with buildings and specific urban spaces that add value to these spaces and change the way that they are encountered by visitors who have read the novel. This methodological approach will yield information on opportunities readers have for productive interaction with the text; these productive aspects include value (Usherwood & Toyne 2002), material authenticity (Cormack & Fawcett 2001), memory and identity formation (Cattell & Climo 2002, Proust 1985) and identification and continuation of self-narrative (Bernstein 1995). For the DMO, too, alongside the areas of value to the reader, an analysis of the literary text can identify places that could be better interpreted for visitors which would bring value to the DMO (Sempé 2012) and the visitor.

It could be argued that guide books *should* provide a discourse around the built heritage that stimulates urban tourism, although a recent study proposes that the traditional guides, including those from Michelin, the French tyre manufacturer, merely 'invite a cultural practice' (Ozouf-Marignier 2011, 31). An excerpt from the classic Michelin Green Guides, now online, describes the principal heritage architecture of Concarneau's walled old town thus:

> Ses ruelles occupent un îlot de forme irrégulière, long de trois cent cinquante mètres et large de cent mètres, relié à la terre par deux petits ponts que sépare un ouvrage fortifié. D'épais remparts, élevés au quatorzième siècle et complétés au dix-septième siècle, en font le tour. Des meurtrières s'offrent de nombreuses vues de la ville.
>
> Michelin 2011

> The narrow streets of the Ville Close occupy an irregularly shaped small island, 350m long and 100m wide, linked to the mainland by two small bridges which divide a fortified structure encircled by sturdy ramparts built in the 14C and completed in the 17C. Loopholes [arrow-slits] provide several views of the city.
>
> Michelin 2011

The Green Guides offer a discursive practice that has no protagonist, no people and no clearly defined narrator, leaving the tourist to merely stand and gaze at the military design of Vauban (1633-1707), who is credited with the fortifications under Louis XIV (1638-1715). In this encyclopaedic style of writing the architectural feature is set as the agent of each sentence or verb: 'the narrow streets […] occupy', 'Arrow-slits provide […] views'. Simenon, on the other hand, populates the town with a social milieu; here, for example he has his character, Maigret penetrate Vauban's defensive walls, as the agent of the verbs, to encounter a mysteriously silent crowd in a state of fear, in this example from the novel:

> Maigret traversa le pont-levis, franchit la ligne des remparts, s'engagea dans une rue irrégulière et mal éclairée. Ce que les Concarnois appellent la ville close, c'est-à-dire le vieux quartier encore entouré de ses murailles, est une des parties les plus populeuses de la cité.
> Et pourtant, alors que le commissaire avançait, il pénétrait dans une zone de silence de plus en plus équivoque. Le silence d'une foule qu'hypnotise un spectacle et qui frémit, qui a peur ou qui s'impatiente.
>
> (Simenon 1931, 57)

> Maigret crossed the drawbridge, passed through the Old Town ramparts, and turned down a crooked, poorly lighted street. What the people of Concarneau call 'the closed town' — the old section still surrounded by its walls — is one of the most densely settled parts.
> As the Superintendent advanced, however, he entered a zone of ever more ambiguous silence, the silence of a crowd hypnotized by a spectacle, and trembling with fear or impatience.
>
> (Simenon trans. Asher 1987, 32)
> (Simenon trans. Asher, rev. Penguin 2003, 38)

The hero of the story, Maigret, can be identified with by the readers, thanks to this air of mystery created by the text of the novel. It is a narrative text loaded with foreboding. Readers are interested in what happens next and so, in following Maigret's progress, the readers are drawn along on his journey around the urban space. If sufficient connection has been made with the flow of the narrative (Bernstein 1995) then readers can take the same route as the character and cross the bridge onto the walled island. In practice, the readers are greeted here not with the crooked, poorly lit street of the story set in the 1930s but with ice-cream shops, a new

museum and crowds of holidaymakers in twenty-first century Concarneau. However, the DMO has invested in the restoration of the seventeenth century frontage to the buildings within the ramparts to the right of this entrance, in this way maintaining a material authenticity for visitors that is a rationalist version of authenticity using the analysis by Cormack & Fawcett (2001) described in chapter 2; please see plate below, (note: information on building restoration was collected from the works signboard during fieldwork 3.6.2010). Contemporary reader-visitors can thus enjoy the idea that they are experiencing built heritage, carefully restored using historical records and scholarship that the fictional character Maigret would have seen in the 1930s. This extract from the novel provides an example of γ (gamma) literary tourism, a category introduced with examples in the Conceptual Framework of this study. Plate below shows these restored buildings in Concaneau's Ville Close:

Plate 27 Restored seventeenth century house in the ramparts of the Ville Close, Concarneau. (Photo: C Mansfield, author's own fieldwork 3.6.2010)

The novel provides names for the buildings and places which still exist today, making this book fit well with the categorisation of literary places discussed at length in the development of the conceptual framework for this research under the headings of: α Knowledge Society Literary Tourism, and, δ delta Literary Tourism – Mapping

Space. The Admiral Hotel is named, and is the centre of much of the action of the story, today (2010) it remains as a bar and restaurant and so is easily accessible for visitors, but, alas, no longer functions as a hotel. The quayside area, Quai d'Aiguillon is named in the book as the place where the first crime is witnessed by the customs officer and is today (2010) actually the location of the Tourist Information Office. This place in the town lends itself perfectly to the activity of finding 'the exact spot', (see sketch-map from field-notes in plate below); visitors can try to place themselves exactly on the spot of the security kiosk of the customs officer, and then try to determine which is the 'doorway up two steps' (Simenon trans. Asher 1987, 4), (Simenon trans. Asher, rev. Penguin 2003, 2), 'un seuil de deux marches' (Simenon 1931, 143) where the first crime takes place.

Plate 28 Sketch from author's own field-notes attempting to locate the position of the customs officer's booth in the novel's opening in scene, C Mansfield 2.6.2010

However, town-planning has changed the layout of the spaces around the Admiral Hotel in the eighty years that have elapsed between the current fieldwork and Simenon's sojourn in Concarneau so in quests to find the exact spot of, for example,

the doorway where the first crime is committed it may be necessary to elicit tacit knowledge from local residents who have a deeper understanding of the town's development and the changes to the buildings around the square called Place Jean Jaurès and the quayside road called Quai d'Aiguillon or out at White Sands beach. In the pilot study it was found that local residents, if approached, were useful sources of information, and the equivalent of a local studies library has operated since 1988 in Concarneau (Concarneau Archives 2014) providing access to archived post cards and maps showing the earlier layout of the town. In fact, the area of the town known as Le Passage, where the little ferry lands, after its crossing from the walled island, publishes its own newsletter, *Le P'tit Vachic* (Labbé & Le Floc'h 2006); this brings together local area studies enthusiasts who use the commune's archives to continuously develop the history of the town. In the December 2006 issue, for example, a 1930 photograph attributed to Georges Simenon is reproduced from the collection of Claude Menguy to explain where the steps from the now-demolished sardine factory led to the ferry (Labbé & Le Floc'h 2006, 2). This depth of enquiry, though, would be outside the scope of an English-speaking literary tourist, so offers an untapped area for interpretation by the DMO or for a bilingual tourist guide. John Simenon (b. 1949), the son of Georges Simenon, did launch a new official web-site for his father's life and work in the summer of 2013, and one page, in French, has brought together some of the old post cards, and biographic notes (Simenon 2013) and (Appendix A1).

The author of *The Yellow Dog*, Georges Simenon rented the Villa Ker-Jean overlooking the White Sands beach (*Les Sables Blancs*) of Beuzec-Conq, moving-in in the autumn of 1930 (Ollivier 2006) so Concarneau also offers to literary tourism what MacLeod et al (2009) term biographical links to the author's own life and working practices. In the novel, for example, the White Sands area is used as the setting for the home of Concarneau's mayor, which, the novel says, is three kilometres from Concarneau (Simenon 1931). From a linguistic point of view the moment in the story when Maigret arrives at this place, where the author rented a villa, a complex form of writing style has been detected and classified as a category of verbless phrase, '*une événementielle'* (an event phrase) by Combettes & Kuyumcuyan (2010, 31):

> Au sommet de la falaise, un hôtel, ou plutôt un futur hôtel, inachevé, aux murs d'un blanc cru, aux fenêtres closes à l'aide de planches et de carton.

A literal translation of this yields an ungrammatical sentence since it lacks verbs, and would read as a list. It also lacks an observer; no one is identified as seeing the hotel:

> At the top of the cliff, a hotel, or rather a future hotel, unfinished, with walls of a raw white, with windows sealed by planks and by cardboard.
>
> (translation mine)

Linda Asher chooses to introduce the past tense verb, *was*, to make the sentence grammatically correct in her English translation, thus:

> At the top of the cliff was a hotel — a future hotel, rather — unfinished, its walls raw white, its windows sealed by planks and card-board.
>
> (Simenon trans. Asher 1987, 20)

In trying to synthesise a practice for the DMO from this linguistic analysis, it can be suggested that the key moments in the story, those which are characterised by complex literary devices, are taken as the bases for tour guides or interpretation panels. The White Sands example above, permits the interpretative guide or panel to draw out the link between Simenon's own life, his time in Concarneau researching the novel, and the importance of this walk to the plot of the novel. As discussed in the conceptual framework chapter, MacLeod et al (2009), from their work on Bristol, make the following recommendations to trail designers and panel copywriters to make the experience of being actually at the literary site more attractive to tourists:

1. Engagement stories
   a. Emotional prompts
   b. Sensory prompts
2. Personalisation opportunities
   a. Interaction
   b. Co-creation

(after MacLeod et al 2009, 165)

Their recommendations find a perfect fit with this point in the novel and this spot in the beach-front suburb of Concarneau as this table demonstrates:

Table 11 Tour guide prompts for use on walk to White Sands, suggested by MacLeod et al (2009, 165) 6.1.14 C. Mansfield.

Engagement stories	
a. Emotional prompts	Show old post card photographs of this area in the 1930s ask visitors to imagine Georges Simenon and his own dog, walking here. Ask: What would he think of the property development of holiday homes?
b. Sensory prompts	Why do you think this area is called *Les Sables blancs* (White Sands)? What do you think of Finistère weather at this time of the year?
Personalisation opportunities	
a. Interaction	Ask: Which villa would you choose to stay in? How far back is it to the Admiral Hotel from here?
b. Co-creation	Ask: Is there a quicker route that Maigret could take than the one we took to walk out here? Show section of novel, ask: What would you include in your writing to set the scene today?

The whole of Chapter 5 of *The Yellow Dog*, entitled: 'L'Homme du Cabélou' (Simenon 1931, 75-91) 'The Man at Cabélou [Point]' (Simenon trans. Asher 1987, 41-49) provides a script for a literary trail which could be analysed critically in the same way as Zola's wedding party walk down through Paris (Wilson 2004) and also be used by visitors as a literary route, see Johnson (2004) and MacLeod, Hayes & Slater (2009). It begins on the morning of Monday 10th November with Maigret shaving in his hotel room upstairs at the Admiral Hotel. This everyday practice connects the hero with the holidaymaker who might be starting the day in much the same way, gazing down onto the market square from the hotel window, dressing, preparing for breakfast and anticipating the morning newspapers. Later, a stimulating and revealing walk right out of town to la Pointe du Cabellou; why does Simenon spell it Cabélou? And back via the little ferry that still runs today (please see plate below) connecting the left bank of the estuary of the river Moros with the Ville Close island. This walk, which completes Maigret's exploration of the town and its environs, connects closely with what Moretti calls 'a ring of pleasure' (Moretti 2007, 42) where readers are invited to enjoy and derive pleasure from a mapped space via literary devices, including free indirect discourse. Maigret's walk is in the company of a local policeman so he takes the opportunity to elicit tacit local knowledge, often using, as the text shows in both the US English translation and in the original French (*raconter*

= 'tell in a story fashion', or 'recount'), a style of questioning calculated to evoke narrative responses (Riessman 1993):

— Qu'est-ce que les gens du pays racontent ?
Qu'est-ce qui vous a donné l'idée de fureter de ce côté ?
— Et le chien ?

<div align="right">(Simenon 1931, 83-87)</div>

"What are people saying?"
"What made you think of nosing around out here?"
"What about the dog?"

<div align="right">(Simeon trans. Asher 1987, 44-46)</div>

Plate 29 The ferry (*le bac*) leaving from la Ville Close to cross the estuary of the river Moros to Le Passage. (Author's own fieldwork, photo C Mansfield 3.6.10.)

Looking closer still at the first two of those questions:

"What are ('local' from *du pays*) people saying?"
"What made you think of nosing around out here?"

It can be seen that the style of questioning is the same as that proposed by Turkson & Riley (2008) as a research method to find the source of managers' knowledge. From the responses the questioner can bypass the respondent and access those sources directly, or simply use them as verification of the plausibility of the answers. The

responses to this style of questioning allow greater expansion by the respondent and this supplies richer, more complex information. As a literary strategy, the interrogative dialogue between two characters is a device known since Plato (*circa* 400 BCE), of showing the reader additional information which includes opinion embedded within it. It is pleasurable for readers since it allows them to apprehend the new information as if it were caught in passing, rather than explicitly presented, contributing both to the verisimilitude of the process and also constructing a matrix of key clues with which the reader can eventually solve or realise the mystery. In passing, too, Simenon, and after him Asher in her translation, use a linguistic structure called deixis at the end of this question: 'nosing around *out here*' (emphasis mine) which places the reader in the same spatial location as the conversing characters. 'Here', like 'this one', and 'that one', make the reader take up the same place as the speaker of the enunciation in the text so as to experience the distance to an object in parallel with the speaking character. This placement-by-language of the reader is taken up in the analysis of the contributed data from the case participants later. The novel uses deixis in a filmic way again just before the discovery of a vital object secreted away in a bedroom of the hotel: 'The noise of children *came up* from a school playground' (Simeon trans. Asher 1987, 100, emphasis mine); without stopping the flow of the narrative, readers are up in the attic room with Maigret, hearing the sounds he hears and orienting themselves with these sounds.

This walk from Chapter 5 could form a guided tour, using guides with local knowledge ready to offer information and to answer specific questions on Concarneau and Cabellou Point and support their responses with clues to their sources so that the literary tourist can later follow-up on these for further exploration. Moments of realisation of what Simenon has achieved in the text, both from the plot point of view, but also from the point of view of mapping the town and its two stretches of coastline, should be left for the literary tourist to realise on their own. The epiphanies of realisation, as this close-reading and the fieldwork in Concarneau and Beg-Meil have shown, is one of the key rewards of reading plot-rich texts and exploring holiday towns for pleasure. Having the moment of realisation explained beforehand removes the authentic intellectual pleasure the reader-visitor experiences as they connect the fragments of information into a complete picture in their own imaginations. For this reason the DMO needs to be sensitive, not providing interpretations that tell, but

rather retain the mystery by devising ones that slowly reveal fragments in response to some form of enquiry by the visitor, using the proposals offered by MacLeod et al (2009) for emotional and sensory prompts along with interaction and co-creation (MacLeod et al 2009).

Fear and mystery

Plate 30 View from Ville-Close across to the Admiral bar & restaurant. Photo: C Mansfield, Author's own fieldwork 3.6.10.

Setting the old walled island as a place of fear and mystery contradicts the practice of tourism copywriting which would normally present these urban spaces as places of light, pleasure, entertainment and beauty. However, as discussed earlier in the

literature review and by Savage (2000), the literary text gives these spaces *aura*, and if the narrative resolves the fear or mystery of this space then the reader will have registered what initially was an undifferentiated space as a place with meaning, a place where a problem was resolved. Longhurst (1989) points up this same process in early twentieth-century detective novels in particular, where a stable middle-class feared attacks on private property, and the detective uses science and rationality to dispel what could be considered unfounded medieval fears. Simenon was fully aware of the attraction of the new crime scene sciences in police work, he held a launch party for his new Maigret police novels on 21 February 1931 calling it a *bal anthropométrique*, translatable as a Forensic Party (Ollivier 2006) and took guests' fingerprints as they arrived at the door of *La Boule Blanche*, The White Ball nightclub, 33 rue Vavin, Montparnasse, Paris. In the novel, Maigret's assistant for this case, the 25-year old Inspector Leroy, is concerned to take fingerprints from the bottle and glasses (Simenon trans. Asher 1987, 13) in an early scene of suspected poisoning. When they compare notebooks, in a later scene, (Simenon, rev. Penguin 2003, 33-35), Maigret's notes are straightforward facts which avoid speculation or rumour demonstrating that science and rationality lie at the heart of Maigret's investigative practices. Hence, the Maigret character remains a reassuring figure of modernity.

Throughout this period of fear and mis-trust in the story, the hero figure, that Simenon has created in Maigret, retains the values that make him attractive and identifiable with. He is cool, calm and knows his own mind. Indeed his self-belief in his knowledge-gathering process makes him both a leader and, simultaneously, positions him outside social pressures. His position outside the town's social groupings provides him with the scientific distance to see how the mystery is affecting each of the other characters. In his experiments to uncover the real perpetrator he displays the attribute of patience, and despite the pressures from the mayor and from the journalists to make hasty decisions he maintains a stoic resolve until all the results of his enquiries are in. He does not remain sullen for the whole story and is shown enjoying moments of happiness and later, of triumph. In a final scene, too, he can be seen displaying generosity, and a more complex, yet attractive set of values in his judgement and subsequent interpretation of the spirit of the law.

Filmic style writing practice

The opening page of *Le Chien jaune* offers the reader a huge number of architectural terms, toponyms and examples of spatialising language, a list of 20 phrases comprising 75 words. So 75 out of the first 164 words of the detective novel are implicated in the spatialisation of Concarneau. The opening storm scene also brings out the use of the French pronoun '*On*' by the author, as the omniscient narrator describes the positions of the Admiral Hotel and Café-Bar, the quayside and the fishing port. The published US English translation removes this personal pronoun, choosing alternative strategies for rendering what is quite a difficult word to translate from the French. In the 1950s British translators could have used the phrase 'One can just see' to translate Simenon's 'On aperçoit' but British English no longer uses 'One' in everyday speech. The use of the novel's phrases: 'où l'on voit', 'on devine des silhouettes', noticing, imagining, seeing, to a contemporary French audience indicate a personal presence presenting the scene to the readers. The language in an advanced French grammar textbook demonstrates how powerfully this pronoun, '*On*', operates on the French speaker. Grammarian, L'Huillier normally uses the careful, technical language of a textbook but in her description of the use of the '*On*' pronoun she invokes the language of the whodunit:

> Care must be exercised when using *on* because it shifts the emphasis from the patient to an undefined agent [...]. *On a renversé le gouvernement*. Here, the use of *on* invites you to guess who did it! [...] Who exactly is this mysterious '*On*'?
>
> (L'Huillier 1999, 242).

In this opening scene, Simenon's narrator has a mobile point of view, rather like the film camera after the cuts of the editing process. The narrator moves the reader effortlessly from the extreme close-up detail of the expression on the customs official's face to distant views, for example, the empty deck of the coaster. Again, in a filmic way, sounds can be distinguished as if in close-up, even though the 'relentless din of the gale continues' (Simenon rev. Penguin 2003, 1). A further difference from the guide-book is that the literary narrator allows the description of movement. Even though this scene, on first reading, appears as a static tableau, the movement required to see the lighted clock-tower set above the medieval ramparts and the tracking of the man leaving the hotel café means that it cannot be reproduced in a still photograph like the poster for this work, nor the front covers of the editions of the novel over the

years. In fact, one edition shows a still photograph of the clock on the walled island but supplements this with the text of the opening page, (please see plate below):

Figure (Text/Chart/Diagram/image etc.) has been removed due to Copyright restrictions.

Plate 31 Front cover of *Le chien jaune* 1995 edition by Presses Pocket.

Thus the reader is afforded power over the urban space thanks to the style or discursive practice of the text, which a single, static tableau could not offer. The English language edition loses the mystery of an unknown observer spying on this scene that is present in the original French. This missing mysteriousness could be an element re-introduced by the DMO's tour guides for English speaking visitors. A further result shared by both the English translation and the French is the use of the present tense and deictic markers both of which implicate the reader in the text by addressing them as if they were actually there.

Access to social classes

Su & Wall (2010) point to the improvement of the tourist experience when opportunities for engagement with a range of local residents are available; Richards & Wilson (2006) take this further by showing that creativity in cultural tourism can be shared via engagement between residents and visitors. In a busy commercial port like Concarneau these opportunities are limited but the detective novel offers vicarious access to the locals. The status of the high-ranking superintendent and the importance of the crimes gives Maigret access to a whole range of social classes in the provincial town. Bill Alder (2012) provides an overview of the social groups involved. Dr Michoux, Le Pommeret and Jean Servières, are the regulars at the Admiral bar; Alder classes these three as a social group together, they are shady, often failures in business, but associated with property deals, he groups them together as 'the mediocrity of the provincial bourgeoisie' (Alder 2012, 37). Maigret is not drawn into their club-like group, although he does use access to this group as a way of gathering more clues about the crimes being committed. How does Simenon communicate all that Alder (2012) has gleaned, and how can the proposition that Maigret is not drawn into their drinking circle as a complicit member, be substantiated from the text? The

characterisation occurs during a key scene in the café bar of the Admiral, very early in the book; it is just after 5pm and Maigret's arrival at the hotel. The author uses a grammatical construction very different from the verbless phrases of the scene on the White Sands, instead the writing shows an extended use of *l'imparfait*, the imperfect past tense in French. The long scene occurs where the semi-retired journalist, Jean Servières, is introducing his circle of collaborators to superintendent Maigret, and inviting him to take a drink with them, the IMP, imperfect tense verbs, are set in bold below to help identify their frequency. Please note, too, the French punctuation marks after the question marks in the original printed text, which consist of three dots; these are called *les points de suspension* in French and are not to be confused with the marks of ellipsis in square brackets which this study has added to denote text removed from the citation:

> […]
> — Qu'est-ce que vous buvez ?... [Addressed by Servières to Maigret]
> […]
> Il y **avait** dans l'atmosphère du café quelque chose de gris, de terne, sans qu'on pût préciser quoi. Par une porte ouverte, on **apercevait** la salle à manger où des serveuses en costume breton **dressaient** les tables pour dîner.
> […]
> Chaque fois qu'il [Maigret] **détournait** la tête, d'ailleurs, c'**était** la fille de salle qui **rivait** sur lui son regard fiévreux.
> […]
> C'**était** Jean Servières qui **parlait**. Le Pommeret **appelait** familièrement :
> — Emma !...
> Et la fille de salle **s'avançait**.
> — Alors ?... Qu'est-ce que vous prenez ?...
> Il y **avait** des demis vides sur la table.
> — C'est l'heure de l'apéritif ! remarqua le journaliste. Autrement dit, l'heure du pernod… Des pernods, Emma… N'est-ce pas, commissaire ?...
>
> (Simenon 1931, 14-16)

The English translation, given below, retains very little of this imperfective nature in the verb use. No attempt, for example, is made to render, *C'était Jean Servières qui parlait* as 'It was Jean Servières who was speaking':

> […]
> 'What will you drink?' [Addressed by Servières to Maigret]
> The atmosphere in the café had about it something grey, or grim — impossible to say exactly what. Visible through an open door was a dining-room, where waitresses in Breton dress were laying the tables for dinner.
> […]
> Whenever he [Maigret] turned away, moreover, the waitress, in turn, fixed her agitated gaze on him.
> […] Servières said.
> Le Pommeret called in an easy tone: 'Emma!'

> And the waitress came forward. 'Well? What will you have?' There were empty beer mugs on the table.
> 'Time for our apéritif,' said the journalist. 'That is to say, time for Pernod. Pernods for everyone, Emma. That all right, superintendent?'
>
> (Simeon trans. Asher, rev. Penguin 2003, 7)

The IMP, *l'imparfait*, is the tense used to fill in background in narrative sequences, set against either the simple past, *passé simple*, in literary works, or against the *passé composé* in everyday spoken French for completed actions. Hence this extended use of IMP has the effect of pushing the whole action into the background, making it atmosphere rather than action. Maigret, and by extension, the reader are detached from the background chatter of the local newspaper journalist and the setting of the dining-room tables with cutlery; these actions go on without any completion, they remain imperfect. What strengthens this reading is that the whole passage is held in parenthesis by Servières' unanswered question to Maigret, 'What will you drink?' Indeed read on, and Maigret never replies to that question, never accepts the offer of entry into the drinking circle. The reader is held in suspense, which is quite appropriate for a suspense novel, and an element in the pleasure of reading the detective story. And, at the slight risk of reading too much into this scene of postponed Pernod drinking, the plot turns on this cloudy liquid of suspension, the tiny specks of the *points de suspension* left as evidence for the pleasure of the literary detective on the printed page. Emmanuelle Labeau in her (2005) linguistic examination of four of Simenon's novels draws attention to the author's use of sequences of verbs in the narrative in the imperfect tense (Labeau 2005, 8, Table 7). She uses the term offered by Liliane Tasmowski-De Ryck (1985) of cascading narrative imperfects, 'IMP en cascade' (Labeau 2005, 8) and extends her analysis to propose that these cascading narrative imperfects are used at key moments in the plot, for example the first embrace of two key characters in Simenon's *Le Train* (1961). Labeau identifies four further passages from other works by Simenon where the text draws additional intensity from the use of IMP *en cascade*, these are moments when new characters are introduced or in the moment before a scene of dénouement. Finally, returning to *Le Chien jaune*, Labeau uncovers a double use of the stylistic device of IMP *en cascade* in a local newspaper report embedded within the narrative, where the device acts as a framing of narration within narration, and, simultaneously as a pastiche of local news reporting (Labeau 2005). The style of the newspaper

report, where the three drinking partners are described as 'notables de la ville' ('town worthies, important people') has the comic effect of reducing their worthiness, completing Maigret's access to, and power over, this strata of society. This again contributes to the attractiveness of the character, increasing the readers' empathy with him but more importantly, from a tourism point of view, it allows the visitor to enjoy symbolic engagement with provincial society, which is of vital importance in strengthening the emotional attachment to the destination according to Su & Wall (2010).

The town mayor represents success and power but Maigret is not intimidated by him, as the local police are when the mayor orders them to pursue one of the characters. The two working-class characters, Emma, who serves in the Admiral, and Léon a former boat-owner and former prisoner who has served his time, Alder notes are both literate, products, therefore, of the free and compulsory education under the Third republic, discussed earlier (Lodge 2004) and (Alder 2012). Their ability to read and write is important to the plot and the investigations of Maigret and Leroy, since there is a key scene where their letters are discovered. Maigret reads these, extending his power into the privacy and identity of these two working-class Bretons.

Thanks to this complex, and linguistically sophisticated presentation of Maigret's privileged access to the whole range of classes the reader enjoys a similar, albeit symbolic, engagement with a society that would normally remain unknown. It is an access not normally enjoyed by the holidaymaker when staying for a few days, since tourists are kept on the outside of the everyday life of the residents whose business is not part of the tourism or leisure industry. The effect from the novel is that the visitor has clandestine access to much more of the social life of the town. Readers can feel that they know this unknown town and its people by having formed an emotional attachment to them and their problems. They have accumulated a cultural knowledge which can be used tourism knowledge when they visit the town.

Social Media and the Capital of Language

As the events in the out-of-season seaside town become newsworthy in *The Yellow Dog*, an additional group appear in Concarneau, not locals but journalists from the capital city, Paris. It is a familiar sight to observe holidaymakers at the very limits of the country, on the sandy beaches, eagerly consuming the national newspapers from

the city, like *Le Monde*, filled with text from Paris, the social, textual bustle that tourists claim they are getting away from. Once the holidaymaker has got away from it all, the temptation of those discourses stamped with the authority of the capital city proves too strong. *Le Monde* offers its subscribers the option of re-directing their daily newspaper to their holiday address and the newsagent's shop is always prominent in every French resort (please see plate below):

Plate 32 Newsagent separated by only a narrow street from the Admiral in Concarneau. (Photo: C Mansfield, Author's own fieldwork 3.6.10).

The link through the written texts, in this case the novel *The Yellow Dog*, to the names of larger conurbations, the toponyms of Brest and Quimper, and ultimately the city of capital, Paris, tantalises the reader in a dialogic process. On the one hand a place is posited where the metropolitan buzz of conversations is the most important in the whole of the reader's language culture, Paris, the Head Quarters of the French language. On the other hand, especially in Simenon's construction, the capital city has despatched its rumour specialists, the journalists who arrive in chapter 4, which has the title, HQ, to gather intelligence here in this sleepy, out-of-season, seaside town. Suddenly, the place is made important by this arrival of the creators of text who use technologies to accumulate cultural capital back in Paris.

The centre of cultural dialogue tantalises because it is always just out of reach while remaining well signposted with the texts that emanate from it. Somewhat like, the exact spot, from earlier. Of course, there is no centre, no final exact spot. The intrigue, the stimulation of desire, operates in the same way as mediated rumour, or news, from the distant capital city, and with the same effect as that which takes place when you read about your local town in a publication from your own language-group's capital city, its HQ. In the extract from the novel below Simenon shows one of the journalists using the technology of the telephone to transmit but, at the same time, mediate the chance remarks of the detective. The mediated message is sent immediately to the Paris HQ of the newspaper where it will be printed overnight and delivered by train in time for breakfast in Concarneau the following morning:

> […] le journaliste, qui n'avait pas quitté l'appareil téléphonique, tirait parti de cette dernière phrase.
> — *Aux dernières nouvelles, c'est demain que le commissaire Maigret compte élucider définitivement le mystère.*
> Il ajouta d'une autre voix :
> — C'est tout, mademoiselle… Surtout, dites au patron qu'il ne change pas une ligne à mon papier… Il ne peut pas comprendre… Il fait être sur les lieux…
> <div align="right">(Simenon 1931, 143)</div>

> […] the reporter at the phone turned Maigret's parting words to his own account:
> "According to the latest word, Superintendent Maigret expects to clear up the mystery by tomorrow."
> His tone changed as he finished. "That's all, mademoiselle. Now be sure to tell the boss not to change one line of my story. He couldn't understand… he'd have to be on the scene..."
> <div align="right">(Simenon trans. Asher 1987, 13)</div>

That oscillation between being here on the spot, or 'on the scene' as Asher (1987,13) renders the French 'sur les lieux' and being recognised, mediated and written about in the capital of culture is brought out in this momentary scene above. The immediacy of newer, digital social media can be seen already in place in the 1930s, and already intriguing Simenon. An even more skilful use of the journalists as other voices in the dialogic process occurs slightly earlier in the story: here a reporter from *Le Petit Parisien* phones in his copy about an incident (Simenon 1931, 37) (Simenon trans. Asher 1987, 66), and, since the telephone is open to the whole of the Admiral bar, everyone receives the news at the same time as Paris. In fact, Simenon then has Maigret hear of the incident officially half a page, and fifteen minutes later. The net effect is that Paris appears to know what is happening in Concarneau before

Concarneau society itself. *Le Petit Parisien* (please see plate below) claimed to have the largest print-run of any newspaper in the whole world in its strap-line at the time.

Figure (Text/Chart/Diagram/image etc.) has been removed due to Copyright restrictions.

Plate 33 *Le Petit Parisien* for the same date that the story opens: Friday Nov 7th 1930. Late Edition Paris, available in full from French National Library archives.

This cross-over finds an explanation in Lewis Lapham's reading of Marshall McLuhan's classic text on the media:

> Not until page 305 does he [McLuhan] suggest that the content of any medium is always another medium — "the content of the press is literary statement, as the content of the book is speech, and the content of the movie is the novel" — and it is only on page 349 that he clarifies his use of the phrase "mass media" by saying that "they are an indication, not of the size of their audiences, but of the fact that everybody becomes involved in them at the same time."
>
> <div align="right">(Lapham 1994, xii)</div>

Through *Le Petit Parisien* and its speed of data-gathering and re-distribution everybody becomes involved in the media at the same time. A place has become an event. Something is happening in the sleepy, provincial resort which is worthy of interest from the capital. A group of interested detective fiction writers and fans of the genre did develop an event in 1993 which became the annual *Festival du polar*, Detective Fiction Festival, in Concarneau and has run in high season every year since then. This festival will be discussed alongside another Concarneau book festival, *Livre & Mer*, Book & Sea, which began in 1985 as a book *salon*, a specialist or trade fair, and runs in April, the shoulder season for a cold-water resort.

Vertical Topologies

> No less symbolical is the final tableau of *Le Père Goriot*, when Rastignac overlooks the city from the heights of the Père Lachaise cemetery [...] the narrator exercises the kind of control over the fiction that Rastignac longs to acquire over the city.
>
> <div align="right">(Furst 1992 ,30)</div>

While John Urry mentions towers in passing in *The Tourist Gaze*, including Blackpool Tower, the Eiffel Tower, The Post Office Tower (Urry 2002) for him it remains horizontal topography that opens a city to the tourist gaze, citing Berman (1983) Urry suggests that the Haussmanisation of Paris created sweeping vistas of the urban space (Urry 2002). These wide boulevards are often punctuated by sites or cultural palaces, for example the Opera, so that visitors see where they were going and enjoy the spectacle at the same time; the net effect is to create Paris as a single entity to be visited rather than a collection of, sometimes dangerous or dirty, *quartiers* (Urry 2002) and (Berman 1983). However, in *The Yellow Dog*, Maigret witnesses the bravery of the young policeman from above, high from his hotel bedroom window and in a later, second scene Maigret spies, unnoticed from a roof-top on a secret rendezvous, below his position and in the unreachable distance. At first, this view from above, would appear to disconnect the character and, by extension, the reader from any engagement with the unfolding events below but Valihora (2007) offers a way of understanding how Gilpin's picturesque can be combined with character engagement in literary texts; Valihora uses *Mansfield Park* as her example, demonstrating that even at a height the character remains fully absorbed in the remote event she is witnessing. If the novel contains these scenes viewed from above, then it offers an additional connection for readers to become engaged both with the characters but also with the spatial arrangement of the place where the events are unfolding. In *The Yellow Dog*, this is the Admiral Hotel. Arguably, it is at this point, where the intense gaze takes place that the potential visitor will develop their strongest attachment to a place in the novel that can be visited in the real world. The view from that point will take on a picturesque and aesthetic quality, in the same way as the view of Paris from the closing scene from Proust's (1921) *The Guermantes Way* (Proust 1987-9). In this scene the height and distance of the narrator's vantage point render even the poor districts of Paris beautiful. Proust and the narrator are aware of this effect and make a point of it by comparing it in value to a hundred Dutch paintings, and then using the literary device to reinforce, and cleverly postpone a pivotal revelation about two of the characters (Proust 1987-9).

The first three pages of chapter 9 of *The Yellow Dog* make use of this verticality again for a key moment of the story, a moment when the light begins to return to overcast Concarneau, this time as Maigret makes a discovery of some secret evidence. Subtle

use of deixis places the reader high above the everyday activities of the town, and skilful use of tourist souvenirs and post cards are a gift for the DMO seeking inspiration for interpretation objects. The deixis should be credited to Linda Asher's skill as a translator, since Simenon's original French has the rumour of children's play merely sounding in the schoolyard; although Simenon does use 'Celle-ci', 'This one, here' to refer deictically to the startling discovery he makes (Simenon 1931, 146-147).

Conclusions from this Close-reading

What can close-reading of an actual novel, which is set in a recognisable destination, offer literary tourism?

1. It allows the tour manager or DMO to find the points where visitors can identify places mentioned in the novel that still exist today. These spots take on significance, as the close-reading above shows, if (i) key moments of the story occur there, (ii) the author describes using imagistic language, or (iii) if the view is from a height. Discoverable places can be problematic, as Mary Shelley describes in her letters 'We went again to the *bosquet* de Julie, and found that the precise spot was now utterly obliterated' (cited in Watson 2006, 142). Further, these places may no longer be accessible, for example, the Admiral is not currently a hotel so that the upper floors occupied by Maigret cannot be seen by the public.

2. Close-reading reveals objects, processes, phenomena and activities in the text that may be re-enacted by the literary tourist, for example walks around the town using routes from the novel, social media links that lead to discovery of documents contemporary to the novel's inception, seeking out food and drinks that the characters enjoyed in the story, eg the Pernod from the bar scene (Simenon 1931, 16).

3. Provide a protagonist or hero figure with whom to identify and see how they present moods for the visitor to re-live or from which to discern values that are attractive to the reader, for example, melancholy, existentialism, triumph, happiness, stoicism, generosity.

4. Opportunities for excitement, fear and its resolution, mystery and ideological reassurance, but with the opportunity to be critical of ideologies by showing unfairness or unequal power relations.

Where the DMO has control over spaces which can be identified from the novel, for example, the entrance to the walled island in Concarneau, opportunities arise for additional interpretation. It is here, too, that the DMO and local stakeholders can ensure suitable access to scenes and 'exact spots', for example, support could be given for the Admiral to re-open as a hotel, signage and a safe footpath could be put in place to gain walking access to la Pointe du Cabellou. Less easily identifiable places require the eliciting of tacit local knowledge, for example, which building today was the author's model for the police barracks on the walled island? A final point uncovered from this close-reading is the use of the present tense in scene-setting, and deictic language, *here*, *there*, *above*, *below*, to position the reader in the text. This finding offers a two-fold lesson; first to seek out other novels that have this immediacy in their writing and secondly to experiment with the same writing style when writing interpretation texts for the tourist.

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9(2) Analysis of Social Media Data and Results

Introduction to Data Collection within Social Media Groups

Formulation of Questions and Prompts

The use of social media sites for researching into literary tourism has a set of key aims within this research, mainly clustered around the second research question: How can the novel be used sensitively by the DMO to create tourism demand and to satisfy visitors' expectations? The public reviews on many social media sites, where data on visitor attractions or on books can be found, is reflective and written after the event of the visit or of the reading. For this reason it is probable that the respondent will provide reviews of what was enjoyed about the experience (Woodside 2010), this in turn can be categorised and reported on by the research for later recommendations to the DMO or attraction manager. The key aims of using social media sites are as follows:

i. To see if novels and authors do stimulate the interest in travel to a particular place, even if the journey is not undertaken, and which novels

ii. To find the value or stimulant for the desire to travel; it may be

(a) the story,

(b) the style or content,

(c) the relationship with the author,

(d) the recommendation or endorsement by someone else, who may be:

1. Friend,

2. Family member,

3. Writer,

4. Other social media,

5. Travel marketing,

6. Celebrity, opinion leader endorsement

iii. To determine whether any actual literary travel has taken place. This can include site visits that were not initiated by reading a particular book. Then, to discover, if this literary visit had value. What aspects of the visit were satisfying, valuable, educational or enjoyable?

iv. Finally, what else could the managers of the literary site do to make the visit more rewarding? How could value be added? What would make you return? What would make you read more of that author or type of book?

Two types of existing social media were analysed, and a third, new site was created specifically for this work to address some of the findings that were missing from the existing sites. The two types of social media are book review sites and travel sites. Under the book review type, both Amazon and GoodReads were used. Under the travel type, TripAdvisor's review pages for the Writer's House, La Maison Victor Hugo were analysed. Two software packages were used in the text analysis: TextSTAT, free from Berlin University and NVivo10, from QSR International, Melbourne.

Analysing Existing Social Media: On-line Public Book Reviews

Following Busby & Laviolette (2006) and Busby & Meethan (2008), data were collected on *The Yellow Dog* from two publicly-available book review web-sites: Amazon (Amazon 2013) and GoodReads (GoodReads 2013); the data were cleaned and archived in Appendices A2 and A3. Summary statistics are shown in the table below:

Table 12 Summary of Review Lengths from Amazon and GoodReads

Social Review Site	Reviews	Word-count	Average Length
Amazon	10	2270	227
GoodReads	31	3270	105
TOTALS	41	5540	135

Using a software package called TextSTAT to produce a concordance of the entire set of 41 reviews a preliminary search for 'fun', 'enjoy', enjoyable', 'great' and 'pleasure', plus 'like' used as a term of enjoyment, yielded 23 finds, examples:

the games he [the author, Simenon] plays with your sympathies for each character makes for a **fun** ride.

People have criticised the passivity of Maigret in this story and others from the near hundred in the collection but personally I **enjoy** them; knowing your hero is playing games with everyone from the beginning to establish proof of guilt brings a different level of **pleasure** from your mystery reading.

It's always a **pleasure** to read how Simenon loved to 'stick it' to the Provinciales in between the wars France. He loved to open the door on their pomposity and their groping for status.

it's the way that Maigret goes about what he does that is so much **fun**. While everyone is watching his every move, including a good portion of the Paris national press, he goes about as if he doesn't care.

He has a very clean writing style. It's a **fun** read so far. There isn't a wasted word in the book.

"The Yellow Dog" is an **enjoyable** short read that was published early in the Inspector Maigret

But I did **like** the inspector's process of deduction.

Simenon does a **great** job of depicting the community life in provincial France.

(Appendices A2, A3)

A search in the reviews for the other concept that this study focusses on, 'value', yields only one result; and that is not necessarily a measurement of value of the novel to the reader:

Maigret was, or seems, ahead of his times in his aversion to `higher authority'. He also seems to have a deep and clearly defined set of moral **values** that does not necessarily coincide with the **values** held by his higher ups or by those reporters or office holders that seem to second guess his every move. This personality, this ahead of its time jaundiced eye, may explain the resurgence of interest in his books. The Yellow Dog is an enjoyable read.

(Appendices A2, A3)

Tellingly, only one reviewer expressed an interest in visiting Concarneau, motivated by the novel, this one the sole French-language review on GoodReads:

Read on May 22, 2013:
Mon premier Maigret ! Ambiance hivernale et grise de Concarneau ... Allez comprendre, j'ai eu envie d'y aller ! :)

My first Maigret! Concarneau's grey, wintery atmosphere … Go and find out, I fancied going there! ☺

(Appendices A2, A3)

Analysing Existing Social Media: Attraction Reviews

The attraction reviews were taken from a travel social media web-site, TripAdvisor (TripAdvisor 2013) and are archived as Appendix A7 in NVivo10 data. For the writer's house, La Maison Victor Hugo in Paris, 81 reviews were available by the end of 2013 (28.12.13). Comments from the reviews were coded in two passes, initially for points where value was expressed by the respondent and then in a second pass,

into categories suggested by the review itself, the NVivo software terms this second process in-vivo coding. These formed 16 nodes in NVivo10. Please see table below:

Table 13 Coding Nodes for TripAdvisor Reviews of Victor Hugo House, Paris

Name	Sources	References
value	5	34
art	4	8
unplanned	3	7
novel-mention	4	7
architecture	2	6
disappointment	2	5
decor	3	5
audio-guide	3	4
biography	3	4
authenticity	3	3
story	3	3
toilets	1	2
pre-planned	1	1
free-entry	1	1
learnt	1	1
interpretation-panels	1	1

Although the review contributors did discuss the author's novels at seven points in the material, the group of three categories: art, architecture and décor figure most significantly in the reviews. The architecture and the views from the windows of Hugo's house on the Place des Vosges arguably give value and receive reviewers' accolades because the town-planning here under Henri IV from 1605 to 1612, was deliberately designed to be attractive. The first floors of European town houses, the *piano nobile*, have long been planned to look out over gardens to give the best effect for the occupants gazing from the high vantage point of their premium accommodation. One TripAdvisor contributor re-discovers the *piano nobile* here:

> the views from the museum over the square are special because it is on the first floor, giving a panoramic view not available from the square itself.
>
> (TripAdvisor 2013)

Indeed, in modern times a formal *bosquet* of lime trees has been planted to make the square even more attractive to strollers or to people viewing from the surrounding apartments. For the literary researcher this presents a complex problem, how to separate the physical surroundings from the literary interest? However, in this case the use of *bosquet* planting provides a connection, via Romanticism, between the author's genre and the urban space, which may be accidental but could be used by the attraction manager to develop the narrative of artistic movements that surround the work of Hugo. None of the reviews makes this connection.

In chapter 6 the existence of a particular group of visitors was theorised as part of the conceptual framework, these visitors were categorised under the heading of the β (beta) form of accidental literary tourists. In the respondents' reviews on the Victor Hugo house four clear examples of this are reported:

> …We came across this by accident as we were exploring Paris.
> … [W]e happened upon this and were thrilled.
> …We stopped here after stumbling upon it while wandering around the Place des Vosges.
> …We came upon the Museum during a stroll through Place Des Vosges.
> (TripAdvisor 2013)

The last two comments reveal more than the original proposition from chapter 6, it is the Place des Vosges, a well-advertised tourist zone that has drawn them close enough to the literary house for highly localised signage or other indicators to complete the conversion of these chance visitors to literary tourists, using the term, conversion, in a sales or purchasing sense. Careful study of the location, its signage and the approachability of local residents to explain access to the house would provide an attraction manager with useful tools for completing that same conversion to a literary attraction near or within a more well-known and publicised tourist zone.

Reviewers mostly comment upon what the attraction manager has placed there, or on the existing architecture, but could a focus on disappointment give clues to what visitors seek in a building used to commemorate a famous author? These three from the set of five disappointed comments set up a pattern:

> I'm a Victor Hugo lover, so I was hoping to see a bit more into the life of the man by visiting this home, but it felt mostly like a hollow shell.

I hoped that it would be more of a museum commemorating victor hugo and his works. But it literally was just is house and the rooms and it just wasn't interesting at all.

Don't go to learn about Victor Hugo, there are lots of pictures of him but no detail. It's about his house.

<div align="right">(TripAdvisor 2013)</div>

These visitors all feel a sense that something is missing. They all echo what begins to sound like a set of empty rooms unpopulated by the figure of Victor Hugo. The Shakespeare Birthplace Trust in Stratford, attempt to remedy this in their literary properties by the use of actors in period costume, please see image from Twelve-month Pass below:
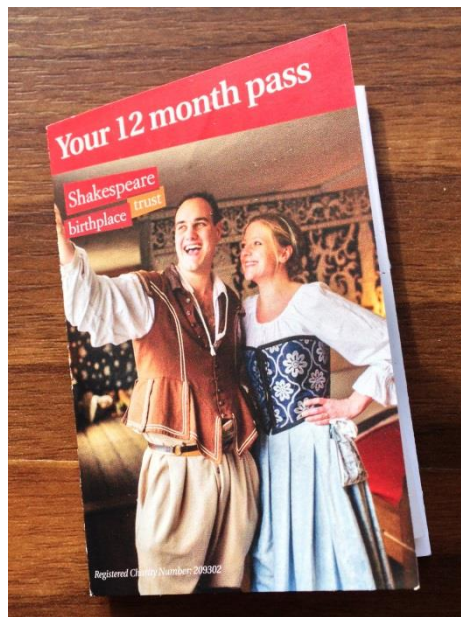
Plate 34 Twelve month pass for Shakespeare's Birthplace,
(Author's own fieldwork 9.11.13 C. Mansfield)

This would entail the employment of staff, and would be a cost and training consideration as chapter 5 has shown (Shaw & Williams 2004); usefully two comments are made concerning the existing French staff of the Hugo House, one in this category of disappointment:

I would have given it a five star if the people working
upstairs were a little more happy with their job.

<div align="right">(TripAdvisor 2013)</div>

And, in complete contrast, one comment from the category of value:

And the museum staff were very much doing their specified jobs – one to show
you to the ticket desk, one to issue the obligatory ticket even though entry is free,

> and another to take your bag – all three people standing within touching distance of one another. A delight!
>
> (TripAdvisor 2013)

The above reviewer clearly had prior knowledge of employment practices and staff roles in publicly-funded organisations in metropolitan France and drew pleasure from seeing this cultural knowledge being played-out. Herbert (2001) pays particular attention to visitors' prior knowledge in his data collection but does not draw any conclusions from his findings on their knowledge of, say, an author's novels. However, the reviewer who had time to observe and then feel sufficiently affected to comment upon the activities of the attraction staff, leaves a strong indicator that visitors find value in observing tourism industry staff and reflecting on their social practices. In this case, the staff were not staged as performers, indeed the pleasure drawn from watching them at work was unspoken, a use of tacit knowledge mobilised by the viewer's imaginary. In chapter 6 the proposal of Salazar (2011) was presented as part of the conceptual framework, in his work he shows that within the circulation of cultural production can be seen regulation and power relations, and that further, a failure by the DMO and tourism scholars to understand how imaginaries are embedded within powerful institutions, for example, the state and local government, results in a loss of the development of new tourism practices (Salazar 2011). This visitor, though, has connected through the designed experience within the house thanks to the material prompts of three characters from *Les Misérables* (1862):

> also pictures and statues of his books' characters like Cossette, Jean Valjean and Javert...
> you will go to the past and live with them for an hour and I think you will enjoy it.
>
> (TripAdvisor 2013)

The reviewer's imaginary has used the prompts to bring the fictional characters to life and re-enact the past in the way that Caughey discusses (1984 and 2006). It is difficult with such scant evidence to suggest what has happened here, however, from the detailed knowledge of character names, revealed by the reviewer coupled with the fact that none of the disappointed reviews mention characters that it is the respondent's depth of knowledge that has rendered the experience more satisfying, brought more value and removed disappointment. This is something Herbert (2001) hints at but never makes explicit, and that would warrant the term: personal cultural capital.

Journal of the Social Media site on Google+ Communities

To elicit more specific responses concerning value in literary tourism and to endeavour to reach a much larger respondent group than the existing social media sites had provided above, a new Google+ Community was opened on 16th June 2013 and managed carefully over a period of six months until January 2014 specifically for this research study. A range of strategies were deployed to encourage users of the Google Plus social media network to join as members of the research or survey community, called *Travel and Books*. By January 2014 when the final data analysis was completed this membership had reached 132 members, (Travel & Books 2014).

The set of aims, from the introduction to this chapter, to elicit knowledge about the value of literary tourism was released over a period of time as prompts to the *Travel and Books* community members to recount their experiences; it was felt that it would be an overload when presented as the list above. However, the articulation of the questions as prompts aimed not to close down responses that the researcher has not anticipated since these responses may contain the unknown elements of literary tourism that are often overlooked or may be difficult to articulate or elicit. In this way the method followed the proposals for narrative analysis from Riessman (1993). A short url was created with the Google url shortener so that the number of clicks to the site could also be monitored, The Google short url system provides a graphical view of the other web-sites that are responsible for sending the most referrals to the site *Travel and Books*, please see figure below:

Referrers

plus.google.c...
1.9%

eserve.org.uk
3.1%

www.flickr.com
3.4%

plus.url.googl...
16.4%

Unknown/empty
66.8%
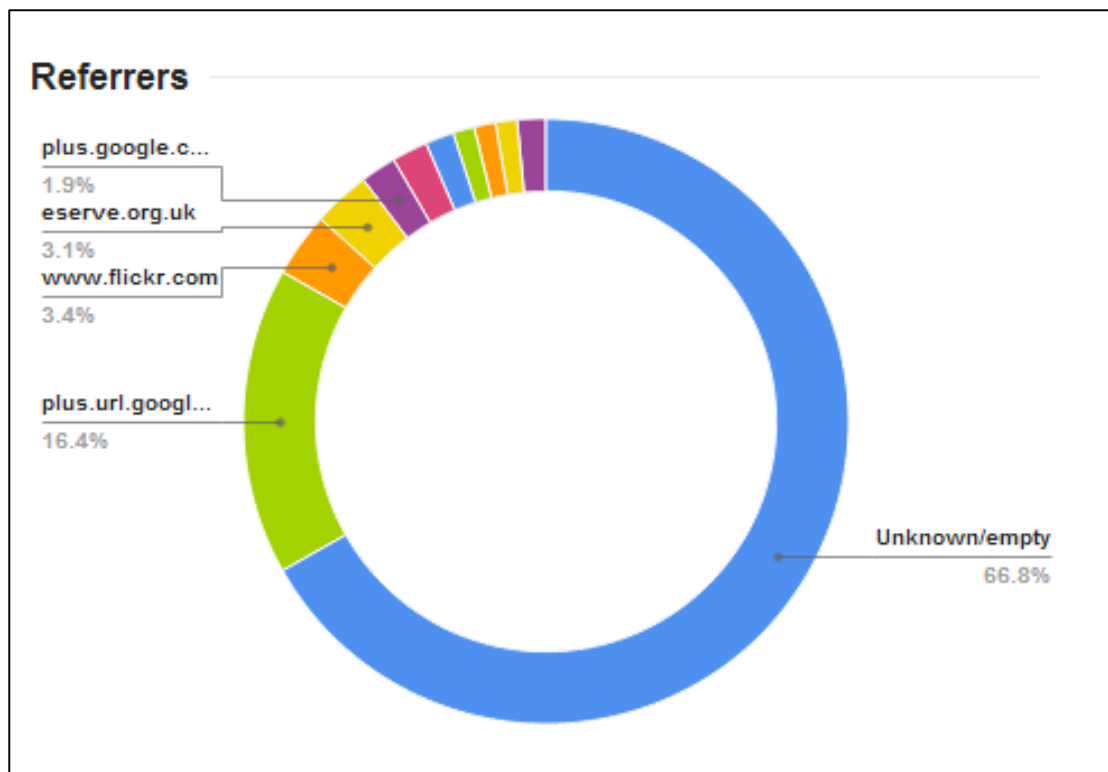
Figure 12 Sites referring visitors to Travel and Books

The figure above shows that Flickr, an established social media site for sharing photographs, produced the most referral links into the research study's *Travel and Books* community page. Additional effort was therefore placed in Flickr to find and invite groups and individuals who had already shown, by their photographic collections, that they had literary travel interests. For the literary tourism researcher Flickr is a tantalising social media site since it contains groups devoted to literary tourism, for example, Literary London, but the nature of the site, which is essentially for sharing images, means very few members leave comments from which value can be ascertained. Below are two tables which act as a log or journal of the management of the community using Google Plus; from the figures shown it can be seen how approximately 350,000 online respondents received an invitation to join the community and post comments on their experiences of literary tourism. The Communities are shown in italics eg *Travel*, whilst mail-shots to email addresses of users who may not yet have registered for Google+ are shown in normal face type.

209

Table 14 Journaling Table for Social Media Management

Community	Date Invite Sent	Members (Size)	Members in T&B before	Posts in T&B before	Clicks on short url before
1. Books that I like	15.7.13	1096	9	3	0
2. Mailshot 1	16.7.13	32	10	3	0
3. Travel	17.7.13	2194	10	4	31
4. Bloggers and Travelers*	21.7.13	1114	19	9	52
5. Writing	21.7.13	195	20	9	54
6. Needful Books*	22.7.13	1085	23	10	56
7. UK Tourism	23.7.13	443	26	11	58
8. The Writers Community	24.7.13	3742	27	12	60
9. Mailshot 2 French Class	24.7.13	12	27	12	60
10. Travel Writers B&T	25.7.13	204	29	12	62
11. Writers' Corner	26.7.13	5692	29	12	63
12. Travel (Footprints)	29.7.13	4241	32	14	68
13. Writers' Blogs	31.7.13	1263	33	15	71
14. Mailshot 3 Eng.Lit	31.7.13	46	33	15	71
15. Mailshot 4 Eng.Lit	31.7.13	23	33	15	71
16. Tour France	2.8.13	43	34	15	77
17. Google+ Book Club	3.8.13	3827	34	15	78
18. The Art of Writing	4.8.13	1190	34	15	79
19. Academia Lit Tourism	4.8.13	17	34	15	79
20. Travel Talk	5.8.13	3975	34	15	81
21. Urban Travel	7.8.13	2528	37	16	89
22. English Literature	7.8.13	206	37	16	92
23. LiLT	9.8.13	32	39	16	93
24. I Know a cool place	10.8.13	170	39	16	95
25. Travel Blogging	10.8.13	206	39	16	95
26. Mailshot 5 Writrs Hses	10.8.13	7	39	16	95
27. Luxury Travel	10.8.13	1115	39	16	101
28. Mailshot 6 French Lec	10.8.13	21	39	17	102
29. Being Traveler	11.8.13	160	41	18	104
30. Travel Destns & Stories	11.8.13	236	44	20	106
31. Teachers & Ac Writers	11.8.13	12	44	20	106
32. Bookish and Such	11.8.13	6	44	20	106
33. Writer's Discussion G*	11.8.13	13616	44	20	106
34. Inspirational Quotes	12.8.13	41812	44	20	107
35. Mailshot 6 Eng.Lit Dundee	12.8.13	17	45	21	109
36. Writing Resources	13.8.13	5734	47	22	115
37. Book Fans	14.8.13	26	49	23	120
38. Books International	14.8.13	66	49	23	120
39. Literature Lovers	14.8.13	234	49	23	120
40. Exploration	15.8.13	52348	50	23	128
41. Travel Community	15.8.13	1162	50	23	128
42. Travel + Holiday	15.8.13	57	50	23	129
43. United Kingdom (UK)	15.8.13	3441	50	23	129
44. Google+ Discuss	17.8.13	79703	56	24	132
45. Museums & Culture G+	19.8.13	79	60	26	136
46. Museums	19.8.13	582	60	26	136

47. Art & Culture Vultures	19.8.13	1039	60	26	136
48. Invites within Flickr	27.8.13	30	60	26	156
49. Nature Photography	28.8.13	111,741	71	27	156
50. Book Reviews	28.8.13	446	71	27	156
TOTALS	76 days	**347,266**	71	27	156

Notes to Journaling Table:

Mailshot 1 – to university colleagues who already use Google+.

Mailshots Eng.Lit – to English Literature lecturers at universities.

*Invitation deleted by that Community's moderator within 3 hours.

Logo or icon changed 14-Aug-13 from French book spine to stamp design in case the French language discouraged English-speakers from contributing to the knowledge exchange. Please see the two images below:

A second period of intense community management was carried out from mid-December 2013 until January 2014 to pose the last questions concerning Writers' Houses, again a daily log or journal was maintained, please see table below:

Table 15 Second Journaling Table

Community	Date Invite Sent	Members (Size)	Members in T&B before	Posts in T&B before	Clicks on short url before
1. Travel and Books	14.12.13	97	71	155	218
2. Post to Lit Tourism Circle	14.12.13	167	97	155	218
3. Museums & Culture on G+	14.12.13	140	97	155	218
4. Book Reviewers	14.12.13	1491	97	155	218
5. Ernest Hemingway	18.12.13	31	100	159	224
6. United Kingdom UK	18.12.13	5184	100	159	224
7. Urban Photography	18.12.13	7492	100	159	224
8. French Literature	18.12.13	29	100	159	224
9. Literature	18.12.13	496	101	159	224
10. Travel & Tourism News	18.12.13	173	101	159	224
11. Books The Passion	18.12.13	365	101	159	231
12. Kindle eWriters	18.12.13	783	101	159	232
13. Bloggers & Book Luv	18.12.13	243	101	159	233
14. Authors & Marketing	18.12.13	799	101	159	234
15. Author Marketing Club	18.12.13	482	101	159	235
16. Visit Norway	18.12.13	1069	101	159	239
17. Celebrating Authors	18.12.13	103	101	159	239
18. Agatha Christie	18.12.13	172	101	159	241

19. Last call for posts	2.1.14	0	132	173	262
TOTALS	20 days	**19316**	132	173	262

Notes to Second Journaling Table: A period of 105 days was left to elapse before the third phase question was posed to the more mature Google+ Community of *Travel and Books*. Table 2 above, shows the growth of the site through December 2013 to early January 2014. A holiday period was chosen in the expectation that this would present readers more time to reflect and contribute longer postings. The question set had the following wording and was accompanied by the author's own photograph of Shakespeare's Birthplace in Stratford-on-Avon:
Shakespeare's Birthplace in Stratford-on-Avon, England.

My PhD Research is in its third phase now. Thank you for all your previous posts; I now want to pose you a further challenge

"What can the manager of a Writer's House or a Literary Site do to add value to your visit?"

A Strategy for Attracting Members and Stimulating Posted Comments

John Crotts and Bing Pan (2012) find they have to look back to the twentieth century to find theoretical models for social exchange. They take the work of Homans (1958), Buckner (1965) and Emerson (1976) and from that develop their list of key social rewards that will encourage continued communication exchanges, postings on social media sites:

(i)   Opportunity

(ii)   Prestige

(iii)   Conformity

(iv)   Acceptance   Crotts & Pan (2012)

In the on-line community designed for this data collection, called *Travel and Books*, it was hoped that members would see the reward of crowd-sourcing, in that over time a searchable list of literary places and their books would accumulate from members' postings. Initially, it was hoped that members could be attracted across from other Google+ Communities which shared one of the aims of the new *Travel and Books* Community, so posted invitations were made systematically onto these other community sites from 15 July 2013; some diagnostic statistics were recorded before each posting and these data are available in the two tables above. A further rationale of this method for attracting new members and their responses to the survey prompt was that they already had Google+ accounts and were familiar with posting and

trusting Google+ as a social space that is secure against irritating and unwanted messaging. The second main strategy was mailshots to groups of potential alpha-group literary tourists, as proposed in the conceptual framework, for example, English and French literature lecturers and postgraduate researchers. From Van der Veen (2008), the plan to invite members who would be seen as celebrities by literary visitors was conceived. Crotts & Pan (2012) also recommend the inclusion of what they term, opinion leaders, in social media communities (Crotts & Pan 2012); Busby, Ergul & Eng (2013) use the term imprimatur, to denote this type of personality whose celebrity or leadership status can stimulate followers, in their case to a destination rather than to a social media site. This was implemented by inviting authors and finding and inviting project leaders who ran Literary Tourism work. For example, Simon Scarrow, an author already discussed in an early post on the *Travel and Books* community was invited. A further development of this was to set an event date, and use this as a phase change to open the community to managers of writers' houses at the end of August 2013. Finally, using other social media to attract new members and postings was attempted, for example on 27th August 2013 a new Flickr Group was launched as part of this research called *Literary Places on Flickr* (Flickr 2013) with both a link and a Quick-scan bar code across to *Travel and Books* on G+. At the time of this data analysis, 3.1.14, this Flickr group has 170 photographs and 7 members (Flickr 2013).

The end of August 2013 provided a breakpoint to take stock and to report on the data collection, since the question prompt would change to include visits to writers' houses after that. In 11 weeks (76 days) 347,266 potential respondents had been contacted in 50 different interest groups. Google+ Communities appears to give the researcher or marketer rapid access to over 4,500 on-line users a day, for less than an hour's work. The response rate, or reward, seems low, though. At this 11-week breakpoint only 20 usable postings could be extracted for analysis in NVivo, so only 1 in 17,000 people had an imagined literary place to share. This is usefully indicative, though, of the popularity of travel induced by literary reading, since it is a highly specialised segment of the travel market. Of course, two other key factors are in play, the initiation of the G+ Community took place in summer, when many US and UK users are on holiday and, further, the first 11 weeks of an online community may be a period when users are still waiting to develop trust in the knowledge exchange offered

by the social group. Crotts & Pan (2012) write of social exchange and penetration theory where levels of trust need to be built up before users will expose their goals and ambitions, and the first question posed is in that category, asking respondents to reveal their ambitions to visit somewhere from their personal reading. A tag cloud of high frequency words extracted from NVivo at this 11-week point, see figure below, reveals respondents writing about their own identity: I, me, I'm, my, am; and using language that explains value: best, enjoy, desire, disappoint, feel, great, inspiration, like, love, want.

Table 16 Word Frequency Cloud from all usable postings to *Travel and Books* 30.8.13 breakpoint. Settings: First 100 most frequent, 1 character and longer.

about across all also am an ancient any asked author beauty been beginning being best books brooks came can certainly city comes course day describes desire destination detail did disappoint do doesn't during each enjoy ever feel from great has have he here his history how i i'm inspiration journey life like love made many me most much my novels one other pilgrimage place reading road see shakespeare site so some somewhere story telling them through travel trip very visit want we well what when where which while would year yes you

A word frequency cloud extracted at the end of the data collection in January 2014 is shown below. By this final stage 35 usable postings of a total of 2026 words had been made by 132 members from 366,582 users contacted online. Approximately 11,000 contacts have to be made to elicit one usable comment on literary tourism. Please see table below:

Table 17 Word Frequency Cloud from all usable postings to Travel and Books 3.1.14.
Settings: First 100 most frequent, 1 character and longer.

alibi almost **also** amazing american among april area around back beach beauty

best birchington blomfield **book books** bridge

building built cannery centre certainly check churchyard city company connect
course dairy dante days de deblasi described describes description desire di doc donna
early editore either english filmed fun german good hardy

history house journey la like

literary little locations london love

loved luke made many new novel novels

now one pancras park people place places

poet read reading real road see set site st subtitles take

thomas though time travel two venice

visit visited want written

In table 2, three key changes are noticeable in the topic covered by contributors: (i)
the relegation of the word 'disappointment' out of the top 100 most frequently used
words, (ii) a shift away from the frequency of use of first person pronouns (I, me, we,
my), and (iii) the words, 'made' and 'place' remain prominent, even becoming more

frequently used in a total word count of a far greater size. This will be analysed in more detail below.

More Detailed Analysis of G+ *Travel and Books* Postings

A range of more contemporary authors was revealed by the content of the postings, authors who have not been previously discussed by existing research in the academic literature on literary tourism. These include two with very specific places to visit, Simon Scarrow (b.1962), Petra in Jordan, and the novel *Year of Wonders: A Novel of the Plague* (2001) by Geraldine Brooks (b.1955) posted by two members who are inspired to visit the English Peak District village of Eyam, Derbyshire. Notably, the official tourist board web-site of the Peak District and Derbyshire (Peak District 2013) makes no mention of the novel even though it holds a Literary Map competition. More canonical authors were discussed, for example, James Joyce (1882-1941) whose modernist novel *Ulysses* (1922) inspired one respondent to visit Dublin, where the main character Bloom walks around the city, and also to want to visit Paris, where Joyce lived, wrote and published the book. Indeed, and this is an example of eliciting tacit knowledge, this respondent noticed that the *Travel and Books* community had been founded on 16th June 2013, and pointed out that this is Bloomsday, the annual event when enthusiasts follow the main character, Bloom's route through the Dublin streets. The coincidence when an important fictional date could be said to bestow mythical significance to the event that uses the date, is very similar in effect to the status bestowed by fictional events to a place.

In the following table author's names and, where possible the titles of works that the posting onto *Travel and Books* referred to, are set out to reveal that 35 writers have had some influence on the community's desire to travel or actual tourism experiences.

Table 18 Authors and their works mentioned by respondent members of the G+ Social media Community, Travel and Books. Data collected from June 2013 to January 2014. Analysed by genre, publication date, urban or rural setting and comments.

	Author (dates)	Year	*Book Title* - Genre	Novel Setting or Author's Life. Urban or Rural	Comments
1	Rebecca West (1892-1983)	1941	*Black Lamb and Grey Falcon* – autobiographical	Her journey from Vienna to Istanbul.	made me wish to visit Macedonia and Albania

			travel novel	U	
2	Marcel Pagnol (1895-1974)	1957	*La Gloire de mon père* – autobiographical novel	Garlaban mountains and village of La Treille near Marseille. R	I would love to visit all the places mentioned
3	Ian Thomson	1980	*Bonjour blanc: A Journey through Haiti* – autobiographical travel novel	Haiti. R	As a reader you can picture the place, smell some of the scents
4	Mary Ray (b.1932)	1968	*Standing Lions* -	City of Mycenae. U	when we visited the archaeological site it was a real place to me
5	Simon Scarrow (b.1962)	2006	*The Eagle in the Sand* - historical novel	Ancient city of Petra. U	the description of the ancient city of Petra in particular made me want to be there
6	Roberto Perrone (b.1957)	2009	*La ballata dell'amore salato* - novel	Genoa. U	
7	Cesare De Marchi (b.1949)	2013	*Nove storie storiche* – 9 historical stories	Genoa. U	
8	Geraldine Brooks (b.1955)	2001	*Year of Wonders* – historical novel	Eyam, Derbyshire. R	made me visit Eyam, the history is so tangible in the book. The place doesn't disappoint
9	Miguel de Cervantes (1547-1616)	1605	*Don Quixote* – Classic novel	La Mancha, Spain. R	would love to get to La Mancha someday to see the windmills and other sites from the novel
10	Arundhati Roy (b.1961)	1997	*The God of Small Things* - novel	Kerala , south India. R	made me want to visit Kerala and Shantaram
11	Gregory David Roberts (b.1952)	2003	*Shantaram* – autobiographical detective novel	Mumbai. U	made me want to visit Mumbai
12	Donald Miller (b.1971)	2005	*Through Painted Deserts: Light, God, and Beauty on the Open Road* – autobiographical travel novel.	Texas to Oregon road trip. R	going through the moments of beauty, the necessity of good road trip music, and admitting his moments of embarrassment and fear

13	William Least Heat-Moon (b.1937)	1982	*Blue Highways: A Journey into America* – Travel Writing.	Oregon to Mississippi. R	exploring local American culture on a journey that is just as amazing today
14	John Steinbeck (1902-1968)	1945	*Cannery Row* - social novel	Monterey, California. U	right in front of Doc's lab on Cannery Row
15	Jack Kerouac (1922-1969)	1957	*On The Road* – beat novel, experimental literature	San Francisco, New York, Denver. U	
16	Thomas Hardy (1840-1928)	1867-1895	His novels set in rural 'Wessex'.	Rural Wessex. Hardy studied architecture in London from 1862-67. R	The Thomas Hardy Tree, Old St Pancras Churchyard, London.
17	Walter Scott (1771-1832)	1814-1831	The Meeting of the Waters, place in Scott's life.	Dairy Bridge, the Teesdale Way. R	"flinty footpath's niggard space" quoted from Scott
18	Dante Gabriel Rossetti (1828-1882)	1849-1877	Poetry	Parish Church of All Saints, Birchington, Kent. R	Visit to grave
19	Laura Ingalls Wilder (1867-1957)	1901	Little House in the Big Woods	Pepin, WI. R	It truly was "little"
20	Lorine Niedecker (1903-1970)	1960s	Poetry	Home in Southern Wisconsin R	a place that looks like a bayou
21	Rafik Schami (b.1946)	1987	*A Handful of Stars* - autobiographical novel	Syria. U	
22	Mari Schuh	2010	*Waterfalls* – place writing, landscape geography	R	
23	J.R.R. Tolkien (1892-1973)	1937	*The Hobbit* - novel	Lauterbrunnen. R	scenery inspired Rivendell and the Misty Mountains
24	Donna Leon (b.1942)	1992-2014	Detective or crime novels.	Venice U	
25	Joseph Kanon (b.1946)	2005	*Alibi* – novel, spy or thriller novels	Venice U	you will LOVE the book […] It takes place in Venice
26	Marlena DeBlasi	2002	*1000 Days in Venice* – autobiographical	U	

			novel		
27	Maeve Binchey (1940-2012)	1982-2012	Social novels, tension between urban and rural life		makes me want to travel to England
28	Marilyn Gottlieb	2013	*Life with an Accent* - novel	Palestine during WWII and Germany. U	
29	James Jones (1921-1977)	1951	*From Here to Eternity* - novel	Honolulu. U	Lewers street in Waikiki, where Prewitt and Maggio tried to escape
30	Jim Corbett (1875-1955)	1944	*Man Eaters of Kumaon* - Autobiography	Jim Corbett National Park R	have thoroughly enjoyed the thrill and excitement of the wildlife sojourn
31	Victor Hugo (1802-1885)	1820-1883	Romantic historical novels. Classics.	U	I plan on revisiting Victor Hugo's house and office
32	James Joyce (1882-1941)	1922	*Ulysses* -	Dublin – novel. Paris – life. U	I plan on returning in October and following Bloom's steps
33	Ernest Hemingway (1899-1961)	1926-1999	Novels	Paris. U	of course, the cafes frequented by Hemingway, Fitzgerald, and that whole crew.
34	F Scott Fitzgerald (1896-1940)	1920-1932	Novels	Paris – Life. U	[…] the cafes […]
35	Andrea Camilleri (b.1925)	1994-2013	Detective mysteries.	Sicily. U	tours of the area where they filmed the series

A first analysis was completed to group by date of publication the main books mentioned, to see if they are more recent than the canonical works of nineteenth century literature. To give sufficient detail in the graph Cervantes' novel was removed as a distorting outlier:
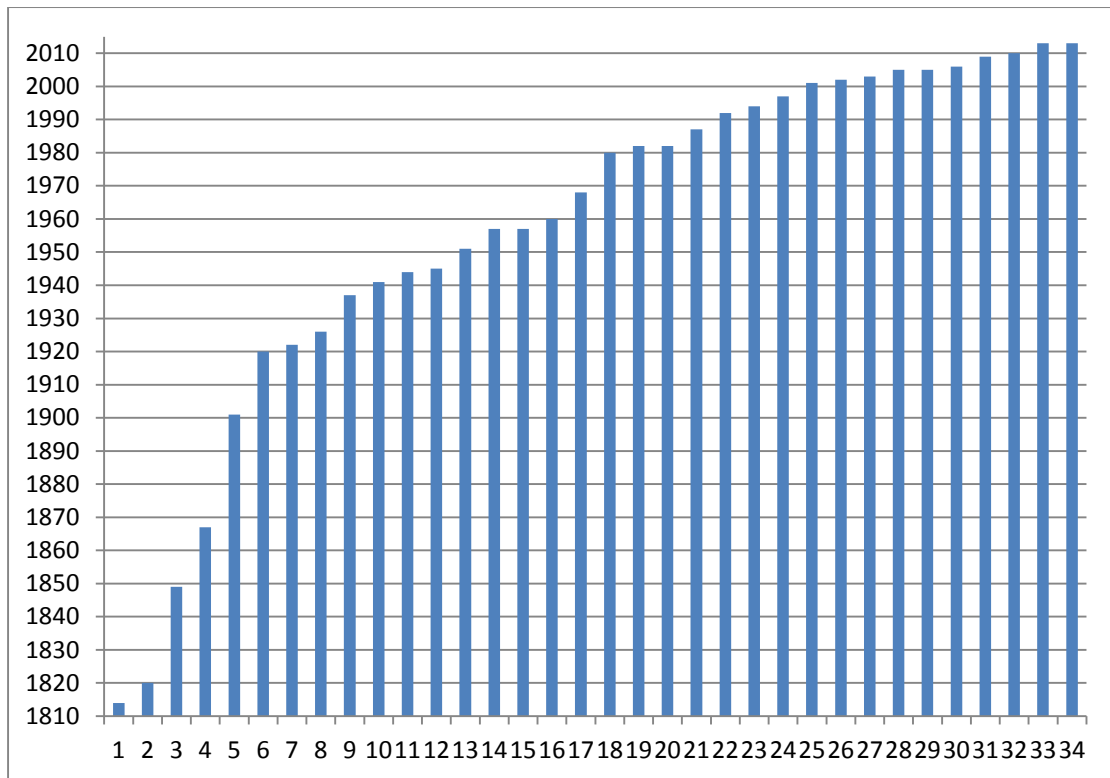
Figure 13 Novels mentioned, ordered by date of publication, from Travel and Books (2014). Each of the 34 entries on the horizontal x-axis is a separate individual novel mention.

If a line is drawn across at the year 1980, it is apparent that 17, that is 50% of the books mentioned are published from 1980 onwards. And the nineteenth century only accounts for 4 mentions. The period of the case study novel, from the 1920s to WWII accounts for the same number of mentions. Nearly a third of the books are twenty-first century publications. Users who engage with newer social media display a strong awareness of current literary publications. It may be that they inhabit an advertising space that is mostly used by publishers of new books, or that a shift has taken place from the way canonical or classic fiction is read. 19 of the 35 entries refer to Urban settings so no discernable preference is apparent for rural or urban novels as catalysts for literary tourism.

Please refer to Appendix A5 for this section if more detail is required on the data. Cleaning the data was the first step in coding, removing entries that had no mention of books and places nor their connection. The result was 35 clear literary connections that respondents, or rather, community members have shared and made public to others in the group. Certain responses offer up clear suggestions to those managing literary sites, and this type of response could have been collected by the management of, for example, a writer's house. A prominent example from the data is this suggestion:

> 24. Gary: I have seen two contradictory ways that people like to connect with a physical location or site. One is to take a piece of it with them (a souvenir piece of the Berlin wall, a tattoo, an experience) and the other is to leave something of themselves behind (penny in the Trevi fountain, lovelock on the Ponts des Arts, graffiti at the Nederlander theatre). If a writer's house or literary site can use either of those ways to forge a connection with the (hi)story of the place, it would add value. Thinking out loud about Shakespeare's birthplace, I'd love a chance to sit at his desk with a goose quill pen and write a letter to Bill. Maybe, if I included my email address he could email me back a thank you note with some appropriate Shakespearean quote. Or a Shakespeare tattoo. That would be cool too.
>
> (Travel & Books A5 2014)

However, it is this community contribution that offers the best example of knowledge transfer that a DMO could undertake. The contributor's eye for historical detail produces the type of cultural heritage data (Meyer et al 2007) that a DMO could begin to store in a digital archive associated with their more marketing-oriented web presence but not as a replacement for the advertising copy of the e-marketing site:

> 16. Chris: The Thomas Hardy Tree, Old St Pancras Churchyard, London. The novelist and poet Thomas Hardy (1840-1928) is best known for his novels set in rural 'Wessex'. Before turning to writing full time, however, he studied architecture in London from 1862-67 under Arthur Blomfield, an architect based in Covent Garden. During the 1860s the Midland Railway line was being built over part of the original St Pancras Churchyard. Blomfield was commissioned by the Bishops of London to supervise the proper exhumation of human remains and dismantling of tombs. He passed this task to his protégé Thomas Hardy, c. 1865. The headstones stacked around this Ash tree were placed there at this time, and many of them are numbered. However, although they are popularly associated with Hardy, the headstones are believed to be from St Giles Churchyard, on the northern side of St Pancras.
>
> (Travel & Books A5 2014)
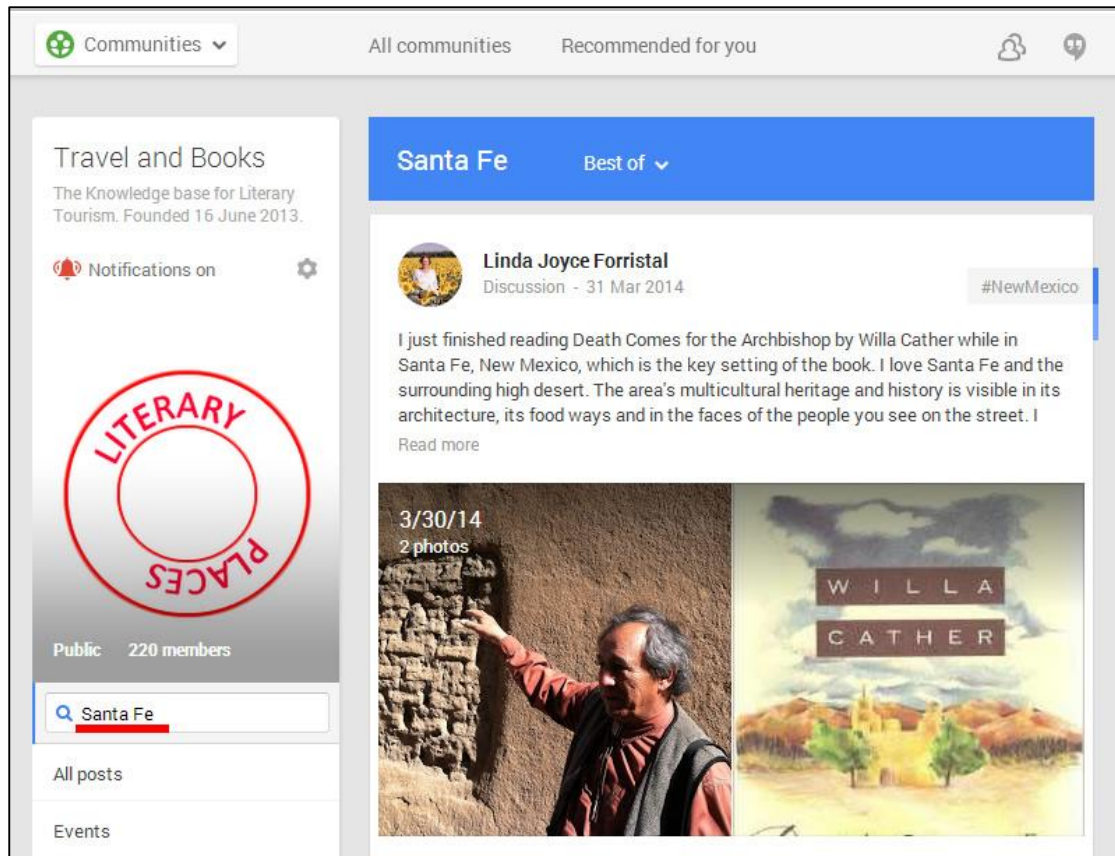
Plate 35 Screen-shot from Google+ *Travel & Books* Community to show Search facility

Even the Google+ Community provides a search facility for users who want to pick out specific keywords from the constantly growing collection of postings, 220 posts in its first year. The example, shown in the plate above, shows a search for the city of Santa Fe. Naturally, very few of the postings are as carefully researched and written as the examples shown so that, even after a year of live operation, this social media environment has produced mainly simple clues to literary places. Those entries that would qualify as knowledge transfer are very few so much so that a DMO would need to contribute further investment or encouragement to elicit the type of value-rich knowledge that stimulates literary visits.

Preliminary Conclusions on Social Media in Literary Tourism

Maintaining engagement with the public through social media does require an investment of time, specialist skills in writing and technology use, and a theoretical understanding of motivation. With this knowledge, though, social media do offer access to large respondent groups to both the academic researcher and the Destination Marketing Officer. Accessing very large respondent numbers, in this experiment over

a third of a million, means that highly specialised tourism interests can be discovered and discussed. The initial proposal that a social media community site itself could develop into a knowledge base through crowd-sourcing and a simple search tool proved not to be the case. Although some contributions, or postings, are thoroughly researched and written they are insufficient, even after a year of operation to provide resources for cultural heritage interpretation. The DMO would need to explore further to produce assets of high value. However, as a point of contact and engagement with a very wide public the social media communities on Google+ do offer the DMO a useful promotional tool.

A further conclusion from this data collection is that the novels stimulating travel interest in online users are much more recently published than the literary canon taught in schools. DMOs need to find recent data on current book titles that have literary links to their regions or towns.

Finally, after mining the data in already existing social media sites on book reviews and travel, the proposal of Woodside (2010) on the value of unsolicited consumer self-reports proved well-founded since it allowed the researcher to build up pictures of consumer story-telling.

-o0o-

9(3) Fieldwork in Concarneau

> They enticed him to a place which he did not want to fall into and, hidden in the heart of *The Odyssey*, which had become their tomb, they drew him - and many others - into that happy, unhappy voyage which is the voyage of the tale - of a song which is no longer immediate, but is narrated, and because of this made to seem harmless, an ode which has turned into an episode.
>
> Maurice Blanchot (1998 [original 1959], 445) 'The Song of the Sirens - Encountering the Imaginary'

Introduction to Fieldwork in Concarneau

This chapter documents a specific fieldwork project carried out using the detective novel alongside data collection where respondents act as case participants (Woodside 2010) engaged in auto-ethnographic writing (Jones 2013) in order to provide additional insight into the active processes of value creation, experience creation and identity formation, that are not available from the empirical data collected from social media sites in chapters 9(1) and 9(2). Further, by using grounded theory, the new insights from the field-note data recorded by the case participants are used to build a more general theory with applicability to other book and town combinations and hence be useful to DMOs in the future. The fieldwork is set in context, as is the whole case study of Concarneau's successful literary tourism, with an explanation of the DMO structure and the tourist destination image (TDI) visible to English-speaking visitors via the web presence of stakeholders in Concarneau's tourism industry. In examining the TDI, particular attention is paid to how the hierarchy of regional and local governing organisations do, or rather, *do not*, promote literary tourism, along with reading and writing as a cultural component of the local identity, how authenticity is granted to this bookishness or literariness, and how this is offered for visitor consumption.

PART 1 – DMO & TDI

Concarneau's Literary Events

Breton author and scriptwriter, Henri Queffélec (1910-1992) is credited with co-founding a specialist trade fair for maritime literature in Concarneau in 1985, called *Book & Sea*, (Book and Sea 2012) along with an experienced events designer, Mikaël

Micheau-Vernez, co-creator of the Inter-Celtic Festival in Lorient in 1971, who was linked with Emsav, a Breton political liberation movement. The *Book & Sea* trade fair of Concarneau was born from a regional agenda which both wanted to celebrate Brittany and have an economic impact. *Book & Sea* continues as an annual event, its 30th edition held in 2014, and is positioned in the shoulder season around 20th April each year to create visitor demand for hotels and restaurants in the town. However, the more fascinating literary festival in Concarneau, for this study at least, is held in high season, with no real consideration for filling empty hotel beds is 'Le Chien Jaune Festival du polar de Concarneau', Concarneau's Yellow Dog Detective Fiction Festival. The Detective Fiction festival has been held in late July every year since 1993 (Chien Jaune 2014), often less than a week after France's most important summer celebrations of Bastille Day on July 14th and the finale of the Tour de France. The French are already in holiday mood since school holidays begin around 4th July. The choice of high summer for the Yellow Dog festival also seems to conflict with the time-frame of the novel, which runs for a few days in November. However, from hotel data over five years, supplied by Arnaud Defosse from Brittany's Tourism Observatory in Rennes (Defosse 2014, personal communication), it can be seen that overnight stays in Cornouaille do increase during the festival. By plotting the data from Defosse (2014), spikes of up to 10 per cent increase in overnight stays can be seen over the period of the Yellow Dog Detective Fiction Festival every year, this translates into an extra 28 rooms let during the festival period. The tourism observatory for Brittany have very kindly put together these estimates for this study which show the number of visitors for both the literary festivals of Concarneau (Harel 2014, personal communication):

Table 19 Estimated visitor numbers to Concarneau's two annual literary festivals. Source Tourisme Bretagne (Harel 2014).

Year	Festival Yellow Dog July	Festival Book & Sea April
2008	7 000	8 000
2009	NA	NA
2010	NA	NA
2011	NA	NA
2012	5 000 to 10 000	NA
2013	5 000 to 10 000	5 000

The lack of availability of figures for the festival, at least in the three years after the world economic downturn which started in autumn 2008, coupled with the attention the festival figures are currently receiving from Tourisme Bretagne demonstrates the importance the DMO now attaches to attracting and reporting on visitor numbers to the holiday destinations in its region. The high season Yellow Dog festival does appear now to attract more visitors than the April festival. It would normally be difficult to say whether other factors have brought about the higher visitor numbers but the data on hotel bookings do point to the Yellow Dog festival actually adding true incrementals, in the marketing sense of the term, that is, additional room sales not achieved through discounting.

The DMOs and tourism stakeholders of Concarneau

La Bretagne (Brittany) is the regional DMO that covers Concarneau. Recent data for the year 2011 from INSEE Bretagne (2013) provides an overview of the hotel capacity and the annual take up of tourism for the whole region, which helps contextualise this study:

Key Tourism Data on Whole Région of Brittany

876 hotels offering 25,300 rooms, 738 campsites offering 85,800 plots
Hotels attracted 4 million tourists of which 517,000 foreign,
26% being from UK. Average stay for all visitors: 1.7 days.

INSEE Brittany (2013)

The French term for overnight stays is *'les nuitées'* and in 2011 Bretagne enjoyed nearly 82 million *nuitées*, paid-for overnight stays. Finistère, the *département* within Brittany that contains Concarneau, accounts for 25 per cent of these hotel rooms, camping plots, and overnight stays (INSEE Bretagne 2013).

Table 20 Brittany's Tourism Economy analysed by Département (INSEE 2010, 119)

Figure (Text/Chart/Diagram/image etc.) has been removed due to Copyright restrictions.

Focussing in on Finistère and, in particular the distribution of tourist beds in the *département*, it is clear to see that seaside tourism is better catered for in this most western tip of France than across the inland area; a tourist-bed density map from INSEE (2010) confirms this concentration on coastal areas, please see below. Journeys to and from periods of fieldwork in 2014 for this research across the peninsula from Roscoff, near Morlaix on the map below, south to Concarneau reveal that much of inland Finistère is still given over to agriculture, as Morin noted in the 1950s (Morin 2013). Overall, it can be concluded that hotel provision is both coastal and, to a great extent, associated with proximity to urban centres. In the plate below, the tourist density map for 2009, it can be seen that hotel provision correlates with the areas of highest population density; the key analysis that can be made from this is that tourism provision has grown up ad hoc as a late and contingent industry using existing urban infrastructure and road and rail networks.

Figure (Text/Chart/Diagram/image etc.) has been removed due to Copyright restrictions.

Plate 36 Tourist Bed Density in Finistère, source (INSEE 2010, 120)

Focussing in on the case study town, Concarneau itself does have a mature tourism offering, dating from the end of the nineteenth century. The main building featured in the novel under study as the Admiral Hotel, is today only a bar and restaurant but *bas relief* stone moulding shows that it was once The Grand Hotel. Local history enthusiast, Christine Labbé has dated the original Grand Hotel building from her work in the municipal archives to 1883 (Labbé 2012). The height of the hotel was raised in 1898 testifying to growth in tourism. A second sign of direct and strategic investment in hotel provision can be seen in the 1930s or 1940s, when the hotel owners buy a house next door, demolish it and extend their hotel along the Avenue Pierre Guéguen [sometimes spelled, Guéguin] (Labbé 2012). During participant fieldwork, one of the case participants enjoys identifying this twentieth century extension (Pete 2014, E4 17) demonstrating that neither the DMO nor the current hotel owner as stakeholder needs to interfere with the built heritage in order to make it satisfying for the literary visitor. Currently Concarneau offers 10 hotels with 288 rooms (INSEE 2013).

In April 2013 contact was made with an emerging DMO-type development group: Quimper Cornouaille Développement, QCD, since their fifth annual meeting was convened to construct a new identity for this territory, which uses the French word for Cornwall, *La Cornouaille* (QCD 2013). As its full name suggests its operating capital city is Quimper, with a population of just over 63,235 in 2011 (INSEE 2014). However, it does subsume Concarneau, Beg-Meil, site of one of the fieldwork visits to explore the Proust connection, and all of coastal southern Finistère. The meeting was attended by approximately 200 stakeholders, hoteliers, food producers and managers from small DMO organisations, and tourism engineers, as described in the earlier chapter. The discussion revolved around two key issues, (i) terroir and food tourism, and (ii) celebrity endorsement for La Cornouaille as a holiday destination. This latter issue was raised since the neighbouring destination area around the Loire estuary had successfully attracted a celebrity to act as holiday imprimatur. Despite repeated attempts by the engineer to elicit suggestions for an imprimatur for La Cornouaille this remained unresolved by the close of the meeting (Author's own attendance meeting). Although La Cornouaille has a much larger area than South Hams and the English Riviera in Devon and a population of 300,000 (Canevet et al 2013), the geo-morphology of the two areas has many similarities, most notably the tide-drowned, un-glaciated river valleys, or rias, of the Odet and Concarneau's estuary, the Moros, comparable with those of the Dart and the Kingsbridge Estuary. The river Moros figures in the walks taken by visitors on the trail of Maigret since the bridge known to Simenon in the early 1930s was demolished in 1966, according to an interpretation panel in the Maison du Patrimoine at Concarneau in June 2014, making it impossible to follow in his footsteps.

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Plate 37 "Cornwall" La Cornouaille: distribution of population (QCD 2013)

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Plate 38 Where the new DMO places Cornwall in relation to the Conurbations in Brittany (QCD 2013)

The QCD website uses the above map (Plate 3, and QCD 2013) as a logo inviting visitors to learn more about Cornouaille or Kerne in Breton. The stylised map extends the formal boundary of Brittany to reclaim its pre-revolutionary capital of Nantes. Nantes, since the 1955 regional changes, has been the chief city of the neighbouring, competing holiday destination, discussed during the stakeholder's re-branding meeting of QCD in April 2013 (Canevet et al 2013). The rationale for this topographic mapping may be to call on traditional loyalties and encourage people from Nantes to head north to explore their old *Région*. This relatively new DMO-type body, Quimper Cornouaille Développement, QCD, at least has begun to discuss tourism planning, that is also led by smaller DMO-type units. One example of an area that has a long and clear identity is *Le Pays Bigouden*, where Morin conducted his ethnographic research in the 1960s (Morin 2013), which occupies the western bank of the river Odet. The bigouden is the hat worn by women in this area, documented by Frances Bury Palliser (Palliser 1869). A second being *Le Pays Fouesnantais*, which occupies the eastern bank and was the subject of fieldwork on Proust in chapter 8 in this research. See line map from Morin's study (2013):

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Plate 39 Le Pays Bigouden (Morin 2013)

This larger federation, QCD has not prevented these smaller tourism marketing units from launching area-branding and TDI initiatives themselves; as can be seen in an example, in 2013 when Le Pays Fousenantais, which is a *communauté* of communes, began using the branding *Riviera Bretonne* (Riviera Bretonne 2013) resonant with the

term English Riviera for the Torbay area of South Hams, Devon. However, in the re-development of their web-site and digital assets they have, sadly, deleted the only file (Le Foll 1995) that gave information on the literary connection of Proust with the area.

Investigating the Official Site for Brittany Tourism

Returning to the regional DMO, Tourisme Bretagne, or Brittany Tourism on its English-language pages devote a page of their web-site to literary tourism, linked by this book logo over a triskell in the background; this is reproduced in the panel below. *Le triskell* is a three branched symbol from Celtic culture. The three branches represent the Bardic Triads which are a rhetorical and mnemonic device from medieval literature for listing items or features in groups of three for easy recall. It can be seen in other literatures as the tricolon, for example Caesar's (47 BCE) *Veni, vidi, vici*, 'I came, I saw, I conquered', and as the basis for narrative with its beginning, middle and end, and plot with the introduction of a third complicating factor, for example the love triangle. Thus Tourisme Bretagne skilfully makes use of the symbolic order for establishing Brittany as a literary region.

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In the above panel, Brittany by the Book, from the Brittany Tourism web-site, over a dozen writers are mentioned and a travel writing festival held in St-Malo, without an indication of dates for the event, but no mention is made of the two literary festivals in Concarneau.

Searches on keywords for *The Yellow Dog* on Brittany Tourism Site

Table 21 Number of finds of keywords on web-sites (Brittany Tourism 2013)

Keywords	English site	French Site
Yellow Dog	0	0
Maigret	0	0
Chien jaune	0	0
Simenon	0	1

Literary	5	8

Using SEO Tools to Understand Literary Tourism Offerings on the Web

This experiment uses a search engine optimisation tool to determine the links any of Brittany's tourism stakeholders have with Simenon's *The Yellow Dog*. The SEO tool used, TouchGraph (TouchGraph 2013) finds and displays links between web-sites which would be a route that users would follow as they search for their interests. The first display of results simulates a literary tourist interested in Brittany as a destination. The first graph plotted reveals that Brittany's DMO can be found with a simple search of 'literary tourism Brittany', please see figure below:
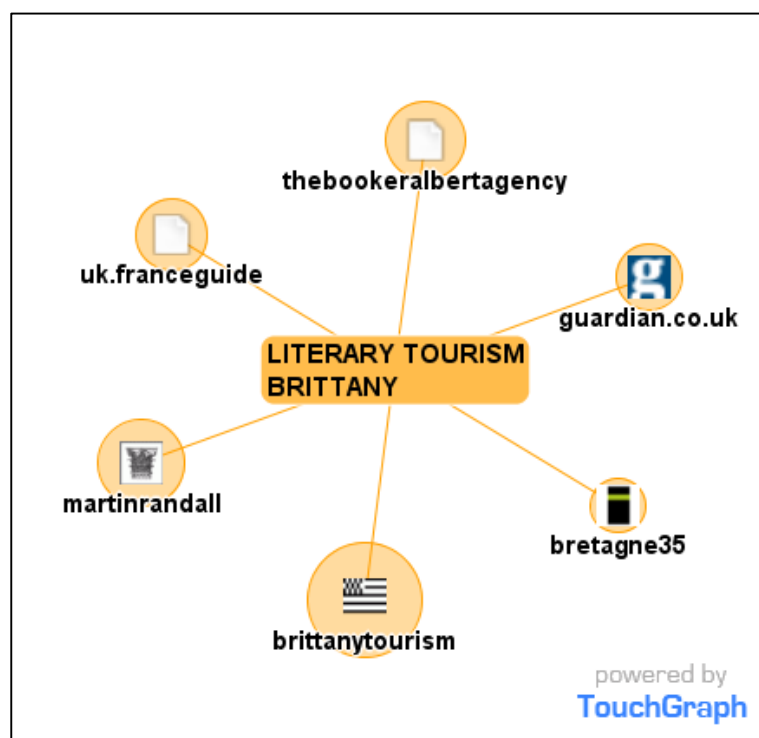
Figure 14 TouchGraph of where this search term finds hits "literary tourism Brittany"

Figure 15 Multi-node network plotted with TouchGraph reveals Amazon is a central node for title and author searches

The above multi-node network is created by adding keywords to the TouchGraph search one at a time, in this experiment: Simenon, 'Le Chien jaune', Maigret, Concarneau, 'The Yellow Dog'. This simulates the search of someone interested in Maigret, even going as far as entering the town name, Concarneau, to find visitor offerings. The network graph produced initially shows Amazon for author and title searches, as the most central and most linked web-site for literary searches. However, a close second place is Trussel's amateur enthusiast's web-site on Maigret novels (Trussel 2005). This is a site many searchers would be taken to and so it follows that any DMO intending to develop the Maigret theme should study this site. Further,

Brittany's tourism web-sites do not figure in this multi-node network graph at all so that Maigret enthusiasts, who wish to pursue what was called delta δ literary tourism in chapter 6, will never find their way to the DMO's tourism web-sites from an array of keywords of this kind.

The DRAC for Brittany

Each *Région* in France has a centrally-funded national representative office of the Ministry of Culture & Communication, these are usually sited in the regional capital, that is Rennes for Brittany, and contribute to the destination image of the region with promotional campaigns which are examined below. These organisations are called the *Direction régionale des Affaires culturelles* (Regional Directorate of Cultural Affairs). The themes that the Brittany DRAC have developed and promoted most recently 2012-2013, strongly support literary tourism. The first of their promotional themes is *Le Label LiR* (Librairie indépendante de référence); the concept of Le Label is a form of non-protected branding in French national tourism management. The branding 'Label France', sounds like *La belle France*, beautiful France. *Le Label LiR* encourages and brands special library and archive collections, the acronym, LiR sounds like the French word, *lire* 'to read'. This LiR branding is communicated to the French-speaking tourist sector in the alpha α category of literary tourist, from chapter 6. Cultural products that are language-specific are difficult to consume (Griffin & Quétel 2014) since the knowledge-gap is too great without expensive translation. A more direct promotion of literary tourism in Brittany is the DRAC-funded initiative called *Rencontres et résidences d'écrivains*, 'Meet the Writers at Home'; under this scheme, for example, in March 2012, Saint Brice en Coglès was officially labelled France's first poetry village. Online social media, YouTube, was used to disseminate a video film of the event surrounding the award (Drac Bretagne 2014). This type of literary tourism correlates well with the β (beta) form proposed in the conceptual framework since the visitor would learn of events during their stay in a village or through local newspapers. Through the central Ministry of Culture & Communication, the Observatory of Book Reading maintains figures, on, for example, the budget and usage of libraries, so, for example, the public library at Concarneau has an annual budget of 47,000 euros for books and 263,000 euros for staffing (Lecteurs et bibliothèques en France 2014). The library is centrally located in

the town in the town hall complex just a few metres from holiday hotels and in view of the Old Town tourist area, *la Ville Close*, for this reason it is well positioned to offer workshops and put on displays related to its holdings. The staff there are very helpful and knew about the Simenon connection and in fact made a gift of the Place Book: Ollivier (2006) and (Authors' own fieldwork).

Concarneau Tourism Destination Image (TDI) and Management

Concarneau municipal web-site paints a picture of the seaside port as town of history focussing on its sardine and tuna fishing history. No literary connections are made. Only one stakeholder's web-site, the Hôtel Grands Voyageurs offers any literary history; in their case just a brief mention of the stay made by Gustave Flaubert at the hotel in 1847 (Grands Voyageurs 2014). Using the biography and published letters of Flaubert this brief mention could be developed; this suggestion is dealt with at length in the recommendations in chapter 10. The publicly-owned built heritage in and around the town of Concarneau which has links to the Maigret novel is often easy to access. For example the ruin of the granite fort out at Cabellou Point is free to enter has an interpretation panel in French and English and its top layers of stone are re-pointed and secure, please see plate below. Whilst no mention of Maigret is made on the interpretation panel the good condition and accessibility of the monument make it ideal for both the γ gamma and α alpha literary visitor as the fieldwork section demonstrates later in this chapter. The town is home to 5 bookshops, unusual for a town of this size, the newsagent and bookshop next to the Admiral Restaurant on the Place Jean Jaurès although part of the Maison de la Presse group has named itself in a more literary style as *Le livre et la plume*, The Book and the Pen. Two of the case participants note (Will 2014) and (Glen 2014) that only here in this bookshop is there any trace of Simenon's novel, copies of the French paperback version are displayed. Simenon's other work, his *roman dur* or serious novel set in the town is also on sale here, *Les Demoiselles de Concarneau* (Simenon 1936). Neither the tourist information office nor the heritage centre display or sell *The Yellow Dog* in any language. No souvenirs associated with the novel are on sale in contrast to the shop at the Agatha Christie house examined in chapter 2.

Plate 40 The ruins of the granite fort at Cabellou Point. Photo: C. Mansfield April 2014.

Technology is used at town level to transfer tourism knowledge, for example, quick-response codes are displayed on posters at 8 points of interest around the town but these are not fully implemented for UK literary visitors since:

(i)   No wifi signal, nor is 3G present at all the signs

(ii)   The boat design in the centre of the QR code prevents some scanners from detecting the web address

(iii)   The downloadable PDF does not display correctly on the screen of the mobile telephone (see Ramble Strips in Recommendations)

(iv)   Finally, no story connected with Simenon nor literary connections to Proust or Flaubert are made.

PART 2 – PARTICIPANT CASE STUDY

Findings and Analysis of Participant Case Study and Fieldwork in Concarneau

The participant case study below is an analysis of the diaries kept by the 6 respondents as they read the novel then, in the case of 5 of them, travelled to Concarneau by ferry from Plymouth. The approach uses narrative analysis, open coding and linguistic analysis of the content of their written journals. John Tribe has pointed out (Tribe 2006) that silences or gaps can occur in the knowledge uncovered during tourism research since not all voices have equal chance of establishing themselves nor is permission always granted to peripheral voices. The first conscious effort to silence a voice was taken by the researcher to not include their own autoethnographic journal, at this point in the researcher's career it was felt that this would not be considered scientifically objective. After completing this research though, this position has changed thanks to the success and richness of the findings from studying autoethnographic journals and in subsequent projects will be included. The next level of silencing are the decisions taken after the open-coding that sections, called stanzas, from the journals were too much in note-form and were not activated by verbs in the phrases. Hence no value could be ascertained. Finally, selections were made, through what Charmaz calls memo-writing (Charmaz 2006, 73), where emotions expressed by the respondents generated meaningful sub-headings around which a concept could be built from their writing and from a cross-reference into the academic literature to substantiate the concept. These side-headings are re-used below to report these findings and their analyses.

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10 Recommendations and Conclusions

> It is always sad to leave a place to which one knows one will never return. Such are the *mélancolies du voyage*: perhaps they are one of the most rewarding things about travelling.
>   Gustave Flaubert (1996, 203) *Flaubert in Egypt: A Sensibility on Tour*

Research Questions

How do literary texts work to make a tourism destination or town (urban space) more attractive to a potential visitor?

How can the novel be used sensitively by the DMO to create tourism demand and to add value to the visitors' experiences?

How can DMOs Communicate Literary Tourism

Returning to the close-reading of *The Yellow Dog*, the complexity and the range of what could be termed, tourism place knowledge, presents the DMO or stakeholder, for example, a hotel owner, with a challenge for mediation, selection and communication to potential tourists, to visitors on-site and to locals, with whom they want a complicity of communication. They need to find a suitable discursive practice if they wish to transfer this knowledge to the visitor and an appropriate technology to manage and distribute it. The example from the fieldwork in Beg-Meil, documented earlier, revealed that well-written biographical research, presented in the same length and illustrated format as a magazine article can be used by DMOs, in this case the biographical article on Proust's time at Beg-Meil. The document was stored for a few years as a PDF by Fouesnant Tourist Office web-site. A local stakeholder, in this instance the hotel restaurant manager, equipped with an iPad and broadband wifi, was happy to use it to add value to their visitors' experiences. New types of specialist writer could be encouraged into this cycle of knowledge exchange both as commissioned creators of newly researched texts and as recipients of the texts once created. An appetite for this type of biographical research on famous authors is evidenced in the short book produced on Simenon's stay in Concarneau (Ollivier 2006). Ollivier is a journalist, but often local historians or geographers exist with

special interest in authors who have stayed in their town. A good example of this is Gerry Hones who grew up in Fowey, Cornwall and has maintained a passionate interest in his local writer, Arthur Quiller-Couch (Hones 2013, personal correspondence). Detailed work on four social media platforms in this research, Flickr, GoodReads, Google+ Communities and TripAdvisor in the UK and France, reveals that it is only contributors to Flickr who generate the type of biographical detail or information about a work of fiction that fits this type of tourism place knowledge. Ironically, too, the user-interface of Flickr, being a photography-sharing site, relegates these commentaries just off the display screen, so that only the very interested can find and read them.

In a step towards uncovering what α knowledge society literary tourists do as they explore a literary place, the analysis of case participants Glen and Pete in chapter 9(3) (Glen 2014, E5 44) and (Pete 2014, E4 32) has revealed that the novel itself provides a substantial amount of extra knowledge and acts as a stimulus to finding places in the built environment. So for the DMO a main learning point is the maintenance of this built heritage through grants, public works and planning control, which in France is already well-developed. To open up the same value through literary experience to a wider audience, stakeholders can give access to the novel; two of the case participants noted that the newsagent sold copies of the Maigret novel which would act as a prompt for visitors already in Concarneau who had no prior knowledge of the literary connection. Through its customer-facing nodes the DMO could also offer pieces of writing or digital media that engage using a questioning technique. For example, Glen showed how the quest to find canning factories became a holidaymaking activity with value, the DMO can harness this by offering up questions that act as catalysts for new visitors to pursue the same quest, for example: 'Why did sardine canning need chimneys?' MacLeod et al (2009), examined in chapter 6, show how literary trails can be improved by the addition of opportunities for interaction and co-creation.

Recommendations developed from the case participant study

The structure of each of these recommendations will be a specific action that could be completed in Concarneau in relation to *The Yellow Dog*, broader lessons may be drawn from these to apply in any potential and undeveloped literary tourism site. A viable example of this is Antibes and Cannes where the novel from the pilot study

was set. These recommendations are qualified, though, by the specificity of the design of the data collection. The case participants were selected for the type of western cultural capital they could display, including, their enthusiasm for literary texts, their writing skills in English and their willingness to travel to a small French seaside town. The method for eliciting data from this small group most likely produces very different results from the findings of a large questionnaire survey, and this must be kept in mind if following these recommendations. Finally, the effectiveness of any measures for stimulating literary tourism has not be examined by this research work; this type of measurement would be a useful next step if any of the suggestions were implemented by a DMO or stakeholder.

Figure 16 Using the Customs Officers' Path to walk to the ruins at Cabellou Point, Concarneau (Le Sentier des douaniers) on the eastern bank of the estuary of Le Moros river, Lieu-dit (local place-name): Le Passage.

1 Signage

The pedestrian route around much of the port on the estuary of the river Le Moros is easy to navigate since it was once a Customs' Officers path. However, new housing developments since the time of the novel in the early 1930s, have made the walking route out to Cabellou Point difficult for the literary visitor seeking out the headland used in one of the chapters. Here the DMO could use signposting, using character

names from the novel, or have a colour-themed set of posts similar to the ones observed in Beg-Meil (Chapters 3 & 8). Being sensitive to the engagement the literary enthusiast already has means that the DMO must not saturate the resort environment with interpretation but must retain the mystery to retain the motivation (Lapointe & Perreault 2013). Quick-Response scan codes are already provided on signage within the town but the resulting downloadable document must be designed to display legibly on mobile telephone screens, Ramble Strips are one solution, these are files in portable document format, PDFs, that are fixed at the width of the smartphone screen. Once downloaded these strip-like documents can be stored and scrolled through easily without the need for continuous wifi or 3G connection as the user continues on their ramble out of the built-up area.

2 Writer-Archivist

This research has seen how France has professionalised tourism management and production at state, regional and local level. Indeed the creation of the specialist role of *guide-conférencier*, and, since 2011 the recruitment of *Animateurs de l'architecture et du patrimoine* by towns with the branding scheme called: *Label Ville d'Art et d'Histoire* demonstrates both an appetite for cultural knowledge associated with French towns and holiday areas and a preparedness by DMOs to provide careers in this field of tourism knowledge transfer. Alongside that, this research has discovered enthusiastic amateur groups prepared to use the library, usually of an older generation, who are involved in local history, and one example in particular, the newsletter published by residents of a suburb in Concarneau, please see plate below:

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Further, coupled to this, the research has seen how deictic writing or a writing practice done from a local standpoint engages the visiting reader, and finally the lack of the DMOs of Brittany to make use of networked storage of tourism knowledge resources even in the face of a highly connected stakeholder group, consider the use of the iPad by the hotel manager in Beg-Meil, leads to a further composite recommendation. That is the education and technical support of a new specialist, the writer-archivist,

écrivain(e)-archiviste. For the DMO these writer-archivists will take a new approach to interpretive writing which engages but from the inside, uses deixis, and continuously elicits local knowledge to store it as mediated and mediatised resources in networked systems. Following the successful lead of the Passage Newsletter above, these resources will be illustrated as well as written, using high resolution images, and short video sequences to act as establishing-shots, to use a cinematic term, echoing filmic qualities of the opening page of *The Yellow Dog*. Sound bites, recorded from the novel followed by a question, could act as prompts, encouraging the listener to solve the crimes without spoiling the plot for those who have not read the novel. The type of training and education these writer-archivists will need includes:

1. Historical and local archive research skills
2. Historiography with history and narrative writing skills
3. Strong literary and cinema knowledge
4. Art history and ekphrasis skills
5. Architectural history research awareness
6. Social science, interview and tacit knowledge methods
7. High resolution video, audio and photography skills and equipment
8. Web design and development and desktop publishing skills
9. Web 2.0 and Social Media expertise for networking

Finally, these new writer-archivists need integrating into local history associations, for example those formed under the French 1901 law, and town-twinning groups without threatening the already complex and rich connections and traditions that they have evolved. The mobility of these writer-archivists, both between local groups, the DMO and local stakeholders, and later in their careers between regions begins to use human mobility in a systematic and structured way that could be researched more directly to ascertain its effectiveness, following the call of Shaw & Williams (2009).

The archive created under the responsibility of a professional would avoid the loss of valuable cultural assets. The legacy of digital assets could then be leveraged (Dong et al 2009) by applying search tools with interfaces regularly promoted to social media sites. DMOs could then start to mobilise their archive in the same way that the travel

industry witnessed the move from using web pages as simply advertising spaces in the early 2000s to full e-Commerce, which linked the consumer to the company's inventory, eg seats for airlines, rooms for hotels. This requires a new theoretical view on what constitutes inventory for a DMO. In a knowledge society this may be theorised as narratives that replay the enactment of enjoyable social processes connected with the built environment. Chapter 3 showed how Scott, Baggio & Cooper (2008) have found that learning shared across the organisations and people of a tourist destination is required for knowledge transfer, and from Shaw & Williams (2009) that it is through knowledge transfer that destinations improve their competitiveness. The data collected using SEO tools in the case study on Brittany and Finistère showed that no links had been made between the state's web-sites and the stakeholders. The more public meetings of the relatively new QCD development organisation are a step in the right direction but it is the implementation of more open networks for data exchange that will create and transfer tourism knowledge most effectively.

A theoretical similarity can be seen between Scott, Baggio & Cooper's (2008) proposition that social capital is not an individual possession, but rather it is a function of the time spent communicating in a social network when knowledge transfer has become balanced through the internal governance of that network, and the live creation of tourism knowledge as an enthusiastic visitor enjoys a literary site, expressing that change in their identity through, for example the writing of a *récit* (Blanchot 1998) or, more often, the retelling of their experiences from holidaymaking memories.

3 Currency

The research into social media in this study revealed that rather than the expected canon of nineteenth century authors stimulating the greatest interest for potential literary visitors, it is works published in the last three decades. Through France's centralised cultural book promotion organisation, the *Institut français*, books appearing in the last three decades, particularly ones that fit the criteria of stimulating literary visits, and ones that have stood the test of public acceptance by being translated and available in English and the languages of other main visitor groups, could be identified by the regional DMOs and promoted through their web-site. One

example of a current author that is enjoying international acclaim in this way is Pierre Michon (b.1945), with writing set in the Limousin région. His work is currently promoted by the *Institut français* in the US as available in English translation. In Concarneau, during the April 2014 fieldwork, a new German language detective novel set in Concarneau and neighbouring Pont-Aven had just appeared in French, English and Italian translations (Bannalec 2014) and was being filmed for television in the streets of Concarneau. With foresight, the local stakeholders could gather photographs and testimonies from actors, film crew and extras to build archive material for use by readers of the novel who may wish to visit Concarneau and Pont-Aven in the future. In Britain and the US, too, the whole set of 75 Maigret novels is appearing again in 2013-16 and these promotional opportunities to reach visitors from overseas needs to be kept under review by the DMO.

4 Sensitivity

At several levels the importance of sensitivity has been remarked upon in this research. Initially, from a commercial point of view in chapter 6, Müller (2006) drew attention to the ownership of a developed activity related to a literary author. The Yellow Dog Festival is one such intangible heritage activity that belongs to a very small group of people but is enjoyed by many. Heavy-handed intervention by the DMO may stifle such attractions, and so sensitive offers of sponsorship may be the best approach here. Indeed the DMO could actively seek out and reward creative interpretations of a town's literary heritage, bearing in mind what Caughey's work has shown (Caughey 2006) and (Caughey 1984) where fans take on ownership of a preferred author in their imaginations.

For the literary visitor authenticity is of importance, too; Jia (2009) has put forward a set of 4 authenticities that he has detected in literary sites developed specifically for the tourist of today. When this objectivity is revised by construction and interpretation by both the consumers of culture and the DMOs, a new form of literary tourism is created, and this form appeals, proposes Jia (2009), to the largest group who visit literary tourism sites. An example of this is when an artefact from the author's own time, or from the novel's time period, is deployed in a new contemporary constructed setting. Chapter 6 discusses the other authenticities proposed by Jia (2009).

Key Conclusions

A key conclusion is the discovery of the way literary language places readers into the social mores and physical setting of the text when they are using detective and realist fiction for leisure purposes. Although Belsey (1980) and Althusser (1971) among others have documented and theorised the concept of interpellation, this language-placement of readers has not been developed before in the academic literature. This is a new contribution to knowledge of place and literary texts in a tourism framework and directly addresses the first research question: How do literary texts work to make a tourism destination or town (urban space) more attractive to a potential visitor?

In this contribution to the better understanding of how tourism knowledge is formed from reading can be placed the moments signalled by breaks in traditional grammar in the literary texts. Chapter 9(1), the close-reading of the Maigret novel, showed that skilful linguistic devices signal moments of high drama or emotion and that these enter the reader's imagination as knowledge about a place, in the form of: this happened there. When holidaymaking, this cultural knowledge acts as a leader would do, prompting the visitor where to go next during their activities in the resort because they know where to go from a purely symbolic knowledge of the urban space.

The new research, using social media that had only just become available during the period of the project, revealed that more recent novels and contemporary authors had been recognised for their literary tourism potential rather than classic literature from the nineteenth and early twentieth centuries. 50% of the books mentioned were published from 1980 onwards. Nearly a third of the books are twenty-first century publications (Chapter 9(2) findings). Further, it can be seen that this new social media platform, Google+, offers stakeholders in tourism a new method of interacting with readers who may become literary tourists. The extremely small percentage of readers interested in posting messages on literary tourism means that reader group sizes of over a third of a million are necessary to discover, and make contact with those interested in engaging. 11,000 contacts are needed to yield 1 engaged posting (Chapter 9(2) findings). These emerging technologies, though, do provide channels that can reach those numbers. This means that adding literary tourism to a destination's offerings is now worth pursuing for place branders and those developing

the TDI of a city or town. The examination of the tourism potential for French literature of the nineteenth and twentieth centuries in chapter 4 revealed that urban space is tightly woven into the canonical novels, these are the novels known by the segment designated alpha literary tourists. These novels are studied in higher education in the UK and US in such a way as to make the architecture and streets legible both politically and socially. The places within the town are also locatable today and this has prompted the growth of what this research has called Place Books. These Place Books continue to stimulate literary tourism.

Contrary to expectations set up in the literature review it was found that the case participant readers did not identify with the characters to the extent that Caughey found in his studies (Caughey 1984). However, the urban spaces and ruins where fear and social disorder were resolved in the novel do provide focal points for the visitor-reader as the literature review suggests, see chapter 2 references to (Longhurst 1989), (Santesso 2004) and (Savage 2000). These very specific urban spaces provided value to the case participants as tourists; they spent time enjoying the full physical and emotional experiences, in the case of the ruin at Cabellou Point and in the square, on the quayside and in the alleyways around the Admiral Hotel, they spent 'serious leisure' time (Chappel & Brown 2006, 1765) trying to ascertain the exact spot where two of the incidents in the novel took place, mapped onto the town in its present state. No evidence was found on the web-sites, nor on the trails set up by state or council bodies to provide interpretation on the relationship between Concarneau's literary connections with Simenon's *The Yellow Dog*, nor with Flaubert's stay in the town, yet this omission did not deter the literary tourist who had prior knowledge of these links from their reading. British and US commentators, for example Drake (2011) and Morrison (Morrison & Compagnon 2010), note the *dirigisme* or state control of culture in France while MacLeod et al (2009) have pointed out that heavy-handed interpretation can discourage visitors if the state's agenda is too apparent. It appears from this therefore, that the initiating cultural signifier which provides that gratuitous value (Bourdieu 1977), needs to be acquired by the visitor unmarked by any state agenda. Commercial product placement can often damage authenticity in a similar way. The moments of discovery, therefore, should not be over-prompted by those managing the building or place. Where the state can intervene sensitively is in providing public spaces that are accessible, as shown, and in finding more subtle ways

of eliciting, then mobilising knowledge so that this can be discovered along the way by the visitor. The literature review showed how rural literary tourism, in contrast to the fieldwork on urban tourism in this research, often resulted in disappointment by the visitor, noted both by Watson (2006) from her reading of travellers' diaries and in fieldwork on the edges of a remote Swedish village by Ridanpää (Ridanpää 2011). The urban space provides a manageable built environment, including hotels, restaurants, ruins and monuments often with wifi or 3G network access. This provides the places for visitors to explore in the type of authentic reading discussed above. The lived experience of holidaymaking in these well-managed places, by the literary visitor, also creates knowledge which has value since it provides moments to perform their cultural capital within the everyday hotel and restaurant buildings and surrounding streets. The autoethnographic writing also showed that these tourism performances of knowledge are available for transmission to future tourists and form value in the memories of those who originally enacted them in the tourist space. A new term was proposed for these place-moments, the toureme.

A key objective of this research was to contribute to the development of literary tourism scholarship, provoking scholars of literary tourism to engage critically with the importance of the novel for the promotion of tourism destinations and tourist satisfaction; in this area the use of Charmaz' approach to develop and propose new theories has provided solid grounding to support engagement with the other disciplines of literary theory and social anthropology. In more practical terms this research has shown that the employment of case participants who hold high cultural capital can yield rich data and productive analyses for tourism studies. The concepts of cultural capital and gratuitous place value from Bourdieu (1977), place capital, as proposed by Busby & Meethan (2008), and the theories on the social imagination from Caughey (2006) have proven valid bases for critical engagement with literary tourism. This study has initiated a focus on the creativity, value and pleasure of holidaymaking practices at a very detailed level, and has introduced the idea that the literary text can act as a leader at those moments when micro-decisions are made on what activity to pursue next during urban tourism.

Limitations

Time to modify and test the proposed new writing strategy outlined above would have validated one of the key recommendations offered to the DMO. The pilot group and the case participant group, firstly of 4 and then an additional 6 respondents, although providing a rich resource for analysis thanks to the methods taken from grounded theory and narrative analysis could be larger in subsequent studies now that the methods are clearly documented. Further, a holidaymaking tour group of 30 respondents would provide data for comparison and would enable the catalyst type questions to be tested. The expenses of the case participants for the main Concarneau study were effectively covered for them to undertake their holidaymaking. They were not paid and did commit their time, nonetheless further work to identify literary tourists who are holidaymaking on their own volition and at their own expense would help test the findings from this study. A method for asking literary tourists to devote sufficient time to their journal-keeping would have to be found.

The case study is limited to a specific town that does enjoy successful literary tourism. It is sited in a particular culture and geographic location with visitors coming mainly from France, Britain and Germany. The literary tourism takes place with no evidence of marketing or interpretive support from the DMO at the three levels of management in French tourism provision. Each of these limitations are easy to identify and remove from future work on different towns. Finally, the study is limited to urban tourism; this choice was made though, from the results of the literature review where rural literary tourism was shown to often result in disappointment (Watson 2006) and (Ridanpää 2011).

Further Research

To develop the key findings and the recommendations, which propose a new place-writing, this research could be taken further by completing an archival writing project in close consultation with stakeholders then placing that new resource in a networked location for use by both the local tourism and hospitality businesses and directly to potential visitors through the internet. A set of usage metrics, for example a download counter, and success measures could be associated with the resource and data gathered from these alongside user interviews and questionnaires on usefulness.

The proposed term, the toureme, could be tested in further research to find the links between the narratives that holidaymakers recount after their holidays and the toureme moments during the visit. These links would enable a clearer list of influences to be built up by the researcher and some measure of the effects of each influence traced forward into the holidaymakers' stories.

It would be valuable to look more closely at the genre that this research has identified and calls the Place Book. Two English examples are: Edmund White's (2008) *The Flâneur: A Stroll Through the Paradoxes of Paris*, which is even packaged and bound for the UK market by Bloomsbury as a portable pocket book, and Andy Martin's (2012) The *Boxer and the Goalkeeper - Sartre vs Camus*. An autobiography in French, Darwin Smith's (2012) *Devenir historien* actually takes its readers inside the academic buildings of Paris, interiors to which tourists seldom have access, and thus parallels the value that visitors gain from Simenon's indoor scenes. It would be valuable to understand the reception of this type of writing with its historical-biographical approach and its use by visitors. It was noted earlier that a debate has been taking place in the discipline of historiography on the validity of using narrative and historical drama. It would be useful for scholars from tourism studies to join this debate and contribute to inter-disciplinary research.

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Appendices on Attached DVD-CD-ROM

A. Analysis of Social Media Data Collection

A1 John Simenon - A Meeting with the Yellow Dog

A2 GoodReads - Yellow Dog Reviews corpus

A3 Amazon - English-language reviews

A4 Travel & Books - On Google Plus Community

A5 Travel & Books (2014) Cleaned data OLDEST FIRST

A6 Social media daily record of interventions

A7 NVivo data from TripAdvisor, requires NVivo software to view

B. Brittany Fieldwork

B1 Newsletter - Le P'tit vachic

B2 Proust's Letter from Hotel Fermont Beg-Meil

B3 Christine Labbé 2012 Grand Hotel

B4 Biographical Email Correspondence with John Simenon

B5 Le Foll (1995) Proust at Beg-Meil

C. Close-Reading of Novel

C1 Watson 2014 Penguin Plan Coverage for Simenon

C2 Watson 2014 Simenon Penguin Press Release

C3 Josephine Greywoode 2013 Penguin

D. Data from DMOs, INSEE and Web-Sites

D1 Defosse 2014 Daily Rates of Hotel Occupation in Cornouaille

D2 Hyères 2014 Recruitment advertisement

D3 Gerry Hones 2013 Literary Tourism and Q

E. Extra-Mural Fieldwork on Book and Town

E1 Adam - Report The Yellow Dog

E2 Antonio - The Unknown Town Project Web Journal

E3 Marie - Carnets

E4 Pete - Notebook

E5 Glen - Notebook

E6 Will - Notebook

E7 Ethics Approval Letter

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