

A socio-cultural analysis of the traditional seaside resort and its contemporary meaning to tourists with specific reference to Morecambe, U.K.

by

David Jarratt

A thesis submitted in partial fulfilment of the requirements for the degree of Doctor of Philosophy at the University of Central Lancashire (UCLan)

July 2013

STUDENT DECLARATION

I declare that while registered as a candidate for the research degree, I have not been a registered candidate or enrolled student for another award of the University or other academic or professional institution

I declare that no material contained in the thesis has been used in any other submission for an academic award and is solely my own work

Signature of Candidate.....

Type of Award.....

School.....

ABSTRACT

The original contribution of this thesis to knowledge is the concept of *seaside-ness*. That is, this thesis presents an in-depth exploration and analysis of the contemporary sense of place at a traditional British seaside resort. Due to the research focussing on issues of place, the study has been framed within human geography.

Coastal resorts were amongst the earliest and remain the most important tourism destinations in Britain. However, many medium-sized traditional seaside resorts have in recent decades faced a number of significant challenges, not least Morecambe, a resort located on the Lancashire coast in north-west England. Indeed, few resorts have suffered a greater loss in terms of infrastructure, visitor numbers and reputation than Morecambe. Nevertheless, the resort has benefitted recently from a new promenade adorned with statues and a restored art deco hotel, and has staged a modest recovery from the lows of the late-twentieth century.

In the context of its turbulent history, this study considers present day tourists' experience of Morecambe, a place that has been on the *margins* for some time. More specifically, the purpose of this study is to establish if a seaside-specific sense of place exists for these visitors and, indeed, for visitors to the seaside more generally. Following a review of the 'rise and fall' of the British seaside resort and specifically Morecambe, the thesis explores the factors that may contribute to a sense of place at the seaside, in so doing establishing a conceptual framework for the subsequent research which deliberately employs a mixed methods approach. Firstly, a questionnaire survey amongst visitors to Morecambe establishes a foundation for identifying and understanding touristic behaviour and views. Building on these results, the second stage of the research comprises in-depth interviews with a small purposive sample of older Northern visitors – the largest market as identified at the first stage. Interpretative Phenomenological Analysis (IPA) is employed to offer a rigorous and systematic analysis of these interviews. This approach aims to represent a perspective rather than a population and is considered an appropriate method to understand the visitor experience of place and to generate theory.

This thesis reveals how space, specifically *blue space*, informs the touristic reaction to place through a variety of perceived characteristics. Most of these reactions can be grouped into the broad themes of identity, wellness, spirituality and nostalgia for childhood. A seaside-ness model is proposed which clarifies these inter-related findings. Taken together, these themes and findings paint a picture of a place which holds

significant meaning for these visitors. First and foremost, this 'place' is the seaside, rather than Morecambe specifically; that is, people visit Morecambe for the natural coastal environment and the enduring socio-cultural construction that is the British Seaside. The thesis concludes by exploring the implications of this research for the future of Morecambe and, implicitly, other resorts.

TABLE OF CONTENTS

1	INTRODUCTION	1
1.1	Research Aim and Questions	1
1.2	A personal introduction	2
1.3	Introduction to the thesis	4
1.4	An introduction to the chapters	8
1.5	Summary	12
2	THE RISE, FALL AND REGENERATION OF THE ENGLISH SEASIDE RESORT	13
2.1	Introduction	13
2.2	The Enablement of ‘Mass Tourism’ at resorts	14
2.2.1	Railways	15
2.2.2	Income	16
2.2.3	Free time	16
2.2.4	Supply	16
2.2.5	Appeal	17
2.3	The development of resorts – supplying the seaside holiday	18
2.4	The slowdown and challenges facing the British seaside 1957- 2000	21
2.4.1	Competition	24
2.4.2	The Resort Cycle	24
2.4.3	Cultural transformations	25
2.5	The British seaside since 2000	27
2.6	Seaside regeneration	30
2.7	Summary	37
3	MORECAMBE AS A TOURIST RESORT	38
3.1	Introduction	38
3.2	The development of mass tourism at Morecambe and the seaside	39
3.3	Morecambe at its height	44
3.4	Morecambe: the decline of a once fashionable seaside resort	48
3.5	Twenty-first century tourism in Morecambe	55
3.6	Regeneration in Morecambe and public sector involvement	60
3.7	Summary	67

4	A SENSE OF PLACE AT THE SEASIDE	68
4.1	Introduction	68
4.2	Sense of Place	68
4.2.1	Sense of Place and Tourism Studies	68
4.2.2	Space and Place	69
4.2.3	Sense of place	70
4.2.4	Attachment, identity and dependence within sense of place	72
4.2.5	Primal landscapes: sense of place, memory and childhood	73
4.2.6	Sense of place at the seaside	74
4.3	The Invention of the beach: the socio-cultural construction of the seaside	76
4.3.1	The pre-Renaissance beach	76
4.3.2	The rise of the sublime	77
4.3.3	Seaside pioneers: dipping as a tonic	81
4.3.4	Well-being as a motivation for mass tourism	83
4.3.5	The seaside as a place of escape	85
4.3.6	Industrialisation and the seaside	86
4.4	Liminality and authenticity	88
4.4.1	Liminality	88
4.4.2	Liminal Places	90
4.4.3	Existential authenticity in a liminal zone	91
4.4.4	The liminal seaside: a blank canvass	93
4.5	The Restorative Seaside	96
4.5.1	Restorative and re-vitalizing natural environments	96
4.5.2	The restorativeness of blue spaces	97
4.6	Spirituality at the Seaside	98
4.6.1	Spirituality and tourism	98
4.6.2	Spirituality and sublime landscapes	100
4.6.3	Spirituality and the sea	101
4.7	The Carnavalesque Seaside	104
4.7.1	The Carnavalesque	104
4.7.2	The Carnavalesque at the seaside	106
4.7.3	The decline of the Carnavalesque seaside	109
4.8	The Nostalgic Seaside – Childhood, Identity and Heritage	111
4.8.1	Nostalgia	111
4.8.2	Nostalgia and time	112
4.8.3	Identity and nostalgia: personal and collective memory	114
4.8.4	Nostalgia and the seaside	115
4.8.5	The nostalgic representation of the British seaside	118
4.8.6	Nostalgia and seaside heritage tourism	120
4.9	Summary	124
5	RESEARCH METHODOLOGY, DESIGN AND METHODS	126
5.1	Introduction and Research Aim	126
5.2	Methodology	127
5.2.1	Overview of research methodology	127
5.2.2	Philosophical Issues	128
5.2.4	The case-study approach and selection	131

5.3	Research design	132
5.4	Research methods: The questionnaire survey	133
5.4.1	Purpose and introduction	133
5.4.2	Pilot study, sampling, distribution and completion rate	134
5.4.3	Questionnaire design: measuring sense of place	137
5.4.4	Questionnaire analysis	138
5.5	Research methods: the in-depth interviews	139
5.5.1	Purpose and introduction	139
5.5.2	An overview of Interpretative Phenomenological Analysis (IPA)	140
5.5.3	Studies employing IPA (including those in tourism)	143
5.5.4	Sampling strategy for the in-depth interviews	144
5.5.5	The analysis process of the in-depth interviews	146
5.6	Ethical Considerations	147
5.7	Summary	148
6	RESEARCH FINDINGS AND DISCUSSION	149
6.1	Introduction	149
6.1.1	Introduction to the research findings	149
6.1.2	Notes on the presentation of data	154
6.2	Issues of identity	156
6.2.1	A sense of place at Morecambe	156
6.2.2	Morecambe's identity and resort typology	158
6.2.3	The identity and interchangability of traditional seaside resorts	160
6.2.4	A divided resort: the importance of the regenerated seafront	167
6.3	Experiencing the Sea	172
6.3.1	The sea as the main attraction	172
6.3.2	The seaside as a distinctive and sensory experience	173
6.3.3	Dynamic and powerful sea	176
6.3.4	The sea, vastness and awe	177
6.3.5	The timeless sea	179
6.3.6	The characteristics of the seaside and expanded thought	181
6.4	Wellness	182
6.4.1	The holistic nature of wellness	182
6.4.2	The seaside as a place of wellness	182
6.4.3	Spirituality	184
6.5	Nostalgia and Childhood	187
6.5.1	Nostalgia	187
6.5.2	Destination satisfaction and nostalgia	187
6.5.3	The seaside environment and nostalgia	190
6.5.4	Nostalgia for a childhood lost	191
6.5.5	Revisiting childhood & cross generational appeal	195
6.5.6	The beach: play and nostalgia	197
6.6	Summary	200

7	CONCLUSION	202
7.1	A sense of place at the seaside: <i>seasideness</i>	202
7.2	The role of the sea: a place to experience space and expanded thought	203
7.3	Wellness and connecting with nothing	204
7.4	Nostalgia for childhood in a timeless environment	206
7.5	The search for meaning and re-connection at the seaside	209
7.6	A seasideness model	210
7.7	The future of Morecambe: the significance of this research	213
7.8	The nature and limitations of this study	219
7.9	Areas of future research	220
7.10	Final thoughts	221
	REFERENCES	223
	APPENDICES	260

LIST OF TABLES

Table 1.1:	Summary of research methodology.....	10
Table 3.1:	A summary of key tourism statistics for Morecambe in 2010 and 2007.....	55
Table 3.2:	SWOT analysis for Morecambe, by Locum (2003)	65
Table 5.1:	Summary of research methodology.....	127
Table 5.2:	Research traditions	128
Table 5.3:	The research design	133
Table 6.1:	An overview of themes from the in-depth interviews	153
Table 6.2:	Measurement of sense of place at Morecambe	156
Table 6.3:	The correlation between destination satisfaction and sense of place	157
Table 6.4:	Seaside associations	161
Table 6.5:	Visitor satisfaction ratings	168
Table 6.6:	Feeling good by the seaside.....	182
Table 6.7:	The correlation between destination satisfaction and perceptions of wellness, health and spirituality	183
Table 6.8:	Seaside thoughts	184
Table 6.9:	The correlation between memories, tradition and destination satisfaction.....	188
Table 6.10:	The correlation between Morecambe <i>bringing back memories</i> and scale items relating to visiting habits	188

LIST OF FIGURES

Figure 1.1:	Map of Lancashire, indicating Morecambe	6
Figure 1.2:	Morecambe's shore line and Morecambe Bay	6
Figure 3.1:	The busy promenade at Morecambe	42
Figure 3.2:	Morecambe's West End Pier	42
Figure 3.3:	Morecambe promenade and revolving tower	43
Figure 3.4:	Morecambe Carnival Illuminations in the 1920s	46
Figure 3.5:	1960s Miss Great Britain contestants, Morecambe	47
Figure 3.6:	Frontier Land theme park, Morecambe	53
Figure 3.7:	The former site of Frontier Land	54
Figure 3.8:	The Eric Morecambe statue	61
Figure 3.9:	Bird statue and railing	62
Figure 3.10:	Bird statue and benches	62
Figure 4.1:	'Looking Down Yosemite Valley, California' by Albert Bierstadt, 1865	80
Figure 4.2:	'Grand Manan at Sunset' by William McDougal Hunt, 1860	81
Figure 4.3:	Dipping and bathing machines in the early 19 th century	82
Figure 4.4:	Theoplicity model by Belhassen et al (2008: 684)	91
Figure 4.5:	'The Comic Postcards Down Here Are Disgusting!' By Donald McGill	107
Figure 4.6:	'Girl and fortune Teller.' By Donald McGill	107
Figure 4.8:	Summary of main themes from the literature review as they relate to sense of place at the British seaside resort (seasideness)	125
Figure 5.1:	Sources of completed questionnaires	136
Figure 5.2:	A summary of the stages of I.P.A.	141
Figure 6.1:	The 20 most popular activities of respondents	150
Figure 6.2:	Morecambe promenade and beach	151
Figure 6.3:	Words used to describe Morecambe	152
Figure 6.4:	The restored Midland Hotel	164
Figure 6.5:	The restored Midland Hotel as viewed from the promenade	165
Figure 6.6:	The Stone Jetty	167
Figure 6.7:	The West End of Morecambe	169
Figure 6.8:	The view from The Battery, Morecambe, on a clear day	172
Figure 6.9:	Sunset over Morecambe Bay	174
Figure 6.10:	Brucciani's café, Morecambe	192
Figure 6.11:	Morecambe's former railway station	193
Figure 6.12:	A father and children at play on Morecambe beach	197
Figure 7.1:	A seaside resort specific sense of place	211

LIST OF APPENDICES

Appendix 1:	Questionnaire survey from the first stage of research	260
Appendix 2:	Interview schedule from the second stage of research	265
Appendix 3:	Table showing information regarding the interviewees from the second stage of research.....	267
Appendix 4:	Table showing the details of interviews from the second of research.....	269
Appendix 5:	Example transcription of an interview from the second stage of research.....	271
Appendix 6:	Stage one research data – results from the questionnaire, including descriptive data.....	303
Appendix 7:	A table providing an overview of themes to emerge from all of the interviews associated with the second stage of research, including numeric information	323

ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

The development of this thesis was greatly helped by a number of people to whom I am grateful. I would firstly like to thank my supervisory team which included Dr Iain Adams, Dr Martine Middleton and Professor Richard Sharpley. Iain helped with matters of academic convention and proved to have a great eye for detail. Martine added academic rigour to the research methods, got me through many of the PhD processes and offered counsel. Richard gave me valuable advice regarding writing style and the confidence to chase 'seasideness' at a time when I needed inspiration. Other academics, notably Professor John Walton, also helped me along my way in the early stages of my PhD journey. More recently a number of friends and colleagues have supported me by offering their ideas and time, notably Chris Phelan, Nick Davies, Phil Stone and Pete McGrath.

I thank the managers of The Midland Hotel, Strathmore Hotel, Morecambe Hoteliers' Tourism Association, Brucciani's café, Happy Mount Park Café, Morecambe's RNLI shop and The Super Bowl in their help with distributing questionnaires. Jim Catterall (Morecambe Hoteliers' Tourism Association and hotelier), Bryan Lassey (hotelier), Jim Trotman (formerly of Lancaster City Council), Patrick Sheridan (Urban Splash) and Geraldine Smith (former Labour MP) also provided a variety of useful information in the early stages of my research. I also owe a debt of gratitude to the visitors who agreed to give up their time to be interviewed and gave me a great deal to think about.

I would like to thank my family for their support, not least in the form of baby-sitting from my parents, which proved invaluable. Most importantly Sara, Amy and Holly deserve special thanks for their enduring love and support through this long process and I dedicate this work to them. I promise to take you to the seaside more from now on.

Chapter 1

Introduction

1.1 Research Aim and Questions

Research Aim:

To investigate and interpret the socio-cultural significance and associated 'sense of place' of a traditional seaside resort.

Research Question 1:

To what extent does 'a sense of place' at the seaside exist culturally and what form does it take?

- To determine the cultural significance and associations of the contemporary seaside resort, as reflected in academia, arts and any other appropriate arena.
- To assess any distinct 'sense of place' that is associated with the seaside and the factors that led to this formation.

Research Question 2:

What does the tourist's 'sense of place' at the seaside consist of?

- To identify the construction of any distinct seaside 'sense of place' as experienced by tourists.
- To analyse the factors impacting upon any distinct seaside 'sense of place' as experienced by modern day tourists.

Research Question 3:

How does the tourist's 'sense of place' impact upon the appeal of resorts?

- To relate the 'sense of place' of the seaside and touristic appeal at these seaside resorts.
- To deduce a conceptual theory, model or typology to further define, classify as appropriate and explain the contemporary 'sense of place' and any associated or potential touristic appeal.

1.2 A personal introduction

Here, in the first part of this thesis, I shall break with elements of academic tradition and write in the first person and in a subjective manner. This is broadly consistent with the methodology of this thesis. These paragraphs relate to my relevant experiences of the seaside and Morecambe, and should help explain my reason for choosing this subject as well as my own personal views regarding it. As far as possible I shall endeavour to be objective but in the full knowledge that this is unlikely, perhaps impossible, to fully achieve. This puts me in partial alignment with Wheeler (2007), who writes that academics should declare their interests and avoid notions of objectivity. However, I am determined to let the respondents' and interviewees' voices be heard as clearly as possible within this thesis.

I have always been interested in seaside resorts and have enjoyed something of a love/hate relationship with Morecambe. Annual 'village trips' were run from the Cumbrian community where I lived (from 1982 to 1990) to the resort of Morecambe. Occasionally, I would visit for a friend's birthday party or a family day out too. I have fond memories, such as messing about on the promenade, eating ice cream on the beach, seafront cafes, the penny slot machines in the amusement arcades, the illuminations in Happy Mount Park, the open air public swimming baths and, most especially, the Frontier Land theme park. These experiences were distinct, fun and anticipated. In the mid-1980s, however, Morecambe became increasingly regarded as a 'dump' and fewer attractions were available. I remember with some sadness when Frontier Land closed as the new millennium started. I considered this to be the end of an era; there was now no reason to visit the resort. Indeed, I avoided it. Over the following few years, my occasional seaside visits were hosted by other Lancastrian resorts. In 2001 I lived in Blackpool for a short time. I enjoyed the energy of the resort and the extensive promenade but remember feeling socially out of place in the town centre after dark.

In the following couple of years I married a 'Morecambe lass' and moved to Lancaster (which adjoins Morecambe) to start a new job. I visited Morecambe again; it felt quiet, far less fun than I remembered but at the same time peaceful. The promenade area was much improved and more beautiful than ever. In a way, however, I felt disconnected from the resort because so much of what I had enjoyed had disappeared. Yet when I looked across the Bay, I did feel a connection to that place – looking back I am not sure if it was nostalgia, pure aesthetic appreciation or something deeper. In search of a family home, I moved to the resort and spent two years there before

moving once more.

The two years I spent in Morecambe offered a real insight into the resort and this is one reason, amongst others, why Morecambe was selected as a case study. My parents-in-law were hoteliers with a small business just outside the resort and I saw the place from a local's perspective. There was always mention of regeneration on the back of the new promenade, and bringing back families to the resort. Plans for the Midland Hotel and the state of the Winter Gardens were frequent topics of conversation. I remember one neighbour outlining in detail his idea for a Marina to bolster tourism. There was always frustration at the slow pace of progress too, the brunt of which was borne by the council. Like many residents I could see potential. As a sceptic I could see the significant barriers facing any progress, not least competition, lack of funds and poor place image. I became genuinely curious as to whether Morecambe could regenerate and turn the proverbial corner. I was also interested in the tourists themselves and why they visited. I found myself observing them with a vague notion that what I was doing was akin to anthropology, although perhaps it was just people watching as I walked with my young daughter. I unobtrusively watched families or, more often, elderly couples, as they bought ice cream, considered the exterior of the art deco Midland Hotel, had their photograph taken with the statue of Eric Morecambe and strolled off the promenade whilst looking out to sea and enjoying the sunset. Of course, I did these things too.

Observing tourists and visitors in their 'natural habitat' was no new thing to me. I had spent my formative years in the Lake District. When I went to church as a young boy, tourists were often there, the pubs I visited as a teenager were full of tourists, and when I went mountain-biking the fells were studded with red and blue Gore-Tex jackets. I had various jobs in the tourism industry serving or cleaning up after tourists and, after my graduation, I worked for the National Trust in the Lake District. I ended up part-managing a National Trust property, trying to strike the balance between opening up a house to tourists and protecting it from them. I always enjoyed the tourism industry; I found the social interaction involved to be far from as superficial as one might expect. I often found tourists to be surprisingly forthcoming and keen to talk about their experiences. Luckily I enjoyed this; I was fascinated by how they regarded the attraction, destination and, indeed, the locals. I was surprised by how much these places meant to them, even if their views departed somewhat from my version of reality. This interest persists and during, the course of this study, I aim to get inside the

heads of visitors to Morecambe.

1.3 Introduction to the thesis

This thesis is concerned with sense of place as experienced by visitors to the seaside resort of Morecambe in 2010-2011. In everyday usage, the term 'sense of place' tends to be employed when the meaning of place and place identity is significant enough to be felt or experienced. Geographers refer to it as the subjective and emotional attachment people have to places (see Agnew 1987 and Creswell 2004).

The contemporary British seaside visitor's emotional reaction to place, and any associated touristic motivation, represents a gap in the literature. Indeed, there is surprisingly little in-depth qualitative research into seaside visitors more generally. The British seaside is often associated with decline in the face of wider social and economic forces but Walton suggests that observers should instead try to explain its survival (2000:196); what is it about traditional British resorts that continue to draw visitors? Within this thesis, the contemporary market for this traditional seaside town is examined in some detail and fresh insights offered into reactions to place and visitor motivation. In so doing, a touristic *seasideness* model is proposed.

There has now been a variety of seaside related research involving histories (for example, Walton 2000), seaside architecture (Gray 2006), the seaside environment (Hassan 2003), insightful work on seaside economies (Beatty and Fothergill 2003) and various other notable academic works that take a particular resort related focus (for example, Agarwal 2002 and 2007; Gale 2005). However, there are a limited number of studies that consider the present-day market for traditional seaside resorts; that is, with a particular focus on the visitors and tourists themselves, their thoughts and opinions. Tunstall and Penning-Rowsell (1998) represent a partial exception to this and their work is discussed later in this introduction. Generally, such work tends to be undertaken by consultants and to adopt a quantitative, statistical and arguably descriptive approach (see Gibson, Crawford and Geddes 2008; England's North West Research Service 2009). They offer little in the way of a full understanding of impressions, motivations and, in particular, issues of sense of place. In fairness, this appears to be outside the scope of most of these commissions. In contrast, this study aims to 'get inside the head' of the seaside visitor and to explore issues of sense of place and motivation in great depth, offering a unique contribution to knowledge.

For the purposes of this thesis, it is necessary to define the terms seaside, visitor and tourist. The seaside is a subjective term denoting a leisure space by the sea; an urban development created mainly, but not solely, for recreational use (Page and Connell 2010). Sections of the coast and intertidal beach are integral components of seaside resorts. This study is concerned with tourists and visitors in the context of the seaside resort of Morecambe. According to the World Tourism Organisation, tourism comprises, 'the activities of persons travelling to and staying in places outside their usual environment for not more than one consecutive year for leisure, business and other purposes.' They also go on to state, 'All types of travellers engaged in tourism are described as visitors. Visitors can be distinguished as same-day visitors or tourists (overnight visitors)' (World Tourism Organisation 2010: 1). However, this thesis does not necessarily distinguish between the terms tourist and visitor. When respondents and interviewees discuss tourism, they do not necessarily exclude day visits; indeed the opposite proves to be true within this study. The delineation between these terms is, in many cases, unnecessary and inconsistent. In addition, the place-based term 'visitor economy' has increasingly been used by industry, government and media (Reddy 2006). This is seen to be a more inclusive term than tourism; 'All tourists are visitors, but not all visitors are tourists' (Reddy 2006: 3). However, where necessary this study will clearly distinguish between overnight visitors and day visitors.

The focus of this research is Morecambe, a seaside resort located on the Northern coast of Lancashire in the North West of England (see Figure 1.1). Morecambe is a moderately sized town of approximately 39,000 people adjoining the city of Lancaster, which has a similar sized population. Morecambe is a civil parish in the administrative district of Lancaster, and is located on the Lancastrian side of Morecambe Bay, facing the Cumbrian side. Morecambe is an extensive tidal area which is rich in bird life (see Figure 1.2).

Figure 1.1: Map of Lancashire, indicating Morecambe



(Image: Visit Lancashire 2012).

Figure 1.2: Morecambe's shore line and Morecambe Bay



(Image: BBC 2011)

The history of seaside towns and Morecambe are explored in some depth in Chapters 2 and 3. For now, suffice to say that Morecambe grew into a thriving medium-sized seaside resort in the nineteenth century, reached its peak in the middle of the twentieth century and, since then, has seen a dramatic decline in popularity. The lows were as low as or lower than those experienced by the majority of UK resorts (Hassan 2003). More recently, Morecambe has made some headway with resort regeneration with a relatively new promenade, a successful public art work project in the mid- to late-1990s and a newly refurbished art deco hotel. Since the late-1990s, the decline in visitor numbers has been arrested. Indeed, there has been a modest improvement in visitor numbers in recent years (see Table 3.1). This destination is clearly very much less popular than in its heyday but it is still a functioning resort with a market; it can be viewed as a resilient social construction (Ward and Hardy 1986). This market, that is, contemporary visitors to Morecambe, and the way in which they interpret this seaside town as a place, lie at the heart of this study.

Morecambe has been referred to in a number of public sector reports, notably in 2000 by the Commission for Architecture and the Built Environment (CABE) which commended the newly developed promenade. Consultants have also undertaken some work to establish the backdrop to regeneration plans (see Piedad Consulting 2002; Locum and Arkenford 2006). Yet there is scant academic coverage of tourism in modern day Morecambe, as seems to be the case with all medium sized British resorts. Two articles offer some insight into the resort. Williams, Chaplin and Middleton (2001) considered the lessons that could be learned from the failed attempt to establish a small theme park in the resort - *Blobbygate*. Whilst doing so, they tested a Leisure/Tourism convergence model. Williams et al (2001) explain some of the issues facing the resort but had a very different scope from this thesis. Meanwhile, Tunstall and Penning-Rowse (1998) considered what the beach meant to tourists in light of environmental change, conducting primary research (mostly quantitative) in 15 resorts across England, including Morecambe. The focus of this broad study was on the perceived environmental characteristics of different resorts by visitors, and its conclusions deserve special mention at this stage as they act as a useful introduction to the exploration of the concept *seaside-ness*.

Tunstall and Penning-Rowse (1998) point to some interesting variations between resorts but do not actually reveal a great deal about Morecambe itself. Their work is relevant in what it reveals about attitudes towards the English beach more generally. This is because the importance of nature, childhood, families and nostalgia emerge as

important themes in both studies. In their conclusion, Tunstall and Penning (1998: 331) write:

The English seaside and its beaches are special because they are special places to play, to relax, to exercise and to enjoy. They bring back memories - mainly of families and childhood. They are places of discovery and adventure, and contact with nature. Their meanings come from these imaginings and these activities, and from the repeated visits to the same familiar and reassuring locales. Their beaches have a coherence that derives from their enduring physical character - waves, tides, sand and noise - and from the assemblage of features that keeps them there: the sea-wall, the promenade and the groyne. Each is understood and valued, for their timelessness and familiarity.

They also write that visitors do not want the seaside to change and that, in the context of coastal protection, 'Ironically, the resilience of the social construction appears greater than that of the coast itself' (Tunstall and Penning-Rowse 1998: 331). All of these themes, or 'seaside meanings' were only identified in the conclusion to their article and are not explored or analysed. These authors suggest that in the future, 'Qualitative research with in-depth interviews or discussion groups would deepen our understanding of individuals' lifelong experiences of coasts, and the meanings they attach to them' (Tunstall and Penning-Rowse 1998: 331). This is the intention of this thesis.

1.4 An introduction to the chapters

The remainder of this introduction introduces the thesis chapter by chapter but also endeavours to clarify the themes that run throughout it. These themes are considered in parts of the literature review in some depth. In the very earliest stages of research, before any aims were written, the focus was on history and resort regeneration. It soon became clear that there has been little work on how the traditional seaside resort is regarded by contemporary tourists and, in simple terms, 'what is it about this place that attracts them?' This led directly to the focus on sense of place and therefore the work of environmental psychologists and especially humanistic geographers. This focus very much influences the methodology of this study, which is considered after the literature review. The literature review considered these disciplines but was not limited to them. Any relevant information regarding place, visitor experiences, tourism motivation and seaside resorts was considered. This led to a broad literature review, divided into three parts, Chapters 2, 3 and 4.

Chapter 2 – *The rise, fall and regeneration of the English seaside resort*. The history of mass tourism at the seaside resort and more recent efforts concerning regeneration are considered in this chapter. This offers a backdrop to developments in Morecambe and indeed our contemporary view of the British seaside. This chapter is broadly structured around the themes of the enablement of mass tourism, the development of resorts, their decline (including the reasons for falling tourism levels and relevant lifecycle models), and seaside tourism in the twenty-first century and the regeneration of the seaside resort.

Chapter 3 – *Morecambe as a tourist resort*. In some ways, Chapters 2 and 3 could be combined, yet the history of Morecambe deserves special attention. One reason for this is the dramatic decline it underwent, the scale of which is not representative of the British seaside more generally. It was also decided that this chapter should clearly address the selected case study in-depth. This chapter is broken up in a similar way to chapter 2: the development of mass tourism, Morecambe at its height (1914-1957), Morecambe's decline (late 1950s to 2000) which was initially slow to start but quickly developed, twentieth-first century tourism in Morecambe, and regeneration. Chapter 3 offers a detailed account of Morecambe's development and re-development; it provides the context for this study.

Chapter 4 – *Space, place and a sense of place at the seaside*. This chapter is the final part of the literature review and underpins the theoretical aspects of the thesis. It introduces the concepts of space, place and sense of place and then goes on to explore and discuss the following: the social construction of the seaside with a particular focus on the invention of the beach, touristic motivation (the lure of the sea) from a socio-historical standpoint, the concepts of liminality and authenticity, the liminal seaside, wellness and the seaside environment, spirituality at the seaside, the carnivalesque seaside and the nostalgic seaside with a particular emphasis on heritage and especially childhood. What ties these areas together is that they have all been considered potential 'seaside meanings' by various scholars, authors, artists and social commentators. Potentially they all inform the visitor's sense of place at the seaside. In other words, the way in which the seaside is reflected culturally and within academia is considered.

This part of the literature review considers a variety of socio-cultural, geographical and

psychological theories that link to the seaside or visitor experiences. This study was influenced by the humanistic geographers, so it starts with a discussion on place and space. A variety of theories clearly link to the seaside as a place where land meets the sea. Looking out to sea from the shoreline is long associated with beauty and pathos, although this was something that only developed with the Renaissance (Corbin 1994). The seaside is long associated with distinct behaviour on the margins of society; the liminal and carnivalesque (Shields 1991, Turner 1974). In the post modern era, secular spirituality is at least as likely to emerge as a theme (Bull 2006). Today, childhood and idealised holidays are very much associated with the seaside, just as they were throughout the twentieth century. Nostalgia lies at the heart of this and it is very much 'seasoned' by the liminal nature of the seaside environment (Walton 2000: 3). Theories and observations such as these point towards the genius loci of the seaside resort.

Chapter 5 – *Research Methodology, Design and Methods*. This chapter combines these three elements into one chapter. Firstly the methodology is considered. This study adopts a qualitative paradigm and employs a mixed methods approach. This is clarified in this chapter which starts with the following summary.

Table 1.1: Summary of research methodology

Research Philosophy	Inductive / Phenomenological
Research Approach	Qualitative
Research Epistemology	Interpretivism
Research Ontology	Constructionism
Research Design	Multi-Method Case Study
Research Methods	Stage 1: Self-completed questionnaire survey Stage 2: In-depth semi-structured interviews
Research Analysis	Stage 1: SPSS Stage 2: Interpretative Phenomenological Analysis (IPA)

The research methodology includes the following sub-divisions: philosophical issues, mixed method approach, case study approach and selection, and research aim and questions.

The research methods borrow from environmental psychology and psychology. The first stage (quantitative questionnaire survey) is structured around work undertaken by Jorgenson and Stedman (2003) and the second stage follows the precedents laid out by Smith, Flowers and Larkin (2009) with the adoption of Interpretative Phenomenological Analysis (IPA), a qualitative approach originating in psychology. More emphasis was placed on this second stage with the first stage partially viewed as a scoping exercise. This chapter briefly considers research design before moving onto a detailed exploration of research methods. Each stage of research is explained and justified. This includes an analysis of the questionnaire design, a full explanation of the Interpretative Phenomenological Analysis process and details of the interviewees themselves. Finally, ethical considerations are discussed.

Chapter 6 – *Research Findings and Discussion*. The main themes that emerged from the first stage of research were broadly in line with the themes from the second stage. The main overall themes were resort identities, experiencing the sea, wellness and finally nostalgia and childhood. This chapter is structured according to these themes; each section calls on findings from both stages of research to fully discuss and evaluate themes.

The straight-forward representations of descriptive data from the questionnaire are located in the appendices, with only the most relevant data included in the main body of the thesis. For the most part, results from the first stage of research are shown in table format. The results from the second stage of research are a series of emergent themes which are augmented by quotes from interviewees. These themes are summarised in table form, near the beginning of the chapter, to introduce the reader to the broad scope of the findings. Quotes from interviewees are included if they are representative of a theme, although quotes that reveal a contrary view were also included. The reaction or opinions of individual interviewees are discussed, especially if their ideas differ from the others or their comments are particularly insightful or revealing. The views of and quotes from all interviewees are presented.

Chapter 7 – *Conclusion*. This chapter endeavours to bring together and summarise all of the different threads of this study and in doing so naturally progresses from the previous chapter. Potential inter-relationships between various themes and theories are evaluated. This leads to the introduction of a seaside-specific sense of place model, which clarifies and summarises many of the findings of this thesis. The original

contribution to knowledge is self-evident within the first half of the Conclusion, which goes onto discuss the implications and significance of this research and what the future might hold for the British seaside in general and Morecambe in particular. It reflects upon the effectiveness of research methods, any limitations of the study and potential areas of future research.

1.5 Summary

This work is not only significant in its own right but also because of the context of this study. Many British, medium sized, largely working class resorts (especially those that developed in the inter-war period) face acute socio-economic difficulties underpinned by a decline in tourism (Walton 2000, Hassan 2003). Regeneration of such resorts since the 1990s has been challenging and the results inconsistent. These issues are explored in-depth within this study. Any research which can, on some level, offer an insight into the existing market and potentially inform the process of rejuvenating these towns is significant. However, this is not the primary purpose of the research, which is much more focussed on establishing a touristic sense of place in Morecambe – what characterises the experience of visiting a traditional seaside resort such as this? In doing so, it is hoped that a better understanding might be established regarding the relationship between tourists and the places they visit. Furthermore, the study of tourism can act as a *lens* with which to examine culture and society and ultimately to understand ourselves a little better (Sharpley 2011). It is, therefore, appropriate that the first thing to be considered is the historical and contemporary context of this study. This helps to explain various seaside challenges and opportunities; it also underpins the opinions of visitors and place image. The next chapter considers the British seaside.

Chapter 2

The Rise, Fall and Regeneration of the English Seaside Resort

2.1 Introduction

This chapter considers seaside history before discussing contemporary seaside tourism. Seaside histories are not as comprehensive within academia as one might expect. Traditionally, the socio-economic history of the industrial revolution is defined by the study of mass production rather than consumption by the masses. This is understandable given that transformations in production, such as technical innovations in industry, clearly had profound implications for society and the economy. However, a relatively small number of commentators, notably John Walton, would argue that similar claims could be made with regards to the enduring heritage of mass consumption which, to a large extent, has been overlooked. Mass tourism was born in the resorts of the North of England but has since been exported globally. Indeed, Walton (2000) makes the point that the coastal mass-tourism resort model has been adapted worldwide as were many other innovations from the British Industrial Revolution. Yet Shaw and Agarwal (2007) contest this assertion; Europe had its own spa heritage and there were numerous continental equivalents to British resorts.

Stallybrass and White (1986:192) claim that contemporary analyses tend to either 'fetishize or repress' the 'expelled other' – the low brow and essentially working class seaside resort. Academics mirror the subject-formation of the middle classes; historians may take a nostalgic view of the lost *real* community or ignore the uncivilized other. This is one explanation for the assertion that relatively few historians have concerned themselves with mass consumption by the working classes and, in particular, seaside resorts (Walton 2000). Gray (2006) makes the point that the voices of holiday makers are often drowned out by those who build resorts or cultural representation. With just a few exceptions (such as Cross's 1990 work on mass observation), the voices of holiday makers come across as 'a confusing Chinese whisper' (Gray 2006: 12). Nevertheless, Shaw and Agarwal (2007) observe that seaside histories have been relatively well researched in recent years. Indeed, an increasingly comprehensive picture of seaside history has developed. However, the picture is quite different when one focuses on Morecambe in particular; putting together a reliable history of the resort, in any sort of detail, was challenging.

2.2 The Enablement of 'Mass Tourism' at resorts

The earliest resorts of Scarborough, Brighton and Margate had recognisable bathing seasons in the 1730s (Walton 1983). In these early and exclusive days, the seaside resorts owed much to the spa tradition and royal patronage. As industrial society and the middle classes developed, the social spectrum of the seaside widened in a way in which the spas never had. Walton writes, 'by the turn of the century the seaside holiday had become a well-established feature of the social calendar, and its influence was already reaching a long way down the social scale, well beyond the confines of polite society, in parts of the provinces as well as the London area' (1983: 16). In the same way that the inland spas had witnessed royal patronage and upper class exclusivity eventually make way for 'lower' social orders, so the appeal of the seaside worked its way down through society. Various socio-economic factors that marked the age of the Industrial Revolution enabled the start of this 'trickle-down'. The appeal of the coastal environment (including bathing in particular) was to ensure the enduring popularity of seaside resorts amongst a wide range of people.

There were many variables in resort development. The growth in resorts was not merely a reflection of industrialisation in the hinterland, although this was of key importance. Land ownership, local government, entrepreneurial activity, topography and transport all had their effect on resort growth. In most cases, the resort was grafted onto an existing village or town, some of which were not only resorts but had functions such as ports or market centres too. Swansea, Tynemouth and Southampton had resort functions throughout the 1800s but these had faded in relative importance by Victorian times (see Walton 1983). So, even the definition of a 'resort' was not always 'clear-cut' or permanent. The census figures for 'resort' growth should not, therefore, be taken purely as a reflection of the growth of tourism in all cases. Walton (2009) points out that the term 'mass tourism' paints a misleading picture of a uniform tourist experience which spans the modern age. This study accepts this criticism and intends to use the term to describe the relatively high numbers of largely, but not exclusively, working class tourists who visited resorts from the second half of the nineteenth century onwards and the associated development of tourism infrastructures and businesses.

Generally speaking, the majority of seaside resorts became what they were because of various enabling factors brought about by the Industrial Revolution, as discussed in the following paragraphs. It is important to note that 'enablement' is not the whole story; the initial motivation to visit the seaside resorts must also be considered. The appeal of the

resorts is addressed elsewhere in this thesis.

The earlier train-borne working class day trippers pioneered plebeian travel but the number of staying visitors expanded rapidly in Victorian Britain too. John Walton (1981) argues that five conditions had to be met for the British Seaside to attract working class residential tourists and so ensure the development of the seaside resort. These were:

- 1) Cheap and effective transport to a suitable coastline
- 2) The working classes had to have sufficient income to afford a holiday in times when holidays were not paid
- 3) The seaside visitors would need several days holiday back-to-back in the summer.
- 4) The resorts had to have sufficient facilities; supply must meet demand.
- 5) The labour force must choose to spend their hard earned saved income at the seaside; the resorts needed to be attractive.

Each of these five points will be examined in turn in the context of British seaside resorts and some examples will be employed from the resort of Morecambe.

2.2.1 Railways

An often quoted 'enabler' is the development of the commercially-organised railway excursion and the role of Thomas Cook. He ran what is widely regarded as the first excursion train in 1841 (a religiously motivated trip to Leicester) but the first seaside excursion was run in 1843 by Sir Roland Hill of the Brighton Railway Company. In the following year, a Lancashire employer took 650 employees to Fleetwood for the day (Hern 1967, Pimlott 1947). Pimlott (1947) quotes both the Railway Department and Railway Chronicle to underline the fact that, by the mid-1840s, excursions were seen as beneficial and were becoming popular. The Great Exhibition of 1851 was significant in that it gave the railway companies the experience of handling mass passenger traffic as excursion trains accommodated high demand (Hern 1967). These organised excursions were, of course, significant but do not represent the only way in which the railway companies were meeting the demand for affordable travel. Reduced fares, discounts and 'penny-a-mile' trains were in operation in the mid- to late-1840s (Pimlott 1947). The holiday market expanded rapidly in the railway age and, in so doing, became increasingly 'plebeian and provincial' (Walton 1983: 73).

2.2.2 Income

Mass tourism was underpinned by improved workers' pay as a result of industrialization and a strong economy. The northern textile Industry in West Riding and especially Lancashire ensured that working class wages were relatively high when compared to agriculture and other industries. Walton (1981) points out that the unattached young were able to earn high salaries from a relatively early age and savings clubs became increasingly common by the 1890s. It was not until legislation was enacted in 1938, however, that holidays were paid, paving the way for the post-war boom in holiday resorts (Pimlott 1947; Walton 1981). Clearly, a reasonable level of regular 'disposable' income was a key part of the equation which led to the growth of working class travel.

2.2.3 Free time

Longer holidays, lasting several days, needed to develop in order for mass tourism to flourish. From the 1840s onwards, some employers, notably mill owners in Lancashire, were becoming tolerant of regular customary holidays as opposed to unpredictable absenteeism. This was, of course, better for the employer in as much as production could halt for a week whilst the workplace underwent maintenance and constant disruption was avoided (Walton 1983). There is no doubt that the Lancashire holidays system, with set Wakes weeks, benefited resorts. With the exception of West Riding, other parts of the country had more irregular working regimes. Wakes Weeks and the income generated from them proved essential to fuelling the development of resorts on the Lancashire coast (Walton 1981). The development of Wakes Week was significant because it justified a high level of expenditure on working class-specific accommodation and entertainment. In the Southern half of England, the acceptance of the August bank holiday and subsequent extensions of this holiday proved a milestone in the development of the working class holiday habit, rather than Wakes weeks. There was certainly a good deal of regional variation (Walton 1983).

2.2.4 Supply

Of course, as demand grew so did supply. Transport, accommodation and attractions are necessary components of the tourist system. Guest houses grew up to accommodate those who formerly may have been limited to day excursions. Even in the mid-nineteenth century, the quality of accommodation and hospitality at the seaside was the butt of jokes and complaints but, nevertheless, people were just glad to be by the seaside (Pimlott 1947).

The initial attraction in the eighteenth century was the sea itself. Other attractions were genteel and focussed upon self-improvement, culture and health. Attractions to cater for a wider variety of tastes (according to the socio-economic ranking of the resort in question) developed in the mid- and late-nineteenth century in particular. The pleasure pier, pierrots, minstrels, Punch and Judy, fairground style stalls, political meetings, religious gatherings, rock and seafood stalls became commonplace (Walton 2000). The larger attractions included towers, Alhambra, Winter Gardens music halls, zoos, electric railways, trams and fairgrounds. At the opposite end of the spectrum, bucket and spades on the beach were enduringly popular. Some of these attractions were unique to the seaside and added to its distinct character. Such features marked out this liminal zone as an exceptional and distinctive place where normal limitations did not apply, at least quite as much as normal (Walton 2000). Certainly, it was a completely different environment from the 'normal' non-seaside towns and cities. In the inter-war period lidos, golf courses and other developments were added to the older Victorian and Edwardian attractions.

2.2.5 Appeal

For mass tourism to develop at these resorts, the working classes had to choose to spend their money at the seaside. Clearly, the seaside was different enough from everyday life and enjoyable as its overwhelming success demonstrates. In the nineteenth century choice was limited and, for many, a seaside resort (in Wakes Week) was one of the few opportunities to spend leisure time out of one's local area. In an era of conformity, there must have been social pressure (even if unspoken) to do the expected things once the habit was well established (Pimlott 1947). Morecambe was typical of the Lancastrian resorts in that group excursions were commonplace, from the small Church group excursions to the special excursions of 1894 when 5,000 football fans arrived to see Millom play Morecambe and when 7000 cyclists biked into the resort as part of the Leeds/Bradford Cycle Rally (Bingham 1990). That does not mean that everybody aspired to go to the seaside; others chose to limit their leisure time to their locality, often the pub. The purchase of drink represented a high percentage of expenditure amongst the working classes, with many families spending at least a third of their income on alcohol (Hern 1967). From 1875 onwards, however, the respectable Lancastrian working classes were on the rise. Their leisure time was increasingly rational, healthy and based less on the consumption of alcohol. No doubt this pattern could be seen in other parts of the country although many southern resorts were more associated with drunkenness around this time (see Walton 1981, Pimlott 1947). Nationally and regionally, different resorts each offered a variety of attractions in order

to meet widely held expectations of what a holiday should be. Morecambe, as previously discussed, did meet these needs and presented its version of the British seaside holiday. The seaside holiday came to be enjoyed as a social occasion but also for its own sake.

2.3 The development of resorts – supplying the seaside holiday

John Walton (1997:21) writes, 'at the beginning of the twentieth century the English and Welsh coastlines were uniquely well endowed with seaside resorts' and 'that every coastline had its resort towns and villages, in a bewildering variety of types to cater for an almost infinite range of social groups'. The Victorian era had seen the initial development of these distinct resorts and their tourism infrastructures.

In the first half of the twentieth century, demand for seaside holidays soared. The New Survey of London Life and Labour in 1934 estimated that half the workforce in London took holidays away from home and this percentage would be even more significant in those Northern areas where the Wakes Weeks operated (Pimlott 1947:215). For example, Mass Observation estimated that two thirds of Bolton spent a week away from the town during Wakes Week in 1938 and up to 90% would at least take a day trip. The majority (at least 69%) would visit the popular resorts such as Blackpool (Walton 2000: 57). The 1930s was a period of sustained growth for the Lancashire resorts, much more than the 1920s when local industry and tourism had stagnated (Walton 1992). In the post-war period, holiday taking by the British became even more widespread throughout the social spectrum. Walton (2000:61) writes that, 'The Hulton Press readership survey of 1947 found that 56.4 per cent of its sample took holidays away from home in that year, ranging from three-quarters of the managerial, professional and administrative groups, through two-thirds of the mainstream working class, to half of the 'unskilled' workers and state pensioners.' This trend continued through the Thirties, Forties and Fifties.

The reasons for growth of holiday-taking in this period are, to some extent, a progression from those of the nineteenth century. Society, notably the working classes, was becoming increasingly mobile and transportation was evolving once more. Cycling had been popular for some time and motorcars started to make an impact in the inter-war period. A good number of roads to resorts, including Morecambe, were improved in the 1930s (Walton 2000). Nevertheless, most long journeys were still made by train.

The Holidays with Pay Act (1938) further underpinned this growth and the general trend throughout the twentieth century was to be one of increasing disposable income and time. Demand grew and the seaside continued to innovate and expand in order to meet this demand.

During the nineteenth century, local government had become increasingly sophisticated. Boards of Health played an increasingly important role in the development and promotion of seaside resorts. By the end of that century, such bodies were even becoming involved in entertainment and leisure provision (Walton 1983). In the twentieth century, the local authorities were seen as absolutely key to running a successful resort. Local authorities, with financial help from the national government, developed their infrastructures to accommodate the burgeoning tourist numbers. Between the wars, for example, Hove built a complex that including baths, a restaurant, bowling greens and an underground car park, and Blackpool built seven miles of new promenade to name just two of many seaside developments. Such large scale and expensive municipal projects were commonplace in this era (see Pimlott 1947: 245). The private sector investment was also high as places of entertainment developed and the accommodation stock grew.

Other examples of heavy investment in the existing infrastructure at that time include the rebuilding of the Pier at Weston-Super-Mare in 1933 after it burnt down (for the first time) and the reconstruction of Morecambe's pier in 1936 for the same reason. More tellingly, a number of new buildings sprung up across the resorts; in the 1930s, these included a distinct new building style - Modernism. The Casino at Blackpool Pleasure Beach, The Midland Hotel in Morecambe and the impressive De La War Pavilion at Bexhill-on-Sea are excellent surviving examples. The Lido was also popular in this decade, reflecting a growing interest in exercise and healthy outdoor living. Most medium sized and large resorts followed the trend and Morecambe opened its Lido, claimed to be the biggest in Britain, in 1936.

One well known and noteworthy private sector innovation between the wars was the thoroughly *modern* holiday camp. Camps had developed as part of the voluntary sector in Europe after 1918 but it was Billy Butlin in 1937 who put them 'on the map' (Pimlott 1947: 247). Butlin's camps were outstanding because they offered a wide range of facilities and activities, were well organised, cheap/good value and much larger than anything that had preceded them (accommodating approximately 5,000 Butliners in

each camp). It is estimated that, at their height in the late 1940s, holiday camps (not only Butlins but also Warners, Pontins and others) accommodated 1.2 million holiday makers in an average season, which was 7% of the holiday trade (Ward and Hardy 1986). These camps, especially Butlins, were significant because they raised customer expectations, especially in terms of accommodation. 'The dreary seaside boarding house and its formidable landlady have passed into English mythology, and the popularity of holiday camps in this century can be seen as a revolt against both' (Ward and Hardy 1986: 14).

Butlin proved to have a real flair for marketing and seemed to judge the public's taste and desires very astutely. He listened to and observed his visitors. By 1947, there were four camps in operation, despite the interruption of the Second World War. Interestingly, the historian John Pimlott, the first person to study the British seaside as a serious topic, in 1947 records the accusations of 'regimentation' at the camps and clearly points out that they were not to everyone's taste (see also Manning-Sanders 1951). In some ways, the Butlins product was superior to the traditional seaside product and Pimlott implies that the 'controversy' of Butlinism was that it endangered the seaside resorts as it grew unchecked. Not only this, but Pimlott (1947: 25) feared wider social costs which modern day authors are more likely to ascribe to Disney; he asked, 'Does it not entail regimentation and standardization to a degree which is unhealthy in a free society? Are there not dangers in the sacrifice of privacy and individual initiative?' Others find such arguments 'facile' against a wider backdrop of tower blocks, factory work and supermarkets. 'Individuality' itself is subtle and resilient and cannot be said excluded from or discouraged by such organisations (Ward and Hardy 1986:162). Ward and Hardy (1986) also make the point that much criticism of holiday camps was bound to class; the whole notion is in opposition to the 'Bronte-esque' upper-middle class view or Romantic Gaze (Urry 1990).

One common defence of the holiday camps is that they allowed large numbers of working class people to enjoy relatively comfortable and affordable holidays. It is, however, widely forgotten that holiday camps were largely made up of middle class clients, especially when they were at their peak. In 1947, for example, it was estimated that only 5% of visitors to Butlins were in fact working class and as early as 1924, 'Civil Service Holiday Camps Limited' opened their first camp for 'pen pushers at play' (Ward and Hardy 1986: 42).

The regimentation associated with organised communal 'fun' has largely passed but not entirely died, as an 18-30s or Twenties holiday will attest. No doubt Pimlott (who believed holidays held the potential for education and improvement) would be appalled by these contemporary products. Perhaps a more obvious successor to the legacy of Butlins is Center Parks, which is essentially a holiday park which has replaced one natural aspect (the sea) with another (forest). Nevertheless, Butlins camps themselves have reinvigorated themselves and no longer represent regimentation in the way they once did; they have seen a marked improvement in numbers since 2008.

Just before the outbreak of the Second World War, Middleton Holiday Camp, near Heysham, opened with 900 chalets and dining rooms that could accommodate 3,000 people (Bingham 1990). The popularity of Morecambe, a few miles away, did not seem to be impinged upon by the camp; such was the popularity of the seaside.

2.4 The slowdown and challenges facing the British seaside 1957- 2000

At first glance, it may seem paradoxical but the era of post-war rationing and austerity led to something of a visitor boom to the British Seaside resorts. Ward and Hardy (1986: 74) explain this neatly:

The end of the war brought a holiday explosion among the British. Not only had the pre-war holidays with pay legislation come into effect, so that five out of six earners had holiday pay, but the war had brought full employment for the first time, with a huge increase in the size of the work force. It had also lowered the average age of marriage and had brought a baby boom. A new generation of young families were conscious that their children had never seen the sea.

This, together with the demobilization of half a million men phased over a number of years, meant that it would have been most surprising if the seaside and holiday camps were not to experience a post-war boom. Walvin also comments on this apparent paradox was fuelled by people's determination to have fun:

If we concentrate on the seaside towns in the first decade after the Second World War, it seems difficult to believe that the country was in the grip of serious economic troubles. Record crowds, the volume of money flowing into the resorts, growing competition road and rail and the rapid revival of seaside entertainments – all suggest a prospering economy. The real picture was of course quite different, and it seems that, as in the case of cinema and football, the resorts thrived in

inverse proportion to national prosperity. The harsher the times, the more intent people seemed to have been on enjoyment, and the more determined to spend their spare money on having a good time. (Walvin 1978: 138)

This equation between prosperity and seaside also worked in reverse; indeed, it was the following era of prosperity that marked the first real signs of trouble for these resorts.

The post-war boom in visitor numbers marked the height of popularity for many resorts and, by the late 1950s, there were increasingly clear signs that the traditional resorts were starting to lose their middle class custom. In 1949, The Times noted that

Working class families – having largely driven the middle class families out of popular large resorts, and having pursued them into smaller more select seaside towns – are beginning to join in the general search for small, quiet ‘unspoiled’ holiday centres, both on the coast and inland. (Walvin 1978: 131)

In the same year, the shortcomings of lower grade traditional seaside accommodation and changes in customer expectations were pointed out by the British Tourist and Holiday Board (1949):

It is most important that everyone connected with the provision of holidays should be conscious that the bulk of our people are better off economically than they were in the past: they are better educated and their living conditions have improved. As a result, they expect a much higher standard in holiday conditions than formerly. They are no longer satisfied with crowded accommodation, indifferent service and gloomy conditions. It is for this reason that there is a slackening in the demand for low-grade apartment and boarding house accommodation. It would be wrong therefore, for us to assume that the present demand for this kind of accommodation will always remain as it is. Some of it will undoubtedly be transferred elsewhere.

Against this backdrop of rising prosperity and customer expectations, this period saw a dramatic change in national holiday habits. The rise of the overseas package holiday was not the initial reason for this decline as is often supposed. The peak of domestic holidays taken in Britain was 1974. However from 1978 onwards, the number of holidays abroad increased significantly. In 1979, the number of holidays taken abroad rose above 10 million for the first time and the number of domestic holidays fell by half a million. It should be stressed, however, the overseas travel market was dominated by the upper and middle classes and this was not a period of cheap foreign travel by modern standards (Walton 2000).

The popular idea of an escape to the sun was destined to become increasingly accessible. Climate was significant; in a 1949 tourism report, hours of sunshine in different English resorts were discussed (British Tourist and Holidays Board 1949). Car ownership also increased rapidly and the number of day-trippers rose accordingly, having a serious impact on holiday accommodation. Many hotels and guest houses took to housing the unemployed, homeless and mentally disabled to supplement falling visitor numbers and avoid issues of seasonality. The increasingly (relatively) poor quality seaside accommodation did not benefit significantly from the growing popularity of short breaks amongst the middle classes. Indeed, the guest houses in many traditional resorts were attracting an increasingly ageing and relatively low income guest profile. Meanwhile, the South-West started to develop into the UK's most popular seaside destination (Demetriadi 1997), this region not having to carry the 'baggage' of the older larger resorts (Walton 2000:46).

National government intervention in tourism was generally seen to be ineffective in helping the seaside during this period. Even the 1969 Development of Tourism Act had little impact on accommodation plans at these resorts (Demetriadi 1997). Demetriadi (1997: 71) summarises the period of the 1950s, 1960s and 1970s as one of 'lost opportunities' in which the hugely significant domestic market was allowed to slip away from the seaside resorts without much resistance from national and even local Government. The 1980s in particular saw resorts, including Morecambe, lose even more of their distinctiveness and, as a consequence, their holiday-making functions became relatively less significant over time. The resorts were increasingly centres for retirement and commuters (Walton 2000:47) rather than dedicated popular resorts. Whilst there was great variety between seaside towns, as a generalisation resorts experienced a decline in tourism infrastructure and visitor numbers in the last half of the twentieth century, although the timing and extent of this decline varied significantly from one place to another.

The most commonly cited reason for the initial decline in tourism in UK resorts is the development of competition enabled through transport developments (Cooper 1997, Holloway 2002), although their decline is also attributed to the theory that resorts go through a resort cycle (Butler 1980) and to what can be termed cultural shifts (Urry 1990). The following paragraphs examine each of these three reasons for the decline in popularity which, inevitably, led to a general deterioration of quality, loss of function and a more negative image (Gale 2005). Many resorts entered into a spiral of decline. Cooper (1997) clearly outlines the key features that mark the decline of a resort from a

supply perspective, such indicators falling under the broad areas of accommodation, employment, transport, environment and organisation. Morecambe has seen significant challenges in all of these areas.

2.4.1 Competition

The story of British tourists leaving home to enjoy the '3s's' (sun-sea-sand) in the Mediterranean is a very common reason given for the decline of the British seaside; 'By the 1960s it was clear that the future of mass market leisure travel was to be a north south movement' (Holloway 2002: 36). The seaside also faced competition on the home front from a whole host of new attractions, such as the 'inland resort' manifested in the reinvention of the holiday camp in the form of Center Parcs. One of the key enablers of this shift was the rise in car ownership which offered a flexibility against which the railways could not complete (Cooper 1997, Holloway 2002). Also, the industrial cities from which the population once wanted to escape became de-industrialised and developed their own tourism and leisure economies that have come to surpass those of the seaside resorts (Urry 1990). Such developments in transport, leisure, tourism and society more widely enabled the rapid growth of competition. The growth of competition effected medium sized and 'working class' resorts more significantly than the larger and/or more up market resorts which still hold some popular appeal.

2.4.2 The Resort Cycle

From a theoretical stance, much of the discussion surrounding the decline of seaside resorts has focussed on the so-called resort life cycle. In particular, the post-stagnation stages of Butler's (1980) widely-cited Tourism Area Life Cycle (TALC) model have provoked much discussion. Butler's model predicts stagnation possibly followed by decline or even eventually the end or 'exit from tourism' (Baum 1998: 170). Key to this discussion is the fact that Butler's model has limitations and various operational problems that mean it cannot easily be applied (Cooper and Jackson 1989, Prideaux 2004). Agarwal in particular has taken a key role in this discussion. Applying Butler's model to Torbay, she comments that 'No evidence was found to indicate the occurrence of irreversible decline that the model suggests' (Agarwal 1997a: 72). Walton (2000) reminds us that some resorts (such as New Brighton) have indeed effectively ceased to function but nevertheless still contests the TALC model, arguing that some resorts did not experience the later stages of the cycle. In Walton's view, the model is fundamentally flawed as it cannot take into account the variety and complexity

of resorts (2000: 21). Agarwal also suggests that the later stages of the TALC model are misleading and outlines the 'urgent need for the theoretical reformulation of the 'post-stagnation' phase.' (Agarwal 1997a: 72). In a later paper, Agarwal (2002) goes onto highlight the numerous relationships between the resort life cycle and resort restructuring. Interestingly, she cites Bagguley (1987) who conducted research into aspects of the restructuring of employment in the hotels in the Lancaster/Morecambe area. Agarwal (2002) makes the point that it is nigh impossible to distinguish between the stagnation and post-stagnation phase. It is, therefore, difficult to use the model (or derivatives) in a predictive manner.

There have been a number of alternative models to Butler's model. These include new the Resort Development Spectrum proposed by Prideaux (2004), the aforementioned restructuring thesis from Agarwal (2002) and Baum (1998) who considered a resort model with sigmoid curves (as proposed by Handy 1994) meaning that as a resort is reinvented, old products sit in tandem with the new. These models have their advantages but they still leave British seaside resorts in a final stage of uncertainty. However, some of these alternative models can be seen as more positive and may not suffer from the 'straight-jacket of inevitability' (Cooper 1992:65) as Butler's 1980 model does and they illuminate a complex set of circumstances.

2.4.3 Cultural transformations

Cultural shifts can also partially explain the challenges facing the seaside. Urry accepts the role of competition and the resort cycle that leave resorts looking tired but, more interestingly, focuses on the fact that these resorts 'are no longer fashionable, they do not signify good taste' (Urry 1997: 103). Urry loosely characterizes such changes as 'post-modern'. He explains this shift through 'culture wars', maintaining that the service (managerial and professional) class have imposed their values and beliefs onto society. These beliefs include the veneration of *culture*, *nature* and *authentic* experiences. This imposition naturally led to the denigration of the seaside resorts, especially the 'working class' ones, which are not perceived to reflect these values. Urry goes onto suggest that the best way forward is a 'ruthless' embrace of such changes with attractions and themes that tickle the 'post-modern' palate. Urry's 1997 paper on the dynamics of culture builds upon his seminal text *The Tourist Gaze* (1990) and offers an important insight as to why the seaside fell from Victorian Grace and the significance of class and modernism/post modernism to the debate. Morgan and Pritchard (1999) have also stressed the significance of class at the seaside and, like Urry, write about the

hierarchy of destinations and the struggle between different social groups. They make some fascinating and well-justified observations based around the premise that 'tourism is a cultural arena in which hegemonic ideas of superiority and inferiority are continuously played out' (Morgan and Pritchard 1999: 11) and conclude by predicting that 'social tone is likely to remain a prime shaper of tourism development for the foreseeable future' (Morgan and Pritchard 1999: 190). Conversely, Shields (1991) adopts a different stance, in explaining the loss of appeal; against the backdrop of increasing leisure opportunities more generally, the seaside resorts lost some of their Carnavalesque qualities that made them distinctive places of liberation, freedom and fun. Collectively, however, the thrust of all these arguments is that the British seaside became less valued owing to changes in society.

Gale (2005) established a link between the *cultural turn* from modernism to post modernism and the decline of tourism in Rhyl in North Wales, his paper provides a useful summary of the social-cultural theories relating to the declining appeal of resorts. He refers to Urry's work in this area, and points out that the built environment of the resort suffered as it underwent alteration to reflect prevailing cultural changes. The analysis of concepts such as Fordism, modernism and post-modernism from a supply point of view becomes more troublesome when we remember that the seaside tourism industry is still largely made up of a variety of small and medium-size enterprises with a wide variety of working methods (Agarwal, Ball, Shaw and Williams 2000). One only has to consider the numerous traditional guest houses or perhaps the stalls in Blackpool selling rock and 'kiss me quick hats' to realise that the term post-modern or an equivalent cannot be easily applied. As an aside, the dominance of SMEs in seaside accommodation has led to management related problems and restructuring difficulties (Clegg and Essex 2000). It is, therefore, more useful and pragmatic to apply concepts such as post modernism to the *Tourism Gaze* (Urry 1990) and demand rather than supply and the resort itself. Such discussions concerning the shift from modernism to post-modernism are especially relevant to Morecambe which was a torch bearer of progress in the inter-war years and has certainly experienced a long period of decline.

To an extent, these generic models and observations regarding the seaside and other destinations provide a useful backdrop to any study of Morecambe's history. On the one hand, they can help to clarify the intertwined and multiplicitous factors that led to a gradual decline in the popularity of the British seaside resort. On the other hand, however, they do not explain why some resorts suffered so badly whilst others did not. For example, Blackpool did not suffer any 'decline' until the 1980s at the earliest,

Grange-over-Sands has never moved past the stagnation stage of the TALC model (see Walton 2000). Thus, these generic observations obviously cannot take into account the micro factors which can be as significant as the macro.

The story of Morecambe would have been very different had the resort not relied on the Midland railway to provide the flow of proletarian Yorkshire folk who were to experience their own economic difficulties. Morecambe's geographical location as the most remote popular Lancashire resort has clearly had an impact on its development and decline. Like many medium sized resorts, it did not have the reputation or attractions to keep 'pulling them in' when the competition increased in the 1960s. A vicious circle of decline set in and, even by the 1970s Morecambe, more than most resorts, was something for the aspiring population to mock rather than consume. Morecambe's 'low' was so low that its market all but disappeared and the resort was close to experiencing the end of Tourism as New Brighton had done.

2.5 The British seaside since 2000

Much of the academic literature regarding the contemporary British seaside resort deals with the decline of this 'institution'. Indeed, even when it is not the theme of the work, it tends to be included by way of introduction. Even in an 'unashamedly positive publication', the *Shifting Sands* report, opens by lamenting the 'fall from Victorian Grace', providing the backdrop for subsequent discussion (English Heritage and CABE 2003:1). Moreover, the statistics that quantify this decline deserve a thorough explanation and should be treated with caution. Nonetheless, such data do provide an indication of the overall scale of resort decline. For example, an England Tourism Council (2002) report showed that, in the previous twenty five years, English seaside tourism had fallen from 32 million to 22 million trips while total domestic tourism has remained more or less constant at 100 million trips. Similarly, the 2003 *Sea Changes* report outlined challenges facing resorts, including failing to meet visitor expectations and a variety of social problems. It noted that in 1968, holidays in seaside resorts accounted for 75% of main holidays but by 1999 that figure was only 44%. (English Heritage and CABE 2003). This suggests that the number of holidays taken by the seaside was in decline, but still extremely significant. Indeed, Page and Connell write, 'The Day Visits Survey for Great Britain (TNS Travel and Tourism 2004) indicates that 80 million trips were made to the seaside, accounting for about 7% of all leisure trips in 2002/3' (2010: 382).

The British seaside has been the subject of concern in the media in recent years, with discussion on the crisis of the domestic holiday industry re-surfacing every year (Walton 2000). The popular Lonely Planet guide for Britain, for example, has been less than complimentary about various seaside resorts (Lonely Planet 2001), whilst in 2006 a lengthy article, 'No, we don't like to be beside the seaside', appeared in The Sunday Times (Girling 2006). This article generally paints a rather bleak picture, the affirmation of resorts as of the so-called 'Costa del Dole' certainly being unlikely to boost tourism numbers. Interestingly this article referred to 'A survey by Sheffield Hallam University in 2002... [that] ...found that 35 of the 43 largest resorts in England and Wales had worse unemployment than their inland neighbours'. However, the article failed to report some of the positive findings of that report, including the facts that 'despite the apparent problem of joblessness, the growth in employment in seaside towns has actually been substantial, and much faster than the national average', and that there had been an increase in migration to the seaside. Indeed, the report concludes that 'The death of the seaside town seems to have been exaggerated' (Beatty and Fothergill 2003:101). This report gives a valuable insight into the modern day seaside economy; its message is essentially mixed but offers a number of reasons for cautious optimism. In so doing, it contrasts quite sharply with the *dead man walking* picture painted by the Sunday Times (Girling 2006) and many others, though it should be noted that the Sheffield Hallam study was not looking specifically at tourism. In short, generalisations regarding the seaside are common but often inaccurate.

While there are signs of improvements in Morecambe, it is important to remember that over the last half of the twentieth century Morecambe witnessed the onset of long term decline and, in its most desperate years, experienced the near annihilation of its tourism economy. The resort lacked desirability and lost much of its market. In the age of the 'muddle classes' and where the service class dictate taste, it seems that Morecambe's only option is to target this market. In the past, the public sector in Morecambe has made the mistake of aiming at 'a better class of visitor', effectively ignoring the 'mass' market. However, the middle classes may now be seen as the mass market and so no such danger exists. However, the danger lies in not understanding new markets and/or taking an entirely supply led approach at the expense of a demand driven focus.

Resorts are not static. They have adapted to changes over the years and have implemented often very successful improvements in response to transformations in demand. Nonetheless, in the later part of the twentieth century the long-term decline of seaside resorts became well recognised and the government / public sector became more involved. National initiatives and reports included the consultation report *Sea Changes* (English Tourism Council 2001), referred to above, which, following a pledge in the 1999 document, *Tomorrow's Tourism* (DCMS 1999) to regenerate the seaside, outlined problems facing the seaside. These reports are further discussed later in this thesis.

Smith (2004) discusses the regeneration of the seaside town, with a particular emphasis on Southend-on-Sea. Her paper advocates taking a specific approach to regeneration, such as the aesthetic approach to regeneration as highlighted in the *Shifting Sands* report published in 2003 by English Heritage and CABE. Highlighting the importance of the built environment and especially built heritage to resorts, this report focuses on ways in which resorts are changing for the better and 're-inventing' themselves. It cites case studies of good urban design, including improvements to hotels, restaurants, new offices, galleries, museums and housing projects. These developments are claimed to be generally sensitive to the seaside environment and heritage and to appeal to 'contemporary' tastes. Thus, this report is significant because it views a series of seaside developments as indicators of a 'beginning of a new era of imagination' (English Heritage and CABE 2003: 9) and applauds the work in progress on seaside regeneration.

The travel writer Bill Bryson has been quoted in relation to the seaside by John Walton (2000). Bryson, a convert to Morecambe's 'charms', writes,

With a little priming and a thoughtful long-term plan Morecambe, I am sure that you could attract the sort of people who would want to open bookshops, little restaurants, antique shops, galleries, maybe even tapas bars and the odd boutique hotel. Well, why not? Morecambe could become a little northern English equivalent of Sausalito or St. Ives. You may smirk at the thought of it, but what other possible future is there for a place like Morecambe? (Bryson 1995: 207)

Of course, if we examine this too carefully and look at class wars, the smirk of post-modernism and so on, then we lose track of what Bryson is saying; that with some modifications (which Bryson later admits he thinks unlikely), there is hope for Morecambe. Moreover, since Bryson visited the town, improvements have in fact been made and the resort now offers a delicatessen, gallery and tapas bar. However, such

changes have been gradual and localised; the resort still faces many challenges, not least relating to image. More recently, Elborough (2010: 18) has described a more general 'rapprochement with the English seaside' in the early years of this century. He refers to Tracy Emin's work at Margate, the high prices of beach huts in Southwold, the launch of the BBC's *Coast* programme in 2005 and the gentrification of some resorts. At the same time, however, he goes on to check his optimism by referring to high levels of unemployment, low average earnings and drug-related problem (Elborough 2010:19), reflecting the problem of generalising about a seaside resort. Indeed, the picture is mixed, complex, dynamic and of varies a great deal between different resorts.

2.6 Seaside regeneration

Before moving onto seaside-related issues, this section offers an overview of regeneration more generally. Smith (2004) distinguishes between regeneration, revitalisation and reinvention but, at the same time, recognises that these distinctions are not made by government. Her literature review suggests that these terms are usually interchangeable with little distinction made between them. Moreover, in the introduction to their book, Roberts and Sykes write, 'One of the major difficulties encountered in preparing this book was the virtual absence of quality literature that encompassed the whole of the organisation and functioning of the urban regeneration process' (Roberts and Sykes 2000: 3).

Since its inception, urban policy has been concerned generally with housing, socio-economic improvement and the containment of urban growth. However, it has evolved over time. In the 1950s, *reconstruction* followed a 'master plan' and was associated with suburban growth; the 1960s continued this trend while *rehabilitating* existing areas. By the 1970s, *renewal* adopted a more local emphasis, whilst in the 1980s *redevelopment* saw flagship projects and out of town development with much private sector involvement. The, in the 1990s, *regeneration* appeared as a more comprehensive / integrated approach with a focus on sustainable practices (Roberts and Sykes 2000). Smith (2007: xiii) cites The Department for Culture Media and Sport (DCMS 2004), who define regeneration as, 'the positive transformation of place – whether residential, commercial or open space – that has previously displayed symptoms of physical, social and/or economic decline.' One of the key reasons for undertaking regeneration is physical obsolescence – decay, dereliction and outdated infrastructure (Roberts and Sykes 2000).

Regeneration in the twenty first-century continues to take a comprehensive, long term, sustainable and strategic approach, encompassing social-economic and environmental concerns. However, one development is an increased emphasis on the value of culture to communities and economies (Roodhouse 2006). Culture is a more comprehensive term than 'leisure' which was arguably the regeneration buzzword it replaced (Department for Communities and Local Government 2006). Culture, if used correctly, helps in alleviating one of the problems associated with regeneration – standardisation.

How then has it happened that we can stand in many high streets, factories, fields or forests and feel we could be anywhere? Why does MacDonald's force upon our high streets an idea born in corporate strategy meetings thousands of miles away? Why do we have huge brown signs from motorways telling us where to find Robin Hood Country and the White Cliffs Experience? Why are we planting the same trees everywhere? Why are only mountains 'beautiful' landscapes, and big and old buildings worthy of care and attention? Why does the pursuit of standards now result in standardisation? (Clifford and King 1993: 2)

This essay excerpt reflects that fact that standardisation of place has raised concerns; a charity called 'common ground' has even been set up in a bid to alleviate this problem (see www.commonground.org.uk). Standardisation represents a threat to heritage, especially less prestigious and accepted forms, such as seaside heritage. These themes were explored by Walton & Wood (2008: 2) who wrote,

Threats to the heritage of the recent past in Britain come from three main sources. There is an enduring cultural snobbery that favours 'high' art and culture, grand designs, planning (even when it is planning for studied informality) and elite associations (especially in architecture), and which resists any acknowledgement of the worth of the spontaneous, the organic, the unofficial, the informal, and the popular in the creation and use of valued environments – what Jonathan Meades has termed 'placeism'. The work of James Lees Milne at the infant National Trust, and the ways in which he wrote about it, provides a distillation of these dominant values. Running parallel to this is a set of bureaucratic values associated with planning and the imposition of standardised systems through local and national government, which prioritises uniformity and defines minimum standards, and imposes a grid of entitlements to spaces and services that kills diversity in the name of distantly mediated and decidedly unrepresentative democracy. Thirdly, there is the tendency to worship the 'modern' and the 'contemporary' in whatever form developers, working within the planning system and often in conjunction with local authorities, regard as commercial and architectural 'best practice' at a given moment. This is liable to sweep aside the heritage (formal or informal) of the recent past (and indeed earlier pasts) in pursuit of a standard orthodoxy which denies place identity and represents what George Ritzer has called 'the globalisation of nothing'.

Generic non-places with little individual identity do not naturally lend themselves to becoming centres of creative economies. The lack of distinctiveness, of a unique selling point, makes the successful promotion of tourism a challenge and undermines competitiveness (Smith 2007). New attractions are particularly vulnerable to such standardisation but heritage-led regeneration schemes can suffer from it too in the form of 'heritagisation of space' (Smith 2007: xiv). The apparently much sought after middle class tourist armed with cultural capital and seeking out the 'romantic gaze' (Urry 1990) is unlikely to be satisfied with environments which cannot be read as 'authentic' (MacCannell 1999). According to Montgomery (2003: 302), successful cultural quarters must have meaning and authenticity.

'Objectives of Urban Design' were outlined by The Department of the Environment, Transport and the Regions' (DETR 2000) urban design guide, which was written with the help of the Commission for Architecture and the Built Environment (CABE). The first and, arguably, most important of these objectives is

Character – a place with its own identity. To promote character in townscape and landscape by responding to and reinforcing locally distinctive patterns of development, landscape and culture. (DETR 2000: 15)

The guide goes on to give practical guidance to developers as to how to preserve character, encourage local distinctiveness and 'reinforce a sense of place' (DETR 2000: 20). The practical guidance includes advice on locating new buildings, appropriate height and building styles. The other objectives are to promote:

Continuity and Enclosure – A place where public and private spaces are clearly distinguished.

Quality of the Public Realm – A place with attractive and successful outdoor areas.

Ease of movement – A place that is easy to get to and move through.

Legibility – A place that has a clear image and is easy to understand.

Adaptability – A place that can change easily.

Diversity – A place with variety and choice. (DETR 2000: 15)

Such guidance may be useful but it is also generic; the DETR guide does not specifically mention seaside resorts. The local context is discussed but, ultimately, it is the responsibility of developers and local decision-makers to understand and consider the local context. The introduction to the guide reads: 'There is no such thing as a

blueprint for good design. Good design always arises from a thorough and caring understanding of place and context' (DETR 2000: 6). The British Urban Regeneration Association (BURA) has also published a regeneration guide. It too stresses that regeneration should be tailored for the locality (BURA 2002). It also considers tourism and culture as regenerations tool but, typically, not in resorts but places like Birmingham without a strong tradition of inbound leisure tourism. Current literature on regeneration does focus on 'distinctiveness' and cultural in regeneration (for example Roodhouse 2006, Roberts and Sykes 2000) but there has been relatively little work that places this in the context of seaside resorts.

Against a backdrop of late twentieth century regeneration, the long-term decline of the seaside resorts became well recognised and the government / public sector became more involved. Relevant initiatives and reports include the Tourism Development Action Programmes (TDAPs) of the mid 1980s (see Agarwal 1999) and the previously mentioned consultation report *Sea Changes* (English Tourism Council 2001), which outlined problems facing the seaside, including various social problems and the perception that many 'identikit' resorts lacked identity. However, Agarwal (1999) makes the point that with such schemes, specifically the TDAPs, there has been little research into their effectiveness.

In 1999, the government created the CABI with the purpose of encouraging and securing good urban design. CABI has addressed issues of design at the seaside. Its aforementioned *Shifting Sands* report (English Heritage and CABI 2003) considered the importance of design, the built environment and heritage to resorts. The renewal of the promenade at Morecambe is used as an example of good practice in this report. An English Heritage report also identifies Morecambe as an example of good practice, focusing in particular on improvements to existing buildings. The Midland Hotel development and rising house prices are given as evidence that Morecambe may 'become a vibrant and vital economy once again' (English Heritage 2007: 18).

A 2006 report concerning regeneration for the Department for Communities and Local Government also refers to resort regeneration. However, this 'case-study' merely outlines the well-known problems facing resorts in order to justify regeneration more generally. It points out that medium-sized resorts in particular face problems as they lack critical mass and distinctiveness. In this report, resort regeneration is not viewed as in any way distinct from the normal blueprint of such activities (Department for

Communities and Local Government 2006). Furthermore, the report offers no new insights into the nature of present day regeneration and nor does it stress the importance of fostering 'distinctiveness', but it does allude to issues of gentrification. There has been very little work which outlines how regenerating a seaside resort may be different from other forms of regeneration.

The Communities and Local Government Committee of the House of Commons produced a report of session on 'Coastal Towns' in 2007. Parliament discussed the problems faced by seaside towns and their subsequent regeneration needs. The report summary commences by pointing out that the Government has no specific policy on coastal towns because they are too diverse to warrant such a policy but that there is a need for government departments to develop an understanding of the situation facing these areas. The report uses 'The Seaside Economy' report (Beatty and Fothergill 2003) and other sources to outline the challenges faced. The Committee writes, 'we were particularly struck by the demography of many coastal towns, where there is a combination of trends occurring, including the outward movement of young people and the inward migration of older people' which leads to a burden on the local public sector (Department for Communities and Local Government 2007). Other prominent challenges include physical and social isolation, low wage and low skill seasonal economies and dependency on one industry. The report clearly highlights the relatively high numbers of houses in multiple occupations (HMOs are associated with deprivation) and vulnerable children and adults. Vulnerable people, in need of care or support, are more likely to move to coastal resorts because of the availability of low cost accommodation. Again, this is burdensome to the local public sector. The report recommends that the Government investigates the high numbers of people claiming benefits (especially sickness and disability benefits) at the coast, a trend which has never been identified by Government and is also 'likely' to be linked to inward migration (Department for Communities and Local Government 2007: 24).

The consideration of tourism did not constitute a significant portion of the Parliamentary report but it does urge action:

We recommend that the Government conducts an immediate study on coastal tourism, including evaluating the levels of spend of domestic and inbound visitors to the coast in comparison to non-coastal areas. (Department for Communities and Local Government 2007: 27)

The report also encourages national action to encourage seaside visits. The heritage of coastal resorts is highlighted as a potential asset for seaside resorts, whilst economic diversification is stressed as a desirable way forward too alongside the encouragement of tourism. As might be expected, regeneration and its funding are central to the report. One observation is the 'cocktail of funding' from different organisations which makes regeneration complex – with any project often having to secure funding from various organisations. Schemes were said to sometimes compete and conflict. Funding for regeneration schemes also tended to be too short term, limiting their effectiveness. The report recommends that the Government addresses this situation without creating a specific coastal regeneration funding scheme. It comments that there is fragmentation in the tourism support network (too many bodies are involved) and tourism would benefit from a more streamlined national structure (Department for Communities and Local Government 2007). Perhaps most damning of all is the criticism of a lack of cross-departmental liaison on coastal towns because 'the Government does not sufficiently appreciate the needs of coastal towns' (Department for Communities and Local Government 2007: 42).

In conclusion, the report suggests that a 'one size fits all approach', in the form of a national coastal towns strategy, is not the way forward for diverse coastal towns. Instead, the Government needs to appreciate the issues, many of which have been included in the report's summary, and take action as appropriate. The report quite rightly outlines the complexity of dealing with coastal towns and their problems but unfortunately ends with rather vague and open ended conclusions as a result. Nevertheless, it clearly demonstrates that, at a national level, very little has been done to help coastal communities deal with specific problems. However, it is not at all clear what action will actually come as the result of this report, other than the encouragement of further research on the impact of policy.

Smith (2004) points out that the extent to which tourism plays a role in regeneration is dependent on the faith that the local authority place in the industry. Agarwal (1997) explores such concepts in depth, her work also underlining the crucial importance of local authority commitment in determining effective/appropriate policy responses. Various local factors, including resort size and degree of tourism development, impact upon commitment levels. Agarwal (2005) also considers global-local interactions and questions the effectiveness of local government in managing the fortunes of tourism within resorts. Agarwal (2007: 70) also questions whether the public sector more generally is 'helping or hindering' resorts, with its complex and fragmented institutional

landscape. A similar conclusion was also reached by the Government itself, as mentioned elsewhere in this literature review (Department for Communities and Local Government 2007).

Public sector research into seaside regeneration recognises the differences between resorts and, at the same time, 'distinctiveness', *genius loci*, seems to be increasingly important in regeneration circles. But what exactly comprises the 'distinctiveness' or character of a modern day seaside resort? The answer to this question lies (partially) in the history of the resort, the subsequent heritage of the resort and the place myth surrounding it. In academic studies the differences between resorts is discussed, with the focus on the class of their clientele and their contemporary popularity in the face of change (Morgan and Pritchard 1999; Walton 2000 and Agarwal 2007). Proximity to a large urban centre and their 'quaintness' (apparent 'authenticity') also distinguish them. Brighton, for example, can be seen firstly and foremost as a successful 'city by the sea', a university town from which one can commute to London, rather than a traditional seaside resort. Meethan (1996) argues that Brighton's tradition of tourism has been superseded by another – the more up market consumption of heritage. Grange over Sands, on the other hand, has never entered a stage of economic decline (Walton 2000) and now serves as a wealthy retirement centre as well as a popular destination for day trippers visiting the Lake District. The English Tourism Council attempted to classify resorts in 2001 into five categories – Picturesque, Traditional, Family, Lively and Fun (Smith 2004). One might well be surprised to see Morecambe in the 'fun' category as neighbouring Lancaster has a much more successful and vibrant night-time economy. This categorization is simplistic as it ignores the more important issues highlighted earlier and does not help in identifying the distinctiveness of an individual town.

2.7 Summary

Beatty and Fothergill (2003) have told us about seaside economies, Shields about place-myth at Brighton (1991), and Walton (1983, 2000) has given an invaluable and thorough account of seaside history. All of these accounts suggest that the seaside is not yet dead and has the capacity to evolve or even re-invent itself.

Seaside resorts are apart and distinct. An important aspect of this is their capacity to act as a social, cultural and spiritual liminal zone – a place where people have traditionally acted in a manner un-typical to them. Tourists can be seen as liminal

groups, set apart from their everyday existence, and their behaviour and/or the cultural references experienced at the seaside are beyond the norm. As these tourism economies developed so did the place myths surrounding them and central to all of this is the role of sea. The relatively unchanging landscape offers natural cures, health, escape, sublime inspiration for art, leisure opportunities, the dirty weekend, and an appropriate venue for carnival and the only acceptable excuse for British people to undress in public and watch others do the same. These represent just some of the offerings of the British seaside resort and the corresponding access to the sea. These observations reflect seaside history and heritage, which are likely to have a role in the future of these resorts as drivers for re-development as Walton and Wood (2008: 4) discuss,

They are key drivers to be woven into the tapestry of development, contributing to the placeshaping agenda and combining renewal and innovation with an appeal to tradition and identity. Without history and heritage the relationship between place and identity is severed. We cannot unwind the past but we can use it to shape the future.

Of particular interest is the modern day cultural significance of the seaside resort and of Morecambe in particular: are seaside resorts still seen as distinctive and in what way? Is the seaside still perceived as a liminoid or marginal zone as it once was? Is the resort a place where the sublime is experienced? What differentiates the seaside from other places in the eyes of the modern day visitor or tourist? Such issues of sense of place are vitally important to the future success of seaside tourism and associated regeneration. Simply stated, one must know one's market. However, before considering the future of the British seaside resort, it is important to understand the full significance of the seaside to its visitors – what is *seasideness*? For the purposes of this thesis, it is first necessary to consider Morecambe, its history and its contemporary situation in more detail.

Chapter 3

Morecambe as a Tourist Resort

3.1 Introduction

This chapter considers the history of Morecambe and contemporary developments in the resort. It is essential to understand the resort's past to fully appreciate the position it finds itself in today. What is truly remarkable about Morecambe's chequered history are the height of the highs and the depth of the lows; few resorts have experienced such a severe reversal of fortunes. When one looks more closely however, Morecambe as a resort was relatively late to develop and early to decline. It was at the height of its popularity in the inter-war and immediate post-war years but, by the 1970s, had become the subject of jokes on national television. As a popular resort, its fortunes very much relied on the economy of industrial Yorkshire yet those in governance, arguably, showed a relative lack of commitment to their working class visitors. Throughout its history, various successes and failures can be noted though the long term trend, since the peak of the post-war years, is of decline and the accompanying loss of attractions. Since the late 1990s, regeneration has taken place and Morecambe has made something of a recovery from the 1980s, which could be considered the resort's lowest ebb. These themes, and others, are now explored more closely. This chapter is broadly chronological in structure.

Reliable resources regarding the history of Morecambe are relatively scarce. This is particularly the case for the earlier history of the resort and with respect to specific attractions. Moreover, compiling reliable visitor numbers that are comparable across different time periods proved elusive; it is only in recent years that we can find such information. John Walton's work in particular offers some valuable insights and dissertations from Lancaster University (Grass 1972, Widdowfield 1973 and Simmill 1993) proved useful. The work of local historian Bingham (1990) was also useful as it provides information not available in other literature. His book is the only full history of Morecambe.

3.2 The development of mass tourism at Morecambe and the seaside: 1800s-1914

The area now known as Morecambe was subject to Celtic settlement and was subsequently referred to in Roman records. There are also references to a township named Lowscales in the Morecambe area before the 1600s (Bingham 1990), in what must have been a very dynamic natural environment. Over the centuries, fishing villages and farmsteads developed in this area but, prior to the nineteenth century, this area would be one visited chiefly as a means of crossing the Bay. However, by the early 1800s people began to visit 'Morecambe', as it was later to be called, for its own sake.

The initial development of Morecambe as a provincial resort is largely typical; it was one of several Lancashire watering places. The only particularly notable facts are that there was no single landowner with the ability to control the development and social tone as occurred in some Lancashire resorts, such as Southport or Lytham, and that it was rather late in developing as a resort. For example, Blackpool was already a popular resort as Morecambe called itself a 'watering place' for the first time. Indeed Blackpool 'was beginning to flourish' in the 1780s (Walton 1983:15) some forty years before Morecambe began to do so.

Morecambe promoted itself as a healthy watering spot after tourism more generally started to grow in the late 1820s and 1830s. At this time, however, the town of 'Morecambe' did not exist; instead the area consisted of the villages of Bare, Torrisholme and Poulton-le-Sands. Of these villages, Poulton-le-Sands was the most significant to tourism and was located at the centre of the modern day town of Morecambe. Morecambe was named after the great bay on which it sits. The 'official' name change of the conurbation took place in 1889 although this fusion of expanding villages had been referred to as Morecambe since the arrival of the railway some forty years earlier. In the inter-war period, the neighbouring port of Heysham was to be municipally linked to Morecambe and, in 1974, Morecambe itself was in turn subsumed by Lancaster City Council (Bingham 1990). Such municipal changes are typically one of many reasons why finding comparable and reliable data regarding resorts is so difficult (Walton 1983).

Bingham (1990) recounts the writings of a visitor to Morecambe in 1813, who reported fully booked and very rowdy public houses, and in the 1820s steamers visited the area. In this decade, sea bathing was becoming increasingly popular in the areas of Heysham, Sunderland Point and Hest Bank but most notably at Poulton-le-Sands. 1829 was a key date for the development of tourism in the resort, as it was the first year of an annual regatta event which further set Poulton-le-Sands apart from its smaller rival 'watering places', as they were now described. The tourists who travelled such distances were likely to be of high social standing in comparison to the masses that were to follow in subsequent years. For instance, John Ruskin recovered from illness at the resort in 1886 whilst hotels advertising in the late 1820s and 1830s were clearly aimed at 'Genteel Families' (Bingham 1990: 62). At this stage, Morecambe was a minor resort in its infancy but that was to change suddenly in the 1840s with the coming of the railways and the resultant higher visitor numbers.

The railway was officially opened at Morecambe in 1848 as part of a commercial port line that was constructed to link Heysham and West Riding in Yorkshire via Lancaster, Settle and Skipton. The Morecambe Harbour Railway was a branch of the North Western Railway Company (known as 'Little North Western') which was to be taken over by The Midland Railway just over two decades later. As with all railways of this period, passenger travel was very much a secondary concern in the planning of new railways; a variety of goods, notably iron and Irish cattle were to be transported on the line which linked to the new jetties at Morecambe (Bingham 1990). However, whilst passenger transport may initially have been of secondary concern, the railway company in question was quick to promote Morecambe as a destination. In 1850, Leeds and Bradford were connected to the line and the Midland Railway was notable for its policy of cheap fares and associated advertising (Walton 1992). Pleasure steamers also operated between Poulton-le-Sands (or 'Morecambe') and Liverpool, Blackpool and other resorts. For instance, in 1855 the *Arbutus* began pleasure trips to Fleetwood and the Isle of Man with up to 700 people and a band on board. By 1853, Morecambe offered eighteen bathing machines to allow 'dipping' (Bingham 1990). There seems little doubt that the surge of numbers and development at Morecambe was largely due to the railway connection, especially as Morecambe was geographically remote in comparison to its Lancastrian competitors.

The 1850s and 1860s saw Morecambe developed as a destination for day-trippers (Bingham 1990). Morecambe's expanding market was increasingly working class and, in this sense, it represented the only real regional competition to Blackpool.

Nevertheless, in 1894 it attracted fewer than 8,000 visitors on August Bank Holiday Monday when Blackpool attracted ten times this number (Walton 1992). However, Morecambe, which was now dwarfed by Blackpool as a resort, still attracted more visitors from Yorkshire than its rival; the resort becoming known as 'Bradford-by-the-Sea'. It also relied on its rail link even more than other resorts, a fact that became apparent in the late nineteenth century when a long term downturn in the Yorkshire textile trade impacted upon Morecambe much more than its competitors. The railway link to Morecambe, whilst essential to growth, ensured that the resort would always be in the shadow of Blackpool (Grass 1972).

In 1848, the original Midland Hotel opened its doors and one year later the promenade opened. The initial target market was clearly the 'hoi polloi' (Bingham 1990). In the 1860s and even into the early 1870s, many attractions were 'gentile' and decidedly small scale, such as Professor Groves' exhibition of dioramic scenes at the Kings Arms in 1866 (Bingham 1990: 83). However, the first public salt-water baths were opened in 1867 and included cheap bathing for the working classes on Saturday afternoons from 1869. In that same year, a pier was opened followed by the People's Palace or Winter Gardens in 1878. There was no doubt that this project was targeting 'the masses'. In 1879 the Summer Gardens were opened and became one of the first places in England to use electricity. The Summer Gardens, as with many forgotten seaside attractions, failed; it could not compete with the Winter Gardens and went into liquidation in 1890. The Winter Gardens established itself as the main resort venue and famous troupes, such as the Merry Japs Vaudeville group, played there later in its history. Musical entertainment proved to be a cornerstone of Morecambe's popular appeal. In 1875 the popular Strawberry Gardens were opened in Heysham, Morecambe. Horse trams arrived in 1886 and the West End Pier, Morecambe's second, opened in 1896 (National Piers Society nd). All of these developments point to the fact that the 1870s through to the 1890s was a significant period in the evolution of the resort, especially in terms of tourism infrastructure. Indeed, this period witnessed the transition of Morecambe from an exclusive watering place to a truly popular resort. The photographs of Morecambe's promenade in Figures 3.1 and 3.2 date from this approximate period and reflect the resorts popularity and new infrastructure.

Figure 3.1: The busy promenade at Morecambe



(Image: Old UK Photos nd)

Figure 3.2: Morecambe's West End Pier (1896-1978)



(Image: Old UK Photos nd)

Attractions that opened in the 'local slump' at the turn of century fared less well (Walton 1983: 178). In 1901, another rival to the Winter Gardens, The Alhambra, opened but it would struggle financially and suffered the same fate as the Summer Gardens. In 1898,

the Morecambe's Tower, with ballroom and roller skating rink, was planned to rival Blackpool and New Brighton. Building was delayed, however, as the country went into recession and it was finally opened in 1909 but encountered various problems and was dismantled in 1918, apparently to help the war effort (Bingham 1990). A post card of Morecambe from this approximate period is shown in Figure 3.3.

Figure 3.3: Morecambe promenade and revolving tower



(Image: Old UK Photos nd)

In the second half of the nineteenth century, Morecambe did aspire to meet the increasing demand for accommodation but it seems that supply usually lagged well behind demand. As in many other resorts, the early days of mass tourism were marked by overcrowded accommodation. In August 1851, for example, Morecambe was so full on the weekends that visitors had to sleep in Lancaster and in mid-September that year tourists even slept on board a pleasure steamer. More guest houses were built but into the 1890s, at the height of the season the resort was, according to the local press, full to the point of overcrowding (Widdowfield 1973). Gauging the extent of accommodation provision is difficult. According to Grass (1972: 26), various observers had counted the number of lodging houses at 150 in 1881, 513 in 1899 and 344 by 1913.

These figures are unlikely to be very accurate but do suggest a high rate of growth in the 1880's and 1890's, followed by a possible decline. Grass writes that by 1902,

Morecambe had faced 'an economic crisis of magnitude' (1972: 47). This slump was largely a reflection of the fact that Morecambe was indirectly dependant on the industries of West Riding. It is certain that, as the century turned, this well-developed seaside resort, now entirely dependent on tourism, experienced a recession that impacted on both attractions and accommodation provision. Yet a few years later Morecambe would, once again, enter a period of growth.

3.3 Morecambe at its height: 1914-1957.

Working and middle class visitor numbers not only increased in the early twentieth century but 'soared' (Walton 1997: 22). Growth continued throughout this period despite the interruption of two world wars. The level of growth varied widely between resorts (for example, Dover saw serious decline) and it is difficult to assess accurately, but census information states that, between 1911 and 1951, Morecambe grew by an impressive 205% to a population of 37006 (Walton 1997: 27). Walton points out that the medium-sized resorts working class resorts, namely, Clacton, Bridlington, Weston-Super-Mare, Ramsgate, Skegness and Morecambe, all expanded rapidly in this period. Population growth in Morecambe and other seaside resorts was due, in part, to the increasing numbers of both retiree settlers and commuters for, even in the nineteenth century, commuters had made the journey from Morecambe to Bradford on the Midland line, affirming the status of Morecambe as 'Bradford by the Sea'.

Walton points out that seaside resorts were becoming 'really distinctive demographically' in-between 1871 and 1911 (1983: 100). These trends continued and became even more apparent in the inter-war period. Of course, the population increased but it also became significantly older due to high levels of migration to the town. Indeed, Morecambe's inter-war population was on average the second oldest in the county, exceeded only by Grange-over-Sands (now in Cumbria). Simmill (1993: 14) found other sources, such as the Medical Officers annual report which stated that a 'large proportion' of the population was aged between 45 and 80. Morecambe's population was ageing and if one was to look solely at births and deaths then, rather than increasing, the population should actually have dropped by some 750 between 1921 and 1931. However, relatively high numbers of (older) people were moving to Morecambe, most likely to retire by the seaside. A similar trend was to be seen in other Lancashire resorts (see Walton 1987: 336) although the average age there was lower, suggesting that more workers and especially commuters were settling in the other resorts. Southport, for example, was popular with businessmen who commuted to

nearby Manchester and Liverpool (see Perkin 1970: 239, Walton 1987: 225). Morecambe did attract commuters to Leeds and Bradford but the numbers were fewer as the distance was greater so, in terms of attracting such wealthy commuters, Morecambe was fighting a losing battle against both rival resorts and geography. Despite this, attracting both commuters and (more successfully) retirees did seem to be a key concern to the local Corporation, whilst Blackpool's leaders appeared to focus much more on expanding their tourism market (Simmill 1993).

The numbers of visitors grew rapidly and underpinned the success of Morecambe, although ascertaining the exact numbers is difficult. The 1926 figure of 1,191,474 for the season is based on rail arrivals and estimates of road arrivals and, though the most accurate available, should perhaps be seen as an 'indication' of scale. It is estimated that Blackpool attracted at least three times more visitors during this period (Simmill 1993: 42). There is no doubt where the majority of these tourists came from – that is, from towns of Lancashire and West Riding, much the same as in the preceding century. The Midland line (to Yorkshire) was clearly still determining who visited the resort. In 1932, the Postmaster of Morecambe and Heysham provided detailed statistics regarding not only the number of postcards sent but also their destination. This provides us with a 'top ten' tourist generating towns and cities for visitors to Morecambe in 1932:

- 1) Leeds
- 2) Bradford
- 3) Manchester
- 4) Oldham
- 5) Liverpool
- 6) Bolton
- 7) Huddersfield
- 8) Halifax
- 9) Preston
- 10) Rochdale (Simmill 1993: 40)

Morecambe, as a resort of choice, did make some inroads into Scotland and the Midlands but was never popular in the South of England. In 1949, when 100,000 visited Morecambe for the switching on of the illuminations, only 700 had come from the South of England (Bingham 1990).

A number of observers have been critical of Morecambe Corporation's performance in terms of resort management, particularly in the 1920s. Criticisms included high rates (local property tax) for residents, stopping the Carnival, the lack of venues, barricading off the promenade in order to secure payment to watch bands in the summers of 1927 and 1928 (this made the press in Yorkshire), demolishing the derelict but historic Poulton Hall (with links to the family of George Washington), their refusal to build a Greyhound track and injudicious spending on a ring road and town hall. The local press certainly considered the Corporation to be failing to provide the facilities necessary to compete with rivals (Simmill 1993). Bingham (1990) points out that even when compared to other retirement resorts Morecambe did very little to improve the physical appearance of the town with the exception of creating parks. Nonetheless, the national economic situation did improve in the 1930s and criticism of the Corporation became more muted. Notable attractions from this era included the nationally recognised Morecambe Music Festival and a fairground with a Big Dipper. The illuminations were also popular, and became much more elaborate in the 1930s growing out of the Carnival in the mid-1920s (see Figure 3.4).

Figure 3.4: Morecambe Carnival Illuminations in the 1920's.



(Image: Old UK Photos nd)

Morecambe continued to grow rapidly in the 1920s and 1930s owing to a combination of tourism and in-migration. The art deco Midland Hotel opened in 1933 and attracted celebrity visits in the period before the war. Activity by the Corporation in the post-war

period seemed modest, with plans for a new library and a doomed plan to turn Morecambe into a major port for seaplanes, heading the short list of notable efforts by the public sector (Bingham 1990). The private sector did have some projects around this time. For example, the Floral Hall opened in 1940 and the remaining Tower Complex, minus the tower, was reinvented as the Gaumont in 1949.

The late 1940s and 1950s saw Morecambe's prosperity return with aplomb after the Second World War. The 1940s saw investment in Morecambe Pleasure Park (later Frontier Land) by the Thompson's of Blackpool Pleasure Beach (The Visitor 2007). Bingham (1990) marks Morecambe's height of popularity as the 'switch on' night of 1949 which attracted well over 100,000 visitors – more than the first day of the Festival of Britain two years later. The 1950 illuminations, opened by George Formby, did very well too but these visitor numbers were never to be repeated. The lights were at their best in this period but still did not match those of Blackpool. In fact, the only event in the resort to rival the popular appeal of the illuminations was the Miss Great Britain competition which was held at the impressive open air swimming baths, attracting national press coverage. Over the years Morecambe became closely associated with this event (see Figure 3.5).

Figure 3.5: 1960s Miss Great Britain contestants, Morecambe



(Historic Images nd)

Other forms of entertainment took place in the numerous cinemas, theatres and pavilions. The old pierrot tradition thrived, and variety and talent shows proved very popular. Various famous acts came and went and, in these early post war years, talented local entertainers emerged such as Eric Morecambe (John Eric Bartholomew) and Thora Hird.

3.4 Morecambe 1957-2000: the decline of a once fashionable seaside resort

With hindsight, the seeds of Morecambe's problems can, arguably, be traced as far back as the late 1950s. However, by early 1980s it was very clear that the tourism economy of Morecambe had been transformed. Hassan (2003: 254) demonstrates this very clearly, 'Morecambe suffered a calamitous fall in visitor spending from £46.6 million in 1973 to £6.5 million in 1990, expressed in constant values. Few resorts have suffered such a collapse'. The decline took some time to establish momentum but once this occurred, the results were brutal. In this section, the nature of this collapse is examined and some resort specific causes are suggested.

Morecambe attracted high numbers of visitors in the 1950s and even into the 1970s. However, arguably, as early as the late 1950s (after the post war boom) the attractions/popular entertainment began to dwindle. In 1957, the Royalty Theatre closed for the winter season for the first time. It was put up for sale, re-opened for a short time but, by the end of the decade, was derelict and destined to become the site of a 1960s shopping centre. In 1958 the Gaumont, with its troubled history, closed for the winter too. Bingham (1990) attributes some of this decline to the rising popularity of TV and points out that in 1957 the Winter Gardens tried to respond to this threat by calling its summer show, 'TV Highlights of 1957'. Indeed, the Whitehall cinema was the first to close in this period (in 1955) and holiday accommodation was also expected to provide TV for the guests. The 1950s saw the first 'exotic' adult entertainment in Morecambe (see Bingham 1990: 271) although this was relatively tame and was never to characterise the resort.

Morecambe was the setting for 'The Entertainer', the 1960 film starring Laurence Olivier. He played Archie Rice, a man of dubious morals whose career as a music hall star was dated and in decline. The atmospheric film reflected this desperation. The music hall and Archie's lodgings appeared unattractive and claustrophobic. Bingham (1990: 270) suggests that choosing Morecambe as the setting underlines the way in which the resort had become seen by some as 'seedy' by the end of the 1950s. Elborough (2010: 136) goes further and writes, 'Filmed in 1960 and in Morecambe, the resort comes, by implication at least, to feel as much of a relic on borrowed time as the pitiable Archie Rice'. He also observes how Archie, a representative of the music hall, was seen as worthless by a tourist for never having been 'on the telly' (Elborough 2010: 136), confirming Bingham's observations regarding the impact of television. Urry

(1990) points out that Morecambe was very busy in 1960 (the year the Entertainer was released), so any change in perception must have been in the earliest stages and far from widespread. Nevertheless, this period does mark the threshold of a very long decline, albeit one that had not yet built momentum. At the time, and for some years hence, any decline must have appeared to be a temporary blip for a seaside economy that had experienced significant slumps in its past.

The tourism trade continued to support a variety of businesses throughout the 1960s but this was not as much a period of rapid expansion and optimism as the early 1950s had been. Heysham Head amusement park closed in 1964 (Heysham Heritage Association nd), in 'Scotch Week' 1968 'vacancies' sign were noticed all along the promenade and the holiday camp in Heysham closed early in the following decade (Bingham 1990). Bingham (1990: 287) writes, 'in 1956 there were 1300 boarding-houses, in 1960 927 and in 1980 772'. Census information reveals that the population of Morecambe stagnated at around 41,000 from 1961 onwards. In the 1960's to some extent, but more noticeably in the 1970's, Morecambe was losing hotels, attractions and credibility as a desirable destination whilst gaining self-catering accommodation and retirement homes.

Morecambe was literally becoming a joke, as it provided the material for comics. Bingham (1990: 273) writes,

By the mid-seventies a comedian called Colin Crompton earned fame and a living by scourging Morecambe as the Costa Geriatrica, 'the place where people go to but forget why they went'; where 'they don't bury the dead but just prop them up in bus shelters'; where 'seagulls don't land any more' and where at illuminations time 'people queue to see the traffic lights changing'.

By the mid-1970s, visitor entertainment in Morecambe consisted mostly of bingo or amusement arcades and the only new addition was a Bowling Alley which lasted eighteen months before becoming a bingo hall. The Alhambra was closed to the public, re-opened with a drag act show but burnt to the ground in 1970. The West End Pier was storm damaged in 1977 and demolished in 1978, leaving only the Central Pier (National Piers Society nd). The Outdoor Swimming Stadium, a major attraction, closed in 1975. The Morecambe Dome was built in its place in 1979 but the venue was never really successful and was seen to represent under investment and perhaps a lack of confidence in the resort (Bingham 1990). Morecambe Pleasure Land (later

Frontier Land) continued to operate as a significant attraction for the resort but otherwise most attractions found it difficult to survive past the mid-1970s.

The late 1970s saw the arrival of Biker (Mod) rallies in the town. Other resorts, such as Margate, had suffered significant 'Mods and Rockers' related problems in the 1960s and 1970s (Demetriadi 1997). According to Bingham (1990), the problems associated with these events were considered so severe that the BBC broadcast warnings for visitors to avoid the town and in Easter 1983 the traditional Easter crowds were a fraction of what they had been just a few years earlier. In the early 1980s, Easter in Morecambe became seen as a no go for tourists (Bingham 1990). Of course, one cannot necessarily link lower visitor numbers to these incidents and related media coverage; there is no evidence to substantiate such claims.

One challenge for the resort, in the face of declining numbers, was the modernisation of the accommodation offering. An illuminating account of Morecambe between 1972 and 1977 is offered by a hotel owner of that period, Bryan Lassey. He recalls,

Business was still quite good because Spanish holidays had not yet fully taken over the typical 'bucket and spade' seaside holidays for families and the retired, but during this period there was a noticeable decline in the traditional 'wakes weeks'. During this time I became a member of the Morecambe Hotel and Caterers Committee. This organisation was a very influential force in Morecambe second only to the Town Council and committee meetings were recorded and reported in the local press. Most of the committee were of the 'old school' and were opposed to change or modernisation. For example there was a long protracted debate on whether the committee should insist that members should supply towels in the bedrooms. The more forward thinking members were suggesting installing on-suite bathrooms and upgrading facilities to counter the threat from foreign holidays but this investment was beyond comprehension, especially when it was revealed that the president of the committee was only charging £6.00 per week for full board! (Lassey 2012).

Bingham (1990) give quotes from various sources in the 1970s, varying from the Heysham Visitor to the New Statesman, proclaiming the dire straits in which the resort found itself and how poorly it compared to its larger neighbour Blackpool. Morecambe's geographical location as the most remote popular Lancashire resort, yet neighbouring Blackpool, has clearly had an impact on its development and decline. Also Morecambe, like so many medium sized resorts, did not have the reputation or attractions to keep 'pulling them in' when the competition widened. The vicious circle of decline set in more clearly by the mid-1970s and the resort, more than most, was becoming something for

the increasingly aspiring population to mock rather than consume. Moreover, this process was set to continue.

The 1980s was, perhaps, the worst decade for tourism in Morecambe. The Dome hosted the last Miss Great Britain competition, so closely associated with the resort for three decades. The one remaining pier closed its doors in 1986 and was finally demolished six years later (National Pier Society nd.). Not only had Morecambe lost all but one of its major attractions but it could not even support a cinema as neighbouring Lancaster and other towns did. The number of boarding houses dropped from a low 772 in 1980 to just 123 in 1990 (Bingham 1990). The Grand Hotel was turned into flats but eventually demolished in 1989. The Grosvenor was housing DHSS claimants but closed in 1987. The art-deco Midland Hotel did survive but was not operating as a good quality hotel as it once did, and at one time there were even plans to turn it into a University Hall of Residence (Bingham 1990). In the following decades, the resort did retain two fully functioning larger hotels in the form of the Broadway and Strathmore. These were to rely increasingly upon any ageing market supplied largely through coach tour operators such as Wallace Arnold, though it should be stressed that this has proven a sustainable business model and market. A handful of smaller accommodation establishments also survived, led by The Clarendon hotel.

Unemployment levels in some Morecambe wards were approaching 50% in the 1980s, one of the highest rates in the country. The urban North no longer sent its holidaymakers but it's unemployed to the 'Costa del Dole'. According to Bingham (1990,) Morecambe hoteliers advertised for DHSS tenants in the local Blackburn and Liverpool papers. In the early 1980s, Heysham would become important in the extraction of natural gas from Morecambe Bay and because of the nuclear power station that had just become operational. The siting of the power station would do nothing to attract tourists but construction workers who had worked on the site since 1970 had proven a useful source of income for local hoteliers, so much so that, arguably, they became reliant on the workers and delayed investing in their businesses and improving their offerings. The West End of Morecambe, once favoured as the place to reside in the town, was closer to the new industry of Heysham and had extremely high rates of unemployment and poverty (Bingham 1990). Like those involved with the nuclear industry, Lancaster University students also eventually left the surplus of accommodation of Morecambe behind (Harris and Domokos 2011), presumably finding digs in the newly built University accommodation in Lancaster.

Hassan (2003: 257) points out that the level of environmental pollution in Morecambe Bay was very high from the 1960s onwards. He observed that through the 1980s and especially 1990s, the media reported nuclear contamination in the Irish Sea, the problems with Morecambe/Heysham sewage disposal and the fact that Morecambe had the country's second dirtiest beach. Hassan wrote that the resort's, 'greatest asset, the beautiful Morecambe Bay, began to be portrayed as a polluted sink' (2003: 256). In 1991 and following a Consumer's Association study, the BBC even raised the possibility that a bather could contract AIDS from bathing in Morecambe, (Hassan 2003). Obviously, such environmental problems and related publicity presented problems for the tourism industry in Morecambe and other British resorts.

One of the few papers to consider relatively recent, 1990s, tourism in Morecambe, argued that an increased synergy between leisure and tourism / local and tourist needs and provision would lead to a more effective rejuvenation and regeneration of the destination (Williams et al 2001). Their research points out that this was most certainly not the case in the Mr Blobby Crinkley Bottom Theme Park fiasco, which was associated with Noel Edmonds. The doomed theme park threatened to rob Morecambrians of their local park, lasted only months and left behind it substantial debt and litigation in 1994. With hindsight, it is clear that the project was ill conceived, unsustainable and smacked of desperation on the part of the council (Williams et al 2001). Bubbles (Morecambe's swimming pool) closed soon after 'Blobbygate'. The association between the closure of a tourist attraction and a 'disagreement' with the council was to be repeated as the new millennium came in.

The year 2000 was marked by the closure of Morecambe's last remaining attraction of note, Frontier Land, by Blackpool Pleasure Beach Ltd (see Figure 3.6). This small theme park had been operating in some form for over ninety years but its Western theme and new name dated back to 1987. It had developed rapidly in the 1940s when bought by Mr L. Thompson of the Blackpool Pleasure Beach dynasty. The Thompson family were to run the site until its closure. In the 1970 the 'Morecambe Pleasure Park' had 25 major rides and 10 for children.

Figure 3.6: Frontier Land theme park, Morecambe



(Image: The Visitor 2012)

In 1980 'Fun City', as the park was then called, came into conflict with the council over planning issues surrounding a very large Ferris wheel (visible from the M6 motorway) which was in operation. Mr. G. Thompson was to prove that the structure was indeed moveable (and therefore did not require planning permission) when it was shipped to the USA. It seems that the dispute with the council may well have cost Morecambe its new landmark. The council had been responding to complaints from locals that the wheel had been intrusive and spoilt their view. Similar objections were raised to other rides such as the log flume. In the late 1980s, Frontier Land included popular rides such as the Fun House (which burnt down in 1987), The Texas Tornado and the Wild Mouse Roller Coaster (both of which were put up for sale in 1999). In 1998, Mr. G. Thompson threatened to pull out of Morecambe altogether if the council, which was in the process of closing Bubbles indoor Water Park, did not display more commitment to tourism in the town. The future of Frontier Land must have seemed precarious at this point but then the Silver Mines Ride and other smaller attractions were burnt down in an arson attack in 2000, which meant the end (The Visitor 2007). While we are not privy to all of the information relevant to this dispute and the decision to pull out of Morecambe, it seems clear that Thompson and the council did not have a good working relationship and this contributed to problems facing the attraction. It is

impossible to quantify the extent to which the closure contributed to the resort's decline, but the only remaining purpose built tourist attraction (arguably the most significant remaining reason to visit the resort) had gone the way of so many other attractions (see Figure 3.7). Morecambe's reputation continued to suffer; in 2003 it was listed as one of Britain's ten most 'Crap Towns' by the *Idler* magazine (Elborough 2010: 4).

Figure 3.7: The former site of Frontier Land: still derelict and apparently held as a land bank by Morrisons (Harris and Domokos 2011).



(Image: Flickr 2006)

In conclusion, the post war years saw a significant spike in visitor numbers to Morecambe and the seaside more generally. However, in Morecambe, a downturn in fortunes was to set in early. The 1960s saw a slow but steady decline in the number of tourism businesses and, by the late 1970s, the majority of tourist attractions had been forced into closure and accommodation stock was dropping rapidly. The stripping of the tourism infrastructure and reputation continued through the 1980s and into the 1990s. In 2000 the fairground, perhaps the last attraction, closed. Morecambe had failed to re-invent itself as some southern resorts had done and could not compete against the ever popular Blackpool (Hassan 2003). However, the 1990s were notable because they marked the start of an attempt to regenerate the failing resort and offered some hope for the twenty-first century.

3.5 Twenty-first century tourism in Morecambe

It is useful to provide an overview of the latest publications which deal with tourism in modern day Morecambe. Consultants produced England's Northwest Staying Visitor Survey for the Northwest Regional Development Agency in 2008, providing valuable information regarding the nature of modern day tourism to Morecambe and identifying or confirming some clear trends. The information was collected through a national on-line survey which initially contacted over 10,000 respondents with over 3,000 respondents who had been tourists in the North West region. The survey asked 327 tourists (overnight visitors) about their visit to Morecambe. Some respondents were asked to write a diary of their activity/spend in a recent short break in order to elicit detailed information regarding spending. The results of the survey revealed that the average duration of stay was 2.2 days with 0.48 of days involving an excursion or activity. The average daily spend for coastal areas was £12.57 per person per day (p.p.p.d.) and accommodation spend was £16.90 p.p.p.d. Daily spend was approximately a quarter less than the regional average and accommodation was approximately a fifth less than the regional average (Gibson et al 2008:64).

Other relevant statistics for Morecambe come from the relatively recent STEAM (or Scarborough Tourism Economic Activity Monitor) reports. The most up to date visitor number / spending statistics for the resort relate to the council's 2010 STEAM report from November 2011, the key findings of which are presented in Table 3.1 below and show a marked improvement since 2007. STEAM is a model that attempts to measure tourism from the supply side. It should be noted that, 'STEAM is not designed to provide a precise and accurate measurement of tourism in a local area, but rather to provide an indicative base for monitoring trends' (Turnbull 2009: 1) and indeed these figures for Morecambe are higher than expected. They should be treated with caution.

Table 3.1: A summary of key tourism statistics for Morecambe in 2010 and 2007.

	2010	2007
Economic Impact (£'s millions)	170.28	131.77
Tourist Days (thousands)	4,554.51	3,378.33
Tourist Numbers (thousands)	3,638.94	2,407.62
Tourism related employment (# of jobs)	2,657	2,257

Source: Lancaster City Council (2008 and 2011)

The NW Staying Visitor Survey collected useful visitor demographic information, and an examination of visitor age provided some very clear trends. Only 4% of visitors to Morecambe were 16-24 year olds but a startling 41% were over 65 years of age. The average across all other destinations in the North West for this age bracket is, by comparison, 17%. There were two other resorts on this list of 16 destinations, Blackpool and Southport, both of which had a much more balanced range of visitor ages. Only 19% of visitors to Southport and 11% to Blackpool were over 65. In fact, Blackpool (along with Manchester and Liverpool) had one of the lowest average visitor ages with 58% of visitors under 44 years and the highest relative number of under 24s. Morecambe attracted the lowest percentages of under 55 year old adults with no children at home but did attract the highest percentages of over 55s with no children at home – a surprisingly polarised result. The relative number of families visiting Morecambe was close to the North West average but below that of Blackpool (Gibson et al 2008:38).

In percentage terms, Morecambe was the destination that was most likely out of those 16 destinations to be visited as part of a tour group or as a couple and the least likely to be visited with wider friends or family without children (Gibson et al 2008:41). The survey offered an analysis of which segment of the population joined the resort, using a model based around lifestyle and the consumption of leisure. Overall, Morecambe was the most popular destination for 'low spend segments'; namely, 30% of visitors to Morecambe were 'Habituals' (some way ahead of the next highest destination which was Kendal with 18%). Habituals are the oldest (81% retired or post family) and poorest group, they are risk averse and the least likely to engage with shopping, holidays or eating/drinking out. Fifteen percent of visitors to Morecambe were 'Followers' (second only to Southport). Followers are not associated as closely with an age bracket but are strongly influenced by those around them and are the most risk-averse group, they have low expectations of service and leisure/tourism quality and are not generally high spenders. The preferred newspapers for both groups are The Sun and Daily Mail. The group that Morecambe notably lacked were the Cosmopolitans – these are high spend risk takers and fit the ABC1 social profile 57% of the time (Gibson et al 2008:82). This suggests that Morecambe has more C2, D, E (working class) tourists than other destinations and a closer look at the figures confirms this; 53% of visitors to Morecambe were ABC1s and a relatively high 32% were C2DE. Only Fleetwood / Clevellys have a higher percentage of C2DE visitors (Locum and

Arkenford 2006: 50). These results suggest that visitors to Morecambe tend to be traditional, low spend and older.

Respondents were asked which activity had taken up a significant proportion of their time in Morecambe. A show/event was the highest with 35%, explore/tour/atmosphere was 32%, other attractions was 27%, walking 19%, shopping and photography were both 18%, clubs/bars 14% and time by the beach/pool 12%. These results were very different from the two other resorts. Both Southport and Blackpool had eating out as the most popular response (52% and 63% respectively), with shopping second (43% and 54%). Clubs/bars and theme parks both scored over 50% in Blackpool too. Morecambe is not only different from these two resorts but to most places named in the survey - eating out and shopping usually occupy that top two places as the most frequent responses. Respondents were also asked to give the 'major influences' on their decision to visit. While events / occasions came out top again for Morecambe, the responses are not wildly different to the other two Lancashire resorts (Gibson et al 2008: 45). This would suggest that visitors to Morecambe are more likely to engage in different (cheaper) activities than visitors to these other resorts.

In 2008, research was conducted for the Morecambe Destination Benchmarking Report by England's Northwest Research Service, and was published in 2009. An on-the-street questionnaire was carried out on 200 randomly sampled adults; non-leisure visitors/tourists were filtered out of the survey. The same research had been conducted in 2004 and 2006. This report still suggests that 30% of Morecambe's visitors were aged 65 years or over and only 6% were 16-34. Forty-three percent were from the higher social grades as opposed to 48% for other resorts. Spending was below the average of all resorts, although it has increased since 2004 except in the area of shopping. One-fifth of visitors were in an organised group whereas the resort average is 10%. These statistics are somewhat different from the on-line survey discussed earlier but confirms trends; that is, visitors to Morecambe are more likely to be older, in an organised group, low spending and working class when compared to other resorts/destinations.

Other measurements compare Morecambe to other resorts nationally, with some interesting results. Worthy of note is that Morecambe bucks the resort trend by having improved in terms of cleanliness, especially of the beach but it still scores slightly below average. The resort was rated particularly badly on shopping, the perceived quality of both shopping and eating out being low. Morecambe has different accommodation

trends to most resorts and destinations with 73% of visitors staying in hotels (for other resorts and destinations the average is 30%). This could be due to a very low number of visitors who stay with friends and relations in the resort. The use of static caravan accommodation in the resort is also higher than average. Other statistics seem more typical of other resorts. For example, 88% of visitors were there for a leisure/visit holiday. In terms of destination impressions (*general atmosphere* and *feeling of welcome*) Morecambe scored below the average for all resorts and all destinations; this is despite some improvements in this rather vague area. Exactly the same can be said of *overall enjoyment of the visit* and *likelihood of recommending* the resort. Influences on the decision to visit showed clear trends: 58% had been before, 11% followed recommendations, 5% were influenced by adverts and 27% for 'other' reasons.

The perception of Morecambe by visitors and developers is now considered. The PIEDA consulting group, while writing the Resort Action Plan in 2002, held 'discussions' with developers and the North West Development Agency in order to gauge perceptions regarding Morecambe as a resort. Apparently no methodology or research plan was employed in these discussions. The highlights are as follows:

- a) There is a general perception that Morecambe's tourism industry is in decline and, indeed, one consultant summarised his perception of the resort as a 'one industry town whose market has collapsed'.
- b) There was no consensus on whether Morecambe should develop its tourism industry or concentrate on becoming an attractive residential location.
- c) Perceived to have an aged catchment – demographics may be an issue for investment/type of development.
- d) Access is difficult. Morecambe is seen as 'end of the road', an issue which will not be overcome by the provision of a new link road to the M6.
- e) Businesses fear that if they market themselves as a touring base for the local area/region they will ultimately lose trade.
- f) Morecambe's traditional markets have been the family/elderly market but the current infrastructure does not cater for their needs.
- g) More grant aid support is required to assist business to develop.
- h) The resort needs to concentrate on niche marketing and use an events calendar to attract visitors and broaden visitor base.
- i) The rejuvenation of Morecambe as a seaside resort (PIEDA Consulting 2002).

The things that visitors most liked about the resort in 2008 were:

- Peaceful/Relaxing 11.3%
- Promenade 9.6%
- Beach/ Seafront 5.6%
- Scenery/ views 4.5%
- Atmosphere 4%
- Friendly 3.4%
- Cleanliness 2.8%
- Shops 2.8%
- Fresh air 2.3%
- Eric Morecambe statue 1.7%
- Good for children 1.1%
- Convenient to get to 1.1%

The report writes: 'The highest element of receiving praise for Morecambe was the peaceful nature of the resort (11%), and this has been seen as a strength in previous reports, especially in comparison with other locations respondents had visited' (England's Northwest Research Service 2009: 43).

The dislikes were as follows:

- Weather 13.6%
- Run-down / regeneration needed 8.5%
- Better /more shops needed 2.8%
- Empty buildings 1.7%
- Not satisfied with prom. 1.1%
- Toilet charges 1.1%

(England's Northwest Research Service 2009: 44).

The most significant trend here, over which anybody has control, is that the resort 'needs doing up' to quote one respondent (England's Northwest Research Service 2009: 44).

The England's Northwest Staying Visitor Survey for the Northwest Regional Development Agency in 2008 produced some significant results with regard to the visitor perception of Morecambe. In particular, 20% of respondents did not consider the resort of Morecambe to be a holiday destination. Fifty one percent considered it a

holiday destination 'but not for them', 24% would personally consider a visit. Only 4% had visited Morecambe in the last two years. Other seaside resorts named in the report generally scored better than Morecambe. In the 'considered a holiday destination but not for the respondent' category, Morecambe (with 51%) has the highest/worst score of any of the 55 destinations included on the list. The next highest were Eastbourne (48%), Blackpool (43%), Scarborough (39%), Lytham St. Annes (39%), Southport (38%), Sherwood Forest (38%), Bournemouth (36%) and Cardiff (34%). Clearly seaside resorts tend to do badly in this survey. Devon and Cornwall (11%) and the Lake District (13%) do extremely well. Even post-industrial towns score better on this measurement – Bolton (14%) and Preston (18%) – although they were unlikely to be recognised as a holiday destination. Overall, these figures suggest that Morecambe is not a popular resort by seaside standards and more generally, and was more likely to be snubbed than any of the other 54 destinations (Gibson et al 2008: 16).

On a more positive note, the 2008 Destination Benchmarking for Morecambe results can be compared to those in 2006 and 2004. Changes over this short time frame are generally small as one would expect; one improvement that may prove important (if the trend continues) is that more visitors are increasingly likely to recommend Morecambe to friends and family (England's North West Research Service 2009). One must also remember the latest 2010 statistics, referred to earlier, which mark a steady increase in visitor numbers to Morecambe (Lancaster City Council 2011). Morecambe may well still suffer from image problems and a poor reputation but at least the local tourist economy appears stable and even allows some cautious optimism for modest growth.

3.6 Regeneration in Morecambe and public sector involvement

Morecambe's 'Tern Project' commenced in 1994 and was completed by the end of the decade. It combined essential improvements to the coastal defences at Morecambe (costing at least £21 million) with an innovative public art programme. The TERN arts project cost over £2 million and was largely funded by Arts lottery money. The art works stretch along the promenade, stone jetty and central area and featuring a bird life theme. The most popular art work is a life size statue of comic Eric Morecambe, who took his stage name from his home town, in a famous comic pose and in bird watching attire (see Figures 3.8, 3.9 and 3.10). In 2006 a sand beach was introduced, prior to this the beach had consisted of pebbles. In total £26 million was spent on this coastal area, mostly from central government funds. Lancaster City Council figures suggest that enquiries at Morecambe Visitor Centre (visitors, calls and correspondence) rose

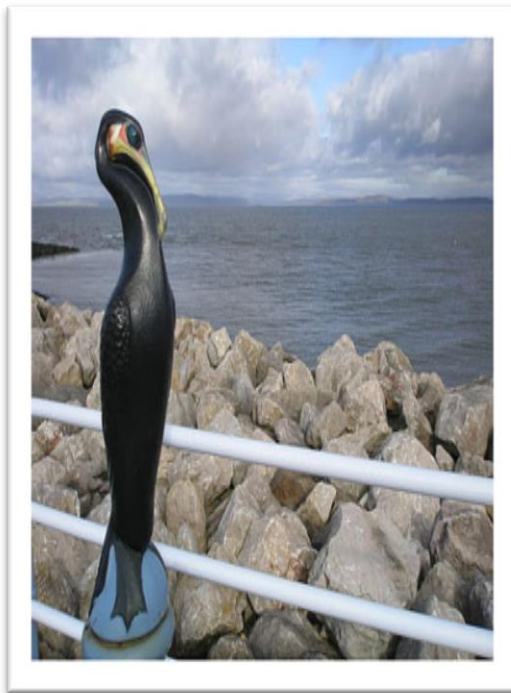
from 73,529 in 1994 to 146, 516 in 2005. Enquiries doubled from the unveiling of the Eric Morecambe statue by the Queen in 1999 and the Tern Project has helped to sustain the numbers of day visits (Trotman 2007, Lancaster City Council nd, 2008 and 2011). Furthermore a national English Heritage and CABI (2003) report is of interest because one of the fourteen examples it examines is Morecambe's Tern Project. The report balances the good news, mentioned above, by pointing out that while the promenade is vastly improved, the town behind it is not. This theme, of a divided town, also emerged from the interviews conducted as part of this research.

Figure 3.8: The Eric Morecambe statue: part of the Tern Project which is centred on Morecambe promenade and has a nature / bird theme [note Eric's bird watching attire].



(Image: LLMCRP 2013).

Figure 3.9: Bird statue and railing.



(Images: I like 2009).

Figure 3.10: Bird statue and benches.



(Image: Morton nd).

The Vision Board for Lancaster and Morecambe (a public/private sector partnership) produced an ambitious document which suggests ways in which economic regeneration may be achieved in the locality. The Vision document does address tourism related issues amongst many others and highlights a number of interesting (perhaps unrealistic) ideas, including the removal of 'grot spots', the creation of a lagoon in the Bay and the pedestrianisation of central Morecambe (Lancaster and Morecambe Vision 2006). Importantly, though, this report reveals a genuine sense of optimism about Lancaster and its neighbouring resort; albeit in the days before the current recession.

A document of some significance for Morecambe is the 2002 Resort Action Plan compiled for the council by Piedad Consulting. The vision for the action plan was that 'Morecambe will be recognised as a vibrant coastal resort with a sustainable economy and stable resident community' (Piedad Consulting 2002: 1). The four associated *packages of action* improvements to the tourist product were action to enhance the town centre profile, improvements to housing and *supporting actions*. The report also outlines the policy context which is made up of the Lancaster District Regeneration Strategy, Morecambe Town Centre Strategy, Lancaster District Tourism Strategy,

Lancaster City council housing Strategy and the Morecambe Townscape Heritage Initiative. This last policy identifies four character areas within the town and specific buildings targeted for improvement (Pieda Consulting 2002: 1).

This report paints a picture of the present state of Morecambe and emphasises a number of social and economic problems such as housing, high unemployment, an old population, a declining physical environment, poor transport links and a shrinking tourism industry. It highlights in particular the plight of the once grand West End of Morecambe. It suggests a way forward for Morecambe, with tourism being one part of a much wider plan as is often the case in regeneration. The theory is, of course, that a town must be attractive, a good place to live and work, before tourists are attracted. This has merit and there is no doubt that differentiation is important; however one could argue that Morecambe, as an operating resort attracting nearly three million day visits, should have an action plan that revolves even more around tourism. The tourism action plan points out the problems facing Morecambe and makes some sensible suggestions regarding the redevelopment of various areas and buildings. More interestingly, the plan also puts forward the idea of marketing a health spa identity with the redeveloped Midland Hotel at its core (Pieda Consulting 2002). This at least is less resources driven and more market driven.

The former North West Development Agency commissioned Locum to produce a 'New Vision' for the North Western coastal resorts. This identified a series of brands and themes for these resorts – The Golf Coast, The Eco Coast and Classic Resorts were three. Southport, St. Annes, Fleetwood, West Kirby, Grange-over-Sands and Morecambe were seen as classic resorts. The 'classic' hallmark aims to distinguish traditional seaside resorts in a way that appeals to the contemporary visitor (Locum 2003: 4). The consultants write that classic resorts should preserve 'a sense of what the traditional seaside holiday was like. Memories and nostalgia for seaside are deeply embedded in the psyche of the British' (Locum 2003: 29). The report goes on to quote the 1993 Coastal Resorts Initiative to name the core components of a resort and supposedly a classic resort. These are a promenade, traditional attractions, a range of accommodation, wet weather entertainment/areas and leisure swimming areas (Locum 2003). Naming these core components seems hardly necessary, especially as it is difficult to name any traditional attractions in Morecambe. Some aspects of this report are relevant but it is questionable whether using Southwold (Suffolk) as an example and effectively de-cluttering Morecambe of 'the less attractive trappings of declining resorts – cheap funfairs, amusement arcades, shops selling cheap novelties and down-

market B&Bs' is in any way relevant to Morecambe (Locum 2003: 30). The harsh reality of economics means that there is relatively little tourism related businesses remaining in the resort in the first place. Also, any amusement arcades and B&Bs will be in private ownership and effectively outside the control of public sector bodies.

Of Morecambe itself, the Locum report writes that a 'complete transformation is required' (Locum 2003: 39). It warns of not relying too heavily on tourism-led regeneration but fails to speculate what the alternatives to tourism/leisure might be. The foundations of this transformation could be an improved road link, exploiting links with Lancaster, further improvements to the sea front, exploiting the resorts build heritage and the urban grain of the West End. The natural beauty of the town is outlined as a potentially central part of the resorts slogan and vision. What strikes the reader is that this report is making suggestions (with the possible exception of the 'beautiful place' slogan) that are already in the process of being developed or have been tried already. It is also difficult to see how Morecambe could realistically establish stronger links with Lancaster as they are already a part of the same city council and urban conurbation. Also, many of the suggestions are reliant on high levels of funding. This report is rather superficial but makes the valid observation that heritage is likely to be a central part of the resorts tourism future. Locum includes a SWOT analysis of the resort which can be seen in its entirety (see Table 3.2). This acts as a useful summary of this report.

These reports of 2002 and 2003 share much in common. Their findings and suggested ways forward are logical; the focus on health and use of heritage seem justified and reasonable. The 2002 report does take into account an external view of the resort but the lack of this perspective is a weakness in NWDA's 2003 report. Both reports provide a reasonable overview of the situation to outsiders with little knowledge of the resort. As with most reports of this type, much effort is devoted to assessing the problems faced by resorts. However the solutions offered appear relatively simplistic, including generic regeneration plans (improvement of housing stock) plus 're-invention' through a new brand and strap-line, a new attraction and some quality improvements. However, it is difficult to see what else these reports could possibly offer.

Table 3.2: SWOT analysis for Morecambe, by Locum (2003).

<p><i>Strengths –</i></p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> Beautiful outlook over Morecambe Bay High Quality Promenade Proximity to booming Lancaster Popular Events Programme Outskirts are desirable places to live 	<p><i>Weaknesses –</i></p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> Poor quality product Few Attractions Loss of key parts of heritage Severe deprivation in central areas Poor housing quality Many HMOs Poor quality modern buildings Prominent Gap Sites
<p><i>Opportunities-</i></p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> Designer Outlet development on the key Frontier Land site Restoration of the Midland Hotel Potential to convert Marine Drive into an outstanding public space Urban village atmosphere of the West End Potential use of the Victorian Pavilion as an attractor Magnificently evocative heritage M6 road link Improved commuter rail service 	<p><i>Threats-</i></p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> Further downward spiral Resources are wasted on trying to recover a family holiday market

(Locum 2003: 39)

Since the publication of the Action Plan and the Locum Report, the redevelopment of the Midland Hotel was handed over to Urban Splash and funded to the sum of £4 million by the North West Development Agency (Simply the Biz 2004). The hotel was reopened in 2008 and is now operated by English Lakes Hotels. Plans have also been proposed by Urban Splash for the redevelopment of the former fun fair site on the front.

Whilst the national press does concern itself with the state of the seaside it has had few reasons to focus on Morecambe in recent years (cockling tragedies aside). One notable exception is the proclamation that Morecambe was a property investment hotspot in 2006. The property section of the 18 February 2006 Saturday Telegraph was dedicated to the advantages of buying a property in Morecambe. The article claims that ‘Morecambe has experienced a remarkable surge in house-price inflation’ due to an influx of southern investors. Developments such as the Tern Project, the

Midland Hotel and future plans including the redevelopment of the Frontier Land site are all mentioned as portents of change (Greenwood 2006). Of course, this indicated not only a surge of prices but of interest and expectation. However, within the last few years the situation has changed. There has been a drop in houses prices, a financial crisis, a double dip recession and the impact of national and local government cuts. It has been claimed the private sector is struggling to contribute to the economic rejuvenation in Morecambe under these circumstances (Harris and Domokos 2011). For instance, the Morrisons supermarket chain are alleged to be holding the former Frontier Land as a land bank until the economy improves sufficiently to make mixed use or residential development more profitable (Harris and Domokos 2011). In the meantime, sizeable prime sites on the seafront remain as wasteland.

The most recent updates on resort regeneration plans can be found in the Autumn/Winter 2012 Morecambe Area Action Plan which is at the consultation/draft stage. The key elements/aims of the plan are to:-

1. Protect and enhance the main seafront and promenade and make more for people to enjoy.
2. Restructure landward with new development fitting to a key network that makes it easy for pedestrians to find their way around the town.
3. Integrate the seafront with the town and so improve connections for pedestrians between the seafront and the town.
4. These and other actions, including a range of changes to transportation and parking, to direct footfall into the town centre and create much more of a “buzz”, encouraging people to “stay longer and spend more”.
5. Further incentivise business investment through supply side measures including exemption from certain planning requirements and relaxing certain controls.
6. Make and direct opportunities for the investment and development needed to grow what the town has to offer to residents and visitors alike.
7. Support initiatives within the community and by local businesses to enhance and add to this offer.
8. Actively market the town to investors and visitors in new and imaginative ways that look to the future. An improving town centre is integral to the visitor offer. A growing economy and investment should bring improvements in the look and feel of the town and what there is to do.

(Lancaster City Council 2012).

Points (1) and (3) chime with the findings of this research, which indicates that the seafront is of central importance to visitors who see a divide between it and the rest of the town. Indeed the report reads, 'it is evident most [visitors] confine themselves to the seafront' (Lancaster City Council 2012: 16). With hindsight, after the analysis of data associated with this project, it appears the seafront does indeed characterise the resorts sense of place for visitors. This observation is central to the discussion on sense of place which dominates the following chapter.

3.7 Summary

This chapter has provided in-depth information regarding Morecambe, the context for this study. It is a place that has enjoyed both great success and a startling fall from grace, so much so that comedian Colin Crompton had a full routine on the town in the 1970s and in 2003 it was even designated the 'third crappiest town' in the UK as decided by public vote (Jordison 2012). More recently, however, there is cause for cautious optimism as far as the visitor economy is concerned. There have been improvements to touristic infrastructure from 1999 onwards and visitor numbers have been steadily rising.

This chapter has also been able to superficially describe Morecambe's market. The market is older than average and it is suggested that sea views and nostalgia may underpin the seaside visit. However this research cannot speculate or elaborate much further at this point; without the benefit of effective primary research to clearly establish what motivates this market and considers how they react to their seaside visits. No research, so far, has established a credible sense of place relating to visitors to Morecambe. This is where this thesis can shed light. In the next chapter, Morecambe is left behind for a time as the thesis turns to a discussion sense of place at the seaside in more general terms, before returning to Morecambe at a later stage. The following chapter introduces concepts related to sense of place; it offers an overview of the literature that may be relevant to a seaside specific sense of place.

Chapter 4

A Sense of Place at the Seaside

4.1 Introduction

This chapter offers the theoretical underpinning to this thesis and centres on issues related to a touristic sense of place. A wide range of theories and concepts that could constitute elements of a sense of place at the seaside are considered. This chapter borrows from human geography, environmental psychology, sociology, anthropology, philosophy and history.

The concepts of space, place and sense of place are explored at the beginning of the chapter, before moving to other theories and histories that potentially inform sense of place. In the first instance, however, sense of place is considered within the context of tourism.

4.2 Sense of Place

4.2.1 Sense of Place and Tourism Studies

Tourism represents people's deliberate encounter with place and so provides an opportunity to study their cognitive relationship to destinations (Jakle 1985). It has been claimed that sense of place has only occasionally been measured in a leisure context:

If work published in major leisure journals is an indicator of the field's knowledge of human–place relationships (i.e. reflected in the study of sense of place, place attachment), then an understanding of these phenomena is limited when compared to work published in the journals of other fields (Kyle and Chick 2007: 213).

Increasingly, scholars have been measuring sense of place at tourism/leisure places and the literature in this area is becoming broad. For example, Smaldone (2006) refers to rural visitors in his study, whilst Stedman, Beckley, Wallace and Ambard (2004) examine place meanings and attachment in a national park. In both of these examples, the focus is primarily on local residents. Indeed a focus on locals or second home owners is commonplace in these studies. However, Kianicka, Buchecker, Hunziker and Müller-Böker (2006) compared the sense of place of Alpine tourists and locals, their findings suggesting that both groups felt sense of place deeply and that

landscape played a key part in this attachment. This tallies with Smaldone's work (2006). However, the nature of the sense of place between the two groups differed. In the case of locals, sense of place centred around everyday activities whereas, for the tourists, 'sense of place is above all shaped by the aesthetics and characteristics of the place, which they experience in the context of leisure activities' (Kianicka et al 2006: 62). Nevertheless, sense of place amongst seaside visitors has not been measured and represents a 'gap' in the literature. Before this can be explored, however, it is necessary to consider the issues of place and space which lie at the heart of this study.

4.2.2 Space and Place

Place is a concept that can be interpreted in number of different ways and can be confused with other concepts, notably space with which it is bound (see Malpas 1999: chapter 1). This study adopts a geographical position, a discipline which has explored these concepts more than others and offers relatively clear and transferable definitions. Place can be defined as space which has been ascribed meaning: 'place = space + meaning' (Turner and Turner 2006: 205). Space is defined in opposition to place as not having meaning, as a basic 'fact of life' (Creswell 2004: 10). Relph (1976: 8) writes on this subject, 'Space is amorphous and intangible and not an entity that can be directly described and analysed. Yet however we feel or explain space, there is always some associated sense or concept of place'.

The meaning that distinguishes place from space is subjective and, therefore, what represents space for one person may represent place to another. For example, wilderness for one group may be home for another. Creswell (2004: 9) recalls the 1792 voyage of Captain Vancouver in HMS Discovery to the North Western coast of the Americas. The explorer's and colonialist's journal recorded the apparent nonsensical movement of 'natives' in their canoes in the sea; they did not move in straight lines but took complicated and seemingly illogical routes instead. To the canoeists, their movements made sense as they saw different points of the sea as places and associated them with specific spirits and risks, whilst much of the land was undifferentiated space. In contrast, Captain Vancouver and his crew saw the sea as blank space; their focus was towards the land and creating place through naming and mapping. Though perhaps an extreme case, this is nevertheless an example of how subjective and culturally rooted the space/place divide can be.

For many individuals, space becomes place as they come to know an area (Tuan 1977: 6). People often endeavor to transform space into place, for instance, the everyday act of personalising an office desk at work. Place is fluid and, for the majority of human geographers, it is subjective and socially constructed, although place and the socio-cultural can be seen as mutually constitutive by social-constructionists. It is, however, occasionally argued that the social-cultural is geographically constructed (Creswell 2004: 29-32). This study suggests that the socio-cultural and place are intertwined, as suggested by the majority of academics. Furthermore, this study is primarily influenced by humanistic geographers and also by (inter-disciplinary) environmental psychologists; this is also explored in the methodology in Chapter 5.

4.2.3 Sense of place

We refer to sense of place when the meaning of place and/or place identity is significant enough to be felt or experienced. Geographers refer to it as the subjective and emotional attachment people have to place (see Agnew 1987; Creswell 2004). In everyday usage, the term sense of place is focused on the distinctive features, character and atmosphere of a particular area (the *genius loci*). This usage of the term may sometimes have a slightly different focus but is complementary to academic definitions. The Forest of Bowland Area of Outstanding Natural Beauty (or AONB) website offers a clear and all-encompassing definition:

The term “Sense of Place” is often used to describe your feelings for a place, and the elements that make that place special to you – it may be memories of past visits, views, sounds, people, tastes, even the smell of the place! (Forest of Bowland AONB n/d).

This definition clearly infers that the term is relative and connects aspects of place to experience and attachment.

Humanist-influenced geographers, such as Seamon, Relph and Tuan, have pioneered the study of place and sense of place. Humanistic geography can be traced back to the 1960s and 1970s. It broke away from behavioral geography as it critiqued positivist concepts of place, and it disagreed with the use of quantitative methods in assessing human behavior and thoughts. In contrast, humanistic geography is associated with qualitative research, phenomenology and it tries to understand life from the viewpoint of the subject. It is concerned with the study of ‘the meaning and experience of place’ (Burgess and Gold 1985: 11). Indeed experience and place are intertwined as ‘Place determines our experience’ (Creswell 2004: 23).

Relph's (1976) most original ideas included 'insiderness' and 'outsiderness'. If a person is inside a place they are enclosed, safe and at ease; the opposite is true if they are outside. He also wrote about placelessness - the erosion of distinctive landscapes to make way for standardised ones which ignore the significance and authenticity of place (Relph 1976). Placelessness can, therefore, be described as the absence of sense of place. Criticisms of these ideas of place and placelessness by Creswell (2004) and others centre on the fact that Relph underestimates the significance of individual and social context. Crucially, Relph (1976) identified three key aspects to place: the physical characteristics of the environment, the meaning of place – associations, memories, connotations, denotations and so on – and, finally, the activities afforded by the place, including the social interactions associated with the place (adapted from Turner and Turner 2006: 207).

Over the years, these three dimensions have been refined by other scholars and have informed later definitions of sense of place (see Patterson and Williams 2005); they also remain valid, current and invaluable to this study. Tuan's work is especially useful to this study as it carefully considers the interplay between space, place and time. He examined relationships with place which endow it with meaning and change over time. Tuan's work focuses upon experience which is a 'cover-all term for the various modes through which a person knows and constructs a reality' (Tuan 1977: 8). Like Relph, Tuan does not refer to sense of place at the seaside environment in particular, but he does observe that spaciousness more generally can hold a variety of associations. Space is associated with a feeling of freedom in the Western world (Tuan 1977: 52), just as freedom is associated with tourism (Caruana and Crane 2011). The notion of freedom itself holds various potential meanings; the freedom to move, to express oneself and the freedom to undertake activities that one is not ordinarily able to. Spaciousness and space could be seen as one element of the seaside; but it is the meanings we bring to bear on these spaces that transform them into places.

Place has been approached from perspectives other than geography, notably environmental psychology, which is crucial to this study and specifically to the first stage of primary research. Environmental psychologists were primarily interested in 'attachment' (Beckley, Stedman, Wallace and Ambard 2007: 14) and so share much in common with Tuan's work. Some sociologists, such as Gustafson (2001), take a data driven approach to place which is based around three main themes of self, environment and others. This clearly borrows from the work of Relph (Turner and Turner 2006). Thus, from humanistic geography and sociology to environmental

psychology, the concepts of place and sense of place share much in common and the influence and legacy of Tuan and Relph are plain to see.

4.2.4 Attachment, identity and dependence within sense of place

The three most significant place concepts within environmental psychology that together form sense of place are attachment, identity and dependence. Low and Altman (1992: 3) do not differentiate place attachment from other concepts of place, suggesting that, 'Place attachment subsumes or is subsumed by a variety of analogous ideas'. Subsequent studies tend to accept the fluidity of the concepts but consider them distinguishable enough to be considered in their own right; they should be seen as specific dimensions of the more general sense of place (Jorgenson and Stedman 2001).

Each of the three aforementioned constructs are considered here in turn, starting with attachment. Broadly speaking place attachment can be considered the environmental psychologist's equivalent of the geographer's sense of place (Kyle, Graefe, Manning and Bacon 2004). The term place attachment is usually used to express the bond or affective ties between place and people; it is subjective and usually concerned with the individual. This bond is often emotional in nature; the same can be said for place identity but less so for place dependence. Smaldone (2006) considers the role of time in place attachment. His research supports the theory, as proposed by Tuan (1977), that place attachment is connected to the length of time that one is associated with a place. Interestingly he concludes that visitors, as well as locals, could have a moderately strong feeling of place attachment over time. Smaldone (2006) stresses the difference between attraction and attachment. Attraction can be an almost instantaneous appreciation of a particular place, whereas attachment takes longer to develop. Typically attraction will develop into attachment over a period of some years. Correlations between time (years visiting) and attachment are explored in this study.

Secondly, identity, in various forms, is a recurring theme throughout the study of place as well as one of the three aspects of sense of place. Place identity is the relationship between personal identity and the physical environment through the individual's conscious and unconscious feelings, ideas and perceptions regarding that environment (Jorgenson and Stedman 2001). Jackson (1984:152) writes 'It is place, permanent position in both the social and topographical sense, that gives us our identity' and Woodward concurs, 'Identities are constructed in relation to place' (2000:34). Nonetheless, our identity also influences place or, more specifically, our sense of place. It therefore follows that places do not have single unique identities (Massey 1997).

Place identity can be symbolic and is at least as emotional as place attachment, with which it often merges (Smaldone 2006).

Finally, place dependence is the positive or negative strength of association with a place. Dependence varies according to individual goals, activity needs and the range of alternatives available (Stokols and Schumaker 1981). For example, one may suppose that to use a promenade, one would be dependent on a seaside resort but a range of alternatives are available in Lancashire and indeed much of Britain. Place dependence, by its very nature, is more functional and less emotional in nature than either place attachment or place identity. However, it is still important as a determinant of one's relationship with place and as a constituent part of sense of place more generally.

4.2.5 Primal landscapes: sense of place, memory and childhood

A sense of place, especially attachment and identity, cannot be formed without the involvement of memory. Our attitudes and feelings towards a place are influenced by our memories of past experiences and social memory (see Harvey 1996). Place is a container of experiences and therefore intertwined with memory, as explained by Hayden:

If place does provide an overload of possible meanings for the researcher, it is place's very same assault on all ways of knowing (sight, sound, smell, touch and taste) that makes it powerful as a source of memory as a weave where one strand ties in another (1995: 18).

The senses underpin experiences which form memory, and all of these elements interact with each other and place. One interesting development in the study of place is the central importance of childhood experiences and memories.

A sense of place develops and childhood has an important role in this process. The strong bond which develops between children and the environment in which they mature has been researched by human geographers and environmental psychologists. The concept was dubbed 'primal landscapes' by the ecologist Don Gayton (1996). Measham (2006: 433) explains the concept well, 'The environment of our childhoods- the meaning-laden places where we explored, played, and tried to make sense of the world around us- form a primal landscape from which we compare and interpret future landscapes'. So the childhood environment (which is a place full of meanings) forms a

part of people's identity and becomes a benchmark against which other places, experienced later in life, are compared.

Indeed, environmental psychologists have measured the links between exposure to certain natural environments in childhood and environmental or place preferences later in life (see Bixler, Floyd and Hammitt 2002). Family, community, culture and especially the experience of direct play have been found to influence how children learn about their environment, in particular, between the ages of 7 and 12 years (Derr 2002; Measham 2006). Demonstrating the importance of early life experiences on later behaviour, Measham (2007: 344) cites one of his interviewees:

...after the war I was anxious to come back to the Tablelands...I had been in the army for nearly four years [and]...I was very keen to come back to the land...I think it must have been a kind of a nostalgia for what I had known when I was young.

This quote does indicate a longing for place, as suggested by Measham. However, it also potentially indicates a longing for a time or at least a consideration of the passing of time and childhood. The interviewee tellingly used the word nostalgia, which usually indicates some sort of loss. By moving back to his primal landscape, perhaps, he was trying to recapture his identity, if not his past. It is reasonable, therefore, to theorize that nostalgia or reminiscence may be a feature on the primal landscape. Indeed, Gayton does refer to a 'landscape nostalgia' (1996: 22).

Nostalgia for seascape emerges as a theme in this thesis. Gayton recognises the potential of the seaside environment as a primal landscape when he refers to the experiences of his wife. She grew up in a seaside community, moved away and now, 'Finds the smells of tide flats and the sound of waves breaking at night to be urgent compelling messages. It is as if certain sights, sounds and smells by pass the sense and speak directly to her being'. (1996: 72).

Virginia Wolf's primal landscape was also the seaside, as she identifies her first and 'most important' memory as a seaside holiday in St. Ives and listening to waves. This memory, and others of that type, explained why she was 'incurably romantic about Cornwall' (Bradshaw 2011: 103).

4.2.6 Sense of place at the seaside

Some have grasped at the 'mystery' that is the seaside genius loci. Lindley (1973: 141) writes, 'Some strange coincidence of climate, geology and character, accidents of time

and place, have brought about the quality which we recognise as “seaside”.’ A number of academics part explain this ‘*indefinable* seaside spirit’ (Lindley 1973: 11) through liminality and its marginal nature (Bennett 1986, Shields 1991, Walton 2000 and Webb 2005), although many more ignore it entirely.

This physical margin of the seaside, like all places, has been imbued with meaning by those who spend time there. What has truly set resorts apart is their capacity to act as a social, cultural and spiritual liminal zone, a place where people have traditionally acted in a manner atypical for them. The physically liminal characteristics of the seaside provide the perfect environment for a set of distinctively ‘different’ social practices. The seaside resort grew to be socio-culturally distinct in order to fulfil its role as a place for tourists to re-connect with nature and, more importantly, with themselves; that is, their true/authentic selves as opposed to public roles. One's place in society and/or nature can be re-affirmed by a seaside visit through this temporary inversion of normality. Authenticity is associated with visitor motivation in post-modern society; although the existential search for authenticity due to the loss of ‘true self’ (Berger 1973) has a much longer tradition dating back to Kierkegaard and Nietzsche. This inversion of normality might take the form of ‘dippings’, treatments, travel itself, leisure activities, artistic inspiration, potentially transgressive carnivalesque behaviour, paternal involvement/play with youngsters and access to a natural and relatively unpolluted environment, to name but a few. Central to all this is access to the sea. Just ‘letting off steam’ is also an important motivation for tourists; for many people, time spent at the seaside was and is set apart, special.

These observations reflect seaside history, place-myths and heritage (in the sense of inheritance). This study is particularly interested in the modern day cultural significance of the seaside resort, specifically the place meaning of Morecambe. Such issues of sense of place are of vital importance to the success and future of seaside tourism and its associated regeneration. Put simply, one must know one's market. Beatty and Fothergill (2003) have told us about the economies of seaside places, Shields (1991) about place-myth at Brighton, Walton (2000) has given an invaluable and thorough account of seaside history. All of these accounts suggest that the seaside as a tourist destination is not dead yet and has the capacity to evolve or even re-invent itself. However, before considering the future of the British seaside resort, it is important to understand the full significance of the seaside to its visitors and, to do so, the starting point is to look back towards the past. In other words, it is important to consider how history has impacted upon the way the seaside is viewed.

4.3 The Invention of the Beach: The socio-cultural construction of the seaside

4.3.1 The pre-Renaissance beach

It cannot be assumed that the seaside or even the beach have always carried an innate appeal. Many years before the first visitors came to the seaside in Scarborough, the very idea of the coast as an attractive or desirable environment needed to be established.

According to Lefebvre (1991), the beach is the only place of enjoyment that we discovered in nature. Alain Corbin's work highlights how relatively recent this discovery was, whilst both Lencek and Bosker (1998) and Corbin (1994) provide an account of how attitudes towards the sea and coast were transformed through the Enlightenment. This enabled the discovery of the seaside with the commencement of the Industrial Revolution through mass tourism. The beach has always been on the margins but, in the centuries before industrialisation and particularly before the Enlightenment, it was seen by most in a negative light. Conversely, other writers, such as Shields (1991), observe cultural developments at the beach after its invention and the subsequent start of touristic consumption.

Throughout pre-Renaissance European history, the shoreline was perceived as a dangerous and even disgusting boundary beyond which chaos of the abyss could be found; 'it is along the beach that ocean purges itself and throws up its monsters' (Corbin 1994: 13). There is, however, a very notable exception to this generalisation, for the ancient Greeks and Romans enjoyed looking at the sea and the Romans in particular enjoyed their own version of a seaside holiday. This classical view of the sea was quite distinct from other views held in Antiquity, the Dark Ages and by other cultures more generally. Lencek and Bosker (1998: 26) suggest this more positive view was limited to the Mediterranean and only occurred 'as an offshoot of civilization', implying that a certain alienation from nature must take place before one is motivated to reconnect with it at the beach. The Roman beach fell along with the Empire and the rise of Christianity and the 'Barbarians' (Lencek and Bosker 1998: 38). Under the new Christian matrix, the pleasures of the body which could be seen in Roman baths and beaches were no longer celebrated but rather tolerated or prohibited.

In the Old Testament, the Flood marked a temporary return to chaos; the Ocean was associated with God's punishment. The sea was seen as demonic and the bearer of misfortune for centuries, as can be seen in Shakespeare's *The Tempest* and other works. Religious art used the sea as a symbol and the Church came to be seen as a ship afloat of the sea which represented purgatory. The beach, swamp and craggy mountains lined the third circle in Dante's *Inferno*. Robinson Crusoe re-works the evil images of the seashore, building his 'Eden' inland while the beach is purely the scene of disaster and cannibalistic orgies (Corbin 1994). In contrast, the margin of the beach represents 'paradise' to the contemporary tourist and is central to many vacations (Cohen 1982). As plagues decimated Europe in the early fourteenth century, exposure to water was seen as the most powerful way to open up the body to infected air and, consequently, a horror of the beach developed from this fear of water (Lencek and Bosker 1998). In more practical terms, in pre-industrial and early industrial times, the sea was a very real danger for those who set sail. Sea travel was for the most part seen as something to endure, as various early eighteenth century travelogues testify (Corbin 1994). Nevertheless by this time views regarding the sea and its shores were shifting.

From 1660, English oceanography made progress so that the ocean no longer represented such a great mystery to the educated. In the early seventeenth century, Baroque French Poets, such as Saint-Amant, wrote about their joyful experiences at the seashore, although such views were not widely held. No factor was of greater significance to this change in attitudes than the advent of natural theology as popularized by the neo-Platonists during the Renaissance. This school of thought linked the natural world to the spiritual; nature was seen as a meaningful spectacle regulated by Newton's passive creator or Descartes' God-the-clockmaker (Corbin 1994). The Flood was seen as a cleansing process leaving a world reconfigured to God's design, rather than a world in decay following the original sin. Corbin (1994: 24) wrote, 'The present Earth therefore appeared to be a book written by the creator and intended for man.' Appreciating the scope of nature, developing an inventory / classification of creation, empirical observation, and the collectors patience were all linked to natural theology and therefore the Divine. Corbin (1994: 24) argues that this shift in outlook outlines one of key motivators for early tourists, that is, experiencing a 'new relationship with nature' and its associated spectacle.

This revised view of the natural world described by Corbin was a long term change and could still be seen flourishing much later in Victorian times. No author underlines this more clearly than Charles Kingsley. In 1855, he saw the seaside holiday as an

opportunity to immerse oneself in the natural 'wonders of the shore' which reflect 'the presence of the glory of Him whose name is Love' (Kingsley 1936: 310). Even in the modern age, the link between the shore and the sacred or spiritual can still be seen, although 'God' is less likely to be mentioned (see Carson 1955).

4.3.2 The rise of the sublime

It was the rise of the 'sublime' and, above all, the Romantics which accelerated or perhaps completed the transformation of the beach from a place of fear to one of beauty and contemplation. It was fear that made an appreciation of the swelling sea so powerful, as Edmund Burke wrote in 1756, 'it is impossible to describe the agreeable horror that rises from such a prospect', or as Lencek and Bosker (1998: 55) observe, no landscape can 'fill the mind with anything so great as the landscape itself'. Burke (2001) explored how expanded thought could be connected to nature through awe and milder emotions.

Some sixty years after Burke's essay, Schopenhauer clarified these concepts by producing a type of sliding scale between the beautiful to fully sublime; as one moves through the scale one becomes more aware of one's own fragility and the object appears more antagonistic (see Schopenhauer 2010: xxxi). This scale is summarised below:

1. A Feeling of Beauty as experienced when we see light reflected off a flower. The pleasure derives from a mere perception of a harmless object.
2. The Weakest Feeling of Sublime for example light reflected off stones. Pleasure is taken from beholding objects, devoid of life, that pose no threat.
3. A Weaker Feeling of Sublime as characterised by a still expanse of desert. The pleasure here is from seeing objects or an environment that could not sustain the observer.
4. The Sublime: turbulent nature. Pleasure derives from perceiving objects that have the potential to harm the observer.
5. The Full Feeling of Sublime: overpowering turbulent Nature. Pleasure is taken from experiencing extreme, violent and destructive objects.
6. The Fullest Feeling of Sublime: immensity of Universe's extent or duration and so the timeless/primeval beach is of great relevance here. Pleasure arises from knowledge of the observer's lack of relative significance or / and a connection or oneness with nature. Things are put into a new perspective (Schopenhauer 2010: 227).

Burke's theory of the sublime and the associated debate moved the positive appreciation of the shoreline on a great deal, it was no longer represented solely as a scene for human endeavour but also as a place of meditation. In the first half of the nineteenth century, the Romantics 'claimed' the beach with its psychological and spiritual meanings, whilst literate travellers 'began to appropriate the bundle of Romantic sensations as the frame through which they themselves experienced and described their responses to the sea and beach' (Lencek and Bosker 1998: 96).

Reference to the sublime sea of God's creation is commonplace in nineteenth century literature, enough to be clichéd. Austen's *Sandition*, written in 1817, is set in a fictional seaside resort, whilst Sir Edward Denham waxes lyrical about the seaside to the extent that he 'ran with energy through all the usual phrases employed in praise of their sublimity, and descriptive of the indescribable Emotions they excite in the Mind of Sensibility.' Sir Edward's poetic assertions regarding the nature of the sea were described as 'rather commonplace perhaps' (Austen 1990: 351). A century later, another great author voiced similar pronouncements. Flaubert's *Dictionary of Received Ideas* marked the poetic inspiration from the sea as a poetic bourgeois cliché (De Botton 2002: 81). Bougainville's work '*Voyage autour du monde*' (published in 1771) also helped to transform the beach, the Tahitian beach specifically, into an erotic paradise. In this account, the Tahitian women threw themselves at French sailors and, for the first time, the beach was the setting for sexual encounters with 'the other' (Martin 2000, Lencek and Bosker 1998). Such changes in perception enabled distinct resorts to emerge with early industrialisation.

Corbin (1994: 53) proposes that between 1750 and 1840, against the backdrop of a new view of the world and nature, the sublime beauty of the ocean and the 'pathos of its storms' was appreciated. The Grand Tour often included a visit to the Campania region and the Bay of Naples was one of the first coastlines to be appreciated by visitors in a way which we might recognise today (Corbin 1994, Lencek and Bosker 1998). As the war with the French raged, the British Romantics increasingly turned their attention to domestic scenes. The switch from a feared shoreline to a much admired one was neither swift nor as paradoxical as it may at first seem. Indeed, it was the fear of the ocean which allowed the sublime nature of the ocean to be appreciated, though in order to understand this, an understanding of how the sublime 'works' is required. Brady links the growth in popularity of sublime landscapes to the positive 'fear' of nature described by Kant. She writes that feeling nature's might through our

imagination leads us to find something valuable in both nature and ourselves, an inner strength and a confirmation of our place in the world alongside nature as independent moral beings (Brady 2003: 37). According to Kant, the sublime excites a meaningful connection with nature, his views anticipating the Romantic appreciation of nature that was to follow (Brady 2003). The Romantics were well known for their role in the transformation of the way in which 'wild places' were viewed. In particular, Wordsworth and his contemporaries (in the footsteps of Thomas Grey) are associated with the creation of the English Lake District's 'place-myth'. The Lakes evolved from the no go area described by Defoe to a popular middle class tourist destination in the railway age (Sharpley 2009).

Natural theology and a more Romantic outlook enabled the growth in popularity of sublime landscapes as well as the seascape. Wild places were increasingly seen as sacred, allowing the transcendentalist Henry David Thoreau in nineteenth century America to describe a swamp as a 'sanctum sanctorum' (Brady 2003: 46). At the same time, the sublime landscape paintings of the Hudson River School (for example Figures 4.1 and 4.2) were able to attract mass audiences (Brady 2003). Even today the most famous examples remain internationally popular amongst landscape paintings. Veith (2002: 1) explains the attraction of these paintings from a religious perspective,

A typical Hudson River school painting will show a wide open plain, which is dwarfed by a great mountain, which, in turn, is dwarfed by an even greater mountain in the distance. Then - as the perspective goes back further and further into seemingly infinitely receding depths - come glimpses of even greater mountains, until the farthest distances dissolve in light. In other words, when looking at a Hudson River landscape, the viewer looks *through* nature to its Creator, the light of the world.

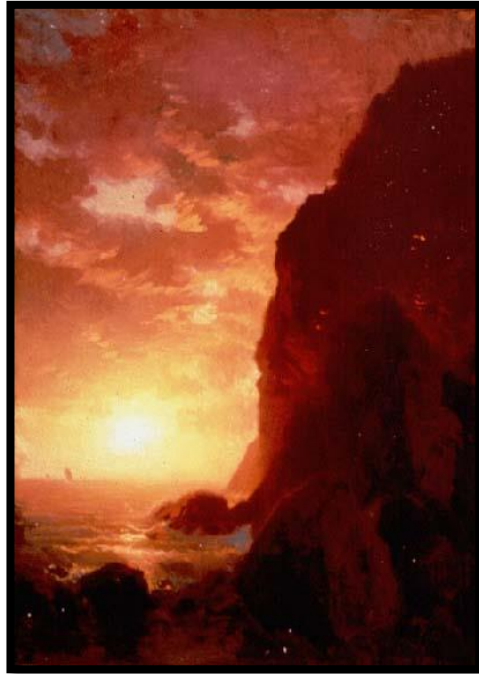
Figure 4.1: 'Looking Down Yosemite Valley, California' by Albert Bierstadt, 1865.



(Image: Artsnap 2010).

Whilst the Hudson River School of painting is most associated with the landscape of the Hudson River valley and Yosemite Valley, it often featured lakes, waterfalls and coastal scenes (see Figure 4.2).

Figure 4.2: 'Grand Manan at Sunset' by William McDougal Hunt, 1860.



(Image: Fyre Art Museum 2000).

The growth in the popularity of tourism to rural and 'wild' areas, such as the Lake District or the first American National Parks, like seaside tourism was directly related to industrialization, urbanisation and, perhaps, 'the ache of modernity' (Rennie-Short 2005: 176). To the city dweller, nature induces 'tranquillity, calm, introspection, openness to order, meaning and purpose, the place of values in the world of facts, is similar to the evocation from works of arts' (McHarg 1970: 53). Natural environments are set apart from the man-made world of cities; they are seen as valuable, beautiful, meaningful and spiritual.

4.3.3 Seaside pioneers: dipping as a tonic

An element of fear was necessary for the beach to develop an early popular appeal in England (Martin 2000). The multiple daily 'dippings', often in winter, were an extreme experience for the early bathers (Lencek and Bosker 1998) (see Figure 4.3). These pioneering tourists, the British upper and middle classes, felt increasingly isolated from the rhythms of nature, as perhaps the Romans once had (Corbin 1994, Lencek and

Bosker 1998). The medical profession in the eighteenth century seemed to underline the need for rest and treatments in order to alleviate anxiety and ailments. Dr Russell famously advocated both the drinking of and bathing in cold sea water in 1750. Nevertheless, the sea was still an object of fear, even as bathing became more fashionable. Anxiety meant that this fear was overcome as Corbin (1994: 62) explains,

Remember that, even more than the countryside, the ocean represented indistinguishable nature which was more than just scenery, and which remained unaffected by falsehood. This explains how the paradox developed on which the fashion for the beach is based: the sea became a refuge and a source of hope because it inspired fear. The new strategy for seaside holidays was to enjoy the sea and experience the terror it inspired, while overcoming one's personal perils. Henceforth, the sea was expected to soothe the elite's anxieties, re-establish harmony between body and soul, and stem the loss of *vital energy* of a social class that felt particularly vulnerable through its sons, its daughters, its wives, and its thinkers. The sea was expected to cure the evils of urban civilization and correct the ill effects of easy living, while respecting the demands of privacy.

Certain 'terror triggers' allowed an appreciation of the sublime nature of the beach, a key feature in its cultural evolution (Lencek and Bosker 1998). The sea represented an opportunity for a valuable 'authentic' experience and for therapy on a number of levels.

The debate regarding the contemporary tourist's quest for authenticity as a way of adding value to their lives (stemming from the work of Dean MacCannell) is well known; parallels could be drawn to these early resort visitors. Authors such as Turner (1974) and Belhassen, Caton and Stewart (2008) link the search for authenticity to pilgrimage which in turn is often compared to modern day tourism. The above quote from Corbin reflects this school of thought, which views tourism as a form of secular pilgrimage, using the sea to purge 'sins'. The exploitation of this 'healing power' was to lead to the sea being experienced in a new way.

Figure 4.3: Dipping and bathing machines in the early 19th century.



From an engraving by R. & D. Havell of an original by George Walker: bathing at Bridlington, Yorkshire, 1813.

(Image: Blogspot 2012).

Corbin claimed that the newly discovered health-giving properties of seawater led directly to the 'the invention of the beach' (1994:70). However before this could happen the Romantics, Neo-Platonists and even the Church had set the necessary conditions over a much longer period. Corbin also recognises that bathing was enjoyed for other reasons, regardless of health. For instance, he suggests that the act of public bathing had sexual overtones for the Victorian participants, a point not missed by the Romantics (Lencek and Bosker 1998). Corbin also recognises that bathing in rivers and coastline was practised before the growth of the medical seaside, especially in England (Corbin 1994). However, the medicalization of the beach encapsulated, or perhaps justified, a deep seated attraction to the beach that is difficult to define precisely. It does, however, appear to be linked to urbanisation/industrialisation and a desire to purge and to 're-connect'.

4.3.4 Well-being as a motivation for mass tourism

There is general consensus that the perceived health giving properties of the sea attracted the first resort tourists. The popular seaside resorts were direct descendants of the spa and the earliest visitors were the upper classes (Walton 1982). The authors Jane Austen and Tobias Smollett refer to inland spas (namely Bath) and the early seaside resorts as places of society. Scarborough is, perhaps, the clearest example of how the resorts developed in these early stages, developing as a seaside spa attracting the upper, middle and eventually the working classes. As early as the 1750s, doctors, notably the aforementioned Dr Russell in his 1752 book on the subject, were recommending taking the water there. At the outset, both drinking seawater and bathing were favoured, the bathing machine becoming popular as described by Tobias Smollett in his novel of 1771. Smollett describes the resort and even compares Scarborough to Bath: 'At the other end of the resort are two public rooms for the use of the company, who resort to this place in the summer, to drink the waters and bathe in the sea; and the diversions are pretty much on the same footing here as at Bath' (Smollett 1984: 178). Later, the benefits of 'ozone' in the air would be described by medical men (see Pimlott 1947:105). As Scarborough and other seaside resorts grew in popularity, so the inland spas gradually became less fashionable. Smollett clearly indicates that resorts were subject to fashion, although he rather underestimates the continued success of this particular seaside resort,

Scarborough seems to be falling off in point of reputation – all these places (Bath excepted) have their vogue – I am persuaded, there are fifty spas in England as efficacious and salutary as that of Scarborough, though they have not yet risen to fame and perhaps never will, unless some medical economist should find an interest in displaying their virtues to the public view. (Smollett 1984: 181)

The decline in visitors to inland spas was first evident in the first half of the nineteenth century. By the 1850s, the seaside resorts had become the new watering places and their health benefits were now underpinned by the medical profession. The emphasis in the early days (mid-18th century) of the seaside resort was very much on the cure and genteel sedate pastimes rather than entertainment (Walton 1992). Resorts were elite and relatively under developed. Royal patronage and popularity amongst the upper classes was important in further underpinning the dominance of the seaside over the spas, especially in Brighton and what were to be seen as the 'up market' resorts. In the latter part of the 19th century, however, the weight of working class numbers underpinned the rapid development of the resorts. The seaside was to be enjoyed by those across the social spectrum, albeit in a socially segregated manner.

The 'new' medical doctrine and patronage by high society was, of course, very significant to the growth of the seaside resort, but it was not the only influence on mass tourism in Lancashire. 'Bathing Sunday' was associated with a widely held belief amongst the working classes that there was a 'physic in the sea' in the August Tides (Walton 1992: 10). At this time of year, large numbers would travel to the coast to bathe. This was common across Lancashire but equivalents can be found throughout the British Isles and beyond. For example, Highlanders used to bath in Nairn at this time of year but this had developed into invalid rehabilitation by the 1880s (The Gazetteer for Scotland nd.). The origins of this widespread belief are obscure. The sites of such mass bathing were numerous but included Blackpool and Hest Bank (near Morecambe). 'Bathing Sunday' seemed to grow in popularity into the nineteenth century. These bathers made full use of the ensuing railway age to continue their tradition of sea bathing for pleasure and health. Nevertheless, these bathers were primarily day-trippers with limited spending power. The middle classes represented the most important overnight market. Various letters in the press clearly extolled the high quality of Morecambe's air and climate and continued to do so throughout the nineteenth century (Grass 1972). Even in 1925, Morecambe girls were described as having 'clear eyes and clear complexions which only ideal surroundings can give' (Bingham 1990:185). Nature and health were the reasons commonly given to visit the seaside.

4.3.5 The seaside as a place of escape?

The seaside resort allowed a temporary escape from the everyday routines, restrictions and the highly regulated nature of everyday life in the Industrial Revolution. Harold Brighthouse observed that Wakes Weeks emerged in Lancashire 'as a release from the humdrum' (1927: 23). The idea of escaping from normal industrial routine to the seaside is a motivation that resonates today. Cross (1990) points out that, according to Mass Observation records (a snap shot study of tourists in 1930s Blackpool), a break from the regimented everyday was also sometimes quoted as a reason to go on holiday. 'For many, the holiday dream means a release from routine, a radical change from accustomed space, time and activity' (Cross 1990: 42). Nevertheless this research points out that 'escape' was not as significant a motivating factor as expected and that the pull factors of Blackpool were in fact more significant. Mass Observation asked tourists from Bolton what they wanted on holiday. The topics raised, in order of frequency, were:

- Specified holiday pastimes 171
- Rest and Relaxation 124
- Health 87
- Gaiety, romance 75
- Total change from Worktown 55
- Nature main theme 52
- Food and drinks 46
- Novelty 36
- Companionship 31 (Cross 1990: 43)

Of the holiday pastimes, sailing, walking, bathing, chara drives, fishing, swimming, reading books and dancing were most popular (in descending order of popularity). Mass Observation also showed that elements of Blackpool that were most favoured were firstly pleasure/amusement, followed by health and then the sea (Cross 1990: 50). This indicates that, by the twentieth century, the sea itself was not given as the primary attraction. The man-made and social attractions were a significant motivator in the years following the initial focus on 'taking the waters'.

It is important to note that, while seaside visits may have represented a social release, this was tempered and limited by social control. This was especially the case between the 1830's and 1900's against a background of religious evangelicalism and a general cultural focus on both morality and rationality. In this environment, card games were

frowned upon, the theatre suppressed and serious-minded educational entertainment encouraged and, for the most part, the seaside conformed to this 'new morality' which originated from a significant section of the middle class (Walton 1982). Concern for the respectability of resorts was common place as this zone was contested by both the working and middle classes. Indeed, the middle classes often searched out exclusivity as the number of working class tourists grew (see Morgan and Pritchard 1999: 24). Often, the seaside space was effectively zoned, such as the respectable North Shore and the more proletarian/excursionist focussed South Shore in Blackpool (Walton 1982). Social zoning went hand-in-hand with tourism development and is most clearly seen as mass tourism developed.

Pimlott (1947: 106) points out an alternative key attraction of the seaside, prior to the steam age; many simply had not seen it before. This must have made the new visitors even more appreciative, the sea must have had a 'special fascination'. In 1839, Charlotte Bronte saw the sea for the first time at Bridlington. In anticipation of this event she wrote, 'the idea of seeing the sea-of been near it-watching its changes by sunrise, sunset, moonlight, and noon day, in calm-perhaps in storm, fills and satisfies my mind' (Gaskell 1900: 183). On seeing the sea she was moved to tears, overawed by the experience and an indelible impression made (Pimlott 1947). While not all visitors may have been as sensitive or eloquent, on a personal basis we can all appreciate the power of the sea to stir emotion and the fascination it holds for observers.

4.3.6 Industrialisation and the seaside

If health was a pull factor then industrial pollution was a related push factor. 'It goes without saying that the most obvious attraction of the seaside towns is the sea itself, with its invigorating climate and breezes, coastline vistas and its sharp contrast to inland, urban life' (Walvin 1978: 13). The air of Manchester, Bradford or any industrial conurbation was likely to be of poor quality. Urban conditions varied but were often far from salubrious. This must have made 'taking the air' (which followed on from taking the waters) seem very attractive. So the industrial cities were, by modern standards at least, clearly somewhere from which to escape from. Pimlott (1947: 79) writes, 'One consequence [of the industrial revolution] was the concentration of the population in the large industrial centres under conditions which were to make adequate holidays essential to health and efficiency'. Perkin (1970: 224) makes a similar argument,

The seaside resorts as a whole had grown up to meet a need of industrial society as urgent as the need for Lancashire cottons or Birmingham hardware. They were, indeed, industrial towns with a specialised product, recreation and recuperation, made necessary by the growth of other specialised towns and the concentration of most of the population in an urban environment from which periodical escape was important for mental and physical health.

Perkin clearly underlines the strong relationship between the manufacturing industries and tourism/leisure. The desire to leave the towns and cities was based on much more than overcrowding and air quality, as Perkin's (1970) reference to 'mental health' suggests.

It was the seaside resort that allowed 'industrial man' to re-establish a relationship with the natural environment and temporarily escape what was, for many, a highly regulated environment and society. Perhaps this drive to connect with nature dates back to early industrialisation and the associated (relatively recent) move away from rural roots. As Soane (1992:12) writes,

The breaking of the age-old seamless relationship, following the establishment of specialized commercial and manufacturing centres, generated profound difficulties for the very many new town dwellers attempting to come to terms with a more regulated form of existence within the restrictions of totally unfamiliar surroundings. Those surroundings, by their very newness and untried spatiality, did little to compensate for the considerable loss of environmental continuity and a more stable sense of place. The old order, however, could never be put back and, in the search for tolerable and effective substitutes, a new and increasingly universal desire to escape the realities of industrial urbanization – without necessarily foregoing the advantages of mass tourism – became a necessity for balance in the new urban order.

In 1893, the Socialist Robert Blatchford certainly saw seaside visits as an escape for the masses, but he questioned whether it was worth suffering in the mills of the north (Ward and Hardy 1986: 13). Mrs Hawthorn in *Hindle Wakes* questions the wisdom of saving all year for the sake of a week in Blackpool (Brighouse 1927). Clearly, however, the majority did not agree with this and the seaside continued to grow in popularity from early industrialisation into the post-war period.

The appeal of the seaside resort was bound up with its distinctive character; a liminal environment with specific meanings ascribed to it by visitors. The study of 'sense of place' in human geography, the study of liminality in anthropology and the sociologist's interest in the perception of 'authenticity' and issues relating to identity are all relevant

when examining these seaside characteristics. Furthermore, tourism represents people's deliberate encounter with place and so provides an opportunity to study their cognitive relationship to the land/seascape (Jakle 1985).

4.4 Liminality and authenticity

4.4.1 Liminality

Within this study, the term 'liminality' is used in the Turnersque tradition. It encompasses a range of behaviours that lie outside of the norm which might include sea bathing in Scarborough, musing in Morecambe over times gone by or a boys night out in Blackpool that Bakhtin might recognise as a the modern equivalent of Carnavalesque. Liminality can help explain the development of seaside resorts because it is linked to the appeal of these areas. The physical and social distinctiveness of the seaside resort are bound together in a 'liminal zone'.

The word 'liminal' originates from the Latin *limen* which means threshold; it generally refers to something that is on a boundary of some kind. The liminal is quite different from the sublime which, due to its eighteenth century usage, holds more romantic and perhaps positive connotations and is specifically associated with landscapes. The term liminal can be used in a broader range of contexts, such as particular social practices. Liminality usually is associated with a temporary and partial change to one's sense of identity and behaviour, but can also be used to describe places.

The use of the term liminality in modern academic circles can be traced to anthropology and, specifically, Van Gennep's 'Rites de Passage' (1960) which was first published in 1908. He looked at the life cycle of an individual as they moved into different roles in society, for example, marriage or the transition from boy to man. In times of change, certain 'transition rites' are marked by three phrases: separation, margin (*limen*) and re-aggregation. These stages have also been referred to as pre-liminal, liminal and post-liminal (Sharpley 2003). So, the individual is separated from the group and later re-joins them. During the middle stage, they are 'betwixt and between all fixed points of classification' and without status (Turner 1974: 232). Victor Turner refined van Gennep's ideas and is most associated with the concept. He saw all societies as products of the continuous dialectic between structure and anti-structure. Structure typically refers to the hierarchical roles/positions which are determined by law, rules, institutions and cultural tradition. Anti-structure can be the absence of 'normal' restrictions and social structure, though should not necessarily be

seen in negative terms. Turner writes that man grows through anti-structure and conserves through structure. He explains anti-structure in terms of liminality or the liminoid and *communitas* (Turner 1974: 273).

Turner's theories originate from the ethnographic study of tribal societies, such as the Ndembu in Zambia. Turner writes (1974: 53),

In the *Ritual Process* I was mostly concerned with the social aspects of liminality, for my emphasis was still on Ndembu society. There liminality occurs in the middle phase of the rites of passage which mark changes in a group's or individual's social status. Such rites characteristically being symbolically killed or separated from ordinary secular or profane relationships, and conclude with a symbolic birth or reincorporation into society. The intervening liminal period or phase is thus betwixt and between the categories of ordinary life. I then tried to extend the concept of liminality to refer to any condition outside, or on the peripheries of everyday life, arguing that there was an affinity between the middle in sacred time and the outside in sacred space. For liminality among the Ndembu is a sacred space.

Turner (1974: 274) observes that this sacred condition is protected 'against secularity by taboos and in turn prevented by them from disrupting secular order'. Liminality is, therefore, set apart from the everyday.

Turner argues that within liminal events, structural elements temporarily fade or disappear. The normal social structure is replaced by new ways of operating, *communitas* takes hold and roles become homogeneous, social rank fades and structural relationships are transcended. Relationships become spontaneous, open and equal and universal humanity is recognised. In some liminal periods, it is 'reversal' rather than *communitas* that takes place. The lowly social ranks swap places with the elite, the taboo becomes the obligatory. This temporary inversion and 'playing' the extraordinary strengthens the ordinary and, crucially, this behaviour is sanctioned within a specific time and place; rules apply. Turner argues that *communitas* and reversal are closely linked liminal events (Rubenstein 1992).

A wide variety of religious and pseudo religious-events are reflected in the writings of Van Gennep and Turner. Turner (1974) uses examples from African tribes, Hinduism, Zen, Christianity and others. Scholars have applied his model to events, such as pilgrimages and the Jewish ceremony of Purim. During Purim, the law was suspended for the sake of play (see Rubenstein 1992: 265). Rubenstein's work is especially useful for showing the relevance and validity of the 'Carnavalesque' as a model for examining marginal social happenings in other contexts. Turner saw a similarity

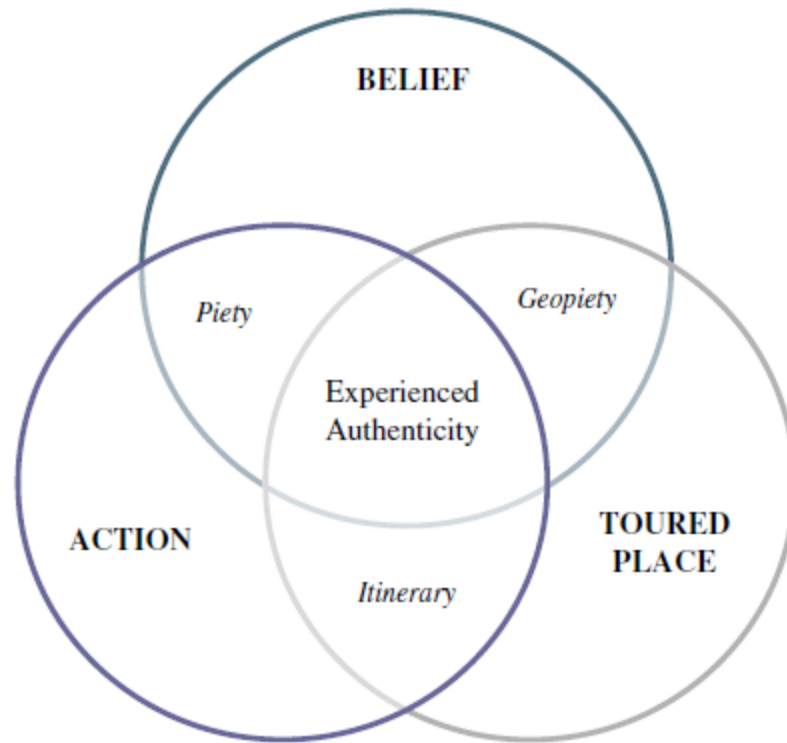
between all pilgrimages across space and time; they all conform to a typological opposition between the sacred and secular and between structure and anti-structure or *communitas* (Eade 1992; Turner and Turner 2006). On closer examination, popular sites of pilgrimage have much more in common; in Mexico, France, India and other locations one can see that they tend to occupy physically peripheral sites. Turner argues that this further distinguishes them from ecclesiastical centres and could be seen as a 'spatial aspect of liminality' (Turner 1974: 197). So not only are certain time bound events socially liminal, but places or spaces are too.

4.4.2 Liminal Places

Therefore, place can be 'liminal'. It is well recognised in human geography that places have social meaning; they represent socio-spatial dialectic (Pritchard and Morgan 2006). The meaning of place is socially constructed, evolves and is embedded by traditions and symbols (Pritchard and Morgan 2006). A key thinker in this area was Michel Foucault. In a 1968 lecture, he suggested that every society has 'other spaces', which he called sites of anti-structure 'heterotopias' (Azaryahu 2005: 118). Endsjo (2000) observes that even the ancient Greeks had liminal spaces. In 'The Odyssey', these spaces were always outside of the polis in uncultivated land where man could not easily be distinguished from gods, animals and the dead. So the geographical periphery, the 'eschatia', was a social, cultural and spiritual liminal space.

Liminal spaces are absolutely essential to the production of 'authentic' experiences. Wang (1999: 361) argues 'To resist the inauthenticity stemming from the mainstream order, the authentic self is often thought to be more easily realised or fulfilled in the space outside the dominant institutions, a space with its cultural and symbolic boundaries.' These zones mark the difference between work and play, order and the inversion of order, the inauthentic public role and the authentic self and so nature (as the opposed to the urban) is often associated with these zones (Wang 1999). Belhassen et al (2008) not only demonstrate the link between liminality and authenticity but between these concepts and place. They put forward a useful model suggesting an interaction between place, belief and action (see Figure 4.4). The interaction of these three elements allow for an 'authentic' experience.

Figure 4.4: Theoplacity model by Belhassen et al (2008: 684)



4.4.3 Existential authenticity in a liminal zone

The theory of existential authenticity can be used to partially explain the appeal of (seaside) tourism, as it ties together many associated theories relating to the underlying appeal of these resorts. Liminality, the Romantic / spiritual coast, nostalgia and the symbolic importance of family / childhood all feed into the search for authenticity and authentic places at the highest level. Inter-personal existential authenticity and associated theories of liminality are especially important in understanding the significance of the social construct that is the traditional British seaside resort. Authenticity has played a central role in the discussion of tourism, tourists and heritage in academia (Boorstin 1987, Cohen 1979, MacCannell 1999 and Urry 1990). Wang (1999) suggests that nostalgia or romanticism represent the ideal of the tourist's search for authenticity. Existential authenticity, like the post-modern approaches, is quite distinct from other forms of authenticity. The focus is more on the altered state of the individual tourist rather than issues surrounding the real / objective authenticity (see MacCannell 1999) or perceived / constructive authenticity (see Cohen 1979) of toured objects. It involves personal feelings brought about through tourism activities. Existential authenticity is ultimately about finding one's authentic self which may have been eroded by the in-authentic and insincere nature of postmodern society (Wang 1999). Wang (1999) argues that existential authenticity can be split into the intra-personal and inter-personal. Both can be achieved through tourism, as outlined below.

Intra-Personal authenticity: bodily feelings.

The concerns over bodily feelings are concerns over the authentic self. Relaxation, play and the search for bodily pleasure are key parts of tourism and often take the form of ritual. Wang writes that a beach holiday illustrates, 'the bodily source of the authentic self' (1999: 362). Veijola and Jokinen (1994) also stress the importance of the body in tourism experiences.

Intra-Personal Authenticity: self-making.

This refers to making ones identity through leisure and tourism which can provide adventure, challenges and 'flow' experiences (see Csikszentmihalyi 1991). Such 'flow' experiences in leisure often involve natural settings, such as the coast.

Inter-Personal Authenticity: Family ties.

Sharing intimacies with family is a way to experience our true selves through these authentic relationships. Spending time with children in appropriate settings and engaged in suitable activities is a very important part of this.

Inter-Personal Authenticity: Touristic Communitas.

Tourism allows participants to experience communitas, often within a liminal setting, as proposed by Turner (1974). Social bonds are forged between holiday makers within the holiday setting and a feeling of 'togetherness' can arise.

Edensor (2007) argues that tourismscapes are very often banal and subjected to various rules and controls. He argues that liminality and authenticity increasingly characterise mass tourism far less than the mundane and every day. Yet these concepts do not sit in opposition. Even if we ignore tourism typologies, then generally loss of control is controlled (Measham 2004) and liminality is scripted (Bell 2008). The reversal of normality is usually incomplete and limited in tourism. Nevertheless, it does occur to some extent and it serves a symbolic function as discussed. For example, caravanning on British farmland does represent freedom to those involved, it is an opportunity for communitas and it is a reversal of work/home bound normality (see Crouch 2001). Any mundanity and routine involved does not impinge upon this.

Chase (1999) offers a fitting conclusion to this section. She is critical of applying concepts of liminality to seaside resorts as it can create an artificially dichotomous relationship with other places. Yet she considers authenticity and liminality as important concepts in understanding visitor aspiration and therefore motivation. Authenticity counteracts alienation (see MacCannell 1999), whereas liminality provides a sense of escape and new possibilities (Shields 1991) or departures from normality (Urry 1990). These concepts underpin our understanding, or at least the discussion of, touristic motivation.

4.4.4 The liminal seaside: a blank canvass

The link between place and social experiences is also clear in the area of leisure studies. Leisure can take place virtually anywhere but some environments are notably more conducive to leisure interaction. Leisure zones offer activities, the opportunity for interaction and an escape from responsibilities (see Kelly 1983). On this last point, Kelly writes 'There are of course, environments that facilitate leisure. They are those that protect the actor from obligation, that enhance freedom' (1983: 15). Indeed, tourism is associated with freedom (Caruana and Crane 2011). The setting itself predisposes leisure users toward particular definitions of the situation. The beach and seaside resort have clearly become leisure zones. They are viewed as set apart and socially marginal to some extent, in order to allow distinct social practices and relative freedoms. Natural landscapes can 'often act as blank canvases into which we paint, and define, ourselves' (Gayton 1996: 55). The spacious and physically marginal characteristics of the seaside environment provide an appropriate blank canvas onto which socio-cultural characteristics could be imposed (Preston-Whyte 2004). This liminal zone (the blank canvas) has hosted the healthy seaside, the carnivalesque and other versions of the seaside in which social-actors (tourists) play their part:

The sandcastle, the sea, the radiant sun are set-pieces for staging a particular performance, a carefree afternoon at the beach. They become set-pieces and backcloth for staging a moment of pleasure worth remembering. But they are not pre-given. The scene is only produced, the set-pieces and backcloth drawn together and inscribed with particular meanings, when performed. (Baerenholdt, Haldrup, Larsen and Urry 2004: 3)

Each version of the seaside offers a feeling of freedom and 'a departure from normality' (Elborough 2010: 227).

The seashore is distinctive and prone to a variety of socio-cultural interpretations, largely because of its marginal and non-fixed physical nature. The contested nature of the beach and its 'metaphorical and physical uncertainties' have also been reflected and reinforced by law, that is, legal issues connected to ownership and access (see Hassan 2003: 12). Nonetheless, the focus of this study is on socio-cultural significance of this shifting boundary zone between the land and sea. The seaside is physically on the margin of civilization, the world shaped by man, and the natural world, seemingly untouched by man; it is a culture-nature interface (Preston-Whyte 2004). Fiske, Hodge and Turner describe the beach as an 'anomalous category' which cannot be described as neither land nor sea and is therefore 'overloaded with potential meanings' (1987: 59 cited in Azaryahu 2005: 119). Corbin's (1994) work underlines this view that a wide range of meanings and connotations can be ascribed to the shoreline – it provides a blank canvas. The seaside then became the 'eschatia' of industrial times and was in some ways akin to today's 'wild zones' in city centres. Visitors to the beach brought their own meaning to it. Preston-Whyte (2004: 349) observes that 'Visitors may seek, but not necessarily find, on these beaches a space where the stress of normal working lives is temporarily suspended, cultures merge, egalitarianism flourishes, and bonds of friendship are forged'. Issues of culture, society and identity are played out on the beach.

Shields (1991) considers the liminal nature of Brighton from the early days of bathing onwards. He summarises how the physical liminality of the coast suited these medical treatments proposed by Dr Russell and others:

As a physical threshold, a limen, the beach has been difficult to dominate, providing the basis for its 'outsider' position with regard to areas harnessed for rational production and the possibility of its being appropriated and territorialised as socially marginal. Like other liminal zones then, Brighton beach provided the setting for a life-changing transition, practically miraculous in nature, which bathers hoped to secure by undertaking the pilgrimage to the seaside and following a prescribed course of 'dippings'. (Shields 1991:84)

Clearly, Shields is following the theories laid out by Victor Turner and his followers regarding liminality and tourism as pilgrimage, although he goes on to focus much more on the work of Bakhtin and the Carnavalesque. The work of Bakhtin and the Carnavalesque are considered in a later section of this chapter.

Places can be liminal and aspects of the seaside, or some versions of the seaside, do fit this description. However, it is possible to overstate the significance of this. For

example, Chase (1999) considers liminality in the setting of interwar Frinton and Clacton, pointing out that the liberating aspects of liminality can be overstated in at least three ways. Firstly, liminality will vary by gender, age, class and occupation, so the mother of three children, for instance, may have only limited 'liminal' opportunities. Secondly, the seaside is not a liminal zone for workers and locals. Thirdly, there are various socio-cultural restrictions and social codes still apply (also see Walton 2000). She therefore argues that liminality is most useful 'as a possible goal for the tourist which can either be tempered by reality or achieved in circuitous ways' (Chase 1999: 31). She makes the point that boundary zones are not necessarily transgressive but, rather, ambiguous areas where visitors can adopt a number of strategies including submission to new rules or escape. This is an important point as various seaside meanings, place images and myths have existed across space and time. They have all been distinctive (from the norm) to some degree but far from uniform. In this study, the term liminality is used to describe something that is socio-culturally distinct, rather than something transgressive.

The seaside environment provides a blank canvas on which one can ascribe one's own meanings (see Preston-Whyte 2004). But, what are these meanings in modern day Britain? Using Bull's (2006) work as a template, these meanings may be categorised into the following themes, which arise quite naturally from the review in this chapter:

- a) The restorative seaside – connectedness, physical and psychological wellness
- b) The spiritual seaside – surrender to a great power in a marginal /liminal environment
- c) The Carnavalesque seaside – marginal behaviour, myths, reinvention and seaside pleasures in a marginal / liminoid environment.
- d) The nostalgic seaside – regression to childhood, childhood memories, identity, nostalgia and associated heritage.

Each of these sections incorporates elements of environmental characteristics, socio-cultural characteristics and visitor behaviour. The remainder of this chapter broadly follows this structure.

4.5 The Restorative Seaside

4.5.1 Restorative and Re-Vitalizing Natural Environments

For generations, the seaside has been associated with well-being (see Hassan 2003 for a full discussion on this topic). Natural environments, more generally, have been linked to restorativeness and health by academics in recent years (Akhurst 2010, Bell, Fisher, Baum and Greene 2006, Kaplan 1995). Akhurst (2010) points out that the information-processing demands are much less in a natural environment than the urban, where levels of sensory stimulation can be overwhelming. In a natural environment:

The sensory stimulation is mostly at a level that corresponds with optimal somatic arousal – one is able to stay more passive and reflexive, and it does not require will power to stay with the task at hand. This enables the rhythm of the body to be more in tune with the surroundings, with concomitant benefits in functioning. (Akhurst 2010: 298)

In practice, this most often relates to visitors strolling down the promenade, taking in the views and relaxing. Strolling, ‘pottering’ and generally slowing down are of central importance to the seaside experience (Baerenholdt et al: 32). The importance of time to travel and tourism has been much discussed, from Tuan (1977: 122) who observes that timelessness has been associated with some holiday destinations to the recent phenomenon of slow travel (Dickinson and Lumsdon 2010; Molz 2010). More generally, in society there has recently been a trend towards slow living (Parkins 2004; Dickinson and Lumsdon 2010). There will always be a relationship between holiday time and holiday places; the intercourse of these is what we capture in photographs. The focus of this study is of course the seaside and not the ‘slow’ movement. However, slowing down may be one specific way in which natural environments can help maintain well-being.

Kaplan's (1995) Attention Restoration Theory argues that the natural environment can nourish attention and replenish depleted energy. Even looking at pictures of natural scenes has been linked to mood restoration (Van de Berg, Kool and Van der Wulp 2003). More recently, Velarde, Fry and Tveit (2007) linked natural environments to the reduction of stress. Kaplan (1995) also linked natural environment experiences to the management of stress and psychological health, but also considered cognitive freedom. This means that conscious processing no longer dominates our thoughts, and transcendental states are more likely to occur in natural environments. Therefore, the use of the imagination, creativity and abstract thought may be more easily achieved in

a natural environment rather than an urban environment. Experiencing a natural environment has been proven not only to be restorative but also to be vitalizing. Even when one removes the effect of exercise and socialising, it seems that nature can positively impact levels of 'subjective vitality' which, in turn, has been implicated as an important component of well-being and physical health (Ryan, Weinstein, Bernstein, Brown, Mistretta and Gagne 2010: 167). Eco-psychology treats interaction with nature and especially wilderness as a type of therapy; the external wilderness is apparently linked to the 'internal wilderness' (see Greenway 1995: 128). Such phrases sound remarkably similar to those employed in the discussion of spirituality and natural environments, and tourism is sometimes referred to within this general topic area. For example, Smith and Kelly (2006) link existential *wellness* to the natural environment whilst considering wellness tourism.

4.5.2 The restorativeness of blue spaces

In recent years, some environmental psychologists have applied the type of work outlined in the last sub-section to the blue spaces of the coast. For example, Hipp and Ogunseitani (2011) consider the restorativeness of coastal parks in California and found that environmental factors such as air pollution, air temperature and tide levels impact upon the notable perceived benefits; lower pollution levels, tides and temperatures are seen as more restorative. Similarly, White, Smith, Humphries, Pahl, Snelling and Depledge (2010) conclude that built environments containing water could be just as restorative as green spaces and that most environments that include water are more restorative than those without. White et al (2010) go on to suggest three explanations:

- a) Visual properties, for example, the reflection of light in interesting and restorative ways;
- b) These environments are associated with restorative sounds, for example breaking waves;
- c) The possibility (real or imagined) of immersing oneself in water and the associated drop in stress levels.

They also cautiously refer to Aquatic Ape Hypothesis (Morgan 2009) as a potential explanation for the preference for aquatic environments.

Recent work by Ashbullby, White, Pahl and Depledge (2012) compares the psychological benefits of visiting open spaces in urban areas, the countryside and coastal regions. They find that positive feelings (for example calm, refreshment and

enjoyment) are associated with all three environments but are highest for visits to the coast followed by the countryside and then open spaces in towns and cities. For the first time, academics have suggested that the psychological benefits of the coastal environment may outweigh that of the countryside.

Tuan (1977: 54), the humanistic geographer, argues that human beings need to move between space and place. We need to move from our houses and streets on occasion to experience *space*, if we are to be content. He writes,

A healthy being welcomes constraint and freedom, the boundedness of place and the exposure of place. In contrast the claustrophobe sees small tight places as oppressive containment, not as contained spaces where warm fellowship or meditation in solitude is possible. An agoraphobe dreads open spaces, which to him do not appeal as fields for potential action and for the enlargement of self; rather they threaten self's fragile integrity. (Tuan 1977: 54)

According to Tuan, open spaces are necessary for our well-being, quite apart from any other attractions they may hold such as fresh clean air (as described by Shields 1991 and Corbin 1994). Tuan's phrase 'the enlargement of self' in a different context could easily be interpreted as semi-spiritual. Tuan's seminal observations offer a useful link between the psychological and philosophical, even spiritual, discussion surrounding our interaction with wide open spaces. The 'spiritual' nature of the seaside was vital in attracting the earliest seaside visitors (see Corbin 1994). The margins of the sea, an appreciation of nature and spirituality are linked. What is far from clear is the importance of this spiritual element to seaside visitors, specifically those in modern day British seaside resorts. These themes are explored in the following section.

4.6 Spirituality at the Seaside

4.6.1 Spirituality and tourism

A Gallup Omnibus survey suggests that around half of the population has had a 'spiritual experience' (Hay and Nye 1996: 20); nonetheless, spirituality is subjective, elusive and difficult to define. In the most general of terms, it could be described as a reflection upon, and awareness of, the self and a simultaneous holistic awareness of that which is not the self. In particular, heightened awareness is central to any definition of spirituality. It often refers to the individual's search for meaning and connectedness through experiences. Spirituality can be an enactment of one's religious beliefs,

including communication with a force greater than oneself and/or God. However, it is increasingly seen as engagement with such a power but without the dogma and apparent constraints of formalised religion (see Rideout 2010 for a full discussion on this topic). Hence, spirituality it is often seen as a secular phenomenon in Western societies. Hay and Nye (1996: 10) constructed a rudimentary scale of spirituality:

Awareness Sensing:	Here and Now Tuning Flow Focussing
Mystery Sensing:	Awe and Wonder Imagination
Value Sensing:	Delight and Despair Ultimate Goodness Relationship Meaning

Awareness sensing is the most accessible and commonly felt form of spirituality, whilst value sensing is even more meaningful at the other end of the spectrum (see Hay and Nye 1996 for a discussion of this scale). It outlines the wide ranging nature of spirituality.

Since the 1980s, spirituality has become increasingly significant as urban secular society becomes increasingly fragmented and materialistic (Alexander 2001; Brown 1998; Rideout 2010). Alexander explains that people are searching for spirituality because in society dominated by relativism, comprehensive visions of the good are rare. He goes on to observe that many people,

Are searching today for a spiritual dimension in their lives that connects them to their past, or their culture, or their community, or their God. They are looking for identity and a sense of self, for community and belonging, for awe and wonder, and meaning in life. (2001:3)

The spiritual element of tourism is a clear reflection of this same search for the spiritual, authentic and nostalgic. They are all intertwined and 'a response to the spiritual vacuum at the heart of modern life, a symptom of the hunger to invest meaning in our lives, a yearning for mystery and transcendence' (Brown 1998: 2).

Spirituality and/or the search for meaningful experiences are a significant motivator of contemporary tourism (Carnegie and Devereux 2006; Haq and Jackson 2006). Trying to define exactly what tourists are searching for is, however, challenging, for tourists vary in the extent to which they are searching (Cohen 1979) and they often do not know what they are searching for or what motivates them (Sharpley 2009). Through the work of Turner (1974), MacCannell (1999), Cohen (1979), Urry (1990) and others, it is possible to generalise that many Westerners become tourists in order to enrich their lives with meaning; to add validity and/or a feeling of connectedness to something bigger than themselves such as culture, nature or even death (Sharpley and Stone 2009). A holiday also reflects social standing and, as anti-structure, holds a mirror to their everyday life and therefore adds validity. A holiday 'out there' (Cohen 1979) allows clarity enough for one to become momentarily aware of the bigger picture and the role of the individual within this greater pattern.

4.6.2 Spirituality and sublime landscapes

Many tourism settings and notions of romance and/or spirituality are connected. Leaving aside the traditional religious pilgrimage, some of the earliest examples of spiritual tourists were those who travelled to experience sublime landscapes. Like the Romantic poets, the modern day tourist can have a spiritual relationship with the attraction or object of the *Romantic Gaze* (Urry 1990; Voase 2006). In short, 'there are spiritual dimensions to romanticism' and mass tourists often adopt a superficial but romantic view (Voase 2006: 6). This chapter is not concerned with comparing tourists to pilgrims as many others have done (notably Cohen 1979; MacCannell 1999; for a full discussion on this, see Sharpley 2003). Suffice to say their motivations and experiences often overlap. The focus here is on the contemporary tourist and associated spiritual motivations and interpretations.

Sublime landscapes are often seen as spiritual by writers and poets (see section 4.3.2), just as natural and wild landscapes have been seen as restorative by environmental psychologists (see section 4.5.1 and 4.5.2 of this thesis). The sublime and the liminal are historically and intellectually quite different even though they are both associated with margins. The romantic/sublime has been linked to the search for the authentic self and existential authenticity (Wang 1999). A contemporary observer, De Botton, points out that sublime landscapes have a useful semi-religious role for mankind, 'Sublime landscapes, through their grandeur and power, retain a symbolic role in bringing us to accept without bitterness or lamentation the obstacles we cannot overcome and events we cannot make sense of' (De Botton 2002: 178).

The sublime landscape can make us feel small, casting a new perspective on life, so serving a spiritual function. De Botton observes that a trip to the Lake District has as much as restorative power for the modern tourist as it did for Wordsworth. This Lakeland poet believed that the purity and perceived values of nature could act as 'inspirations to virtue' for mankind. One of the most effective contemporary accounts of our emotional relationship with natural landscape is provided by ecologist Don Gayton to whom natural landscapes are 'fountains of spirituality' (1996: 122). He describes himself as a non-religious sceptic with no sympathy for new age ideas. Nonetheless, natural landscapes 'attract the non-rational side of my human nature, and give me leave for spirituality'. Gayton observes that 'vastness' of landscapes offer him, and perhaps many others, a 'secular epiphany' (1996: 167). He attempts to explain the spiritual nature and appeal of the natural landscapes, 'the sense of insignificance that nature can provide is liberating; without reassuring vastness of geologic time and space, we are simply alone, with our brief and gnawing consciousness' (1996: 75). So for Tuan (1997), DeBotton (2002) and Gayton (1996), a feeling of space or vastness is a significant aspect in the restorative and spiritual impact of natural landscape. When one considers the nature of the seaside environment, especially its feeling of openness, these observations offer potentially relevant insights into the constitution of visitor appeal.

4.6.3 Spirituality and the sea

Lencek and Bosker (1998: 97) observe that Wordsworth, Keats, Coleridge and Byron 'sensed in the vast organic entity of the sea the same amalgam of spirit that stirred in the depths of the human soul.' The sea as a metaphor for something equally as deep continued, for example in the 1851 novel *Moby Dick*, Ishmael observes, 'there is, one knows not what sweet mystery about this sea, whose gently awful stirrings seems to speak of some hidden soul beneath' (Melville 2002: 397). Notably, a connection between the vastness of seascapes and our soul was later explored by Bachelard, the French philosopher and author. He saw a connection between the immensity and limitlessness of the seas and the depth of inner space within us all. When one looks at both nothing and a hidden world at the same time, one's spirit can no longer remain 'sealed or indivisible' (Bachelard 1994: 206). To Bachelard and countless poets, artists and authors, the sea tells us something about ourselves.

Water has a powerful spiritual / religious role in many beliefs systems and for many individuals. In New Age circles, it is common to describe the spiritual energy of water as Crabtree (2005:1) demonstrates:

From the amniotic fluid we swim in before birth, to the cleansing power of waterfalls, rivers oceans, fountains and our own tears, from baptismal fonts to the healing pools of hot springs and natural grottoes; from the sacred waters of Lourdes in France or the Dead Sea in Israel, to the birdbath or swimming pool in your backyard – water contains a unique spiritual energy.

Religion and the sea have been linked for centuries. The ocean and its edges are a rich source of symbolism in Judaism/Christianity (for example, Jeremiah 5:22) and other belief systems. Corbin (1994) examines natural theology and how it enabled the sea to be viewed in a much more positive light and allow for Bull's 'influences' (2006), as discussed shortly. In the nineteenth century, some clergymen were recommending seaside holidays; the Reverend Ward Beecher of New York recommended coastal holidays in his sermons, 'God says some things to the soul....along the sea-shore, or in the twilight forests, which he never speaks through books or men' (Lencek and Bosker 1998: 159). Whilst attitudes towards it have changed, almost inverted, the beach has always had and continues to exert deep religious/spiritual significance, as can be witnessed around the world. Upon visiting Rio de Janeiro on January 1st up to one million celebrants of the festival Yemanje, an oceanic goddess whose origins can be traced back to Africa, can be seen dressed in white and wading into the water as an act of homage (Crabtree 2005). On this theme, Preston-Whyte (2004:353) writes,

The beach provides a fascination for many religious sects that see the interface between land and sea as an auspicious environment in which to seek intercession with their deity. The symbolism attached to dawn, and the cleansing act of immersion that takes place during religious ceremonies on beaches is probably ages old. These actions seem to induce in believers a feeling of religious passion that imbues the beach with a special meaning. It becomes a liminal space in which normal statuses are temporarily suspended; it becomes a sacred place.

In the twenty-first century West, the sacred is as likely to be 'spiritual' as it is 'religious'. For the early tourists to the British seaside 'dippings' served the role of a secular 'baptism.' Lencek and Bosker write,

There, at the beach, the Englishman fused the imperative of his questing scientific mind with the spiritual demands of his soul. Each immersion in the waves was a kind of baptism into renewed vigour, health, mental acuity. (1998: 116)

Bull's (2006) conceptual overview of coastal spirituality is relevant to this study. His focus seems to be secular spirituality that sits outside, but does not necessarily contradict, formalised religion. His work clearly demonstrates various relevant interpretations of spirituality at the coast and potentially it provides a useful framework. Bull postulates the inherent influences over the 'spiritual' draw of the sea, identifying four sets of such influences:

Spiritual and physical well-being
Correspondence of the sea's rhythms to life rhythms

Freedom of the limitless
The beach as liminality, safe margin to view the seascape

Adventure and daring
Regression to childhood

Return to the womb, or pre-terrestriality
Surrender to great spiritual power (Bull 2006)

These themes emerge at various points throughout this study, with well-being, freedom of the limitless and childhood being of particular relevance to this research.

Few authors are more associated with an appreciation of marine life and the coast as the environmentalist and biologist Rachel Carson. For the most part, she eloquently describes the rich and varied spectacle of marine life but also comments upon 'a deeper meaning and significance' of this environment (Carson 1955: vii). She writes,

Underlying the beauty of the spectacle there is a meaning and significance. It is the elusiveness of that meaning that haunts us, that sends us again and again into the natural world where the key to the riddle is hidden. It sends us back to the edge of the sea, where the drama of life played its first scene on earth and perhaps even its prelude. (Carson 1955: 7)

Science in no way interfered with Carson's view of the coast as deeply meaningful and mysterious to those who visit it. She understood that the timeless, liminal and spiritual nature of this zone is a key part of its draw. When we walk by the sea and especially on the beach itself, 'We enter a world that is as old as the earth itself – the primeval meeting place of the elements of earth and water, a place of compromise and conflict and eternal change' (Carson 1955: vii). Martin and Koda (1990:1) make a parallel observation:

The water of the sea is everlastingly reflective, its pools ever fresh and translucent, its promise of youth, its refreshment, an unceasing recreation, a re-creation of womb-life before external life, a recreation of amphibian ancestors, and even the ultimate recreation that is the joy of bathing.

This mysterious and potentially spiritual zone is associated with timelessness and life itself.

One very controversial but long standing proposal within anthropology offers an alternative viewpoint of Bull's pre-terrestriality. The Aquatic Ape hypothesis, an early version of which was put forward in 1942 by Max Westenhofer, proposes a semi-aquatic stage in the evolution of man. Alister Hardy made a similar argument in 1960 (Morgan 2009) but, since then, the hypothesis has been most associated with the books of Elaine Morgan. According to her, rather than leaping from the declining forests of Africa to the hunting grounds of the savannah, man's hominid ancestors may have moved to a semi-aquatic environment for a relatively brief two or three million years (between six and eight million years ago). In this model, a branch of early hominids would have followed the lakes and rivers leading away from the Rift Valley once they had partially adapted to this environment. This group (which would much later evolve into early man) would of course eventually reach the coast and exploit that environment too. The move to a semi aquatic environment was effectively the trigger to a series of changes:

One sub-group of these animals [our last common ancestors] – for some reason – began to change. First, they stood up on their hind legs and began to walk bipedally; at some point the hair on their bodies changed direction and ultimately they became functionally naked; the larynx descended and was now relocated below the tongue; they became fatter, forgot how to pant; lost their apocrine glands and much of their sense of smell; their sebaceous glands proliferated; their nostrils pointed in a new direction; finally they evolved larger brains, gave birth to more immature babies, and learned to speak. (Morgan 2009: 176)

According to Morgan, the move from forest to open spaces has not brought about these changes in any other species and, at the moment, the aquatic ape hypothesis is at least as feasible as any other explanation. Neither Morgan nor her contemporaries establish a link between this hypothesis and the appeal of the coast to modern day man although in her book 'The Aquatic Ape Hypothesis' (2009: 96) there is one incongruous page which lies outside the realm of physical science. Instead, we see a

photograph of a couple on deck chairs on a pier overlooking a busy beach. The only accompanying text is the following poem by Robert Frost:

The land may vary more;
But wherever the truth may be -
The water comes ashore,
And the people look at the sea.

The implied (speculative) postulation is clear. Our draw to the seaside and our fascination with aquatic environments may be linked to our evolutionary past in some way. Whatever the case, Morgan clearly sees the seaside as a special place.

4.7 The Carnavalesque Seaside

4.7.1 The carnivalesque

Within the context of this study, the phrase liminality is used in its widest sense; outside of this study it is often associated with the transgressive. Such behaviour would very often be better described as carnivalesque, a phrase that has been associated with tourist behaviours and the seaside. The concept of the carnivalesque is closely associated with the work of Mikhail Bakhtin of whom Victor Turner was a follower. The carnivalesque is by its very nature 'low' and profane, whilst liminality can be linked to the sacred. Bakhtin observed that, in the second half of the eighteenth century, the grotesque 'did not respond to the demands of the sublime' and so could not be called art (1984: 35). The carnivalesque and the liminal are linked not only by the idea of *communitas* but because both terms are used to describe actions or events which are on the edges of normal social behaviour.

The themes of Bakhtin's 'Rabelais and his World' (1964) were the Tumultuous Crowd, the World Turned Upside-Down, the Comic Mask and the Grotesque Body. Bakhtin was particularly interested in folk humour which has never merged with high culture and can be seen to oppose authority. The Carnavalesque and its association with the loosening or the reversal of social norms and people behaving collectively is especially useful in the study of tourism. Bakhtin wrote that in the medieval marketplace, '...all hierarchic barriers between men were lifted and a true familiar contact was established' (1984: 188) and that Carnival, '...celebrated temporary liberation from the prevailing truth and from the established order' (1984: 10). In summary, hierarchy is suspended, free / frank communication allowed, the official ordering of time and space is suspended, truth becomes relative and the individual self dissolves into the collective

(Webb 2005). The traditions of European medieval Carnival were repressed in later years; local elites withdrew their support in the nineteenth century as an age of rationality was ushered in (Bennett 1986). Nevertheless, the carnivalesque could be seen elsewhere, surviving in ancient ceremonies such as Purim (see Rubenstein 1992) and in new forms and locations (Stallybrass and White 1986).

4.7.2 The Carnavalesque at the seaside

Rob Shields (1991) convincingly argues that the Carnavalesque played a vital role in the development of seaside resorts in the UK. He points out that Brighton was the first resort to make the transition from 'health' to 'pleasure' in terms of the primary touristic motivation. He writes that from the earliest days of sea bathing, beaches had been a 'free zone' by the nature of that activity and the physical nature of the environment. This 'free zone' was transformed into a 'pleasure zone' by society (Shields 1991: 89) as new forms of entertainment were introduced. Thus, this liminoid zone was carnivalised. 'The Carnavalesque zone of the beach liberated subjects from the micro-powers encouraging the norms, propriety, and the social dressage of the industrial worker' (Shields 1991: 94). The freedom, excess, loss of identity, inversion and suspension of the normal as described by Bakhtin could be experienced at the seaside as mass tourism developed. The beach has become,

Nature's most potent antidepressant, the beach moves us with a power of a drug, the rhythm of its tides and shifting margins re-orientating our sense of space and time, its aphrodisiacal cocktail of sun and water firing our slumbering hedonism. (Leneck and Bosker 1998:xix)

This re-emergence of the carnivalesque and creation of liminal zones mirrors Freud's theory that people needed places outside of routine, places of 'phantasy' (Bishop 1995: 166).

Shields proposes that, as the carnivalesque took hold, so the medicalised and Victorian sublime deteriorated. Whether the tourist saw the beach as a carnival or as a sublime zone would most certainly depend on the individual tourist. Certainly, Urry's (1990) collective and romantic Gaze theory would certainly suggest that the two can co-exist in the same physical space. Stallybrass and White observe that as carnival broke up it was, to some extent, moved to the seaside. They claim that the apparent health benefits of the seaside legitimised it as a 'Carnavalesque site of pleasure' (1986: 179). This view complements those of Corbin (1994), who considered medical justifications

for visiting the coast as only a part of its initial appeal. Hyman and Malbert see the seaside culture as one of the reactions to the subversion of Carnival, noting that, ‘In reality, however though the Puritan cleansing suppressed the ceremonies of Carnival in the English speaking nations, carnivalesque subcultures have often flourished: Panto, Phantasmagoria, Fairground, End-of-Pier...’ (Hyman and Malbert 2000: 11). Arabesque seaside architecture, seaside entertainment such as Punch and Judy (Elborough 2010), McGill postcards (Wheeller 2007) (see Figures 4.5 and 4.6) and the behaviour of the seaside crowds represent, the partial re-emergence of the medieval carnival.

Figure 4.5: ‘The Comic Postcards Down Here Are Disgusting!’
By Donald McGill.

Figure 4.6: ‘Girl and fortune Teller.’
By Donald McGill.



(Images: E-Bay 2013).

This suppressed form of humour and behaviour (the Carnavalesque) found expression in a liminal zone which offered experiences that were outside of the norm or even reversed. The novel *Hindle Wakes* captures this brilliantly, when the play observes of Wakes Week, ‘The mill engines were stopped and the human engines went full steam ahead, often reversed’ (Brighouse 1927: 23). For the ordinary tourist re-invention, even if only dressing up, represented part of the appeal of the seaside. In 1910, Brighouse

referred to Blackpool's Wakes Week as 'Fancy Dress' and suggested that there was an apparent equality between the classes that was not usually seen (Brighouse 1927: 23). The comparison to the Medieval Carnival is obvious (see Bakhtin 1984). One suspects that Brighouse saw this as liberating.

This temporary social reinvention was the force behind the long standing seaside 'character', the trickster or confidence man. These characters appear in various representations of the seaside but, in reality, any evidence of such a link is at best anecdotal. Jane Austen places one such character in the inland spa of Bath and Dickens places one in Ramsgate, whilst Hamilton's *West Pier* (1986) revels in the misery caused by on such social pretender and charlatan. Arguably, these characters are an alarmist representation of normal tourist behaviour. Re-invention, hiding of one's identity or the wearing of *masks* were, and still are, common place at the seaside. Tourists can escape from their ordinary lives and mingle with a variety of people, which was seen by some as a potential threat to the status quo. The division between classes was sometimes superficially blurred at the seaside but the divisions were of course no less deep. Donald McGill's exceptional seaside humour, satire and art work demonstrate this (for some typical examples of his work see Figures 4.5 and 4.6). His work is as much associated with the working classes at the seaside as it is anything else (Wheeller 2007). Indeed, 'recurring themes of hypocrisy (and class culture) still riddle tourism' (Wheeller 2007: 7).

Other than Shields, there have been a number of other commentators who apply theories of liminality or the carnivalesque to the modern day seaside. Ryan (2002a), for example, refers to the beach as Carnival and a place of 'fun' whilst Walton (2000) gives a considered overview of liminality, Webb (2005) identifies the Carnavalesque in the Ballroom of Blackpool Tower, Stanley (2005) associates the carnivalesque seaside with casual teenage sex and Bennett (1986) applies Bakhtin's concept of the carnivalesque to Blackpool Pleasure Beach. He (Bennett) points out that the controlled and carefully managed environment of the enclosed Pleasure Beach is quite separate to the rest of the resort. 'The Pleasure Beach is not a site of transgressions. It is a site to be transgressed...' (1986: 155). He also suggests that Carnival only enters the Pleasure beach when rule breaking and rowdy groups tumble in from an evening on the promenade in a most un-Disney like fashion. By implication, then, Bennett sees Blackpool, outside the family friendly Pleasure Beach walls, as Carnavalesque. The wearing of masks and inversion (for example Dodgems where the aim is to hit other cars) are all given as evidence of transgression. He views the resort not only a site of such transgression but a place where the taboo and exotic are brought into play in

order to encourage transgression. Indeed, this is important to the whole experience; the pleasure derives from breaking taboos without serious consequences (Bennett 1986).

The Carnavalesque is not constant and is limited in terms of time and space. Transgression is limited; sex and sexual taboos are parodied rather than truly transgressed. Again, Bennett writes '*willy warmers* seemed to represent the limit of permissible transgression' (1986: 136). Nowhere are these limits more clear than in seaside entertainment. 'The Ken Dodd Spectacular illustrates the attitude perfectly. Sex is continually alluded to without being confronted directly – Ken Dodd himself is like a living saucy postcard. His jokes produce a snigger or a giggle, but actually leave the existing boundaries of the sexual field perfectly in place. That is not to say that sex is unimportant at Blackpool – far from it. A wander along the promenade on a summer's day demonstrates that... it is provocatively on display' (Bennett 1986: 136). Such observations tally with the work of Bell (2008: 293) who sees 'alcotourism' (for example a stag do or spring break) as existing in the realm of 'scripted liminality'.

In his essay on the art of Donald McGill, George Orwell described the postcard as a type of Saturnalia which expressed the widespread tendency for harmless rebellion against virtue. On this subject he wrote, 'On the whole human beings want to be good, but not too good, and not quite all the time' (Orwell 1960: 111). The seaside experience represents an opportunity for people to achieve social release (Thomas 2005) through a 'controlled loss of control' (Measham 2004: 319).

One could argue that the humour of the seaside postcard was set in an imaginary world (Russell-Taylor 2006: 36, cited in Wheeler 2007: 8). The seaside place myth is of course clearly represented in contemporary culture. Hemingway describes the seaside resort as a, 'spatial code for promiscuity and disarray' (2006: 434). She draws on passages from authors as well as scenes from the films *From Here to Eternity*, *The Last Resort* and *Top Spot*, a film by Tracy Emin (2006). This artist has linked the seaside to sex on a number of occasions: 'there's something about the seaside that lends itself to that sort of thing' (Emin 2008). The novel *Tourist* by Matt Thorne (1998) deserves attention as it paints a remarkably bleak picture of Weston-super-Mare as the dreary location for various sexual exploits by the bored characters. These stories are not about the seaside but obviously see resorts as an appropriate setting. Perhaps because of the associated sex myth, they provide an atmosphere of faded grandeur. In any case, they provide a suitably seedy backdrop. One could not take much more away from these works, other than the observation that the portrayal of the

contemporary seaside is usually negative or at least menacing. Also, these works lack the playfulness and fun of a saucy postcard, *Confessions from a Holiday Camp* (Lea 1974), *Carry on Girls* (1973) and other earlier representations of the seaside. However, this may tell us as much about contemporary culture as it does about the seaside.

4.7.3 The decline of the Carnavalesque seaside

As discussed, the seaside myth continues to be culturally represented and contemporary Blackpool, as a fully functioning resort, can be described as Carnavalesque. As such it could well be a 'one off' (Hassan 2003: 259) or the best remaining example of this type of seaside experience. Shields (1991) suggests that the one reason behind the loss of touristic appeal of the British seaside is the decline in the Carnavalesque in these places whilst, similarly, Urry (1998: 47) writes that seaside attractions have moved through the 'hierarchy of the extraordinary' and now sit towards the bottom of it. Inland urban areas now offer many of the same leisure distractions that were once primarily associated with the seaside, not least night life. The seaside no longer stands out as clearly from other places as a distinct centre of fun, liberation and freedom. Once visitor numbers start to significantly drop, then distinctiveness is further eroded through the loss of the tumultuous crowd for the exhilaration of the crowd itself was an attraction for the working class English holidaymaker (Tuan 1977: 63). Problems occur as numbers drop. Modern day Morecambe is rarely truly crowded and no longer hosts the (supposedly Carnavalesque) Ken Dodd shows, 'kiss-me-quick' hats stalls or even the dodgems. The resort of Morecambe can no longer be described as Carnavalesque on a normal summer's day. Indeed it could be argued that Blackpool has always been a more likely setting of the carnivalesque than Morecambe.

Chase (1999:5) argues that as the marginality and appeal of the seaside faded, any remaining popularity was frequently attributed to an 'English predilection for nostalgia'. In contrast, Stallybrass and White (1986) suggest a closer relationship between transgression and nostalgia. They argue that social differentiation is dependent on disgust, but at the same time disgust bears the imprint of desire; one form of this desire was nostalgia:

These low domains apparently expelled as 'other', return as the object of nostalgia, longing and fascination. The forest, the fair, the theatre, the slum, the circus, the seaside-resort, the 'savage': all these, placed at the outer limit of civil life, become symbolic contents [or domains] of bourgeois desire. (Stallybrass and White 1986: 191)

However, since Stallybrass and White published their insightful text, the otherness and (pre-World War Two) association of the seaside with the extraordinary has faded further still. Perhaps it has simply been replaced by the label 'poor taste' (Urry 1997: 112). Nevertheless nostalgia itself is a significant element of modern day touristic appeal.

There is one aspect of Morecambe which could be still seen as mildly Carnavalesque, or perhaps liminal; the beach. The beach offers an opportunity for, '...rapture, for festival, for play', an area designated for the full play of desires (Baerenholdt, Haldrup, Larsen and Urry 2004: 53). Masks can be removed, tension released and freedom experienced. We can see a reversal and anti-structure in this leisure space (Turner 1974; Baerenholdt et al 2004). As we have seen, the beach has any number of potential meanings. However, the literature would suggest that, amongst British seaside resorts, there is no stronger association than that of the beach and families / childhood. The beach in the English seaside resort belongs to children, the 'childish' and childhood memories.

4.8 The Nostalgic Seaside – Childhood, Identity and Heritage

4.8.1 Nostalgia

Nostalgia is often considered to be an emotional longing for home or the past. At its core is a sense of loss and a corresponding idealisation (Bishop 1995). Rumsey (2010: 34) describes nostalgia as 'history after a few drinks'; it represents an idealised and selective representation of history. However, it is not simply an adapted reflection of one's past but also reflects a dissatisfaction with the present (Sharpley 2003) and acts as a counter-point to the space-time compression of post-modernity (Harvey 1990). Whilst its origins are dated, nostalgia is arguably most fully experienced in post-modern societies, an apparent tonic to the ills of society (Dann 2005). The modern day search for the authentic in a seemingly in-authentic world and the nostalgic fascination in versions of the past are linked and share much in common.

Nostalgia is often dismissed as pessimistic, looked down upon as a misrepresentation, considered a loss of faith (Hewison 1987) or described in terms of a disease. The dominant Western position, however, is that its influence is increasing in contemporary society and that this represents a problem to some degree (see Holbrook and Schindler 1991; Bishop 1995). These themes are mirrored within tourism and heritage studies, with tourists seeking symbols of authenticity to fill a void left by the modern

world, looking in developing countries, rural areas and towards the past which also represents a 'foreign country' (Lowenthal 2011). However, there is still some argument as to whether nostalgia is a positive, negative or bitter-sweet emotion. A much ignored and more generous tradition exists that allows for ambivalences within it and tolerates the existence of different human realities (see Bishop 1995: 190). Bishop refers to the philosopher Bachelard who did not expect or want to be 'cured' of his childhood nor indeed his country (Bishop 1995: 190). He offers a relatively well balanced description of nostalgia: 'a bitter-sweet, sad delight, a yearningly melancholic quiescence' (1995: 57).

Boym (2001: xiv) provides a useful description of nostalgia as

...a yearning for a different time - the time of our childhood, the slower rhythms of our dreams. In a broader sense, nostalgia is rebellion against the modern idea of time, the time of history and progress. The nostalgic desires to obliterate history and turn it into private or collective mythology, to revisit time like space, refusing to surrender to the irreversibility of time that plagues the human condition.

Within this definition she refers the idea of time, which must be understood to fully grasp the concept of nostalgia.

4.8.2 Nostalgia and time

Bishop explains that modernity can be defined as the opposition between two kinds of time, on one side the objectified time of capitalist civilization and on the other a private, subjective idea of time linked to our imagination. Nostalgia is an attempt to connect these two opposing ways of both thinking about and experiencing time (1995: 121). A comparison can be drawn between these classifications of time with those of space; some phenomenologists, notably Merleau-Ponty (1962), distinguish between objective and existential (lived) space.

Perceptions regarding time are not only relevant to issues of nostalgia and remembrance but also to tourism places in general (see Ryan 2002b) and seaside resorts more specifically. Rojek and Urry (1997: 15) observe that some places, including many English seaside resorts, appear as 'empty of time, slowed down, lacking speed', resulting in 'a drudgery of place.' Yet differences in time perception is attractive elsewhere, 'some places do attract visitors because they are almost timeless, they have (it seems) not been ravaged by time, or at least by instantaneous or clock times. They represent what has been termed *glacial time*' (Rojek and Urry 1997: 15).

Natural landscapes and seascapes would fit this last description although Rojek and Urry do not specify. In short, the man-made and cultural elements of the seaside are old fashioned, slow moving, out of kilter. However the natural elements, such as Morecambe Bay, seem timeless and very attractive.

Subjective time, linked to our imagination, is very often associated with childhood (Boym 2001: xiv). Bachelard examines the relationship between childhood and reverie, a type of fanciful musing which potentially includes nostalgia or reminiscence. He argues that reverie can be so deep that it transcends time and personal history, taking us back into ourselves and allowing communication with our inner child (1971: 99). He associates both childhood and reverie with freedom and a poetic beauty. By dreaming of childhood, we enter the lair of reveries which returns us to the 'beauty of the first images' (Bachelard 1971:103). Nostalgia allows this but brings about an obvious comparison with the present, which Bachelard accepts though he would ideally want to access this inner child more directly without nostalgia: 'Ah! How solid we would be inside ourselves if we could live, live again without nostalgia and in complete ardour, in our primitive world' (Bachelard 1971: 103). He also observes that one is transported (most) directly back to one's childhood through smell and taste: 'Memory is faithful to the fragrances of the past (1971: 14). This theme of smell and seaside odours is discussed later.

There is certainly more than one form of nostalgia. Golding (1999) distinguishes between nostalgia for real personal memories and stimulated nostalgia, that is, vicarious nostalgia evoked from narratives, images and objects. She also points out that there is typology of nostalgia with recreational nostalgics having a reasonably well balanced view of the present on one side and existential nostalgics on the other. This group very much see the past through rose tinted glasses and transpose their own personally-held beliefs to a time in the past, nostalgia offering the opportunity for escape from a generally unsatisfactory present. At this point, it is important to consider that nostalgia is quite different from reminiscence. Nostalgia focuses on the fact that the past cannot return, on loss but without any resolution. There is also a need within a nostalgic to focus on and idealize the past at the expense of the present or future. Reminiscence is a more positive or balanced form of recollection as it does not focus on loss or on perceived shortcomings of the present. Such recollection can be comforting and satisfying as representations of the past stay with us as we look towards the future (Castelnuovo-Tedesco 1998).

4.8.3 Identity and nostalgia: personal and collective memory

'Nostalgia is about continuity and identity - national, local or individual' (Bishop 1995: 85). On an individual level, memories remind us of our past identities but also reinforce our current ones (Fairley 2003). Nostalgia is selective. It allows certain memories to be brought into focus, thereby allowing the disenchanted to avoid certain aspects of their identity and dwell on other more positive ones (such as family holidays perhaps?). So, nostalgia is linked to identity, memory or perceptions of the past (Fairley 2003). Identity is made up of both personal and social components which can operate on different levels. One can be both nostalgic for one's own memories and/or for a collective identity of a social group. Indeed, nostalgia can be described as the 'relationship' between personal and collective memory (Boym 2001: xvi).

Nostalgia carries psychological functions: solidifying and augmenting identity, sustaining a sense of meaning and invigorating social connectedness (Sedikides, Wildschut and Baden 2004). It is a self-focused emotional process through which one can create a meaningful narrative from memories, 'The past is integral to our sense of identity; the sureness of "I was" is a necessary component of the sureness of "I am"'. (Lowenthal 2011: 41)

Lowenthal goes on to stress the importance to well-being of identification with the earlier stages of one's own life. He points out that, for many people, this identification with the past is achieved through attachment to certain places which hold memories or meaning. Such places are often shaped over time and preserved but need not be magnificent. If one is unable to experience the tangible feel of native soil or other special places then relics or images such as photographs may have to suffice (see Lowenthal: 2011: 42).

The fact that nostalgia is often shared is significant; it strengthens feelings of attachment security, perceptions of social support and empathy with others. Indeed, the unification of people who share a common identity can generate feelings of nostalgia (Fairley 2003). Collectivity has its origins in the past (Lowenthal 2011) and enhanced social connectedness is one way in which nostalgia may enhance meaning for the individual (see Routledge, Wildschut, Sedikides, Hart, Vingerhoets, Arndt, Juhl and Schlotz 2011). This clearly links to many parts of life, including tourism. Fond and selective recollections of past vacations, when people came together, can ward off negative feelings towards the present and future (Fairley and Gammon 2005).

As explored in the section on primal landscapes there is often a connection between looking back at our past and landscape. Indeed, Bishop (1995: 59) makes the bold claim that nostalgia is always connected to a landscape of some description. However, this does not necessarily mean that landscape (as it relates to identity) is always associated with nostalgia. Nevertheless, landscape (as in place) and nostalgia share a strong link to identity, both representing a potential emotional bond between the object in question and an individual or group. In the case of nostalgia, that bond is routed in time and space or, more likely, place, whereas landscape is primarily routed in place. It seems likely that all of these concepts will interact in a variety of possible ways depending on the person and circumstances in question. The following section, therefore, considers nostalgia as a time, the recent past and /or childhood, in a specific place or landscape, in this case the seaside.

4.8.4 Nostalgia and the seaside: family, play, childhood experiences and memories.

Obrador-Pons (2012) argues that the family is invisible within empirical research of tourism studies. Within many tourism studies discussions, for example those referring to authenticity (see Boorstin 1987; MacCannell 1999), the mention of children and families is notably scarce and the tourist appears a neutral and solitary figure. This is misleading. Wang (1999), Crouch (2000) and Obrador-Pons (2012) all point out that social relations (especially those relating to family) are central to the tourist and tourism, and tourism often reflects the domestic position of those involved (Edensor 2007). However, such observations are not new, Ryan (1994), for example carefully considering the impact of lifecycle stages on behaviour. Childhood in particular is relevant to tourism in many ways which lie outside the scope of this study. However, it is clear from the discussion in this chapter that childhood and associated nostalgia are closely linked to seaside places; 'Coastal resorts are a world of families and children' (Obrador-Pons 2012: 402).

Personal experiences and memories also feed into seaside nostalgia. Again, these are often based around childhood. In the 1990s, Tunstall and Penning-Roswell conducted primary research on contemporary tourist experiences at a selection of English beaches, including that of Morecambe. They observe that, 'Perhaps one of the most important meanings of the beach visit is as an experience which reconnects people with their past, with visits made in childhood and youth' (Tunstall and Penning-Roswell 1998: 326).

They also describe that perception of beaches as being unchanging and timeless. Their research was quantitative and wide ranging, but they also called for further research, this time qualitative, to understand meanings individuals attach to the coast.

It seems that a key component of seaside memories and nostalgia is play. The seaside is a place of authorised play for children and adults alike; Baerenholdt et al (2004:53) describing the beach as a 'field of play'. Obrador-Pons (2009) similarly stresses that the beach is a site of performative play where one can create by manipulating the environment. Tunstall and Penning-Rowsell (1998: 329) also point out that there are few natural environments where people are allowed to 'poke about, pick up, touch, shape and play'. Indeed, according to their research, 52% of visitors to Morecambe play with sand and shells. Ryan (2002a) also observes that beaches are one of the few places where adults can have childlike 'fun' as opposed to 'leisure'. The sandy beach is perhaps the most important stage on which adults can safely re-enact their childhood; when children are present, building sandcastles and other childish acts of play become expectations (see Baldacchino 2010 and Lofgren 1999).

There are moments of sheer joyful pleasure when I want to say: 'I feel like a child'. Moments when we feel wide eyed, wide open, in love with the world. Running into the waves, the salt spray in my face, or feeling the sand between my toes, it happens to me then. (Game 2001, cited by Baldacchino 2010: 767)

The senses are an essential part of play, the seaside experience or indeed the wider touristic experience. Urry (1990) considers the importance of the visual in tourism; the seaside view has been consumed as a 'Romantic Gaze' since pre-industrial times and this is much discussed and reflected in art (Corbin 1994, Urry 1990). Indeed, the visual image has come to dominate modern culture more generally (see Rojek and Urry 1997: 9). The 'ocular-centric' rendering of the tourist experience is considered by some to be too passive and superficial (Koshar 1998: 325), as experience is richer, more varied and more body-centric than that. Viejola and Jorkinen (1994: 136) write:

It baffles me that people are so interested in seeing how the Western individual begins to 'frame landscapes', 'to create closed spaces' and a panoramic view of things, while they fail to ask whether this *view*, this way of 'highlighting overview', leaves any place for meanings, experiences and knowledge created by, in and for the body? Is the gaze really detachable from the eye, the eye from the body, the body from the situation?

Obrador-Pons (2007, 2009) stresses the importance of touch in experiencing the beach, whilst Dann and Jacobsen (2003) consider tourism smell-scapes, arguing that the significance of seaside smells deserve more attention. However, Bauman (1993) argues that there was an effort to ignore and even control smell in the ocular-centric world of perfect order that modernity set out to establish. Despite this, its significance is clear; the senses of taste and smell are very closely linked to memory (Castelnuovo-Todesco 1998) and more specifically to nostalgia. Proust famously links the taste of tea and petites madeleines to an intense feeling of remembrance or perhaps nostalgia for childhood visits to a seaside town, ‘...the whole of Combray and its surroundings, taking shape and solidity, sprang into being, town and gardens alike, from my cup of tea’ (Proust 1984: 51). The seaside air itself has a distinct smell which, in recent years, scientists have linked this to the gas dimethyl sulphide. Birds flock to the aroma as it indicates a plankton bloom and a derivative of this chemical is sometimes used in processed food to create a savoury note (Todd, Rogers, Li, Wexler, Bond, Lei, Malin, Steinke and Johnson 2007). So, smell is very much linked to memory and the seaside has as a distinctive and attractive aroma, and it would thus seem very likely the seaside provides a distinct smell-scape (Dann and Jacobsen 2003). The view out to sea and the distinct seaside smells have not changed over many years. This smell-scape, together with a timeless yet dynamic sea view, provides a distinct environment which may well lend itself to a Proustian remembrance of things past. The way in which one physically experiences the seaside does not change as we, by contrast, age. The seaside is an unchanging backdrop to our lives which highlights changes in us as individuals as we move through the life cycle. This setting therefore lends itself to comparison of our former-selves, reminiscing and nostalgia.

The themes of loss and a desire to return to childhood are explored in the melancholic and knowingly nostalgic works of Stevie Smith. Many of her works, including her most famous poem *Not waving but drowning* and the novel *Over the Frontier*, were set at the English seaside and reflect her own childhood visits to Saltfleet in the years before the First World War. *Over the Frontier* uses ‘the emptiness of the coast’ to promise access to a ‘return to the past’ (May 2011: 88). In her poem *Archie and Tina*, she again revisits the imagined coast of her past; exploring loss and memory:

There never were so many poppies as there were then,
So much yellow corn, so many fine days,
Such sharp bright air, such seas.

Was it necessary that
Archie and Tina, Bam and Boy,
Should have been there too?
Yes, then it was. But to say now:

Where are you today
Archie and Tina,
Playmates of my childhood,
Brother and sister? Is no more than to say:

I remember
Such pleasure, so much pleasure. (Smith 1985: 550)

Our childhood very much influences our leisure activities of adulthood, 'It is no accident that, in a tranquil reverie, we follow the slope which returns us to our childhood solitudes' (Bachelard 1971: 99).

Play and traditional activities undertaken in the seaside environment are linked to nostalgia and therefore (arguably) mark a 'return to childhood' for the accompanying adults as explained by Bull (2006) and described here by Elborough (2010: 8): 'Perhaps, in a sense, every trip to the beach as an adult is an attempt to recapture lost innocence or at least to feel as carefree as a child'.

The parent or grandparent re-lives their childhood (or an idealised version of it) vicariously through the, partially inherited, seaside actions of their children or grandchildren. The seaside, due to its enduring collective and personal associations with childhood, potentially offers truly a cross generational appeal which will not date and can therefore be described as timeless.

4.8.5 The nostalgic representation of the British seaside

The association of the seaside with childhood does not come purely from experience but from collective memory that is informed by various socio-cultural references from a range of time periods. A significant volume of children's literature and entertainment makes reference to the traditional seaside as a place of innocent fun, and there is no sign of this abating (Walton 2000). The seaside environment itself has been associated with childhood since the time of the Romantics, in the eyes of whom spending time on the beach, with its associated memories of childhood, re-creates 'the primordial experience of humanity' (Lencek and Bosker 1998: 100). This association between a

distinct seaside environment and childhood developed and became much stronger in Victorian times. Traditional and enduring seaside activities include building sandcastles with a bucket and spade, searching in rock pools, riding donkeys and eating ice-cream and seaside delicacies. Such activities,

...are only part of the panorama of Victorian seaside attractions, which also embraced the fashionable promenade, military and German 'oompah' bands, a spectrum of seaside entertainments' from minstrels and pierrots to music-hall and variety which now survive only as self-conscious 'heritage' revivals. The piers on which many of these activities took place, where they survive, may now be drawn into the cloud of affectionate nostalgia through which the idealised seaside of the past is viewed and, where possible, reproduced. (Walton 2010: 1)

The Victorian seaside and the years either side of the Second World War, alongside other time periods, forms much of the basis of our present day nostalgic view of the seaside.

Nostalgic images associated with the seaside are instantly recognizable as 'part of England's collective consciousness's, our folk memory' (Elborough 2010: 7). Such nostalgia feeds into our national identity; the seaside resort has become a symbol of Britishness (or at least Englishness) partly because it reinforces our *islandness*. British shores, especially the white cliffs but arguably her resorts too, have defined and differentiated the British. After all, to go 'overseas' is to leave Britain. The final lines of the poem Margate 1940 combine nostalgia, national identity and shoreline:

From third floor and fourth floor the children looked down
Upon ribbons of light in the salt-scented town;
And drowning the trams roared the sound of the sea
As it washed in the shingle the scraps of their tea.
Beside The Queen's Highcliffe now rank grows the vetch,
Now dark is the terrace, a storm-battered stretch;
And I think, as the fairy-lit sights I recall,
It is those we are fighting for, foremost of all. (Betjeman 2010)

Betjeman's work clearly pre-dates the troubled contemporary seaside with which this study is concerned. The decline of the tourism infrastructure can of course lead to demolition (such as the former Frontier Land sites in Morecambe) but in the stages preceding this, resorts can adopt a faded grandeur which some people find attractive, affirming and deeply nostalgic. Bracewell (2004) attempted to explain this:

For a little while though, within those fading grand hotels, silent boarding houses, dormant ornamental gardens and windswept piers is both an ultimate expression of Englishness and its plangent requiem – the ‘sense of something lost’, perhaps, prompting nostalgia for a former innocence.

Bracewell goes on to quote Graham Greene's 1936 *Journey without Maps*, ‘Seediness has a very deep appeal; it seems to satisfy, temporarily, the sense of nostalgia for something lost; it seems to represent a stage further back’. This is one attractive way in which to explain the nostalgic seaside. Something lost or a loss of innocence in this context clearly runs parallel to the role of childhood in seaside nostalgia.

Positive nostalgic representations of the seaside such as those discussed so far, sit alongside other interpretations which are far more negative (see Walton 2000: 3-6). This dialectic between the good and bad seaside can be seen in the arts. For example, Matt Thorne's novel, *Tourist*, paints a bleak picture of a decaying and morally bankrupt Weston-super-Mare populated by a bored, sordid and very troubled group of losers. The story paints a clear picture of the ‘bad seaside’ until the very last pages. Here we finally gain an insight as to why the main character has dropped out of life and moved to an empty resort; Weston held her happiest childhood memories in an otherwise unfulfilled life. At Weston, Sarah could ‘seek pleasure without feeling guilty’ and experienced perfect days, ‘We went in the bowling alley, the arcades, had a nice lunch in The Wayfarer. You got to walk across the beach and collect shells. We had candy floss and a donkey ride.....I'll always remember that special day’ (Thorne 1998: 233). So ends the novel. The ‘good seaside’ and associated activities, which are limited to childhood memories, finally make an appearance in order to explain the tourist's decision leave London for Weston. The ‘good seaside’ represents childhood innocence whilst the bad seaside is linked to adulthood, a distinct lack of innocence and the present day. Thorne's only positive representation of the seaside resort is through nostalgia. Having two quite different views towards a place, largely due to the effects of nostalgia, is far from unique. Svetlana Boym considers how Russian émigrés consider their home country, noting that ‘the danger of nostalgia is that it tends to confuse the actual home and the imaginary one’ (2001: xvi). In the case of the seaside, the portrayal of the place in the media and arts is also prone to inaccuracies.

4.8.6 Nostalgia and seaside heritage tourism

Nostalgia has been much discussed within the context of tourism and heritage. The three broad academic themes within heritage tourism studies are issues of authenticity, the process of commodification and nostalgia (Sharpley 2003). Nostalgia, as an

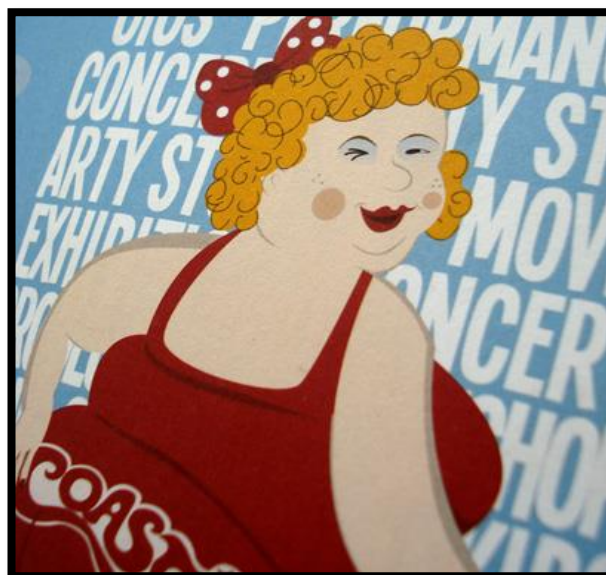
adapted reflection of the past, and reflecting a dissatisfaction with the present (Sharpley 2003, Dann 2005), is the driving force behind the growth of the heritage industry (see Sharpley 2003: 7-22). The search for authenticity and associated nostalgia clearly link to the growth of heritage tourism in the late twentieth century post-industrial nations, and is well documented by scholars (for example Walsh 1992; Dann 2005; Fairley and Gammon 2005; Sharpley 2003). This growth can be seen with industrial heritage attractions such as Beamish and various vintage railways whilst, more generally, the sizeable membership of English Heritage and The National Trust demonstrate this fascination with heritage (Walsh 1992).

Whilst seaside heritage has started to be recognised; contemporary nostalgia for the seaside is rarely featured as anything more than a passing comment. Notable exceptions include historian John Walton and sociologist John Urry. Over twenty years ago the latter wrote,

Resorts will have to change quite dramatically if they are going to survive. Recent advertising by the Isle of Man on British TV indicates one possible way of responding. The advert states that 'You'll look forward to going back', to experiencing a seaside holiday as remembered from one's childhood. Time has supposedly stood still in the Isle of Man and the advert plays on our nostalgia for childhood, when pleasures were experienced more directly and were less contaminated by an apparent playful sophistication. (Urry 1990: 102)

He comments that seaside resorts should not try to resist the trend to nostalgia but should instead embrace it before further deterioration to tourism occurs (Urry 1990).

Figure 4.7: Advertisement for the Coastival event 2011.



(Electric Angel Design Studio 2010).

The presence of seaside nostalgia suggests that a growth of seaside heritage tourism is at least a possibility (Tunstall and Penning-Rowsell 1998). Scarborough's 2011 'coastival' arts festival used a Donald McGill inspired plump bathing lady in its advertising, whilst venues included the pump house (see Figure 4.7). If not nostalgia, then this was at least recognition of traditional seaside culture and the past. The recognition of preserving seaside heritage is not new. For example, the Friends of Morecambe's Winter Gardens were established in the 1980s, whilst the resort's Art Deco Midland Hotel has been saved by developers, namely Urban Splash. The partially destroyed scenic railway ride in Dream Land, Margate is increasingly well recognised as a heritage site (Spurrier 2009) and in 2011 was upgraded from grade two listed status. Similarly, Weston-super-Mare's pier was reopened in 2011 after considerable investment following a fire, whilst Britain boasts a national pier society. These heritage attractions are generally viewed through a 'cloud of affectionate nostalgia' (Walton 2010). In 2003 English Heritage and the Commission for Architecture and the Built Environment published a report called *Shifting Sands* (see Chapter 2 for a more detailed discussion). This report recognised the significance of the built environment at seaside resorts, with a particular reference to heritage sites. Seaside heritage was also the focus of a significant conference 'Seaside Heritage: Colour Past, Bright Future' in 2007. It does appear that nostalgia fuelled heritage, based upon an idealised seaside, is likely to become increasingly significant (Walton 2010).

However, traditional working class resorts are still subject to stigma. The BBC blog regarding the story of Blackpool's failed bid for World Heritage Site Status was inundated with negative reactions and jokes made at the expense of the resort. Incredulity met claims that a traditional seaside resort, and the birthplace of mass tourism, deserved to be preserved as a heritage site (see Walton and Wood 2008). This could be in part due to the focus of history on production rather than consumption or that seaside resorts are still active quite unlike industrial heritage sites.

Smith (2006) makes some relevant observations regarding the nature of heritage and the self-referential 'authorised heritage discourse' (or AHD). If heritage is an intangible socio-cultural label placed upon appropriate sites, then AHD is the process through which these labels are applied. 'Experts' apply these labels; these experts (historians, archaeologists, policy makers and organisations such as the National Trust) effectively decide what 'mainstream' heritage is. AHD establishes a top down relationship between expert, site and visitor, and the visitor relies on the expert to 'translate' the site for their passive consumption. When individuals stray outside this authorised

relationship they are condemned (see Smith 2006 chapter 1 for a full discussion of AHD).

It could be argued that working class seaside heritage lies outside the AHD but a small number of subaltern voices have begun to consider this alternative heritage 'significant'. The De La Warr Pavilion in Bexhill on Sea, The Midland Hotel and other suitably grand seaside sites are now accepted in AHD and are referred to in magazines, TV programmes, tourist literature, PhD literature reviews and so on. So seaside heritage more generally will feature more prominently in UK coastal resorts in the future as this discourse moves forward, although it would be foolish to predict when this might occur.

Seaside architecture is not a focus of this study although it is clearly significant element in both 'seasideness' and seaside heritage. The front, the promenade, the beach, is where the built environment and natural environment meet. Lindley (1973: 19) writes of this area, 'It was the promenade which gave a town its particular character' and made up the 'seaside image'. He points out that the juxtaposition of buildings and coast do not necessarily produce seaside architecture. He criticizes the 'dreary estates' of the coast which could belong anywhere; 'sensitivity for *locale* is sadly lacking in most speculative builders' (Lindley 1973: 20). Seaside architecture spans many different times and places and cannot be easily summarized here, though one distinguishing feature of seaside architecture is a tendency towards the out of the ordinary and fantastic, especially from the nineteenth century onwards. Orientalism and other 'exotic' architectural designs have come to represent seaside architecture (Gray 2006) and are important to the 'otherness' of the seaside. Architecture, like the sea, is part of the backdrop or stage to seaside goings on. Gray gives an excellent account of seaside distinctiveness

At some point in their lives most people in Western societies have, in search of leisure and pleasure, holidayed in resorts by the sea. These experiences, together with a multitude of seaside images from postcards to films, and from novels to advertisements, leave people with complex memories and feelings about the seaside. Cut through and sequenced by time and place, these might include sunburnt childhood holidays on a beach littered, depending on the place, with deckchairs and windbreaks or sun loungers and parasols; teenagers having fun in the sea or open air lido; fumbled first sexual encounters under a pier; a family stroll along a promenade or boardwalk or a cliff-top park; visits to seaside entertainment complexes from funfairs to casinos; or old people sitting in a seafront shelter watching the world go by. These examples, of course, are deliberately chosen to make the point that the resort experience is frequently framed and conditioned by seaside architecture: the buildings and built form, the

open spaces and design detail, that go to make up resorts. But less intentionally, although not unexpectedly, the nature of the seaside – the sea itself, the marginal edge that is the beach, the weather – also emerges as a crucial part of spending time by the sea. (2006: 7)

Here Gray refers to architecture, marginal or transgressive behaviour, the role of the sea, childhood and nostalgia (collective and personal) all of which form a distinct sense of place.

4.9 Summary

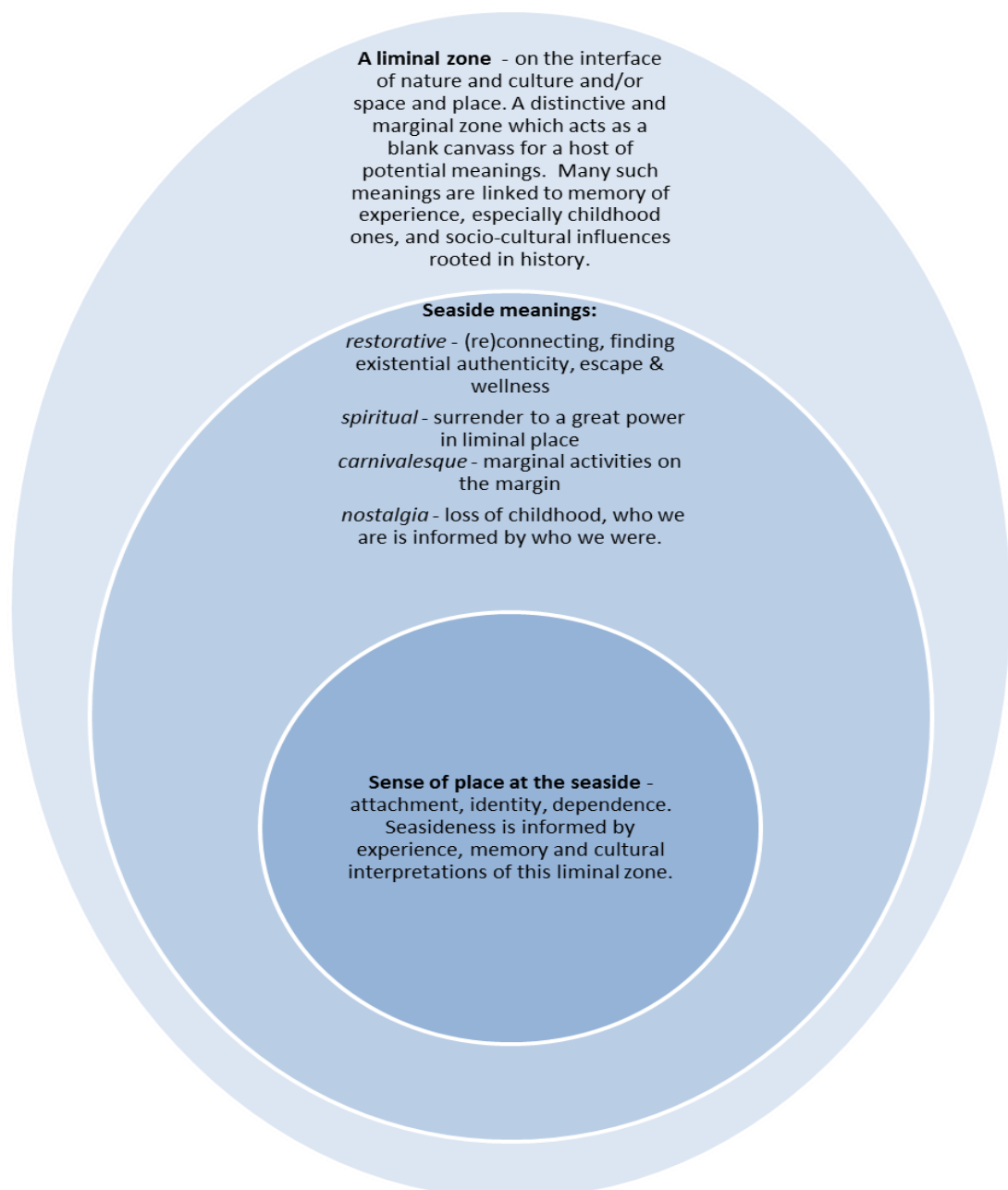
Backman, Ditton, Kaiser and Fletcher (1986) looked into the benefits sought at Texan beaches 17 years ago. They note ten basic motives for the beach user: diversion, family togetherness, experiencing nature, outdoor activities, solitude, physical fitness, affiliation, beach activities, self awareness and status. Some of these are recognisable to all seaside visitors. Most obviously, in light of the findings of this thesis, self awareness and experiencing nature have a clear resonance. A seaside resort, such as Morecambe, is centred on the interface between man and nature or place and space. We are brought into even clearer focus when contrasted against the endless sea and sky. It is on the edge of unrestricted space where we are ourselves, our burdens are lifted and we play with the children and like the children.

On the one hand, the seaside is a place of nature, spirituality, communitas, childhood, simple pleasures, nostalgia and good humoured fun. The good seaside may be described as 'timeless' but this myth is firmly rooted in the past, a time when the seaside boomed. The good seaside is a palatable form of marginality in so far as it underlines the 'seasideness', the special nature, of the resorts whilst allowing nostalgic touristic motivation and the 'Romantic Gaze' (Urry 1990). On the other hand, the seaside is associated with adult pleasures, faded glory and decay; it is marginal with elements of carnival. The bad seaside may have an element of the pre-Corbin beach about it but is largely a product of the second half of the twentieth century and it is evident in the media or on a day trip to many present day resorts. The seaside has always been marginal or liminoid and as such served a useful social function in a highly regulated society. In modern day Britain, however, there are a wide variety of liminoid and liminal zones and activities, and the distinctiveness of the seaside is less obvious as cultural landscapes evolve around it.

The 'seasideness' or distinctive socio-cultural elements of this zone will play a key part in the future of seaside resorts such as Morecambe. The main seasideness related

themes, as identified by this literature review, are summarised in Figure 4.8. Clearly sense of place is informed by a clear set of meanings and the distinct nature of this liminal zone, all of these appear inter-connected. The overall aim of this research is to consider and probe these inter-connections and the very nature of seasideness itself, as experienced by the modern day consumer. This literature review has established the context of this study and relevant gaps in the literature. The next chapter re-states the research aims and objectives for this thesis before moving on to the methodology, which outlines how these will be addressed.

Figure 4.8: Summary of main themes from the literature review as they relate to sense of place at the British seaside resort (seasideness).



Chapter 5

Research Methodology, Design and Methods

5.1 Introduction and Research Aim

This section commences with a discussion of the research methodology, that is, philosophical issues and an explanation of the mixed method and case study approaches adopted in this thesis. It then moves onto research design and methods, explaining the tools used to complete this research. It finishes with ethical considerations. In short, this section considers the *how* and *why* of the research that lies at the heart of this study. The research aims were stated at the start of this thesis but they are repeated here for the benefit of the reader.

Research Aim: To investigate and interpret the socio-cultural significance and associated 'sense of place' of a traditional seaside resort.

Research Q 1: To what extent does 'a sense of place' at the seaside exist culturally and what form does it take?

- To determine the cultural significance and associations of the contemporary seaside resort, as reflected in academia, arts and any other appropriate arena.
- To assess any distinct 'sense of place' that is associated with the seaside and the factors that led to this formation.

Research Q 2: What does the tourist's 'sense of place' at the seaside consist of?

- To identify the construction of any distinct seaside 'sense of place' as experienced by tourists.
- To analyse the factors impacting upon any distinct seaside 'sense of place' as experienced by modern day tourists.

Research Q 3: How does the tourist's 'sense of place' impact upon the appeal of resorts?

- To relate the 'sense of place' of the seaside and touristic appeal at these seaside resorts.
- To deduce a conceptual theory, model or typology to further define, classify as appropriate and explain the contemporary 'sense of place' and any associated or potential touristic appeal.

5.2 Methodology

5.2.1 Overview of research methodology

The research methodology for this study is summarised below:

Table 5.1: Summary of research methodology

Research Philosophy	Inductive / Phenomenological
Research Approach	Pragmatic with a <i>qualitative focus</i> but also employing quantitative methods where appropriate
Research Epistemology	Interpretivism
Research Ontology	Constructionism
Research Design	Multi-Method Case Study
Research Methods	Stage 1: Self-completed questionnaire survey Stage 2: In-depth semi-structured interviews
Research Analysis	Stage 1: SPSS Stage 2: Interpretative Phenomenological Analysis (IPA)

The primary focus of this research is to find the ‘meaning’ of the seaside by getting inside the head, or perhaps that should be the heart, of the visitor. It is vital to have rich data that enhances our understanding of visitor perception and motivation; the dominant research paradigm for this study is therefore qualitative. Typically qualitative data is narrow but deep when compared to quantitative data, which may be described as broad and shallow. This depth enables ‘Verstehen’; this empathetic understanding considers meaning ascribed to behavior by those individuals involved, not only an external observation of it. Qualitative data deals with perception and therefore need not be ‘replicable’ but must still be credible, transferable, dependable and confirm-able (Lincoln and Guba 1985). In this sense, the research is inductive in nature. One reason for this is that the existing literature does not offer a clear or comprehensive account of the contemporary socio-cultural significance of the seaside.

In short, this study adopts an interpretivist-constructivist paradigm and deliberately leans towards ‘approach B’ in the summary of the two broad research traditions outlined by Gratton and Jones (2004: 27) (See Table 5.2).

Table 5.2: Research traditions

Approach A)	Approach B)
Positivist	Interpretative
Quantitative	Qualitative
Deductive	Inductive
Questions such as 'what', 'when' and 'how many'.	Questions such as 'Why' and 'How'.
Follows a predetermined design	Follows a flexible research design, that may be continually adapted
Establishes causality	Explains causality
Confirms theory	Develops theory

5.2.2 Philosophical Issues

The methodology, as a set of research practices and partialities, is predicated by epistemological and ontological issues (Hollinshead 2004). These two sets of issues are now addressed in turn.

'Matters of epistemology are defined as those insights and questions which help understand the relationships between *knower* (the inquirer) and the *known* (the knowable)' (Hollinshead 2004: 75). In epistemological terms this research is interpretivist as it aims to understand visitor behavior rather than to explain it. A good example of this is the spiritual draw of the coastline; it can be understood but is much more difficult to explain satisfactorily. Weber suggests that there is no clear division between understanding and explanation when he defines sociology as, 'science which attempts an interpretative understanding of social action in order to arrive at a casual explanation of its cause and effects' (1947: 88).

Humanistic geographers offer amongst the most valuable insights into place and sense of place, which lies at the heart of this study, as reflected in the research questions. Tuan (1977), Relph (1976) and other humanistic geographers employ phenomenology (which acknowledges *gestalt*) in order to establish personal meaning, that is, the inter-relationships and attachments between people and environments. Indeed, the adoption of phenomenology, within the methodology, is essential to gain an interpretative

understanding of what place means to the tourist. Humanistic geography is discussed in more detail in the literature review.

'Matters of ontology are defined as those concerns and outlooks which help determine or designate the nature of the knowable (or otherwise, the nature of reality in terms of "being", "becoming" and "meaning" etc.)' (Hollinshead 2004: 75). Ontologically, the approach of this research is one of constructionism, the central theme of which is that 'human beings do not find or discover knowledge so much as we construct or make it' (Schwandt 2000: 197). Indeed, it would appear that objectivism (which in basic terms is effectively in opposition in constructionism) does not sit easily with the fluctuating and complex nature of tourism *places* such as the seaside resort.

Goodson and Phillimore (2004) point out that tourism research of the past has tended to focus on the tangible, arguably objective, relationships between people and place with a particular consideration of marketing, management or economic approaches. They aptly suggest that,

A more person-focused approach which takes account of the individual's subjective experiences and roles these play in constructing the tourist, or indeed host, experience has so far received scant attention. (2004: 40)

Furthermore, Hollinshead (2004: 66) points out that tourism research will be limited if it fails to consider the ontological 'hereness' and/or 'madeness' of place, which lie at the heart of this research.

The seaside has clearly shifted to the margins of British culture (Urry 1990). If we look at the history of the seaside we see a phenomenon that has reflected socio-economic shifts, has been reconstructed and re-invented; in short, it is emergent. The governance of the seaside is also complicated, there are many stakeholders and it is unclear who, if anyone, runs seaside resorts. On the other hand, we have the visitors whose numbers and demographics have shifted, usually to the detriment of resorts. This study will focus on the social actors who make up tourists, arguably the economic life blood of any functioning resort, and their relationship with this place. Whatever ones' approach it is clear that these social actors are integral to the study of the seaside.

5.2.3 Mixed method approach

This study has a qualitative focus (the second stage of primary research lies at the heart of this thesis); however it is integrated with quantitative research tools, in a mixed method approach. Case-studies typically adopt such an approach. The mixed methods employed in this study can be described as

An approach to investigate the social world that ideally involves more than one methodological tradition and thus more than one way of knowing, along with more than one kind of technique for gathering, analysing and representing human phenomena, all for the purpose of better understanding. (Greene 2006: 94)

In order to address the research questions, both qualitative and quantitative methods have been employed; the first stage of research (self-completed questionnaire) is quantitative and the later one (in-depth interviews) is qualitative. The mixed methods approach employed in this study is sequential and progressive in nature. The quantitative self-completed questionnaires probed specific concepts that arose from the literature review; if they proved significant they would be explored in-depth in the subsequent qualitative stage. The quantitative data was deliberately analyzed before the qualitative, as one might expect in a sequential exploratory mixed-methods approach (Creswell 1998). Chief amongst these concepts was sense of place. Other key concepts include the psychological importance of the sea itself and nostalgia at the seaside. There are precedents for investigating specific issues such as these, using quantitative methods, alongside qualitative method (Milkman 1997, cited in Bryman and Bell 2003: 4).

These research methods carry epistemological and ontological commitments. For example, quantitative methods are frequently associated with an objectivist approach and qualitative methods with constructionism or interpretivism. Therefore, the use of quantitative research tools may seem at odds with said commitments. However, the link between research strategy and these commitments are not necessarily deterministic. Indeed, the link between epistemology / ontology and research methods are, 'tendencies rather than definitive connections' (Bryman and Bell 2003: 466). This study does not aim to integrate quantitative and qualitative research in the epistemological sense but rather taking a technical approach which sees a mixed methods strategy as the best way of addressing specific place-based research questions. Such variations are not unusual as qualitative research often adopts multi-methods. Douglas (1976: 14) wrote that sociologists 'should choose their own methods for producing the kinds of information they want in any given study'. Tourism scholars

have been called upon to adopt cross disciplinary research into touristic perspectives that bridges the gap between qualitative and quantitative research (Hollinshead 2004).

The disadvantages of mixing methods centre on epistemological and ontological clashes. However, there are various advantages, chief amongst which are that these methods can take on a type of symbiotic relationship. By using quantitative methods one is more likely to avoid the 'macro blindness' and 'lack of generality' sometimes associated with qualitative / interpretative research (Sparkes 1992: 39). In this study, the quantitative first stage places the qualitative second stage in a wider context, as is common in case-study research (Bryman and Bell 2003). It is, however, a two-way process, as qualitative data supports quantitative data and gives the 'bigger picture' (Gratton and Jones 2004: 26). Furthermore, the collection of rich quantitative data is essential to explore under-researched phenomenon such as sense of place at the seaside. Therefore the most significant justification for the mixed methods approach is that both qualitative and quantitative approaches have advantages (which one aims to make use of) and disadvantages (which one aims to avoid). The advantages and disadvantages for the two stages of primary research and the associated research methods are summarised in the research methods section.

5.2.4 The case-study approach and selection

The analogy of 'digging deep' to unearth rich data feeds into the chosen research tool of the case-study, which is perfect for building theory as opposed to testing it (Stake 2000). Case-studies are particularistic, provide a rich description of the phenomenon and are illuminating in the heuristic sense. This approach aims to recognize the essence of a phenomenon and ideally develop theory through the study of one case; it allows one to gain a thorough understanding of the local situation (context) and therefore encourages a meaningful analysis. Thus, it could be stated that case studies focus on relationships and meaning (Veal 2006). Yin (1994) wrote that this method is appropriate in a case that has yet to be studied in any detail.

The study focuses on the socio-cultural significance of seaside resorts (seasideness); the research took place in Morecambe (population approximately 39,000), Lancashire, on the North West coast of England. This place based approach allows one to gain a thorough understanding of the local situation and therefore encourages a meaningful analysis. Also, the decline and rejuvenation of Morecambe as a seaside resort has not been studied in-depth, but warrants academic attention because Morecambe (whilst in some ways representative of many British resorts that have suffered decline) does

have certain unique features, as discussed in Chapter 3. Notably, there is the meteoric rise and fall of the resort. Walton (2000) suggests that extreme nature of the fall of Morecambe may be linked to the fact that it expanded so rapidly in the inter-war years. Immediately this raises questions surrounding modernism, post-modernism and cultural change more generally (Gale 2005).

Morecambe has spent millions of pounds on renewing its sea front and has recently attracted the attention of various investors, notably Urban Splash (Simply the Biz 2004). This makes it a fascinating time to consider tourism and tourists in Morecambe. The underlying appeal of the seaside at Morecambe, touristic sense of place and associated meanings are far from clear. Without understanding this background, any future developments and initiatives involving tourism would be largely based on assumption. As any good business person understands, it is essential to know your market. This study aims to go beyond demographics and opinions and move into the realms of reaction to and emotional connections with place.

5.3 Research design

An inductive approach to the research design interprets the behavior and construction of the tourist experience, as given meaning by those seaside visitors. This research does not propose a hypothesis but, instead, employs a multi-method approach in an attempt to offer a holistic assessment of the tourist experience. A progressive three stage approach is adopted which, broadly speaking, runs parallel to the three research questions. These three stages are:

1. Literature Review
2. Questionnaire Survey
3. In-depth Interviews

These stages are detailed in the following 'Research Methods' pages and the research design is outlined in Table 5.3:

Table 5.3: The research design

Part	Res. Q.	Method	Techniques	Analysis
1	1	Literature Review – secondary research that informed the primary research design and framed the study.		
2	2 and 1	Tourist Questionnaire Survey (n=201): Demographics, visiting habits, behavior, views and measuring sense of place. <i>[Meaning via behavior and viewpoint]</i>	Self-Completed paper questionnaires Convenience Sampling of visitors to Morecambe	SPSS software (version 17) for analysis: Spearman's rank correlation coefficient was employed.
3	3 and 2	In-depth interviews with tourists (n=10): The visitor relationship with, experience of, appeal of and emotional reaction to the resort. <i>[Meaning via Reflection]</i>	Semi-structured interviews Recorded and transcribed Note taking (of impressions and key points) immediately after the interviews Purposeful Sampling	Interpretative Phenomenological Analysis (IPA) was employed primarily as a form of analysis but also a more general 'approach to qualitative inquiry' (Smith et al 2009:1). Manual analysis.

5.4 Research methods: The questionnaire survey

5.4.1 Purpose and introduction

This research design sought to bridge a gap in the literature which, to this date, remains under-researched. The questionnaire social survey aimed to capture a range

of socio-demographic, behavioural, attitudinal and semantic information regarding the tourist and the place.

The social survey sought to produce data that directly allowed the research questions to be answered. The questionnaire survey specifically relates to the first research question: *Does 'a sense of place' at the seaside exist culturally and what form does it take?* It also compliments the second research question: *What does the tourist's 'sense of place' at the seaside consist of?* Furthermore this second research question is inextricably linked the third.

A self-completed questionnaire was employed to undertake this social survey for the following reasons:

- a) Questionnaires offer an efficient way to collect data (Bryman and Bell 2003) and are therefore an appropriate way to collect information from a large population.
- b) There is no interviewer bias and anonymity is offered to the respondent (Gratton and Jones 2004).
- c) Increased time for respondents. The questionnaire allowed respondents to take as long as they needed and go back to it if necessary (Gratton and Jones 2004).
- d) A variety of distribution points were used increasing the chances of a geographically wider and a larger sample (Gratton and Jones 2004).
- e) The pre-coding of responses and use of a likert scale facilitates analysis (Jones 1998).

Potential disadvantages include the lack of opportunity to probe with follow up questions (Gratton and Jones 2004). Also the rigidity of this method means that questions must be relatively straightforward (Jones 1998). These issues are countered by the use of other, qualitative, methods in the later stage of this study.

5.4.2 Pilot study, sampling, distribution and completion rate

A pilot study was undertaken to test the ordering of the questions. A pilot questionnaire was distributed to 15 students and neighbours, completed, analysed and the survey was subsequently refined. The second stage of the pilot survey involved distributing amended pilot surveys to guests at a Morecambe Bed & Breakfast facility. Five completed questionnaires were returned and some very minor modifications were made to the survey, which was now in its final incarnation. These completed pilot

questionnaires were not used in the subsequent analysis. This second stage tested the distribution method for one of the distribution channels and it was found to be satisfactory. A copy of the questionnaire can be seen in Appendix 1.

The selection of subjects for this case study was purposeful and, as is often the case in these instances, the sampling strategy was one of convenience (Gratton and Jones 2004). The aim was to reach as wide a cross section of visitors as possible, therefore various distribution points were used and a financial incentive, a prize draw, was offered to respondents to increase the response rate and widen the respondent profile. The questionnaire was substantial in order to gather information on sense of place and other topics and the respondents needed to take their time over it. Therefore the questionnaire was distributed mainly through hotels and cafes. Self-completed questionnaires were an efficient way to collect data, provide a sound base for the final stage of research as give a chance to measure sense of place as an attitude as suggested by environmental psychologists (Jorgenson and Stedman 2001).

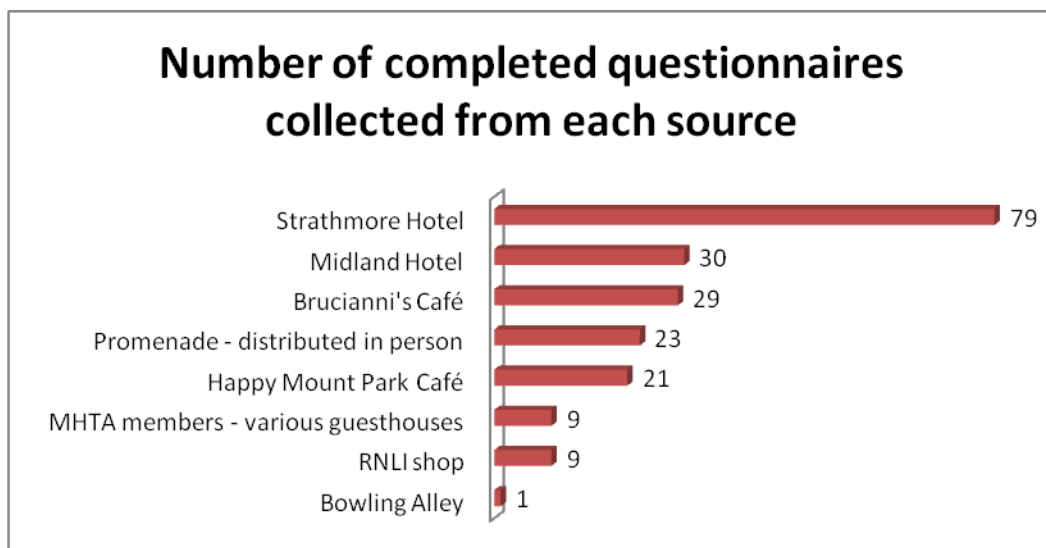
The most effective method of distributing the questionnaire was through hotels, with the hotels either leaving the information at reception (as with the Midland Hotel) or by leaving them in guest rooms to be collected by staff (as with the Strathmore Hotel). The Midland is a high quality destination hotel with spa facilities, owned by Urban Splash and managed by English Lakes Hotels. The Strathmore is a busy hotel owned and run by Wallace Arnold, the tour operator associated with coach holidays, and is popular with pensioners. A third accommodation-related source was the MHTA (Morecambe Hotel and Tourism Authority), the chairman of which agreed to distribute questionnaires amongst members, comprising B&Bs and guesthouses in the resort.

It was beneficial to capture the views of day trippers as well as staying guests in order to establish if their views differed in any way. Interestingly, and as discussed in the next chapter no significant differences were in fact identified. Two popular cafes in different parts of the resort (Bruccianni's Café and the Happy Mount Park Café) were asked to leave the questionnaires on their counters. In total, fifty completed questionnaires were collected from these two sites. The Royal National Lifeboat Association (RNLI) charity shop (one of the few buildings on the promenade itself) and the Super Bowl Bowling Alley also agreed to distribute the questionnaire, further enabling access to the day tripper market. The city council's Tourist Information Centre and the Winter Gardens were also asked to distribute the questionnaire, but permission was not forthcoming.

Each distribution point was visited four times between May and September to collect completed questionnaires, supply new blank ones as necessary and to maintain contact with managers/owners. Despite this, by early September (11/09/2010) it became clear that the number of completed questionnaires was lower than expected. As a result fifty questionnaires were distributed by hand on the promenade; they were accompanied by free-post addressed envelope. As they were distributed, a minute or so was spent explaining the nature of the survey. Twenty-three completed questionnaires were returned by post or in two cases by E-mail (after scanning the survey). This distribution method offered more access to day trippers and contributed significantly to the number of survey respondents.

A total of 201 self-completed questionnaire surveys were successfully completed by visitors/tourists to Morecambe and collected for analysis. For the most part they were completed in resort and therefore the respondents were not relying heavily on their memory. The original target number for completed questionnaires was 250 and the overall period of fieldwork ran from 1st May to 11th September 2010. Eleven surveys were void and not included in any analysis or counted in any figures. The total number of questionnaires distributed through all sources was 500. In short, the response rate was 40.2%. Figure 5.1 shows where the 201 self-completed questionnaire surveys collected from.

Figure 5.1: Sources of completed questionnaires



5.4.3 Questionnaire design: measuring sense of place

The questionnaire collected information regarding visiting habits, activities undertaken in resort, destination appeal / perception, destination satisfaction and seaside associations. However, the primary aim of the survey was to measure sense of place. The three constructs of place attachment, place identity and place dependence form the core of Sense of Place for environmental psychologists. Jorgenson and Stedman (2001) provide a thorough overview of how a sense of place can be measured and suggest that attitude theory can provide a theoretical framework for the relationship between the three components of a sense of place. Their work supports the use of a tripartite model, as it recognises potential correlation but also potential difference between the three constructs; 'for example, a person may strongly identify with a setting, and be attached to it but feel that it is a poor place to earn a living or raise children' (Jorgenson and Stedman 2001: 238). To clarify, this quotation gives an example of sense of place made up of high levels of attachment and identity (which are emotional and closely related) but much lower levels of dependence (which is functional).

In order to measure the aforementioned three constructs, as well as sense of place more generally, Jorgenson and Stedman (2001) asked lodge owners a series of questions with scaled responses regarding their holiday homes. They used the commonplace five-point likert scale. These questions and the use of such a scale influenced the survey design within this thesis, as they have proven effective and academically rigorous. The questions posed to lakeside property owners in Wisconsin consisted of the following scale items:

Place Identity

My lake property is a reflection of me.
My lake property says very little about who I am.
I feel that I can really be myself at my lake property.
My lake property reflects the type of person I am.

Place attachment

I feel relaxed when I'm at my lake property.
I feel happiest when I'm at my lake property.
My lake property is my favourite place to be.
I really miss my lake property when I'm away from it for too long.

Place dependence

My lake property is the best place for doing the things that I enjoy most.
For doing the things that I enjoy, no other place can compare to my lake property.
My lake property is not a good place to do the things I most like to do.
As far as I am concerned, there are better places to be than at my lake property. (Jorgenson and Stedman 2001: 241)

These generic items were adapted for use in this study as can be seen within the 'Visiting the seaside at Morecambe' section on the third page of the questionnaire (Appendix 1). The scale items were not presented under such sub-headings in the questionnaire so as not to 'lead' the respondents in any way. Other scale items clearly reflect various sections of the literature review. For instance, there is a clear recognition of the potential importance of the sea itself within the questionnaire design.

5.4.4 Questionnaire analysis

The questionnaire yielded a good deal of information from the various scale items completed and the demographic information provided. This information was then analysed using SPSS for Windows data analysis package (Version 17). The development of the SPSS for Windows (Version 17) data file was undertaken once the questionnaire had been piloted and prior to the distribution of the final version of the questionnaire to minimise any problems associated with data input.

Each scale was cross-tabulated and tested with the other scale items and the demographic information in order to establish any significant statistical relationships. It should be noted at this point that correlation is quite different from causation and that, more generally, test results were viewed as indicative. A correlation can indicate whether there is a relationship between two variables, the direction of the relationship (positive or negative) and the strength of the relationship (Gratton and Jones 2004). A non-parametric test was employed as they do not make an assumption about the normality of the distribution (Finn, Elliott-White and Walton 2000), namely Spearman's Rank Correlation Coefficient.

Spearman's Rank Correlation Coefficient is the non-parametric version of Pearson's Correlation Coefficient and can be used with ordinal or ranked data (Gratton and Jones 2004). Spearman's test is useful in exploring the statistical relationships involving Likert Scales which were employed during the questionnaire survey. Spearman's gives two figures when correlating two sets of data; the correlation coefficient (r_s) and significance value (P). The r_s can be read as follows:

$r_s > 0$ implies positive agreement among ranks

$r_s < 0$ implies negative agreement (or agreement in the reverse direction)

$r_s = 0$ implies no agreement (Choudhury 2009).

The r_s value ranges between -1 and +1 and the further away from 0, the stronger the correlation. The positive or negative number indicates a positive or negative correlation. The P value (calculated probability) is the estimated probability of rejecting the null hypothesis, which is usually a hypothesis of *no difference*. The correlation is statistically significant if the P value is lower than 0.05, therefore meaning that the null hypothesis is rejected. The correlation is *highly* significant if P is less than 0.001, meaning there less than one in a thousand chance of it being wrong (Stats Direct 2011). The test results are shown in table format in Chapter 6. The statistical results more generally (descriptive data) are also shown in table and chart form where appropriate, and many are located in the appendices.

5.5 Research Methods: the in-depth interviews

5.5.1 Purpose and introduction

In-depth semi-structured interviews were selected as a data collection method as they are an efficient way to investigate the attitudes, motivations and thoughts of visitors in sufficient detail. In-depth interviews are often the best way to access the rich data associated with detailed firsthand accounts of experiences (Howitt 2010; Shaw 2010; Smith et al 2009). From a practical point of view, in-depth interviews were relatively accessible as a direct result of the first stage of research, where contact details were available through the self-completed questionnaires. Also, in-depth interviews are the data collection method most associated with Interpretative Phenomenological Analysis (IPA) which was employed during this stage. Indeed, the selection of IPA as a research approach is very much bound up with the selection of in-depth interviews as a data collection method.

The interviews (which took place in June and July 2011) related to the second and third research questions. It was this final stage of research which underlined the original contribution to knowledge of the work. The interviews focussed on the *meaning* of visitor experiences, that is, how they make sense of them. More specifically, this study aimed to ascertain the relationship between the respondent, place and others. People can become attached to places because they signify interpersonal and social relations, as well as being valued for their own sake. The literature review suggested that such complex and subjective interaction would exist (see Wang 1999 and Low and Altman 1992). In view of this, the decision was made to employ a qualitative technique with as rigorous analysis as possible, hence the use of Interpretative Phenomenological Analysis.

These interviews are best described as semi-structured as there was a standard interview schedule (see Appendix 2). This, together with minimal body language and using appropriate probes, minimizes interviewer bias (Jones 1998). However, within the confines of working through the schedule, the interviewee could lead the direction of the interview and provide information from their own perspective. In this sense, the approach borrowed from the fluidity of the unstructured interview method (Gratton and Jones 2004).

The semi-structured in depth interviews were chosen as a research method because:

- a) The interviewer can establish a rapport with the interviewee. In the case of this study, this was considered a priority. For example, it was left to the interviewee to select the venue for the interview as a means of putting the interviewees at ease.
- b) Interviews allow the emergence of themes which might not emerge from a more rigid method – it can be an insightful approach (Yin 1994, Gratton and Jones 2004).
- c) Interviews allow participants to elaborate on issues that are significant to them (Yin 1994, Gratton and Jones 2004).
- d) Interviews are associated higher response rates and allow purposive sampling (Jones 1998).

One potential disadvantage of in-depth interviews is that the data relies on recall or knowledge of the interviewees (Yin 1994). However this was not very significant with this research, as all respondents had visited Morecambe more than once and within the last 12 months or so. Indeed this was a criterion of the purposive sampling. Also, the questions did not rely on the recall of precise or accurate information but, rather, on the impression of place. A second potential disadvantage is that analysis of the data is difficult and ambiguity can be an issue (Gratton and Jones 2004). This prompted the selection of a very systematic method of analysis for this study (IPA), to help alleviate this challenge and add academic rigour.

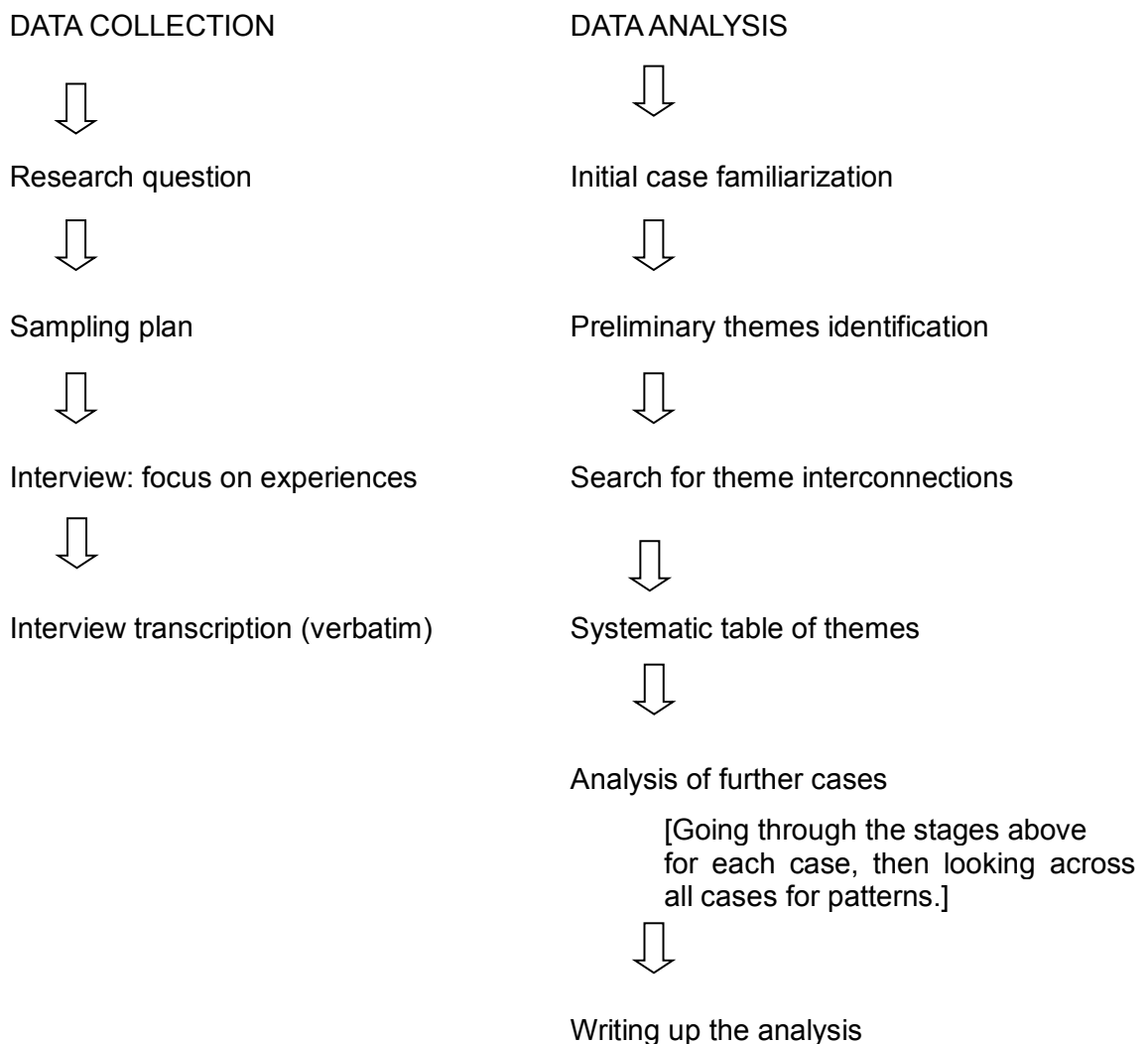
5.5.2 An overview of Interpretative Phenomenological Analysis (IPA)

IPA is primarily an 'approach to qualitative inquiry' (Smith et al 2009: 1). IPA is established within the discipline of psychology, yet remains under-utilized within the qualitative domain of tourism. It is a form of data analysis that lends itself to particular forms of data collection and approaches to sampling, notably in-depth semi-structured

interviews (see Howitt 2010; Howitt and Cramer 2011; Shaw 2010; Smith et al 2009; Smith and Osbourn 2008). IPA allows the texture of individual experience to be revealed. It aims to 'get inside the respondent's head' and gain the insider's perspective as much as possible (it is phenomenological), whilst accepting that this is never fully achievable as it relies on the researcher (it is interpretative).

IPA involves a two stage interpretation process in which the researcher is making sense of how the participant is making sense of their world. It is a combination of empathic and questioning hermeneutics; the researcher is on the side of the participant whilst at the same time questioning what the respondent is (both intentionally and unintentionally) revealing (Smith and Osborn 2008). Howitt and Cramer (2011), Shaw (2010), Smith et al (2009), and Smith and Osbourn (2008) agree that there are two prominent aspects to IPA, namely, data collection and data analysis. Howitt (2010) goes on to clarify these stages (see Figure 5.2).

Figure 5.2: A summary of the stages of I.P.A.



(Adapted from Howitt 2010: 283)

The origins of IPA lie in modern day psychology and are associated with the work of Jonathan Smith in the 1990s. Like the dominant cognitive paradigm in psychology, IPA is concerned with sense-making. However, IPA's methodology is clearly qualitative, quite unlike mainstream psychology. IPA does not test a hypothesis; rather it explores in detail an area of concern such as sense of place at the seaside. IPA involves a very detailed analysis of understandings, and is of particular use when one is concerned with complexity and exploring how individuals perceive the world around them (Smith and Osborn 2008). For these reasons, it is an appropriate analytical procedure for this study.

IPA is informed by three main philosophical areas: hermeneutics, idiography and phenomenology, which will now be examined in turn. Hermeneutics (which is akin to exegesis) was first associated with the interpretation of (Biblical) texts but is now associated with research more generally. It is a theory of interpretation that is most associated with three twentieth century theorists: Schleiermacher, Heidegger and Gadamer. The hermeneutic circle is concerned with the relationship between the 'part' and the 'whole'; *context* is central to understanding and operates at several levels simultaneously (Howitt 2010, Smith et al 2009). Idiography is concerned with the particular rather than making claims about a population. Within idiography, analysis must be in-depth and show an understanding of a group or individual in a particular situation. Idiography can refer to looking at an individual case or the process of linking the examination of the individual case to more general claims. It locates any claims in the particular, and so develops them more carefully (Smith et al 2009: 29).

Phenomenology is, in the most basic of terms, seeing the world from somebody else's point of view in order to understand their behavior (which is influenced by this very point of view or interpretation). It is associated in particular with four twentieth century philosophers: Husserl, Heidegger, Merleau-Ponty and Sartre. In essence, they write that experience is 'a lived process, an unfurling of perspectives and meanings, which are unique to the person's embodied and situated relationship to the world' (Smith et al 2009: 21). Phenomenology was brought to prominence as an intellectual tradition by the translation of Alfred Schütz's work in the 1960s. Schütz was influenced by the phenomenological philosophers and by Weber's concept of *Verstehen*.

Phenomenological philosophy is useful if one is attempting to study lived experience (Bryman and Bell 2003, Howitt 2010). It is also worthy of note that phenomenology is very much associated with humanistic geographers who, as discussed previously (Chapter 4), are the key thinkers with regard to the study of (sense of) place.

Van Manen (1990) argues that phenomenology adds to the discursive tradition through illustrating the interpretation of prevailing discourses. Smith et al (2009) agree that in some cases an extension of a claim to a similar context or group can be considered through theoretical generalizability, 'where the reader of the report is able to 'assess the evidence in relation to their existing professional and experiential knowledge' (2009: 4). What is learned from the interviewees may inform wider claims although more immediate claims are indeed bounded by the group. Szarycz (2009) has accused some tourism phenomenologists of effectively betraying phenomenology by misconstruing key concepts. He objects to studies that seem to claim 'objectivity', as phenomenology can only talk about perceptions and individual meanings. However, Szarycz is merely underlining one of the obvious traits of phenomenology, that it is a study of reality as articulated by the respondent and not an objective reality (Van Manen 1990). One must always adhere to this tenet but not dismiss the possibility of theoretical generalizability.

5.5.3 Studies employing IPA (including those in tourism)

Studies that employ IPA are starting to emerge in the area of leisure (see Cropley and Millward 2009) and tourism (see Wu 2007; Ainley, Phelan and Kline 2011). Recently, Ainley and Kline (2012) used IPA to gain a deeper understanding of agritourism in North America. They note the validity of previous quantitative studies on this subject but suggest that they do not lend themselves to the revealing motivation and attitudes of those involved. Indeed, they suggest that 'it is time for agritourism inquiry to move beyond positivism in order to add flesh to the bones...' (Ainley and Kline 2012: 2). IPA is increasingly employed in other fields too, such as the study of education, religion or business studies (for example Fitzgerald and Howe-Walsh 2008). Health has spurred many IPA seeking to understand the perspective of patients and sufferers (see Turner, Barlow and Ilbery 2002). However, IPA is most associated with psychology, where numerous studies have been undertaken (for example Larkin and Griffiths 2004; Mawson, Berry, Murray and Howard 2011). An article which carries particular resonance for this thesis concerned the wilderness experience in Scotland (Hinds 2011). In considering the interaction between five urban women and place, Hinds establishes a number of themes. Some of these (such as feelings of well-being, contemplativeness and connection) very much chime with the findings of this study. Hinds (2011) explains that interviewees consider their experiences with nature to be uncomplicated, relaxing, awe inspiring and to have a positive effect on oneself.

An increasing number of PhD theses are using IPA as one or the only approach to research; again, there are numerous examples, include Rideout (2010), who explored the spiritual beliefs of the non-religious, Jewell (2007) who addressed the motivations behind prejudice against gay men and Sheldrake (2010) who considered the experiences of teenage fathers. IPA has been used to consider a wide range of topics where it is appropriate to 'get inside the head' of the respondent. Sample numbers when using IPA as the second stage of research are typically between six and eight. For example, Jewell (2007) successfully used a sample of eight in her thesis.

5.5.4 Sampling strategy for the in-depth interviews

The sampling approach for the in-depth interviews was purposive. In keeping with IPA, the sample represented a perspective rather than a population. This research is idiographic and aims to understand a particular phenomenon rather than making more superficial group claims. The sample was chosen to reflect Smith et al's (2009) observation that the ideal IPA sample is small, homogeneous and will find the research question meaningful. Indeed, within IPA purposive homogeneous sampling is vital, if one is to probe with sufficient depth to represent a specific perspective or type of experience. Purposive sampling is in line with the inductive approach that lies behind IPA and echoes the logic used in ethnographic research methods. It means that findings cannot be empirically generalized but theoretical transferability is possible.

IPA sample sizes are small, first and foremost because of the very (idiographic) nature of this approach. The analysis itself is very detailed and this is another reason why samples tend to be smaller than average. As Smith et al (2009: 51) note, 'In effect, it is more problematic to try to meet IPA's commitments with a sample which is too large, than with one that is too small'. The same authors go on to recommend an IPA sample size of between four and ten for doctoral studies. Informal minimum sample sizes for this study were set as eight and, after purposive screening, ten interviews were conducted for this study. Each interview lasted around an hour or more and was digitally recorded and fully transcribed.

The interviewees were identified and located through the information provided during the self-completed stage one interviews. Clear criteria are needed to enable purposive screening and the selection of appropriate cases (Gratton and Jones 2004). In this study, the sample (of willing participants from the first stage of research) was decided through the following series of screens:

- 1) Age - those who were aged 55 to 74 years. This age range accounts for 43% of visitors according to the stage one research results. More precisely, 15% were aged 55-64% and 28% aged 65-74, these were the two most common age brackets. 7% of survey respondents did not give their age. Within the final sample, three of the interviewees were aged 55-64 and seven were aged 65-74. In practice this is an important element of the purposive homogeneous sampling strategy adopted by this study, as discussed previously. It should be noted that no notable correlations involving age were detected from the first stage of research, and differences are not assumed. Nevertheless differences are possible and this can be considered a limitation of this research. Potential differences amongst different age groups would be an obvious area for further research in the future.
- 2) Those residing in the North of England. Sixty percent of 'stage one visitors' came from the North West or Yorkshire. One reason to concentrate on Northerners was to eliminate any issues relating to a potential regional differences – this could be an unnecessary diversion from the main thrust of the research. Again this could be considered a limitation of this research.
- 3) Repeat visitors. First time visitors (29% of the stage one visitors) may have a different view to repeat visitors and are obviously less likely to have much experience of the resort, so were not included in stage two of the research.
- 4) Non-weekly visitors only were considered. Some 3% of stage 1 visitors came to Morecambe once a week or more. These visitors were considered atypical and therefore excluded from the second stage of research.

This left 13 potential 'stage two visitors' out of the original two hundred and one stage one respondents. Of these 13, one respondent could not be contacted (no telephone number and would not respond to letters) and one respondent changed their mind and declined an interview. This left only 11 potential interviewees. Over the summer of 2011, the researcher was able to interview ten of these people. These respondents may still vary in some ways, notably gender or socio-economic status, but were nonetheless relatively homogeneous. In any case, if further screens were applied, the remaining number of potential interviewees would be too low.

Further details of interviewees, for example where they are from and occupation can be seen in Appendix 3. Details regarding the interviews themselves, for example location, are shown in Appendix 4.

5.5.5 The analysis process of the in-depth interviews

The interviews were recorded digitally and uploaded onto a PC for transcription (verbatim) and analysis. For an example of an interview transcript please see Appendix 5. The analysis employed a document with three columns: one contained the original transcript, another for initial exploratory comments and the other for emergent themes (see Howett 2010; Smith et al 2010). Analysis was conducted manually because it best met the objectives of IPA, allowing an increased familiarity with the transcriptions and avoiding the 'mechanistic' approach which is sometimes attributed to computer analysis (Gratton and Jones 2004: 225).

There were seven stages of analysis in this study and these were primarily influenced by Smith et al (2009) but also Howitt (2010) and Larkin and Griffiths (2004):

- 1) The first stage in the IPA process was reading and re-reading. Ten long (minimum one hour) semi-structured interviews were recorded and transcribed verbatim. Initial observations and recollections of the interview were also recorded in a hand written notebook for later reference.
- 2) Initial noting and making exploratory comments. These notes and comments were written in the right hand margin of the document in each case. This stage could be seen as a free textual analysis; notes were made on anything of interest and significance with a focus on the phenomenological. This stage considered the interviewee's meaning; the more conceptual comments were underlined so that they can be more easily identified.
- 3) Developing emergent themes. Emergent themes were written in the left hand margin of the transcription; they were concerned with themes emerging from both the original transcription and the initial notes. The aim here was to turn the original transcript and notes into a concise statement and reflect an understanding. The statement often took the form of phrases that are ideally both particular/grounded and abstract/conceptual.
- 4) The fourth stage was searching for connections across emergent themes. At this stage the researcher was only concerned with one individual case and the themes therein. These themes were then grouped; drawn together to form a

structure. This was done through a process of abstraction, which is bringing similar themes together and developing a new name for the cluster.

- 5) Moving to the next case: The next case was always treated on its own terms and new themes were allowed to emerge, as one would expect when adopting an idiographic approach.
- 6) The sixth stage in the IPA process involved looking for patterns across cases, once all individual case analysis was completed. Cases did illuminate each other and themes did emerge from across the cases. Difference was not overlooked and was noted. A cross-case table of themes was produced.
- 7) The final stage in this process was the write up based upon this structure and supporting data.

Larkin and Griffiths (2004: 218) point out that the stages of IPA research, such as those highlighted above, 'follow the basic process of inductive movement, from the particular to the general, which is the underpinning of IPA.' General findings, as discussed in the next chapter, can always be traced back to specific cross case emergent themes, then to emergent themes in single cases and even back to specific comments. In the next chapter these general themes are always supported by these comments, by the words of the interviewees themselves. The link between the emergent themes across cases and the spoken word is not broken. IPA allows us to get inside the head of respondents and to hear their voices.

5.6 Ethical Considerations

The research associated with this thesis did not involve any element of deception or any ethically controversial elements. An approach of informed consent was adopted; the interviewees were informed as to the nature of the study. The researcher was willing to answer any questions, other than those regarding his personal views regarding the resort (unless it was necessary to gain the respondents opinion). This was in order to avoid the introduction of bias.

Confidentiality was the most significant concern. None of the data gathered was particularly sensitive although various recollections and views could certainly be described as private. In the case of the in-depth interviews, pseudonyms were adopted in order to prevent potential identification, even though none of the interviewees were concerned about this when asked.

Questionnaires (from the first stage of primary research) did include respondent names, addresses and contact information. The respondents were informed that the data would be treated in confidence and that data will only be used for academic purposes. On-line data is stored on a relatively secure University system which cannot be accessed without a password. Hard copies of questionnaires and transcripts are locked in a secure filing cabinet.

The empirical design was submitted to the University of Central Lancashire's Research and ethics Committee within the Faculty of Management in 2008. Nothing was queried and research was granted approval.

5.7 Summary

This chapter has explained the methodology and research methods of this thesis in clearly and succinctly as possible. At the centre of this lies the search for seaside meaning and sense of place; what does this place and the experiences it offers mean to visitors? The first stage of research, the questionnaire survey, and the second stage of research, the interviewees, feed into each other. The first stage informs the second by offering direction and the second stage offers clarification and detail. It is in the second stage where new connections between various factors are realised and at last we are able to understand the factors that form a seaside specific sense of place. The next chapter discusses these issues as they emerge from all stages of research.

Chapter 6

Research Findings and Discussion

6.1 Introduction

6.1.1 Introduction to the research findings

In this chapter, the findings from both stages of the research are discussed together. To recap, the first stage of the research in this study was the questionnaire survey and the second stage was the in-depth interviewing. Results from the first stage informed and supported findings from the second. Indeed, both stages identified parallel themes. For these reasons, the first stage of research is crucial to this study and its influence can be seen throughout this chapter. Qualitative and quantitative data sit alongside and support each other. However, it is the in-depth interviews and the subsequent application of IPA which offer the richest data, leading to the generation of new theory. Thus, the outcomes the in-depth interviews form the basis of much of this chapter. In other words, it is the second stage of research that most informs our understanding of a seaside-specific sense of place, but it is the questionnaire survey that best introduces it and provides context. Therefore, this section starts by considering the questionnaire results.

Only the most relevant and significant data from the questionnaire survey are included in this chapter. More of the results from the first stage research, including a good deal of the descriptive data, can be seen in Appendix 6. The findings from the questionnaires, including descriptive data, confirm many observations made in the literature review regarding visitors to Morecambe. Tourism to Morecambe is dominated by those from the North (60% were from the North West or Yorkshire) and the older age groups (43% were 55-74 years old.) In short, the demographics hold no surprises in the context of what has already been learnt from the literature review.

The first stage of research, questionnaires, was relevant to the second stage, interviews, in two important ways. Firstly, it informed the purposive selection of cases for the second stage, which aimed to represent a perspective rather than a population. Potential interviewees were filtered, the most significant screens being age (55-74 years) and place of residence (North West and Yorkshire), as explained in the last chapter. Secondly, some findings from the questionnaires also offered an insight to

attitudes, behaviour and activities of visitors to Morecambe. In this sense, the questionnaire informed and supported the second stage of primary research, which went on to explore the motivations, attitudes and reactions of this older Northern market.

Some of the findings from the questionnaire offer a useful introduction to this chapter in their own right (see Figures 6.1 and 6.3). For example, they offer an overview of touristic activity, offering a useful backdrop against which to consider the visitor experience in more detail. Figure 6.1 paints a picture of how the respondents spend their time in the resort. Showing the percentage of respondents who undertook a particular activity, it highlights the top twenty activities. A remarkable 79% of those surveyed walked / strolled in Morecambe, 65% visited the Eric Morecambe Statue near the promenade, 57% visited the promenade / stone jetty and 54% explored with no particular plans. These top four responses all place ‘ambling’ along the front at the centre of popular tourist experience in Morecambe. The promenade and coastal strip (see Figure 6.2) was, without doubt, at the heart of tourism activity in Morecambe. This is supported by various findings from the interviews which are discussed during this chapter.

Figure 6.1: The 20 most popular activities of respondents (%).

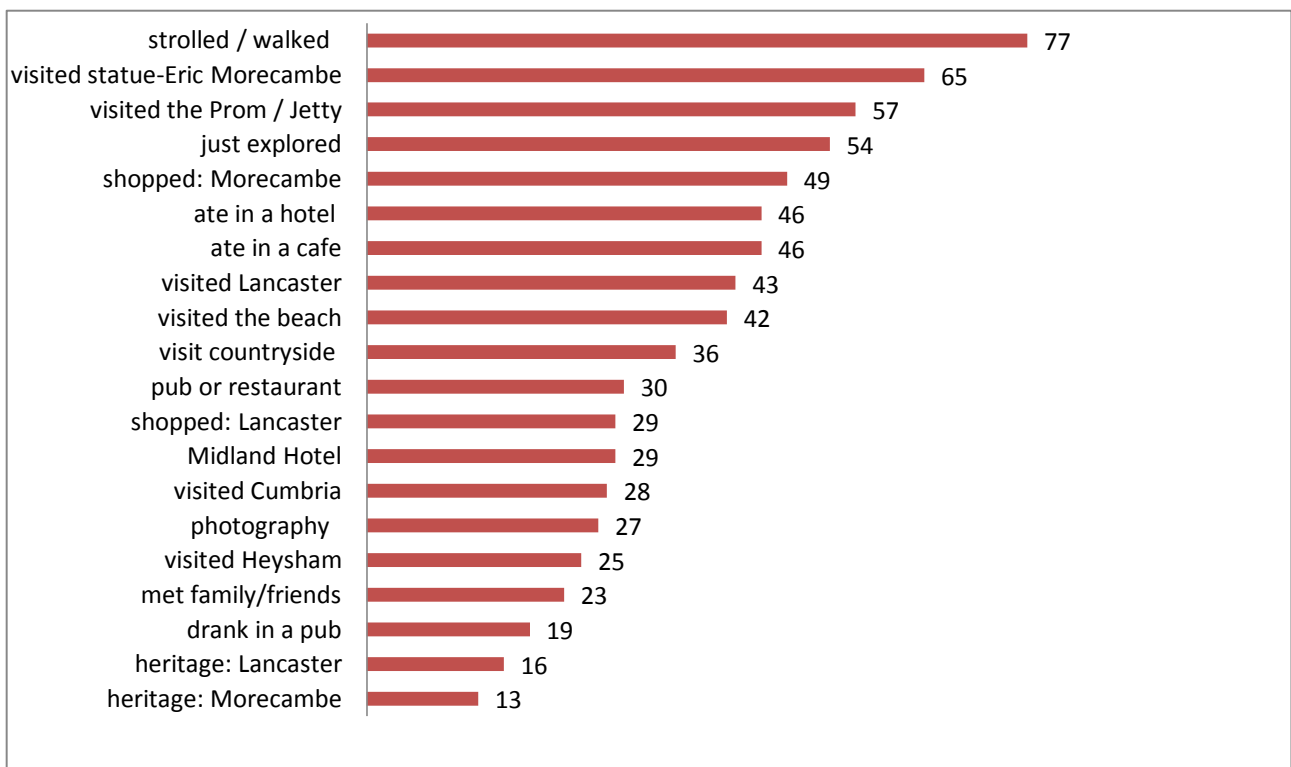
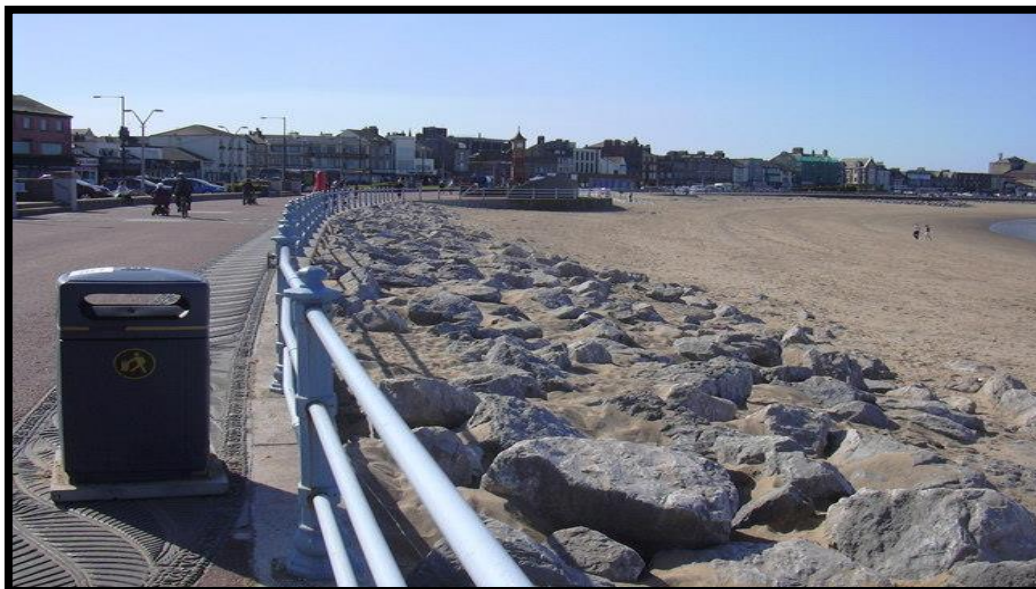


Figure 6.2: Morecambe promenade and beach: easily accessible and at the centre of tourism in the resort.

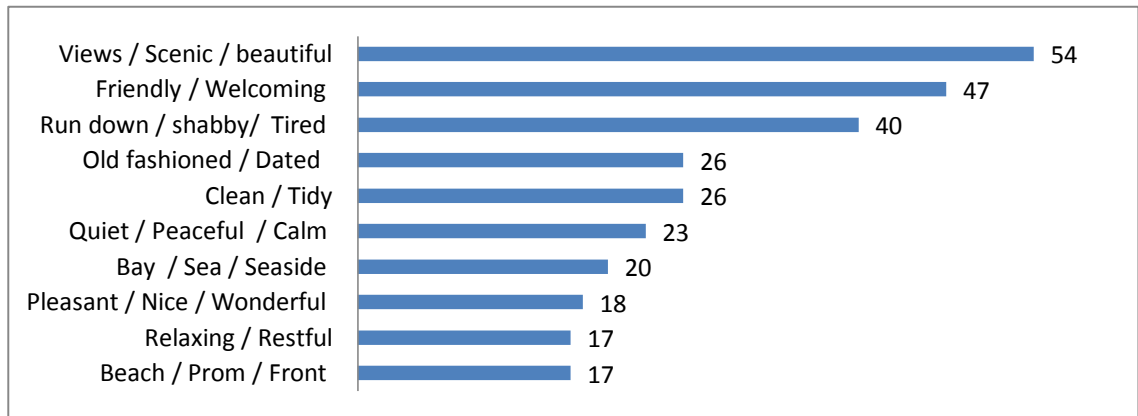


(Image: Wikimedia 2012).

The questionnaire afforded respondents the opportunity to describe Morecambe in three separate words of their own choice. The analysis of adjectives is semantic interpretation that seeks to differentiate the interpretation of their surroundings. It gave respondents a chance to include interpretations that had not been considered by the researcher. As with Figure 6.1, it provides useful background information, or context, from which the tourist experience can be explored in more detail, as well as offering a useful introduction to tourism in Morecambe.

The top ten words chosen to describe Morecambe were consistent (Figure 6.3). For example, 'views' / 'beautiful' were chosen 54 times by the 201 respondents, that is, 27% of the time. Interestingly, the resort was seen as scenic, friendly, tidy but also run down and old fashioned. However, *old fashioned* need not always be seen as a negative. Again, it seems that the vistas, promenade, beach and general environment are valued whilst, at the same time, the resort was considered traditional and most definitely out-of-date. These findings support subsequent observations from the second stage of research regarding the importance of the seascape and recognition that parts of the town are run-down. Indeed, the interviews outline how visitors consider the vistas to be the main attraction, albeit one that contrasts sharply with a town which is recognised as needing investment. These themes are explored further during this chapter. These findings, shown in Figure 6.3, are a good example of the first stage of research supporting the second, as parallel themes tend to emerge from both.

Figure 6.3: Words used to describe Morecambe (f)



When data collected by the questionnaire survey was cross referenced, clear themes emerged. The most significant statistical relationships of note concerned the correlation of satisfaction with the destination and other attitudinal scale item data. The results were grouped into four clear themes, or groups, that represent the four main emergent strands of sense of place:

- a) *Issues of identity*: both resort identity and touristic identity.
- b) *Experiencing the sea*: perceptions of the coastal environment.
- c) *Wellness*: including health, (re)connecting to nature and spirituality.
- d) *Nostalgia and childhood*.

In the most general of terms, respondents who identified with one of these four inter-related themes, through the questionnaires, were statistically more likely to be satisfied with the destination. Relevant tables displaying this information are found throughout this chapter during the discussion of each theme.

These themes were corroborated by the second stage, that is, the in-depth interviews. Originally, identity and nostalgia were grouped together at the end of first stage of research. However by the end of second stage of research, it was clear that they needed to be treated separately as they emerged as major themes in their own right, especially nostalgia. The results from the first stage and the literature review did influence the schedule for the interviews in the second stage. However, the interviews were semi-structured and at least partially guided by the interviewee. The same four themes did emerge from the interviews but there were some differences. For example, the open-ness and flexibility of the interviews allowed the relative importance of certain themes, and the inter-relationships between themes, to become much more apparent. At the same time, the depth of feeling regarding various topics became clear. For example, a surprising lack of any deep-seated loyalty to Morecambe was identified yet precious and emotionally charged seaside holiday memories were abundant. In other

words, flesh was put on the bare bones of the seaside experience, as outlined by the first stage of research, so that meaning could be explored. The themes that emerged from the interviews and the way in which they were grouped are summarised in Table 6.1 below.

Table 6.1: An overview of themes from the in-depth interviews

EMERGENT THEMES	SUPER-ORDINATE THEMES	OVERALL THEMES
The identity of the traditional seaside resort	Seaside place identities	Issues of identity
National identity at the seaside		
Morecambe's identity (by comparison to Blackpool)	Morecambe's place identity	
Attachment to Morecambe		
Seaside Heritage: a defining characteristic	Seaside heritage and place identity	
The Midland Hotel: attraction and icon		
An improving destination	Morecambe's shifting identity	
Shortcomings and poor facilities		
A divided resort – inconsistent development		
The sea as the main attraction at resorts	The lure of the sea	
The interchangeable seaside experience		
Picturesque bay views	Experiencing the seascape	
The seaside and the senses [smell and sound]		
The dynamic and powerful sea	The characteristics of the sea	
The vast and awesome sea		
The timeless and primeval sea		
The Restorative Seaside	<i>The spiritual seaside and well-being</i>	Wellness
The Meditative Seaside		
The Spiritual Seaside		
Experiencing nostalgia at the seaside	Nostalgic seaside visits	Nostalgia and Childhood
Nostalgic motivation for seaside visits		
Reminiscing: childhood memories of the seaside	Nostalgia for seaside holidays of childhood	
Nostalgia for <i>modest</i> childhood holidays		
Parents revisiting resorts of their childhood		
Beach play and it's characteristics	The beach: play and nostalgia	
Nostalgia for the beach of a lost childhood		

A more detailed record, including numeric information, of emerging themes is also provided in a more complete table that can be seen in the Appendix 7. The numeric elements of this second table give do not necessarily reflect the full significance of each theme but nevertheless indicate which themes were brought up most frequently.

The second stage of research suggests that a surprisingly consistent set of beliefs were painted upon the canvass of the shoreline. Early in the interview process, it became clear that these beliefs and sense of place were very much shaped by the perceived characteristics of the sea itself. This blue space was described in a number of ways varying from 'relaxing' to 'awesome'. In each case, a different meaning or set of meanings were ascribed. Identity is very much an over-arching theme that runs through these meanings and this study of the seaside, including, for example, childhood memories, family narratives, social traditions, Britishness and even our place within nature/creation. Wellness of the mind, body and soul also represented a broad group of themes. However, no theme emerged more forthrightly, or as often, as nostalgia. These themes are connected to, or highlighted by, the seaside environment. At the seaside we are brought into sharper focus and our lives put into perspective against seemingly endless space. Furthermore this environment need not necessarily be Morecambe specifically, as the experience is seemingly transferable to other resorts.

The main overarching emergent themes from this study (issues of identity, experiencing the sea, wellness and childhood and nostalgia) are aspects of sense of place. These place-based themes emerged so strongly and consistently from the research, especially from the second stage, that they needed to be treated on their own terms, as the constituent parts of the genius loci. The results are considered within these broad themes.

6.1.2 Notes on the presentation of data

Within the first stage of primary research, patterns were searched for across the data and non-parametric testing took place across all potentially meaningful correlations. Each set of scale data (rankings) were cross tested against other scale items data, demographic information and visitor habit information. This was undertaken in order to establish any significant relationship that may exist from the first stage of research. Spearman's Rank Correlation Coefficient was employed. This gives two figures when

correlating two sets of data; the correlation coefficient (r_s) and significant value (P). The r_s value ranges between -1 and +1 and indicates the strength of the correlation and if it was positive or negative. The correlation is significant if the P value is lower than 0.05 (with 0 been the most significant score possible). These test results should be seen as indicative as correlation is not causation; in the best of circumstances it provides an indication of the *likelihood* of a causal relationship. Causal relationships should not normally be assumed from correlations (Finn et al 2000, Gratton and Jones 2004). Descriptive data from the questionnaires can be seen in the appendices.

A substantial number of quotes from the second stage of research are included to provide evidence, as in common in IPA and as discussed in the previous chapter. Please note that the interviewee quotes are shown in italics in this chapter to avoid confusion with other text. At the end of each quote the page number from the transcript of each interview is included so that it may be traced back as required. These clusters and themes are shown in the table 6.1 which provides a useful overview of the themes, as they emerged from the interviews. The four clusters of themes, as first identified through the first stage of research and corroborated and further explored through the second stage, are now explored in turn. Issues of identity are considered first before moving on to experiencing the sea, wellness and finally nostalgia.

6.2 Issues of identity

6.2.1 A sense of place at Morecambe

Issues of identity were one of the four main themes identified within this study. Issues of identity emerged as a key component of a more over-arching measurement of sense of place through the questionnaires. The questionnaires measured sense of place adopting methods discussed in the previous chapter. The (unadjusted) results are shown in table 6.2.

Table 6.2: Measurement of sense of place at Morecambe (rated 1-5; 5 = agree strongly).

Sense of Place construct	Statement / scale item	1 -	2	3 -/+	4	5 +
Identity (ID1)	This is one of my favourite places	9.5%	14.4%	38.3%	22.4%	9%
Identity (ID2)	I feel relaxed/happy in Morecambe	2.5%	5%	21.9%	45.3%	22.4%
Dependence (D1)	It is a great place for the things I enjoy	6.5%	17.4%	37.3%	25.9%	8.5%
Dependence (D2)	There are better places to be	6%	12.4%	30.8%	29.9%	15.4%
Attachment (A1)	These visits are an important part of my life	22.9%	11.9%	34.8%	14.4%	10.9%
Attachment (A2)	I come here because I always have done	33.3%	10.9%	27.9%	10.9%	10.9%

It appears from these results that a potential sense of place is unlikely to be uniform. For example, issues of identity (notably 'ID1') do seem more significant than issues of attachment (notably 'A2'). These results are more informative and useful when cross referenced with other data. Scale items relating to sense of place were cross tabulated and tested against other variables in order to find any significant relationships. No such significant relationships could be found between sense of place scale items and the majority of variables, including age, gender, region or even how long tourists had been visiting. The lack of a relationship between any of these variables and sense of place was unexpected. Indeed, the only variables to have a significant relationship with sense of place related to satisfaction. Visitors who indicated that they felt a stronger sense of place also tended to indicate that they were more satisfied with the destination. These relationships are detailed in Table 6.3.

Table 6.3: The correlation between destination satisfaction and sense of place

Construct	Statement / scale items (against destination satisfaction)	'P' value	'r_s' value
Attachment	<i>I come here because I always have done</i>	.007	.196
Attachment	<i>These visits are an important part of my life</i>	.000	.328
Identity	<i>I feel relaxed/happy in Morecambe</i>	.000	.562
Identity	<i>This is one of my favourite places</i>	.000	.470
Dependence	<i>There are better places to be</i>	.000	-.401
Dependence	<i>It is a great place for the things I enjoy</i>	.000	.554

As can be seen from Table 6.3, Destination Satisfaction had a significant relationship with one of the Place Attachment questions and two of those concerning Place Identity and Place Dependence. The negative wording of the 'there are better places to be' item means that the negative relationship is in fact in line with the other results. Overall sense of place responses did correlate with the satisfaction response. One interesting aspect of these results is that place attachment appears to correlate less clearly than other aspects of sense of place. Satisfied respondents did not tend to think that they visited because they 'always have done'. Firm conclusions cannot not be drawn from this alone. However, the survey also revealed a lack of correlation between any of these sense of place scale items and the frequency of visit or even the number of years visiting the resort; when tested, none of these combinations had a *P* value less than, or even close to, 0.05. The lack of any apparent link between frequency and length of visit to either satisfaction or sense of place items was also unexpected. It suggests the possibility that visitors' impressions of Morecambe are not greatly impacted upon by their visiting patterns. The results also suggest that no aspect of sense of place is more important than identity, and attachment was lower than expected.

The second stage of research supports this initial finding, with identity being fundamental to discussions related to place, in a number of different ways, notably nostalgia. This is, perhaps, not surprising; nostalgia and spirituality were expected to be emergent themes given their potentially dominant role in sense of (seaside) place as revealed in the literature review in Chapter 4. However, an unexpected theme to arise from the interviews was that of the aforementioned transferability of the seaside experience or, to put it another way, the interchangeability of traditional seaside resorts. These themes are discussed in more detail later in this chapter. Firstly Morecambe's identity is considered.

6.2.2 Morecambe's identity and resort typology

Interviewees consistently defined Morecambe in opposition to Blackpool. Indeed, it rapidly became clear that some interviewees were thinking in terms of typology and others in terms of hierarchy when trying to describe or define Morecambe. The interviewees knowingly considered seaside places within an approximate resort typology. Blackpool was placed at one end of the spectrum and Morecambe some way towards the other end. At the very least, Morecambe was considered and defined through comparison to Blackpool. These categorisations were usually explained or demonstrated through a comparison of the attractions but, more often, the clientele.

P.K.: Well you've, you've got two or three different kinds of resorts, you've got the Blackpool type... kind of thing where they're providing us as much amusement as possible for when you can't go and sit on the sand. 26

W.H.: I would think, more so the people who go to Blackpool and probably on a hen night, a stag do or... it's just become like a magnet for... I mean, there's nothing wrong with that. People go there to enjoy themselves and spend their money, and that's what Blackpool is all about, isn't it? So I wouldn't knock it for that. But it seems very different to how I see Morecambe somehow. 54

A.D. Was the only interviewee who claimed to enjoy Blackpool and was the most positive, yet still seems to describe it in rather negative terms overall.

A.D.: Well I think that Morecambe's got a natural beauty and a quietness and a serenity about it. And I think that Blackpool is vibrant but its past its heyday and it's sort of bawdy and - is that the word - and it's verging on vulgar. 58

Blackpool's clientele are seen as young party goers and in no way similar to the interviewees or the majority of visitors to Morecambe. This assertion, that Blackpool is for the young, is not seen as a modern development but rather a long-standing difference:

W.S.: Of course Morecambe wasn't... Blackpool was more teenage orientated than Morecambe or Fleetwood; they were like quieter places when I was a teenager. 9

The difference between the resorts is also seen in terms of a hierarchy. Morecambe is seen as more tasteful and upmarket than Blackpool. Comments regarding taste carried obvious connotations of class. Interviewees often explain the appeal of Morecambe through describing the antithesis of the resort – Blackpool:

D.B.: Blackpool is not a place I would visit you know, because it's gaudy, and the way I see it from when I was young I suppose, it wasn't a place that, that, that we visited much because we liked Morecambe! [smiling] And it was a very different place, even back in those days. You know, it was a very different place to, to Morecambe
72

In summary, Morecambe is seen as *beautiful, natural* and *quiet*, whereas Blackpool was considered *brash, gaudy* and *tacky* – these last three adjectives were used repeatedly. Morecambe was sometimes perceived as superior to Blackpool but, above all, as being different from it. The smaller resort was seen to represent simple and tasteful pleasures that are simply not associated with Blackpool. Overall, though, this section tells us at least as much about Blackpool's image as it does Morecambe's. Of course, one might expect that Blackpool would be frequently mentioned (as a comparison) when describing any British resort and especially when the interviewees are based in the North of England. It was not surprising, therefore, the difference between Morecambe and Blackpool emerged as a clear theme in the interviews. Moreover, the comments of the respondents reflected the literature review which suggested that both economically and historically the resorts are in fact very different from each other (Walton 2000).

Thus far, the discussion has focused on issues surrounding what the findings of the research reveal in terms of resort identity. However, it is also worth considering what they did *not* show. The review (Chapter 4) highlighted a strand of argument that seaside resorts have (or had) an element of the carnivalesque about them, at least in terms of place image or place myths (Bennet 1986; Shields 1991; Stallybrass and White 1986; Webb 2005). None of the primary research indicated this to be the case. Certainly, the questionnaire respondents did not associate bad behaviour with Morecambe at all, nor did interviewees raise this subject. However, Blackpool was described in terms such as *rowdy* and very much associated with stag and hen parties by interviewees, hinting at the carnivalesque. Hence, this research cannot deny or confirm the existence of a carnivalesque seaside, but it does indicate that it is not associated with Morecambe in particular. Logically, the carnivalesque would be more likely to be located in places associated with appropriate place myths (Shields 1991) and, therefore, any future research in this context might be better focused on Blackpool or Brighton. Morecambe was considered more genteel and was partially defined by its lack of the carnivalesque, always in stark contrast to Blackpool. In this sense at least, Bakhtin's theory is potentially relevant to the place identity of Morecambe.

Destination and visitor typologies can be complex and either illuminating or misleading. However, a simple typology of resorts could be based upon the extent to which they are described as marginal or carnivalesque. Many other issues would run parallel to this, not least visitor class, visitor age and resort size/infrastructure. Agarwal (2005) suggests that smaller resorts such as Morecambe and Heysham have suffered particularly over the last few decades. Class (which is not a particular focus of this study) may well be relevant here but the interviewees and respondents came from a variety of backgrounds and nobody suggested that Morecambe was up market; except in comparison to Blackpool. Age was certainly a relevant factor, as Blackpool was far more associated with young people and apparently had been for years. Indeed, the literature review suggested that Morecambe had been seen as a place for the older visitor since the 1970s, yet Blackpool is still seen as a party place. At the same time respondents considered Morecambe to be a good family day out and no theme was more important to the interviewees than childhood. Morecambe was, therefore, associated with retirees and families with children but not young people. This mirrors the demographic analysis provided by previous studies and visitor numbers (see Gibson et al 2008 and England's North West Research Service 2009). The visitors' views on who visited Morecambe were generally accurate. This is logical since the visitors' associations with the resort, if representative, would of course have a direct impact on these numbers and demographics. Image will influence visitor type. The demographic profile of the interviewees (they were all aged 55-74 years as explained in the previous chapter) meant that they could offer a personal insight into this area.

Interviewees went to great lengths to stress the difference between Morecambe and neighbouring Blackpool. Yet, as is about to be explained, they also saw the transferability of the resort experience more generally. Morecambe was seen to be offering a transferable experience. This could be in opposition to Blackpool which might be seen as sitting outside this phenomenon. Alternatively, both are transferable in the sense that they fit into the wider pantheon of seaside resorts, even though they contrast sharply when held in contrast to each other.

6.2.3 The identity and interchangeability of traditional seaside resorts

The interchangeability and transferability of the seaside experience is discussed here because it informs issues of identity. However it also informs section 6.3, which looks more closely at various aspects of this experience, and 6.5 which considers nostalgia.

Interviewees tended to make little distinction between resorts, treating them all as *seaside days*. The transferable *seasideness* of Morecambe appears at least as important as any resort-specific sense of place.

P.P.: ...there is a bit of a blueprint, there are certain things that make a seaside a seaside. 64

W.S.: I mean to me the seaside is, as the name implies, it's the seaside. And I don't think it matters too much where you are, if you're at the seaside you're at the seaside 80

B.J.: I remember seaside holidays and, seaside, days at the seaside, as a happy part of childhood memories. And even when you get older you can still enjoy those days, though that was in a different part of the country, where I was brought up. 4/15.

From a purely touristic point of view, one can see the reasons for the perceived transferability. Cultural signifiers marked the seaside to be the seaside, not least the built environment and especially seaside heritage. Only a minority of interviewees felt an attachment to Morecambe but, even in these cases, sameness was perceived across resorts. The questionnaire tested various potential associations with Morecambe and, in doing so, clarified the aforementioned cross-resort cultural signifiers. Table 6.4 below shows the seaside was very much associated with health, nature, Britishness and tradition, highlighting the most significant statements in terms of seaside associations.

Table 6.4: Seaside associations

Statement / scale item	1 -	2	3 -/+	4	5 +
A visit to Morecambe is good for you	1.5%	2%	17.4%	43.8%	32.3%
A trip to the seaside is a very British thing to do	2%	4.5%	18.9%	41.3%	29.4%
It's a chance to see the beauty of nature	2%	5.5%	20.9%	42.8%	23.4%
A trip to the seaside is a traditional thing to do	3%	6.5%	23.4%	38.8%	24.4%
Morecambe is a good place for a family day out	6%	6%	26.6%	43.2%	17.7%
Morecambe is old fashioned	4.5%	4.5%	30.3%	34.3%	22.4%
Morecambe is peaceful and quiet	1.5%	7%	31.3%	36.8%	18.4%

Cultural signifiers, such as sticks of rock, Bed and Breakfasts, sandcastles and the windswept front, are well recognised nationally as being British and of course they are commonplace. For the interviewees, cultural signifiers and memory are intertwined:

D.B. You know, that I think a lot of people sort of my age in a way, remember about the seaside, would be the typical visit to the seaside, spending time on the beach, the ice cream, the building sand castles, they...the paddling, all those sort of things that would be a typical seaside visit for kids my age back in, in the you know, the sort of 50s, early 60s – 50s particularly. 22

The sea, beach and related activities are clearly of great significance to this character / sense of place. Piers and promenades were mentioned more often than anything else in this topic area and are clearly seen as a vitally important part of what makes a resort.

P.P.: The prom... a nice promenade. A pier ((laughing)), I think a pier's quite important to a seaside resort. 6

The character of the traditional seaside resort was not, however, entirely positive. Indeed it was tinged with loss and *faded glory*.

P.S.: I think that's the image you get and sort of almost all of them have seen their heyday and they're not as they were. 67

One interviewee went further, acknowledging these changes but also distinguishing between the physical characteristics of place and the meaning we ascribe to place. He said:

W.H.: I think it's deeply ingrained in our culture....Physically obviously everything changes. But I think in our minds, culturally, it's a great place to go and enjoy yourself. 19

The seaside is part of our culture and national identity. It reminded visitors of Britishness because it is considered an old fashioned place rich in British leisure traditions, linked to earlier time periods, and nostalgia for times past.

T.M.: It's like nostalgia, in't it, really, it's bred into the English people.

Interviewees also linked the coastline itself linked our identity as a distinct island nation. The physical coastline and seaside culture at resorts inform Britishness.

Another way in which this resort experience can be seen as transferable is in the context of the coastal strip, for the visitor experience is dominated by the presence of a seemingly unchanging constant; the sea. The main touristic activity in Morecambe is walking along the promenade and enjoying the sight, smell and sounds of the seaside environment. Similar experiences can obviously be had elsewhere, pointing to some interesting questions regarding sense of place at the seaside. This transferability of place is first and foremost a results of the impingement of space, of 'nothingness', on this place. This is discussed in a later section. However, the history of these resorts may well have some bearing on this perception of place. This transferability is not some post-modern globalised condition but the direct result of the industrial, Fordist, roots of these towns that met the demand of industrial towns and boroughs which also have an element of sameness. The purpose of all of these resorts was of course broadly similar and it moved from health towards fun (Shields 1991). These resorts are rooted in the past and have the potential to develop the social cultural cache of heritage in the near future. Their old fashioned nature and 'faded glory' makes them a distinct and potentially appealing sub-group of towns in the twenty first century; they are seen as interchangeable amongst themselves but distinct more generally. Exactly which resorts are interchangeable remains questionable. For example, this interchangeability may be limited to medium sized resorts, but the variables therein lie outside the scope of this study.

Within this context, the potential importance of maintaining seaside heritage and not diminishing the *seasideness* of the resorts is clearly evident. Indeed, when the blue spaces and promenade are left aside, only built heritage was named as a positive defining characteristic of Morecambe. The Victorian and art deco periods were often referred to and heritage appeared to be valued:

TM: You know, them, them old buildings are, are the ... they were built a lot in Victorian times but they're still fine buildings, and that is what when you go to a seaside and you look at all bed and breakfasts' along the front and, and they are the essence of, of the seaside anyway... 100

Built heritage offers a tangible link with the past. In so doing, it offers a fertile environment for nostalgia and associated issues of identity to thrive in. This link to the past provides the opportunity for a range of distinct meanings to be brought to these resorts. These meanings turn space into place and constitute an important element of *character*. One interviewee thought that many contemporary towns and cities lacked this difference; they valued distinctiveness, as can be found at the seaside:

W.S.: When we were youngsters if you went to a... Well like if you just went to Preston or Wigan you would get a variety of shops that were owned by different people and I mean now you just go and they're all the same... But I would think Bournemouth again is a bit like, what was the other place we were at? Oh I think Llandudno for instance, now they've kept, what I like is they've kept the old traditional sea front, they haven't, you know, they've got... I think Bournemouth was similar, you know, it was nicely decorated...59/60

Seven interviewees certainly placed value upon the built heritage of the seaside and all of them wanted these buildings to be restored and used:

P.P.: I just think that the... the buildings that they... the old buildings that they have should be utilised and should be, you know, made more accessible to people, or... they should do some... they shouldn't knock them... certainly shouldn't pull them down. You know, the Winter Gardens, for example...48

Figure 6.4: The restored Midland Hotel



(Image: Hughes 2012)

Figure 6.5: The restored Midland Hotel as viewed from the promenade



(Image: Gateway 2 the Lakes 2012a).

Half the interviewees brought up the significance of the Midland Hotel to Morecambe as a destination during their interviews. The renewed and reopened art deco hotel (see Figures 6.4 and 6.5) attracted a good deal of attention nationally as a unique piece of architecture and potential barometer of change. This was reflected in the comments of the interviewees for whom it represents the best of Morecambe:

WH: ...the Midland Hotel just looks... it's just an icon, isn't it, really?

40

The Midland is seen as a tangible link to the past. Not only this, but it seems to be an idealised and selective version of the past. Interviewees even likened a modern day visit to this hotel as reliving a decadent past:

TM: You're thinking ... 'cos it did have a, a part in history when it was the venue of all the rich. Big cars were parked outside, I've seen photographs. Very rich people using it in the 20s and 30s. And so you're now able to go there and it, it's like reliving that, you know. 86

P.S.: Because before that time it was sort of the place to be, people used to come didn't they I think... 2

This appreciation of heritage does not necessarily translate into a discussion between modern and traditional forms of architecture, or even the unique selling points of individual resorts such as Morecambe, but, rather, maintaining a clear identity for this group of towns – traditional British seaside resorts. Of course a typology may exist within this group; as already noted, the interviewees suggested that Blackpool is distinct and more *vulgar* than other Lancastrian resorts for instance. However, in most cases experiencing the seaside in a pleasant environment was central to these visitors rather than something else particular to Morecambe. Ironically, the only thing that consistently advantaged the seaside experience at Morecambe for all interviewees were the sea views, which were considered to be amongst the most beautiful, primarily because of the backdrop of the Lakeland Fells to the North. Owing to this, the visual elements of the seaside experience were very keenly felt; in many other respects, though, the experience would be transferable. Putting it another way, the sea itself is considered the main draw to the seaside in general terms, but the seascape of Morecambe Bay was regarded particularly highly. Visitors tended to refer to the traditional built seaside environment in these generic terms, however these references were often punctuated by specific reference to The Midland Hotel or the Eric Morecambe statue. These icons informed Morecambe's sense of place which in turn fed into a more transferable seaside sense of place, which this thesis later describes as *seasideness*.

Issues of identity as they relate to place permeate many of this study's findings. The literature review and, to some extent, the first stage of primary research suggested that place attachment and dependence should also be significant, alongside place identity. However, place identity was, unexpectedly, more a reflection of a transferable and more generic seaside identity rather than something more specific to Morecambe. In a similar fashion, the interviews reveal an attachment to the sea and seaside but only a limited attachment to the resort of Morecambe specifically. The attachment to the seaside was very much intertwined with place identity. Place dependence was similarly affected; visitors depended on the seaside more than one might expect – spiritually, physiologically and psychologically. The role that these seaside resorts play in people's lives is undervalued, yet visitors are not necessarily tied to or dependent on a specific resort. In all but one case, another seaside resort would *do* because, as one of the interviewees put it, 'if you are at the seaside you're at the seaside'. This would suggest that the range of other traditional resorts available, their perceived social desirability, issues of access and other practical considerations would be likely to dictate destination choice as long as they all offered *blue space*, a pleasant experience and beach where children, the inner child or memory can be free and at play.

6.2.4 A divided resort: the importance of the regenerated seafront

Figure 6.6: The Stone Jetty – along with promenade it has been transformed by the Tern Project. These areas represent the main reason to visit Morecambe.



(Image: Gateway 2 the Lakes 2012b).

For the most part, regeneration of the touristic infrastructure in Morecambe has focused on the resort's greatest asset, the sea front (see Figure 6.6). It is this area which attracts the visitors who took part in this study. The interviewees explained in detail how the rest of the town was, essentially, unappealing. The resort was divided between the coastline and promenade, regenerated through the Tern Project, and other parts of the town. Findings from the first stage of research complemented these observations.

Whilst questionnaire respondents were happy in Morecambe (70%), more were happy by the seaside more generally (81%); similarly, whilst most were satisfied with Morecambe (61%), more were satisfied with the beach / promenade specifically (71%). More information on these statements is offered in Table 6.5, which has not been adjusted in light of questions left blank (which typically come to 3-5%).

Table 6.5: Visitor satisfaction ratings.

Statement / scale item	1 -	2	3 -/+	4	5 +
I feel relaxed / happy by the seaside	1%	2%	14.9%	45.8%	31.8%
I am satisfied with the beach and prom	1.5%	6%	20.4%	44.3%	25.4%
I feel relaxed / happy in Morecambe	2.5%	5%	21.9%	45.3%	22.4%
Morecambe is improving as a place to visit	6.3%	4.2%	27.9%	40.5%	21%
I am satisfied with this destination	3%	8.5%	27.4%	45.3%	14.9%

The coastal strip is absolutely fundamental to tourism activity and tourists in Morecambe, with little touristic activity occurring elsewhere apart from in Happy Mount Park, the main entrance of which is only a few metres from the promenade. The questionnaire respondents were asked about the activities that they undertook; the three most common activities (notably strolling) involved the coastal strip (see Figure 6.1).

The promenade, beach and sea provided the basis of much of the last stage of data collection and dominate this study as it dominated the visitor experience. When interviewees were asked about changes that they would like to see and their feelings towards the resort, a very clearly perceived division was highlighted. The interviews went on to reveal more than just a focus on the coastal strip, as the first stage of interview confirmed, but rather a perceived split between this zone and the rest of the resort.

All but one of the interviewees highlighted shortcomings in the resort. They acknowledged problems facing the resort or the way in which it was viewed negatively by others. At the same time all but two considered it to be improving and all but one had plans to return. Clearly the picture of Morecambe was mixed, indeed half of the interviewees saw Morecambe as a physically divided resort, with the re-worked

promenade and beach areas contrasting sharply with many other, unattractive, parts of the town (see Figure 6.7). For the most part interviewees were critical of Morecambe or at least some aspects of the resort.

G.D.: Morecambe became a bit of a joke, didn't it, a few years ago.⁹⁵

The lack of facilities was a talking point:

D.B.: the biggest change, is the lack now of facilities, for holiday makers. And is this why a lot of people you know, pass the place by now and will go to Blackpool because there are still the three piers, there's the towers, whatever – there's entertainment there that you know... Whereas if you come to Morecambe, you know, by 9 o'clock everything is shut up.³⁴

When asked what facilities they would like to see the interviewees referred to swimming pools, theatres and more cafes. The suggestions were always attractions that Morecambe had lost over the years. The only new suggestion was a better road link to the motorway to bypass the traffic problems of Lancaster. The interviewees wanted a traditional seaside resort, just a *better one* or one more like the way it used to be.

Figure 6.7: The West End of Morecambe. Note the boarded shops in Westminster Road and the nearby West End Gardens on the promenade, featuring an art installation. A divide is apparent.



(Images: Jordison 2012b, Lancaster City Council 2013b).

The negative comments were balanced by positive viewpoints. Interviewees considered the resort, more specifically the promenade area, to be much improved:

W.H.: I think the main change is probably quite recent, the regeneration of the promenade. They've made a really nice job of that. 3

P.P.'s comments were typical, again she talks negatively of the town on the one hand but positively of the front on the other:

Well it still needs a lot of money spending on it, doesn't it, pumping into it? 40

They've done a lot of work since the last... the previous time that I'd been there. And it... it's very pleasant, actually, now, the front at Morecambe.3

The divide was between the re-developed promenade and stone jetty, improved by the Tern project, and the non-regenerated areas. The promenade and the Midland Hotel were consistently referred to in positive terms. The rest of the town lying behind the promenade was generally described in negative terms. Nobody referred to any regeneration, improvements or pleasant areas away from the promenade, although Happy Mount Park was viewed favourably and as such represented an exception. The following transcription excerpt clearly demonstrates this divide between the front and the rest of the town.

G.D.: Morecambe, in my view, is a one-trick pony: the promenade. Now, when you, when you come away from the promenade we very, very seldom go into the, very seldom go into the town... The town is rundown, you know, it's in great need – in my view – it's in great need of regeneration. And, you know, it, it needs – well, I'm not a town planner or anything – but certainly something to develop that town centre, in my view. 17

One interviewee also noted this divide and went on to describe the planning and development to date as haphazard.

W.S.: I think Morecambe has sort of somehow let itself down, it's always had, it's always had that frontage but it's kind of let itself down a bit from the development that hasn't happened or it's happened haphazardly...51

Morecambe has a notable attraction in the form of the frontage that includes great views, a new promenade, works of art, an attractive beach and the Midland Hotel. Often, however, comments reflecting this are associated with a 'but' from interviewees. From the tourist's point of view the resort is effectively split. One can stand on the promenade look out to sea and have a good quality experience by taking in beautiful views, or one can turn around and see a resort which needs a face lift and holds very few attractions. In one direction, the view is uplifting; this impression is almost highlighted by the sharp contrast of the view in the opposite direction which offers a far less satisfying vista. Of course, one's 'gaze' is subjective but it is remarkable that half of the interviewees independently recognised and commented upon this sharply contrasted divide. In a casual discussion, a local and academic colleague, Edwin Thwaites, suggested that look one way and Morecambe is a middle class resort, look the other way and it is working class resort.

This view of a divided resort highlights just how significant the coastal strip is to these visitors. The front, promenade and beach, was the only oft-cited reason to visit; these tourists came for this, despite been distinctly underwhelmed by the rest of the town. The seafront has allure. This confirms the assertion of the 2012 Morecambe Area Action Plan:

The collapse of the town's role as a traditional English seaside resort is well known. This left the town with a central area that in many ways is not fit for purpose. The city council has done much to transform the seafront and promenade and more needs to be done here but little has been done to rework what is landward. Here much of the environment is of poor quality and the town centre or rather what passes for this is fragmented and weak with a limited offer of very uneven quality. The consequence is that away from the seafront the experience fails to meet the expectations of many residents or visitors. (Lancaster City Council 2012: 2)

6.3 Experiencing the Sea

Figure 6.8: The view from The Battery, Morecambe, on a clear day



(Image: Gateway 2 the lakes 2012c).

6.3.1 The sea as the main attraction

When the questionnaire respondents were asked to consider the attractions of Morecambe, the promenade area, the sea and sea views were of utmost significance (see Figure 6.8). Respondents were asked to describe Morecambe in three words. The group of words that were most frequently used was 'Views/Scenic/Beautiful'; as such the seascape topped the list by some margin (see Figure 6.3). Still within the top ten groups of words most commonly used to describe the resort were 'Bay/Sea/Seaside' and 'Beach/Prom/Front'. In addition, more respondents were satisfied with Morecambe's promenade and beach than they were with the resort overall. Indeed, 81% of respondents indicated that they felt 'happy / relaxed' by the seaside, agreeing more strongly with this than any other statement in the survey (see Table 6.5). All of these responses point towards the importance of the coastal strip to the visitor experience in Morecambe.

In the second stage of primary research, the in-depth interviews, all but one interviewee identified the sea itself as the main attraction at seaside resorts. Interviewees considered the sea, beach and promenade to be either the main or even the only attraction in the resort:

P.S.: I wouldn't know what attractions there would be other than the beautiful promenade and the scenery over to the Lake District and the sunsets...12

D.B.: it's really down to that, that, that fresh air, that, that seaside, you know, look across the bay and, and the views and all the rest of it. I think that's the biggest draw you know 61

The interviews reveal a great deal about the nature of this attraction. The seascape and coastal environment were not just another place; the seaside was considered to be something special:

W.S.: And the funny thing is my wife and I, we'll go and sit on the sands, you know, there's something about the beach that's still attractive. 39/40

W.H.: There's just something nice about being at the seaside, isn't there, really?

P.P.: ... There's just something about the sea, I like being by... near to water, by water. 67

These quotations are just a sample of clear references to the importance of being next to the sea. The consistent use of *being* in this context may well be significant. The interviewees are expressing the importance of not doing anything in particular other than perhaps walking. They do not refer to the man-made attractions of any type, nor indeed to complications more generally. They reflect the importance of the seaside as a place that simply allows one to *be*. Nothingness suggests no impingement from the physical world in the form of making continuous, conscious decisions. Paradoxically, the physical nature of the existence in the form of the sea encourages or highlights this condition of nothingness. A less philosophical approach to *being* could be the importance of experience; the importance of being there and experiencing it.

The seaside visit is considered a distinctive experience which engenders certain emotional responses that emerged as clear themes; the sea in particular was considered powerful, awesome and timeless. Before examining such themes it is useful to consider the role of the senses in the seaside experience.

6.3.2 The seaside as a distinctive and sensory experience

The interviewees valued distinctive places, they saw distinctiveness between towns as something that had faded in recent decades with the growth of placelessness as espoused by Relph (1976). The interviews also clearly show that the sea is more than just an attraction. It is in fact the most significant defining characteristic and sits very

much at the centre of sense of place. Parsons comes to a similar conclusion regarding Scarborough, through examining the literary work of Osbert and Sacheverell Stilwell:

Ultimately, however, perhaps the genius loci of Scarborough's physical landscape – the eternally shifting sands upon which human beings play for only a short period – is its ability to symbolise at once the transitory and the eternal in the topographical imagination. (Parsons 2011: 83)

This sense of place was expressed in terms of seaside meanings and experiences. More specifically, experiencing the seaside environment and the senses were intertwined with recollections of and associations with the seaside. One topic demonstrates this clearly; the landscape or, rather, seascape. Indeed, all of the interviewees raised this topic. Across both stages of primary research nothing was mentioned more often than the (picturesque and beautiful) views across Morecambe Bay. Gazing at the view was described not only more often, but in much more emotive terms than any other physical aspect of the resort. Interviewees even expressed an attachment towards the sea view itself, as the statement below from D.B. shows. The views and sunsets across the bay (see Figure 6.9) were repeatedly described by the adjective *beautiful*, for example:

D.B.: But I think it's also the fact that you look across that bay, particularly on a summer's evening when the sun's going down, and, and it's over the bay and there's such beautiful sunsets and beautiful views that you can't help but, but be, be attracted to it and can't help but we affected by it. And I think this is what sort of happened over the years – I think it's turned much more into that, into the, the serenity and, and the, the...the love of that view... 11/12

P.S.: For me I think it's absolutely splendid sort of in the evenings when the sun's coming down its just beautiful 41

Figure 6.9: Sunset over Morecambe Bay



(Image: Stribling 2011)

Interviewees focussed on the importance of *seeing* the sea on holiday. In reality being by the sea and seeing the sea may differ little in terms of behaviour. Seeing corresponds with an appreciation of nature and the picturesque. Visual consumption of *romantic* vistas is an important aspect of the tourist's seaside experience:

W.H.: I think probably all the time actually my eye would be drawn out to sea. And I couldn't really say why. It's just a nice feeling to look out to sea. I think everybody does, especially, you know, when you're there at the seaside. Probably one of my favourite spots would be right out at the end of the stone jetty, because you can just look out.
72

The experience of *seeing* the seascape or *being* by the sea goes hand in hand with holiday / leisure time. The seaside holiday is framed and given meaning by space and time.

P.P.: Because I always feel that if I go on holiday I like to see the sea at some stage. 76

T.C.: I, I go to ... I would never think really of, of going inland [on holiday]. I get excited when I see the sea and the, and the bays and the coast. The coast excites me, yeah. 102

G.D.: Yeah, I think it is because of what I was saying to you earlier about a change of environment: you know, we like to be on the front; we like to see the sea. 11

Whilst the seaside experience was most often expressed in visual terms, other senses also underpinned it. The sounds of waves crashing, the smell of the sea and fresh air were referred to consistently. We move past the Gaze (Urry 1990) and Smell-scape (Dann and Jacobsen 2003) to a holistic and natural seaside experience; it is accessed through strolling or sitting on the promenade always expressed in positive terms.

The senses constitute a distinctive element of the seaside experience. The sound of the sea was consistently mentioned but always alongside some other aspect of experience. Interviewees associated seaside smells and sounds with the movement of the sea, as well as relaxation.

B.J.: I think the sound of the sea, and the sound of the waves, the sort of regular pattern of the lapping of the water, or waves crashing if it was a rougher day 40.

P.P.: I think it's the smell of the sea air, and the noise of the waves, or just the rippling of the water. 68

The smell of the sea often accompanied descriptions of fresh air and beliefs regarding the health giving properties of the sea:

T.M.: But the fresh air along with walking along the prom, being able to, to smell the sea air is great and it, it does, it makes you feel ten years younger, you know. 34

This seaside experience is underpinned by the senses and is, without doubt, the most important attraction that the resort offers these visitors. The lure of the sea and appeal of this blue space is strongly felt. The sea is, quite simply, the defining characteristic of the seaside resort. In Morecambe more specifically, the sea is by some margin the most important attraction.

The sea was described and characterised in a number of different ways by interviewees but three clear themes, or pairs of themes, emerged, some which had already been identified in the survey. In each case, the descriptions were positive and very much linked to the seaside experience and appeal. In a sense these characterisations are an elaboration of the afore mentioned seaside experience, based upon the senses; they offer an insight into this experience and the interviewees emotional reaction to the sea. They also link to and underpin the emergent themes of wellness, freedom, spirituality and nostalgia; these are explored later. The sea related themes were as follows:

1. Dynamic & powerful
2. Vast & awe inspiring
3. Timeless & unchanging

6.3.3 Dynamic and powerful sea

The interviewees described the sea as powerful and dynamic. It is dynamic because it was considered ever changing through the fast changing tides, weather, storms, seasons and light conditions; in short, it was associated with movement. This constant state of flux was seen as both intriguing and beautiful. These natural patterns were considered out of our hands and so very much underpinned to the idea of a powerful sea. The sea was seen as a powerful, uncontrollable and dangerous force; it was compared to a wild animal and described as frightening. The mix of the powerful and picturesque presents a potent force that is both fascinating and appealing. The descriptions offered by the interviewees are reminiscent of those of pathos and

sublimity from earlier centuries.

The seaside is governed by the tides and weather; it follows a number of cycles and is seemingly in a constant state of flux. Six interviewees referred to these dynamic aspects of the seaside environment. These constantly changing features are seen as fascinating, beautiful and appealing in their own right. Movement is of central importance to this:

W.S.: And I think with me there's a fascination with the sea, with the water, it's something that always attracts me, just the fact that it keeps moving, going out and moving and coming back. 41

B.J.: And looking across, especially on a clear day, looking across the bay, it's, it's quite something; it certainly adds to the visit. Also intriguing is the rate that the tide comes in, watching it come in, and go out, so quickly. 36

Running alongside these observations of a dynamic environment was the theme of the *powerful sea*. Two interviewees described the sea as a powerful animal – unpredictable, uncontrollable and dangerous. One of these went on to describe the sea as 'frightening' (A.D.92). At the same time she was fascinated by this force and often described sea views as beautiful.

A.D.: Well it's like, it's almost like a wild animal isn't it? Like you could be looking at a tiger in a zoo and thinking how wonderful it is and how you feel this love for it, but yet it's completely unapproachable and you know it's untameable and it's - what can I say - completely... it's got a will of its own, you would never have any control over it whatsoever.....a force to be reckoned with.....98

The sea of old, as described by Corbin (1994), still has its place in the minds of the interviewees. The view towards the sea is not straight forward; it is both picturesque and powerful. It is perhaps this dual perception that makes the sea so fascinating and appealing.

6.3.4 The sea, vastness and awe

Some interviewees referred specifically to awe, whilst others referred to vastness as thought provoking and powerful but did specifically use the word awe. These two themes blend into one and in many cases would be difficult to separate. Indeed, awe has been defined as the combination of 'perceived vastness and accommodation' (Keltner and Haidt 2003: 303). Accommodation here refers to the adjusting of mental structures that cannot assimilate a new experience. To be awe struck is to experience

reverence to something much more powerful or vast than oneself. In the context of landscape or seascape, the natural environment would usually demonstrate this power through its vastness and/or severity. For a moment, we connect with something far greater than us, we feel part of something *bigger* and at the same time humbled and potentially changed by it.

Vastness puts things into perspective and puts us in our place, potentially our place within creation. This is underpinned by the questionnaire survey, in which respondents were asked to rank this statement 'Looking at the sea puts things into perspective'; 51% agreed or agreed strongly and only 13.4% disagreed or disagreed strongly. There was also very strong positive correlation between this statement scoring and visitor satisfaction with beach / promenade area.

Interviewees considered visiting the sea to be a potentially powerful experience; they commented on its vastness and saw it as awe-inspiring. All seven of the interviewees who made such comments found the openness and vast outlook of the seaside to be thought provoking and appealing. This appeal took slightly different forms; vastness was associated with nature, the elements and beauty for the most part but also curiosity and imagining what lies *on the other side*, travel and the past:

P.P.: The beauty of nature and the elements, and the... yeah. And the vastness. 81

P.K.: But, I mean, so you can have a feeling of distance and thinking about what it's like on the other side of what you can see so it kind of opens up your imagination. 17

W.S.: Well, I think it's the sense of sort of ((pauses for thought)) taking you to another place sort of thing, you know, like the sense of travel and... It always sort of intrigues me like where the water's come from sort of thing. 43

W.H.: You know, my first thoughts on that are like probably for thousands of years man's just looked out at the sea, you know, and wonder and... I don't know, something maybe about travel... 60

For one interviewee, the vastness of the sea appeared to be bound up with her fear of it:

A.D.: You know because it's so vast and scary. It's like out of space almost isn't it? 97

Two interviewees specifically used the adjective *awesome*. They linked the awesome

nature of the sea to our place in the world and creation. The awesome nature of the sea is a comfort, an assurance that there is something bigger out there:

P.S.: ...because I mean when you're in it yourself, you know, you're just like a tiny little speck and a wave and all these huge rollers coming in and different tides and, you know, it does make you feel, you know creation, well to me I just feel it's very peaceful and, you know, sort of quite awesome really.57

G.D.: Well, I think, I think one of the things is, is distance. You know we can... when we're here, when we look out there I can see, when I look out the window I can see a, you know, a chunk of sky; but I can also see a lot of buildings and just a few trees and so on. So, I'm a bit restricted here as I look out of our front window. When I go to Morecambe or wherever, particularly Morecambe, I mentioned earlier the bay, so when I go to Morecambe you can look out, so it's unrestricted. And then you look across the bay and you look across at the... to the far side, and you begin to see the Lakeland hills and so on. And then I begin to think, I put on my dog collar and I begin to think about God and about creation. 59/60

Indeed, many of the quotes concerning scale and vastness, as can be seen above, should be read as containing *spiritual* connotations. To be more specific, their imaginations ran free, they considered travel to another place far away, the source of this vast space, our distant past and for some there was an element of fear. Notably the sea still represents something of a mystery of what lies on the other side; the unknown and freedom. This is perhaps no surprise when one remembers that the interviewees are contemplating a seemingly eternal space. These connotations appear subconscious but consistent except in the case of G.D. who was well aware of his religious interpretation of the seascape. The quotes can be read as *spiritual* in nature, in the secular sense. Vastness is clearly one of the unique features of this environment which underpins its spiritual significance or, at the very least, a uniquely contemplative sense of place.

6.3.5 The timeless sea

The interviewees made a number of connections between time and the seaside. For instance, the experience of being by the sea went hand in hand with leisure time, the seaside holiday being framed and given meaning by space and time. More striking though was the fact that this environment was associated with timelessness, with a lack of time or a different sort of time.

Interviewees described the seaside as unchanging or timeless; the seaside

environment was reassuring and potentially contrasted with, or highlighted, change as they experienced it in their own lives. The natural seaside environment appears unchanging through the years. In this sense it provides a constant, a timeless and unchanging backdrop to whatever human activity takes place on its shores. The seaside environment contrasts sharply with the frenetic pace of modernity, the pressures of work and the nature of modern life. Relph recognised precisely this phenomenon, which he links to place attachment: 'The feeling that this place has endured and will persist as a distinctive entity even though the world around may change' (Relph 1976: 31).

The unchanging seaside also offered an opportunity to put things in perspective in terms of time, to tune into a natural rhythm of waves and tides and essentially to slow down (see Baerenholdt et al 2004). This is one reason why the seaside is seen as reassuring, calming and relaxing. These observations are reflected in these interviewees' statements:

W.H.: I think particularly nowadays, the world seems to be changing so much, and as you get older you think not always for the better...And to be able to look at something that is unchanging, and for all intents and purposes will always be like that, maybe it's a little bit... has a calming effect, you know, to see that something won't change. Mankind's changing so much. 66

A.D.: ...it takes your mind completely away from all our sort of manmade hustle and bustle. It takes you right back to nature really doesn't it? 105

B.J.: And I think the pleasure of being by the seaside, and being on a beach, that doesn't change really. 41

Two interviewees went further and used the word *primeval* to describe the timeless sea. According to W.H., the urge to experience the sea is both ancient and spiritual in his eyes. Indeed, these connections, these intense feelings, are unchanging and constant just as the seascape itself is. The seaside sits outside of time as we see it – unchanged, unchanging except for its own cycles. The seaside visit is an authentic experience, offering both a re-connection with nature and our past. For W.S., this past could not be more distant, he suggests an evolutionary aspect to this urge or bond:

W.S.: Whether it's a sort of a primeval thing where they say that we came from the sea I don't know, but it's that sort of a feeling. 4

So the time-less (sea) is a constant by which to compare our own modern lives (Relph

1976). However it was also viewed as standing outside of the modern world in the sense that it was ancient or primeval i.e. associated with our historic, pre-historic and even evolutionary past in the form of some genetic memory (Ryan 2002a). However one may explain this phenomenon, people seem naturally drawn to the timeless and our perception of time affects sense of place.

6.3.6 The characteristics of the seaside and expanded thought

Visitors displayed a feeling of expanded thought through experiencing nature. This feeling and a potential connection through awe, as well as other milder emotions, can be traced at least as far back as the work of Edmund Burke's 1756 writings on the sublime (Burke 2001). The sublime offers a potential umbrella term for all of the aspects of the sea discussed so far: the powerful, dynamic, vast, awesome, time-less and primeval. According to Burke, the beauty of picturesque Bay views, as mentioned by visitors, is a quite different form of aesthetic appreciation in comparison to the sublime. The beautiful is the pleasure in viewing a benign subject; power and obscurity do not feature in this form of beauty as they do with the sublime. As discussed more fully in the literature review, Schopenhauer developed these concepts by producing a type of sliding scale between the beautiful to fully sublime. As one moves through the scale one becomes more aware of one's own fragility and the object appears more antagonistic (see Schopenhauer 2010: xxxi).

The questionnaire revealed that the respondents valued the beauty of the bay. All but one of the interviewees referred to a sublime aspect of the sea through the three pairs of characteristics or themes discussed. The concept of a connection and the unending, time-less or ancient nature of the environment was strongly felt by half the interviewees in the second stage of the primary research. Most of the interviewees would have been placed on the last, more sublime, half of Schopenhauer's scale; at least three of them experienced the fullest feeling of sublime at some point during their seaside visits. Touristic experiences in Morecambe were largely focused on the coastal strip and resulted in a set of feelings that centred on both the beautiful and the sublime. These emotional reactions lie at very core of touristic appeal and activities.

6.4 Wellness

6.4.1 The holistic nature of wellness

The holistic concept of wellness primarily refers to an overall feeling of well-being and good health. This umbrella term does not necessarily distinguish between mind, body and spirit. As previously discussed, the sea is considered awesome, dynamic, unchanging, and appealing and offering a form of re-connection. The apparent re-connection with the sea and nature offered a contrast to everyday activities; it was distinct and valued. Such features meant that interviewees found their time on the shoreline to be relaxing, healthy, uplifting, thought provoking and even spiritual. The interviewees firmly believed that visiting the seaside and walking along the front was good for body and mind / soul. At least two of the emergent themes of restoration, meditation and spirit were mentioned by nine interviewees in conversation and all referred to at least one of them.

6.4.2 The seaside as a place of wellness

The questionnaire survey suggested that most respondents agreed or strongly agreed that visiting the seaside at Morecambe made them feel free, happy/relaxed and was good for them. This is shown in Table 6.6 below:

Table 6.6: Feeling good by the seaside

Statement / scale item	1 -	2	3 -/+	4	5 +
A visit to Morecambe is good for you	1.5%	2%	17.4%	43.8%	32.3%
I feel relaxed / happy by the seaside	1%	2%	14.9%	45.8%	31.8%

There is a significant correlation between satisfaction with the destination and the data relating to wellness. The more a visitor is satisfied with the resort, the more likely that they agree with these statements that link the sea to *wellness*, in its most holistic sense. Those respondents who feel free when visiting Morecambe, who come because of the sea and the quiet, they look out to sea and think about life and consider the seaside to be healthy; these individuals are more likely to be satisfied with the resort. Wellness and spirituality are important factors within the touristic experience for many of these respondents. These correlations are outlined in Table 6.7.

Table 6.7: The correlation between destination satisfaction and perceptions of wellness, health and spirituality.

Statement / scale items (against destination satisfaction)	'P' value	'r _s ' value
<i>A visit to Morecambe is good for you</i>	.000	.315
<i>Looking at the sea puts things into perspective</i>	.055	.140
<i>Looking at the sea makes me think about life</i>	.000	.274
<i>I feel happy / relaxed by the seaside</i>	.001	.249
<i>I feel happy / relaxed in Morecambe</i>	.000	.562
<i>The bay and sea are the main reasons to come here</i>	.001	.249
<i>A visit here is a chance to see the beauty of nature</i>	.000	.322
<i>I feel free here</i>	.000	.423
<i>Morecambe is peaceful and quiet</i>	.026	.163

On closer examination, within the in-depth interviews, this association with wellness and the seaside was confirmed. Nine out of ten interviewees linked the seaside environment to *wellness*; they believed that a trip to the seaside is good for you. T.C. has typical, he believed that seaside air made one feel ten years younger. Wellness and the feel good effect of visiting the seaside were consistently identified as an important part of these visits and the overall appeal.

D.B.: And, and I think you know, if, if we're feeling, not a bit down, but if we're feeling a bit jaded, 'let's got to Morecambe you know, and have a walk on the prom.' And it seems to blow the cobwebs away. You know, it's, it's a way of I suppose, of how I would feel afterwards, you know. We certainly do come away feeling better than when we went. 70

B.J.: I think it's just relaxing. I think if you've had ... I mean I'm not working any more, Monday to Friday, but I mean when I used to go there on the weekend, when I was working, I mean just to have a complete change and have the fresh air and exercise, in a good situation, you feel better afterwards. And even now, when I'm retired, I don't have the sort of rush and stress of a job, but I still enjoy it! [Laughs]. 38

A.D.: I think that's why I felt so passionate about this thing about Morecambe because the winter, this last winter we've had was horrendous, and the one before was, not quite as bad as this last one, but when we went to Morecambe in the April I was really low and depressed and felt absolutely terrible. And when we came back I felt so much better and I've not looked back since. 108

The perception that the seaside environment was uplifting and good for you appeared to be remarkably consistent and in some cases powerfully felt (see A.D. above). There is little doubt that the interviewees did indeed feel better after their visits, uplifted or less

stressed, for instance. The in-depth interviews reveal a consistent belief that the seaside was a ‘tonic’ (W.S. 41); it was seen as restorative; fresh air and relaxation were consistently referred to. Superficially these expressions seem consistent with those associated with the early days of mass tourism at the seaside in that they do you good (Ryan 2002a; Shields 1991). It is worth noting that the contemporary benefits of the beach are far more self-indulgent, relaxing and fun than those promoted by eighteenth-century medical practitioners (Ryan 2002a; Shields 1991). However, the seaside still offers a temporary escape from various pressures and problems, such as the stresses of work. Interviewees felt themselves relaxing, adjusting to natural rhythms and slowing down. ‘Relaxing’ was a very commonly used adjective in the interviews. This chimes with contemporary post-modern interpretations such as the newly recognised phenomenon of slow travel and tourism. This movement essentially concerns taking ones time to appreciate place and experience and deliberately shunning mass tourism and high speed forms of travel (see Parkins 2004; Dickinson and Lumsdon 2010).

Some interviewees went on to suggest that the natural seaside environment held qualities and characteristics that encouraged deep thought or meditation; the seaside offered holistic benefits to both body and mind. Interviewees also considered their seaside to have a meaningful element that is best described as spiritual.

6.4.3 Spirituality: (re)connecting with ourselves and something bigger than ourselves

Two scales items from the questionnaire deal with the seaside as a place of contemplation. The results were remarkably consistent. Both suggested that over half of respondents agreed or strongly agreed with statements that link depth of thought to the looking out to sea. Between 13% and 14.4% of respondents either disagreed or strongly disagreed with these statements, a relatively low number. In Table 6.8, 5 represents strongly agree and represents 1 strongly disagree, as is the case throughout this study.

Table 6.8: Seaside thoughts

	1 -	2	3 -/+	4	5 +
Statement / scale item					
Looking at the sea makes me think about life	3%	10%	28.4%	33.8%	20.9%
Looking at the sea puts things into perspective	3%	11.4%	28.4%	30.3%	20.9%

Spiritual is an umbrella term, with the most common interpretation been a secular spirituality which involved a (re)connection with the natural world and appreciating its beauty, complexity, scale and the timelessness. As explored in the literature review, the seashore has long been associated with deep thought, as Lord Tennyson (1969: 165) famously wrote:

Break, break, break on thy cold grey stones, O sea!
I would that my tongue could utter
The thoughts that arise in me

A number of respondents considered the seashore as a place of contemplation and even meditation; a place where one can think clearly and deeply. The quietness, open views and serenity are seaside characteristics that lend themselves to this perception and usage.

W.H.: Just a changing world, and you can still look out to sea, and go to your own personal favourite spot and just look out and think... 71

D.B.: I visit at the moment. I think it's because it's, it's quiet and it's, it's that view across the bay, the sort of serenity, a pleasurable thing to do, to just look out there and, and you know, just lose yourself in, in the whole thing. 13

The interviewees clearly saw looking out to sea and their seaside visits, as a meaningful experience. These interviewees felt a bond with the sea which is best termed *spiritual*.

A.D.: Well I think it's spiritual really. 97

The interviewees saw the seaside experience as an opportunity to re-connect with something bigger than them and so it took on a spiritual significance. Interacting with the seaside environment was seen as much more than a simple appreciation of nature but linked to relationship with it and our place in the world. A.D. referred to the beliefs of Native Americans to explain how she felt about this connection with nature. This very much chimes with Gayton's (1994) observation that the West does not have a sufficient vocabulary to describe our connection with nature and so relies on other cultures, such as native Americans, to express this:

A.D.: It's sort of part of our whole being isn't it, you know, it's like a brother or a sister or a, you know, it's just part of us. 104

W.S. Clearly outlines his desire to re-connect with the sea in the clearest and most physical of ways, swimming, and goes on to explain our relationship with the ocean:

W.S.: ...you kind of want to get back in the sea. I mean if I get the chance even now, you can't do it in this country, there's nothing I like better than swimming in the sea. I mean I think I've only ever done it once in this, well yeah in this country and that was at the Isle of Wight, it was warm enough there at the Isle of Wight, but mainly it's not... I have been in in other places, but I do like being in the sea more than being in a public bath. And I think, I think what we were just saying, it is that feeling that, you know, we belong to the sea sort of thing. 44/45

In the first line he refers to his desire to return to the sea. In a similar way, 'belong' at the end of this quote infers more than just some generic connection but to our evolutionary link to the sea – the harbinger of life. This urge to re-connect with the sea is therefore linked to the very distant past. Earlier in the interview W.S. also referred to the sea as 'primeval' (43).

The open views and natural environment possessed properties that encouraged the interviewees to contemplate existence and creation. W.H. saw this as commonplace and went onto to state:

W.H.: Yeah. I think there probably is something in everyone's soul... looking out to sea, especially at sunset, something like that... Seeing the waves coming in and the sun go down. Mm. 60

The beauty, scale and dynamic nature of that sublime environment tap into the imagination and illicit a strong emotional response. The timeless nature of the shores also feeds into this:

P.S.:...when we're not here they'll still be...the tide will ebb and it'll flow. 59

For G.D. looking out to sea was a powerful experience that reaffirmed his Christian faith. He was the only interviewee who referred to God, rather than a secular spirituality. However this interviewee was not alone in letting the beautiful external environment affect his internal processes, as these issues 'work through' him. He is clearly well read as he correctly refers to natural theology at this point, as God is revealed to him through such experiences:

G.D.: So, in that situation I do think about God and I think about creation and I think about beauty and so on. So, it's called natural theology. So, I, I look at these things, and, you know, there are all kinds of theological things begin to, to work through me. 58/59

The aforementioned connection, to something bigger than us, can also be seen as a reconnection with a more natural state of being and a temporary loss of identity. *Out there* offers an escape from ourselves into a consciousness that just *is*. One interviewee also had such a spiritual experience but expresses herself differently and very eloquently. She refers to the ‘nothingness’ of the environment that allows her to escape from her own thoughts and to meditate. The seaside affords her and the others the opportunity to experience an inner peace.

P.S.:...I think you breathe it all in and I think just getting away into sort of nothingness is very spiritual and it does help me an awful lot, you know just to sit quietly and almost meditate where you block everything out of your mind. 61

So, open blue spaces offers nothingness and the chance just to *be* by the seaside. This in turn affords an opportunity to experience expanded thought; to think more deeply than normal, to meditate, to be more self-aware and to experience spirituality. In a number of cases this spirituality is best described as a sense of oneness; a potentially egoless state in which one feels connected to the world or its creator.

The timeless nature of space at this socio-culturally designated leisure zone very much feed into themes of childhood and especially the loss of childhood, which dominated the interviews.

6.5 Nostalgia and Childhood

6.5.1 Nostalgia

The term nostalgia refers to the yearning for the past in an idealised form and was specifically referred to by interviewees. Nostalgia was linked to destination satisfaction, loss of childhood and perceived changes to childhood. Various places in Morecambe were the subject of nostalgia but none more so than the beach. The sands were seen as a timeless place where children could play and have fun. Indeed many of the recollections centred on beach-based play. Whilst nostalgia itself can be a bitter-sweet emotion, high levels of seaside nostalgia were considered a reason to visit the resort.

6.5.2 Destination satisfaction and nostalgia

Within the first stage of research there was a significant correlation between destination satisfaction and agreement with questions which related to nostalgia. These scale items and levels of significance are shown in Table 6.9 below. These results suggest

that respondents who see visiting Morecambe as a ‘trip down memory lane’ or ‘traditional’ are more likely to be satisfied with the destination.

Table 6.9: The correlation between memories, tradition and destination satisfaction

Statement / scale items (against destination satisfaction)	‘P’ value	‘r_s’ value
<i>Visiting Morecambe brings back memories</i>	.005	.203
<i>A trip to the seaside here is traditional thing to do</i>	.002	.226

Other variables were tested against these scale items but only two others were significant against the ‘visiting Morecambe brings back memories’ scale. They were the number of years that respondents had been visiting the resort and frequency of visit. Both correlations were positive, so the higher the frequency of visit or length of history with the resort, the more likely that visits were associated with memories. There were no other relevant significant correlations between both number of years visiting and frequency and other data sets from the questionnaire. The aforementioned correlations are detailed in Table 6.10 below.

Table 6.10: The correlation between Morecambe *bringing back memories* and scale items relating to visiting habits

Statement / scale items (against Visiting Morecambe brings back memories)	‘P’ value	‘r_s’ value
<i>How long have you been coming to Morecambe?</i>	.000	.480
<i>How often do you come?</i>	.002	.228

In short, tourists who had been visiting for a long time and/or come often believe that Morecambe brings back memories. Those who agree that Morecambe brings back memories and/or is a traditional thing to do, are more likely to be satisfied with the destination. There is a link between time spent in resort, memories and visitor satisfaction. These associations and topics were explored in depth during the second stage of research. It was here that the full extent of the significance of nostalgia was realised; it was far more significant to the interviewees than was expected.

The in-depth interviews confirm that nostalgia is a significant reaction to this place and, furthermore, that it is a reason for tourists to visit the resort. Interviewees stated nostalgia was one of the primary reasons to visit and that nostalgia for childhood was especially significant. One interviewee described the seaside as a type of nostalgia that

is 'bred into the English people' (T.M. 83) and clarified the importance of childhood memories:

*T.M.: ...your childhood memories always bring you back, I think, yeah.
47*

*G.D.: And it's, I suppose, certainly for my wife, it's a trip down
memory lane really when we go to Morecambe. And I, I certainly
enjoy it myself. It's not too far, and essentially that's why we go. 34*

Interviewees pointed out that reminiscing about the good old days was very often a shared, social and pleasurable experience.

*P.S.: ...I mean your whole life when you get older is your memories
and, you know, you become boring because you're repeating them,
you know, 'Oh do you remember when...' you do and often with
affection. 74*

One respondent visited Morecambe largely because of childhood memories but, unlike the others, he did not feel the need to repeat the experience; perhaps the draw was not strong enough or perhaps the visit did not live up to his expectations. Either way, nostalgia is a significant reason to visit but does not lead to repeat visits in all of these cases:

*W.S.: It's like with me... I think it would only be sort of childhood
memories. Like I enjoyed my stay there this last year but I don't know
whether, I don't know whether I would sort of rush to go back sort of
thing. 75*

The in-depth interviews not only reveal the full extent of nostalgia's significance but how it was linked to various other factors. Issues of identity and place underpinned the tourists' experience of nostalgia. The literature review explored links between place more generally and nostalgia, but it seems that the characteristics of the sea had a great bearing to the nostalgic response to this environment. Experiencing the seaside environment engendered nostalgic feelings for the interviewees.

6.5.3 The seaside environment and nostalgia

The seaside environment of Morecambe was associated with nostalgia. Interviewees felt that visiting Morecambe and spending time on the promenade or beach are experiences which lend themselves to nostalgia and/or reminiscing. The unchanging views and weather seem to be particularly strongly linked to childhood memories.

W.S.: I think the thing with Morecambe to me is the, the... looking across the bay, I mean there's not many seaside resorts where you get that background across the bay, it's very nice and I always remember as kids they used to say if you can see across the hills across Morecambe Bay it's going to rain and if you can't see them it's raining [laughingly]. So that was, that was the sort of thing. 8

P.P.: It's... I think the bay is just spectacular, it's just beautiful. And I always feel... I always feel very nostalgic when I go to Morecambe. 23

Running parallel to these themes, family members are often mentioned in the context of childhood memories. It is also noteworthy that the mention of (late) parents is bound up with a more overarching sense of loss from some of these nostalgic interviews.

D.B.: Well, I, I mean I think this [looking at the views] again takes me back. I mean it sounds as though I'm, I'm doing a lot of reminiscing there. But I think it does take me back to, you know, to years gone by when I used to go for a walk along the prom with, with mum and dad... 10

P.K. still associates Morecambe with the wind. She experienced this weather there in her childhood and this is clearly linked to memories of her late father. The place and its weather have become bound to part of her memories of family.

P.K.: Well, when I came to Morecambe with me dad, it was a very windy day, and he said he hates the wind, he was on a ship during the war and they went up and down and so forth. So, you've got the experience of unfettered wind. 19

Apart from the views and weather, the beach was also specifically and commonly referred to in association with nostalgia.

B.J.: I think particularly, yes the beach, sitting on the beach links it to childhood memories 53

Some interviewees linked the timeless beach to dissatisfaction with elements of the present. The beach stands outside these modern times, as an exception that still offers freedom.

G.D.:... I'm not, don't get me wrong, I'm not a luddite, I'm not against computers or anything like that [laughter] but I do believe that a beach gives freedoms that aren't necessarily there in the way that we live these days. 44

All three of these natural elements, the views, the weather and the beach, are relatively unchanging and timeless. As such, they lend themselves to reminiscing and nostalgia by making the escape from the present even easier. There is some suggestion that the traditional built environment may aid this process too:

T.M.: you see ... Morecambe has not changed that much over the years to be honest, the town itself. Yeah, you can remember things, don't you. 38

The seaside link to family holidays and play means that nostalgia for childhood is especially significant. The traditional British seaside resort is the perfect environment for nostalgia. Furthermore this nostalgia, based on seaside experiences, feeds into Morecambe's place identity and the interviewees' personal identity.

The significance of the seascape and the senses, as already discussed, is essential in understanding the link between the seaside environment and nostalgia. Many of the sensory experiences associated with the seaside are essentially unchanged and can act as mnemonic triggers. Traditional seaside resorts are 'key sites' of childhood memories (Parsons 2011: p. 71). The seaside forms a primal landscape that carries a deep resonance (Gayton 1996). The seaside experience may result in a form of reverie when one re-lives childhood directly through regression, when the inner child is allowed to play and have fun (Bachelard 1971; Cohen 1979; Crompton 1979; Ryan 1994). This nostalgia is often associated with a sense of loss or a yearning for a different time (Boym 2001). Above all, the object of seaside nostalgia is childhood; not only one's lost past populated by loved ones, but also the perceived loss of a particular form of childhood that no longer exists.

6.5.4 Nostalgia for a childhood lost

The beach in particular was linked to childhood by the interviewees; it was seen as a place of freedom and play. This play was natural and instinctive but at the same time contained elements of family tradition and traditional games. The beach seemed to reinforce the belief that childhood was not what it used to be because it acted as a barometer of social change. For some, the way in which the beach was used by families today highlighted how things had changed, typically children were not given as much freedom as they used to enjoy. For others, the timeless and unchanging nature

of play on the beach highlighted how other aspects of childhood had changed relative to it. The nostalgia was not just for a lost childhood but an altogether simpler past; holidays of the past were remembered as simple and modest affairs. The 'poor but happy' past was contrasted against much more complicated present and higher expectations from modern day children. Above all, a variety of childhood days out at Morecambe, Blackpool and other seaside towns were fondly remembered.

B.J.: I remember seaside holidays and, seaside, days at the seaside, as a happy part of childhood memories. 14

W.H.: I think my best memories of childhood would be probably the penny arcades. You know? The slot machines and things. Some are very exciting when you're a child, about all the noise and excitement...25

One interviewee referred to a traditional cafe in Morecambe and the fact that his wife gets very nostalgic every time they visit it (see Figure 6.10). Indeed, it appears that this nostalgia and re-telling family narrative is a key reason to visit the cafe and resort:

G.D.: We have to go into Brucciani's because this is a kind of period piece, and I get the same tale – she's not listening – I get the same tale every time we go in: this is where she and her sister came with her mum and dad and they had an ice cream and so on. So, that's the kind of thing I mean by memory lane. But, but it's not just Brucciani's; of course these other places are significant in her memory. 37/38

Figure 6.10: Brucciani's café, Morecambe: a tradition



(Image: Flickr 2008)

T.M. also associated a café with memories regarding a family member, in this case his (now adult) daughter.

TM: And we used to go in a little place on the front and my daughter always used to love the prawn sandwiches, always beautiful, nicely laid out. And even when she was a young, 3 and 4, she used to love the prawn sandwiches. Always asked for them. 59

According to the first stage of research, visiting a café is a popular activity with 46% of visitors doing so when visiting Morecambe.

For P.P. visiting the resort, with its old railway station (now a tourist information centre, pub and venue – see Figure 6.11), also brought back specific childhood memories which, again, involve family members:

P.P.: It does evoke memories of childhood, and I sort of think about the railway station, because the railway station has moved now and it was... used to be across the road from... from the Midland. And then that evokes memories of the steam trains and, you know, putting the windows down and putting my head out of the window and getting into trouble [laughs]..... with my dad. You know, putting my head out of the window on a moving train, and things like that. You know, it's... yes, it brings back lots of happy memories....23

Figure 6.11: Morecambe's former railway station



(Image: Waymarking 2013).

The specific seaside scenes associated with nostalgia varied and included cafes, railways, penny arcades and of course the beach itself. In each case the setting was traditional and can still be visited today. The seaside environment and its built heritage allow a connection with selected elements of the past. These nostalgic scenes were all positive re-telling of a seaside narrative and very often a family narrative too.

Interviewees referred to their childhood pasts as modest, uncomplicated and simple. Typically, these interviewees saw their childhoods, or at least their childhood holidays, as relatively poor but very happy. The modesty of their backgrounds appears to be something that is valued and viewed with pride. It would have been easy, indeed easier, not to mention any financial restrictions and obviously the interviewer did not ask about the social or economic background of the interviewees. One possible explanation is that the interviewees simply see a marked difference between their holidays of past with those they enjoy today and that this needed some sort of explanation. Indeed their modest past may serve to highlight their relatively wealthy present or how much their situation has improved financially. However, within the wider context of the transcripts, this focus on simplicity and modesty appears, first and foremost, to be pure nostalgia. The visitor's comments on this theme were remarkably consistent.

T.M.: ...we never had much money, we used to make our own fun. 40

G.D.: Well, because we certainly had very little money as a family our expeditions to the beach were very, very limited. And... but we did go to the beach and we thoroughly enjoyed it 48

B.J.: Well, there wasn't a lot of money.... we had the most wonderful times. 26

P.P.: ... it was just very simple, we didn't do anything outstandingly – looking back now it was very simple. It was the beach and the donkeys and perhaps if there was a Punch and Judy show...10

Interviewees expressed nostalgia for a simpler childhood, a time when children were apparently less sophisticated than today but when life was uncomplicated. Typically, as children, the interviewees made do, made their own entertainment independently and had freedoms not experienced by mollycoddled later generations who suffer the threat of 'stranger danger'. The quotes from most these interviewees, concerning this theme, were very similar to each other and focus on the beach and play:

T.M.: Because we, we were brought up like ... we use to have to get some pieces of stick and then cut a bat out of a piece of wood and play a game of cricket. They don't have that ability these days, the children, do they, they've got to ... so you've got to put something for them to do. 67

P.S.: Oh we could play on the beach and nobody would be worried about you it was safe, you know, you could run off and go into the sea and nobody would be with you and now, you know, every child's hand is held in case somebody's going to kidnap them or do something awful to them. 78

The nostalgia here is not for the beach or seaside, which still exist, but rather for a childhood which has changed a great deal or is now considered lost. Some interviewees saw changes in beach play as indicative of wider social change. For others, beach play was considered timeless and unchanging and therefore highlighted how other aspects of childhood have changed around it. Childhood nowadays is considered more complicated; children have increasingly high expectations:

G.D.: I think childhood has changed. I'm not saying that's a bad thing; I'm just saying it's changed. But once you get onto a beach you look at kids on a beach, and when I think back to when I was a kid, the behaviour is exactly the same. 49

In either case, whether they saw beach play as changing or unchanging in contrast to the wider world, it was seen as a barometer of change. In all but one of the cases, perceived change was for the worse and clearly indicates a nostalgic viewpoint.

6.5.5 Revisiting childhood & cross generational appeal

In most cases, interviewees reminisced about their seaside experiences of the past and when they visited the seaside today, interviewees re-live their childhood to some degree. The beach could be enjoyed by all and was considered to have cross generational appeal. Unlike modern electronic toys, the beach had a certain timeless appeal that everybody in the family unit could appreciate. Interviewees suggested that their childhood holiday memories encourage, or would encourage, them to take children or grandchildren to visit the seaside. Their background and family history influenced their present day selection of holiday/ day visit destination. They wanted their family to share in the pleasurable experiences from their past; they wanted to share these places:

P.S.: I think I just had such lovely experiences of the seaside because I particularly loved the seaside, Southport, anywhere where there's

sea and sand I think there's something very special about it so I wanted, I suppose unconsciously, you know, I took my children where I'd had happy times and they loved it too. 27

One respondent, D.B., took this further and carefully reflected on the role of paternal figures at the seaside, a key element of which is to 'look stupid'. By this, he seems to mean joining in with children and playing as an adult male. No mention is made of maternal roles but this could simply be a reflection of his gender; although one could speculate that it may reflect a perceived difference between the way in which men and women play with young children on the beach. D.B. did not spend time on the beach with either of his grandfathers, yet he has a clear idea of what this role should be. Playing on the beach is a reflection wider social conventions relating to fatherhood and the role of grandparents. This play is not merely a reflection of his childhood but of an idealised or even imagined past. In the first sentence he imagines how his father would have interacted with his kids, if he had lived long enough to see his grandchildren, on the beach and goes on to list the socio-cultural conventions that make up his view of the seaside:

D.B.: Both my Granddads died before I was born but I can imagine my dad would do this with our two kids when they were little, would be to take them to play on the beach because it's something... You know, like granddads like electric trains – because it's something that they perhaps didn't have when they were little and always wished they had done, you know. But I think it is something that I would want to do and take them, take them on the beach, build them some sandcastles, buy them an ice-cream, you know, paddle in the sea with them, roll my trouser legs up, you know, look stupid. It's, it's probably something I would, I would want to do, again, because it's something that I did when I was little and I think to myself well they should enjoy it as well and they're darn well gonna enjoy it! You know what I mean? [smiling] 54/55

The last sentences here by D.B. sum up the main point of this section well. The adults are adopting their happy childhood memories, or idealised versions of these memories, as a model for family days out; they are continuing the seaside tradition. Three interviewees took this further, by suggesting that they re-enact their own childhood holidays when they visit the seaside as adults. This suggests that the seaside makes them feel the same now as it did when they were children.

P.S.: I think wherever you would go to the seaside you're re-enacting your own childhood as well. 27

One interviewee, an older father, re-lives his childhood seaside experiences vicariously through watching and playing with his children when they visit Morecambe.

W.H.: Them enjoying what you've enjoyed, and you can see them enjoying that and it takes you back to the feelings you had. Maybe buried in your subconscious, but you know, to see them enjoying it, and just having an ice cream in the sunshine and looking out and seeing the view, etcetera, you know? 79

Seeing the view and eating an ice-cream whilst walking on the promenade are experiences that have not changed over the years. The interviews suggest that when one undertakes these activities as adults, we effectively revert to our childhood. Perhaps play and reverie do indeed bring us back to our childhood.

6.5.6 The beach: play and nostalgia.

Figure 6.12: A father and children at play on Morecambe beach



(Image: Days Out Diary 2010)

No environment was considered in more nostalgic terms or as frequently as the beach; thus, it certainly deserves special attention. All of the interviewees considered the beach as a place to play and associated it with childhood. They did not refer specifically to Morecambe but more generally to traditional or common forms of beach

play. Interviewees observed that all children, especially younger children, loved to play on beaches (see Figure 6.12).

W.H.: I think it's just a natural thing to do, isn't it? I know that I enjoyed playing on the sand when I was a kid. 16

Some interviewees spoke of ball games such as cricket but more often they referred to playing with the sand and water. Play and associated paraphernalia were central to the seaside experience as remembered by these interviewees.

P.S....all these sort of things when we were little the beach was part of, you know, you had your new bucket and spade, your kite if you were lucky and swimsuits, you know, all the things that bring to like and you don't remember the rainy days.77

One interviewee gives a specific example of seaside play, making a sand car, which has been passed down through the generations. Here, the cross generational appeal of the beach as well as the central role of the adult in this play is clear; these issues are explored later. More generally, we see again the how seaside experience makes up a part of family narratives.

W.S.: Well, I think one of the main ones and it even carried on with my grandchildren, is making model cars. You know, making a front and a seat for them to sit in. And the spade stuck in for the steering wheel and the usual sand castle and that. 20

Interviewees described what made the beach a perfect environment in which to play. The role of the elements, especially sand and water, was absolutely central to this and there was also a sense of freedom. Freedom was very much associated with seaside / beach play:

G.D.: The key word for me there is freedom. I think the kids can run and they can shout and they can do all the kinds of things that we tell them not to do. 51

P.K.: I think it's because the facilities are there, there is a lot of sand. If you go to a sandy beach and there are rock pools if it's that kind of thing, and it's different from messing about in the garden. So it's a new experience for the kids, it's one that they enjoy, and the facilities are there and they're free. 10

Here, P.K. points out that the beach is a very distinctive environment which encourages different types of play to those found in a back garden or elsewhere inland. The experience is unique and liberating for those involved. The water and sand clearly attract the visitors, especially the younger ones. This play was seen as positive, pure, instinctive, healthy and developmental:

B.J.: I think it's a very good experience for them; there's something basic about sand and water that children can play with in all sorts of ways. It develops their imagination, and they can become completely absorbed in that sort of play. 24

The seemingly open and unconstrained natural environment offers the raw materials needed to play, experiment and exercise the imagination. The act of play, childish play, at the seaside offers a sense of freedom and even escape for the participants – especially the adult ones. The beach is one of the few areas where adults can play with the kids on equal terms; where they can play as they did when they were children. This play is timeless in that it does not change from generation to generation and ageless in the sense that all generations can participate. The beach is physically timeless to human perception but it also seems that it is timeless in a socio-cultural sense too. The meaning of the beach as place mirrors its physical characteristics as space.

Interviewees saw time spent on the beach, relaxing and playing, as an experience which can be understood and shared by every generation. The beach offers a chance to bond through a unique interaction – playing together. The adults, especially the paternal figures, join in with the kids in a unique form of coming together. This could be described as a form *communitas* which is underpinned by the liminal nature of the seaside holiday as a place and time. So the cross-generational appeal of the beach potentially serves a useful function for the family unit:

G.D.: And it [play on the beach] gives an opportunity for parents to interact with kids, with children and grandchildren, in a very free way, you know: to play games, to splash each other and just generally bond, I suppose...44

B.J. described the seaside as providing 'timeless relaxation' for all ages. She then went on detail what she meant by timeless:

B.J.:...there is a continuity about it, because if you think of ... I'm just thinking of the toys the children have today, some of them, and if I think of little girls: dolls and cots and prams, that would, something like that is fairly timeless. But then the sort of more modern toys, and the electronic little games, and things, is something that today's younger generation is experiencing, perhaps the grandmother will never have experienced that and won't know much about that. But I mean going to the beach and playing with a bucket and spade has just entertained everybody through the ages, really. 48

She makes the point here that the seaside experience is one that all generations can identify with. Children through the ages have played on the beach in the same way. The comparison to toys is interesting as the more traditional toys, which compare to the seaside, are seen as timeless. However modern toys and games are seen as generation specific and inaccessible to the older generations. This may reflect the rapid pace of technological change and trends but also appears to be, at least partly, nostalgic.

Seeing families enjoying the seaside enrich the experience for one interviewee, whose children had grown up but who used to enjoy the seaside with her parents and subsequently with her own children. She enjoyed seeing families experiencing the seaside as it triggered both happy memories of time spent with her family and conversations about the past:

P.S.: And other people enjoying themselves is quite lovely to see, you know, for...I always sort of...you know when you go sometimes...sometimes there would be just two or three of us and we can watch families enjoying, you know, and think...and then you start reminiscing, 'Oh do you remember when...' 85

Again nostalgia is apparent in this quote. It could be argued that for cross-generational appeal relies on nostalgia to underpin the appeal of the older generations involved; taking them back to their childhood and perhaps their children's childhood. In short, the traditional British Seaside, especially the beach, was widely seen as a place for the whole family and of happy childhood memories.

This study reveals that, nostalgia is a part of the seaside experience and a way in which to re-visit the past. It is associated with the loss of loved one, the loss of childhood and to an awareness of the passage of time in relation to one's own life. It is a bitter-sweet emotion and is very much tied to the identity of the visitors.

6.6 Summary

A number of clear themes emerged from this study; consistently across cases. Some of these themes, such as the transferability of the seaside experience or the all-embracing influence of space on place, were unexpected and took some time to assess process and fully appreciate. The systematic approach of IPA helped achieve this and, to some extent, the first stage of research helped support it.

This chapter explored the findings of the primary research in as much detail as possible, whilst attempting to clarify emergent themes. However, there are still conclusions to be drawn from the work. Moreover, further analysis of inter-relationships between themes and theories is required to shed light on the sense of place of the seaside, not least the interplay between issues of identity, nostalgia, wellness, and spirituality and the seaside environment; which is in turn characterised as the interplay between space and place. These are explored in the next chapter, which offers a model to summarise seasideness and considers the implications of this research.

Chapter 7

Conclusion

7.1 A sense of place at the seaside: *seasideness*

This chapter evaluates the elements that constitute seasideness and goes on to summarise these in a model, thereby offering an original contribution to knowledge. It also discusses the significance of this research within the context of Morecambe's future. Finally the limitations of this research and potential areas for future research are considered.

This research indicates that the seaside at Morecambe is considered a place of wellness, childhood memories and nostalgia and is linked to identity. However, these are seaside meanings rather than Morecambrian meanings. Along with other seaside resorts, it is valued as a distinctive place that is set apart. This distinctiveness is due to its identity as a seaside town, on the margin of blue space, rather than anything particularly relating to Morecambe.

Blackpool was considered to be different to Morecambe and other smaller resorts; it was seen as busy, brash and bawdy. The neighbouring resort was mentioned far more often than any other resort outside of Morecambe. A traditional resort typology exists but the notable divide is between Blackpool and the rest. This is seemingly because Blackpool is still a very popular fully functioning resort which has a thriving night time economy; making it an exception to the rule. Blackpool dominated, was considered as different from other resorts but it was still recognised as a version of the seaside by the interviewees. It seems reasonable to assume that any such typology is likely to have a regional bias; indeed each region could have such a typology. For example Southend or Margate would be unlikely to feature in the typology of Lancastrians.

Notwithstanding the occasional exception, resorts are considered to be interchangeable within this sub-group of towns. This distinctive seaside sense of place, or seasideness, is both spatially ubiquitous and informed by characteristics association with space. This thesis has identified three main elements that feed into this seasideness. The first of these elements were the characteristics of the sea or coast which underpinned the appeal of this place and informed most other elements of

touristic appeal. The second element was wellness, a broad concept that includes the spiritual draw of the coast. The final element was nostalgia for days gone by which particularly focused on childhood. Visitors who holidayed in other resorts as children, for example in South Wales, could revisit this primal landscape through a day trip to Morecambe as adults. Underpinning all of these observations, and lying at the very heart of seasideness, is the seaside location; the limen dominated by timeless blue space.

Somewhat unexpectedly, place was no more significant to the interviewees than space. Their interaction with this open blue space, underpinned the seaside experience of place. The relationship between space and place is usually seen as polarised, with socio-cultural forces potentially transforming space into place. However, within the context of this study, it was the experiences of space that provided meaning to place. The relationship between space and place was very much a two way and interactive one. The designation of space and place is subjective, but the interviewees considered the sea as an untamed and unknowable force; it was consistently described in terms of space. In addition, visitors' activities centred along the peripheries of this open space. Access to this space, the sea, is clearly limited by a boundary, which would arguably be less distinct in many other landscapes. Space is, therefore, highlighted more clearly at the seaside.

The key elements of seasideness are now discussed in turn. These key elements are the role of the sea, wellness and nostalgia; however their inter-relationship is also discussed in terms of a touristic *search for meaning* in a subsequent section.

7.2 The role of the sea: a place to experience space and expanded thought

The sea was the most important reason for these visits to Morecambe, and perhaps to other resorts that primarily offer an accessible promenade and the potential for relaxation. It is only when we leave behind the distractions of noisy modern life that our senses become fully attuned to the natural world and we start to appreciate it (Abram 1996). The sea dominates the seaside experience to an extent where it dominates sense of place. Pure space, the sea and sands, are the defining characteristic of these places. The visitors involved in this research, travel to Morecambe, and other resorts, to experience space and benefit from it. Higher order motivations and reactions were present; these tended to be shaped by the presence of space. The characteristics of the sea identified by interviewees were those of scale, power, timelessness and an aesthetic appreciation. The reaction to this was multifaceted, interconnected and centre

on nostalgia and wellness in their widest sense. A feeling of well-being was a widely held reaction. This is in alignment with the psychological benefit suggested by Tuan (1977), when a person achieves a balance between place and a space. The vast and timeless nature of the sea in particular seemed to have profound impact on interviewees and is linked to many of the findings of this research.

The timeless puts our own modern lives into perspective (Relph 1976). The timeless and vast sea was also viewed as standing outside of the modern world in the sense that it was a primeval; it is associated with an ancient past and even a genetic memory (Ryan 2002a: 156) that reflects an evolutionary past (Morgan 2009). The interviewees themselves suggested that there is something deep within us that is sparked by the unchanging view. In essence they felt connected to the ancient unchanging sea. Both the time-less sea and primeval sea were considered reassuring and comforting in a way that the modern world is not. This holds clear parallels to the concept of nostalgia although there is, seemingly, no specific past in mind but more of a vague notion of an unending time line stretching back before us, just as the horizon stretches out in front of us into the unknown. What is clear is that the beach allows an escape from the modern day and operates on a very different notion or version of time. This very much appeals to the visitors, and Tuan offers insights into this visitor appeal. He views modern day society as encouraging us to see and treat time and space/place as separate dimensions. He describes our lust for the borderland between them, for the 'timeless paradise'; nature provides perhaps the best timeless paradise. Tuan writes that landscapes and seascapes appear as permanent in contrast to our lifespans. Consider the words of one interviewee: '...when we're not here they'll still be...the tide will ebb and it'll flow'. To feel that you are outside time is attractive as it offers a sense of freedom, 'open space itself is an image of hopeful time' (Tuan 1977: 120). We are naturally drawn to the timeless and our perception of time affects sense of place.

Perceived timelessness, as experienced at the seaside, can be considered as a part of the truly sublime (Schopenhauer 2010). As the visitors look out to sea, they see the beautiful, sublime and a timeless blank canvas without the obvious encroachment of man. The sea view and liminal zone stand outside of perceptible time, thereby allowing or encouraging a range emotional reactions, including sublimity and nostalgia. Indeed seaside towns such as Morecambe, perhaps more than any other aspect of English landscape, now represent an 'endlessly renewing contract with nostalgia' (Bracewell 2011: 43). The timeless/primeval beach offers an escape from the modern day and that is without reference to one's past, childhood or any specific period. A place outside time is an obvious place to visit, if one is dissatisfied with the present. A comparison

could made here with the heritage industry which attempts to re-create selected aspects of the past, in order to temporarily connect with something more than *now* (Lowenthal 2011). For many contemporary tourists, 'reality and authenticity are thought to be elsewhere: in other historical periods and other cultures' (MacCannell 1999: 3). These comparisons are limited, but it is clear that time and escape from modern day life is significant to both forms of tourism. It would be a mistake to think that these visitors are necessarily on some sort of quest for meaning through their visits but, nevertheless, they enjoy and value this connection with something meaningful or authentic that sits outside their everyday experiences.

7.3 Wellness and connecting with nothing

In many cases, interviewees felt a connection with something natural, eternal and authentic that would be best described as a spiritual experience. These experiences have been reported before in studies more concerned with wilderness experiences (Hinds 2011). The characteristics of the blue space offered by visits to Morecambe allow an immersion into nothingness, without any impingement from the contemporary man-made world or having to make continuous, conscious decisions. Rumsey (2010: 13) observes that visiting the seaside brings relief because, 'The Sea marks the terminus of our control'. The environment allowed a certain clarity and depth of thought or encouraged a meditative state; interviewees made a connection between the sea and their consciousness.

The seaside afforded the interviewees the opportunity to change the way they felt and to alter their state of mind; to experience expanded thought. Nothingness offered escape, meditation and a chance just to *be* by the seaside. The perception of nothingness and vastness in this research arose as a theme alongside, and in association with, themes of meditation, spirituality, religion and our place in the world. Nothingness is likewise associated with such themes in academia, philosophy and religion.

Within academia, philosophy and religion Nothingness can simply mean not being. In Hegelian dialectics, nothing would be the anti-thesis to pure being, with everything containing a synthesis of being and nothingness (Satre 1996: 13). Alternatively, Satre argues that a conscious being is nothing, in the sense that consciousness itself cannot be an object of consciousness. Consciousness and the freedom of the imagination are brought into being by the emptiness of nothingness, which lies 'at the heart' of conscious beings (Satre 1996: 22, x). Eastern thought also deals with nothingness.

The Kyoto School teaches that self-awareness is to be conscious of reality as the activity of nothingness. Within the Kyoto school, especially in the works of Nishida Kitaro, reality is being and nothingness at the same time; the subjective and objective are in unity (Heisig 2001). More generally, nothingness is very much associated with Eastern religious practices. Within Eastern meditation nothingness is sometimes regarded as a desirable state of mind, when one is entirely focussed on a thought or activity without thinking consciously, for example Zen Buddhism. The results of such meditation vary between relaxation and a sense of oneness – a potentially egoless state in which one feels connected to the world.

There is a connection between the immensity and limitlessness of the seafront and the depth of 'inner space within us all' (Bachelard 1994: 206) and the unselfconscious childlike being within us all (Bachelard 1971). Nowhere is this better expressed than in *The Waste Land*:

On Margate Sands.
I can connect
Nothing with nothing. (Eliot 1922: 300)

7.4 Nostalgia for childhood in a timeless environment

The timeless nature of space at this socio-culturally designated leisure zone very much feed into themes of childhood and especially the loss of childhood, which dominated the interviews. The seaside provides an unchanging backdrop, against which childhood memories were formed and repeatedly revisited by adults. This re-visitation can take an unselfconscious form of reverie most likely experienced through adults playing with children thereby reconnecting with themselves, a reminiscence triggered by a number of possible sensory experiences or nostalgia.

In many cases, the sense of loss experienced through remembering seaside holidays was self-evident and strongly felt. The loss was often that of a loved one, most often late parents. Interviewees did become emotional when recounting memories of family holidays that clearly mean a great deal to them now. In most cases, the seaside holiday was one of the few times of the year when children would be likely to spend an extended period with their parents, especially fathers. This was reflected very clearly in the interviews where within moments of recounting seaside visits (late) family members featured in the narrative. Walks on the promenade or playing on the beach with family members were often fondly recalled. However, this loss was tempered by a feeling of continuity; interviewees took comfort in the fact that they now played the role of parent or grandparent in trips to the beach. Nostalgia complemented a linear view of their past

but it also informed the present. The family narrative was also circular, as traditions were passed down the generations; one day the interviewees' offspring might remember seaside days with them, as they remembered their parents and grandparents.

In this wider context, nostalgia certainly appears to be at the centre of a bitter sweet but balanced set of emotions. Furthermore, this nostalgia underpinned a cross-generational appeal. All ages could play on the beach; it can be considered as a leisure zone for all ages. Potentially authentic interpersonal relationships develop in such liminal settings, where formal roles are adjusted (Wang 1999) and the paternal figures play freely alongside the children. Perhaps most importantly all members of the family can simply spend time together, unhindered. When the adults played on the beach they were reminded of their own childhood and family narrative. Through playing freely alongside the unselfconscious children and through vicarious observation, the adults could at least partially revisit their past.

The significance of the seascape and the senses, as already discussed, is essential to understanding the link between the seaside environment and nostalgia. The seaside experience itself – the open view across the bay, the smell of the sea, the fresh air, the wind, the taste of the ice-cream, the feeling of the sand between one's toes, the noise of waves crashing or even a win on the penny arcade feel the same to a retiree as they do a child of primary school age. These sensory experiences are essentially unchanged, as is the natural environment and even the built environment closely mirrors that of decades ago in some ways. The senses are closely linked to memory. Sensory seaside experiences in adulthood will remind visitors of the primary memory of childhood; the senses act as neuronal triggers. Taste and smell are especially associated with such Proustian recollections. Traditional seaside resorts are 'key sites' of childhood memories (Parsons 2011: 71). This coastal strip was the foremost landscape associated with leisure and holidays for the interviewees; it forms of primal landscape that carries a deep resonance (Gayton 1996). The seaside experience may result in a form of reverie when one re-lives childhood directly, when the inner child is allowed to play and have fun (Bachelard 1971).

The notion of fun in tourism has been considered over a number of years. Ryan (1994) considers the role of fun in tourism; he refers to Podilchak (1991), who states that fun is perceived as being superficial (silly, laughing), growing out of an activity (usually without purpose) and exciting (not everyday). Ryan (1994: 27) also reminds us that tourism is referred to as a 'sanctioned escape route'; a 'regression into childhood' (see Cohen 1979 and Crompton 1979). Rather than the reverie discussed by Bachelard

(1971), visitors tended to refer to a more self-conscious and less direct connection to childhood; through nostalgia and reminiscence. Nostalgia would often be the more appropriate term because recollections were often associated with a sense of loss or a yearning for a different time (Boym 2001).

Seaside nostalgia has a distinctly negative side. This study reveals that visitors consider that childhood itself had changed; this was consistently demonstrated through reference to childhood play on the beach. Either the beach play was seen as unchanging but other aspects of childhood had changed around it, or beach play had changed thereby indicating wider changes. In either case, modern childhood was seen as different from theirs; which was more adventurous, free, safe, modest and simpler. They were typically poor but happy and 'made do' in their childhood. In contrast, modern children were sometimes portrayed as having higher expectations, more likely to be playing indoors on computer games aimed at youngsters and be more controlled/restrained due parental fears. The loss felt here is for their own childhood and very clearly for that type of childhood more generally; there was some dissatisfaction with contemporary childhood.

Even those who saw problems with modern day childhood still saw the contemporary beach in positive terms and as a relatively free place. Some saw children playing on a beach as timeless and unchanging in itself. The fact that the beach was the perfect environment for free play underpinned virtually all recollections and views on it. The visitors pointed towards the natural abundance of water and especially sand to form the perfect setting for play, for both adults and children alike. Others referred to the feeling of openness and space, with no corners to hide behind. The beach was seen as a relatively unrestrained natural playground; this leisure zone was associated with a feeling of freedom (Kelly 1983). This association of spaciousness with freedom is commonplace more generally (Tuan 1977).

The beach, more than any other specific aspect of Morecambe, seemed to bring back a flood of memories and nostalgia. These memories were formed because the beach is where as young children the visitors played freely. Play is a rich and memorable early experience that is fundamental to the formation of our primal landscape (Gayton 1996). In addition the seaside is a distinct environment and place that is associated with distinct times, holidays, and therefore holds distinct memories and associations.

These strong seaside memories are effectively triggered when one re-visits this distinct place, with timeless views across the horizon and the beach of childhood intact. Nostalgia is an emotional reaction to the seaside but also one of the primary

motivations for these tourists to visit according to both stages of primary research. Selected fond memories of past holidays helped support and maintain the identities of the visitors, 'they could be considered a source of comfort during times of disenchantment' (Fairley 2003: 288). These memories were of seaside holidays but they were not necessarily seaside holidays at Morecambe. The unchanging seaside offers a spatially ubiquitous source of reassurance within the space-time compression of post-modernity (Harvey 1990). Alternatively, the resort can be considered a vehicle that allowed visitors to fleetingly transcend time, through immersion in space with its timeless qualities.

7.5 The search for meaning and re-connection at the seaside

The themes explored so far in this chapter need not be considered separately but rather as inter-related, or as two sides of the same coin. Within this study the reaction to place was often nostalgia for an idyllic playful childhood connected to identity and a semi-spiritual connection to nature or God.

At all levels this distinctive play zone is tied to the seaside environment, which can be described not only as timeless but also as liminal or liminoid (Azaryahu 2005; Preston-Whyte 2004; Shields 1991; Walton 2000). This boundary is a place of childhood and child-like fascination. Rumsey (2010: 14) describes this link very effectively,

From Eden and childhood we are fascinated by the lines drawn between safety and danger; permission and transgression; mine and not mine. This makes the coast the most natural place in the world to play, to dance in and out of the waves; *they've got me – no they haven't!* The tide is a mesmerizing threshold between worlds; piers are merely a kind of forgivable trespass, a sandcastle that pretends to extend into a domain which can never be ours.

Rumsey is a religious commentator and the above quote does end on a note of natural theology. Indeed this thesis sees the link between the seaside environment and nostalgia as broadly akin to that between the same environment and spirituality. As mentioned elsewhere, Bachelard (1971, 1994) links both spirituality and re-visiting childhood to what lies inside of us and makes the connection between this inner space and external spaces. Boym (2001: 8) also sees a connection between the secular search for spirituality and nostalgia; she writes,

Modern nostalgia is a mourning for the impossibility of mythical return, for the loss of an enchanted world with clear borders and values; it could be a secular expression of a spiritual longing, a nostalgia for an absolute, a home that is both physical and spiritual,

the edenic unity of time and space before entry into history. The nostalgic is looking for a spiritual addressee. Encountering silence, he looks for memorable signs, desperately misreading them.

Spirituality can be considered a sliding scale (Hay and Nye 1996). Religious interpretations and thoughtful meditations on life should not necessarily be considered in the same category as fleeting and vague musings, although they are all underpinned by varying levels of spiritual thought. It is here, at the less considered end of the spiritual scale, where nostalgia could be seen in similar terms to secular spirituality. In both cases there is reflection, a search for meaning and an attempt to find ones place in the world.

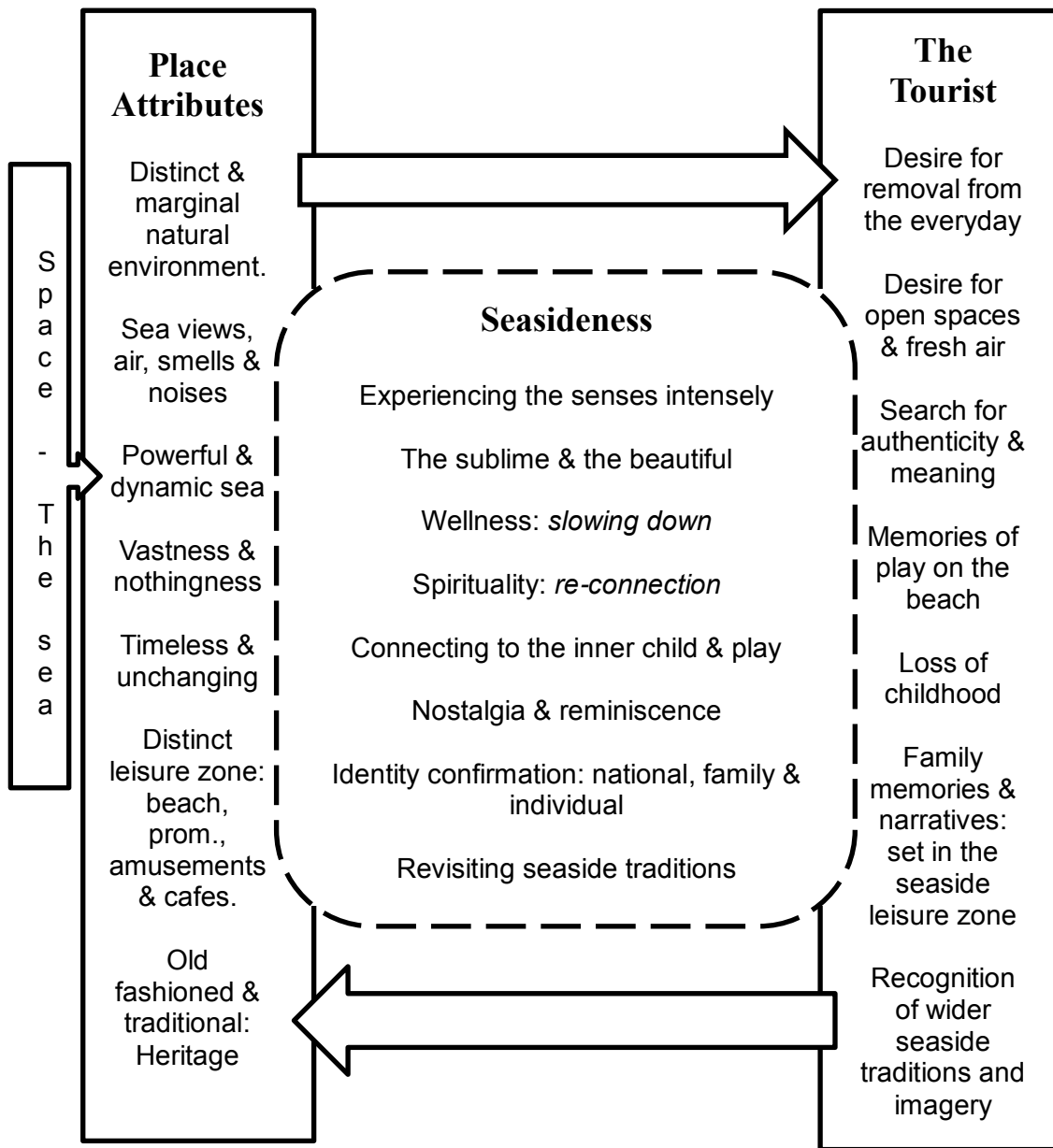
This search and apparent desire to re-connect emerges as wellness, spirituality, issues of identity and nostalgia throughout this research; a variety of inter-related reactions to the seaside were observed. The object of this re-connection varied and included God, nature, our shared heritage, loved ones but was most often childhood. In most cases however, the object in question is represented by or associated with the seashore. This timeless blue-space allows visitors to take what they need from it. Ironically the void fills a void. The seaside is indeed a blank canvass (Gayton 1996, Preston-Whyte 2004) and offers the space that human beings require (Tuan 1977).

So far, this conclusion has considered the main themes and discussion points to emerge from this research. At this point, it is appropriate to summarise these themes and provide an overview of how they interact, hence the seasideness model.

7.6 A seasideness model

This thesis details a complex inter-relationship between various themes that together make up a seaside specific sense of place, seasideness. The in-depth interviews in particular revealed how natural blue space informed the perceived characteristics of the seaside, which in turn influenced the touristic reaction to place. Most of these reactions could be grouped into three broad themes - identity, wellness and nostalgia. In essence, this is the original contribution to knowledge of this work. These inter-relationships that make up seasideness are clarified and summarised in the following model.

Figure 7.1: A seaside resort specific sense of place. This model is based on touristic interpretations of Morecambe.



One one side of the model (Figure 7.1) lies the tourist who aims to remove themselves from their everyday environment to a distinct leisure zone (Kelly 1983), whilst potentially searching for authenticity or meaning to some extent (Cohen 1979; MacCannell 1999; Sharpley 2003). These motivations are well documented in tourism studies and could be identified in the interviews as visitors wanted to connect with something that contrasted with everyday life, stress and the perceived frenetic pace of modern living (Brown 1998; Sharpley 2003). Tied in with this, through restorativeness, is the desire for open spaces and fresh air.

The tourist also carries childhood memories of play which are set in the primal landscape of youth and link to nostalgia (Gayton 1996). These holiday memories are associated with family narratives and memories of family, notably late parents. The interviews clearly reveal how happy holiday memories were tinged with loss; nostalgia is a bitter-sweet emotion (Bishop 1995). The loss of childhood extended past the personal, to the loss of childhood more generally i.e. changes in childhood that had taken place since the interviewees reached adulthood. Sitting alongside these idealised views of the past were various seaside traditions and images that acted as signifiers, such as beach games and a traditional built environment. These memories were rooted to distinct places within the seaside leisure zone; amusements, cafes, swimming pools, the promenade and especially the beach.

On the other side of the model (Figure 7.1) are the place attributes, derived from all stages of this research. The sea views, fresh air, smells and noises are place attributes that inform the senses and the subsequently the tourist experience (Bauman 1993; Dann and Jacobsen 2003; Obrador-Pons 2007, 2009). The perceptions of the sea, impact upon place attributes. The three sets of emergent themes that describe the sea take their place here; namely the powerful and dynamic sea, vastness and nothingness and the timeless and unchanging environment. These characteristics are born of the natural blue space that borders the resort, making it distinct. The input of 'space – the sea' to place identity is clearly represented on the far left of the model. However, the manmade environment is also distinct. The view of the old fashioned resort, with its art deco buildings and other forms of heritage offer tradition; the traditional seaside resort is a place informed primarily by the past. These make up part of the remaining leisure and tourism amenities which act as the setting for so many childhood and family memories.

The model reflects the interaction between the place attributes and the tourist. Where people experience a distinctive place is of course where sense of place sits. In this case, the specific sense of place is referred to as seasideness. It is located at the centre of the model, as it informs and is informed by both place attributes and the visitors. The sensual coastal environment encourages potentially powerful experiences, which in turn are linked with an aesthetic appreciation. This appreciation ranges between the beautiful and the sublime depending on the power of the reaction (Burke 2001; De Botton 2002; Schopenhauer 2010). A sublime or liminoid experience has clear spiritual connotations, indeed the interviewees linked the awesome seacape to spirituality. There is a connection between the nothingness of open space and the internal space within us all (Bachelard 1971, 1994, Satre 1996). This connection with nature means slowing down, relaxing, restorativeness and even health benefits.

One of the inner spaces connected to by interviewees was their inner child (Bachelard 1971). This was especially the case in the context of the beach, which is a place of play (Baerenholdt et al 2004; Obrador-Pons 2009). Play at the seaside, through nostalgia, connects people to very specific memories and visions of the past (Tunstall and Penning-Rowse 1998). They partially return to their childhood through re-visiting this primal landscape, often with children or grandchildren, thereby completing a circle. Nostalgia powers family narratives and confirms individual and group identity; it can unite those with a common identity (Fairley 2003). Furthermore, visiting the beach underpins national identities as the seaside visit is considered traditional and British. Indeed, many of the activities undertaken at the resort were traditional. Examples include eating in Brucciani's cafe, walking along the promenade eating ice-cream and making sand castles on the beach with grandchildren.

The seashore model acts as an effective summary of the themes identified in this thesis. It attempts to show that the visitor's experience of place is a reflection of their identity and wider socio-cultural forces on one hand and place attributes, influenced by the seaside environment, on the other. This seaside environment is partly cultural but largely considered as natural, a blue space. This seaside space allows or encourages expanded thought and a re-connection to something within themselves; this often takes the form of nostalgia. Of all the themes that have emerged from this research, it is this connection between seaside space and (often nostalgic) introspection that has been the most consistent and powerfully expressed. In essence then, the model reflects the void filling a void.

It is important to note that the coast holds a deep seated attraction to visitors; it remains a powerful draw as it has done for hundreds of years. Also, in some form or another, nostalgia is likely to form an important part of the future of the British seaside and Morecambe.

7.7 The future of Morecambe: the significance of this research

Originally this research into Morecambe was inspired by the widely discussed potential of the resort to regain some of its former touristic popularity. Attention is now turned to the significance of this research in terms of tourism to Morecambe. This research offers a deeper insight into the existing market and their experiences. Visitors to the resort value, even cherish their seaside experiences. It is the wide and attractive promenade, the impressive views and natural space that bring them back. This central attraction is sustainable; indeed the timeless quality of this resource underpins its attraction. The

view and exposure to the seaside environment are the reasons to visit. Visitors felt a connection to nature, which is complemented by the theme of the Tern project which adorns the prom. This environment was also very much linked to wellness and nostalgia.

An on-line review of Morecambe and Midland Hotel comments that, 'What Morecambe offers, we discovered, is a rare taste of the real, unreconstructed British seaside' (Carrier 2012:1). This study points towards the importance of nostalgia and culturally rooted traditions and associations in the seaside resort market. Visitors cherished the old-fashioned, the traditional and heritage set against the backdrop of a timeless horizon. Visitors were concerned with experiencing a seemingly authentic seaside atmosphere. Respondents and interviewees in this study wanted an improved resort but one that was still recognizable as Morecambe; the sense of place and distinctiveness of the seaside should be preserved. In practical terms this may mean the retention or even the reintroduction of architectural styles and themes as and when appropriate. Less controversially it may also include the retention of 'original' architecture, the Midland and Winter gardens were mentioned specifically in this research. In various forums the introduction of a heritage centre in Morecambe has been discussed (for example Carter and Masters 2002: 22). This research indicates that appropriate themes for any such centre should accommodate an interest in nature, the seaside environment and visitor nostalgia - including holidays past.

One potential area of concern regarding nostalgia, as a cornerstone of touristic motivation, is its longer term future. If resorts like Morecambe are not the backdrop for the formation of childhood memories, as they once were, then will these feelings towards the resort decline? In the longer term this is impossible to answer, but in the medium term it is unlikely. The seaside is an enduring social structure that is perhaps more resilient than the infrastructure on which it relies (Tunstall and Penning-Rowse 1998). More to the point, nostalgia is not limited to personal memories but rather the inheritance from society and culture more generally. Culture, not least children's books and TV, reflect a consistent and traditional image of what the British seaside is – this was clearly demonstrated in the literature review and commented upon by Walton (2000). Also, nostalgia can be for much earlier eras outside of our experience, such as late Victorian times or the Art Deco period. This research clearly showed that the seaside visit is viewed as a very British tradition. Other issues such as standards of accommodation, weather and cost are of course vital in influencing consumer buyer behaviour but positive associations with nostalgia, childhood, tradition and heritage are part of the seaside experience and have the potential to underpin its appeal in the future.

Nostalgia is a significant reaction to place and a motivator for seaside visits to Morecambe. This recognition helps to underpin the argument that coastal resort re-development / re-generation should reflect a distinct seaside style, architecture and genius loci. This does not necessarily mean a rejection of the new, rather a rejection of a generic regeneration blueprint and a recognition of a distinct seaside sense of place, of seasideness. The Guardian's John Harris observed that Morecambe does not need the 'lazy' regeneration model where a few chain stores are put up and 'hope for the best' but rather something more creative and sustainable (Harris and Domokos 2011). Walton and Wood (2008) come to similar conclusions over seaside re-development. They observe that the tapestry of any modern development should be interwoven with the assets of history and heritage as, together with the natural environment, they bind place and identity. They also write that a balanced approach to development of traditional seaside resorts,

...must also include celebration of customs, traditions, routines and practices that people associate with such places, recognising the importance of such places as conduits for public memory, and actively promoting forward looking strategies... (Walton and Wood 2008: 4)

As well as heritage, any new developments should foster the link to the sea. In practical terms, this may mean the partial pedestrianisation of sections of the coastal strip. One universally appreciated aspect of Morecambe is the redevelopment of an attractive promenade which is essential to visitor appeal. For some resorts, the choice of architectural styles, street furniture, public art and event programmes could effectively (re)introduce a heritage based seaside theme. This would be a reference to the perceived timelessness of the environment and the traditional nature of such a resort. Like the masters of theming, Disney, this could potentially offer cross-generational appeal. Here another finding of the research is relevant, the importance of play. Playgrounds such as the children's playgrounds that have been introduced in Morecambe, or even the people's playgrounds of Blackpool, do tally with this association. Such developments reflect the nature of role of these culturally defined leisure spaces.

The slow emergence of seaside theming is a possibility. Already we can see American cruise ships with Board Walk sections that have the appearance of a heritagized Coney Island (Royal Caribbean 2012). The anticipated re-opening of Dreamland in Margate as a heritage amusement park (Dreamland nd) and the recognition of seaside architecture by English Heritage and CABE, as discussed in the literature review, all point to the growing value attributed to seasideness. This study confirms that the seaside is considered traditional and old fashioned by visitors, for many this is part of its appeal.

As time continues its march, chronological distance is likely to strengthen this slowly emerging trend. The condition for this is that seasideness continues to be culturally recognised and valued. This seems likely as the seaside appears to be an enduring social construction (Ward and Hardy 1986; Walton 2000; Tunstall and Penning-Roswell 1998); it was certainly recognised and valued by the interviewees in this study.

The regeneration of the promenade with its statues and the re-opening of the Midland were considered as symbols of hope and constitute an improvement of the resort's place image. Yet any progress in the development of Morecambe as a resort has been inconsistent and slow. A look at the resort's history reveals a destination that was relatively late to develop, boomed dramatically in the early twentieth century but was unable to maintain its popularity within the second half of that century. Morecambe had long worried about competition from other resorts, especially Blackpool, and history suggests that it was right to do so. The future of Morecambe is still uncertain; it has recovered from its lowest ebb of the 1980s and does have a market. Significantly this market is older, day trippers dominate and average spending is low (Gibson et al 2008; England's North West Research Service 2009).

Wellness sits alongside nostalgia as an important reaction to place and motivation to visit. Wellness, including spirituality, underpins the higher order experiences considered in this study. Environmental psychologists are only just beginning to fully appreciate the restorative power of the seaside (Ashbullby et al 2012; White et al 2010), the perception of which has been so important to the history of the seaside. For a number of years the seaside has been undervalued in terms its potential link to health and happiness. Motivations associated with this area are sustainable as the draw of the seaside is deeply held; it is difficult to see how the spectacle of the sea can be diminished. The push factors of the 'hectic pace of modern life' and associated stresses (Molz 2010: 282) show few signs of abatement within mainstream contemporary culture. There is no obvious reason why Morecambe should not continue its role as a restorative zone; rather it is a question of making the most of this opportunity and avoiding any development that made impinge upon the seascape or access to the promenade.

Various trends in tourism could be considered as potentially beneficial to Morecambe although there is no evidence of this. There is the often misused phrase of the *staycation* which has been linked to the fortunes of domestic tourism (Molz 2010). Quite apart from the general impact of the recession, overseas travel does seem likely to increase in price as oil levels fall. Unnecessary overseas travel, flying, is frowned

upon by some who advocate responsible travel, although this is far from pervasive (Nijkamp and Baaijens 1999, Goodwin 2011). Slow travel and tourism also values local authentic travel experiences; the sea front experiences of the respondents and interviewees chime with the general theme of slowing down (Parkins 2004, Dickinson and Lumsdon 2010). Social tourism also stresses the potential health benefits of relatively low cost holiday experiences (Minnaert, Maitland, and Miller 2011). Restorativeness and perceptions of wellness on the coast again very much align with the aims of social tourism, which has now attracted political backing from the MP of Blackpool North and Cleveleys, amongst others (Maynard 2012). These substrata of tourism are almost set in opposition to mass tourism and are only really useful as indicators of emerging trends that may favour some resorts. Popular resorts such as Blackpool, which enjoyed a good year in 2011 (BBC 2012), will still very much continue to focus on fun and mass tourism. Morecambe could diversify its product by promoting niche forms of tourism yet one would have to carefully measure the cost of doing so against any potential benefit. Even the present day market considers it to be a divided resort; recognising inconsistencies in resort (re)development and the image problems it faces.

Realistically, improvements and investment will be slow to come to Morecambe. Large capital tourism related projects, such as the installation of significant tourist attractions, are unlikely. The likelihood of investment in Morecambe reaching some sort of critical mass which will lead to a relatively speedy transformation of the town seems far-fetched, as other seaside towns with better infrastructure, better transport links and image (for example Southport) would most likely achieve this before Morecambe. It can also be argued that the level of commitment and prioritisation of tourism by local government can be crucial in determining a positive outcome for resorts (see Agarwal 1997b, 2005 and Cooper 1997). This has been questioned in Morecambe's case (see Harris and Domokos 2011); the Morecambe Bay Independents even campaigned on such issues into the 1990s (Walton 2000). It seems likely that Morecambe will need further improvements to its tourism offering to maintain its share of tourism markets in the future.

Yet there are signs of potential improvement. Urban Splash has already displayed a confidence in the development of the town; the Midland Hotel has been successfully developed and plans exist to develop the adjoining site. Also, the future construction of a Morecambe bypass has recently been confirmed; this will improve the resort's connectivity (Ryan 2007, Lancashire County Council 2012, and Lancaster City Council 2013). Proposed local government regeneration plans focus primarily on retail and

housing, improving Morecambe as a place to live. The town does have very real needs in this area and this choice of focus is a reasonable one. Physical improvements to the town and an improved retail / leisure infrastructure will improve the prospects for tourism, or at least make existing levels more sustainable. In short, these measures would lessen the divide to which the respondents referred to in this research; there would less conflict between the leisure zone of the prom and beach and the rest of the town. The town would be less divided.

The 2012 Morecambe Area Action Plan arrives at one recommendation that was also arrived at independently by the researcher, namely the pedestrianisation of the central parts of the coastal strip to lessen the aforementioned divide, further improve the experience of those enjoying the seafront and bring the town to the sea. The report suggests

Decommission the existing Marine Road Car Park No. 2 between the Eric Morecambe statue and the Clock Tower toilets and create a high quality pedestrian place and a focus at the seafront to reveal and signal the main pedestrian route landward into Euston Road and the established town centre. (Lancaster City Council 2012: 35)

It is the speed and scale of all these developments which effectively dictate the extent of this divide and limit the potential of tourism. As such development has always been slow and difficult, even in the days before austerity Britain, and so will be the realization of any further tourism potential (Harris and Domokos 2011).

The interviewees were right to suggest that Morecambe's future does not lie in trying to compete with Blackpool; due to issues of investment alone that would be an unreasonable course. Also, one aspect of Morecambe's appeal was the perception that it was more genteel, slower and peaceful than its larger noisy cousin. The touristic future of the resort lies in relatively modest improvements to the town that allow the slow process of place image development and for potential visitors to experience, unhindered, the very thing that accounted for Morecambe's growth in the first place - access to Morecambe Bay and the sea. This speculation builds upon the findings of this research, that the central reason to visit is to experience the sea, and central to that experience, is space. The seaside, as experienced by these visitors, is the place which allows timelessness and space to be experienced and enjoyed. Furthermore, this experience of blue space, and its nostalgic connotations, are not restricted to any particular resort but are in fact interchangeable.

7.8 The nature and limitations of this study

In general terms, the research design proved an appropriate way in which to establish this sense of place. The second stage of primary research provided a basis for the generation theory and offers an original contribution to knowledge. The first stage of research pointed towards the central importance of the promenade and seaside views; not least in terms of visitor activity. A slow stroll along the promenade is essentially the main tourist activity and attraction at this destination. The questionnaires revealed the importance of visual consumption of seascape to the visitor experience. Other themes to emerge were nostalgia and wellness; there was a highly significant correlation between scale items relating to these themes and destination satisfaction. The lack of correlation between destination satisfaction and demographics and most other questions was, however, unexpected.

The questionnaire had its limitations as sampling was not 'random' and responses were limited to 201. Nevertheless clear themes and correlations did emerge; it highlighted areas that needed further exploration. The methodology required a qualitative second stage that would allow access to the thoughts and indeed feelings of visitors.

A combination of in-depth interviews and Interpretative Phenomenological Analysis allowed one understand these visitors, as they provided very rich data and allowed an in-depth systematic analysis of place-related issues. The sample was small but this allowed a suitably detailed level of analysis and it was large enough for consistent and clear themes to emerge. A fuller understanding of how these themes related to each other was established; in this sense the second stage of research was successful. This understanding was of course limited; many of the observations made in this study refer to the British seaside. The interviewees often compared Morecambe to other British resorts, especially Blackpool, and seemed to consider overseas resorts in quite different terms. One must acknowledge that significant differences between the place-image of various resorts may exist.

It does not necessarily follow that all English seaside resorts are defined by space to the extent that Morecambe is; it cannot be assumed that the relative importance of space is constant. Morecambe has very little to offer in terms of visitor attractions or social cache and it is a divided resort, with visitors enjoying the coastal strip regardless of, or even despite, the rest of the town. Against this background the promenade and sea views may well be even more significant to these visitors, in relative terms, than is the case in other resorts. Nevertheless, the interviewees themselves clearly identified the transferability of the experience with other British resorts, so this theory may well

prove applicable to other British seaside resorts and tourists. This would need to be explored in subsequent studies.

The sampling associated with the second stage meant that a homogenous group of visitors were identified and as such represented a perspective and not a population, as is expected with IPA. This was bound up with producing rich and meaningful data and identifying clear themes. The drawback is that the findings of the second stage may be considered skewed towards the older Northern visitor, as discussed in Chapter 5. The demographic of this sample intentionally correlates with quantitative results regarding the 'typical' visitor to the resort but they certainly do not represent the perspective of all visitors to Morecambe (IPA would not claim this anyway). The responses and comments from under 18s may be very different from those identified here for example. The interviewees came from a mix of working class and middle class backgrounds and one must acknowledge the potential impact of socio-economic background on sense of place. As mentioned previously, class was purposely not a focus of this thesis. Differences between classes, regions and age groups should not be assumed however and perhaps some things are universal, but this is outside the scope of this study with its idiographic second stage of research.

7.9 Areas of future research

Potential areas of future research include the further consideration of the transferable nature of the seaside sense of place, seasideness, which was identified very clearly in the final stage of research. This could entail a comparison between seasideness at Morecambe with that of other resorts, to test the hypothesis that this seasideness is indeed interchangeable amongst seaside resorts. Differences, not only between resorts, but between different countries and cultures would make fascinating research. To what extent are such readings of the seaside, namely wellness and spirituality, universal?

Using a small number of interviews and IPA offered a great deal of insight and allowed the generation of theory; however the inherent limitations offer obvious areas of future research. The selected cases for the interviews were all within the second part of their lives. Future research could move away from the demographic characteristics of this sample. A consideration of different age groups as they relate to experiences of nostalgia would be particularly interesting. The way in which space informs sense of place, for example through spirituality or nostalgia, is one area which could be researched further at some point in the future. How reactions to place and motivations

vary between different environments, away from the seaside, would make for a fertile area of future research and add to the understanding of the tourist experience. Through comparison, such research could potentially offer a better understanding of seascideness as put forward in the model within this study. Also IPA is an underused method and the transition into further qualitative domains can only ever be constructive and explanatory.

Much of the challenge here has been the complex nature of interdisciplinary research that draws upon a diverse range in multidisciplinary studies. The combination of seaside characteristics are frequently cited yet rarely tested. This study offers a unique insight into the intangible nature of the tourist experience within the contemporary movement of today. Further study could focus on specific disciplinary approaches within which the tourist voice matters – political, economic, social or environmental in orientation. Future work on wellness and blue space therapy promises to be especially exciting.

7.10 Final thoughts

I finish this thesis as I started it, in the first person and in a subjective manner. My personal view of the future of Morecambe is mixed. I am sceptical that change will happen quickly, if it all, without considerable private-sector led investment. Entrepreneurs, such as Urban Splash, offer innovation and a way forward, even if it is high risk and not to all tastes. Indeed, their plans for Morecambe would continue a tradition of seaside innovation and entrepreneurship. At the very least, they offer a confidence in the resort that has been lacking for sometime and, in my view, the rejection of these plans would be a mistake. As outlined in this chapter, I also believe that nostalgia-fuelled heritage is likely to be a part of Morecambe's future.

This research has clearly outlined the complexities of the seaside resort and that there are no easy answers when it comes to the future of struggling mid-sized British seaside resorts. One thing, however, is clear. Morecambe may be widely ignored, but many visitors to Morecambe value their seaside visits a great deal. The seaside is a strong socio-cultural construction and the seaside experience conveys a whole host of benefits and meanings. This, at least, offers hope.

Conducting this research thesis has provided me with me with a much better understanding of why I like to spend time by the sea. I recognise the four broad themes outlined by this work. I recognise nostalgia; the wasteland that is the former

site of Frontier Land embodies part of my lost past. Nostalgia recognises this loss but, at the same time, builds a bridge to the past. As a father, I now want to take my children to the seaside because that is what I did at their age, albeit on different beaches. I have seen through their eyes the rich playful experience that is the seaside and now value it more than ever as a result. I have long recognised the beauty of the shoreline as well as a 'deeper fascination born of inner meaning and significance' (Carson 1955 vii). However, I would now associate this vague spirituality with the sublime nature of seascape as best described summarised by De Botton (2002), explained by Burke (2001) or Schopenhauer (2010) and demonstrated through the Hudson River School or other forms of art. The views across the sand and water are awesome in the true sense of the word and, on fleeting occasions, I feel a momentary connection with something much more than me. In this vast and timeless environment, I am minimised and my place in the grand scheme of things exposed. As one respondent said, '...when we're not here they'll still be...the tide will ebb and it'll flow'. In this context, my visits to the coast trivialise most concerns I might have, and is the best place to put things into perspective. More than this, though, my visits to the coast are usually uplifting. Before I started this research I may have put down the revitalising nature of my seaside visits to the fresh air and I still believe that this plays a part, along with many other aspects of the experience, such as smell (Abram 1996). However, I now recognise that at the heart of this sublime experience is space, which is vast, timeless and associated with freedom (Tuan 1977). I have realised that the calm I experience in both blue and green spaces is not only a re-connection with nature but a connection to space. The interviews and literature review suggest a connection between the space of the seaside with something inside of us, perhaps the void connecting with a void. This fascinates me and is something I intend to continue to explore, whether it be through academic research, playing with my children on the beach, or just a quiet stroll along Morecambe promenade.

Reference List

- Abram, D. (1996). *The spell of the sensuous*. Random House, New York.
- Agarwal, S. (1997a). 'The resort cycle and seaside tourism: an assessment of its applicability and validity', *Tourism Management* **18**(2), pp. 65-73.
- Agarwal, S. (1997b). 'The public sector: planning for renewal?' In: G. Shaw and A. Williams (eds) *The rise and Fall of British Coastal Resorts: Cultural and Economic Perspectives*, pp. 137-159. Mansell, London.
- Agarwal, S. (1999). 'Restructuring and local economic development: implications for seaside resort regeneration in Southwest Britain', *Tourism Management*, 20(2), pp. 511–522
- Agarwal, S. (2002). 'Restructuring seaside Tourism: The Resort Lifecycle', *Annals of Tourism Research* **29**(1), pp. 25-55.
- Agarwal, S. (2005). 'Global-Local Interactions in English Coastal Resorts: Theoretical Perspectives', *Tourism Geographies* **7**(4), pp. 351-372.
- Agarwal, S. (2007). 'Institutional Change and Resort Capacity: The Case of Southwest English Coastal Resorts'. In: S. Agarwal, S. and G. Shaw (eds) (2007) *Managing Coastal Tourism Resorts: A Global Perspective*, pp. 40-56 . Multilingual Matters, Bristol.
- Agarwal, S., Ball, R., Shaw, G. and Williams A.M. (2000). 'The geography of tourism production: uneven disciplinary development?', *Tourism Geographies* **2**(3), pp. 241-263.
- Agnew, J. (1987). *The United States in the World Economy*. Cambridge University Press, Cambridge.
- Ainley, S. and Kline, C. (2012). 'Moving beyond positivism: reflexive collaboration in understanding agritourism across North American boundaries', *Current issues in Tourism* (iFirst Article). Available at: <http://www.tandfonline.com/doi/pdf/10.1080/13683500.2012.750281>. Accessed 20th March 2013.

Ainley, S., Phelan, C. and Kline, C. (2011). 'Beyond Positivism: Studying the Experience of Farm Families Engaged in Agritourism'. Proceedings of 42nd Annual Travel and Tourism Research Association (TTRA) International Conference, London, Ontario, Canada, June.

Akhurst, J. (2010). 'Exploring the Nexus between Wilderness and Therapeutic Experiences', *Implicit Religion*, **13**(3), pp. 295-305.

Alexander, H. A. (2001). *Reclaiming goodness: Education and the spiritual quest*. University of Notre Dame Press, Notre Dame, Indiana.

Artsnap (2010). '3 Cool Things (You Might Not Know) About Hudson River School Landscapes'. Available at: <http://artsnap.org/issue-20-fathers-day-edition-3-cool-things-you-might-not-know-about-hudson-river-school-landscapes/>. Accessed: 18th April 2013.

Ashbullby, K., White, M., Pahl, S. and Depledge, M. (2012). *The Psychological Benefits of Visiting Natural Environments: Different Effects of the Coast, Countryside and Urban Open Space on Positive Effect*. Academic poster was received by E-mailed, 8th May 2012.

Aslin, H. (2011). 'Speaking of the Wild: Australian Attitudes to Wildlife', unpublished PhD thesis, Centre for Resource and Environmental Studies, The Australian National University, Canberra.

Austen, J. (1990). *Northanger Abbey, Lady Susan, The Watsons and Sandition*. Oxford University Press, Oxford.

Azaryahu, M. (2005). 'The beach at the end of the world: Eilat in Israeli popular culture'. *Social and Cultural Geography*, **6**(1). pp.117-133.

Bachelard, G. (1971). *The Poetics of Reverie*. Beacon Press, Boston.

Bachelard, G. (1994). *The Poetics of Space*. Beacon Press, Boston.

Backman, S. J, Ditton, R. B., Kaiser, R. and Fletcher J. (1986). 'An investigation of Benefits sought at Texas Beaches'. In W. Benoy, J.L. Mountinho and I. R.Vernon (eds.) *Tourism Services Marketing: advances in Theory and Practice*, pp. 53-62, Cleveland State University, OH.

Baerenholdt, J., Haldrup, M., Larsen, J. and Urry, J. (2004). *Performing Tourist Places*. Ashgate Publishing, Aldershot.

Bagguley, P. (1987). *Flexibility, Restructuring and Gender: Changing Employment in Britain's Hotels*. Lancaster Regionalism Group - Lancaster University Press, Lancaster.

Bakhtin, M. (1984). *Rabelais and His World*. Indiana University Press, Indiana.

Baldacchino, G. (2010). 'Re-placing Materiality: A Western Anthropology of Sand', *Annals of Tourism Research*, **37**(3), pp.763-778.

Baum, T. (1998). 'Taking the Exit Route: Extending the Tourism Area Life Cycle Model', *Current Issues in Tourism* **1**(2), pp. 167-174.

Bauman, Z. (1993). 'The sweet smell of decomposition'. In: C. Rojek and B. Turner (eds) *Forget Baudrillard?*, pp. 22-46. Routledge, London.

BBC (2011). 'Celebrating the wildlife of Morecambe Bay'. Available at: <http://www.bbc.co.uk/news/uk-england-lancashire-12984328>. Accessed 4th April 2013.

BBC (2012). 'Blackpool summer visitors up by 1.7m on 2011'. Available at: <http://www.bbc.co.uk/news/uk-england-lancashire-20444396>. Accessed 5th December 2012.

Beatty C. and Fothergill S. (2003). *The Seaside Economy: The final report of the seaside towns research project*. Centre for Regional Economic and Social Research, Sheffield. Available at: http://www.shu.ac.uk/research/cresr/publication_downloads.html. Accessed 1 June 2008.

Beckley, T., Stedman, R., Wallace, S. and Ambard, M. (2007). 'Snapshots of What Matters Most: Using Resident-Employed Photography to Articulate Attachment to Place.' *Society and Natural Resources* **20**(10), pp. 913-929.

Belhassen, Y., Caton, K. and Steward, W. (2008). 'The search for authenticity in the pilgrim experience', *Annals of Tourism Research*, **35**(3), pp. 668–689.

Bell, D. (2008). 'Destination drinking: Toward a research agenda on alcotourism'. *Drugs: education, prevention and policy*, **15**(3), pp. 291–304.

Bell, P., Fisher, J., Baum, A., and Greene, T. (2006). *Environmental Psychology*. Harcourt Brace College Publishers, Orlando, Florida.

Bennett, T. (1986). 'Hegemony, ideology, pleasure: Blackpool'. In: T. Bennett, C. Mercer and J. Woollacott (eds) *Popular Culture and Social Relations*, pp.135-154. Open University Press, Milton Keynes.

Berger, P.L. (1973). 'Sincerity and Authenticity in Modern Society', *Public Interest* **31**(Spring), pp. 81-90.

Berger, P.L. and Luckmann, T. (1979). *The Social Construction of Reality*. Penguin, Harmondsworth, Middlesex.

Betjeman, J. (2010). 'Margate', 1940. Available at:
<http://penchef1.wordpress.com/2010/08/09/margate-1940-by-sir-john-betjeman/>
Accessed 1st September 2012.

Bingham, R. K. (1990). *Lost Resort: The Flow and Ebb of Morecambe*. Cicerone Press, Milnthorpe, Cumbria.

Bishop, P. (1995). *An Archetypal Constable: National Identity and the Geography of Nostalgia*. Athlone Press, London.

Bixler, R., Floyd, M. and Hammitt, W. (2002). 'Environmental socialization: Quantitative tests of the childhood play hypothesis'. *Environment and Behaviour* 34(6), pp. 795-818.

Blackbourn, D. (2002). 'Fashionable Spa Towns in Nineteenth-Century Europe'. In: S.Anderson and B.Tabb (eds) *Water, Leisure and Culture: European Historical Perspectives* pp.9-23. Berg, Oxford.

Blogspot (2012). 'Sea bathing 18th Century style'. Available at:
<http://ladyofportlandhouse.blogspot.co.uk/2012/06/sea-bathing-18th-century-style.html>.
Accessed 18th April 2013.

Boorstin, D. (1987). *The Image: A Guide to Pseudo-Events in America*. Atheneum, New York.

Bourdieu, P. (1984). *Distinction: A Social Critique of the Judgement of Taste*.
Routledge, London.

Boym, S. (2001). *The Future of Nostalgia*. Basic Books, New York.

Bracewell, M. (2004). 'The Last Resort'. Available at The Independent On Line:
<http://www.independent.co.uk/news/uk/this-britain/the-last-resort-570999.html> .
Accessed on 29th August 2012.

Bracewell, M. (2011). 'Morecambe: The Sunset Coast'. In: L. Feigel and A. Harris (eds)
Modernism on Sea: Art and Culture at the British Seaside, pp.35-45. Peter Lang,
Oxford.

Bradshaw, D. (2011). 'The Purest Ecstasy: Virginia Woolf and the Sea.' In: L. Feigel and
A. Harris (eds) *Modernism on Sea: Art and Culture at the British Seaside*, pp.101-117.
Peter Lang, Oxford.

Brady, E. (2003). *Aesthetics of the Natural Environment*. University of Alabama Press,
Tuscaloosa, USA.

- Brighouse, H. (1927). *Hindle Wakes*. The Readers Library, London.
- British Tourist and Holidays Board (1949). *Survey of Holiday Accommodation*. B.T.H.B., London.
- Brown, D. (1996). 'Genuine Fakes'. In T. Selwyn (ed.) *The Tourist Image: Myths and Myth Making in Tourism*, pp. 33-47. Wiley, Chichester, UK.
- Brown, M. (1998). *The Spiritual Tourist*. Bloomsbury, London.
- Bryman, A. and Bell, E. (2003). *Business Research Methods*. Oxford University Press.
- Bryson, B. (1995). *Notes From a Small Island*. Black Swan, London.
- Bull, A. (2006). 'Is a trip to the seaside a spiritual journey?' Proceedings of Tourism: The Spiritual Dimension Conference, Lincoln, UK, April.
- BURA (2002). 'Learning from Experience: The BURA Guide to Achieving Effective and Lasting Regeneration.' Shared Intelligence, London.
- Burgess, J and Gold, J. (1985). *Place, the media and popular culture*. Cook Helm, London.
- Burke, E. (2001). 'On the Sublime and Beautiful. Vol. XXIV, Part 2. The Harvard Classics'. Available from: <http://www.bartleby.com/br/02402.html>. Accessed 26th September 2012.
- Butler, R. (1980). 'The Concept of a Tourist Area Cycle of Evolution: Implications of Management Resources, *Canadian Geographer*, **24**(1), pp. 5-12.
- Carnegie, E. and Devereux, C. (2006). 'Pilgrimage: journeying beyond self', Proceedings of Tourism: The Spiritual Dimension Conference, Lincoln, UK, April.

Carrier, R. (2012). 'Baby Family Holidays: Morecambe Bay A Taste of the Great British Seaside'. Available at: <http://www.takethefamily.com/features/baby-family-holidays-morecambe-bay-taste-great-british-seaside>. Accessed 3rd April 2013.

Carson, R. (1955). *The Edge of the Sea*. Staples Press Limited, London.

Carry on Girls (1973). Motion Picture. Rank Organisation, UK.

Carter, J. and Masters, D. (2002). 'Interpretation and Marketing Strategy for Morecambe Bay: Strategic review and proposals'. Available at: <http://www.morecambebay.org.uk/PDF/strategy.pdf>. Accessed 10 January 2013.

Caruana, R. and Crane, A. (2011). 'Getting Away From It All: Exploring Freedom in Tourism'. *Annals of Tourism Research*, **38**(4), pp.1495-1515.

Castelnuovo-Tedesco, P. (1998). 'Reminiscence and Nostalgia: The Pleasure and Pain of Remembering'. In G. Pollock and S. Greenspan (eds) *The Course of Life*, International University Press, Madison, USA.

Chase, L. (1999). 'Creation of Place Image in Inter War Clacton and Frinton', unpublished Ph.D thesis, Department of Sociology, University of Essex.

Choudhury, A. (2009). 'Spearman Rank Correlation Coefficient'. Available at: <http://explorable.com/spearman-rank-correlation-coefficient.html>. Accessed 12th November 2012.

Clegg, A. and Essex, S. (2000). 'Restructuring in Tourism: The Accommodation Sector in a Major British Coastal Resort', *International Journal of Tourism Research* **2**(2) pp.77-95.

Clifford, S. and King, A. (2003). 'Losing Your Place'. Available at: <http://www.England-in-particular.info/documents/place.doc>. Accessed 27th October 2009.

- Cohen, E. (1972). 'Towards a Sociology of International Tourism'. *Social Research* **39** (1): pp. 64-82.
- Cohen, E. (1979). 'Rethinking the sociology of tourism', *Annals of Tourism Research*, **6**(1), pp.18-35.
- Cohen, E. (1982). 'Marginal Paradises: Bungalow Tourism on the Islands of Southern Thailand'. *Annals of Tourism Research*, **9**(2) pp.189-228.
- Commission for Architecture and the Built Environment [C.A.B.E.] (2000). *By Design – Urban design in the planning system: towards better practice*. Thomas Telford Publishing, London.
- Cooper, C. (1992). 'The Life Cycle Concept and Strategic Planning for Coastal Resorts', *Built Environment*, **18**(1); pp. 57-67.
- Cooper, C. (1997). 'Parameters and indicators of the decline of the British seaside resort'. In G. Shaw and A. Williams (eds) *The rise and Fall of British Coastal Resorts: Cultural and Economic Perspectives*, pp. 79 – 102. Mansell, London.
- Cooper, C. and Jackson, S. (1989). 'Destination Life Cycle: The Isle of Man Case-study'. *Annals of Tourism Research*, **16**(3): pp. 377-398.
- Corbin, A. (1994). *The Lure of the Sea*. Blackwell, Oxford.
- Crabtree, M. (2005). *Sacred Water: Stories of Healing, Cleansing and Renewal*. Adams Media, Avon, M.A.
- Creswell, J. (1998). *Qualitative Inquiry and research Design: Choosing Among Five Traditions*. Sage, Thousand Oaks, C.A.
- Creswell, T. (2004). *Place: a short introduction*. Blackwell, Oxford.

Crompton, J. L. (1979). 'Motivations for Pleasure Vacations', *Annals of Tourism Research*, **6**(1), pp. 408-424.

Cropley, M. and Millward, L. (2009). 'How do individuals switch off from work during Leisure?' *Leisure Studies*, **28**(3), pp. 333-347.

Cross, G. (1990). *Worktowners at Blackpool: Mass-Observation and popular leisure in the 1930s*. Routledge, London.

Crouch, D. (2000). 'Places around us: Embodied lay geographies in leisure and Tourism,' *Leisure Studies*, **19**(2), pp. 63–76.

Crouch, D. (2001). 'Spatialities and the feeling of doing'. *Social and cultural Geography* **2**(1) pp. 61-75.

Csikszentmihalyi, M. (1991). *Flow: The Psychology of Optimal Experience*. Harper Collins, New York.

Dann, G. (2005). 'Nostalgia in the Noughties'. In W.F. Theobald (ed.) *Global Tourism*, pp.29-44. Elsevier: Burlington, MA.

Dann, G. and Jacobsen, J. (2003). 'Tourism Smellscapes', *Tourism Geographies*, **5**(1), pp. 3-25.

Days Out Diary (2010). 'Morecambe: seaside in Lancashire'. Available at: <http://www.daysoutdiary.co.uk/ukdaysout/seaside/morecambe>. Accessed 4th April 2013.

DCMS (1999). *Tomorrow's Tourism*. Department of Culture, Media and Sport (DCMS), London.

DCMS (2004). *Culture at the Heart of Regeneration*. Department of Culture, Media and Sport (DCMS), London.

De Botton, A. (2002). *The Art of Travel*. Hamish Hamilton, London.

Decrop, A. (2004). 'Trustworthiness in qualitative data'. In J. Phillimore and L. Goodson (eds), *Qualitative Research in Tourism: Ontologies, Epistemologies and Methodologies*, pp.156-169. Routledge, London.

Demetriadi, J. (1997). 'The golden years: English seaside resorts 1950-1974'. In: G. Shaw and A. Williams (eds) *The rise and Fall of British Coastal Resorts: Cultural and Economic Perspectives*, pp. 49-79. Mansell, London.

Department for Communities and Local Government (2007). 'Regeneration through culture sport and tourism'. Available at:

<http://www.globalcitizen.net/data/topic/knowledge/uploads/2009081481825705.pdf>.

Accessed 2nd January 2013.

Derr, V. (2002). 'Children's sense of place in Northern Mexico', *Journal of Environmental Psychology*, **22** (1), pp.125-137.

DETR (2000). '*By Design - urban design in the planning system: towards better practice*'. Available at:

<http://www.designcouncil.org.uk/Documents/Documents/Publications/CABE/by-design.pdf>. Accessed 1st December 2012.

Dickinson, J. and Lumsdon, L. (2010). *Slow Travel and Tourism*. Taylor and Francis, London.

Douglas (1976). *Investigative Social Research: Individual and Team Field Research*. Sage, Beverly Hills, CA.

Dreamland (nd). 'Dreamland Margate'. Available at:

<http://www.dreamlandmargate.com/>. Accessed 10 January 2013.

Eade, J. (1992). 'Pilgrimage and Tourism at Lourdes, France', *Annals of Tourism Research*, **19**(1), pp. 18-32.

E-Bay (2013). 'Comic Postcards – Donald McGill'. Available at:
[http://stores.ebay.co.uk/WAKESWEEK-POSTCARD-SHOP/Donald-McGill-
/i.html?rt=nc&fsub=535556010&sid=36863420&trksid=p4634.c0.m14.l1513&pgn=1](http://stores.ebay.co.uk/WAKESWEEK-POSTCARD-SHOP/Donald-McGill-/i.html?rt=nc&fsub=535556010&sid=36863420&trksid=p4634.c0.m14.l1513&pgn=1). Accessed 7 May 2013.

Edensor, T. (2007). 'Mundane mobilities, performances and spaces of tourism', *Social and Cultural Geography*, 8(2) pp. 199–215.

Elborough, T. (2010). *Wish You Were Here: England on Sea*. Sceptre, London.

Electric Angel Design Studio (2010). 'Saucy'. Available at:
<http://www.electricangel.co.uk/category/our-work/design-flyers/page/3/> Accessed 14 May 2013.

Eliot, T.S. (1922). *The Waste Land*. Horace Liveright, New York.

Emin, T. (Writer and Director) (2006). *Top Spot*. DVD film. Tartan Videos, New York.

Emin, T. (2008). *The Price of Fame*. Television Programme, BBC1, 29 September.

Endsjo, D.O. (2000). 'To lock up Eleusis: A Question of Liminal Space', *Numen*, Vol. 47(4), pp. 351-386.

England's North West Research Service (2009). '*Morecambe Destination Benchmarking*'. Available at
<http://www.lancaster.gov.uk/GetAsset.aspx?id=fAAyADQAMAA4AHwAfABGAGEAbABzAGUAFAB8ADAAfAA1>. Accessed 2nd Nov. 2009.

English Heritage (2007). 'An Asset and a Challenge; Heritage and Regeneration in Coastal Towns'. Available at <http://www.helm.org.uk/server/show/nav.00h013003005>. Accessed 2nd Nov. 2009.

English Heritage and CABE (2003). *Shifting Sands: Design and the changing image of English Seaside Resorts*. English Heritage, London.

English Tourism Council (2001). *Sea Changes – Creating World Class Resorts in England*. English Tourism Council, London.

English Tourism Council (2002). 'Destinations and Local Distinctiveness', *Insights* **14**(1), A21.

Fairley, S. (2003). 'In search of Relived Social Experience: Group-Based Nostalgia Sport Tourism', *Journal of Sport Management*, **17**(3), pp. 284-305.

Fairley, S. and Gammon, G. (2005). 'Something Lived, Something Learned: Nostalgia's Expanding Role in Sport Tourism', *Sport in Society*, **8**(2), pp. 182-197.

Finn, M., Elliott-White, M. and Walton, M. (2000). *Tourism and Leisure Research Methods*. Pearson Education, Harlow.

Fitzgerald, C. and Howe-Walsh, L. (2008). 'Self Initiated Expatriates: An Interpretative Phenomenological Analysis of Professional Female Expatriates', *International Journal of Business and Management*, **3**(10), pp.156-174.

Flickr (2006). 'A Derelict Frontier Land'. Available at:
http://farm1.staticflickr.com/77/195415388_e608eb99f6.jpg. Accessed 4th April 2013.

Flickr (2008). 'Brucciani's Café'. Available at:
<http://www.flickr.com/photos/sykerabbit/2590104194/>. Accessed 6th April 2013.

Forest of Bowland A.O.N.B. (n/d). 'Sense of Place'. Available at:
http://www.forestofbowland.com/bn_sop. Accessed 17th August 2012.

Fyre Art Museum (2000). 'This Tranquil Land: Hudson River Paintings from the Hersen Collection'. Available at: <http://www.tfaoi.com/aa/1aa/1aa205.htm>. Accessed 7 May 2013.

Gale, T. (2005). 'Modernism, post Modernism and the Decline of British Holiday Destinations: A Case Study of Rhyl, North Wales', *Tourism Geographies*, **7**(1), pp.86-

112.

Game, A. (2001). 'Belonging: Experience in sacred time and space.' In: J. May and N. Thrift (eds), *Time Space: Geographies of Temporality*, pp. 226–239. Routledge, London.

Gaskell, E. (1900). *The Life and Works of the Sisters Bronte*. Harper, New York.

Gayton, D. (1996). *Landscapes of the Interior: Re-Explorations of Nature and the Human Spirit*. New Society Publishers: Gabriola Island, BC.

Gateway 2 the lakes (2012a). 'The Midland Hotel'. Available at: <http://www.gateway2thelakes.com/Photographs%20of%20Morecambe/morecambephotosgraphs.htm>. Accessed 27th April 2013.

Gateway 2 the lakes (2012b). 'Stone Eggs on the Stone Jetty'. Available at: <http://www.gateway2thelakes.com/Photographs%20of%20Morecambe/morecambephotosgraphs.htm>. Accessed 27th April 2013.

Gateway 2 the lakes (2012c). 'Fishing off the Battery breakwater'. Available at: <http://www.gateway2thelakes.com/Photographs%20of%20Morecambe/morecambephotosgraphs.htm>. Accessed 27th April 2013.

Gibson, I., Crawford, C. and Geddes (2008). 'England's Northwest Staying Visitor Survey 2007-8'. Available at: <http://www.lancashireandblackpool.com/xsdbimsgs/Microsoft%20Word%20-%20Final%20Report%20NW%20Staying%20Visitors.pdf>. Last accessed 3rd January 2013.

Girling, R. (2006). 'No, we don't like to be beside the seaside'. *The Sunday Times Magazine*. 24th April 2006.

Goodwin, H. (2011). *Taking Responsibility for Tourism*. Goodfellows, Oxford.

Goodson, L. and Phillimore, J. (2004). 'The inquiry paradigm in qualitative tourism research'. In J. Phillimore and L. Goodson (eds) *Qualitative Research in Tourism: Ontologies, Epistemologies and Methodologies*, pp. 30-45. Routledge, London.

Gosse, P. (1849). *The Ocean*. The Society for promoting Christian Knowledge, London.

Goulding, C. (1999). 'Heritage, Nostalgia and the Grey Consumer', *Journal of Marketing Practice: Applied Marketing Science*, **5**(6/7/8), pp.177-199.

Grass, J. (1972). 'Morecambe, the people's pleasure. The Development of a holiday resort, 1880-1902', unpublished M.A. dissertation, Lancaster University, Lancaster.

Gratton, C. and Jones, I. (2004). *Research Methods for Sport Studies*. Routledge, London.

Gray, F. (2006). *Designing The Seaside*. Reaktion Books, London.

Greene, J. (2006). 'Towards a methodology of mixed methods social enquiry', *Research in the Schools*, **13**(1), pp. 93-98.

Greenway, R. (1995). 'The Wilderness Effect and Ecopsychology'. In T. Rosak, M.Gomes and A. Kanner (eds) *Ecopsychology: Restoring the Earth, Healing the Mind*. Sierra Club Books, San Francisco.

Greenwood, L. (2006). 'Turning Out Nice.' *The Daily Telegraph*. 18th Feb. 2006.

Gunn, K. (2006). 'What lies beneath'. *The Daily Telegraph*. 27th May 2006.

Gustafson, P. (2001). 'Meanings of Place: Everyday Experience and Theoretical Conceptualizations', *Journal of Environmental Psychology*, **21**(1), pp. 5-16.

Hall, D. and Nye, R. (1996). 'Investigating children's spirituality: The need for a fruitful hypothesis', *International Journal of Children's Spirituality*, **1**(1), pp. 6-16.

Hamilton, P. (1986). *The West Pier*. Penguin Books, Harmondsworth, U.K.

Handy, C. (1994). *The empty raincoat: making sense of the future*. Hutchinson, London.

Haq, F. and Jackson, J. (2006). 'The recognition of marketing of spiritual tourism as a significant new area in leisure travel', Proceedings of Tourism: The Spiritual Dimension Conference, Lincoln, April.

Harris, J. and Domokos, J. (2011). 'Anywhere but Westminster, Morecambe: The seaside town that cuts brought to a standstill' [video]. The Guardian, London. Available at: <http://www.guardian.co.uk/commentisfree/video/2011/jul/21/morecambe-cuts-video>. Accessed 15 December 2012.

Harvey, D. (1990). *The Condition of Postmodernity: An Enquiry into the Origins of Cultural Change*. Blackwell Publishers, Cambridge, MA.

Harvey, D. (1996). *Justice, Nature and The Geography of Difference*. Blackwell Publishers, Cambridge, MA.

Hassan, J. (2003). *The Seaside, Health and The Environment in England and Wales since 1800*. Ashgate, Aldershot, UK.

Hay, D., & Nye, R. (1996). Investigating children's spirituality: The need for a fruitful hypothesis', *International Journal of Children's Spirituality*, 1(1), 6-16.

Hayden, D. (1995). *The Power of Place: Urban Landscapes as Public History*. MIT Press, Cambridge, MA.

Heisig, J. (2001). *Philosophers of Nothingness*. University of Hawai'i Press, Honolulu.

Hemingway, J. (2006). 'Sexual learning and the seaside: relocating the 'dirty weekend' and teenage girls sexuality.' *Sex Education*, 6(4), pp. 429-443.

Hern, A. (1967). *The Seaside Holiday: The History of the English Seaside Resort*. The Cresset Press, London.

Hewison, R. (1987). *The Heritage Industry*. Methuen, London.

Heysham Heritage Association (n.d.). 'Heysham Head: The Wonderland of the North'. Available at: http://heyshamheritage.org.uk/html/heysham_head.html. Accessed 17 Decemeber 2012.

Hinds, J. (2011). 'Exploring the Psychological Rewards of a Wilderness Experience: An Interpretative Phemenological Analysis', *The Humanistic Psychologist* **39**(3), pp.189-205.

Hipp, J. and Ogunseitan, O. (2011). 'Effect of environmental conditions on perceived psychological restorativeness of coastal parks', *Journal of Environmental Psychology*, **31**(4), pp. 421-429.

Historic Images (nd). '1960s Miss Great Britain Contestants'. Available at: <http://www.historic-images.co.uk/wp-content/gallery/morecambe-super-swimming-stadium/miss-great-britain-contestants-morecambe-super-swimming-stadium-1960s-013.jpg>. Accessed 4th April 2013.

Holbrook, M.B. and Schindler, R., (1991). 'Echoes of the Dear Departed Past', *Association for Consumer Research - Advances in Consumer Research*, (**18**), pp. 330-333.

Hollinshead (2004). 'A primer in ontological craft: The creative capture of people and places through qualitative research'. In J. Phillimore and L. Goodson (eds) *Qualitative Research in Tourism: Ontologies, Epistemologies and Methodologies*, pp. 83-101. Routledge, London.

Holloway, C. (2002). *The Business of Tourism*. Pitman, London.

Howitt, D. (2010). *Introduction to Qualitative Methods in Psychology*. Pearson, Harlow.

Howitt, D. and Cramer (2011). *Introduction to Research Methods in Psychology*. Pearson, Harlow.

Hughes, E. (2012). 'The Midland Hotel'. Available at:
<http://www.emmahughes.net/2012/05/30/the-midland-hotel/>. Accessed 4th April 2013.

Hyman, T. and Malbert, R.M. (2000). *Carnavalesque*. Hayward Gallery Publishing, London.

I like (2009). 'More from Morecambe', posted 4th May. Available at:
<http://www.ilike.org.uk/images/tern-project.jpg>. Accessed 4th April 2013.

Jackson, J. B. (1984). *Discovering the Vernacular Landscape*. Yale University Press, New Haven, USA.

Jakle, J. (1985). *The Tourist: Travel in 20th century North America*. University of Nebraska Press, Lincoln, USA.

Jewell, L. (2007). 'Understanding Prejudice and Discrimination: Heterosexuals Motivations for Engaging in Homonegativity Directed Toward Gay Men'. Electronic Ph.D. thesis, Department of Psychology, University of Saskatchewan, Saskatoon.
http://amicus.collectionscanada.ca/aaweb-bin/aamain/itemdisp?sessionKey=1347113940047_142_78_200_14andl=0andv=1andl vl=1anditm=33859974

Jones, I. (1998). 'Football fandom : football fan identity and identification at Luton Town Football Club'. Unpublished Ph.D. thesis, Business school, University of Bedfordshire, Luton.

Jordinson (2012). *Back to the scene of the grime: The man behind Crap Towns revisits Morecambe*. The Independent: Saturday 09 June.

Jordinson (2012b). *Back to the scene of the grime: The man behind Crap Towns revisits Morecambe*. The Independent: Saturday 09 June. Available at:
<http://www.independent.co.uk/news/uk/this-britain/back-to-the-scene-of-the-grime-the-man-behind-crap-towns-revisits-morecambe-7820913.html?action=gallery&ino=1>. Accessed 4th April 2013.

Jorgenson, B. and Stedman, R. (2001). 'Sense of Place as an attitude: Lakeshore owner's attitudes toward their properties', *Journal of Environmental Psychology*, **21**(3), pp. 233-248.

Kaplan, S. (1995). 'The Restorative Benefits of Nature: Toward an Integrative Framework', *The Journal of Environmental Psychology*, **15**(3), pp.169-182.

Kelly, J. (1983). *Leisure Identities and Interactions*. George Allen and Urwin, London.

Keltner, D. and Haidt, J. (2003). 'Approaching awe, a moral, spiritual, and aesthetic emotion', *Cognition and Emotion*, **17**(2), pp. 297-314.

Kianicka, S. Buchecker, M., Hunziker, M., and Müller-Böker, U. (2006). 'Locals and Tourist's Sense of Place', *Mountain Research and Development*, **26**(1), pp. 55–63.

Kingsley, C. (1936). *The Water Babies and Glaucus*. J.M. Dent, London.

Koshar, R. (1998). 'What ought to be seen: Tourists, Guidebooks and National Identities in Modern Germany and Europe', *Journal of Contemporary History*, **33**(3), pp. 323-340.

Kyle, G. and Chick, G. (2007). 'The Social Construction of a Sense of Place', *Leisure Sciences*, **29**(3), pp. 209–225.

Kyle, G.T.; Graefe, A.R.; Manning, R.E. and Bacon, J. (2004). 'Effect of involvement and place attachment on recreationists' perceptions of setting density', *Journal of Leisure Research*, **36**(2), pp. 209–231.

Laerd Statistics (2012). 'Wilcoxon signed rank test using SPSS'. Available at: <https://statistics.laerd.com/spss-tutorials/wilcoxon-signed-rank-test-using-spss-statistics.php>. Accessed 6th November 2012.

Lancashire County Council (2012). 'Heysham to M6 link'. Available at:
<http://www.lancashire.gov.uk/corporate/web/?siteid=6092andpageid=35076ande=e>.
Accessed 17 December 2012.

Lancaster and Morecambe Vision Board (2006). 'The Vision - Consultation Draft Report.' Available at: www.l-m-vision.org. Accessed 21st May 2006.

Lancaster City Council (nd). 'Tern Project'. Available at:
<http://www.lancaster.gov.uk/parks-and-open-spaces/morecambe-promenade/tern-project/>. Accessed 18 February 2013.

Lancaster City Council (2008). 'Morecambe STEAM Report 2007'. Available at
<http://www.lancaster.gov.uk/GetAsset.aspx?id=fAAyADQAMAA5AHwAfABGAGEAbABzAGUAFAB8ADAAfAA1> . Accessed 2 November 2009.

Lancaster City Council (2011). 'Morecambe STEAM Report 2010'. Available at
<http://www.lancaster.gov.uk/tourism/destination-performance/> . Accessed 17 November 2012.

Lancaster City Council (2012). 'Morecambe Area Action Plan - Consultation Draft 2012'. Available at: <http://www.lancaster.gov.uk/planning/regeneration/morecambe-area-action-plan/>. Accessed 20th December 2012.

Lancaster City Council (2013). 'Heysham to M6 Link road gets the green light'. Available at:
<http://www.lancashire.gov.uk/corporate/web/?siteid=6092&pageid=35076&e=e>.
Accessed 28th March 2013.

Lancaster City Council (2013b). 'West End Gardens'. Available at:
<http://www.lancaster.gov.uk/sports-and-leisure/arts-development/about-public-art/public-art-in-lancaster-district/west-end-gardens/>. Accessed 4th April 2013.

Larkin, M. and Giffiths, D. (2004). 'Dangerous Sports and Recreational Drug Use: Rationalizing and Contextualizing Risk', *Journal of Community and Applied Social Psychology*, **14**(4), pp. 215-232.

- Lassey, B. (2012). E-mail to the author, December 24.
- Lea, T. (1974). *Confessions from a Holiday Camp*. Sphere Books, London.
- Lefebvre, H. (1991). *The Production of Space*. John Wiley and Sons, Chichester.
- Lencek, L. and Bosker, G. (1998). *The Beach: The History of Paradise on Earth*. Viking, New York.
- Lees-Milne, J. (1992). *People and places: country house donors and the National Trust*. John Murray, London.
- Lett, J. (1983). 'Ludic and Liminoid Aspects of Charter Yacht Tourism in the Carribean', *Annals of Tourism Research*, Vol. 10(1): 35-56.
- Lincoln, Y. and Guba, E. (1985). *Naturalistic Inquiry*. Sage, Thousand Oaks, C.A.
- Lindley, K. (1973). *Seaside Architecture*. Hugh Evelyn, London.
- LLMCRP (2013). 'Morecambe'. Available at:
<http://www.leedslancastermorecambecrp.co.uk/home/the-journey>. Accessed 4th April 2013.
- Locum (2003). 'A new vision for Northwest coastal resorts – summary report'. Available at:
http://www.coastalcommunities.co.uk/library/published_research/A_new_vision_for_Northwest_coastal_resorts.pdf. Last accessed 3 January 2013.
- Locum and Arkenford (2006). 'Northwest Visitor Segmentation Research: Results Compendium'. Available at:<http://www.nwriu.co.uk/publicationsandreports/21.aspx> . Accessed 4th Nov. 2009.
- Lofgren, O. (1999). *On Holiday: A History of Vacationing*. University of California, L.A.
- Lonely Planet (2001). *Britain*. Lonely Planet Publications, London.
- Low, S. M. and Altman, I. (1992). 'Place Attachment: A conceptual inquiry'. In I. Altman

- and S.M. Low (eds.) *Place attachment*, pp. 1-12. Plenum Press, New York.
- Lowenthal, D. (2011). *The Past is a Foreign Country*. Cambridge University Press, Cambridge.
- MacCannell, D. (1999). *The Tourist: a new theory of the leisure class*. University of California Press, USA.
- Malpas, J.E. (1999). *Place and Experience*. Cambridge University Press, Cambridge.
- Manning-Sanders, R. (1951). *Seaside England*. B.T. Batsford Ltd., London.
- Martin, A. (2000). 'Beach'. In S. Coates and A. Stetter (eds.) *Impossible Worlds: The Architecture of Perfection*, pp. 79-93. Birkhauser, Basel.
- Martin, R. and Koda, H. (1990). *Spalsh: The History of Swimwear*. Rizzoli International Publications, New York.
- Massey, D. (1997). 'A Global Sense of Place'. In T. Barnes and G. Gregory (eds) *Reading Human Geography*, pp. 315-323. Arnold, London.
- Mawson, A., Berry, K., Murray, C. and Howard M. (2011). 'Voice Hearing within the context of hearer's social words', *Psychology and Psychotherapy*, **84**(3), pp. 256-272.
- May, W. (2011). 'A good time was had by all? Stevie Smith Beside the Seaside.' In: L. Feigel and A. Harris (eds) *Modernism on Sea: Art and Culture at the British Seaside*, pp.85-101. Peter Lang, Oxford.
- Maynard, P. (2012). 'Letter from Westminster – 22nd October'. Available at: <http://paulmaynard.co.uk/blog/letter-from-westminster-22nd-october>. Accessed 5th December 2012.

- Mc Harg, I. (1970). 'The Place of Nature in the City of Man'. In P. Dansereau (ed.) *Challenge for Survival: Land, Air and Water for Man in Megalopolis*, pp. 37-55. Columbia University Press, New York.
- Meades, J. (2007). *Abroad Again – Father to Man*, broadcast on BBC2, 9 May 2007.
- Measham, F. (2004). 'The decline of ecstasy, the rise of binge drinking and the persistence of pleasure', *Probation Journal*, **51**(4), pp. 306-326.
- Measham, T.G. (2006). 'Learning about environments: The significance of primal landscapes', *Environmental Management* **38**(3), pp. 426-434.
- Measham, T.G. (2007). 'Primal Landscapes: insights for education from empirical research on ways of learning about environments', *International Research in Geographical and Environmental Education* **16** (4), pp. 339-350.
- Meethan, K. (1996). 'Place Image and Power: Brighton as a Resort.' In: T. Selwyn (ed) *The Tourist Image: Myths and Myth Making in Tourism*, pp. 179-197. John Wiley and Sons, Chichester.
- Melville, H. (2002) *Moby Dick*. Wordsworth Editions, London.
- Merleau-Ponty (1962). *Phenomenology of Perception*. Routledge, London.
- Minnaert, L., Maitland, R. and Miller, G. (2011). 'What is social tourism?' *Current Issues in Tourism*, **14**(5), pp. 403-415.
- Molz, J.G. (2010). 'Representing Pace in Tourism Mobilities: Staycations, Slow Travel and The Amazing Race', *Journal of Cultural Change*, **7**(4), pp. 270-284.
- Montgomery, J. (2003). 'Cultural Quarters as Mechanisms for Urban Regeneration: Conceptualising Cultural Quarters', *Planning, Practice and Research*, **18**(4), pp. 293-306.

- Morgan, E. (2009). *The Aquatic Ape Hypothesis*. Souvenir Press, London.
- Morgan, N. J. and Pritchard, A. (1999). *Power and Politics at the Seaside: The Development of Devon's Resorts in the Twentieth Century*. University of Exeter Press, Exeter.
- Morton, M. (nd). 'Cast post & rail sculptures, Tern Project, Morecambe'. Available at: http://www.esi.info/detail.cfm/Architectural-Street-Furnishings/Cast-post-rail-sculptures-Tern-Project-Morecambe/_R-CASESTUDY-110673#2. Accessed 4th April 2013.
- National Piers Society (nd.). 'Lost Piers (North West)'. Available at: http://piers.org.uk/pierpages/NPS0map_eng_nwiom.html. Accessed 20 December 2012.
- Nijkamp, P. and Baaijens, S. (1999). 'Time Pioneers and Travel Behaviour: An Investigation into the Viability of Slow Motion', *Growth and Change*, 30 (Spring), pp. 237-263.
- Obrador-Pons, P. (2007). 'A Haptic Geography of the Beach: Naked Bodies, Vision and Touch', *Social and Cultural Geography*, 8(1), pp.123-41.
- Obrador-Pons, P. (2009). 'Building Castles in the Sand: Repositioning Touch on the Beach', *The Sense and Society*, 4(2) pp.195-210.
- Obrador-Pons, P. (2012). 'The Place of the family in Tourism Research: Domesticity and Thick Sociality by the pool', *The Annals of Tourism Research*, 39(1) pp. 401–420.
- Old UK Photos (nd). 'Old Photos of Morecambe in Lancashire in England'. Available at: http://www.oldukphotos.com/lancashire_morecambe.htm. Accessed 4th April 2013.
- Orwell, G. (1960). *Critical Essays*. Secker and Warburg, London.

Page, S.J. and Connell, J. (2010). *Leisure: an Introduction*. Pearson Education, Harlow.

Parkins, W. (2004). 'Out of Time: Fast Subjects and Slow Living', *Time Society*, **13**, pp. 363-382.

Parsons, D. (2011). 'Remember Scarborough: The Sitwells on the Sand'. In: L. Feigel and A. Harris (eds) *Modernism on Sea: Art and Culture at the British Seaside*, pp.71-85. Peter Lang, Oxford.

Patterson M.E. and Williams D.R.(2005). 'Maintaining research traditions on place: diversity of thought and scientific progress', *Journal of Environmental Psychology*, **25**, pp. 361–380.

Payne, C. (2002). 'Seaside Visitors.' In S. Anderson and B. Tabb (eds) *Water, Leisure and Culture*. Berg, Oxford.

Perkin, H. (1970). *The Age of the Railway*. Granada Publishing Limited, London.

Phillimore, J. and Goodson, L. (2004). 'Progress in qualitative research in tourism.' In Phillimore, J. and Goodson, L. (Eds) *Qualitative Research in Tourism*, pp. 3-29). Routledge, London.

Pieda Consulting (2002). *Morecambe Resort Action Plan*. Available at www.lancaster.gov.uk/GetAsset.aspx?id. Accessed 23/07/2006.

Pimlott, J. (1947). *The Englishman's Holiday: A Social History*. Faber and Faber, London.

Podilchak W, (1991). 'Distinctions of fun, enjoyment and leisure', *Leisure Studies*, **10**(2), pp. 133-148.

Presdee, M. (1994). 'Young People, Culture, and the Construction of Construction of Crime: Doing Wrong versus Doing Crime.' In: G. Barak (ed) *Varieties of Criminology*. Praeger, Westport, C.T., U.S.A.

- Preston-Whyte, R. (2004). 'The Beach as a Liminal Space'. In: A. Lew, M. Hall and A. Williams (eds) *A Companion for Tourism*, pp. 349-359. Blackwell, Oxford.
- Prideaux, B. (2004). 'The Resort Development Spectrum: The Case of The Gold Coast, Australia', *Tourism Geographies*, **6**(1), pp.26-58.
- Pritchard, A. and Morgan, N. (2006). 'Hotel Babylon? Exploring hotels as liminal sites of transition and transgression', *Tourism Management*, **27**(5), pp. 762-772.
- Proust, M. (1984). *Remembrance of Things Past*. Penguin, Harmondsworth, Middlesex.
- Ravenscroft, N., and Gilchrist, P. (2009). 'Spaces of transgression: governance, discipline and reworking the carnivalesque', *Leisure Studies*, **28**(1), pp. 35-49
- Reddy, P. (2006). 'Understanding the visitor economy'. Available at: <http://www.allaboutaudiences.com/media/resources/2/6/8/.2686/UnderstandingtheVisitOrEconomy.pdf>. Accessed 20th January 2013.
- Relph, E. (1976). *Place and Placelessness*. Pion Limited, London.
- Rennie-Short, J. (2005). *Imagined Country*. Syracuse, New York.
- Rideout, B. (2010). 'The Spiritual Beliefs of Non-Religiously Affiliated Young Adults', unpublished Ph.D. Thesis, Cross faculty enquiry in Education, The University of British Columbia, Vancouver.
- Ritzer, G. (2003). *The Globalization of Nothing*. Thousand Oaks, California.
- Roberts, P. and Sykes, H. (2000). *Urban Regeneration: A Handbook*. SAGE, London.
- Royal Caribbean (2012). 'Oasis of The Seas'. Available at <http://www.royalcaribbean.co.uk/our-ships/oasis-class/oasis-of-the-seas/>. Accessed 5th December 2012.

Rojek, C. and Urry, J. (eds) (1997). *Touring Cultures: Transformation of Travel and Theory*. Routledge, London.

Roodhouse, S. (2006). *Cultural Quarters: Principles and Practice*. Intellect, Bristol.

Routledge, C., Wildschut, T., Sedikides, C., Hart, C., Vingerhoets, J., Arndt, J., Juhl, J. and Schlotz, W. (2011). 'The Past Makes the Present Meaningful: Nostalgia as an Existential Resource', *Journal of Personality and Social Psychology*, **101**(3), pp. 538-652.

Rubenstein, J. (1992). 'Purim, Liminality and Communitas', *Association for Jewish Studies Review*, **17**(2), pp. 247-277.

Rumsey, A. (2010). *Strangely warmed: reflections on God, life and bric-a-brac*. Continuum Books, London.

Russell-Taylor, J. (2006). 'Naughty but Nice - The Knowledge'. *The Times*: 11.03.06 p. 36.

Ryan, C. (1994). 'Holidaymaker Satisfaction - A Measure Derived from the Ragheb and Beard Leisure Motivation Scale'. Electronic Ph.D. thesis, Aston Business School, The University of Aston, Birmingham.

<http://ethos.bl.uk/OrderDetails.do?did=1anduin=uk.bl.ethos.240466>

Ryan, C. (2002a). 'Memories of the beach.' In: C. Ryan (ed.) *The Tourist Experience*, pp.156-172. Thomson, London.

Ryan, C. (2002b). 'The Time of Our Lives or Time for Our Lives.' In: C. Ryan (ed.) *The Tourist Experience*, pp.201-213. Thomson, London.

Ryan, C. and Hall, M. (2001). *Sex Tourism: Marginal People and Liminalities*. Routledge, London.

Ryan, R. (2007). 'Link road hopes are going West'. Available at: http://www.thelancasterandmorecambecitizen.co.uk/archive/2007/06/20/kendal_lancsn_ews/1482823.Link_road_hopes_are_going_west/. Accessed 17 December 2012.

Ryan, R., Weinstein, N., Bernstein, J., Brown, K., Mistretta, L. and Gagne, M. (2010). 'Vitalizing effects of being outdoors in nature', *Journal of Environmental Psychology*, **30** 159-168.

Satre, J.P. (1996). *Being and Nothingness*. Routledge, London.

Schneekloth, L. and Shibley, R. (1995). *Placemaking: The Art and Practice of Building Communities*. Wiley, Oxford.

Schopenhauer, A. (2010). *The World as Will and Representation – Volume 1*. Cambridge University Press, Cambridge.

Schwandt, T. (2000). 'Three epistemological stances for qualitative inquiry: Interpretivism, Hermeneutics and Social Constructionism'. In N. Denzin and Y.Lincoln (eds) *Handbook of Qualitative Research*, pp. 189-213. Sage, London.

Scopelliti, M. and Giuliani, M. V. (2004). 'Choosing Restorative environments across the lifespan: a matter of place experience' *Journal of Environmental Psychology*, **24**, pp. 423-437.

Seamon, D. and Sowers J. (2008). 'Place and Placelessness, Edward Relph'. In: Hubbard, Kitchen and Valentine (eds) *Key Texts in Human Geography*, pp. 43-51. Sage, London.

Sedikides, C., Wildschut, T. and Baden, D. (2004) 'Nostalgia: Conceptual Issues and Existential Functions'. In: J. Greenberg (ed.) *Handbook of Experimental Existential Psychology*, pp. 200-214. Guildford Publications, New York.

Selwyn, T. (1996). 'Introduction'. In: T. Selwyn (ed.) *The Tourist Image: Myths and Myth Making in Tourism*, pp. 1-32. Wiley, Chichester, UK.

Shackley, M. (2006). Proceedings of Tourism: The Spiritual Dimension Conference, University of Lincoln, UK, April.

Shamai, S. and Ilatov, Z. (2005). 'Measuring Sense Of Place: Methodological Aspects', *Tijdschrift voor economische en sociale geografie [Journal of Economic and Social Geography]*, **96**(5), pp. 466-476.

Sharpley, R. (2003). *Tourism, Tourists and Society*. Elm, Huntingdon, UK.

Sharpley, R. (2009). 'The English Lake District – National Park or Playground?' In W. Frost and C.M. Hall (eds) *Tourism and national parks: International perspectives on development, histories and change*, pp. 155–166. Routledge, London.

Sharpley, R. (2011). *The Study of Tourism: Past Trends and Future Directions*. Routledge, Abingdon.

Sharpley, R. and Jepson, D. (2011). 'Rural Tourism: A Spiritual Experience?' *Annals of Tourism Research*, **38**(1), pp. 52-71.

Sharpley, R. and Stone, P. (eds.) (2009). *The Darker Side of Travel: The Theory and Practice of Dark Tourism*. Channel View Publications, Bristol.

Shaw, G. and Agarwal, S. (2007). 'Introduction: The Development and Management of Coastal Resorts: A Global Perspective'. In: S. Agarwal, S. and G. Shaw (eds) (2007) *Managing Coastal Tourism Resorts: A Global Perspective*, pp. 1-21. Multilingual Matters, Bristol.

Shaw, G. and Williams, A. (eds.) (1997). *The Rise and Fall of British Coastal Resorts: Cultural and Economic Perspectives*. Pinter, London.

Shaw, R. (2010). 'Interpretative Phenomenological Analysis'. In M. Forrester (ed.) *Doing Qualitative Research in Psychology: A Practical Guide*, pp. 177-201 . Sage, London.

Sheldrake, E. (2010). 'The experiences of being a teenage father: an interpretative phenomenological analysis', unpublished PhD thesis, Department of Psychology, University of Birmingham.

Shields, R. (1991). *Places on the Margin: Alternative geographies of modernity*. Routledge, London.

Simmill, I. (1993). 'The development of a Lancashire Industrial Town, Morecambe, during the Inter War Years 1919-1939', unpublished MA dissertation, History Department, Lancaster University.

Simply the Biz (2004). 'New Life for the Midland Hotel'. Available at: www.simplythebiz.com/news. Accessed 21st July 2006.

Smaldone, D. (2006). 'The role of time in place attachment', Proceedings of the Northeastern Recreation Research Symposium (Department of Agriculture), The Sagamore, N.Y., April.

Smith, J. A., Flowers, P. and Larkin, M. (2009). *Interpretative Phenomenological Analysis: Theory Method and Research*. Sage, London.

Smith, J.A. and Osborn, M. (2008). 'Interpretative Phenomenological Analysis'. In J.A. Smith (ed.) *Psychology: A Practical Guide to Research Methods*, pp.53-81. Sage, London.

- Smith, L.J. (2006). *Uses of Heritage*. Routledge, Abingdon, UK.
- Smith, M. K. (2004). 'Seeing a New Side To Seasides: Culturally Regenerating the English Seaside Town', *International Journal of Tourism Research*, **6**(1), pp.17-28.
- Smith, M.K. and Kelly C. (2006). 'Wellness Tourism', *Tourism Recreation Research*, **31**(1), pp.1-4.
- Smith, M. K. (2007). *Tourism, Culture and Regeneration*. Cabi, Wallingford, UK.
- Smith, S. (1985). *The Collected Poems of Stevie Smith*. Pengu Books, London.
- Smollett, T. (1984). *The Expedition of Humphry Clinker*. Oxford University Press, Oxford.
- Soane, J. (1992). 'The Origin, Growth and Transformation of Maritime Resorts since 1840', *Built Environment Journal*, **18**(1), pp.12-26.
- Sparkes, A. (1992). 'The Paradigms Debate: An Extended Review and a Celebration of Difference'. In A. Sparkes (ed.) *Research in Physical Education and Sport*, pp 9-60. Falmer Press, London.
- Spurrier, N. (2009). 'Creating a Scene'. *Engineering and Technology Magazine*, 1 Feb '09, pp. 90-93. EandT, Stevenage, Herts.
- Stake, R. (2000) 'Case Studies'. In N.Denzin and Y.Lincoln (eds.) *Handbook of Qualitative Research*, pp. 435-454. Sage, Thousand Oaks, C.A.
- Stallybrass, P. and White, A. (1986). *The Politics and Poetics of Transgression*. Cornell University Press, N.Y.

Stanley, N. (2005). 'Thrills and Spills; Young People's sexual behaviour and attitudes in seaside and rural areas', *High Risk and Society*, **7**(4), pp. 337-348.

Stats Direct (2011). 'P Values'. Available at:
<http://www.statsdirect.com/help/basics/pval.htm>. Accessed 21st November 2012.

Stedman, R. (2003). 'Is it Really Just a Social Construction? The Contribution of the Physical Environment to Sense of Place', *Society and Natural Resources*, **16**(8), pp. 671-685.

Stedman, R., Beckley, T., Wallace, S., and Ambard, M. (2004). 'A picture and 100 words: Using resident-employed photography to understand attachment to high amenity places'. *Journal of Leisure Research*, **36**(4), pp. 580–606.

Stokols, D., and Schumaker, S.A. (1981). 'People in places: a transactional view of settings.' In J.Harvey (ed.) *Cognition, Social Behaviour and the Environment*. Erlbaum, Hillsdale, N.J.

Stribling, F. (2011). 'Weekly Challenge "Sunrise or Sunset"', on-line forum. Available at:
<http://www.pixelinduced.com/group/weeklychallenge/forum/topics/weekly-challenge-sunrise-or>. Accessed 4th April 2013.

Szarycz, G.S. (2009). 'Some issues in tourism research phenomenology: a commentary', *Current Issues in Tourism*, **12**(1), pp. 47-58.

Tennyson, A. (1969). *Tennyson: A selected edition*. Pearson Longman, Edinburgh

The Gazetteer for Scotland (nd). 'Nairn'. Available at:
<http://www.geo.ed.ac.uk/scotgaz/towns/townhistory1820.html>. Accessed 12th November 2009.

The Visitor (2007). 'End of the Ride for Frontierland', 22/08/07. Available at: <http://www.thevisitor.co.uk/visitor-features/End-of-the-ride-for.3138737.jp>. Accessed 12th November 2009.

The Visitor (2012). 'Plans for new indoor entertainment arena at the former Frontierland site', 10/08/2012. Available at: http://www.thevisitor.co.uk/webimage/1.4813794.1344434461!/image/982260387.jpg_gen/derivatives/landscape_595/982260387.jpg. Accessed 4th April 2013.

The Visitor (2013). 'Councillors reject Urban Splash plans for Morecambe', 04/02/13. Available at: <http://www.thevisitor.co.uk/news/morecambe-and-district-news/councillors-reject-urban-splash-plans-for-morecambe-1-5380086>. Accessed 9th April 2013.

Thomas, M. (2005). 'What happens in Tenerife Stays in Tenerife: Understanding Women's Sexual Behaviour on Holiday'. *Culture, Health and Sexuality*, **7**(6), pp. 571-584.

Thorne, M. (1998). *Tourist*. Hodder and Stoughton, London.

Todd, J., Rogers, R., Li, Y., Wexler, M., Bond, P., Lei, S., Malin, G., Steinke, M. and Johnson, A.W.B., (2007). 'Structural and regulatory genes required to make the gas dimethyl sulfide in bacteria', *Science*, **315**(5812), pp. 666-669.

Trotman, J. (2007). *Lancaster City Council: Morecambe – Tourism Trends and Redevelopment*. Letter and briefing report [hard copy] – dated June 2007.

Tuan, Y. (1977). *Space and Place*. University of Minnesota Press, Minneapolis.

Tunstall, S.M. and Penning-Rowsell, E.C. (1998). 'The English Beach: Experiences and Values', *The Geographical Journal*, **164**(3), pp. 319-332.

Turnbull, W. (2009). Report on Scarborough Tourism Economic Activity Monitor (STEAM) – Gateshead Strategic Partnership. Available at: <http://view.officeapps.live.com/op/view.aspx?src=http%3A%2F%2Fonline.gateshead.gov.uk%2Fdocushare%2Fdsweb%2FGet%2FDocument-23407%2FItem%2B07%2B-%2BSTEAM%2BReport.doc> Accessed 1st July 2013.

Turner, A., Barlow, B. And Ilbery, B. (2002). 'Play Hurt, Live Hurt', *Journal of Health Psychology*, **7**(3), pp. 285-301.

Turner, P. and Turner, S. (2006). 'Place, Sense of Place, and Presence', *Presence*, **15**(2), pp. 204-217.

Turner, V. (1967). *The Forest of Symbols: Aspects of Ndembu Ritual*. Cornell University Press, London.

Turner, V. (1974). *Dramas, Fields and Metaphors: Symbolic Action in Human Society*. Cornell University Press, London.

Urry, J. (1987). *Holiday Making at the Seaside. Lancaster Regionalism Group Working -Paper 22*. Lancaster University, Lancaster.

Urry, J. (1990). *The Tourist Gaze: Leisure and Travel in Contemporary Societies*. SAGE, London.

Urry, J. (1997). 'Cultural Change and the Seaside Resort'. In Shaw G. Williams A. (eds.) *The Rise and Fall of British Coastal Resorts: Cultural and Economic Perspectives*, pp. 102 – 117. Mansell, London.

Urry, J. (1998). 'Cultural Change and Contemporary Holiday-making', *Theory, Culture and Society*, **5**(1), pp. 35-55.

Van de Berg, A., Koole, S.L., and Van der Wulp, N. Y. (2003). 'Environmental preference and restoration: (how) are they related?' *Journal of Environmental Psychology*, **23**(2), pp.135-146

Van Manen, M. (1990). *Researching lived experience: Human Science for an action sensitive pedagogy*. The Althouse Press, London, Ontario.

Van Gennep (1960). *The Rites of Passage*. Routledge, London.

Veal, A. (2006). *Research Methods for leisure and Tourism: A Practical Guide*. Prentice Hall, Essex, U.K.

- Veijola, S. and Jokinen, E. (1994). 'The Body in Tourism', *Theory, Culture and Society*, **11**(3), pp. 125-151.
- Velarde, M. D., Fry, G., and Tveit, M. (2007). 'Health effects of viewing landscapes – landscape types in environmental psychology'. *Urban Forestry and Urban Greening*, **6**(4), pp. 199-212
- Veith, G (2002). 'The American Sublime'. Available at: http://www.worldmag.com/2002/10/the_american_sublime/page1. Accessed 18th April 2013.
- Virtual Lancaster (2004) *Festival Weekend*. Available on line at: http://www.virtual-lancaster.net/news/news_archive/2004/archive04_09_i.htm. Accessed 29th August 2012.
- Visit Lancashire (2012). 'Maps of Lancashire'. Available at: <http://www.visitlancashire.com/travel-and-transport/maps-of-lancashire>. Accessed 4th April 2013.
- Voase, R. (2006). 'A Cathedral visit as a rich experience', Proceedings of Tourism: The Spiritual Dimension Conference, University of Lincoln, UK, April.
- Walsh, K. (1992). *The Representation of the past: museums and heritage in the post-modern world*. Routledge, London.
- Walton, J.K. (1978). *The Blackpool Landlady: a social history*. Manchester University Press, Manchester.
- Walton, J. K. (1981). 'The Demand for working-class seaside holidays in Victorian England', *Economic History Review*, **34**(2), pp. 249-265.
- Walton, J.K. (1982). 'Residential Amenity, Respectable Morality and the Rise of the Entertainment Industry: the case of Blackpool, 1860-1914'. In Waites and Bennett (eds.) *Popular Culture Past and Present*, pp. 133-145, Open University Press, London.

Walton, J. K. (1983). *The English Seaside Resort: A Social History 1750-1914*. Leicester University Press, UK.

Walton, J.K. (1987). *Lancashire: a Social History 1558-1939*. Manchester University Press, Manchester.

Walton, J. K. (1992). *Wonderlands by the Waves; A History of the Seaside Resorts of Lancashire*. Lancashire County Books, Preston, Lancs.

Walton, J.K. (1997). 'The seaside resorts of England and Wales, 1900-1950: growth, diffusion and the emergence of new forms of coastal tourism.' In: G. Shaw and A. Williams (eds) *The rise and Fall of British Coastal Resorts: Cultural and Economic Perspectives*, pp. 21-49. Mansell, London.

Walton, J.K. (2000). *The British seaside: Holidays and resorts in the twentieth century*. Manchester University Press, Manchester.

Walton, J.K. (2009). 'Histories of Tourism'. In T. Jamal and M. Robinson (eds.) *The Sage Handbook of Tourism Studies*, pp. 115-129. Sage, London.

Walton, J.K. (2010). 'The Victorian Seaside', Available at http://www.bbc.co.uk/history/british/victorians/seaside_01.shtml. Accessed 2nd Feb 2011.

Walton, J.K. and Wood, J. (2006). 'World Heritage seaside'. *British Archaeology*, **90**, pp. 10-15.

Walton, J.K. and Wood, J. (2008). 'The Future of Heritage – Changing Visions, Attitudes and Contexts in the 21st Century; Session: New Approaches to Public Interpretation; History, heritage and regeneration of the recent past: the British context', Available at http://www.semioticon.com/virtuals/blackpool/walton_wood_3.pdf. Accessed 18th April 2013.

Walvin, James (1978). *Beside the Seaside*. Penguin, London.

Wang, W. (1999). 'Rethinking authenticity in tourism experience', *Annals of Tourism Research*, **26**(2), pp. 349-370.

Ward, C. and Hardy, D. (1986). *Goodnight Campers! History of the British Holiday Camp*. Mansell Publishing, London.

Waymarking (2013). 'The Platform Morecambe South'. Available at: <http://www.waymarking.com/gallery/image.aspx?f=1&guid=cc38d3d8-9b1e-44e4-a004-b5f586073173> Accessed 27th April 2013.

Weber, M. (1947). *The Theory of Social and Economic Organisation*. Free Press, New York.

Webb, D. (2005). 'Bakhtin at the Seaside: Utopia, Modernity and the Carnavalesque', *Theory Culture and Society*, **22**(3), pp. 121-138.

Wheeller, B. (2007). 'A Stick Of Rock, Cock? Donald McGill's Saucy Seaside Postcards', Proceedings of the CAUTHE 2007 Conference - Tourism: Past Achievements, Future Challenges, University of Technology, Sydney, February.

White, M., Smith, A., Humphries, K., Pahl, S. Snelling, D. and Depledge, M. (2010). 'Blue Space: The importance of water for preference, affect, and restorativeness ratings of natural and built scenes', *Journal of Environmental Psychology*, **30**(4), pp. 482-493.

Widdowfield, C. (1973). 'The Local of Health of Poulton, Bare and Torrisholme and the Development of Morecambe, 1852-1984', unpublished undergraduate dissertation, University of Lancaster.

Wikimedia (2012). 'Morecambe promenade'. Available at: http://upload.wikimedia.org/wikipedia/commons/c/c4/Morecambe_Promenade_-_geograph.org.uk_-_1234390.jpg. Accessed 4th April 2013.

Williams, C., Chaplin, D., and Middleton, M. (2001). 'A seaside resort's journey from decline to rejuvenation via leisure and tourism consumption convergence', *WHATT Journal*, **2**, pp.19-32.

Woodward, K. (2000). *Questioning Identity: Gender, Class, Nation*. Routledge: London.

World Tourism Organisation (2010). *Definition of Tourism* [PDF]. Available at: <http://www.unwto.org/facts/eng/methodological.htm#2>. Accessed 12th July 2010.

Wu, K., (2007). 'What do families with children need from a museum?' *Cultural Policy, Criticism and Research*, **2**. Available at: <http://culturalpolicyjournal.org/past-issues/issue-no-2/do-families-need-a-museum/>. Accessed 1st June 2011.

Yin, R. (1994). *Case Study Research*. Sage, London.

Appendix 1

Questionnaire survey from the first stage of research.

‘MY VISIT TO MORECAMBE’

This survey aims to uncover the appeal of seaside at Morecambe; it is part of a research project which is concerned with the future of Tourism in seaside resorts. All responses will remain anonymous and strictly confidential. Personal information will *not* be shared with others.

If you have any questions regarding this survey or wish to elaborate on your views please E-mail or write to me – I will be glad to hear from you. My name is David Jarratt and my E-mail address is DJarratt@uclan.ac.uk. I will be conducting further research on this subject in the future, if you wish to participate please circle ‘yes’ at the end of the survey and be sure to leave contact details – this is of course optional.

The survey should take approximately *eight minutes* to complete.
When you have finished please leave the questionnaire in your room.

Respondents will be entered into a **prize draw for £50 of Marks & Spencer’s vouchers**. Simply complete the survey with your contact information and the draw is on the 23rd September 2010 with immediate notification of success.

Thank you very much.

ABOUT YOU

1) Gender:	Male [] ₁	Female [] ₂
2) Where do you live?	Town/city:.....	
3) Occupation or former occupation:.....		
4) Employment status:	Self Employed [] ₁	Employed [] ₂
	Retired [] ₄	Student [] ₅
	Housewife [] ₆	Househusband [] ₇
	Carer [] ₇	
5) Age:	Under 16yrs [] ₁	16 -24 [] ₂
	25-34 [] ₃	35-44 [] ₄
	45-54 [] ₅	55-64 [] ₆
	65-74 [] ₇	over 75 [] ₈

YOUR VISITING HABITS

6) How long are you here for? <i>(Please tick one option)</i>			
Taking a holiday of 4 nights+ in Morecambe	[] ₁	Visiting Morecambe for <i>the day</i>	[] ₂
Taking a <i>short break</i> in Morecambe (1-3 nights)	[] ₃	Resident	[] ₄

7) How often do you come to Morecambe? <i>(Please tick only one option)</i>			
First time	[] ₁	Once a week or more	[] ₂
Once a month or so	[] ₃	Several times a year	[] ₄
Once a year or so	[] ₅	Rarely	[] ₆

8) How long have you been coming to Morecambe approximately?years

9) Where are you staying? <i>(Please tick one option)</i>			
Guest house / B&B [] ₂	With a friend or relative [] ₃	Hotel	[] ₁
Mobile Home [] ₅	Self catering house /flat [] ₆	Camping	[] ₄
		Day visit only	[] ₇

10) Who did you travel with? <i>(Please tick only one option)</i>			
A coach party / tour operator	[] ₁	With family (all over 16 years)	[] ₂
With a club or society	[] ₃	With family (including children under 16 years)	[] ₄
With friends	[] ₅	With a partner / spouse	[] ₆
Alone	[] ₇	Other – please state.....	[] ₈

ACTIVITIES DURING YOUR STAY

11) Why are you here? (Please tick one)	Leisure or Holiday [] ₁	Business [] ₂
Visiting friends or relatives [] ₃	Other [] ₄ – please state.....	

What will you do or have done during your visit? (Please tick as <i>many</i> or as <i>few</i> as you like).

Sport or hobbies during your stay (please tick any box which applies):

Motor cycling [] ₁₂	Walking / strolling [] ₁₃	Hiking [] ₁₄	Cycling [] ₁₅	Fishing [] ₁₆	Photography [] ₁₇	Bird Watching [] ₁₈	Other – please specify [] ₁₉
------------------------------------	------------------------------------------	-----------------------------	------------------------------	------------------------------	----------------------------------	------------------------------------	---------------------------------------------

Attend a special event of some kind (please tick any box which applies):

Business event [] ₂₀	Private function [] ₂₁	Public Event [] ₂₂	Sporting Event [] ₂₃	TT race [] ₂₄	Other Event – please specify [] ₂₅
-------------------------------------	------------------------------------	-----------------------------------	-------------------------------------	------------------------------	---------------------------------------------------

Partake in Heritage Tourism and/or Cultural Tourism (please tick any box which applies):

Lancaster Heritage [] ₂₆	Heysham Heritage [] ₂₇	Morecambe Heritage [] ₂₈	Midland Hotel [] ₂₉	The Bay: <i>Natural Heritage</i> [] ₃₀	Other – please specify [] ₃₁
--------------------------------------	------------------------------------	--------------------------------------	---------------------------------	----------------------------------------------------	---------------------------------------------

Shopping trips (please tick any box which applies):

Shopping in Morecambe [] ₃₂	Shopping in Lancaster [] ₃₃	Shopping in Kendal [] ₃₄	Shopping in Kirby Lonsdale [] ₃₅	Shopping in Blackpool [] ₃₆	Other – please specify [] ₃₇
--------------------------------------------	--------------------------------------------	-----------------------------------------	-------------------------------------------------	--------------------------------------------	---------------------------------------------

Eating out during your stay (please tick any box which applies):

Eat in hotel [] ₃₈	Pub or restaurant [] ₃₉	Eat in café [] ₄₀	Self catering [] ₄₁	Take away [] ₄₂	Other – please specify [] ₄₃
-----------------------------------	----------------------------------------	----------------------------------	------------------------------------	--------------------------------	---------------------------------------------

Having a social drink during your stay (please tick any box which applies):

Not drinking or going out with others who drink [] ₄₄	Drinking with meal only [] ₄₅	Drinks in a hotel - not just with meal [] ₄₆	Drinks in a pub - not just with meal [] ₄₇	Nightclub, late bars or pub crawl [] ₄₈	Other – please specify [] ₄₉
-------------------------------------------------------------------	-------------------------------------------	----------------------------------------------------------	--------------------------------------------------------	-----------------------------------------------------	---------------------------------------------

Visiting areas outside of Morecambe during your stay (please tick any box which applies):

Visit Lancaster [] ₅₀	Visit Heysham [] ₅₁	Visit local countryside [] ₅₂	Visit Yorkshire [] ₅₃	Visit Cumbria [] ₅₄	Isle of Man [] ₅₅	Visit Blackpool [] ₅₆	Other – please specify [] ₅₇
--------------------------------------	---------------------------------	----------------------------------------------	--------------------------------------	------------------------------------	----------------------------------	--------------------------------------	---------------------------------------------

Local attractions visited during your stay (please tick any box which applies):

Cinema/ Superbowl/ Laser-quest [] ₅₈	Midland Hotel [] ₅₉	Eric's Statue [] ₆₀	The <i>Prom</i> / Stone Jetty [] ₆₁	The Beach [] ₆₂	Winter Gardens [] ₆₃	Other – please specify [] ₆₄
-----------------------------------------------------	------------------------------------	------------------------------------	----------------------------------------------------	--------------------------------	-------------------------------------	---------------------------------------------

Others activities & options that 'may' from part of your visit (please tick any box which applies):

Spa/beauty treatment [] ₆₅	Use the Ferry in Heysham [] ₆₆	Meet up with friends or family [] ₆₇	Just explore – <i>no plans</i> [] ₆₈	I won't leave my hotel [] ₆₉	Other – please specify [] ₇₀
-------------------------------------------	-----------------------------------------------	-----------------------------------------------------	-----------------------------------------------------	---------------------------------------------	---------------------------------------------

THE DESTINATION: Morecambe as a place

71) Please state any three words which best describe Morecambe:

1).....
 2).....
 3).....

72) What appeals to you most about a visit to Morecambe? Please explain briefly:

.....

Instructions for the remaining questions. Please circle **only one** of these choices for each statement:

1=Disagree strongly, 2=Disagree, 3=Neither Agree nor Disagree, 4=Agree, 5=Agree Strongly

Visiting the seaside at Morecambe <i>(Please circle one number for each statement)</i>	1=Disagree strongly			5=Agree strongly	
73) Morecambe is improving as a place to visit	1	2	3	4	5
74) I come here because I always have done	1	2	3	4	5
75) These visits are an important part of my life	1	2	3	4	5
76) I feel relaxed / happy in Morecambe	1	2	3	4	5
77) This is one of my favourite places	1	2	3	4	5
78) It is a great place for the things I enjoy	1	2	3	4	5
79) There are better places to be	1	2	3	4	5
80) I feel <i>free</i> here	1	2	3	4	5
81) I am satisfied with this destination	1	2	3	4	5
82) I am satisfied with the beach & promenade	1	2	3	4	5
83) The bay & sea are the main reasons to come here	1	2	3	4	5
84) I feel relaxed / happy by the seaside	1	2	3	4	5
85) Looking at the sea makes me think about life	1	2	3	4	5
86) Looking at the sea puts things into perspective	1	2	3	4	5

Appendix 2

Interview schedule from the second stage of research.

Seaside Interview Schedule June 2011

Question

Potential follow up question / prompt

Morecambe

Tell me about your visits to Morecambe

What do you do when you visit?
Who do you visit with?

Why did you start visiting the resort?

What *was* the appeal?
Have there been any significant changes & if so how do you feel about them?

Why do you continue to visit the resort?

What *is* the appeal?

How do you feel about Morecambe now?

What's your relationship with the resort?

What, if anything, is special about Morecambe to you?

How is Morecambe different from other places?

Describe any changes that you'd like to see in Morecambe.

Seaside

What defines the character of British seaside resort?

Are they distinct? If so, how?

How does being next to the sea make you feel?

Do you look out to sea? If so, what do you think about when doing so?

Concluding questions (optional)

Are there any other thoughts regarding the seaside that you would like to discuss?

Have you considered or discussed any of the issues raised before now?

Please elaborate.

Appendix 3

Table showing information regarding the interviewees from the second stage of research.

Interviewee details

Ini- tials	Gen- der	Age Brack- et	Area of res- idence	(Former) Occup- ation	Employ- ment status	How often they visit More- cambe	How long they have been visiting
D.B.	Male	55-64	Chorley, Lancashire	Education (training)	Employed (p/t)	Once a month	60 years
P.K.	Fe- male	65-74	Grange, Cumbria	Finance Officer	Retired	Rarely	Un- known
W.H.	Male	55-64	Bilsborrow, Lancashire	Kitchen Porter	Employed	Once a month	45 years
G.D.	Male	65-74	Clitheroe, Lancashire	Teacher	Retired	Several times p.a.	10 years
T.M.	Male	55-64	Garstang, Lancashire	Chef	Retired	Once a month	35 years
A.D.	Fe- male	65-74	Barnsley, S. Yorks.	Nursery Nurse	Retired	Rarely	12 years
W.S.	Male	65-74	Northwich, Cheshire	Engineer	Retired	Rarely	Since child- hood
P.P.	Fe- male	65-74	Pen- wortham, Lancashire	Council employee	Retired	Rarely	Since Child- hood
P.S.	Fe- male	65-74	Preston, Lancashire	'House wife'	Retired	Once a year or so	45 years
B.J.	Fe- male	65-74	Allithwaite, Cumbria	Primary Teacher	Retired	Several times p.a.	30 years

Appendix 4

Table showing the details of the interviews, from the second stage of research.

Interview details

Name (surname is Pseudonym)	Initials – as used on transcript	Date of interview in summer 2011	Location of interview
Derek Burke	D.B.	30/06/11	The Sparling Pub, near Preston, Lancashire.
Patricia Kelly	P.K.	06/07/11	Interviewee's home, Grange-over-Sands, Cumbria.
William Hunt	W.H.	09/07/11	Interviewee's home, Bilsborrow, Lancashire.
Geoffrey Darwin	G.D.	12/07/11	Interviewee's home, Waddington, Lancashire.
Tony McCarthy	T.M.	14/07/11	The Sparling Pub, near Preston, Lancashire.
Angela Deakin	A.D.	18/07/11	Interviewee's home, Barnsley, S. Yorkshire.
William Swash	W.S.	03/08/11	Interviewee's home, Northwich, Cheshire.
Pauline Peterson	P.P.	18/08/11	Barton Grange garden centre, near Preston, Lancashire.
Pauline Smith	P.S.	18/08/11	Barton Grange garden centre, near Preston, Lancashire.
Brenda Jones	B.J.	19/08/11	Interviewee's home, Allithwaite, Cumbria.

Appendix 5

Example transcription of an interview from the second stage of research.

A verbatim transcription of an interview with Pauline Smith (or P.S.) by David Jarratt on the 18th August 2011.

Please note that on the left of the script 'I' stands for interviewer and 'R' stands for respondent.

I Okay ignore this [recorder] but so we're talking about Morecambe, when did you first start visiting Morecambe?

R When I was a child yes, with my parents.

I Can you just tell me a little bit about your childhood visits?

R Yes we used to go with my father and mother purely because they didn't like the hustle and bustle of Blackpool and I can remember there was one area that was called Happy Mount Park and we used to go there because it was really beautiful and it was tastefully done and you had fireworks and lots of lights and that's what I remember about it. But as the town seemed a little bit depressed even like in the 50s and 60s.

I Even in the 50s?

R Yes.

I That's interesting.

R Because before that time it was sort of the place to be, people used to come didn't they I think, people from Manchester and Leeds and places like that used to come and that's how the Midland Hotel became very famous because of people who'd retired for holidays there and the carriages and it was very upmarket but I think by the time I was going, 50s, yeah early 50s it would be when I was sort of growing up and it did seem to us, children, because we like the razzmatazz and the commonness of Blackpool it was very different and it just seemed the poor relation but the parks were beautiful, the views of the Lake District I remember were second to none which you don't get really and it was quieter, much quieter in those days.

- I And did that appeal to you at the time that it would have been quieter?
- R I suppose as a child it didn't but I just liked to be able to walk on great big rocks that you could walk on and that was exciting but I think, because it was probably a place we came to after we'd been to Heysham and then we came on to Morecambe.
- I Oh right okay.
- R Which was...Heysham was a tiny little place that sold jam very small and special but the beach at Morecambe in comparison I suppose with what we were used to going to because it was much nearer Blackpool than Lytham, wasn't quite...there were no donkeys and things like that. Well I don't remember donkeys, they may have been there but I don't remember.
- I That's interesting.
- R I remember Blackpool for that. So really I think it was lovely and quiet and the park was beautiful and the big rocks and that's my sort of...the shops there weren't as many and they weren't quite as tacky as Blackpool but it did seem a poor relation but in those days there was a railway connecting and that had a big influence on being able to get there when we didn't have a car.
- I Oh so you used to go by train?
- R Mm but that was a long time ago.
- I So when did you start going by car?
- R Probably, because my parents didn't have a car for years and years, I can't ever remember going in a car so it must have been...because we didn't come here a lot but I knew people who did who sort of had perhaps more money than we did and sort of went to nice hotels because there were still lovely hotels.

I Okay.

R But latterly in the recent years when I've been I've been really thrilled to see it almost reviving, you know, they've done such wonderful things with the promenade and they've got loads of Heritage money or Lottery money or something haven't they? And I think the council maybe have got a few people with a bit of acumen at the minute because they seem to be doing a lot of the right thing.

I So do you think it's improved from how you remember it in some ways?

R It's changed yes and it has improved in that it's cleaner, it's smarter, but it's just sort of the seaside side of it, the promenade and all that area is really lovely and it's well cared for and the gardens and everything, but on the other side of the road, whether they've run out of money or there isn't money for that, but they haven't quite I don't think got the people coming back because there's a lot of apartments that are still a bit tacky and there's obviously not the same money. If you go off the main drag, the main street, down the little side roads when I've been recently they still look a bit, they could do with a coat of paint and that. So I think it has improved a lot and because of the Morecambe, Eric Morecambe statue I think that...the publicity of that and also with the Midland Hotel that's brought a lot of interest and it's been, you know, very well publicised and, you know, the magazines that people read like The Lady and the Homes and Gardens, you know, people who want something a little bit different and I think people do come there to look at it and if it makes a good impression because it's almost as it was, supposedly, when the...the good old days and, you know, I've been but it was a very wet, miserable day and...

I This is your last visit?

R My last visit was wet, very wet and miserable and we came specifically with some friends to have afternoon tea at the newly opened Midland.

I Oh okay right.

R So that was the interest in Morecambe to come and have a look really and it was it was...

I And what did you think of the Midland Hotel?

R Well I thought it was fine for what it was meant to be, you know, it was retro but it's not my style.

I Okay.

R I'm still in the old fashioned cosy, Ye Horns Inn type of thing.

I Oh right okay.

R But I think they've done it really well and yes I thought it was fine and that stairwell that they've been...have you seen it?

I I have yeah, yeah.

R Yeah I think that's really spectacular.

I It's impressive. I have to say I'm not really a massive art deco fan myself...

R No I'm not.

I ...but it's...it's almost like a museum piece isn't it?

R Yes it is and it's caught the imagination and there were people, you know, like myself and my friends visiting and, you know, taking it all in and you either like it or you don't like it but there were lots of places to sit and it was raining and you didn't have to be spending a fortune, you know, you were allowed to sit on it but

I think if you were staying in Morecambe I don't know enough about the theatres or cinemas or whatever, I wouldn't know what attractions there would be other than the beautiful promenade and the scenery over to the Lake District and the sunsets...

I And is that your...

R ...are spectacular.

I Is that how you spend your time in Morecambe these days walking on the prom looking at the views?

R Yes that would be what I would do when I come and the parks are still lovely.

I And the parks?

R The parks are beautiful.

I Great. And is there anything else you would do in Morecambe particularly?

R Well I'd go on to the co-- the Morecambe Bay coast is really lovely.

I Oh you're driving or...

R I'd be drive yes nowadays yes that would be lovely so it would be somewhere to come. It is a little bit off the beaten track and quite a way to get to Heysham and Morecambe.

I Yeah.

R And I think that's why in Lancashire people have a preference to go further up to the lakes I would imagine. I mean I've got a lot of friends with grandchildren who, they take them to Lytham and St Annes which is lovely, beaches, gardens, everything and they're a little bit more vibrant I would say but I think, you know, Morecambe is really trying and hopefully, you know, because of all the

Lancashire coastline places I would think it has the best views like I mentioned before. I think, you know, to be able to sit and see the hills and I think, you know, that could be made more of in brochures and things, you know, trying to promote it really.

I Okay and the way in which you spend time in the resort has it changed much over the years because you mentioned childhood holidays and I'm just wondering if...how you spent your time in your childhood holidays compared to now? Are there any differences?

R I would think there are a lot of differences yes. If...the promenade wasn't half so nice and I do remember a pier.

I Yes there was a pier.

R And that was probably, you know, what amused me. It's a long time since I was a child really so...

I ((laughs))

R But I remember, you know, the amusement arcade, when it was raining because, you know, in this part of the world you never go anywhere without your plastic mac and in those days, especially when you were on the train, which was exciting anyway but you had to take most of your things I don't think we ate in restaurants and things we probably took packed lunches and stuff and had fish and chips or something and that was a sort of thing but now...

I These were day trips weren't they?

R Yes we never stayed overnight or anything but I think to me as an adult now it's changed for the better and it's really...

- I That's interesting a lot of people talk about the seaside being in decline or decay is a word that's often used but you don't feel that way with Morecambe?
- R No I think it's just the whole of society has changed when all the cheap holiday flights came in to go abroad to Ibiza and places like that and you got the weather but I think now people are a bit more discerning and they're fed up with the lager louts and all that carry on that goes on abroad and maybe it can...but I think it's still a certain generation unless people have known it when they were children and enjoyed it. I mean the people I know who bring their grandchildren here have enjoyed it themselves as children and say how much better it is now there are play parks for the children that are really super, like all the latest things and safe and it's great really and I just hope it continues to have money put into it because I think that will be the only thing that will help to give it that extra boost.
- I And what sort of things would you like the money to be spent on if you were in charge.
- R Just improving the streets, the street lighting, flowers on the back roads and trying to get, perhaps maybe if they put the rent down a bit people would take over the shops but they've tried to do something with the railway station, there have been various things and that is looking attractive in lots of ways, so I think yes it has improved and it is different and I think the glory days for all the holiday seaside places were much earlier than that, perhaps the 30s and even beyond that in Blackpool it was heaving wasn't it, sort of 40s, 50s and people had a bit of money and I think now it's a very different group of people that are coming to enjoy it. But I have friends who have lived in Morecambe and have found lots of interesting things to do community-wise and they've worked hard to encourage people. I mean there's a huge festival in the summer here for children, a dance, ballet school here and I know some who are really very

involved in it and it's a wonderful opportunity for children. I'm sure they have it in other places but to think it's quite a way to get to Morecambe it's not like a big sort of city and people are prepared to make that special effort to come because there's something good going on. But I'm not sure, I don't know enough about what other sort of community things are happening in Morecambe at the minute. I don't know.

I Okay you mentioned your childhood earlier on do you think that's a big influence?

R Oh yes I think people, wherever you return to it's because you've enjoyed the memories as a child there and I think that's quite common with most people really. I've never heard anybody that's had a bad experience and gone back.

I True.

R And you wouldn't I suppose would you unless you want to go and find out but we always had happy experiences and I think the October half term I seem to remember they had illuminations the same as Blackpool but Morecambe were always that much smarter somehow it wasn't all 'Kiss me quick' hats and it was more refined I suppose, especially with the park the Happy Mount Park.

I Yeah I know Happy Mount Park quite well.

R Yeah I loved it did you go there?

I I did actually because I used to live in Cumbria when I was a kid and that was our nearest seaside resort and yeah that's how I remember it. I forgot what I was going to say now ((laughs))

R Don't worry about it.

I Right so you...sorry just to recap then you started to go to Morecambe when you were a child and you had family holidays and you go now, how about in between, I mean I'm not sure if you've had kids or...

R Yes I have three children who are all grown up.

I And did you used to take them to the seaside?

R Yes we did but we didn't come as far as Morecambe when my children were little until we used to go to Lytham and St Annes because was easier to park you see I'm not sure about parking in Morecambe because that's a big issue but certainly when we went to other seaside places on this coast it was easier to park Lytham St Annes that area but then I used to bring my children when my husband was away, he was away at sea a lot and we did use this area and I always drove this way to Arnsdale and Silverdale where we spent...they spent all their holidays, my children then but we did used to come into Morecambe because I liked it particularly I like the parks.

I And did you find when you were there with your children, your family, that you used to sort of re-enact what you used to do when you were a child perhaps, did you used to do the same things?

R Mm not really because they were...obviously they like different things these days, you know, they had buckets and a spade when they were a little bit older, it wasn't quite as exciting as going across the road with money to use, you know, spend it on more type...

I So when they were small kids though did you think that it was basically the same as your own childhood when you were a young child?

R Oh when they were little yes because we did all the same things and, you know, you sort of go crabbing and trying to find things on the beach and collecting

pebbles and, you know, the same sort of thing. I think wherever you would go to the seaside you're re-enacting your own childhood as well.

I Do you think that comes naturally or do you think you were consciously thinking about your own childhood when you did it?

R No I think I just had such lovely experiences of the seaside because I particularly loved the seaside, Southport, anywhere where there's sea and sand I think there's something very special about it so I wanted, I suppose unconsciously, you know, I took my children where I'd had happy times and they loved it too.

I And when they got older they moved away from just playing on the beach obviously?

R Yeah they're all away from home now and working hard to try and pay their mortgage really...

I ((laughs))Yes.

R ...they don't seem to have that sort of a holiday. There's only one of my children that has a family.

I I was going to ask yes.

R Just one daughter that has a little girl and she lives in New Zealand where they have fabulous beaches and she's taking her baby, you know, to the places that she would think about from here.

I Oh okay so the equivalent in New Zealand.

R Yes I think you're either a beach sort of person and you like a day at the seaside which is what I would think most young mums and dads do with their children. And I was in Wales and they have some beautiful beaches there around Anglesey and they stopped en route to Menai Bridge and just nobody there, just

absolutely beautiful, just a few families, you know, and they were doing what everybody does in the rain, they had their anoraks on and they'd got their sp— and digging holes and I think Morecambe has that possibility as well and people perhaps do that and I think it...I think it's great really.

I So do you associate the beach in particular with families and children?

R Yes, oh definitely.

I Yeah.

R But in my day when we went on outings, you know, granddad and grandma had to come too and we have pictures of them sitting on the benches with their bowler hats and their suits.

I ((laughs)) That's interesting I've seen pictures like that but you don't see it these days.

R Yeah well I'm that old you see that I can see it now you know deckchairs and it's funny I can't remember ever having the deckchair at Morecambe because I think we...

I I've never seen a deckchair at Morecambe.

R No I think we walked and got the bracing air in our lungs and then sat down I think but I don't remember my grandparents coming to Morecambe with us but I do remember other seaside places where everybody went and we have pictures still at home of sort of the family not dressed for the seaside at all, you know, my brother in little proper trousers and a jacket. It was sort of an outing.

I So dressing up for the seaside?

R Yeah which is amazing because now, you know, they've got everything haven't they, you know, and if you haven't got it you buy it when you get there.

I It's true. So we've talked about your past at the seaside and the link to childhood and families and you've talked briefly about what you'd like to happen at the resort but how do you feel about the future of places like Morecambe? What's your gut feeling do you think it's going to be a revival or are things going to get better or worse? What do you think?

R Well I think at this...as we speak now the whole of the economy seems to be downward and depressive and, you know, the riots and things that have been happening, I don't think people will have given much thought to going to the seaside and the money doesn't seem to be gushing like it used to be and I just wonder if they've got a really good community living in Morecambe and they could, like in lots of smaller places they can restore things in small villages by community, have volunteers and, you know, if there isn't the money, which seems to be coming from the government telling us all the time there isn't money for things that we think are important like the arts and the theatre and all that sort of thing, you know, why don't people if they want these sort of things, instead of waiting and moaning that nothing's happening, you know, try and do things and get involved?

I The big society isn't it? ((laughs))

R Oh yes. I sound as if I'm a Conservative. Oh dear a red hot Communist I am, ((laughs)) but I think, you know, I don't think people are optimistic about anything really. I mean so many people are worried about their jobs and what they're going to do and how they're going to pay their mortgage, their university fees and when you do get away from it all, if you've got the opportunity and you see things that are half finished but I think because of this wonderful promenade and the way they've really done it as well as they can, you know, everything, every detail has been thought of and definitely they've obviously asked people what to put in and all the sculptures and all the different things.

- I So you're impressed with what they've put on?
- R Yes I was really, really pleased for Morecambe because I always felt it's been like the second class resort that local people would enjoy, people from the Lakes would come down on their way but not as a huge success story.
- I I was going to ask you a similar question do you think different people go to Morecambe as go to Blackpool?
- R Oh yes definitely.
- I Because you sort of hinted at that earlier I think.
- R Yes I can see why they're two completely different seaside resorts. They're both having trouble, you know, Blackpool particularly I think because they were promised money that never came and they're really trying hard and then the sad thing is they rehoused loads of people who have been problems up in Scotland and things like that and so the resident community are finding it, you know, difficult and I think the whole of that area is, you know, it's a problem but with Morecambe I just don't think there are enough people perhaps coming to...because I think they're very different, I mean lots of young people seem to say, you know, from the big cities, I've never heard of, you know, the big stag nights in Morecambe or that sort of thing....
- I No I haven't either.
- R ...which is good for people who will avoid Blackpool like the plague, don't they?
- I Yeah.
- R I think the differences are stark you can't see any similarities apart from, I think Blackpool perhaps has a longer, better, accessible beach...
- I True.

R ...but for Morecambe I think it's more interesting to enjoy, you know, not doing what everybody else is doing, not being a clone, everybody, you know having lots of fun, you know, dressing up on the beach and all that sort of thing.....

I Oh you mean...

R ...I think Morecambe is more individual.

I Oh you mean people wearing Kiss Me Quick hats and that sort of thing in Blackpool?

R Yeah but I think there's a place for that if people want fun and want to get away from it all and enjoy it. I mean I have friends who come from the Cotswolds just to see it.

I Blackpool?

R Yeah just to...they do come to Morecambe when I've taken them up to the lakes and I say, "Oh we'll just go round the coast it's beautiful round there," and you can't believe it's so different but it's not a place...I don't think there is a comparison really, I think they're very, very different and still are.

I You've mentioned the views earlier on do you think that's a very important part of Morecambe's appeal? You mentioned the views across the bay.

R Oh the views yes I do. For me I think it's absolutely splendid sort of in the evenings when the sun's coming down it's just beautiful whereas most beaches there is not a lot there. I mean all along this coast like Heysham and Silverdale, Carnforth all that area I think it's just lovely but that's just personal but like you said how to encourage people to come again I think perhaps more money needs to be spent on promotion. I think the big promotion was the Midland and the statue of Eric Morecambe and that really it was in all the papers, the

magazines and whether they're being able to build on that to encourage more people to come.

I Perhaps they need something else.

R Well yes but I mean to encourage but I think it might change if you started building like old peoples' retirement homes it would change for the different sort of generation wouldn't it but if you built casinos and things like that it would change the image.

I So you don't want it to change too much?

R I wouldn't think so but I mean I'm not an economist I don't know if they want things that will bring people in and they spend money maybe that, you know...

I But it's got to be the right place to build it at the same time hasn't it.

R Yeah I think that you can go to the lowest denominator can't you and sort of get money quick and ruin it for everybody else.

I Yes that's a good point. Okay you mentioned the views and walking on the prom so it seems to me that in Morecambe you spend a lot of your time on the beach or on the front generally?

R Mm.

I Is that the same when you go to other seaside towns do you think?

R They all vary so much on this particular coast because I do know it quite well, Lytham, not now but we used to have a sailing boat so that was the big thing there to be able to sail. At Southport they had a marina and you could sail there and also at Lytham so those were the things that we'd do there. But the shops at St Annes and Lytham were always worth visiting, so your children could play with their father on the beach we'd go off...

I Oh I see.

R ...those were the thing, you'd just go and you'd have a look at nice shops but when we went to Blackpool, you know, there was a time when you had to go and get the candy floss and get the lollipops, you know, it was all part of a day at the seaside, like Nick Park ((laughs))

I ((laughs))Wallace and Grommit?

R Yeah.

I So from that and I'm taking from that that you...in Blackpool there are other things to do and you mentioned shopping in other resorts, things that are more slightly away from the coast perhaps whereas in Morecambe you're perhaps spending more time on the prom itself because you don't...there's nothing else to do...

R There's nothing.

I ...or that there's nothing else that you want to do?

R Well may...yeah I think, you know that would be a good summary of, you know, how I feel about the comparisons that the...it's purely outdoor and it's unspoiled kind of compared to...

I So it's about views, nature and so on.

R Yeah.

I Would that be a fair comment?

R Absolutely and the whole of this coast really is more like that, much better, because I wouldn't be looking for something to do not like...and there's all sorts of shows on the piers at the other places it's not that sort of a place.

- I No so obviously looking out to sea is a big part of it.
- R Absolutely.
- I And you mentioned coffee in the Midland Hotel and walking on the prom, all of which involve looking out to sea really don't they?
- R Mm.
- I So one question I've got and it's a bit harder than the other questions is when you do look out to sea how does that make you feel? Is there something special about looking out to sea and would you be able to describe that?
- R I would really because I'm...my husband was at sea...
- I Yeah.
- R ...you know it sort of evokes, you know, where he would be on a bigger ocean, the Indian Ocean, the Atlantic, so for me it is something very relaxing as well as sort of quite emotional really.
- I Oh right and is that because your husband was out at sea?
- R Yes.
- I So you were thinking...when you were looking out to sea you were...
- R Yeah I was thinking where he would be because I would be there with my own children, you know, when he was away and, you know just think...yes perhaps my thoughts were there but I have just loved the sea and my children have all, you know, could sit on a rock and just watch the little tiny waves coming in and see what you could see and I think it's a really relaxing...and you're not having to think about spending money or doing anything, just enjoy nature as it is.
- I So can you go into a bit more detail on why or how you find it relaxing?

R Because you don't have to be doing anything. You don't have to be thinking, 'Oh shall we take them on the swing? Shall we take them to the fun park? Shall we, you know, buy them an ice-cream or anything?' it's purely your own pleasure, what you get out of it and you're just sitting, you don't have to do anything and I think sometimes, you know, when you have young children, I don't know about you but when mine were young if I ever took them somewhere maybe like Blackpool or something, you know, "Can we have this? Can we have that?"

I True.

R And you know it's just lovely because you can walk safely and they could ride their bikes, I've seen children now riding their bikes, it's a wonderful...people come, you know, with their cars and then go cycling which is lovely, teach their children to ride their bikes on the promenade.

I Yes it's a good place for it isn't it?

R And looking out is...no I find it very therapeutic in that way.

I Is that the same now when you're looking out to sea now? Would you describe it as relaxing or is there anything else you could say about it?

R Mm well it's very personal really, um, in that my husband has died and he's no longer...

I Ah.

R ...so I don't sort of think about it. In fact I was on a ferry going to Ireland, going to Dublin just the other day and it was lovely being by the beaches, you know, being near the sea but it was quite upsetting in a way.

I So it was quite emotional for you?

- R Yeah well it was but everybody has things in their lives and I don't think that's really helpful to what you're doing.
- I Do you think the beach and looking out to sea is quite sort of spiritual though because based on what you were saying a lot of people have come up with, well very different interpretations, when they look out to sea it's surprising the range of things that people think but one thing that links them all together is that people often think about not run of the mill things, it's things that are slightly out of the ordinary, slightly deeper than normal in some way.
- R Absolutely because I mean when you're in it yourself, you know, you're just like a tiny little speck and a wave and all these huge rollers coming in and different tides and, you know, it does make you feel, you know creation, well to me I just feel it's very peaceful and, you know, sort of quite awesome really.
- I Awesome that's an interesting word.
- R Yeah well it's an American word but for what you're asking I think it is, you know...
- I I think that's suitable though isn't it?
- R Yeah but you can't underestimate the power of the sea ever and I think I got that from my husband as well and just to have a small stretch of it in front of you, you know, what's going on all over the world and I think...and children, you know, they appreciate all that, and they ask, "Well where is it going?" And what's beyond where you're going? And you can't...you know the last sort of ship and I said well it's still going on and on and on. No I think...
- I Do you think about the passing of time then when you're looking out to sea? Because you...

- R I ...yes I do lots of times, I just think, you know, with all these are consistent aren't they, they just go and when we're not here they'll still be...the tide will ebb and it'll flow.
- I Exactly because the waves are always rolling and it...
- R Yeah, mm but I think that's why so many people come to the seaside, you know, to paint or to write poetry and all these great romantic films and things there's always a scene where somebody is like standing on the cliff and looking out to sea.
- I Yeah From Here to Eternity and all that sort of thing. ((laughs))
- R Absolutely yeah which is lovely really it has a meaning for everybody and just watching people, you know, in the sea and...yeah I think it's very...I don't know how to describe it really in terms because it means so many different things at different times but I always think, you know if I'm sort of feeling a bit sad I can get in the car and I'll go and just park the car I don't know whether you know Preston at all but there's a marina down there and right at the far end there's nothing there and you can just watch the rippling coming and going and the sun going down and I think it happens anywhere but getting back to Morecambe ((laughs))
- I Just on that how does it make you feel, you mentioned relaxed, are there any other ways you would make it...do you feel better...what I'm getting at is do you feel better after having been near the sea than before you went?
- R Oh yes I think, you know, it's like a traditional thing you get the sea air for a start, I think you breathe it all in and I think just getting away into sort of nothingness is very spiritual and it does help me an awful lot, you know just to sit quietly and almost meditate where you block everything out of your mind.

- I That's interesting because you talked about...I get the feeling that when you're by the sea you're not necessarily thinking of anything but you've got sort of like an empty...
- R Well you try to empty...
- I ...clear mind.
- R ...your mind and just enjoy being.
- I And do you think that...
- R Do you know what I mean?
- I I do that makes sense. And do you think that's why it makes you feel better?
- R Yes I think that's why, you know, well that's the reason why I go out either into the country for a walk or the seaside but because of the connections with the sea, with my own family, I find that...
- I So the countryside can be a sort of similar experience you feel?
- R Yes if it's quiet.
- I Okay that's really interesting. Yeah that's useful for me because obviously I'm looking at the attraction of the sea and one thing that's coming out of all of this research is the reason people go...it's not necessarily to any seaside resort but to Morecambe is the sea and the views. It's that front strip is everything and...
- R It is and that's why...
- I So that's why I'm interested in...in this.
- R And I just think that that's the reason why I would come, you know, I hope for Morecambe's sake that it can, you know, survive but the view will never go...

I That's true.

R And the promenade and the sea will never go.

I Yeah.

R So unless you're sort of trying to make money and make a go of the town they should be interested in the economy of it and hoping that it does get popular but it could change but the sea never changes. I mean it changes within itself but it's always going to be there and the view.

I But you said it was a unique view is that right?

R It is to me I think it...

I You would travel for that view? You would go to Morecambe as opposed to Southport or to Blackpool...

R Yes because the whole of this coast I think Morecambe is the only one that has something that is really special.

I Okay that's interesting.

R Perhaps I've not been to all the other places like so many people have.

I No I think you're right though that view over the Lakes, okay there are a few other smaller places like Silverdale that you mentioned which have got a similar view but it's quite unique isn't it?

R Yes it is yeah and it's sort of accessible for other things if you needed them, you know, you can go on to the Lakes or you can go into the Midland if you've got money if you want to. You know I mean it's not completely isolated like little places smaller on the coast are very tiny and you don't have an amenities but I

think that the sea is special here. Yeah that's my view of it really. That would be the reason I would come to Morecambe as opposed to anywhere else.

I And taking the...changing the subject slightly when you think of the seaside resort without getting into which one necessarily but say the typical British seaside resort whether it is Clacton, Great Yarmouth, Brighton, Morecambe, Blackpool, wherever what sort of images pop into your mind when we say the British seaside?

R Just in the olden days. I think that's the image you get and sort of almost all of them have seen their heyday and they're not as they were.

I Okay.

R No and they're not, I don't think ever going to be, you know, why do hundreds and thousands of people want to go and be with lots of people, people are more selective now I think of where they go and what they do and the opportunity to stay in different places that might be ten minutes from the sea whereas when they were really popular you had to be near a railway station, near a bus station because you brought your own suitcases and things, it's very, very different. But the image I get and people who have been on holiday this year with their grandchildren, been down to Brighton and they said it was really lovely they enjoyed it because they had the weather. The weather is everything. So they didn't need to go in anywhere to enjoy the seaside...

I So they stayed outside.

R ...they played ball games and did what is good wholesome sort of fun without having to spend a fortune.

I Yeah. You mentioned the past when we talked about seaside holidays and I think most people...

- R Yeah would probably feel the same.
- I ...would feel the same yes and you've men-- I think in one phrase you said at the beginning of the interview was the good old days, referring to, not necessarily your view but how people see it...
- R Yeah you see it and all the comic strips and all the postcards and all that sort of imagery with it, that went with it.
- I Do you think that heritage is important for people visiting the seaside today? That sort of image of the good old days and a traditional seaside resort and the wrought iron railings, the Midland Hotel, do you think it's very significant or is that just really a small part of the whole thing? How do you feel about it?
- R I can't speak for other people but I would imagine people with families now would either, you know, just say, "Oh we'll go out for the day," and wouldn't particularly be selective, they'd go to the nearest one but if you're choosing a holiday you would pick out either a quiet seaside place, wouldn't you? Or something that's got everything going for it as you see it.
- I Yeah.
- R And that's human nature isn't it? Everybody gets something different wherever you go don't they?
- I Do you think the old fashioned-ness of a resort I think you've hit the nail on the head there are lots of different people and lots of different resorts but do you think that for some people the old fashioned-ness, the heritage of a resort is important? Do you get that feeling from speaking...
- R Oh yes I think the quaintness.
- I Quaintness yes.

R I think people like that because so many places are just clones of other places aren't they?

I That's interesting.

R You know the same sort of things all over the place and if you get something a little bit different, you know, it sort of...

I So you think it's to do with character more than heritage really?

R Well I think the character and the heritage go together really don't they? And some places are naturally more attractive than others aren't they just where they're situated and whether it's a village, you know, in the countryside or a seaside resort and people have their own favourite little spots, don't they within...perhaps along this coast people go to one little thing and often they'll say, "Oh it's really quiet there's nobody there," and I think perhaps...and then you just think of, you know, the people now that are having, you know, earlier retirement and perhaps a little bit more money and free buses to go here there and everywhere it makes a big difference and they usually are not wanting the people like... and perhaps it just means that you sort of know they're not keen on going round the shops or spending a load of money.

I So the atmosphere is a big part of it then in that case?

R Yeah oh I would think so yeah. I mean that's why in Wales I mean there's nothing much there at all but the tourists were everywhere just taking in what there was to see and I'm sure when the weather is good it makes it, you know, it was great. But it's good anywhere isn't it but particularly if you think a place is run down and you're there you'd rather the sun be out because everything looks different.

- I Yeah absolutely. Bearing in mind what we just said a few minutes ago about heritage and also at the beginning of the interview we were talking about childhood and your childhood visits to Morecambe and other places, do you think nostalgia is a very important part of the seaside holiday these days?
- R Oh heavens yes because I mean your whole life when you get older is your memories and, you know, you become boring because you're repeating them, you know, "Oh do you remember when..." you do and often with affection. Those are the things, you know, and now as you're speaking I'm thinking about the tin little buckets and spades we had.
- I Tin?
- R They were tin.
- I Oh right.
- R Yeah I'm going back a heck of a...
- I I've only ever had plastic.
- R Oh well you're very...no but I remember it and it was sort of a huge treat to get a new one and yeah all these sort of things when we were little the beach was part of, you know, you had your new bucket and spade, your kite if you were lucky and swimsuits, you know, all the things that bring to like and you don't remember the rainy days.
- I No, yes that's true actually.
- R Only when you sort of...
- I It's always sunny in your childhood isn't it?

- R Absolutely. Oh we could play on the beach and nobody would be worried about you it was safe, you know, you could run off and go into the sea and nobody would be with you and now, you know, every child's hand is held in case somebody's going to kidnap them or do something awful to them.
- I I suppose on the beach you could argue that in a way it's an exception because you're there with your parents and they, to some degree the kids have got some freedom haven't they? Do you think that's true or do you think, you know better than me, do you think it has changed even the experience of the beach?
- R Oh heavens yeah I remember, you know, my parents would be in a deckchair at mainly Blackpool and have the paper and the hat that was a handkerchief tied in...
- I Oh yeah.
- R ...no I'm exaggerating...
- I ((laughs))
- R ...but, you know, that was what a lot of men did and we just went off.
- I Out of sight out of...
- R Yeah we were on...yeah but we were told, you know, "You must keep a look out for a certain hotel or..." my Dad would put a big flag up as long as everybody else had a flag for...I think.
- I Oh right.
- R And I do remember, you know, my brother getting lost once and we had to go and get the patrol out to find him because you do when you walk out to sea as a child you're really going places aren't you?

I Yeah.

R Do you remember?

I I do I mean yeah I think my Mum was always slightly cautious she's always keep half an eye on me but...even for the 70s ((laughs)).

R Yeah well I think by then it was a bit of a worry for anybody anyway.

I Yeah I think that's true.

R But I think you have more freedom on the beach yeah. It's lovely.

I One last question. Some people have got different views of the beach and what they want from the beach your perfect British seaside beach would it be you, maybe friends and family and nobody else or would there be groups of other people? Would it be crowded? Do you see it as something you share with strangers or do you see it as something you'd like to really be by yourself or be with a select group? How do you view it?

R You mean now at my stage?

I Yeah I guess talking about now.

R Yeah well now I would be quite selective I really would. And being quite a snob I would make sure I wasn't...

I Quieter the better.

R ...yeah I wouldn't be, you know, with the tattooed blokes with thousands of kids with the bull mastiffs.

I Well I can understand that.

R Yeah but no I would quite like it because I'm quite chatty I will chat to people.

- I So would you like to see some strangers on the beach though?
- R Yeah that would...I think the beach is for everyone but I think...
- I Because some people like the beach and they like the idea of...
- R ...to themselves.
- I Exactly.
- R Yeah well you feel like it's yours.
- I Yeah.
- R But I suppose I do tend, when we go places, you know, to find a quiet spot.
- I Mm but I get the impression you'd like a few people around is that right?
- R Oh yes I don't object to people I'm so nosy I would be watching them all the time.
People watching is quite a good occupation.
- I This is what I'm getting at really because some people see it as a sort of
community, maybe it's a Wakes Week's hangover or something but they
see...there's an element of community and people watching to it even if they
don't speak to other people but they like to think they're sharing it with another
group.
- R And other people enjoying themselves is quite lovely to see, you know, for... I
always sort of...you know when you go sometimes...sometimes there would be
just two or three of us and we can watch families enjoying, you know, and
think...and then you start reminiscing, "Oh do you remember when..."
- I Ah so it's all linked to what we started off talking about really isn't it?
- R Absolutely.

- I Okay great we've talked a lot about Morecambe and the seaside but is there anything you were expecting to be asked or any opinions you have about Morecambe and the seaside that you'd like to share that I haven't asked you?
- R I don't think so I think I had no idea what this was involving really and I wondered, you know, what I would know that would be of any use.
- I It's been very useful yeah it has.
- R Yeah well I hope it has but no I would hope that Morecambe does survive in some way as a seaside resort but I'm quite optimistic about most things but I wonder and worry, not unduly because I think that there are other things to worry about but because of the present situation in the country, you know, I think people have to be more community mind...that what they do, what can we all do to keep things going or make it more attractive...
- I Yeah.
- R ...you know instead of always sitting back with your arms folded and saying, "Oh the council they should do this, they should be..."
- I It's very easy to blame the council.
- R It's to blame anybody but themselves, you know, and see all the litter and do nothing about picking it up.
- I And of course the council don't own most of Morecambe just like any council they...it's mainly private property isn't it?
- R Yeah it is now.
- I So it's difficult. Okay, right.
- R Are you there then?

I Yeah thank you very much indeed.

Appendix 6

Stage one research data – results from the questionnaire, including descriptive data.

Please note that the most important and relevant statistics are already included in the results and discussion section (Chapter 6) and are repeated here, alongside other results.

This appendix stands alone from the main body of the thesis and is provided for the reader who may want to look more closely at the results of the first stage of research, perhaps for their own research purposes.

The results in this appendix are structured in a way which corresponds with the structure of the questionnaire which can be seen in Appendix 1. The sections are as follows:

Demographics.....	304
Visiting Habits	305
Visitor Activities	307
The Destination: Perceptions, Appeal and Sense of Place	308
Attitudinal Scales – The Destination & Visitor Satisfaction	309
Attitudinal Scales – Sense Of Place	312
Attitudinal Scales – Associations with the Seaside	313
Attitudinal Scales – Seaside Thoughts	316
Cross Referencing & Testing Attitudinal Scale Items	318
Summary of stage one results.....	322

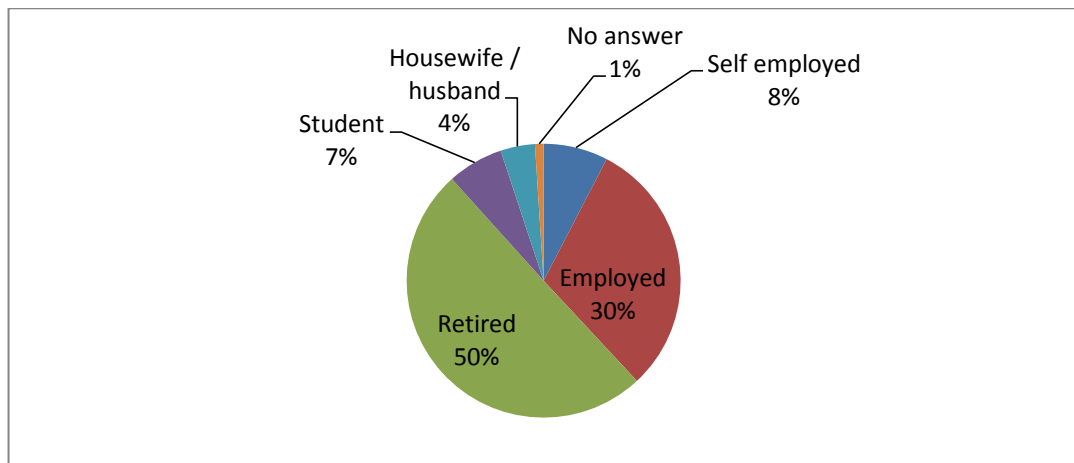
Demographics

The 'about you' section dealt with the demographics of the respondents. The key demographic statistics were:-

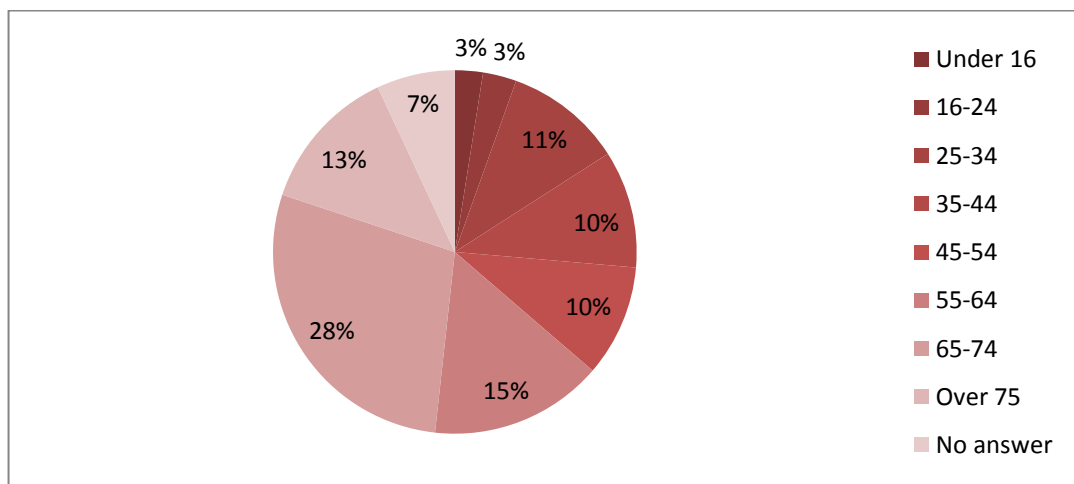
- 55% female - 45% male
- 50% retired
- 38% employed or self employed
- 41% aged over 65 years old (7% did not give their age)
- 56% aged over 55 years old
- 52% were from the North West

The following pie charts break down employment status, age and place of origin in more detail.

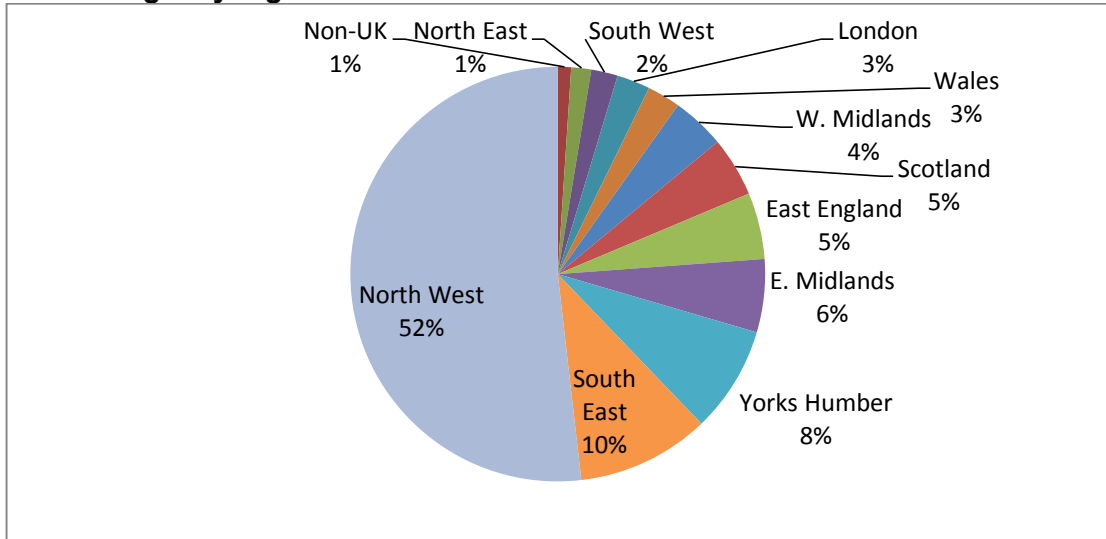
The employment status of respondents



The age of respondents



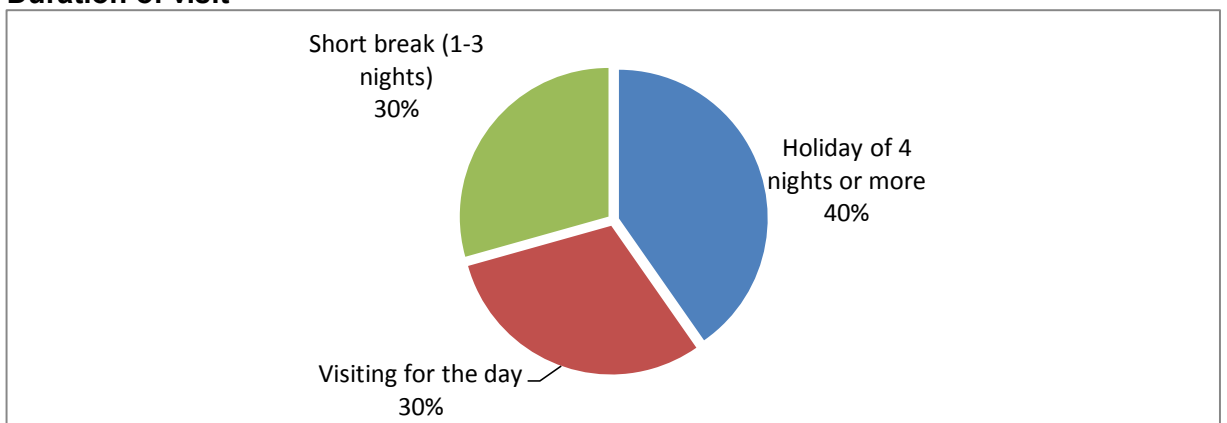
Visitor origin by region



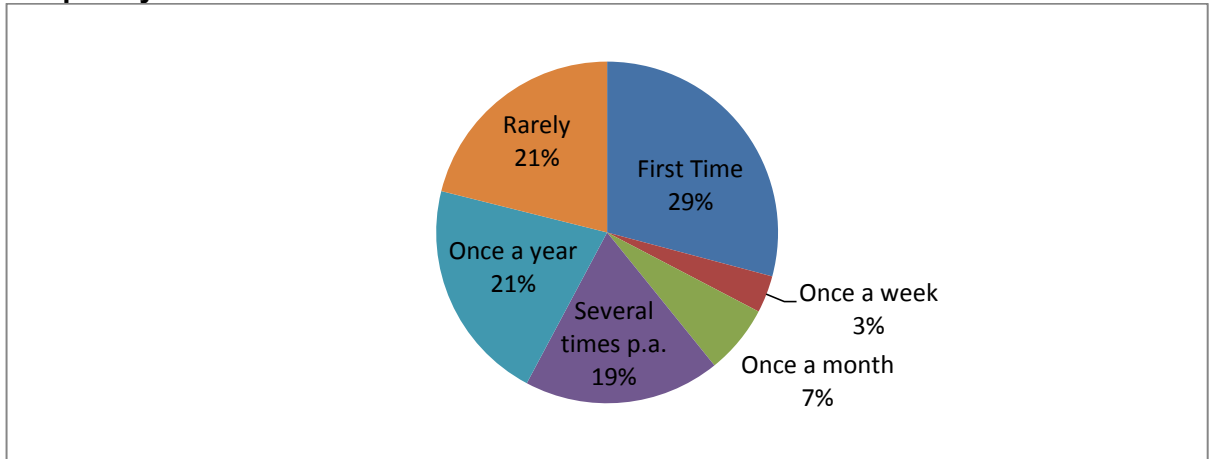
Visiting Habits

The 'Your Visiting Habits' section of the survey asked about the respondents visit to Morecambe. The questions referred to duration of visit, frequency of visits, number of years respondents have been visiting Morecambe, accommodation and travelling partners.

Duration of visit



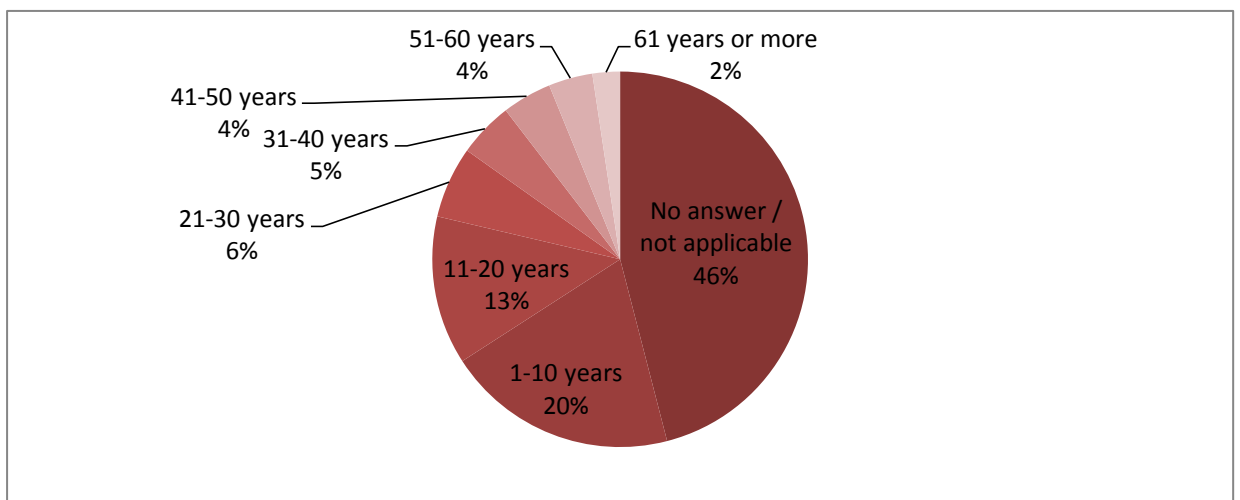
Frequency of visit



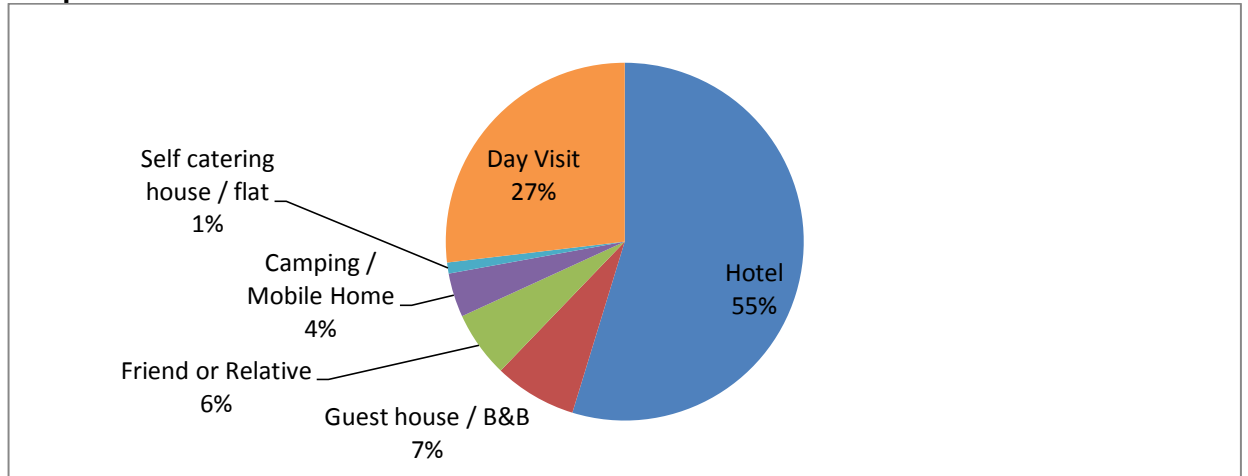
Question 8 in the survey (how long have you been coming / number of years visiting) had a 46% non-response rate; this is notable as generally speaking all other questions were answered. On reflection such a high rate was inevitable because it was not applicable to the 29% of respondents who were first time visitors. An N/A option should have been included. The remaining non responses may be explained by the relatively small amount of physical space taken up by the question on the survey and people missing it. Alternatively respondents may not have wanted to answer the question for reasons unknown.

Nevertheless approximately a third of respondents stated that they had been visiting Morecambe for more than eleven years; one in five had been visiting for more than twenty one years. Significant numbers had a long term relationship with the resort.

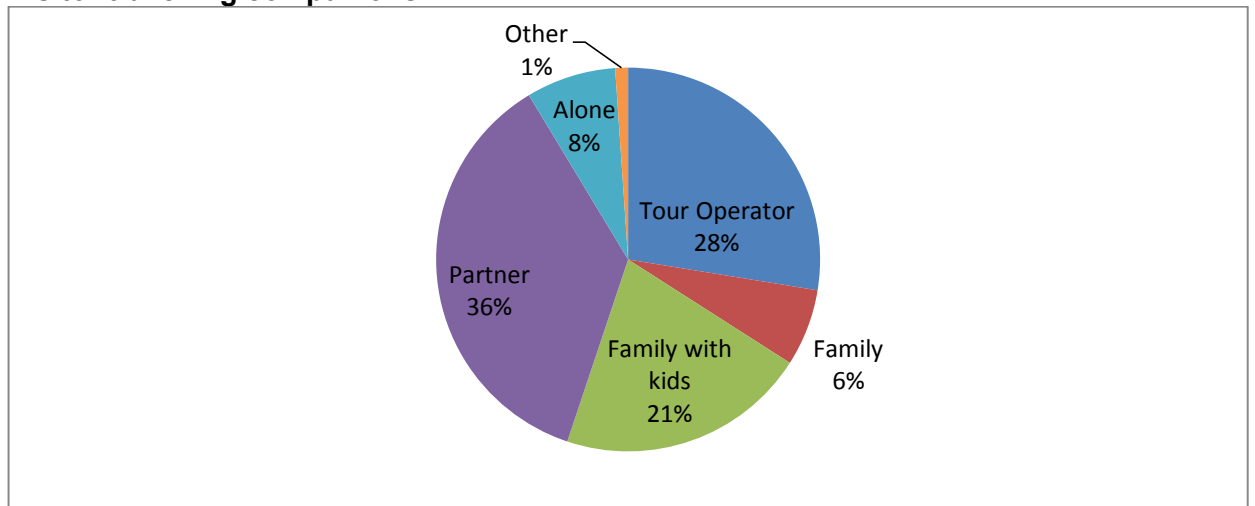
Number of years respondents have been visiting Morecambe



Respondent Accommodation



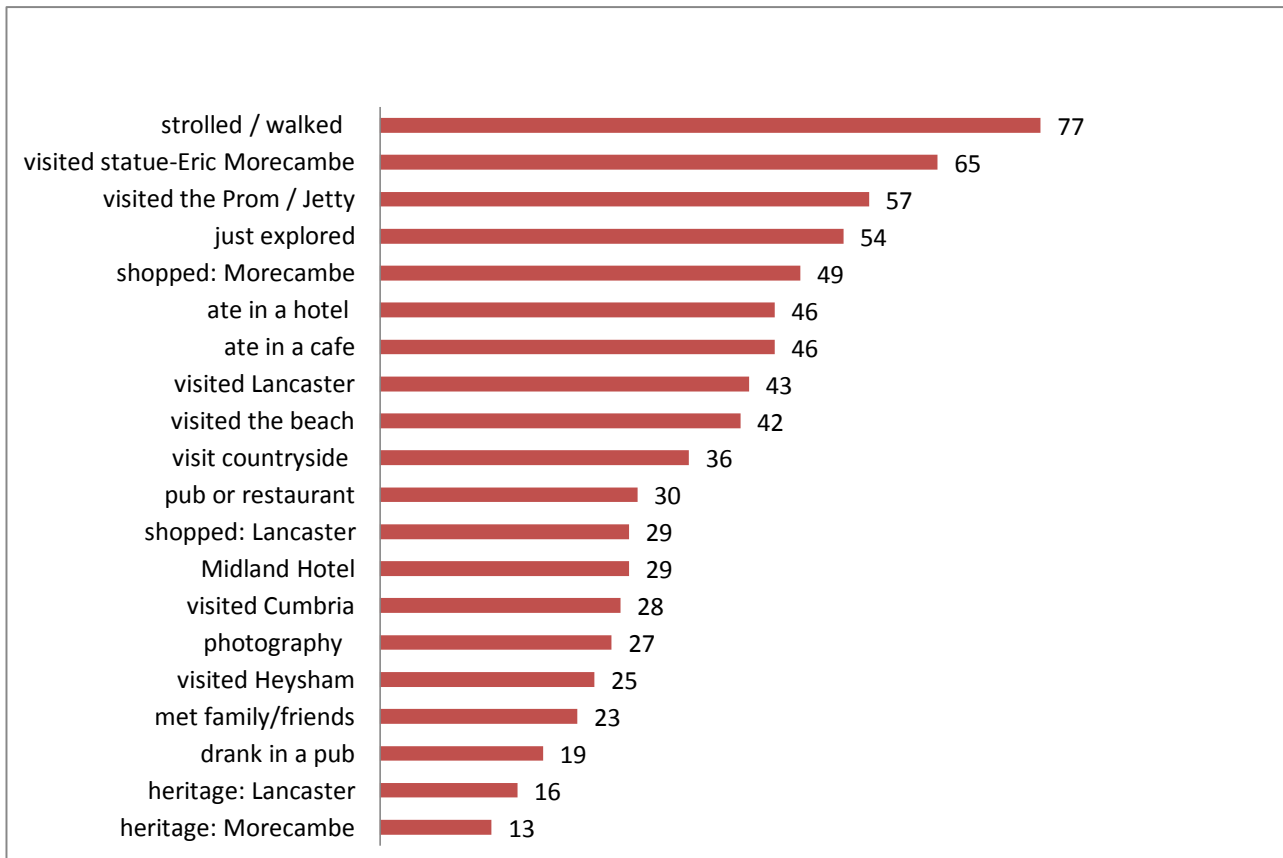
Visitor travelling companions



Visitor Activities

Within the 'Activities During your Stay' section of the questionnaire, respondents classified the purpose of their visit and then indicated touristic activities undertaken. They could select as many activities as they wanted. Each activity box was ticked by at least one respondent. The top 20 most common activities are shown in the chart below; it includes all of the 'popular' activities and paints a picture how the respondents spend their time in the resort. It also gives a vague indication of how respondents *might* spend their money although many of the most popular activities are free of charge and for many 'eating in a hotel' will be part of a package holiday.

The 20 most popular activities of respondents when visiting Morecambe (%)

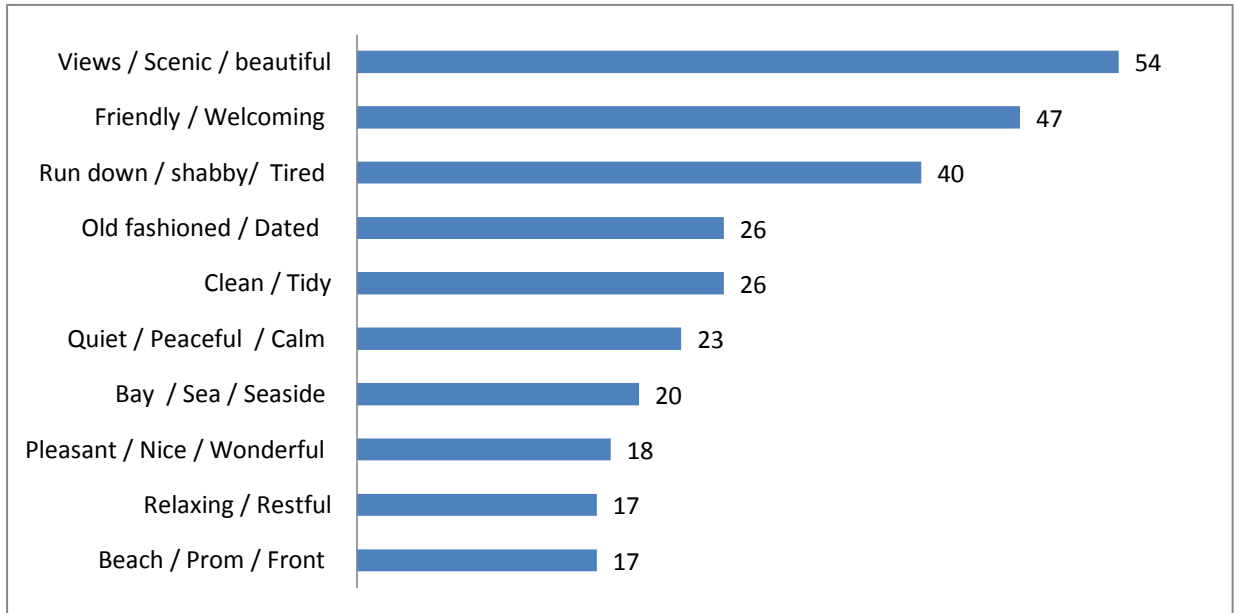


The vast majority of visitors (79% or 158 respondents) walked / strolled in Morecambe. Notably 65% visited the Eric Morecambe Statue (located next to the prom), 57% visited the promenade / stone jetty and 54% explored with no particular plans. These top four responses all place ‘ambling’ along the front at the centre of popular tourist experience in Morecambe. The only notable activity that did not feature in the top 20 was bird watching; this was the 22nd most popular activity. Bird watching was undertaken by 10% of respondents making it by far the most popular sport / hobby other than walking, well in front of cycling (3.5%) and fishing (2.5%).

The Destination: Perceptions, Appeal And Sense Of Place.

Question 71 asked the respondent to describe Morecambe in three words of their own choosing. The chart on p. 309 shows the ten most common choices.

Words used to describe Morecambe (f):



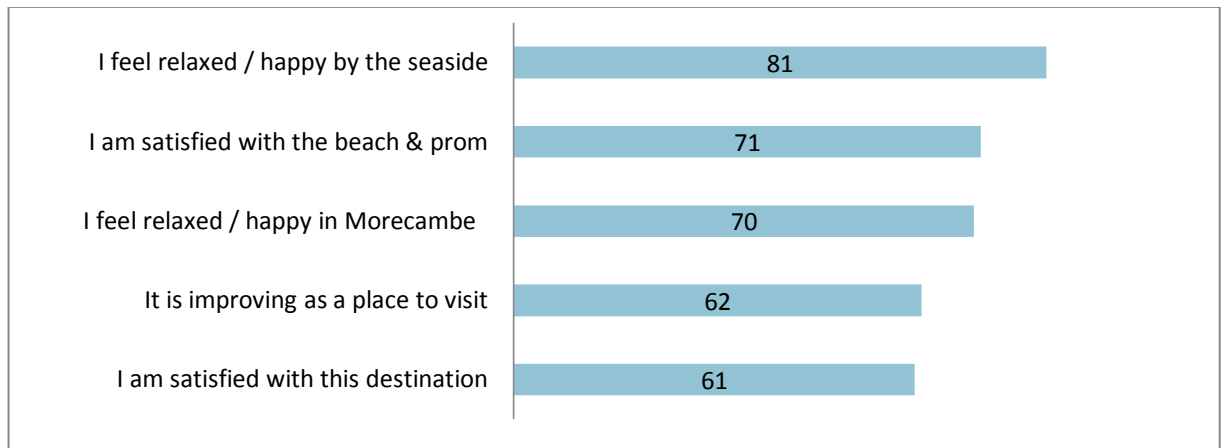
The top ten words chosen were consistent; for example 'views' / 'beautiful' were chosen by 54 times by the 201 respondents i.e. 27% of the time. Interestingly the resort is seen as scenic, friendly, tidy but also run down and old fashioned (old fashioned need not always be seen as a negative of course). It seem the vistas, promenade, beach and general environment are valued whilst at the same time the resort considered to be most definitely out of date.

Attitudinal Scales – The Destination & Visitor Satisfaction

Questions 73 to 86 each consisted of a scale item / statement which corresponded to a five point likert scale. Respondents indicated if they disagreed strongly (marked as 1), disagreed (2), neither agreed nor disagreed (3), agreed (4) or agreed strongly (marked as 5) with the statements. Question 79) was the only statement to be worded negatively so the response was inversely recorded.

The following bar chart (on page 310) shows the percentage of respondents who either *agreed* or *agreed strongly* with a given statement when asked to choose from the five point likert scale. The five highest scoring statements are shown.

Attitudes toward seaside visits - percentage that agreed or agreed strongly with these statements



Whilst respondents were happy in Morecambe (70%), more were happy by the seaside more generally (81%). Whilst most were satisfied with Morecambe (61%) more were satisfied with the beach / prom specifically (71%). More information on these statements is offered in the table below, which not been adjusted in light of questions left blank (which typically come to 3-5%):

Visitor satisfaction; ranking 1-5 with 5 been agree strongly.

Statement / scale item	1 -	2	3 -/+	4	5 +
I feel relaxed / happy by the seaside	1%	2%	14.9%	45.8%	31.8%
I am satisfied with the beach and prom	1.5%	6%	20.4%	44.3%	25.4%
I feel relaxed / happy in Morecambe	2.5%	5%	21.9%	45.3%	22.4%
Morecambe is improving as a place to visit	6.3%	4.2%	27.9%	40.5%	21%
I am satisfied with this destination	3%	8.5%	27.4%	45.3%	14.9%

Visitor satisfaction



The chart above, shows these differences even more clearly than the table (on page 310). The differences are not acute but are discernible. The coastal strip (i.e. the sea, beach and prom) were viewed very positively. In addition respondents were asked to rate the statement, 'The bay & sea are the main reasons to come here' (1-5 with 1 being *strongly agree*, as usual). This question did not fit neatly into any category but does further underline the importance of the coast; the results are detailed in the table below:

Statement / scale item	1 -	2	3 -/+	4	5 +
The bay & sea are the main reasons to come here	3%	10.4%	27.9%	26.9%	25.4%

The level of satisfaction with the destination was cross referenced and tested against a wide variety of other factors from the survey. The only significant relationships concerned 'Sense of Place' and 'Seaside Associations' scale items from the likert scales in the second half of the survey. These are discussed in the following sections. Surprisingly there was no significant relation between destination satisfaction and gender, age, region / where they were from, frequency of visit, how long they have been visiting or the source of questionnaire (where they were staying). Within the limitations of the survey it seems there is no relationship between the demographics of the visitors and satisfaction levels with the resort.

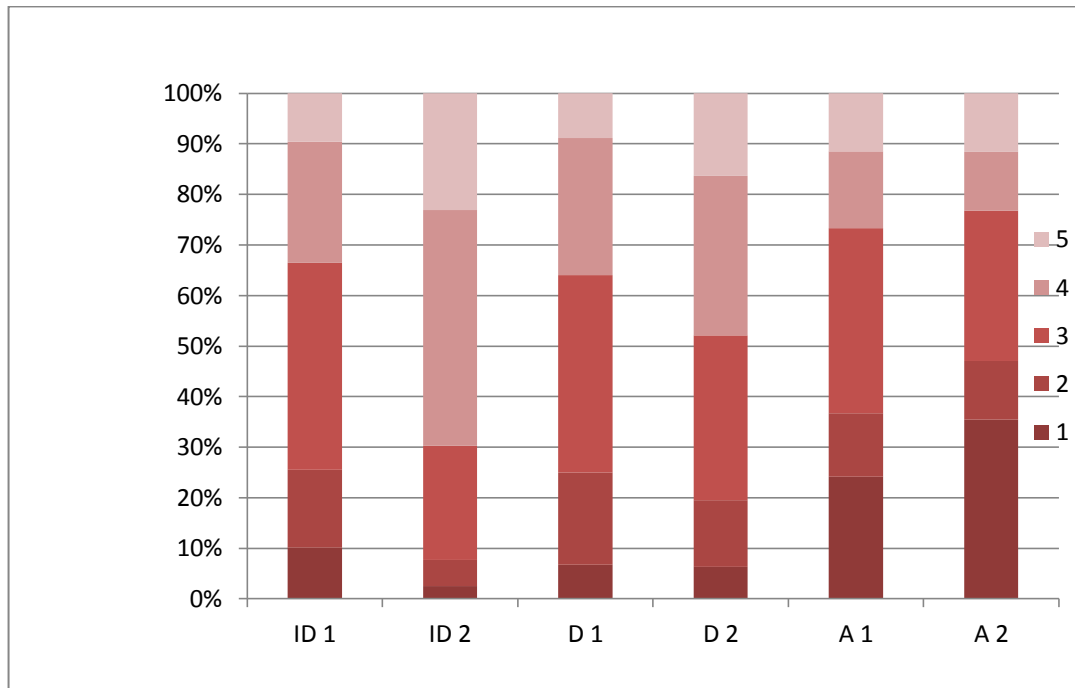
Attitudinal Scales – Sense Of Place

In the 'Destination' section there were six scale items relating to *Sense of Place*. Two items related to each of the *Sense of Place* constructs of Place Identity, Place Dependence and Place Attachment. Respondents indicated if they disagreed strongly (1), disagreed (2), neither agreed nor disagreed (3), agreed (4) or agreed strongly (5) with the statements. The distribution of these results is shown in table below– the results are given in percentage, but between three and six percent of respondents left blanks; this explains why the percentage does not total 100. In other words, the data has not been adjusted to give as accurate a picture as possible.

<i>Sense of Place</i> construct	Statement / scale item	1 -	2	3 -/+	4	5 +
Identity (ID1)	This is one of my favourite places	9.5%	14.4%	38.3%	22.4%	9%
Identity (ID2)	I feel relaxed/happy in Morecambe	2.5%	5%	21.9%	45.3%	22.4%
Dependence (D1)	It is a great place for the things I enjoy	6.5%	17.4%	37.3%	25.9%	8.5%
Dependence (D2)	There are better places to be	6%	12.4%	30.8%	29.9%	15.4%
Attachment (A1)	These visits are an important part of my life	22.9%	11.9%	34.8%	14.4%	10.9%
Attachment (A2)	I come here because I always have done	33.3%	10.9%	27.9%	10.9%	10.9%

These results, shown on the table above, are also shown in graphic form in the chart on page 313 (using corrected or valid %).

Sense of Place – measuring place identity (I), dependence (D) and attachment (A) on a scale of 1-5 (5=agree strongly).



These results, by themselves, do not offer clear and obvious conclusions. Except that any potential sense of place is unlikely to be equally comprised of these three elements (I, D and A), for example issues of identity (notably 'ID2') do seem more significant than issues of attachment (notably 'A2'). These results are more useful / informative when cross referenced with other data, which is done later in a later section (from p.318).

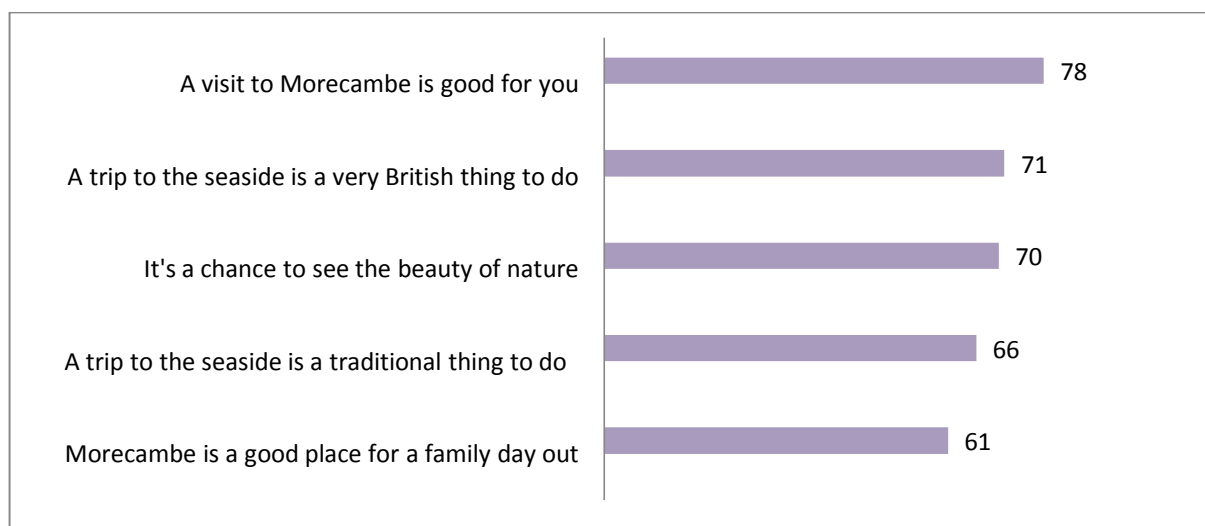
Attitudinal Scales – Associations With The Seaside

This section tested various potential associations with Morecambe. Questions 87 to 99 consisted of a scale item / statement which corresponded to a five point likert scale. The five highest scoring statements are shown on the table overleaf (p.314); it shows percentages of respondents who either *agreed* or *agreed strongly* with a given statement. These findings are then further clarified in a chart (p.314) that shows the seaside was very much associated with health, nature, Britishness and tradition.

The data relating to the most significant statements.

Statement / scale item	1 -	2	3 -/+	4	5 +
A visit to Morecambe is good for you	1.5%	2%	17.4%	43.8%	32.3%
A trip to the seaside is a very British thing to do	2%	4.5%	18.9%	41.3%	29.4%
It's a chance to see the beauty of nature	2%	5.5%	20.9%	42.8%	23.4%
A trip to the seaside is a traditional thing to do	3%	6.5%	23.4%	38.8%	24.4%
Morecambe is a good place for a family day out	6%	6%	26.6%	43.2%	17.7%
Morecambe is old fashioned	4.5%	4.5%	30.3%	34.3%	22.4%
Morecambe is peaceful and quiet	1.5%	7%	31.3%	36.8%	18.4%

The 5 most significant associations with the seaside; the percentage who agreed or agreed strongly with these statements.



Respondents did not feel as strongly about any of the other / remaining statements; a relatively high percentage selected number three (neither agree nor disagree) for these remaining statements , nevertheless these results are shown overleaf (p.315).

One notable exception to this is the ‘there is a lot of bad behaviour in Morecambe’ statement at the bottom of the table; respondents clearly disagreed with or simply did not know – only 8% agreed or agreed strongly.

The statement ‘Visiting Morecambe brings back memories’ is also worthy of note. Because if one excludes first time visitors from the survey, the results were more positive: 1- 6.3%, 2- 9.8%, 3 - 23.8%, 4- 31.5%, 5- 25.9%. Meaning that 57% either agreed or agreed strongly with the statement and 16% either disagreed or disagreed strongly with it. Usually, with other statements, doing this makes no noticeable difference to results.

Data relating to less significant statements

Statement / scale item	1 -	2	3 -/+	4	5 +
Visiting Morecambe brings back memories	10%	9.5%	29.4%	26.4%	19.4%
Morecambe is a place of laughter and fun	5.5%	16.9%	35.8%	25.9%	9.5%
Morecambe is becoming fashionable	10.4%	12.9%	39.3%	24.9%	7.5%
The seaside at Morecambe is Romantic	9.5%	17.9%	39.8%	16.9%	9.5%
Morecambe is a tasteful place	8.5%	21.4%	40.3%	19.9%	4%
There is a lot of bad behaviour in Morecambe	19.9%	26.4%	39.3%	6.5%	1.5%

Attitudinal Scales – Seaside Thoughts

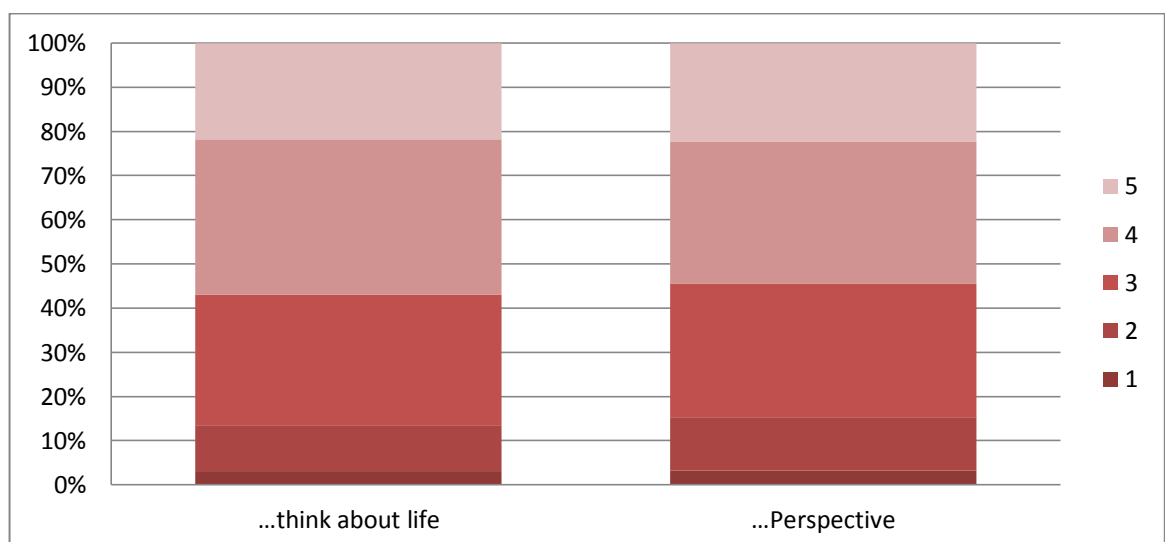
Two scales related partially to seaside associations but are distinct because they deal with the seaside as a place of contemplation. The results were these were not as conclusive as some of the other seaside associations but they were remarkably consistent. Both suggested that over half of respondents agreed or strongly with statements that link depth of thought to the looking out to sea. Between 13 and 14.4% of respondents either disagreed or strongly disagreed with these statements, a relatively low number.

Seaside thoughts

Statement / scale item	1 -	2	3 -/+	4	5 +
Looking at the sea makes me think about life	3%	10%	28.4%	33.8%	20.9%
Looking at the sea puts things into perspective	3%	11.4%	28.4%	30.3%	20.9%

In this table, 5 represents *strongly agree* and 1 *strongly disagree*, as is the case throughout this study.

Seaside thoughts – based on the table above

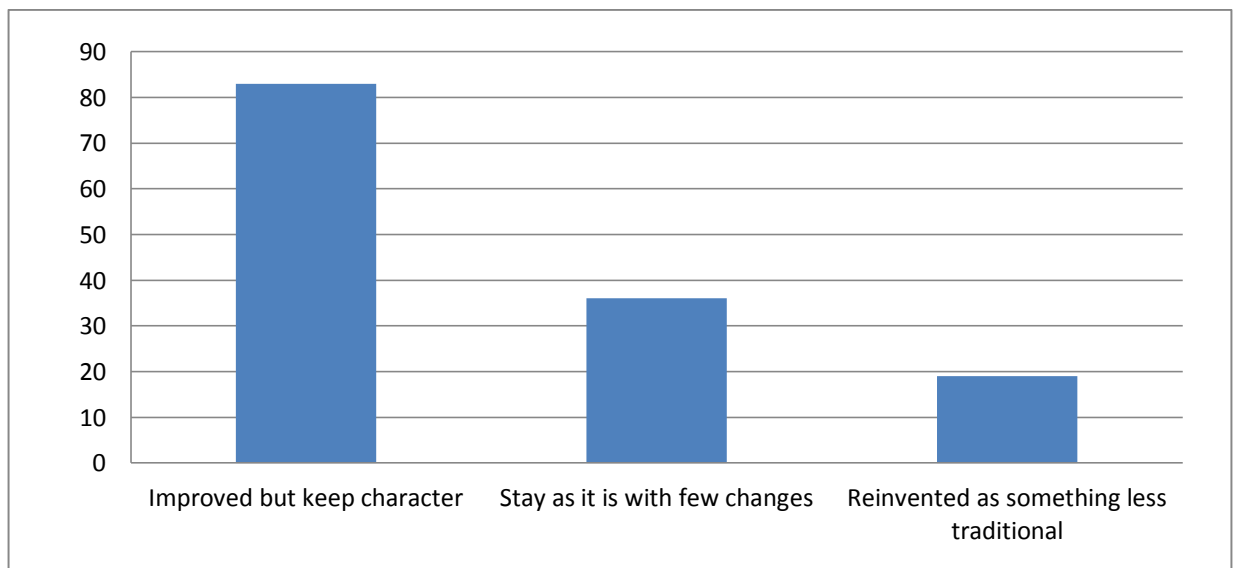


The Future Of The Resort Of Morecambe

This section had three statements which respondents had to rate on a five point likert scale (questions 100-102). The percentages are of respondents who agreed / agreed strongly with the statement. A very high 83% of respondents agreed or agreed strongly with the statement that *Morecambe should be improved but keep its character as the chart show*. 46% disagreed or disagreed strongly with the statement that the resort should be *reinvented as something less traditional*, as shown below. The respondents clearly want Morecambe improved but not reinvented or to lose its *character*; the table of mode averages from the scales confirms this.

Item / Statement	Mode (1-5)
Re-invented as modern and less traditional	2
Stay as it is with few changes	3
Improved but keep character / atmosphere	4

The percentage of respondents who agreed/ agreed strongly with the following statements regarding the future of Morecambe



The last question asks if the respondent would recommend Morecambe to a friend; 78% of respondents would recommend Morecambe as a place to visit, 22% would not.

Cross Referencing & Testing Attitudinal Scale Items

Cross tabulations and tests were first run on the sample minus first time visitors, as one might assume their perceived sense of place *may* be different. However it made very little difference indeed to the results. It should be noted that the sample size is reduced by 30% without first time visitors and most sense of place items scored the same when tested with both samples. The numbers involved in these smaller groups were too small to allow meaningful comparison. It was therefore decided to continue with the original full sample of 201 respondents which includes first time visitors; these results are detailed below. In a similar way day trippers and overnight visitors were separated in order to establish any potential variation but there was no significant difference between these groups and again it was decided to proceed with the whole sample.

This section concerns all the elements of the questionnaire survey. Each scale data (rankings) were cross tested against other scale items data, demographic information and visitor habit information. This was in order to establish *any* significant relationship that may exist. Spearman's Rank Correlation Coefficient was employed. This gives two figures when correlating two sets of data; the correlation coefficient (r_s) and significant value (P). The r_s value ranges between -1 and +1 and indicates the strength of the correlation and if it was positive or negative. The correlation is significant if the P value is lower than 0.05 (with 0 been the most significant score possible). These test results should only be seen as *indicative* for two reasons. Firstly the sampling technique was not random. Secondly correlation is not causation; in the best of circumstances it provides an indication of the *likelihood* of a causal relationship. Causal relationships should not normally be assumed from correlations (Gratton and Jones 2004, Finn, Elliott-White and Walton 2000).

The most significant statistical relationships of note concerned satisfaction with the Destination. The results can be placed into three clear themes or groups:

- Sense of Place
- Nostalgia/Identity
- Nature/*Spirit*.

In the most general of terms, respondents who identified with one of these three inter-related themes were statistically more likely to be satisfied with the destination.

Significant correlations that did not involve satisfaction were much less common place. Any such correlations are highlighted in this section which looks at the aforementioned three themes in turn.

The scale items relating to sense of place were cross tabulated and tested against other variables in order to find any significant relationships. No such significant relationships could be found between sense of place scale items and the majority of variables, including:-

- Region (where they were from)
- How long the respondents have been visiting
- How long they were staying
- Age
- Gender
- The source of the questionnaire (where it was collected from).

The lack of a relationship between any of these variables and sense of place was unexpected. Indeed the *only* variables to have a significant relationship with sense of place related to satisfaction. Both destination satisfaction and satisfaction with the beach / prom yielded similar results as far as these tests were concerned, so the focus here is on the destination satisfaction. Visitors who indicated that they felt a stronger sense of place also tended to indicate that they were more satisfied with the destination. These relationships are detailed in the table below.

The correlation between destination satisfaction and sense of place

Construct	Statement / scale items (against destination satisfaction)	'P' value	'r_s' value
Attachment	<i>I come here because I always have done</i>	.007	.196
Attachment	<i>These visits are an important part of my life</i>	.000	.328
Identity	<i>I feel relaxed/happy in Morecambe</i>	.000	.562
Identity	<i>This is one of my favourite places</i>	.000	.470
Dependence	<i>There are better places to be</i>	.000	-.401
Dependence	<i>It is a great place for the things I enjoy</i>	.000	.554

The three constructs of sense of place were each associated with two specific questions on the questionnaire as discussed previously. As can be seen on the table above, Destination Satisfaction had a significant relationship with one of the Place Attachment questions and two of those concerning Place Identity and Place Dependence items. The negative wording of the 'there are better places to be' item means that the negative relationship is in fact in line with the other results; as those

who disagree with this statement are obviously more likely to be satisfied. Effectively one can invert that test result. Overall sense of place responses did correlate with the satisfaction response but according to the second stage of research these scale items are not so easily distinguished. However one interesting aspect of these results is that place attachment does seem to correlate less clearly than other aspects of sense of place. Satisfied respondents did not seem to particularly think that they visited because they 'always have done'. One could not draw firm conclusions from this alone. However the survey also revealed a lack of correlation between any of these sense of place scale items with frequency of visit of number or years visiting the resort – when tested not one of these combinations had a *P* value less than, or even close to, 0.05. The lack of any apparent link between frequency and length of visit to either satisfaction or sense of place items was unexpected. It may suggest the possibility that visitors impressions of Morecambe are not greatly impacted upon by their visiting patterns.

The theme of nostalgia and identity is now considered. There is a significant correlation between destination satisfaction and agreement with all questions which related to nostalgia and/or national identity. These scale items and levels of significance are shown in the table below. These test results suggest that respondents who see visiting Morecambe as 'a trip down memory lane', traditional or British are more likely to be satisfied with the destination. Of course these scale items could be described as elements of sense of place and identity and are therefore broadly in line with the results regarding sense of place.

The correlation between nostalgia / identity and destination satisfaction

Statement / scale items (against destination satisfaction)	'P' value	'r_s' value
<i>Visiting Morecambe brings back memories</i>	.005	.203
<i>A trip to the seaside here is traditional thing to do</i>	.002	.226
<i>A trip to the seaside here is a very British thing to do</i>	.001	.237

Other variables were tested against these data three sets but only two (other than Destination Satisfaction) were significant. They were the number of years that respondents had been visiting the resort and frequency of visit. In both of these cases only the 'Visiting Morecambe brings back memories' scale showed a correlation. Both were positive, so the higher the frequency of visit or length of history with the resort, the more likely that visits were associated with memories. When one searched for relationships between all the other scale items in the survey and both number of years

visiting and frequency, these were the only significant correlations. The correlations are detailed in the table below.

Correlations with *visiting Morecambe brings back memories*.

Statement / scale items (against Visiting Morecambe brings back memories)	'P' value	'r_s' value
<i>How long have you been coming to Morecambe?</i>	.000	.480
<i>How often do you come?</i>	.002	.228

The only other significant correlation that (arguably) lies outside of the groupings within this section relate to that between 'destination satisfaction' and 'The seaside at Morecambe is Romantic' which had a *P* value of .000 and an *r_s* value of .320.

The theme of Health, Nature and Spirit is now considered. There is a significant correlation between satisfaction with the destination and the data relating to the scale items that are set out in the table below. These relate to the underlying 'spiritual' draw of the sea or its' role as a 'tonic' to modern day living, as discussed in the literature review. The more a visitor is satisfied with the resort, the more likely that they agree with these statements that link the sea to *wellness* (in its most holistic sense). From this sample, those who feel free, come because of the sea & quiet, look to sea and think about life and consider the seaside to be healthy are more likely to be satisfied with Morecambe. Of the scale items that could be grouped under wellness, only one did not significantly correlate with destination satisfaction, namely '*Looking at the sea puts things into perspective*' which had a *P* value of 0.55. Wellness and spirituality are likely to be important factors in a positive touristic experience for many of these respondents; these correlations are outlined in the table below.

The correlation between satisfaction with the destination and perceptions of wellness, health & spirituality

Statement / scale items (against destination satisfaction)	'P' value	'r_s' value
<i>A visit to Morecambe is good for you nature</i>	.000	.315
<i>Looking at the sea puts things into perspective</i>	.055	.140
<i>Looking at the sea makes me think about life</i>	.000	.274
<i>I feel happy / relaxed by the seaside</i>	.001	.249
<i>I feel happy / relaxed in Morecambe</i>	.000	.562
<i>The bay & sea are the main reasons to come here</i>	.001	.249
<i>A visit here is a chance to see the beauty of nature</i>	.000	.322
<i>I feel free here</i>	.000	.423
<i>Morecambe is peaceful and quiet</i>	.026	.163

Summary of stage one results

A touristic Sense of Place does appear to exist in Morecambe and to have a positive relationship with touristic satisfaction with the resort. Place Identity & Dependence seemed significant and related to visitor satisfaction. Across the whole survey *identity* is the most significant strand of this sense of place; nostalgia and Identity appear key themes emerging from the respondents. Those who view the resort as traditional, British & linked to memory were more likely to be satisfied with the resort. Many recognised the resort as traditional or old fashioned. Most wanted Morecambe to be further improved in the future but for the atmosphere of the place to remain unchanged.

The environment played a key role in this sense of place. The large majority of visitors used the promenade; satisfaction with this area was higher than with the resort more generally. Visitors were impressed by the views of Morecambe Bay and the sea and enjoyed a healthy and natural environment. They felt 'free', 'relaxed' and 'happy'. There was a significant correlation between satisfaction with the promenade and recognition of 'spiritual' elements of this environment – thinking about life and feeling free whilst looking out to sea. Whether one considers touristic actions or attitudes, the traditional use of the promenade *is* the central visitor experience.

Surprisingly, only three variables seemed to make any significance difference to more than one statement item. They were length of time visiting the resort, frequency of visits to the resort and, more often, satisfaction with the resort. Notably demographics and various other factors correlated with very few factors relating to visits or seasiderness. A sense of place exists and correlates with visitor satisfaction; although the link between satisfaction and a positive reading of place was expected to correlate. The second stage of research, in-depth interviews, aimed to explore the nature of this sense of place and attempt to explain its full significance to the appeal of Morecambe.

Appendix 7

A table providing an overview of themes to emerge from all of the interviews associated with the second stage of research, including numeric information.

Overall Themes	Themes and super-ordinate themes	Respondents' initials										# People	# Times
		A.D.	B.J.	D.B.	G.D.	P.K.	P.P.	P.S.	T.M.	W.H.	W.S.		
RESORT IDENTITIES - DEFINING MORECAMBE Mentioned 94 times	SEASIDE PLACE IDENTITIES												
	The identity of the traditional resort	YES	NO	YES	YES	YES	YES	YES	YES	YES	YES	9	11
	National identity at the seaside	NO	NO	NO	NO	YES	NO	YES	YES	YES	YES	5	7
	MORECAMBE'S PLACE IDENTITY												
	Morecambe's identity by comparison	YES	NO	YES	NO	YES	YES	YES	NO	YES	YES	7	16
	Attachment to Morecambe	NO	NO	YES	NO	NO	NO	NO	YES	YES	NO	3	4
	SEASIDE HERITAGE & PLACE IDENTITY												
	Seaside Heritage	NO	YES	NO	NO	YES	YES	YES	YES	YES	YES	7	9
	The Midland Hotel: attraction & icon	NO	NO	NO	YES	NO	YES	YES	YES	YES	NO	5	8
	MORECAMBE'S SHIFTING IDENTITY												
	An improving destination	YES	YES	YES	YES	NO	YES	YES	YES	YES	NO	8	13
	Shortcomings & poor facilities	YES	NO	YES	YES	YES	YES	YES	YES	YES	YES	9	18
A divided resort	NO	NO	NO	YES	NO	YES	YES	YES	NO	YES	5	7	
EXPERIENCING THE SEA: CHARACTERISTIC & APPEAL Mentioned 78 times	THE LURE OF THE SEA												
	The sea as the main attraction	YES	YES	YES	YES	NO	YES	YES	YES	YES	YES	9	12
	The interchangeable seaside	NO	YES	NO	NO	NO	YES	NO	NO	YES	YES	4	8
	EXPERIENCING THE SEASCAPE												
	Picturesque bay views	YES	YES	YES	YES	YES	YES	YES	YES	YES	YES	10	18
	The seaside and the senses	YES	YES	YES	NO	YES	YES	NO	YES	NO	NO	6	8
	THE CHARACTERISTICS OF THE SEA												
	The dynamic & powerful sea	YES	YES	NO	YES	YES	NO	NO	YES	NO	YES	6	9
	The vast & awesome sea	YES	NO	NO	YES	YES	YES	YES	NO	YES	YES	7	12
	The timeless & primeval sea	YES	YES	NO	YES	NO	NO	YES	NO	YES	YES	6	11
WELL BEING Mentioned 25 times	THE SPIRITUAL SEASIDE AND WELL-BEING												
	The Restorative Seaside	YES	YES	YES	NO	YES	YES	YES	YES	YES	YES	9	11
	The Meditative Seaside	NO	NO	YES	NO	NO	YES	YES	YES	NO	NO	4	6
	The Spiritual Seaside	YES	NO	NO	YES	YES	NO	YES	YES	YES	YES	7	8
NOSTALGIA & CHILDHOOD Mentioned 75 times	NOSTALGIC SEASIDE VISITS												
	Experiencing nostalgia at the seaside	NO	YES	YES	YES	YES	YES	NO	YES	NO	YES	7	7
	Nostalgic motivation for seaside visits	NO	NO	YES	YES	NO	YES	YES	YES	NO	YES	6	8
	NOSTALGIA FOR SEASIDE HOLIDAYS OF CHILDHOOD												
	Reminiscing: childhood memories	YES	YES	YES	YES	YES	YES	YES	NO	YES	NO	8	10
	Nostalgia-modest childhood holidays	NO	YES	YES	YES	YES	YES	NO	YES	NO	YES	7	10
	Parents 'revisiting' resorts	NO	NO	YES	NO	YES	YES	YES	NO	YES	NO	5	11
	THE BEACH: PLAY AND NOSTALGIA												
Beach play & it's characteristics	YES	YES	YES	YES	YES	YES	YES	YES	YES	YES	10	17	
Nostalgia for a lost childhood	YES	YES	YES	YES	NO	YES	YES	YES	NO	YES	8	12	

Please note that the '# People' column refers to the number of interviewees who raised the subject in question and '# Times' refers to the number of times the subject was raised across all ten interviews.