Chapter 7 A thematic review of Visitors' Books

7.1 Introduction

Chapter 6 identified the format and constraints implicit within the Church Visitors' Books. Nonetheless, it is argued that they do provide an insight into visitor motivations and experiences; the aim of the thesis is to investigate the relationship between visitors and the Cornish church heritage – it is argued that this form of data is useful because it is generated by the visitor with limited researcher influence although a certain level of subjectivity may exist with regard to the interpretation of themes.

The findings are related back to the literature in chapters 2 to 5, addressing all of the research objectives; a brief review of concepts is presented here. From chapter 2, Dann's (1981) perspectives on tourist motivation are useful, with the visitors' book themes illuminating several of his forms. Research from Cohen (1979), McKercher (2002) and Timothy (1997), addressing the depth of experience and connectivity with the site, comes across in a large minority of comments; this has resonance in Poria *et al's* (2003b) work which suggests that only one of their four forms of visitor is motivated by the attributes of the site *per se*. Scruton's (1998) argument that religion and aestheticism share a close relationship is identified in the discussion of themes as is Smith's (1992) suggestion of a pilgrim-tourist path. The synthesis of the literature, presented in Table 2.4, is of value when reflecting on lengthier visitors' book comments for it allows those individuals to be 'positioned'. Finally, in the context of a concept of religious tourism, there is the issue of whether visiting one of these churches is a form of cultural tourism or a substitute for attendance at a service (Shackley 2002).

Chapter 3 discussed definitions of heritage visitor attractions, drawing on Ashworth (1995), Edson (2004), Harvey (2001), Lowenthal (1996) and Tunbridge (1998) who, amongst others, argue that heritage tends to be both subjective and symbolic – a return to the view that heritage tourists can only be appropriately categorised if the visitor is motivated by the site itself (Poria *et al* 2003b). A number of themes found in the visitors' books do indicate that the individual sites have particular meaning for some visitors; in other words, there is a contested heritage, as discussed at 3.4.3. However, despite the prevalence of commodification at a great many heritage sites, the three churches exhibit few manifestations (guide leaflets and postcards) and, it is argued, this is concomitant with a low level of interpretation. This leads on to whether individuals possess the necessary cultural capital (Bourdieu 1986) to decode aspects of the church architecture and fabric – many visitors may appreciate the aesthetic gaze although few may move from the "primary stratum" (Bourdieu 1986:2) of understanding to that of "secondary meanings… what is signified". The issue of ratios of visitors' book signers to non-signers has been discussed in chapter 3, ultimately making the task of assuring representativeness somewhat difficult; however, the range of themes does corroborate Hanna's (1984:5) findings, based on a survey of incumbents, whereby "architecture, stained glass, towers, fonts, associations with people and brasses… (indeed up to) 155 different types of feature" may appeal to visitors.

The discussion in chapters 2 and 3 has constructed an argument that supports the view of Prentice (1993) and Keeling (2000) that churches attract both the general interest (recreational) visitor and special interest visitor – Prentice suggests that this is not the case with other heritage properties, in the main. The chairman of the National Churches Tourism Group emphasised this in stating that visitors "come for so many reasons" (Evans 2001:4). For the general interest visitor, it is argued that perception of the church

can be coloured by wider representations of Cornwall, discussed in chapter 4, whereby an element of 'Otherness' resides in the tourist gaze; however, it is considered that this is unlikely to be consciously articulated. Returning to Bourdieu's (1986) concept of cultural capital, it is unlikely that many visitors would be aware of the pre-Augustinian, Celtic nature of Christianity in Cornwall and, in any event, unlikely to remark on this in a visitors' book – a handful actually do. On the other hand, the discussion of a Cornish diaspora, in chapter 4, bears fruit in quite a number of comments, from each of the churches. The historical, literary and topographical commentary, in chapter 5, is also pertinent to some visitor comments: ranging from the emphasis on the sub-tropical grounds (St Just) to reference to Marconi, at Gunwalloe, Daphne du Maurier at Lanteglos, and John Betjeman at St Just, for example. Some of these visitors, particularly those searching for 'roots', frequently diasporic, are from overseas and the next section, accordingly, addresses their origins.

Turning to the findings, nationalities, by month of visit, have been grouped and are presented in Appendix 3; a succinct version, by continent, is provided in Table 7.1; comparisons with Cornwall Holiday Survey data are discussed later in the chapter. It is worth noting that although some nationalities could be represented by just one individual – or group – visiting, there are clearly different entries throughout specific months. In most cases, the address or just town is given but, where none has been provided, the visitor has been classified as UK – the surnames appear to be Anglo-Saxon in almost all cases. The figures presented are conservative; for example, where an entry reads the *Jones Family*, this has been interpreted as three and where only one name is entered, this has been taken to represent a single individual despite the probability of there being at least two visitors – this assertion is based on participant observation and respondents during the 2002 survey, documented in chapter 8. Besides

providing a guide to numbers, the visitors' book data is useful for the identification of themes to be pursued in further research as will be demonstrated and in the construction of tentative church visitor types. The chapter summarises the findings in terms of the published literature, addressing cultural and heritage visitors, discussed in chapters 2 and 3.

Table 7.1 Geographic distribution of visitors to churches, according to visitors' books

	Gunwalloe		St Just		Lanteglos	
	2000	%	2002	%	2000	%
United Kingdom	4882	91	9668	87	824	84
Europe exc. UK	233	4	673	6	84	9
North America	162	3	408	4	42	4
Australia/New Zealand	75	1	249	2	25	3
Africa	17	<1	52	<1	5	<1
Asia	7	<1	24	<1		
South America	3	<1	6	<1	1	<1
Caribbean/Bermuda	3	<1	5	<1		

Source: Author, derived from Appendix 3

Table 7.2 presents the themes ascertained and identifies the proportion of visitors, at each church, making comments, including those single-word entries such as 'peaceful'; the latter would be coded under 'Spirituality' and partly explains the large percentage for each location. Finally, it needs to be emphasised that some visitors make an entry which comprises two or even three themes and, therefore, result in the figures summing to more than 100 per cent. This also illustrates that many of the themes are inter-related; a large number of permutations exist. For example, a visitor finding the church open may remark on this, followed by an observation on the quality of the bench ends (pews). Alternatively, repeat visitors state how many years it has been since their previous visit and how the church is still as aesthetically pleasing as before.

Table 7.2 Themes identified from visitors' book analysis

Theme	**Gunwalloe**	**St Just-in-Roseland**	**Lanteglos-by-Fowey**
Total number of entries	3,199	6,607	616
Number of entries with comments	1,548	2,521	459
Comments as % of entries	48.40	38.20	74.50
Themes as % of comments			
Access – church open	4.65	0.40	1.70
'Return to roots'	2.13	1.39	4.14
Repeat visitors	12.20	9.48	5.23
'Word of mouth' recommendation	0.19	0.04	
Surrounding environment	4.72	10.23	0.43
Size of church	4.20	0.55	
Church architecture	0.90	0.19	1.96
Interior church fabric	0.96	0.36	3.27
Unexpected pleasant surprise	1.55	0.83	0.22
Aesthetic satisfaction	32.75	50.02	55.33
Spirituality/Spiritual need	41.00	51.80	29.85
History (non-personal links)	1.36	0.52	2.18
Literary links	0.06	0.08	1.09
Celtic/Cornish influence	0.26	0.08	0.22
Reference to flora		1.23	
Positive use of lottery money			0.87
Restoration	0.13		3.92
Reference to Jenkins (2000) guide	0.13		0.65
Reference to other guide		0.04	

Source: Author

7.2 Church access

The first theme to mention, then, is that of access: at Gunwalloe, numerous entries (nearly 5 per cent of those making a comment, many more than for the other churches), in the year 2000, refer to the church being open – the associated feature of trust is also mentioned occasionally. Gunwalloe church certainly conforms to the Scottish Tourist Board (1991) visitor attraction definition of being open to the public without prior booking. In their study, Brice *et al* (2003:157) observed that "many visitors commented favourably on the church being open"; the inference being that churches elsewhere in England may well be locked: a visitor to St Just, on 15 February, from East Sussex, comments "How lovely to find an open church!!" At Lanteglos, on 7 October, a visitor

has written “Thank you for having the faith to leave this little gem open”. As will become apparent, a number of entries refer to more than just one theme, as the St Just comment (21 September) illustrates: “Steeped in history! Thank you for keeping it open”. It is argued that such visitors perceive the church as both a religious building and a *heritage visitor attraction* (Busby 2003); with so much national and social history, not to mention local identity, imbued in the structure, it cannot fail to be a heritage attraction.

7.3 ‘Roots’

The theme of returning to one’s roots is evident from many of the entries – not surprising given the diaspora figures cited in chapter 4 and the significantly lower per-unit cost of air travel (Baxter 2002; Coles *et al* 2005) discussed earlier. Numerous entries in the Gunwalloe visitors’ book allude to such connections; for example: “We have ancestors buried here – a special moment”, written on 22 April 2000, by a New Zealander. From Lanteglos, on 23rd April, examples from Australian and Canadian visitors are presented: a visitor from Victoria, Australia states that he is the “great-great-great grandson of Thomas Nunn Jewell and Elizabeth. Buried here 1882”. On 10th May, two visitors, from Toronto, Canada, state “Grandparents’ resting place – (Pearce’s from Trevecca Farm)”. An entry for 18th May, from a Sorrento, Australia, visitor, queries “Decendant (*sic*) of HENRY BATE??? Buried in churchyard”. Similarly, from St Just, examples from four nations are illustrated: on 23 May, “Here for generations my mother’s father’s family (Kendell) worshipped” (visitor from Alberta, Canada) and, on 4 October, South Africans write “We finally found our roots, we’re so proud to be Pascoe’s” (*sic*) – in 1903, Johannesburg was “but a suburb of Cornwall” (Hind 1907:352). On 22 October, visitors from California, state “Church of our ancestors” and, on 26 December, a New Zealand family writes “Tracing our ancestor Eleanor

Wolgrove": the time of year does not deter this visitor type. A domestic tourist (Surrey), rather than one from a diasporic destination, notes at St Just, on 15 February, that he is a "Relative of John Luer 1542 (Vicar)" – the only ecclesiastical roots connection stated in the visitors' books.

Such visitors can be perceived as conforming to Cohen's (1979:191) fifth form, discussed at 2.4, those in the *existential mode*, who desire "to find one's spiritual roots. The visit takes on the quality of a home-coming to a historical home". This is echoed by McCain & Ray (2003:716) in their paper on legacy tourists, as they term them, whereby such visitors might garner a "feeling of completeness". This typifies Ryan's (1995) observations that the activity can be both expressive and instrumental: self-expression and affiliative needs combine with religious-philosophical ones to produce a sense of achievement once the site is reached. On the other side of the world, Lew & Wong (2003) have observed the same phenomenon, also through the use of content analysis. Given the discussion at 2.4, the motivation for these visitors is clear: a search for fine details of their background; given the discussion at 3.4.2, these individuals are truly heritage tourists on the basis of Poria *et al's* (2003b) definition.

Additionally, it is argued that Pearce's (1988) discussion is relevant, that is, both cognitive-normative and interactional forms can be discerned within the same visitor: cognitive-normative refers to the motivation, viz. a search for roots, plus there is an interaction between the visitor and the site – for example, gravestones may be sought, resulting in a higher quality of experience as the Lanteglos 23rd April visitor, mentioned above, illustrates, arguably, illustrating McKercher's (2002) depth of experience axis (Figure 2.2). From another perspective, Gruffudd *et al* (1999) have observed that visitors locate their 'roots' through visits partly because of the technological bases of

modern lifestyles. Technology has changed lifestyles for many in the last six decades, including Normandy veterans; it is argued that the St Just visitor, from Oxfordshire, on 5 September, was involved with the D-Day Landings (many troops being stationed in the area): “To re-trace my granddads steps in World War 2”. Roots of a non-genealogical type, as also applies to a woman from Lancashire, on 25 September, who simply states: “Late Trevernal Camp ATS 43/44” (St Just). Without doubt, both genealogical and non-genealogical roots visitors illustrate Pearce’s (1988) self-directed Travel Career component (chapter 2.4) whereby a specific motivation is being fulfilled. Intriguingly, comments from the Lanteglos data indicate only genealogical roots visitors there.

Another feature of the data is that visitors from the two Commonwealth countries of Australia and Canada are spread fairly evenly through the year; statistically insignificant but worthy of further research for tourist board purposes. If the year 2000 figures, for overseas visitors, are compared to the Cornwall Holiday Survey (hereafter, CHS) for 1999 (TRG 1999), the differences may well be explained by familial connections with Gunwalloe. For example, the Holiday Survey suggests that 1.0% of respondents (*n* = 4,416) were from North America; the Gunwalloe figures indicate that 3.0% were from the USA and Canada, for St Just it is 3.7% and 4.3% for Lanteglos.

Similarly, hidden with the CHS ‘Elsewhere’ category, i.e. overseas apart from North America and Europe, are Australia, New Zealand and South Africa: all key nations in terms of the Cornish diaspora (Payton 1999; Rowse 1965, 1969), as discussed in chapter 4. Respondents from ‘elsewhere’ in the CHS 1999 data represent 0.7% of the total; for Gunwalloe this is 1.95%, or for Australia, New Zealand and South Africa, alone, 1.7%; the same three nations represent 2.6% at St Just and 3% at Lanteglos. Consideration of

these figures emphasises Hale's (2001) argument that roots tourism is an important market – as Lowenthal (1996:17) observes: "humble origins are newly chic".

One of the potential criticisms is that those visitors returning to their roots may be more interested in historic sites, such as churches, than in visiting paying attractions and, therefore, do not complete CHS questionnaires at such establishments. However, in 1999, only fifteen of the forty-four survey sites were tourist attractions; the other sites enable the respondent profile to be as representative as possible.

The difference in visitors from Europe is worthy of comment as well: 3.1% of the 4,416 CHS 1999 respondents were from mainland Europe compared with 4.3% of those visiting Gunwalloe, 6% at St Just and 8.7% at Lanteglos. Again, it is tempting to consider that the vast majority of Germans and other Europeans might be more interested in walking and visiting non-charging attractions and, therefore, are missed by the CHS survey establishments although, ultimately, the visitors' book sample is too small to make such statements. An adjunct to this is the observation that the CHS survey sites, in 1999, were significantly oriented towards Restormel and North Cornwall Districts; the number of returned questionnaires from accommodation establishments was particularly high for the former – principally Newquay? The face-to-face survey will pick up on some of these distinctions between visitors' book data and the CHS findings, in terms of geographic origin.

7.4 Repeat visiting and word-of-mouth testimony

Many visitors are drawn back again and again, i.e. repeat visits. A typical entry, for Gunwalloe, is that for 4th April: "Third time back. Just as lovely everytime". This is also a good example of the need to carefully review all entries; simply undertaking a word

count for *visit* fails to reveal the proportion of repeat visitors. There are many entries which make statements such as: "here again" and "Thanks, just as beautiful as 4 years ago"; in total, 12.2 per cent of entries state or clearly imply a repeat visit is being made. This practice is mirrored elsewhere; a visitor from London to St Just, on 26 January, states "Lou's first time here and my 100th" and one from Kingston-on-Thames, on 11 May: "Annual visit achieved to a memorable place" – nearly 10 per cent of comments make an allusion to a repeat visit. Furthermore, the visitor from London to Lanteglos, on 17 August, is not unusual in being able to recall their first visit – 1950 in this case; indeed, the face-to-face survey corroborates this aspect of recall of the previous visit. At Lanteglos, just over 5 per cent of comments refer to repeat visits; it is argued that, whilst the surrounding environment is pastoral, there is not the juxtaposition of dramatic landscape, as found at Gunwalloe and St Just, in other words, catalysing fewer repeat visits.

Reflecting on the various comments concerning return visits, it appears as though there are at least two categories. There are those who have not been for many years and sometimes refer to childhood holiday memories or, in one case to active service – "Recalling memories from RAF Predannack 1943" (11th September, Gunwalloe) – and those who visit either yearly or, at least, every few years – "Back a year later" (12 April, St Just, Bedfordshire visitor). Are the latter type "drawn" to Cornish churches as many are to Glastonbury? (Bowman 1993:29). Similar findings occur in visitors' books for Exmoor churches (Brice, Busby & Brunt 2003). Content analysis indicates that these are expressive components: self-expressive for all, it would seem, otherwise why refer to the fact that it is a repeat visit?

As mentioned earlier (Chapter 2.1), these repeat visits can be argued to represent ritualised behaviour, even habit formation (George & George 2004), occurring on every visit to Cornwall and, yet, also indicate an "intensification of interconnection", whereby places are linked not only by a large flow of tourists "but by qualitatively different flows" (Shaw & Williams 2004:7) – the experience can be more meaningful, as argued earlier. This accords with the emphasis on emotional attachment in place identity discussed by George & George (2004) as opposed to their view of place dependence being predicated by a functional attachment. Comments concerning repeat visits are also indicative of the juxtaposition between self-expression and awareness which are, themselves, motivators of tourist behaviour (Dimanche *et al* 1991; Ryan 1995).

Repeat visiting is not surprising since Tourism Research Group (1997) remark on a particularly loyal core of visitors to Cornwall with year-on-year returnees hitting a high of 39% of respondents in the 1996 Cornwall Holiday Survey. In fact, the 1999 Survey (TRG 1999) revealed nearly 80% had visited the county before. As an adjunct, Darnell & Johnson (2001) emphasise not just the importance of repeat visiting but also its trickle down effect whereby opinions influence others to visit for the first time – such effects have not been considered by researchers. Word-of-mouth testimony is considered influential; two examples illustrate this point at Gunwalloe: "Called in 5 years after Alan and Caroline who recommended this place" (visitors from Cambridge, 23rd February) and "We had heard all about it – now we see for ourselves. Lovely!" (from Birmingham, 26 October); at St Just (5 May): "We were told of this beautiful church and so we came!". There can be no better examples of MacCannell's (1976) marker, discussed at 3.2, residing with the visitor: "it is the tourist who identifies the significance…through word of mouth, through their personal communications" (Lovelock 2004:425). Not only is word-of-mouth testimony a marker in the MacCannell

sense, it is argued that it communicates some level of social distinction (Bourdieu 1986) to the recipient. As discussed at 2.4 and 2.5, consumption of experience (the Cornish church experience, in this case) provides a symbolic means of establishing social distinction – which can be conveyed at any point in the future. It is argued that the 'recommenders' are, implicitly, indicating possession of personal cultural capital when providing word-of-mouth testimony to friends and acquaintances.

7.5 Topographical setting – the surrounding environment

Observations from 5.3.3 are valid when reviewing the theme of topography; as might be expected, there are visitors' books comments concerning the natural environment – at Gunwalloe, the sea might be spectacular or protection is offered from the wind and rain. The words *sea*, *waves* and *wind* are referred to in 44, 8 and 19 entries, respectively, whereas landscape appreciation is expressed in terms such as *beautiful setting*, *surroundings* or *location*; these occur 6, 14 and 3 times. These comments reflect Betjeman (1993), Brabbs (1985), Davidson (1978), Hammond (1966), Henderson (1925), Jenkins (1999), Mee (1937), Moncrieff (1907) and Salmon (1950), discussed in Chapter 5, in their guide book descriptions besides having a resonance with Schama's (1995) observations on landscape and memory; there may well be a spiritual significance for some of these visitors if Pritchard & Morgan's (2003) study of postcards is considered.

The setting at St Just in Roseland has been emphasised in chapters 1 and 5: some visitors perceive the graveyard as gardens, typified by comments such as "A secret garden" (24 May) and "Wonderful gardens" (18 June), some suggest it is "Better than Helligan" (*sic*) (6 August) and "Better than the Eden Project" (24 October). Commentators at St Just refer to guide book authors: "J. Betjemann was right, true

words" (1 May), "Betjeman was right" (22 September) and "We came because of H.V. Morton's book of 1928 and it's still as lovely as described" (27 August). Presumably, the latter is his *In Search of England*. It is not surprising, therefore, that just over 10 per cent of comments at St Just address the surrounding environment.

The juxtaposition of these churches in such settings would appear to improve the experience, one that it is up to each individual visitor to interpret. A combination of commentary on the weather and usage of specific guide book is indicated by a comment for 19 April 2000 (Gunwalloe): "Just as Simon Jenkins describes on this foul day", referring to his *England's Thousand Best Churches*. A County Durham visitor at Lanteglos, on 6 June, states "Following 'England's 1000 Best Churches. The book is right, it's very hard to find!" – sequestered as it is above a side creek of the River Fowey between hills. Visitor reference to these guide-books emphasises their value as 'markers' (MacCannell 1976).

The topography may have been the motivation to visit, after all, there is no admission charge unlike Heligan or The Eden Project, when St Just is considered, and thus the cognitive-normative form of visitor can be discerned. However, it is considered that the interactional form is likely to predominate: visitors walking the extensive grounds experience surprise at the range of sub-tropical flora. As an adjunct to this motivation, none of the roots-based visitors make any references, despite Stephenson's (2002) assertion that landscapes have a positive effect on diasporic groups – probably, the thoughts of these visitors are, first and foremost, on their ancestral connections.

7.6 *The romantic gaze* and aesthetic satisfaction

The discussion at Chapter 4.4 emphasised how the tourist discourse articulates notions of 'romantic Cornwall' with places and topographical features: it is argued that the Cornish church figures prominently although not to the same extent as deserted mine engine houses, castles and cliffs. A number of comments appear to justify the church as being the object of the romantic, historic gaze for many visitors, discussed in chapter 3 (Urry 1999): "A glorious sight. Windows are lovely and ceiling beams the best we've seen. Well carved" (22 April, Gunwalloe); "First visit here, wildly romantic" (23 April, Gunwalloe); "Jane xxxxxxx – a lover of old churches" (4 May, Gunwalloe); "What a glorious heritage we have" (12 September, Gunwalloe); and from a German visitor "First time here and I'm surprised to see a church in this unusual rough and windy spot. I think in former times $11^{th}/12^{th}$ century when life was difficult for these poor people here, they were in urgent need of a church and the help of a mighty power – perhaps God?" (15^{th} September, Gunwalloe). At Lanteglos, on 19 November, a visitor writes: "Romance and dreams have a home here". Nearly a third of comments at Gunwalloe suggest aesthetic satisfaction whilst the figures rise to 50 per cent at St Just and 55 per cent at Lanteglos.

The three survey churches do not have a monopoly on high quality scenery – or atmosphere – these are features present in many (most?) of the Cornish church settings. Indeed, the Cornwall Holiday Survey, for 1999, identified scenery and atmosphere as being significant attractions, comprising 21.5% and 6.2% of responses to the "most important reason for choosing Cornwall" (TRG 1999:26). Therefore, on the basis of Prentice's (1993) categorization of heritage attractions (Table 3.3), these comments illustrate the juxtaposition of 'countryside' or 'seascape' with 'religious attraction' whereby the sum of the parts is greater than any individual element. Aesthetic

satisfaction is illustrated by these comments and by those with a little more brevity such as "Beautiful church in a pretty location" (30th May, Gunwalloe) and "An elegant church" (29th April, Lanteglos). Whilst accepting that aesthetic satisfaction runs close to notions of spirituality (Scruton 1998), as discussed in Chapter 2.8, it is argued that comments can be differentiated – some will comprise both aesthetic and spiritual observations, one possibly influencing the other; a good example, provided by a visitor, is illustrated thus: "Uplifting both spiritually and aesthetically" (16th February, St Just).

The overall impression gained from many of the entries conforms to Tresidder's (1999:144) observation that "sacred spaces act as a means of reference, their association with nostalgia, heritage, community or the natural, allow us to find roots in a rootless world" – a theme echoed by Digance (2003), Shackley (2002) and Wang (2000). Whilst many visitors are deliberately seeking to recapture these associations, for others the church is an unexpected find: "Such a lovely place, didn't know places like this existed" (2nd July, from Manchester re Gunwalloe) and "What a beautiful church you have! It is nice to stumble upon a true Cornish treasure. It is a place of true beauty and thank you for keeping the doors open so that we could come in and share it!" (18th March, Gunwalloe). For these visitors, the past is recreated in an idealised way (Reader 1993); prior knowledge is not indicated by the comments, interaction with the site very much is. Interaction with the site is demonstrated, palpably, by visitors familiar with Daphne du Maurier's *oeuvre*: these commentators are discussed at 7.8 although, for many, the viewing lens is that of *the romantic gaze* (Urry 1990, 1999).

7.7 Spiritual support

Not surprisingly, a number of comments indicate that the church acts as a point of reference, providing spiritual support for many visitors, accounting for nearly 30 per

cent at Lanteglos, 41 per cent of comments at Gunwalloe, and nearly 52 per cent at St Just. The following quote is taken from a Somerset visitor, writing on 8th October, at Gunwalloe: "A big thank you to the people who keep this wonderful place open – at a very difficult time in my life, when everything appears to be disrupted and not right, even though I am not at all religious I know that I could come here this afternoon and just shut my self away for half an hour and have some peace". This theme is illustrated at St Just, by a visitor from Scotland, simply stating "Spiritual uplift" (8 May), a South African reporting "Wonderful spiritual experience" (16 July) and "I came for help and found it" (30 July).

Such comments must surely justify leaving the church unlocked; they also require reference back to the discussion of religious tourism in chapter 2. As the author of the 8th October comment asserts: "… I am not at all religious…", this begs classification: Smith's (1992) continuum (Figure 2.3) is valuable although closer inspection raises the question as to whether this visitor is category 'd', that is pilgrim < tourist. Linearity is almost a constraint; possibly, Bauer's (1993) inclusion of *balance* in his religious tourist (Table 2.4) encapsulates the Gunwalloe visitor. How then should the visitor who made the following comment be classified? "An enjoyable thought-provoking landmark (even for agnostics/atheists) with great continuing promise, we hope" (Lanteglos, 29 April, from London) – the visitor, presumably, conceives that there is a wider need for the church to be open. There is, in these comments, evidence that visitors have "grasped a slice of infinity from a routine visit to a church" (Tyler 1997:XX).

7.8 Historic and literary interests

As the authors noted in Table 2.4 and Prentice (1993:79) states, visitors may have "specific interests"; the number of visitors' book entries referring to historic (non-

personal) interests range from a low 0.52% at St Just to 2.18% of entries at Lanteglos – although it should be noted that St Just also has the lowest number of entries with comments overall (38.2% of entries). Interest in historic aspects is nowhere better illustrated than by quoting one of the visitors' book entries for 11th August 2000 at Gunwalloe:

"Rita and Bob xxxxxxxxx came here following in the footsteps of George Kemp who was G. Marconi's right hand man. Kemp visited this church most Sundays whilst he was supervising the errection (*sic*) of Marconi's aerial and transmitter for the Atlantic leap by wireless telegraph. Marconi received the letter 'S' (three dots) at Signal Hill, Newfoundland on Dec 12 1901 which was transmitted from the site adjacent to the Poldhu Hotel on the furthest side of next bay. God helped him with this work which provided the foundation for todays communications".

Their comments illustrate the temporal and secular link between church and landscape, as the two 1904 postcards, discussed at 4.3 and 5.3.1, demonstrate. Historic connections clearly appeal to those individuals who have undertaken some sort of study of the particular topic. There is also a serendipitous appeal as the entry from a Californian, at Lanteglos, illustrates: "Interesting about the Mohun family who went to USA or Canada" (1 September) – this family were major landholders in England.

As Ryan (1995:108) puts it, "curiosity was the motive for the visit, the satisfaction of curiosity is an addition to knowledge. How that knowledge is put to use becomes another instrumental process". This is further illustrated by one reference in the year 2000 entries to Father Sandys Wason, the 'high' Anglican incumbent of Cury with Gunwalloe from 1905-1920 (Hordern, un-dated): "Keeps the faith which Fr. Sandy (*sic*)

Wason taught here – bless his soul, rest in peace" (5th September). Incidentally, the novelist Compton Mackenzie was living in Gunwalloe at the turn of the twentieth century and wrote an introduction to Wason's novel *Palafox*; unlike other literary tourism sites in Cornwall (Busby & Hambly 2000; Busby 2004a), Wason's work has been forgotten. Similarly, there are no references in the year 2000 comments to Laurie Lee meeting his muse, Lorna Wishart, there in August 1937 (Grove 2000): these are, undoubtedly, *special interests* and absence of comment should not be taken as lack of awareness by a small number of visitors – they may well have written something on another theme (Visitors' Book design does not lend itself to particularly lengthy dialogues).

Given the du Maurier connection with Lanteglos (she was married there on 19 July 1932), it is not surprising to find five references (1.09% of all entries) spread throughout the year; two typical entries are: "Can see where Daphne du Maurier gained some of her inspiration" (visitor from Ruthin, Wales, 26 April) and "Felt Daphne's spirit" (German visitor, 8 July). The nationality of the latter author again highlights the global-local nexus of *du Maurier Country* (4.1.1). Clearly, these comments could equally apply to *The Romantic Gaze* theme, especially as du Maurier is often categorized, correctly or otherwise (Horner & Zlosnik 1998), as a romantic novelist. Arguably, it is books such as du Maurier's (1967) *Vanishing Cornwall* which act as 'the marker' (MacCannell 1976) for these visitors. It is the inclination, besides disposable time and money, which marks out these visitors as representatives of the new middle classes, discussed at 3.4.5 and 5.6.

As a comparison, Brice, Busby & Brunt (2003) remark on the relatively low percentage of visitors citing their reason for being at Oare church, Somerset, because of the *Lorna*

Doone connection. Perhaps, this is not surprising; given the range of visitor motivations, only a handful can be expected to demonstrate this form of special interest tourism. The themes identified in the visitors' books do overlap: the references to John Betjeman were noted at 7.5 yet apply equally here. Visitors encompassed by this theme appear *prima facie* to be cognitive-normative exemplars (a classic illustration being the member of the Anglo-Zulu War Historical Society cited at 5.3.1) and yet the historic connection may not have been the motivation for the visit.

7.9 The *Otherness* – Celticity dimension

Table 5.1 indicates the large number of sites associated with Celtic saints in Cornwall; for visitors unaware of this 'classification', the names serve to reinforce a perception of *Otherness* – a point also emphasised by Harvey (2002). Expressions, for Gunwalloe, dedicated to St Winwalloe, such as "queer little church by the sea" (3rd January) and "we don't get churches like this at home" (1st February, visitor from Melbourne, Australia) imply that the church might be "different-looking from those of other counties" as Canon Miles Brown (1973:9) believes visitors are likely to think. Added to this is the fact that 68 entries refer to it being a *little* church; clearly, these visitors are used to rather larger properties. However, four entries refer, specifically, to St Winwalloe – another of the aspects that Brown considers might puzzle visitors. Orme's research (1996; 2000) concerning these Celtic *saints* is for the serious student of Cornish studies rather than the average visitor – although it is hard to avoid noticing their names on road signs and dedication boards at church entrances, themselves, examples of MacCannell's (1976) marker. One of the themes to emerge from a study of these *saints* is their harmony with the environment and a lack of grandeur. This has a relationship with words and comments concerning the simplicity of the place, in a busy modern world: a resonance with John Lowerson's (1994:135) comment that "Cornwall

has come almost to represent a British Tibet; distant, valued by outsiders and threatened by an occupying power".

At St Just, a visitor from Gosport states "This glorious Celtic church is beautiful" (9 May), one, from Bristol, simply states "Pre Augustine!" (10 July), and a Canadian, "very different" (23 September). However, at Lanteglos, very much an example of a Celtic Christian site within its *lan* (5.1.1), and incorporating two Cornish nouns, there are no references to Celtic aspects. Indeed, there is little to indicate a perception of *otherness* apart from "So beautifully Cornish" (23 December). Reflection on the comment from St Just, on 9 May, above, generates the question as to whether the visitor was viewing the church as Celtic or, because it is in Cornwall, the church as Cornish (Celtic); the discussion at 4.1.1 intimated that the county, as a totality, can be perceived as Celtic and, arguably, for visitors there are more readily-identifiable Celtic sites (example: Chysauster, promoted in English Heritage's promotional literature as Celtic and with reference to the Cornish language). Deacon's (2004a:18) observation is very pertinent here: "within the 'tourist' discourse of Cornwall, the sign 'Celtic' becomes a moment attached to 'romance', 'tradition', 'King Arthur', 'standing stones', 'jewellery' and so on". In the absence of much (or any) *interpretation*, as discussed at 5.5, the visitor is left to construe their own Cornish church *heritage*; cultural construction of Cornwall is argued to influence many in their interpretation of the church.

7.10 Architecture, fixtures, authenticity and experience

Firstly, given the number referring to the aspect at Gunwalloe, the size of church is discussed: as Plate 5.6 indicates, Cornish churches are not particularly large structures but the point is Gunwalloe is not small – compared to Tremaine (Plate 5.6), for example. Gunwalloe, St Just and Lanteglos can be compared with St Breward (Plate

5.6), which raises the question as to why the comments. It can only be surmised that these visitors are much more familiar with significantly larger buildings – cathedrals, perhaps?

Only a small number of entries refer to the actual church fabric or fixtures. For example, there are only three comments, at Gunwalloe, concerning the woodwork – "Incredible to find remains of original rood screen in a Cornish church" (27th March). There are seven references to the ceiling: "What lovely painted panels and carved ceiling and old font – is it used still??" (23rd August), and one to the stained glass: "Is the stained glass by Kemp, or perhaps his pupil??" (4th October). Similar comments exist at St Just: "the patterns on the pews were (*sic*) very artistic and were (*sic*) intricately carved" (21 February), two entries refer to the glass – one stating simply "Stained glass excellent" (10 June, visitor from Cwmbran).

Given the much lower visitor numbers at Lanteglos, it is surprising to find frequent references to the architecture and fabric; typical examples include: "Nice to see the work being done. Thank you for being open. Great bench ends" (7 June, visitor); "V. interesting, fine carvings and font" (25 July); Beautiful church, beautiful architecture" (27 July); "Old architecture and carvings" (31 July); "Wonderful, craftsmanship an inspiration" (13 September); and, "I liked the medieval stained glass" (16 October). With a plethora of internal features, and as discussed at 5.5, this church provides 'mobile' guides, to aid visitor understanding, hence "Welcoming, particularly useful is the hand held tour of the church" (29 May). Linking back to 5.5 and 7.5, another visitor aids their understanding with use of Simon Jenkins' (1999) book: "Visiting the 1,000 best" (2 August).

One feature distinguishing Lanteglos from Gunwalloe and St Just, in 2000, was receipt of Heritage Lottery Funding for repair work – this is what the first comment, on 7 June, alludes to; in total, there are eleven references to 'restoration' and three, separately, to the lottery. Given the controversy surrounding the Millennium Dome at the time, the comments regarding funding put the following comment into context: "Should be uplifted to replace The Dome" (17 October).

Of interest, is the entry immediately following that of 31 July, shown above, namely, "Fabulous church don't turn into tourist attraction (*sic*)" (also 31 July); perhaps, this visitor has experienced a greater level of items for sale elsewhere (there is not much at Lanteglos). It seems poignant but, as contemporary news items show (Doward 2004; Edwards 2005; Tyler 1997), it is imperative to raise finance – even if this opens the commercial discourse.

Whilst the visitors' book analysis can only hint at this, it is argued that Lanteglos visitors possess a greater level of cultural capital than that exhibited at the other two churches – as the survey data in chapter 8 shows, a greater proportion of visitors are, in fact, graduates, together with a higher proportion of socio-economic types A,B. As discussed in chapter 2.5, education is the variable most strongly linked with possession of cultural capital (Bourdieu 1986). However, this does raise the question as to how educated, in architectural or artistic matters, most visitors are; consider the observation recorded by Tyler (1997:XX): "a middle-aged couple from Florida stood gazing at the ribbed roof of the nave. 'Look at that architecture', the man said. 'Amazing', his wife agreed, and added: 'But I like the religious feeling, too".

It is suggested that most are not concerned with how authentic various features are, i.e. does any Victorian 'restoration' affect the authenticity of a particular church? The 'restorers' have altered what might be a genuine Medieval building – but it's genuine Victorian 'pastiche', their interpretation of the colour and brilliance of what existed before the Reformation and iconoclasm of the Civil War and Commonwealth: to some extent, such sights (sites) are simulacra, as discussed at 2.2. Blisland church, for example, 'restored' by Eden, is commended to the visitor by Davidson (1978) – an exemplar of MacCannell's *marker*. The floor plans of the churches at Tremaine, Tintagel and St Breward (Holdsworth 1991), shown in figure 5.4, illustrate the extent of genuine Norman content but also how successive generations have altered the original structure. What does authenticity mean in this context and are the majority of visitors concerned? They are likely to be more interested in how the alterations reflect changes in the local and national culture over time.

Featherstone (1991:60) believes that many visitors "have no time for authenticity" and, in any event, "what may be interpreted by one visitor as authentic may not be so interpreted by another" (Shaw *et al* 2000:276). Richards (2001d:56) is more emphatic, asserting that "experiences are personal and, therefore, no two individuals can have the same experience". Perhaps, the distinction of *authenticity of self* and *authenticity of experience*, made by Tresidder (1999:144), is of critical value here: "together identified as the search for individual and collective meaning". A number of the Gunwalloe, St Just and Lanteglos visitor comments indicate a period of reflection has been undertaken by individuals during their visit – they have experienced *authenticity of self*.

Finally, this is, perhaps, the theme which captures references to music; at St Just, the organ is occasionally played during the week, hence: “Beautiful, especially to hear the organ” (5 May) and “Lovely music” (10 May). It can but enhance the visitor experience.

7.11 Final observations

Finally, in reviewing entries by nationality, a clear feature is that there appear to be somewhat fewer comments from overseas visitors than might be expected – one comment was written in Urdu and another in Japanese, neither were translated. This compares with overseas visitors representing 7 per cent of respondents in the survey – Table 8.2; for example, there are only 68 (2 per cent of all entries) for the year at Gunwalloe. In their review of cross-cultural behaviour in tourism, Reisinger & Turner (2003) observe that certain nationalities value authority and supervision; such cultures are not restricted to one continent, ranging from Venezuela to Indonesia, Mexico to Saudi Arabia (Reisinger & Turner 2003), and it is argued that this may explain why there are fewer comments in the visitors’ book than there might be – the phenomenon of commenting on personal experience is, perhaps, unknown and the visitor is unsure who is entitled to make a comment. Reisinger & Turner (2003:106) refer to some nationalities as highly individualistic cultures which emphasize self-actualization with importance being attached to “own opinion”; they cite the United States, Britain, Australia, Canada, New Zealand, Netherlands, Italy, Belgium, Denmark and Sweden as representative and it is, therefore, no surprise to find visitors’ book entries from these nations.

However, one of the entries, made by a visitor from Andorra, is of particular interest: “My father told me that the origin of our family came from Gunwalloe. There were Gabriels living in Gunwalloe in the XV (century). I’m spending my holidays in Devon

and have come especially to visit this church as apparently the Gabriels have given a donation a few years ago to restaure (*sic*) the church". For this visitor, it is a classic situation of interpretation being linked to a specific point of view (Crang 1998).

To conclude this section, a few comments are cited which typify the experience: from a visitor from Texas – "Very Cornish with the sound of the sea" (23rd October, Gunwalloe) and from a British Columbia, Canada visitor - "Enjoy the peace and solitude of this church. Was here in August last year and had to come back both to this quaint, beautiful country and this lovely old church" (30th June, Gunwalloe). For a citizen of the USA (State not identified), St Just is "So very aged" (13 May) – just these three words – and a Canadian, from Ontario, observes very simply "Wonderful history" (23 May). For Lanteglos, a Swedish visitor states "An outstanding surprise" (18 July). Some of the comments permit identification of perception *a priori* or *in situ*, an important distinction, discussed in chapter 4; the last (Swedish) comment in this section indicates the latter form.

7.12 Conclusion

Content analysis of the visitors' book entries for Gunwalloe and St Just – the two most visited churches in the county – and Lanteglos-by-Fowey has generated data on visitors by month, nationality, and, to some extent, motivations for visiting, together with opinions on the individual experience. Some of the motivations closely related to the visitor experience, for example a search for 'roots', are more likely to be mentioned than, for example, the occurrence of an accidental visit. As mentioned in 6.2.1, these themes have been mapped for each church and are presented in Table 7.2 – a number of comments referring to more than one theme: multiple motivations or experiences, enhancing Gibbons' (1999) view, discussed in Chapter 1. There is no doubt that these

themes are of key relevance to the church tourism research, they reinforce the observation that there is a "mélange of different demands and motivations" (Digance 2003:147) – many of which illustrate practices of the new middle classes (Munt 1994). The discussion in chapter 6 emphasised that brief comments might be less reflective – and useful – than longer entries; to some extent, it is felt that the themes of aesthetic satisfaction and spiritual support overwhelm other personal meanings because they are based on a simple synonym count – lengthier entries may indicate a qualitatively greater experience. However, for Silverman (1993:59), "precise counts of word use" do ensure validity of the findings.

Returning to one's roots is a form of heritage tourism, confirming the tourist's identity via a potentially romantic image of their past (Palmer 1999), as discussed in Chapters 3 and 4. Although overall visitor numbers are not high, roots tourism (or genealogical tourism, as Meethan 2004 terms it) constitutes an important market which is just one of the beneficiaries of lower per-unit air travel costs. Shaw & Williams (2004:4) posit the question: "how are tourism structures and flows created?" It is argued that diasporic tourism, catalysed by lower air fares and a search for identity, has created a 'scape', a flow, discussed in chapter 4. Cornwall's churches are an active agent in shaping, or confirming, some visitors' identities. Drawing on Johnson's (1986a) *circuits of culture* (Figure 2.1), it is argued that this conceptualisation helps to illustrate how visitors construct – or amend – their self-identity in the light of minimal *text*, in Cornish churches, emphasised in Chapter 5.5, which results in truly phenomenological *readings*. These *readings*, or interpretations, are carried home with concomitant longer-term *impacts*. Whilst it appears *prima facie* that there may be little effect on *production*, the number and form of *texts* has developed in the last decade – consider the world-wide web sites, such as that for the Lynher Valley, discussed in Chapter 4, which recognises

the need to cater for the diasporic visitor. There is also a resonance here with Ashworth's (1994) assertion that "you cannot sell *your* heritage to tourists: you can only sell *their* heritage back to them in your locality".

The romantic aspect is implicit in a number of topographical comments at St Just and Gunwalloe – and, to some extent, Lanteglos. The topography at St Just can certainly be argued to be a motivator to visits. The romantic gaze at Gunwalloe relates to the natural environment whereas at St Just this has been adapted in relatively recent times to create a sub-tropical graveyard even prompting comparison with *The Lost Gardens of Heligan*. Chapter 5 emphasised not only the importance of topography to the church visit experience, it also highlighted how numerous authors present the visitor with an *a priori* image. Before leaving this section, it is worth noting that some visitors, domestic ones, may be searching for roots in a different sense, where they have come from in terms of nation-building. The theme of spiritual support is argued to be much more implicit in a number of visits than the content analysis would indicate. Whilst the data, in chapter 8, indicates a large proportion of visitors attend services once a month, or more frequently, spiritual support can also be said to apply to the non-attender typified by the 8th October Gunwalloe visitor.

With regard to the importance of historic and literary connections, discussed in Chapter 5, special interest tourists are shown to exist by the comment concerning Marconi's presence near Gunwalloe (and, indeed, by the visitor at St Winnow on 23rd May 2001, mentioned at 5.3.1). However, there is argued to be an intermediate category of special interest tourist whereby any particular connection enhances the visit rather than explains the motivation; references to du Maurier could be said to illustrate both primary and secondary motivation – depending on level of personal interest. The general interest

visitor may also find historical aspects of interest; for example, the Californian, on 1st September, at Lanteglos, concerning the Mohuns and their involvement with the colonisation of North America.

The theme of Otherness/Celticity can be identified from the visitors' book comments although the emphasis is argued to be on *Otherness*; the Celtic dimension is a relatively recent phenomenon as the discussion at 4.1.2 indicates. It could be argued that the adjective Celtic identifies an individual's lifestyle and beliefs, the *quality* referred to by Bowman (2000), whereas visitors with no Celtic affinities identify with a Celtic destination (nation?). The former interpretation could be said to be culture-oriented and the latter a manifestation of heritage.

The architectural interest theme considers visitors' interest in features such as bench ends and the overall church architecture whilst emphasising that authenticity is conferred by interpretation, as mentioned at 2.2 and 5.4, for few visitors can distinguish between the work of a medieval craftsman and that of a Victorian 'restorer', it is argued; Bourdieu's (1986) *gratuitous knowledge*, discussed in chapter 2, is pertinent here. This links to the search for personal cultural capital accumulation and will be considered further in Chapters 8 and 9.

Woodward (2004) repeats Keeling's (2000) five motivating factors for visits, namely impulse (the majority of visits), family connections, connections with famous people, personal interest in architecture, and spiritual motivation: all of these are illustrated by the visitors' book findings although, arguably, *impulse* is under-represented. Besides motivations, it is argued that interaction with the site can be discerned from comments, highlighting the validity of Lewin's formula, as cited by Pearce (1988), discussed at 2.4,

and supporting MacCannell's (1976) contention that attractions comprise the site, the visitor, and the marker.

Chapter 2 identified facets of the cultural tourist whilst Chapter 3 considered heritage tourist segmentation from the perspective of Poria *et al* (2003b); these two chapters synthesised key aspects of cultural/heritage visitor characteristics. The synthesis indicated the existence of what might be called recreational cultural/heritage tourists and those with much more specific interests. Chapters 4 and 5 situated the discussion in relation to representations of Cornwall and the church heritage. When the Visitors' Book comments are related back to the synthesis provided by Chapters 2 to 5, it is concluded that Table 7.3 illustrates the range of visitor types, emphasising Shaw & Williams' (1994) belief that typologies assist exploration of the consumption/destination relationship, raised in chapter 2. A number of the influencing factors cut across the typology; for example, word of mouth recommendation applies to all whereas a Celtic elective affinity applies to just one visitor type. Repeat visiting (7.4), also addressed in the face-to-face survey, confirms the findings reported here; the other aspect of repeat visiting to be noted is that of influencing variable in the cognitive-normative/interactional debate: for a repeat visitor, prior knowledge of the quality topography provides the motivation whereas the first-time visitor knows not what to expect, the experience being heightened by the interaction. Whilst undoubtedly subjective, the influencing factors have been weighted in order to provide some indication as to their individual importance to each visitor type; they are certainly not uniform in their influence and are not listed in any rank order.

Table 7.3 Typology and influencing factors

Influencing factors	General interest visitor	The 'Roots' tourist	Celtic interest visitor	The Romantic Gazer	The Historic visitor	The Literary visitor	The Architecture enthusiast
Access	**2**	**1**	**2**	**2**	**2**	**2**	**2**
Return to Roots		**1**	**3**	**3**			
Repeat visitation	**2**	**3**	**2**	**2**	**3**	**3**	**3**
Word of mouth rec.	**2**		**3**	**2**			
Natural environ't	**3**		**2**	**1**	**3**	**3**	**3**
Church archit're	**3**		**3**	**2**	**2**		**1**
Interior fabric	**3**		**3**	**2**	**2**		**1**
Unanticip. pleasure	**2**			**2**			
Aesthetic satisfaction	**2**		**3**	**2**	**3**	**3**	**1**
Spiritual need	**2**	**3**	**3**	**2**			
Special interests		**1**	**1**	**3**	**1**	**1**	**1**
Celtic elec. affinity		**3**	**1**	**3**			

Key to rankings

1 Critical
2 Important
3 Of some relevance

Source: Author

Keeling's (2000) dichotomy of General Interest and Special Interest Visitor, discussed at 2.7, is too simplistic; his classification takes no account of the depth of the experience, as McKercher (2002) argues (chapter 2.6). The latter's five-fold classification has utility because of the experience/cultural tourism importance axes, if we interpret culture broadly. This is where recognition of cultural capital, in the individual sense, comes into play. For McKercher's *purposeful cultural tourist*, there is

a meaningful experience; however, it is argued, that the *sightseeing cultural tourist* does not, necessarily, suffer a much-reduced experience – it is mediated by cultural capital. For example, as some Visitors' Book comments intimate, the church in question has been on the route of a walk (the 'marker' for the church may have been one of several frequently-mentioned guides, cited in the face-to-face survey), it has been identified as a sight (site) although the visitor is still not quite sure what the contents will reveal. Distinction between McKercher's *serendipitous cultural tourist* and *sightseeing cultural tourist* is based on the importance of cultural tourism in the decision to visit; this research argues that level of personal cultural capital is more of a defining criterion. Moving on, many of the authors cited in Table 2.4 posit a category of *religious tourist*; such visitors can be discerned from the Visitors' Book comments although this is where Smith's (1992) pilgrim-tourist path is of particular value (Figure 2.3) – as Cohen (1992) indicates, the distinction is dependent on the extent of the touristic component.

Whilst the Visitors' Book comments clearly indicate *consumption* (of the visit experience), the wish to express oneself, logically, leads to *production*, production of what can be a fairly detailed observation – for others to read. Given that post-modernism is said to emphasise *representation*, instead of *reality*, and *consumption*, instead of *production* (Lovelock 2004), the findings suggest the interplay of both tourism and post-tourism; it is argued that the visitors' books are unique, as a source, in highlighting this facet. Alternatively, visitors' book comments can be viewed in Ateljevic's (2000:371) terms, whereby tourism is "a nexus of circuits operating within production-consumption dialectics enabled by the processes of negotiated (re)production", emphasising the production and readings stages of Figure 2.1. Furthermore, the comments emphasise the need for a phenomenological approach to

understanding the data, an approach which has secured increased currency (Hayllar & Griffin 2005).

The Visitors' Book comments relating to 'recommendation' to visit and reference to named guide-books highlight the importance of MacCannell's (1976) marker residing with visitors, themselves, in some cases. In contemporary Cornwall, there is a complex relationship between place, religion and identity, influenced by a wide range of representational files, as discussed at 4.1.1. Rojek (1997:54) argues that tourist sights are often, not possibly, "anti-climactic experiences", presumably because the reality does not stand up to the (predominantly) electronically-generated imagery; in this context, it is argued that because there is so little *a priori* visual imagery of the Cornish church, visitors receive a pleasant surprise – and this is reflected in visitors' book comments to a greater extent than the quantitative survey data illustrates. The findings reinforce the argument at 3.4.2 that heritage is contested – in more ways than are at first apparent.

Chapter 8 The cultural practice of Cornish church visiting

8.1 Introduction

Chapter 6, Approaches and Methods, detailed a number of background aspects to the visitor survey, including issues of sampling, questionnaire design, validity and statistical analysis. The previous chapter highlighted some of the motivations and experiential aspects for visitors to Cornish churches, distilled from a qualitative perspective; however, this form of research is limited in that it cannot provide the sort of data concerning *who* the average visitor is – necessary to any substantive study. The themes identified in Table 7.2 have been quantified in terms of proportions, in relation to the number of comments overall, although – as highlighted – the constraints of visitors' book pages precludes much useful data, that is, there may be room only for name and address or name and comment unless column boundaries are ignored.

This chapter puts 'flesh on the bones' as it were, mapping the salient socio-demographic characteristics of the visitors, and drawing on some of the conceptual literature introduced in earlier chapters, such as acquisition of personal cultural capital, and other lifestyle features, namely, television viewing, radio listening, newspaper and magazine reading, church attendance, heritage organisation membership, holiday-taking, and accommodation type used on holiday, for it has been argued that, increasingly throughout the 1990s, consumption served to create self-identity (Warde 2002). These variables are cross-tabulated and tested, using chi-square, for pertinent statistical associations. What these aspects aim to show is that the cultural practice of Cornish church visiting is "a carefully constructed space of lifestyles" (Savage *et al* 2005:12); whilst lifestyle is about consumption of specific goods, ideas, and practices, for a key commentator such as Featherstone (1991), it is about "the aestheticisation of reality"

according to Spittle (2002:59). This chapter, therefore, addresses parts of both Objectives 2 and 3.

The empirical picture draws on a substantial face-to-face questionnaire, undertaken between March and October 2002, with 725 respondents. The over-arching aim of this thesis is to consider the relationship between visitors and the Cornish church heritage; to that end, it is argued that this chapter illustrates the key features, reflecting on both the published literature and some of the data generated by the visitors' book comments. The published literature, relevant to this chapter, takes three forms: conceptual, as presented in Chapters 2 and 3; specific to Cornwall, as presented in Chapters 4 and 5; and, secondary source material, as discussed in Chapter 4, principally, that from the University of Exeter Tourism Research Group's *Cornwall Holiday Survey*.

8.2 The visitor profile

8.2.1 Geographic perspective

The vast majority of visitors, over 91 per cent, were British, with the remainder originating from fourteen nations, principally Germany, France and the USA; this corresponds with the Visitors' Book data, for example, at Gunwalloe where, in 2000, 91 per cent were British (Table 7.1). The figure of 8.6 per cent of church visitors coming from abroad is intriguing in the light of CHS data indicating 5 per cent (TRG 1999), Cornwall County Council data, also for 1999, whereby 4.8 per cent were foreign. Even in view of their 1998 figure being 5 per cent (www.cornwall.gov.uk 2001), this hints at the possibility of the Cornish church heritage being particularly appealing to overseas visitors – or somewhat less so to the domestic market.

This begs the question as to what proportion of visitors are seeking some sort of affiliation – Celtic elective affinity, roots-based, or other – and resonates with Shaw & Williams' (2004:7) assertion that "tourism contributes to the emergence of hybrid identities". The discussion in chapter 7 identified lower air fares as catalytic, partially responding to Shaw & Williams (2004:4) question as to how "tourism structures and flows" are created. Indeed, for authors such as Cairncross (1997), there has been a *death of distance*, concomitantly occurring as *rhizomatic routes* (Deleuze & Guattari 1987) increase; these are criss-crossing personal spatial and social connections.

Table 8.1 illustrates the overall picture and Table 8.2 the cross-tabulation of visitor origin by specific church. Overseas visitors are evenly spread across all three locations. As a further comparison, the North American market accounts for 2 per cent of church visitors compared to 0.7 and 1 per cent in 1998 and 1999, respectively, in the Cornwall Holiday Survey (TRG 1999); Canada and the USA are both diasporic countries, as discussed in Chapter 4, and emphasised by the discussion concerning 'roots' in Chapter 7.

Table 8.1 Place of origin of visitors

Nation	Frequency	Valid Percent
UK	663	91.4
Germany	16	2.2
France	12	1.7
USA	9	1.2
Canada	6	0.8
Australia	4	0.6
New Zealand	3	0.4
Republic of Ireland	3	0.4
Switzerland	2	0.3
Italy	2	0.3
South Africa	1	0.1
Israel	1	0.1
Austria	1	0.1
Belgium	1	0.1
Peru	1	0.1
Total	725	100.0

Source: Author

Table 8.2 Place of origin of visitors to specific church

	Gunwalloe	%	St Just	%	Lanteglos	%
UK	266	93.0	266	90.5	131	90.3
Germany	5	1.7	5	1.7	6	4.1
France	4	1.4	5	1.7	3	2.1
Canada	3	1.0	2	<1.0	1	<1.0
USA	3	1.0	5	1.7	1	<1.0
Australia	1	<1.0	3	1.0		
NZ	1	<1.0	1	<1.0	1	<1.0
Switzerland			1	<1.0	1	<1.0
South Africa			1	<1.0		
R.o.I.	1	<1.0	2	<1.0		
Israel	1	<1.0				
Italy	1	<1.0	1	<1.0		
Austria			1	<1.0		
Belgium			1	<1.0		
Peru					1	<1.0
Total	286		294		145	

Source: Author

8.2.2. Socio-demographic characteristics

8.2.2.1 Gender and age

Bowen (1998), McKercher & Du Cros (2003), and Prentice *et al* (1998) observe that much of cultural tourism research is still based on socio-demographic variables. They argue that where a particular form of cultural/heritage tourism has not been previously studied, this is still the most relevant starting point for discussion. Therefore, in terms of gender representation, at the Cornish churches, 35.8 per cent of the sample were males and 64.2 per cent female, reflecting the estimated ratio, of visitors by gender, observed over a number of days (Table 8.3 illustrates the data); Bond (1997) and Silberberg (1995) remark on the importance of women to the cultural tourism market, generally. In comparison with Rowe's (2002) study of visitors to five built and one natural heritage attraction in Devon, her sample comprised 48 per cent males and 52 per cent females.

As might be expected, the age profile is predominantly middle-aged with few visitors under age 35. More specifically, the 14.8 per cent of respondents aged 35-44 corresponds with the 2001 national population figure of 14.9 per cent (National Statistics 2003) although it is somewhat less than the 19.8 per cent identified in the 1999 Cornwall Holiday Survey (TRG 1999).

However, in the 45-54 age band, the respondents represent 23.4 per cent of the sample compared to a national figure of 13.2 per cent and CHS figure of 15.6 per cent (TRG 1999). The next age band, 55-64, shows a greater differentiation still: 30 per cent of respondents were in this category compared to the national figure of 10.6 per cent and CHS figure of 8.4 per cent (TRG 1999). The figures for 65-74 are 20.5 per cent for the respondents and 8.4 per cent for the total population. Finally, 5.1 per cent of respondents were aged over 75 compared to the national figure of 7.5 per cent,

emphasising Robert's (2004) point concerning leisure participation in the older age groups. Arguably, there is a case of older visitors appreciating the past more (Gruffudd *et al* 1999) or, perhaps, as Mellor (1991:112) puts it, "The elderly have a rather different notion of heritage. For them, the past is more easily pulled through into the present". Mellor's position is tenable where young heritage, if such a term can be used, is considered; for example, with numerous forms of industrial heritage, there is still a living generation who actually worked in redundant factories and collieries – Dicks' (2000) research into 'new' heritage, discussed in Chapter 3, is pertinent. Even with heritage one or two generations old, oral history is argued to influence visitors.

With regard to the church survey visitors, it is considered that Gruffudd *et al* 1999 have a valid point: older visitors are argued to appreciate the past, in the church setting, because it confirms many of their opinions; for example, that the church remains constant in a rapidly changing world – a view found in the Visitors' Books. To this end, Mellor is right in stating that the elderly (he does not provide a definition) have a different understanding of heritage. At this point it should be noted that the age of respondent was recorded, as were comments; ages and views of any others in the few groups present were discounted.

8.2.2.2 Social status

Analysis of the data revealed a large number of respondents (41.6 per cent) to be retired, compared to just 14.4 per cent in the Cornwall Holiday Survey data (n = 4,555) (TRG 1999); arguably, this group have more time to devote to roots-based activities. On the other hand, the socio-economic A, B categories comprised 34 per cent, close to the national average (General Household Survey 2001) and yet below the 47.1 per cent reported by TRG (1999). What needs to be emphasised here is that the TRG data

incorporates last main occupation for retired individuals and, therefore, direct comparison between the survey and TRG data is not possible.

The discussion in Chapters 2 and 3 identified that heritage and culture appeals very strongly to the A, B and C1 social groups (Allen *et al* 2002; Connell 2004; Gruffudd *et al* 1999; McCrone *et al* 1995; Prentice 2004; Thomas 2002). Furthermore, as discussed in chapter 3, higher incomes are manifest in the A, B groupings, permitting additional, domestic, holidays besides 'main' overseas ones; the discussion in chapter 3 also emphasised the need to consider the 'life-cycle' as much as employment status, in terms of visitor activity, and this is addressed later.

Just seven respondents were unemployed, reflecting the cost of access to the three locations, to some extent – and also raising the issue of social exclusion, remarked on by Rowe (2002) in her Devon heritage research. This is argued to represent a dissonant heritage (Tunbridge & Ashworth 1996), whereby it "belongs to someone and logically, therefore, not to someone else" Graham *et al* (2000:24). The number of unskilled and semi-skilled respondents is low – as Light (1996) observes, for these groups, heritage sites are not visited out of choice, rather than from any constraint. Allied to this point, McCrone *et al* 1995 refer to heavy use of museums and galleries by these individuals – rather than heritage sites *per se*. However, particular findings from the English Heritage Omnibus Survey are worth reporting here: 80 per cent of their respondents (*n*=2,002) considered that a greater effort should be made to make heritage more accessible to them; those most likely to agree were those in social groups D, E, those with a household income of less than £9,499 per annum, and those with a disability (English Heritage 2000).

Table 8.3 Church survey respondent features.

Nationality	Gunwalloe	St Just-in-Roseland	Lanteglos-by-Fowey
n =	286	294	145
Gender			
Male	82 (29%)	100 (34%)	77 (53%)
Female	204 (71%)	193 (66%)	68 (47%)
British	266 (93%)	266 (90%)	131 (90%)
Overseas	20 (7%)	28 (10%)	14 (10%)
Trip characteristics			
Day visitor	29 (10%)	18 (6%)	24 (17%)
First visit to Cornwall	17 (6%)	31 (11%)	11 (8%)
Three or more visits	217 (76%)	208 (71%)	95 (66%)
Age profile			
Under 25	2 (1%)	5 (2%)	0
25 – 34	17 (6%)	12 (4%)	8 (6%)
35 – 44	42 (15%)	43 (15%)	22 (15%)
45 – 54	73 (26%)	52 (18%)	44 (31%)
55 – 64	82 (29%)	99 (34%)	35 (24%)
65 – 74	51 (18%)	67 (23%)	30 (21%)
Over 75	18 (6%)	15 (5%)	4 (3%)
Social-economic aspects			
Retired (E)	123 (43%)	123 (42%)	53 (37%)
Socio-economic type A,B	82 (29%)	100 (34%)	63 (44%)
Graduate qualifications	80 (30%)	107 (39%)	68 (50%)
Household income			
Under £7,500 p.a.	15 (7%)	9 (4%)	0
£7,500 - £9,999	12 (5%)	3 (1%)	2 (2%)
£10,000 - £14,999	28 (12%)	27 (12%)	9 (10%)
£15,000 - £19,999	26 (12%)	33 (15%)	9 (10%)
£20,000 - £24,999	24 (11%)	29 (13%)	9 (10%)
£25,000 - £29,999	21 (9%)	30 (13%)	12 (13%)
£30,000 - £39,999	40 (18%)	24 (11%)	15 (16%)
£40,000 - £49,999	26 (12%)	26 (12%)	6 (7%)
£50,000 - £59,999	14 (6%)	18 (8%)	9 (10%)
£60,000 - £69,999	8 (4%)	10 (4%)	6 (7%)
Above £70,000 p.a.	12 (5%)	17 (8%)	15 (16%)

Notes:
[1] Missing values predominate within the household income variable (*n* = 544).
[2] Percentages rounded.

Source: adapted from Busby (2004)

8.2.2.3 Educational levels

Referring back to chapters 2 and 3, as reported in the literature on cultural and heritage tourism (Allen *et al* 2002; Richards 2000), a significant number of survey respondents possessed higher level qualifications, with 37.8 per cent holding at least one degree; this compares with a figure of 9 per cent for the 16 to 69 year old population, not in full-time education, in 1993 (OPCS 1995). There is also a remarkable similarity with Rowe's (2002) study of heritage sites in Devon which reported 40 per cent in possession of a degree or professional qualification.

The discussion in Chapter 2, addressed Bourdieu's formulation of the cultural capital concept; based on a study of 1,217 individuals, Bourdieu (1986) observed a clear relationship between cultural practices and educational capital (defined by qualifications), followed by social origin. Indeed, qualifications can virtually guarantee cultural capital and "strongly contribute to the sense of full membership in the universe of legitimate politics and culture" (Bourdieu 1986:444). In the first nation-wide empirical study of cultural capital in Britain, Bennett *et al* (2005) have shown how cultural knowledge, based on a number of items, is influenced by education, particularly possession of a degree and, more so, postgraduate degree – a resonance with the point made about Master's degrees, in Chapter 2.

However, in considering the concept of cultural capital, the analytical techniques used by DiMaggio & Mukhtar (2004) and Woodward & Emerson (2001) were frequencies, ratios and cross-tabulations; the statement as recent as August 2005, from Savage *et al* 2005:8), with regard to the first empirical British assessment of the concept, via an ESRC project, is particularly apposite:

> "…we are well advised to focus on descriptive rather than explanatory methods, focusing less on the impact of independent variables, but describing the kinds of association in the data themselves".

With regard to the household income variable, the face-to-face survey secured responses from 544 visitors. More than 45 per cent of respondents possessed household incomes in excess of £30,000 per annum echoing findings from a substantial European survey, of cultural tourists, whereby 45 per cent had a household income in excess of €30,000 in 1997 (Richards 2000). Perhaps surprisingly, 12.5 per cent of the church survey respondents had household incomes in excess of £60,000 per annum. Ryan (2002c) argues that household income *per se* is not a variable which explains the holiday type or destination; it is, however, related to high levels of education which does, as chapter 2 discussed, assist in the formation of cultural capital. There is a statistical association for the data, between qualifications and income, significant at the 99.9 per cent level (Pearson chi-square = 53.938, df = 5).

It is appropriate, at this point, to again refer to the work of Bourdieu (1986) – and others – with regard to the establishment of individualistic values. The *new cultural intermediaries* (Bourdieu 1986) are akin to what Butler (1995), Thrift (1989) and Urry (1988) discuss as the service class although they are "weakly formed" in class terms, according to Frow (1993:270); for Munt (1994), Shaw & Williams (2004), and Urry (1995) they are *the new middle class*. These individuals are employed in the "knowledge industries" of advertising, journalism, education, creative professions and government; critically, whilst they may not be very high earners, they are united "in terms of knowledge and educational credentials" (Voase 2002c:64). The suggestion is that these intermediaries reject much of the 1980s culture of money and base their values on what can be drawn from our heritage. Although subjective, they are definers of 'good taste' which, as Voase (2002c:64) observes, cannot be distinctive unless

presented with the un-tasteful to compare; "the cultural self-identity of the service class is rooted in individualistic, rather than collective, values". In Richards' (2002) survey of 6,120 visitors to cultural sites, it was not just the higher educated managers in cultural occupations who viewed their holiday as primarily 'cultural', it was also considered such by women and older people.

The recent research findings from the ESRC *Cultural Capital and Social Exclusion* project, conducted in 2003-4, are illuminating in the context of activities by socio-demographic group; the observation, in chapter 2.3, that social class may be problematic is borne out by Bennett *et al's* (2005:13) finding, from the ESRC project, that whilst 74.2 per cent of higher professionals had read at least five books in the previous year, 27 per cent of senior managers (of large organisations) and employers had not read one. In other words, care is clearly needed in attributing specific cultural activities to socio-demographic groups such as the ABs. However, as Roberts (2004:9) puts it, "the middle classes do more of most things. The big exception is television viewing" – as will be seen next.

8.3 The media: class and cultural capital

Returning to Bourdieu's (1986) view of cultural capital as an explanation for certain behaviour, it is particularly apposite to note that his notion of *habitus* was introduced in order to account for what Clarke (2000:27) calls "the link between determinism and voluntarism". Because it is seminal, a key aspect of *habitus*, according to Bourdieu (1986:170), is cited in full here:

> "The habitus is of necessity internalised and converted into a disposition that generates meaningful practices and meaning-giving perceptions; it is a general, transposable disposition which carries out a systematic, universal application…"

It is the notion of *habitus* which allows us to distinguish the levels of personal cultural capital. For example, the "transposable disposition" is what permits us to perceive and classify cultural experiences differently. Clarke (2000:27) illustrates this by reference to a Western film featuring Burt Lancaster; some would view the film as starring the actor and no more, "others discover 'an early John Sturgess' or the 'latest Sam Peckinpah'". Identification of what is worthy is informed by the social group and critics who are considered intellectual.

This discussion is intended to foreground analysis of various forms of media and how they might influence the church visitor. The development of the Internet since the survey was undertaken has been dramatic and it is acknowledged that there can be an impact on visitor behaviour (Sorenson 2003; Wang & Fesenmaier 2004); this limitation to the research is identified in Chapter 10. However, to illustrate the dramatic growth of the internet, it is worth noting that whilst just 9 per cent of households had access to the internet in 1998, by 2003 it was 48 per cent, and this rose a further 4 per cent in the following twelve months; conversely, an estimated 19 per cent of British adults were not expected to use the internet at any point in the future (ONS 2005). Perhaps not surprisingly, use of the internet varies by age; the following statistics are pertinent to this research. "In the two years to 2003/4, the greatest percentage point increase was among adults aged 45 to 54, increasing by 13 points to 63 per cent" (ABTA 2005:11). Whilst 15 per cent of those aged 65 plus used the internet, for those in the 16 to 24 age group, it was 83 per cent (ABTA 2005). ABTA's biennial MORI survey, for 2004, showed the internet to be most commonly used as a search engine (ABTA 2005), a pertinent observation for this study.

Whilst IPTV (internet protocol television) will lead to a convergence of the two technologies, it is still in a state of relative infancy and, therefore, comparisons between usage of the two are appropriate in this thesis; a survey undertaken on behalf of the search engine Google ascertained that the average British person spends 164 minutes on the internet per day, compared with 148 minutes viewing television (Johnson 2006); it is argued that when the church visitor survey was undertaken, television was still the dominant form of visual media and, arguably, still is.

8.3.1 Weekly television viewing hours

Argyle (1994) observes that because manual workers are more tired, physically, when returning home, they are more likely, than other classes, to pursue cheap and physically undemanding leisure; the research appears to back this assertion, as Table 8.4 illustrates. Whilst the chi-square test for an association between viewing and occupation is invalid in this research, because more than 20 per cent of the cells have expected values of less than 5, there is an association between viewing and qualification significant at the 99.9 per cent level (Pearson chi-square = 23.246, df = 3).

Interestingly, apart from television viewing, "all kinds of leisure…improve self-assessed well-being" (Roberts 2004:11), with particular forms of leisure offering high optimal experience (Csikszentimihalyi 1975) – inside the home, reading, for example, is argued to enhance "internal reality" (Meyrowitz 1985:89). Outside the home, it is argued that, for many, church visiting may well be an example of Csikszentimihalyi's optimal experience – even if only one component of a recreational trip. What the data, obviously, does not show is exactly what is being viewed: two hours, per day, of 'soaps' is unlikely to create the basis for an optimal experience whilst the same exposure to the likes of Simon Jenkins' *Thousand Best Churches* may well become a generating

marker, in Leiper's (1990) terms; here, Richards (2002:1057) research is pertinent: in the substantial ATLAS survey (*n*=6,120), "those interested in history were significantly more likely to use generating markers" and, it is argued, some television programmes are precisely that.

Table 8.4 Daily viewing by social class in 1988

	AB	C1	C2	DE
Hours per day	2.82	3.57	3.91	4.87

Source: Argyle (1994)

Despite the seminal nature of Argyle's work, it is somewhat dated. However, little contemporary research exists in the requisite format; for example, BARB data provides an average weekly viewing pattern for the same months as the survey, including breakdown by channel (www.barb.co.uk 2006). BARB data for October 2002 shows average weekly viewing, per person, as 25 hours 39 minutes. In terms of weekly television viewing, irrespective of class, the results of a very recent survey (August 2005), comprising a stratified, random sample, from 111 post codes, of 1564 respondents, produces the data shown in Table 8.5, below.

Table 8.5 Weekly viewing hours (*n* = 1564), according to CCSE data

No. of hours	Per cent
0	0.4
Up to 10	11.1
10 - 19	26.1
20 - 29	32.0
30 - 39	14.3
Over 40	15.1

Source: Savage *et al* (2005)

Of more value are central government statistics identifying the time spent on activities, by adults, by socio-economic class. Table 8.6 summarises this for television viewing.

Table 8.6 Television viewing time, per day, in minutes

Type of occupation		
Managerial/Professional	Intermediate	Routine/Manual
122	137	168

Source: www.statistics.gov.uk (2006)

Multiplied up for weekly figures, this suggests that managerial and professional employees view a little over 14 hours of television compared to almost 20 for routine or manual workers. As can be seen from Table 8.7, below, more than half the church survey respondents view fewer than two hours daily, hinting at a higher class profile for visitors, based on the Argyle (1994), BARB (2006) and government (www.statistics.gov.uk 2006) data. More illuminating is the observation that ten times as many respondents as those in the CCSE survey viewed no television during the week. Similarly, at the other end of the scale, the church survey respondents come nowhere near the nationally-representative numbers watching in excess of 40 hours per week, shown in Table 8.5.

Table 8.7 Weekly viewing hours (*n* = 708)

No. of hours	Frequency	Valid Percent	Cumulative Percent
0	32	4.52	4.52
< 3	38	5.37	9.89
3 – 7	121	17.10	26.99
7 – 14	209	29.52	56.51
14 – 21	204	28.81	85.32
21 – 28	54	7.63	92.95
28 – 35	34	4.80	97.75
35 – 42	12	1.70	99.45
> 42	4	0.60	100.00

Source: Author

For this research, it is argued that duration of viewing is, perhaps, only one facet of relevance, *what* is viewed may be equally as important. Spittle (2002:56) has drawn attention to how television has "become a site for the promotion of consumption practices", in other words, promotion of particular lifestyles. His research focuses on an analysis of the BBC's *Changing Rooms* and how this has influenced a number of aspects of lifestyles but the same can be said of a number of other programmes, for example, in 2006, of *It's Not Easy Being Green*. The latter is relevant to this research for it features the adaptation of a Cornish farmhouse for sustainable living, incorporating a number of stereotype images of the county. What is viewed is also relevant to another perspective, that is, "people tend to be apologetic about their exposure to light entertainment" (Warde 2002:16). Nonetheless, it is argued that duration still provides some indication of lifestyle.

8.3.2 Radio station listening

In terms of radio listening and three key variables, age, household income and qualifications, it is the latter two which show particular associations. For those with incomes in excess of £50,000 per annum, there is an emphasis on classical music – striking a particular chord with Bourdieu's (1986) observations regarding cultural capital. Interestingly, it is the same income threshold for 'serious radio' listening – stations such as BBC Radio 4; arguably, higher earners are assimilating particularly relevant items from the likes of the *Today* programme, in other words, it is 'need to know' material besides providing a range of conversation topics which those in management are said to need (Bennett *et al* 2005).

As a comparison, twenty per cent of the adult population listened to Radio 4 (for at least five minutes in any given week) in the quarter to September 2002 (www.rajar.co.uk 2003) – during the survey period. On the other hand, BBC Radio 3 attracted just 4 per cent and Classic FM 14 per cent in the same period (www.rajar.co.uk 2003); as Argyle (1994:102) comments "the findings are quite different from those for TV – people listen to the radio most in AB… Radio 3 and 4 (are listened to) much more by classes A and B… six times as long to both these channels" as classes D and E. There is a resonance here with Meyrowitz's (1985:253) observation that "radio's dependence on language often takes the listener to the realm of high-level abstractions", in other words, listeners require a certain level of cultural capital, usually grounded in educational qualifications. With regard to the church survey data, there was an association between household income and radio categorization, significant at the 99.5 per cent level (Pearson chi-square = 34.536, df = 15). Concomitantly, there was an association significant at the 99.9 per cent level (Pearson chi-square = 39.807, df = 3) between qualifications and categories of radio listened to.

8.3.3 Newspapers and magazines

Bourdieu (1986:440) remarks on the "inherent fallacies" of attempting to assign particular newspapers and magazines to distinct political groupings unless one considers what reading a newspaper actually *means*. He suggests that for those who read a newspaper, the purpose of "viewspaper (journal d'opinion)" (Bourdieu 1986:441) only applies to a minority, newspapers are a multi-purpose product. The rationale for identifying readership in this study is two-fold: firstly, to assist in the creation of a visitor profile and, secondly, to test a range of possible associations.

Argyle (1994:102) states that daily national newspapers are "read by 74 per cent of class A, and by slightly fewer of B-D, but only by 52 per cent of E". The visitor profile and any associations identified may indicate a propensity for social capital creation amongst particular groupings. Whilst definitions of social capital vary, the OECD observe "shared norms, values… within or among groups" (National Statistics 2003:19). Quantification is difficult because of the range of aspects, it is also intangible and subjective (National Statistics 2003); however, it is argued that the volume of data in this study may hint at the existence of shared values within particular groupings. Interestingly, Bourdieu (1986:444) asserts that the likelihood of reading a national newspaper increases strongly with "educational capital", with the likelihood of reading a local newspaper "varying in the opposite way"; the visitor survey confirms this with the association between type of newspaper and sub H.E./H.E. qualification being significant at the 99.9 per cent level (Pearson chi-square=88.812, df=3).

With regard to magazine readership, 58 per cent of the sample stated that they did not read any particular magazine on a regular basis; however, for the others, the profile suggests wide diversity, with over sixty titles being cited. The emphasis is very much on lifestyle, be it in a 'generic' form with publications such as *Country Living* or with the 85 respondents who identified specialist hobby titles; "enthusiasms…absorb much contemporary leisure time" (Warde 2002:15) and, as mentioned above, the middle classes display a remarkably wide range of interests (Roberts 2004).

Table 8.8 Magazine readership – twenty most cited titles

Title	Frequency	Valid per cent
Radio Times	25	8.3
Good Housekeeping	16	5.3
Gardener's World	14	4.6
Saga	13	4.3
Country Living	10	3.3
Woman's Weekly	10	3.3
Woman's Own	10	3.3
Ideal Home	8	2.6
Country Walking	7	2.3
Church Times	7	2.3
Homes and Gardens	6	2.0
The Economist	6	2.0
RHS Magazine	5	1.7
Take A Break	4	1.3
Horse and Hound	4	1.3
National Geographic	4	1.3
People's Friend	4	1.3
The Week	3	1.0
Private Eye	3	1.0
New Scientist	3	1.0
Specialist hobby magazine	85	28.2
n = 302		
No magazine read regularly	411	

Note:
RHS – Royal Horticultural Society

8.4 Cultural capital and children

It is appropriate, at this point, to re-emphasise the work of Bourdieu and others with regard to the establishment of individualistic values. Bourdieu (1986:444) has commented that "educational qualifications strongly contribute to the sense of full membership in the universe of legitimate politics and culture". More recently, Bourdieu (1997) has identified three states of cultural capital; of relevance here is that of *embodied good* which may take the form of artistic taste or connoisseurship, critically, it can be deployed as an asset within a social setting. In this sense, families help children to accumulate cultural capital "through schooling, university education, through museum visiting… (it) presupposes effort, labour and investment on the parts of

individuals who compete for advantage within cultural markets" (Fyfe 2004:49). For Bourdieu, the *habitus* reflects a person's character and way of thinking (*embodied good*); it is formed by socialisation and, it is argued, when juxtaposed with education credentials, creates cultural capital.

The educational experience for children – "notions of self-improvement" (Meethan 2002:34), referred to in Chapter 3, whereby children are specifically brought to see a church for cultural reasons was evident talking to parents during the survey, akin to O'Neill's (2006) research with museums. Just as Brown (1992) observed that symbolic consumption might be a longitudinal process so, it is argued, is the introduction of children to heritage sites such as churches, the acquisition of personal cultural capital is a long-term investment, exemplifying the *habitus*.

As was asserted in Chapter 2, children can have a marked effect on visitor behaviour but it is not, necessarily, a one-way influence. Unfortunately, Thornton *et al* (1997), in their review of the influence of children on holiday activities in Cornwall, discuss only fee-paying heritage attractions. However, according to Fyfe (2004), adults are just as likely to determine what is visited, that is, what children should see. Research by Thornton *et al* (1997) suggests that heritage sites, in Cornwall, are more likely to be visited by adult-only groups and this, therefore, begs the question: are those children who are taken to visit churches being provided with a form of cultural capital acquisition? This research lends credibility to the argument that they are. However, given that 90 per cent of respondents, with a child/ren in their group, stated that the visit was an educational experience for children, there is no statistical association with variables such as household income or for a specific church.

8.5 Religiosity

The term religiosity is here operationalised as frequency of worship at Christian sites. This is one approach to measurement although others include donations, individuals' perspectives on events detailed in holy literature and belief in religious concepts (Poria *et al* 2003a). The approach adopted in this study was considered to be the least controversial and most efficient given that the questionnaire was so extensive.

Poria *et al* (2003a) argue that there is not a specific relationship between religiosity and tourist behaviour but that it does hint at an understanding. Jackson & Hudman (1995) consider that whilst personal religion may not be a motivating factor for a trip *per se*, it is a motivator for visiting a cathedral during a holiday and for Timothy (2001) participating in a service of worship can be considered religious tourism.

Table 8.9 Frequency of worship

	Frequency	Percent	Cumulative Percent
Once a week	189	26.4	26.4
Once a month	82	11.4	37.8
Seldom	301	42.0	79.8
Never	145	20.0	100.0
Total	717		
Missing	8		

Source: Author

The survey data reported in Table 8.9, above, indicate something of polarity: 38 per cent can be said to be regular attenders at services whilst 62 per cent seldom or never attend. This data becomes more pertinent when cross-tabulated with a number of variables; for example, there is – as might be expected – a statistical association, significant at the 99.5 per cent level (Pearson chi-square = 19.241, df = 6), between regular attendance and age. Older visitors are more likely to attend services; those in the 45-64 age band

worshipping once a week numbered 95 whereas the expected count was 86.3 – alternatively, those never attending a service numbered 71 whereas the expected count was 80.6.

Drawing on published research, Argyle (1994:255) asserts that "lower-class people come out… as much more religious… However, if we turn to religious *behaviour* it is the middle classes who appear to be more active", attendance being greater according to social scale – "a very stable finding in Britain and the USA for a long time". Nonetheless, a review of Table 8.10 reveals that the proportions are not particularly large. Given the age of the data, a search revealed nothing more recent; provisional statistics for 2004, in terms of total attendances only, are available (www.cofe.anglican.org 2006).

Table 8.10 Weekly attendances, by social class, in Britain

AB	C1	C2	DE
17%	11%	8%	9%

Source: Argyle (1994) – referring to 1978 data

In this research, a statistical association was found to be significant at the 90 per cent level (Pearson chi-square = 7.691, df = 3) between qualification and religiosity which, given the relationship between social status and qualification, is not particularly surprising. The expected count for those worshipping once a week and possessing higher qualifications was 87.7 whereas the observed count was 97; the expected count for those worshipping weekly and not in possession of higher qualifications was 83.3 with the observed count standing at 74.

8.6 Group characteristics

Unlike other heritage attractions, the group profile tends not to feature many children, couples accounting for more than 60 per cent, as Table 8.11 indicates. This can be compared with Rowe (2002:216) who aggregates the data for her six (diverse) heritage attractions, in Devon, reporting that a quarter of respondents were visiting as a couple and that "families with children only accounted for 40% of all groups… with a further 20% of groups consisting of extended families", that is grandparents or aunts and uncles included. The Cornwall Holiday Survey found that 35.1 per cent of respondents (*n* = 4,308) were visiting as a couple (TRG 1999).

This marks out churches, somewhat, and can be compared at the other extreme with gardens where Connell (2004) identifies solo visitors comprising 15.1 per cent in her substantial survey, compared to 4.1 per cent with the Cornish churches, and couples accounting for 45.9 per cent. It is argued that life-cycle factors, discussed at 3.4.5, are significant; after all, 'empty-nesters' may be retired or still in employment, thereby negating, or reducing, the relevance of socio-economic grouping.

Table 8.11 Number in group

Number in group	Frequency	Valid Percent	Cumulative Percent
1	30	4.1	4.1
2	436	60.2	64.3
3	108	14.9	79.2
4	96	13.3	92.5
5	21	2.9	95.4
6	16	2.2	97.6
7	3	0.4	98.0
8 or more	14	1.9	99.9
Missing	1		
Total	725		

Source: Author

Thornton *et al's* (1997:287) assertion that "the significance of group-based behaviour lies in its modification of individual behaviour", therefore, has less pertinence to this study although it is the only examination of the influence of children on tourist holiday behaviour in Cornwall and, therefore, requires consideration. Not surprisingly, perhaps, they argue that historic site visiting is more popular with groups where there are no children. However, what does need to be considered with the church research is that there is a statistical association between party size and qualifications significant at the 95 per cent level (Pearson chi-square = 21.291, df = 12), a case of small groups of relatively well-informed visitors.

8.7 Trip characteristics

8.7.1 Type of trip

Most visitors were on holiday; in response to the open question – 'why are you visiting the county?' – 81 per cent stated that it was for no particular reason other than a holiday; 11 per cent stated that they were visiting friends and relatives – compared to 4 per cent in the Cornwall Holiday Survey (TRG 1999). Of the other reasons given, 3 per cent stated they were on a walking holiday and 2 per cent were visiting gardens. Just 6 respondents were in the county specifically to see the Eden Project – one of the few primary attractions (Swarbrooke 1995) outside London. Three were visiting for family history purposes, 2 were present for the 'scenery', 1 was attending a conference, 1 was 'revisiting Gunwalloe and St Michael's Mount', and 1 had come to 'see Heligan'.

Once the day visitor figures have been removed, it is apparent that only 9 per cent of tourists (n = 59) were making their first visit to Cornwall: a positive feature, in terms of visitor loyalty, although, arguably, of cause for concern given the need for new markets to be convinced of the county's appeal and the existing repeat visitor age profile (Busby

2002; 2004a); for comparative purposes, Williams & Shaw (1993) reported that 16 per cent were first-time visitors as recently as 1991 and the Cornwall Holiday Survey, for 1999, identified 20.8 per cent (TRG 1999). It is argued that this suggests visitors might visit churches on second and subsequent visits, that is, once the better known attractions have been ticked off.

With day visitors and missing values excluded, a surprising 82 per cent of tourists have made more than three previous visits. This contrasts with 7.4 per cent who have made three visits, 7.6 per cent who have made two visits, and just 2.9 per cent who have made one visit before. This observation is borne out by Cornwall Holiday Survey data which found that 38 per cent of visitors had made at least four visits to the county in the previous ten years (TRG 1999). Again, this seems to confirm the visitor loyalty argument and the phenomenon of what the Objective One Partnership (2001) term "ageing loyal visitors".

8.7.2 Accommodation profile

As Shaw & Williams (2004) and Coles *et al* (2005) observe, tourism is intermixed with other forms of mobility such as retirement migration and second home ownership, both forms pertinent to Cornwall. For second home owners, the intensity of interconnections is qualitatively different, the same being true of regular VFR tourists (Shaw & Williams 2004). In this study, 2 per cent of respondents were staying at their second home and 13 per cent with friends or relatives (see Table 8.12). What is not known is whether any of these second homes are owned by diasporic visitors: notions of "maintaining complex social and place relationships over space and time" (Coles *et al* 2005:474).

Table 8.12 Accommodation used by visitors on holiday

Accommodation type	Frequency	Valid Percent
Self-catering cottage	245	38
Hotel	98	15
Touring caravan or motor home	73	11
Camping	29	4
B & B or Guest House	105	16
With friends or relatives	82	13
Second home	12	2
Own yacht	3	<1
Day visitor	71	
Missing	7	
Total	725	

Source: Author

The substantial proportion of tourists (38 per cent) staying in a self-catering cottage, or similar, accords with the growth of availability of such properties in the last twenty years; frequently, they are second homes of others who are letting them; as a comparison, the 1999 Cornwall Holiday Survey found that 28.4 per cent of respondents were staying in this type of accommodation (TRG 1999). It is interesting to note that Prentice (2004) argues that destination familiarity becomes part of lifestyle formation and, it is suggested, this could well explain the rationale for second home acquisition in Cornwall.

When coupled with an appreciation of the socio-economic types, and household incomes, of respondents, it can indeed be argued that there is an "elite perception of Cornwall shaped through the lens of the second home, the Padstow restaurant and the St Mawes luxury hotel" (Lee 2004:310). Arguably, all three lens represent cultural capital acquisition, Shaw & Williams (2004:92) referring to Rick Stein's Padstow restaurant as an "icon of middle-class cultural capital". Padstow, itself, being named after a Celtic saint (St. Petroc) manifests re-creation of tourist space. Whilst possibly spurious, there is a statistical association between accommodation and membership of a heritage body,

significant at the 95 per cent level (Pearson chi-square = 6.608, df = 2). The expected count for members of heritage organisations staying in serviced accommodation was 90.4 whereas the observed count was 99.

8.8 Membership of heritage organisations

Given a membership in excess of three million (National Statistics 2003), it is not surprising that The National Trust (for England, Wales and Northern Ireland) is well represented by visitors: 43 per cent belong to either the Trust, solely, or to the Trust and another heritage body, as Table 8.13 indicates. Britain is said to possess "a history of dense civic networks" with National Trust membership standing at "more than ten times the number in 1971… well above the 5 per cent growth in the population over the same period" (National Statistics 2003:19). Five per cent belong to the quasi-autonomous English Heritage with visitors representing a further thirteen organisations, such as The Friends of Colchester Museum, on a very small scale.

There is a statistical association, significant at the 99.9 per cent level (Pearson chi-square = 41.875, df = 4), between occupation or retired status and heritage organisation membership, lending weight to the visitor cross-profile being perceived as largely middle class. There is also an association between heritage membership and qualifications, significant at the 90 per cent level (Pearson chi-square = 1.902, df = 1) and between membership and age, significant at the 99.9 per cent level (Pearson chi-square = 23.202, df = 2). Interestingly, there is no association between household income and membership of a heritage organisation.

Finally, drawing on the discussion of religiosity earlier, operationalised as frequency of worship, it is interesting to note an association, significant at the 95 per cent level,

between membership of a heritage organisation and religiosity (Pearson chi-square = 7.816, df = 3), further support for a middle class visitor profile given Argyle's (1994) observation concerning religious behaviour (Chapter 8.5).

Table 8.13 Name of heritage organization

Organization	Frequency	Per cent
The National Trust only	267	36.8
English Heritage	5	0.7
N.T. & English Heritage	31	4.3
N.T. & Churches Conservation Trust	1	0.1
N.T. & CPRE	1	0.1
N.T. & Cornwall Gardens Trust	1	0.1
N.T. & Historic Houses Association	2	0.3
N.T. & Notts H.B.P. Trust	2	0.3
N.T. & Friends of Dudley Castle	1	0.1
N.T. & National Arts Collection Fund	1	0.1
Historic Places Trust (New Zealand)	1	0.1
National Trust for Scotland	6	0.8
An Taisce (Republic of Ireland)	1	0.1
Leeds Civic Trust	1	0.1
Bovey Tracey Heritage Society	1	0.1
Friends of D.G. & C.M.	1	0.1
No membership	396	54.6
Missing	6	0.8
Total	725	100.0

Notes:
CPRE – Council for the Preservation of Rural England
Notts H.B.P. Trust – Nottinghamshire Historic Buildings Preservation Trust
Friends of D.G. & C.M. – Friends of Dulwich Gallery and Colchester Museum

Source: Author

8.9 Holiday-taking

Whilst the British national tourism statistics (UKTS 1991) adopt the short-break definition as a stay of up to three nights, contemporary research suggests a duration of up to five nights (MEW Research 1994; Beioley 1999; Edgar 2001): this might be said to represent "a recognised market in its own right" (Edgar 2001:68). The definition adopted for this research was up to, and including, three nights. "Middle-class people

have a lot more holidays, often two or three per year" (Argyle 1994:108) with the wealthiest ten per cent of the population spending twenty-seven times more on this activity than the poorest ten per cent (Roberts 2004). As the figures in Table 8.14 illustrate, there is something of a polarisation: almost half the respondents had not taken an overseas holiday of more than 3 nights duration and 89 per cent had not taken a short overseas holiday. On the other hand, 22 per cent had taken at least two long overseas holidays, 30 per cent at least two short British holidays, and 43 per cent at least two long British holidays: supporting evidence for the contention that many Cornish church visitors are middle-class.

Table 8.14 Holiday-taking in last twelve months

Table 8.14a Shorter British holiday in last twelve months (for British residents)

Number of holidays	Frequency	Valid Percent	Cumulative Percent
0	322	49	49
1	133	20	69
2	88	13	82
3	67	10	92
3 +	49	7	99
Missing	7		
N/A – overseas visitor	59		
Total	725		

Table 8.14b Longer British holiday in last twelve months (for British residents)

Number of holiday	Frequency	Valid Percent	Cumulative Percent
0	169	26	26
1	205	31	57
2	147	22	79
3	71	11	90
3 +	67	10	100
Missing	7		
N/A – overseas visitor	59		
Total	725		

Table 8.14c Shorter overseas holiday in last twelve months (for British residents)

Number of holiday	Frequency	Valid Percent	Cumulative Percent
0	586	89	89
1	52	8	97
2	12	2	99
3	7	1	100
3 +	2	<1	100
Missing	7		
N/A – overseas visitor	59		
Total	725		

Table 8.14d Longer overseas holiday in last twelve months (for British residents)

Number of holiday	Frequency	Valid Percent	Cumulative Percent
0	316	48	48
1	195	30	78
2	97	15	93
3	34	5	98
3 +	17	2	100
Missing	7		
N/A – overseas visitor	59		
Total	725		

Source: Author

8.10 Conclusion

The visitor profile is one that more than hints at *distinction* (Bourdieu 1986) and concurs with Smith's (2003) view regarding distinctive profiles discussed in Chapter 2. The findings reported in this chapter define the average Cornish church visitor quite clearly; for example, in terms of age, there are markedly more visitors to churches in the 45-54 and 55-64 age bands than is explained by the national figures (overseas visitors account for such a small proportion that it is argued comparisons can be made with Census data). What is also striking is the number of respondents who were retired; with such a large proportion, it is not surprising that the socio-economic A, B categories are

under-represented in comparison to the Cornwall Holiday Survey data although close to the national average. The groups A, B and C1 may well be drawn to heritage attractions but it is the retired for whom churches are particularly attractive.

Higher level qualifications also mark out the Cornish church visitor with nearly 40 per cent possessing at least one degree – compared to a national figure of around 10 per cent. Remarkable when one compares how many young people went to university when most of the church visitors were aged eighteen. Does possession of graduate qualifications, axiomatically, confer cultural capital? Almost certainly, yes, although the ability can be acquired in other ways. As the discussion in Chapter 2, and Busby (2006) suggests, uncertificated education is of equal importance – what Bourdieu (1986) terms *gratuitous knowledge*, as was illustrated with reference to John Harris' career.

It is pertinent, therefore, to note that *personal cultural capital*, in the form of gratuitous knowledge sometimes, may be accumulated via membership of learned societies and other bodies such as The National Trust (of England and Wales); in the Cornish survey, 43 per cent of respondents were members; 5 per cent belonged to English Heritage, and 3 per cent belonged to a further thirteen different heritage organisations. It is argued that membership of such bodies provides both contextualised and subliminal learning, visiting country houses with a range of works creates a certain familiarity; there is also a statistical association between age and heritage body membership.

A number of other features distinguish the Cornish church visitor including group composition, for over 60 per cent were visiting as a couple. Distinction is also noticeable in comparison with the population average for zero or little television viewing, indeed this is stark; however, whilst this is a distinguishing feature of Cornish

church visitors, it is also argued that *what* is viewed is important, given the role of television in lifestyle formation. As another distinctive feature, a significant proportion of visitors enjoyed more than one holiday per annum; 22 per cent had taken at least two long overseas holidays, supporting evidence for the contention that many Cornish church visitors are middle-class. Arguably, most represent *the new middle classes*, the plural being used for, as Shaw & Williams (2004) point out, there is more than grouping; it is the lifestyle, as much as income, for example, which marks them out.

As Table 8.15 illustrates, there are statistical associations between a number of variables. What the table does not show is the possibility of yet more associations – not demonstrated as statistically significant because, as discussed in Chapter 6, results are invalid if more than 20 per cent of the cells have expected values of less than 5 (Veal 1997). Whilst it is accepted that re-coding can eliminate this obstacle (Brunt 1997; Veal 1997; Wheeler *et al* 2004), the sheer level of reductionism can lead to some categories becoming too broad; this is not always the case as demonstrated, for example, by collapsing value labels to possession of graduate qualification/s, or not, and subsequent testing against a range of possible associations. A pragmatic approach has, therefore, been taken, when possible, collapsing value labels where meaningful categories can be shown to exist.

Whilst it has been argued that class, status and power feature in the *presentation* and *re-presentation* of heritage, in chapter 3 (3.4.2), it is argued that this is, perhaps, less apparent with the Cornish church heritage today, if not in the past; however, *consumption* does manifest particular class and status features. The review of age and gender highlights particular facets of the church visitor population, particularly the former; it has been argued that older visitors – those aged 55 to 74, in particular – are

likely to have more appreciation of the church heritage, if not, necessarily, an in-depth understanding – overtones of Bourdieu's (1986) primary and secondary strata. What is clear, from the discussion in 8.7.1, is that very few visitors can be categorised as *pilgrims* in terms of the classification set out in Chapter 2 (Table 2.4); a small number are making a special effort to visit the church (Winter & Gasson 1996) and some are seeking a religious experience (Nolan & Nolan 1992).

The conception of *religious tourist* is, however, more pertinent, with evidence for the characteristics identified by Bauer (1993), Bywater (1994), Cohen (1998), Keeling (2000), Nolan & Nolan (1992), Russell (1999) and Smith (1992), identified in Chapter 2. The discussion at 8.5 highlighted that 38 per cent of visitors were regular attenders at church services and, it is argued, must be considered *religious tourists*, on this basis; in other words, a significant minority of the visiting population. For others, it is argued that the visit is a post-industrial tourist experience whereby personal cultural capital acquisition is sought or the church may be considered visitable simply because it is not purpose-built for tourism (Busby & Rendle 2000). Chapter 9 takes this further with a consideration of visitor motivations, behavioural characteristics, and perceptions of the church.

Despite having identified a number of specific variables in this research, it needs to be borne in mind that Bourdieu emphasises "it is vital not to operationalize cultural practices as a discrete set of variables but as a carefully constructed space of lifestyles" (Savage *et al* 2005:12). The first nation-wide mapping of cultural capital in the United Kingdom aimed to identify the inter-relationships between practices and is so recent that publications are only now appearing, for example, Savage *et al* 2005. It is argued that the church visitor research concurs with Bourdieu in that consideration of discrete

variables needs to be avoided in order to review the overall lifestyle, in other words performance of cultural practices which may confer personal cultural capital, a concept crucial to the new middle classes (Urry 1990). The concept of lifestyle is important to this research for it both provides social distinction and aids identity construction, lifestyle being seen as a space of activities which are expressed and transformed through the consumption of sights and sites. The following statement from Warde 2002:18) encapsulates much of the discussion from both Chapters 7 and 8: “The individual agent exercising self-control over personal destiny – (is) a key figure in the discourse of late modernity”.

Table 8.15 Summary of significant statistical associations discussed in Chapter 8

	Socio-demographic	**Indicators**	Nationality	Gender	Age	Highest qualification	Occupation	Household income	TV viewing	Radio categories	Newspaper categories	Religiosity	**Trip characteristics**	Party size	Purpose	Accommodation	Heritage membership
Socio-demographic	X																
Indicators		X															
Nationality			**X**														
Gender				**X**		**2**											
Age					**X**	**2**						**2**					**1**
Highest qualification				**2**	**2**	**X**	**1**	**1**	**1**	**1**	**1**	**6**		**4**		**2**	**6**
Occupation						**1**	**X**	**1**		**1**	**1**	**2**					**1**
Household income						**1**	**1**	**X**		**2**							
TV viewing						**1**			**X**								
Radio categories						**1**	**1**	**2**		**X**				**6**			
Newspapercategories						**1**	**1**				**X**						
Religiosity					**2**	**6**	**2**					**X**					**5**
Trip characteristics													**X**				
Party size						**4**				**6**				**X**		**1**	
Purpose															**X**		
Accommodation						**2**								**1**		**X**	**5**
Heritage membership					**1**	**6**	**1**					**5**				**5**	**X**
Holiday-taking																	

Significance levels
1 = 0.001 (99.9%)
2 = 0.005 (99.5%)
3 = 0.01 (99.0%)
4 = 0.02 (98%)
5 = 0.05 (95%)
6 = 0.1 (90.0%)

Chapter 9 The Cornish church visitor experience

9.1 Introduction

In reviewing the Cornish church experience, use of qualitative data in the form of Visitors' Book comments, reported in Chapter 7, is valuable although it is impossible to argue that the findings are representative of the church-visiting population; indeed, Silverman (1993:199) makes it a rule of qualitative research that the "actor's point of view" should not be treated as an explanation and, yet, their views are ubiquitous in the Visitors' Books. To address this, Chapter 9 considers the reasons for visiting and behavioural characteristics (Objective 3), and perceptions (Objective 2), from a quantitative perspective. With due cognisance given to survey day of the week and spread between March and October, and a substantial sample size, it is argued that the visitor survey is representative of the church-visiting population. Unlike the Visitors' Book analysis, this discussion can review the aetiology of the phenomenon (study of causation), of church-visiting, because it takes account of numerous factors or variables; as Marsh (1982) has stressed causation is always multi-variate and, therefore, needs to explore a range of factors, particularly important for heritage sites as they are considered to be multifunctional and serve visitors with multiple motivations, likely to behave in different ways (Ashworth 2001).

Concepts such as authenticity and interpretation have been discussed and, it is argued, these are not new to the Cornish church visitor experience; rather what has happened in the last decade or so is that the pursuit of individuality by consumers has led to symbolic meanings being attributed to the consumption of particular sights/sites, what Pine & Gilmore (1999) term *the experience economy*. Many of the sections within this chapter suggest symbolic consumption, be it pursuit of du Maurier connections or a

church visit aided by Jenkins' book; as Chapter 8 concluded, a space of carefully constructed lifestyles can be identified.

9.2 Reasons for visiting

Giddens (1993:92) refers to motivation as "the *wants* which prompt action. The connection of motivation to the affective elements of personality is a direct one…". The reasons for visiting Cornwall were presented in Chapter 8; this analysis considers the manifold reasons for visiting the survey churches. Occasionally, these could be argued to be motivations, a variable more difficult to genuinely ascertain than the 'reason' provided for visiting (Krippendorf 1987), as Chapter 2 showed. However, Chapter 7 suggested that visitors might be attracted by one – or more – themes, such as a return to roots or link with a literary figure; nonetheless, it is difficult to argue that the visitors' book findings are representative of the visiting population. The face-to-face survey, however, is considered to portray a representative picture of reasons for visiting, reviewing, as it does, across the seasons and days of the week.

In response to the 'open' question ascertaining why first-time visitors had come to the church, a total of twenty-one reasons were provided, listed in Table 9.1, some of them meriting commentary. All three churches are located on or near to public footpaths and, therefore, it is no surprise that 25.3 per cent of respondents stated that they were visiting because the church happened to be on the route of a walk – a similar finding to the survey by Brice *et al* (2003) on Exmoor; Gunwalloe, in particular, is actually on the South West Coast National Trail. The combination of culture and exercise could be argued to be indicative of postmodern leisure consumption besides exemplifying the concept of secondary nucleus (Leiper 1990; Richards 2002); in terms of constructing a visitor profile, it should also be noted that walking is participated in by professionals,

employers and managers to a much greater degree than skilled, semi-skilled and unskilled workers (Roberts 2004). Additionally, good way-marked routes such as the South West Coast National Trail illustrate the development of long-distance paths as rural tourism resources (Busby 1996) in their own right, discussed in chapter 3.

Table 9.1 Reason for visit to church – first-time visitors

Reason	Frequency	Valid percent
On route of walk	111	25.3
Mentioned in guide book or leaflet	58	13.2
By accident	21	4.8
Mentioned by friends or acquaintances	137	31.2
Du Maurier connection	7	1.6
To see the interior	2	<1.0
To photograph	2	<1.0
Interested in old churches	16	3.7
Curiosity	36	8.2
To make a wish	2	<1.0
Belong to the church	1	<1.0
Location/setting	8	1.8
Noticed on map	4	<1.0
Historic (non-family) connection	3	<1.0
Betjeman connection	1	<1.0
On tour itinerary	6	1.4
Family connection	4	<1.0
Road sign	10	2.3
Adjacent beach	7	1.6
Seen on television	1	<1.0
Visiting holy wells	1	<1.0
Missing cases	5	
Total	438	

Source: Author

The importance of ‘hearsay’ or word-of-mouth testimony, as motivator, is demonstrated by nearly a third of respondents (31.2 per cent) advising that relatives, friends and acquaintances had mentioned the church; Andereck & Caldwell (1993) considered ‘word of mouth’ to be a very important information source for all visitors. This quantitatively supports the theme, discussed in chapter 7, whereby friends and relatives are ‘the marker’ (MacCannell 1976; Lovelock 2004) for these churches.

Literature, of all sorts, also plays a role: 13.2 per cent stated that they had seen the church in a guidebook or in a leaflet – another form of MacCannell's marker. The guidebook may have been a *generating marker* (Leiper 1990; Richards 2002) although it need not have been a specialist publication (for example, Jenkins' *Thousand Best Churches*) to perform this function. Table 9.2 indicates the two most-cited publications.

Table 9.2 Guide-books cited in survey

Title	Frequency	Per cent
Jenkins *England's Thousand Best*	22	3.0
Pevsner *Buildings of England - Cornwall*	4	0.6

Source: Author

Although not out of print, Pevsner's guide is seldom held in stock in bookshops and this suggests visitors with a much greater depth of interest – akin to the *purposeful cultural tourist* (McKercher 2002), discussed in Chapter 2, and potentially *generating markers* (MacCannell 1976). This links back to Chapter 7 which identified Visitors' Book comments, which emphasised specific guidebook observations for each of the survey churches, and the range available, as discussed in Chapter 5. Besides these guidebooks, there are free visitor information pamphlets or 'tourist' newspapers available from Tourist Information Centres which represent *transit markers* (Leiper 1990); some of this literature refers to churches. Mention has been made earlier of Richards' (2002:1057) substantive research which indicated those individuals "interested in history were significantly more likely to use generating markers"; it is argued that this may well be the case with a proportion of Cornish church visitors.

Curiosity was cited by 8.2 per cent of visitors, 'accident' by 4.8 per cent, and an interest in old churches by 3.7 per cent. Only four visitors, less than 1 per cent, could be called

legacy tourists (McCain & Ray 2003) although, they themselves, might prefer to be considered genealogical visitors (Meethan 2004). Lowenthal (1996:9) has remarked that "diaspora are notably heritage-hungry" and, it is argued, that this is more evident from the visitors' book comments, referred to in Chapter 7.3, than the bland enumeration of four visitors stating 'family connection'. Furthermore, it is argued that visitors are more likely to be "finding my roots" (Prentice 2004:934) at a church site than in a setting such as Old Town, Edinburgh, where Prentice assessed this motivation – and identified few seeking such.

Literary tourism, *per se*, accounted for less than 2 per cent, 7 respondents in the case of du Maurier, and 1 respondent in the case of Sir John Betjeman; far less than the numbers observed at Oare church, on Exmoor, because of the *Lorna Doone* connection (Brice *et al* 2003) although the latter may have been influenced by the numerous film and television adaptations over the years (Busby & Klug 2001; O'Neill *et al* 2005). This could be said to indicate elements of an escape culture, as suggested by Goodey (1994), discussed in Chapter 5. Nonetheless, the quantitative findings support the existence of such a theme discussed at 7.8. The location or setting was mentioned as a reason for visiting by less than 2 per cent; this finding needs to be considered, later, in the light of 'ratings' of the landscape setting. In reality, based on a number of respondents taking time to consider the question, it is considered that there are likely to be multiple reasons for visiting, as Shackley (2001) emphasises, with sacred sites, there are varying motivations or reasons.

Interestingly, the aspect of religiosity hardly appears; 'belong to the church' was cited by one visitor, no other reasons for visiting hint at the Christian dimension. The discussion by journalist John Edwards (2005) has a distinct resonance. Asking a

woman, from South Dakota, why she and her husband were visiting Westminster Abbey, Edwards (2005:14) asked "was it because you're both religious? She backed off. 'Are you crazy? It's got nothing to do with religion. We just wanted to see it. That's all'… the woman said it was more like a museum…" Given the results for religiosity discussed earlier, that is, 38 per cent categorised as regular attenders at services, the reasons cited for visiting are intriguing. If 26 per cent attend a weekly service, why does that motivation not manifest itself here? On the other hand, for irregular attenders, visiting a church may well be a substitute, as Shackley (2002) argues.

Table 9.1 does not list the reasons provided by repeat visitors; when questioned as to why they had first visited, a list of seventeen reasons were provided. Whilst 282 were repeaters, reasons were obtained from 240 – not surprisingly, a large number could not remember why they first visited. The largest proportion (30 per cent) had visited because of recommendations from friends or relatives – a remarkably similar finding as first-time visitors. Curiosity was cited by a greater proportion of respondents (13.6 per cent) than for first-time visitors. Drawing on the work of psychologist Allport, Ryan (2002b:37) notes that curiosity is a trait universal in humans and may, later, result in "an attitude demonstrating interest in a given object". Does this partly explain why so many visitors return?

Those who had visited because the church was on the route of their walk accounted for 11.6 per cent; those who came 'by accident' for 8.8 per cent; and those because of the location/setting for 8 per cent. The influence of a guidebook accounted for 7.2 per cent and those who 'like visiting churches' for 5.2 per cent. Reflecting on the reasons stated, it would be wise to view them with much more caution than used with first-time visitors due to the passage of time – although, perhaps, for the 3.6 per cent stating family, or

possible, family connections, this is a motivation more likely than many to be accurately remembered.

What, perhaps, does not come out of this aspect of the data is what was referred to in chapter 5 as "a continuity of form, tradition and myth across centuries in the Cornish church". As Teather & Chow (2003:93) put it: "People can become deeply attached to places in a way that is critical to their well-being… (it) can be a crucial issue for the maintenance of their memories and sense of identity". It is argued that a number of the comments from the Visitors' Books, discussed in Chapter 7, do illustrate this aspect. Drawing on the range of stated reasons for visiting the churches, and McKercher's (2002) classification, discussed in Chapter 2, Table 9.3 suggests that visitors can be categorised as: *purposive*, *incidental* or *accidental*, with the first category forming the principal group.

Table 9.3 A Cornish church visitor classification

Visitor type	First time visitor (*n*=443) *		%	Repeat visitor (*n*=282) **	%
Purposive	Recommended	137		75	
	Guide book	58		18	
	Curiosity	36		34	
	Interested in old churches	16		13	
	du Maurier connection	7		3	
	Family connection	4		9	
	Historic connection	3		3	
	To see interior	2	61		68
	To photograph	2			
	To make a wish	2			
	Belong to church	1			
	Betjeman connection	1			
	Habit			3	
	Reputation			1	
	Personal employment			1	
	For wedding			1	
	For flower festival			1	
	Shown on television			1	
Incidental	On route of walk	111		29	
	Location/setting	8		20	
	Adjacent to beach	7			
	On our tour itinerary	6	31		20
	Noticed on map	4			
	Visiting holy wells	1			
Accidental	By accident/passing by	21		22	
	Road sign	10		6	
			7		12

* 437 valid responses
** 240 valid responses

Source: Author, based on McKercher (2002)

However, there is some difficulty in allocating two of the stated reasons to just one of McKercher's categories, namely, 'on route of walk' and 'on our tour itinerary'; with the former reason, it has been assumed that the walk is the primary motive, the church visit secondary; however, the visitor may have planned the walk with the deliberate intention of visiting the church, in which case, they are *purposive*. If the existence of the church was completely unknown to the walker, it can be equally argued that they are *accidental visitors*. For the six individuals who stated the church was 'on our tour itinerary', the

question arises as to whether this was planned by them – in which case they are *purposive* – or whether a designated route was being followed and the existence of the church is simply a pleasant diversion, making them *incidental visitors*. However, building on the visitor profile, discussed in Chapter 8, there is a statistical association, significant at the 95 per cent level (Pearson chi-square = 11.214, df = 4), between those categorised as *purposive* and household income (Table 9.4); arguably, further support for middle class cultural capital acquisition. As Table 9.4 indicates, the observed count for purposive visitors with household incomes of £50,000 to £69,999 is higher than that expected – and more so for those households with an income in excess of £70,000.

Table 9.4 Church visitor type and household income

							Total
		<£19,999	£20,000 - 29,999	£30,000 - 49,999	£50,000 - 69,999	>£70,000	
Purposive	Count	17	17	36	14	15	99
	Expected Count	27.6	19.1	28.8	12.5	10.9	99.0
Incidental, Accidental	Count	74	46	59	27	21	227
	Expected Count	63.4	43.9	66.2	28.5	25.1	227.0
Total	Count	91	63	95	41	36	326
	Expected Count	91.0	63.0	95.0	41.0	36.0	326.0

	Value	df	Asymp. Sig. (2-sided)
Pearson Chi-Square	11.214(a)	4	.024
Likelihood Ratio	11.560	4	.021
Linear-by-Linear Association	9.240	1	.002
N of Valid Cases	326		

a 0 cells (.0%) have expected count less than 5. The minimum expected count is 10.93.

Before leaving this section, it is observed that the reasons stated for visiting are seldom overtly cognitive, they tend more to the mundane and, if anything, emphasise the argument that the concept of *need* is central to motivation (Mill & Morrison 1985; Witt & Wright 1992) although it may well be subliminal. Dann's (1981) seven perspectives

on tourist motivation, discussed in Chapter 2, are particularly salient here; for example, over 31 per cent of first-time visitors stated that the reason for visiting was because friends or relatives had mentioned the site – this can be said to accord with either Dann's sixth or seventh form, that is, the visit is a form of symbolic consumption. Almost a case of 'keeping up with the Joneses', the critical point to this is that there needs to be "consensual interpretation of symbolic meaning" (Brown 1992:59); this is the other side of *personal cultural capital* acquisition.

Of the other literature discussed earlier, that of Poria *et al* (2003b) is valuable; it is apparent from the findings, both Visitors' Book and survey, that their segmentation of visitors to heritage sites can be applied to Cornish churches. Reflecting on Figure 3.2, it can be seen that a few visitors are likely to be encompassed by Group I, those who are unaware of the heritage attributes of the site – particularly pertinent at Gunwalloe where the beach may have been the motivation for visiting. The Group II visitor who is aware of the heritage attributes of the site may have been motivated by other attributes, for example, literary connections. Those visitors seeking Celtic elective affinity are one example of the Group III type and, for Poria *et al* (2003b), the true *heritage tourist* is represented by the diasporic visitor, many of whom will not have genealogical connections with the specific church, rather they claim a wider relationship to the county.

9.3 Behavioural characteristics

9.3.1 Distance travelled

Given that the majority visiting the churches were domestic, the county of residence for UK visitors has been re-coded to English regions and, together with the figures for Wales, Scotland and Northern Ireland, is shown in Table 9.5; over 21 per cent originate

from Cornwall (*n*=74) and the three closest counties (*n* = 80 in total) whilst 27 per cent emanate from London and the South East, an aspect previously identified by the University of Exeter's annual Cornwall Holiday Survey, including Griffiths (1995), and reviewed in further detail by Andrew (1997). Just over 90 per cent (*n* = 654) were tourists rather than day visitors.

Table 9.5 UK region of origin

	Frequency	Percent
South West	199	27.4
London & South East	196	27.0
West Midlands	59	8.1
East of England	54	7.4
East Midlands	52	7.2
North West	43	5.9
Yorkshire & Humberside	32	4.4
North East	7	1.0
Wales	14	1.9
Scotland	4	0.6
Overseas visitor	62	8.7
Missing value	1	0.1
Total	724	99.9
Missing	1	
Total	725	

Source: Author

9.3.2 Repeat visitation

The manifold reasons or motivations for originally visiting the church have been discussed above; 282 visitors (38.9 per cent) were making a repeat visit. Surprisingly, a survey of visitors (*n* = 414) to two churches on Exmoor, in similar rural locations, during August and September 2002, produced an almost identical result of 38 per cent repeat visitation (Brice *et al* 2003). To provide comparison with different types of heritage attraction, Rowe (2002) ascertained that 35 per cent of visitors to her six attractions, in Devon, were repeat visitors.

Table 9.6 First visit to this Cornish church

	Frequency	Valid Percent
First visit	443	61.1
Repeat visit	282	38.9
Total	725	100.00

Source: Author

Previous visits appear to have been memorable, literally, for all but eleven repeat visitors could recall the year when they had last come to the church. Unless there is a 'creative' element, these visitors could recall when they had visited many years before as Table 9.7 illustrates; triangulating this point, it is worth noting that there are numerous visitors' book comments stating the year of previous visit. For 4 per cent of respondents, they had already visited the church at least once in 2002, 10.5 per cent had visited in 2001, 4.6 per cent in 2000, and 2.2 per cent in both 1998 and 1999. Surprisingly, a 'bulge' appears for 1992. The earliest year cited was 1952. It is argued that, for many of these respondents, the recall is likely to be accurate because there is a particular association (Busby 2003).

Table 9.7 Church visitor loyalty.

	Gunwalloe	St Just-in-Roseland	Lanteglos-by-Fowey
First visit to church	178 (62%)	160 (54%)	105 (72%)
Repeat visit	108 (38%)	134 (46%)	40 (28%)
Last visit: 2002	12	12	5
Last visit: 2001	31	33	12
Last visit: 2000	14	16	3
Last visit: 1990-1999	30	41	10
Last visit: 1980-1989	12	11	2
Last visit: 1970-1979	4	6	0
Last visit: 1960-1969	1	8	0
Last visit: pre - 1960	3	2	0
Cannot remember year	1	2	8

Source: Busby (2004)

Whilst repeat visits infer loyalty; "true loyalty", as Petrick (2004:464) terms it, comprises both a psychological dimension (affective loyalty) and a behavioural one (Oppermann 2000). There appears to be a strong resonance with Timothy's (1997) view, discussed in Chapter 2, that greater levels of personal meaning attach to the local sites – for, despite their grade-listing, they are not of national or world importance. Perhaps it is their very *scale* which allows individuals to associate or connect with them as Timothy (1997) terms it; considering the affective dimension, Prentice *et al* (1994) even refer to visitors being endeared to places, a resonance with Relph's (1981) argument that individuals are attached to places because of the feeling that it "has endured and will persist as a distinctive entity even though the world around may change" – critical in the twenty-first century.

It is, perhaps, the grounds at St Just which add that 'something extra' and explains the highest proportion of repeat visitors for the three churches: 46 per cent against that of 28 per cent for Lanteglos; the importance of the setting for the churches is discussed later. Richards (2002:1053) makes a salient point about the effect of repeat visiting with regard to "the use of markers, since a previous visit means that personal experience, rather than indirect information about the destination, affects the choice of attractions… repeaters are aware of more markers than first-timers"; as mentioned at 7.4, Darnell & Johnson (2001) have drawn attention to the fact that little research exists concerning repeat visitation. This personal experience, gained from a previous visit/s, emphasises the interface between psychology and geography argued by Oppermann (2000), whereby the spatial behaviour of visitors is influenced, to some extent, by destination loyalty.

It is argued that the personal experience, level of personal meaning, reinforces the loyalty dimension. This level of connectivity is thus operationalised by the degree of repeat visiting – after all, over 90 per cent (n = 654) were not day visitors and they had many competing attractions to view in Cornwall – as Appendix 4 illustrates. This level of connectivity then becomes a powerful force, a 'must do' on any return visit to Cornwall. Visitors' book comments such as "Third time back. Just as lovely everytime" for Gunwalloe, remarked on in 7.1, is a good example; 228 entries for that year allude to their return visit. Interestingly, this links to Ryan's (2002b:38) research which indicated that, whilst on holiday, visitors identify with the destination but, furthermore, this was particularly true "for those who had three or more previous visits".

This also corroborates the discussion in Chapter 6 where the point was made that Schutz (1972:69) believes it misleading to state "that experiences *have* meaning. Meaning does not lie *in* the experience. Rather, those experiences are meaningful which are grasped reflectively", emphasised by Giddens (1993) as well. This raises a final point: although no research appears to have considered behaviour within repeat visitor types (Oppermann 2000), there are likely to be differences between those who come frequently and those visiting on a much more infrequent basis – first-timers are a homogeneous group, repeaters are not (Oppermann 2000). Therefore, developing Schutz' (1972) view, it could be argued that some repeat visitors are illustrating habitual behaviour (Backman & Crompton 1991) whereas others have reflected on their previous visits. In conclusion, Wall & Nuryanti (1997) suggest that the repeat visitor ratio is related to how developed the destination is, in the sense of how long it has been attracting visitors; as Chapter 4 indicated, Cornwall has been a fixture with tourists for centuries.

9.3.3 Relationship of visitors to other attractions

It was observed in chapter 2, that when considering sacred sites, "pilgrim-tourists and tourists spend much less time at these sites because they want to visit other tourism attractions" (Digance 2003:145) in the area; this is exemplified with the Cornish church visitor data. Appendix 4 details the specific attractions being visited on the same day as the survey, previously (on the holiday, if not a day visitor), and those likely to be visited. Table 9.8 illustrates the data by generic category except for the Eden Project, because of its primary attraction status. Even with the inclusion of Truro Cathedral in the 'church' category, few visitors had other churches to the forefront of their holiday plans – although the fact that one in ten had already visited a church is, perhaps, greater than might be expected. Of the few respondents who cited a number of attractions already visited, it is the first-named which has been used. Given that the majority of visitors were in couples (of probably the same age band), it might be expected that a preference for particular types of attraction could be ascertained; however, there was no statistical association between age and attractions (visited already, to be visited on the same day, or likely to be visited). Likewise, there was no association between qualifications and type of visitor attraction.

As argued in chapter 3, a key feature of Prentice's (1993) visitor attraction typology is that the types are not mutually exclusive; Flambards theme park, in south-west Cornwall, contains both socio-cultural and transport components – a replica Concorde and other aircraft are displayed – here it is categorised as 'Other'. A similar matter for categorisation considers National Trust properties where the garden may be a significant feature although it is the house which predominates; where this situation occurs, the category of 'historic building' has been applied.

Table 9.8 Visitors and other attractions

Category	Attraction already visited	Attraction likely to be visited	Attraction being visited same day
Eden Project	94 (26%)	99 (29%)	9 (3%)
Garden	89 (24%)	98 (28%)	50 (18%)
Historic Building	79 (22%)	66 (19%)	87 (31%)
Museum/Art Gallery	15 (4%)	18 (5%)	6 (2%)
Church	36 (10%)	20 (6%)	18 (6%)
Other	52 (14%)	45 (13%)	114 (40%)
Total *n* =	365	346	284

Source: Author

Confirming perception of a heterogeneous visitor attraction base (Prentice 1993), discussed in Chapter 3, respondents identified a total of 57 different attractions for those 'already visited'. Amongst these were three public houses, admittedly rather famous ones, namely, Jamaica Inn, The Admiral Benbow, and Smuggler's Cottage (Tolverne). Helston Flora Day, an annual event, was identified by two, different, respondents, illustrating Swarbrooke's (1995) special event classification. One retail outlet, the Lizard serpentine shop was cited.

When asked which attractions they were likely to visit, whilst on holiday but not during the survey day, respondents cited forty-six different ones in all; many identified multiple attractions although only the first-named has been categorised. Not cited in the 'already visited' categories, by anyone, six respondents (1.7 per cent) stated that they were likely to visit the South West Coast National Trail – Cornish section. An unusual response from one visitor came in the form of – the St Mawes-Falmouth passenger ferry. Another retail outlet, besides the Lizard serpentine shop, cited was the Mullion kite shop.

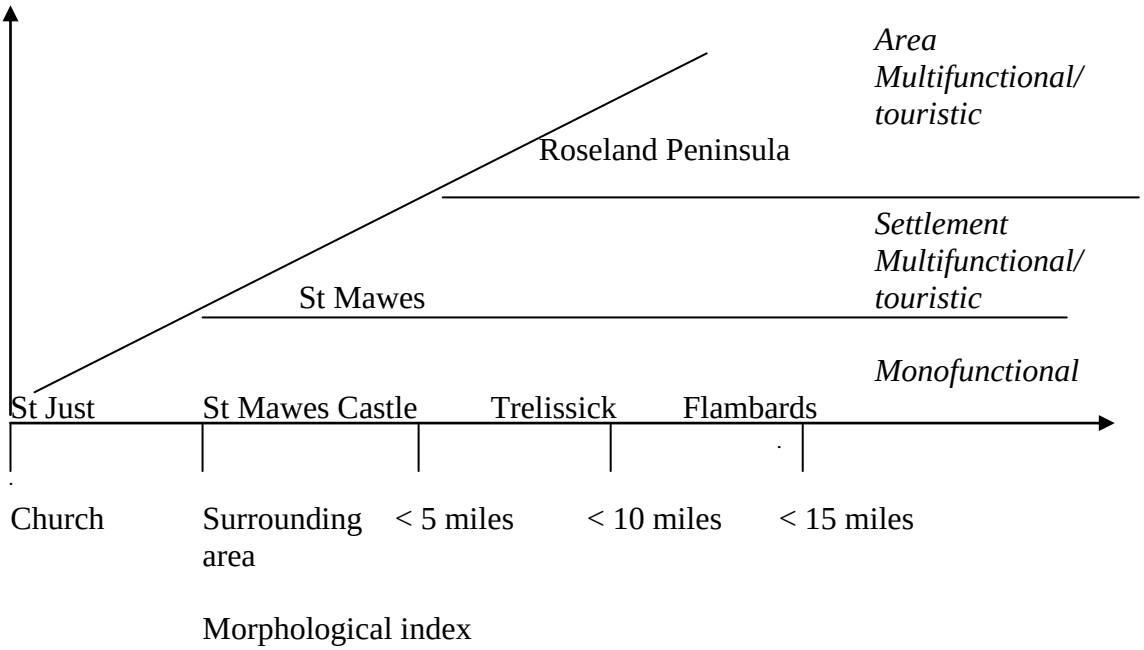
References to two memorials are worth reporting; that to the sailors lost from HMS Anson, two or three miles west of Gunwalloe, was cited by one respondent as the first-named attraction likely to visit. With the Marconi Memorial, a mile to the east of Gunwalloe church, four respondents stated that they had 'already visited', and three cited it as the first-named attraction they were 'likely to visit' – putting the 11th August 2000 Gunwalloe visitor's book comment, discussed in chapter 7, into context: perhaps special interest at more than one level.

Other attractions being visited the same day illustrate a distance-decay effect, as would be expected, given the requisite travel time and time of response during the day. With the Eden Project featuring so dominantly in the range of Cornish visitor attractions, it is not surprising to find 9 respondents planning to visit despite the average duration of visit needed for that site. Attractions in close proximity to the survey church account for a large proportion of responses; for example, the Halzephron Herb Farm was cited by 35 respondents (from the Gunwalloe data) because it is approximately one mile away and, given that the church is at the end of the public highway, there is no option but to pass the Herb Farm. Similarly, 76 respondents stated that they were visiting St Mawes Castle on the same day, situated about two miles from St Just in Roseland church; 11 cited Lamorran House Gardens, also about two miles from St. Just. As mentioned above, the Marconi and HMS Anson Memorials are close to one of the churches and were cited as being visited the same day by 14 and 6 respondents, respectively. It is argued, therefore, that the three types of visitor, identified in Table 9.3, are of value when considering attractions visited; for example, given the comment concerning the need to pass the Herb Farm, these are *accidental visitors*; those walking the coast path, stopping to look at the Marconi and HMS Anson memorials are likely to be *incidental*

visitors. However, the data is not sufficiently robust to develop this line of enquiry further. The suggestion of *purposive*, *incidental*, and *accidental visitor* types does link to the Tourist Attraction Index (Jansen-Verbeke 1998).

Data collected on visitor intentions/experience vis à vis other attractions is useful in enabling Jansen-Verbeke's (1998) Tourist Attraction Index (Figure 9.1), discussed in Chapter 3, to be reviewed. Sites such as St Just in Roseland church, St Mawes Castle, Trelissick, and Flambards theme park are argued to concur, at an increasing spatial level, with her *monofunctional index*, albeit that, of these, the church has two functions (Jansen-Verbeke recognises that there might be two functions for some attractions). The settlement of St Mawes, two miles from St Just church, is *multifunctional*, providing for residents as much as visitors whereas the wider Roseland Peninsula features extensive agricultural activity as much as tourism. As she recognises, the latter area classification is still significant in the "overall tourism appeal" by offering attractive scenery (Jansen-Verbeke 1998:740). Her Index suggests a linear relationship and, it is argued, that this may not be the case. As mentioned above, there is undoubtedly a distance-decay effect and the Tourist Attraction Index is useful in highlighting the relevance of other nearby attractions.

Figure 9.1 The Tourist Attraction Index



Source: adapted from Jansen-Verbeke (1998)

Connell's (2004) study observes that gardens attract a high proportion of tourists, identifying one in Cornwall (un-named, possibly Heligan) where 70.2 per cent were on holiday. Her research also demonstrated the link with visiting historic houses, museums and natural attractions. Prentice (1993) asserts that historic site visiting is associated with visits to non-historic sites, "rather than to the pursuit of historical topics elsewhere" (Ashworth 1998:281). This is further expanded by Ashworth (1998:281) who argues that consumption of heritage at a historic site is "not an aspect of historical scholarship (it is)… a recreational excursion in which historicity is not a major motive". It is argued that the survey findings echo these observations of links between attraction types. Finally, Rowe (2002) reports those with higher educational qualifications as being "more likely to visit different types of attraction"; the findings in this study concur with hers to some extent, illustrating practices of the new middle classes (Munt 1994; Urry 1995).

9.4 Visitor perceptions

9.4.1 Perceptions of Cornish churches

Twenty-three reasons were given in response to the 'open' question asking whether the church appears different from those in the rest of England. Nearly half of all respondents (46.6 per cent) considered there was no difference although, for the others (*n*=381), the range of reasons given was quite diverse with no single one standing out, as Table 9.9 illustrates; the reasons have been categorised as Structural/Tangible and Perceptual/Intangible. The size and age of church, together with type of building material and architecture, account for 31.3 per cent of responses. Despite 84 visitors *recommending* viewing, by others, because the church was 'different' or 'unique', only 6 considered the church looked different for this reason. Reasons given include both tangible and intangible aspects: 2.2 per cent considered the church to be Celtic and 1.4 per cent more welcoming whereas just two individuals realised that a *lan* might distinguish the site. This emphasises the relativist ontology for visitors, discussed at 6.1, whereby construction of the *church gaze* is "not more or less 'true'… simply more or less informed" (Guba & Lincoln 1998:206); it also refers back to the discussion in Chapters 2 and 5 (2.2, 5.4) addressing authenticity – and "the meanings that people project onto these inanimate objects" (Harrison 2005:3).

The issue of *interpretation* links the discussion of how informed visitors might be with the concept of authenticity; as Chapter 5.5 reported, the level and quantity of interpretation in Cornish churches is limited which must result in personal understanding being framed by both personal cultural capital and discourses. Given the argument (5.5) that there are few discourses featuring the Cornish church heritage, it is suggested that wider representations of Cornwall, as discussed in Chapter 4, frame the

visitor experience. The remainder of this section reviews some of these visitor perceptions.

Table 9.9 Reason church appears different from those in rest of England

Structural/Tangible	Frequency Valid percent	Perceptual/Intangible	Frequency Valid percent
Type of building material	63 (17)	Smaller than usual	62 (16)
Architecture	52 (14)	Older than the norm	46 (12)
Vaulting/ceiling	17 (4)	Remote locations	25 (7)
Left unlocked	4 (1)	Celtic	16 (4)
Pew ends	3 (<1)	More character	15 (4)
Lans	2 (<1)	Simpler	15 (4)
		Part of landscape	14 (4)
		Atmosphere	12 (3)
		More welcoming	10 (3)
		Their history	7 (2)
		Unique	6 (2)
		Spacious	4 (1)
		Like churches in Brittany	2 (<1)
		'High' church	2 (<1)
		Bigger than usual	2 (<1)
		Named for Cornish saints	2 (<1)
		Less Victorian influence	1 (<1)

Source: Author

If the stated reasons 'Celtic', 'architecture', 'lans', 'smaller than usual', 'named after Cornish saints' and 'similar to churches in Brittany' are conflated, it can be argued that nearly one in five visitors perceive the difference relates to 'Otherness'. When added to assertions that the church is 'part of the landscape', 'more character' and 'older than the norm', there is concurrence with Payton's (1996:47) notion of "romantic portrayal of 'Otherness' by outsiders". As an adjunct, to discussion of stated reasons, the responses 'architecture', 'lans' and 'pew ends' conform to Bourdieu's (1986: 2) secondary strata and "acquired by contact", that is, familiarity with what is viewed and, therefore, lend weight to the argument concerning *personal cultural capital* (Busby 2006), discussed in the previous chapter.

Utilisation of the Likert scores for perception of Celticity in the church appearance is illuminating; intriguingly, there is a statistical association, significant at the 99.5 per cent level, between gender and perception of Celticity (Pearson chi-square = 11.375, df = 2). The expected count for perception of Celticity amongst male visitors was 150 whereas the observed count was 135; for women, the expected count was 287 with the observed count being 302.

Furthermore, an association exists, at the 99.5 per cent level, between whether the survey church is perceived as Celtic and highest level of qualification (Pearson chi-square = 11.108, df = 2) (Table 9.10). Those in possession of higher qualifications were less likely to perceive the church as Celtic: the expected count was 196.3 with the observed count being 181.

In the light of Richards' (2002:1055) substantial survey which indicated "those with professional occupations and higher incomes…(being) significantly more likely to be interested in local culture and history" than others, it is argued that perception of the survey church by such individuals is less likely to be part of a hegemonic discourse (see chapter 4.1.1) and more likely to be a rational perspective – with those who view the church with a romantic gaze not possessing the requisite cultural capital to appreciate the temporal development of what is viewed.

Table 9.10 Perception of Celticity and qualification

			Celticity			Total
			English	Neutral	Celtic	
Fewer categories	Sub H.E. qualification	Count	3	48	220	271
		Expected Count	6.6	59.7	204.7	271.0
	H.E. qualification	Count	10	69	181	260
		Expected Count	6.4	57.3	196.3	260.0
Total		Count	13	117	401	531
		Expected Count	13.0	117.0	401.0	531.0

	Value	df	Asymp. Sig. (2-sided)
Pearson Chi-Square	11.108(a)	2	.004
Likelihood Ratio	11.337	2	.003
Linear-by-Linear Association	11.028	1	.001
N of Valid Cases	531		

a 0 cells (.0%) have expected count less than 5. The minimum expected count is 6.37.

Alternatively, drawing on the work of Harvey (2002:233), discussed in Chapters 1 and 7, the nexus may be environmental:

> "places (have) become humanised, with feelings of belonging, rootedness, and familiarity [repeat visitation], through the recognition of symbolic qualities in the 'natural' environment 'by association with current use, past social actions or actions of a mythological character' (Tilley 1994:24)"

Visitors recognise the extant church heritage through a range of stories, some mythological. This links closely to the church setting within the landscape, discussed later. Indeed, drawing together the discussion of 'Otherness', in Chapter 4, and The Land of the Saints commentary, in Chapter 5, Moffat's (2001) assertion that Cornwall appears to be a *Land of the Saints* can be tested statistically; there is an association at the 99.9 per cent level between knowledge of the Cornish Saints and religiosity (Pearson chi-square = 23.737, df = 3). For those attending services weekly, the expected count for familiarity with Cornish saints was 64.1 whereas the observed count was 91.

This has a particular resonance with Bradley's (2006:37) assertion that there is "booming interest in Celtic Christianity". Indeed, "New Age religions, of which Celtic spirituality is an example, are middle-class driven (Hale 2002: 165).… the people involved tend to be middle income and well educated" (Adler 1985:446-7; Luhrman 1989: 107, both cited in Hale 2002:166), exactly the profile of many Cornish church visitors. Having operationalised religiosity as frequency of worship, in the previous chapter, it is interesting to note that there is no statistical association between perceptions of Celticity and religiosity.

At this juncture, it is posited that the research process, itself, may have added to the visitor experience (a phenomenon remarked on by Ryan 2002a) because of the requirement to reflect on quite a number of aspects, "creating a more active than passive relationship between the subject of the tourist gaze and the onlooker" (Ryan 2002a: 6). Finally, it is observed that there is a statistical association between whether the church was perceived as welcoming and qualification, significant at the 90 per cent level (Pearson chi-square = 4.661, df = .097) (Table 9.11), with the expected count for those possessing higher qualifications and considering the church welcoming being 293.6 and the observed count being 285.

Table 9.11 Perception of welcome and qualification

Off-putting 1 – Welcoming 5			Welcoming			Total
Likert Scale			3	4	Welcoming	
Fewer categories	Sub H.E. qualification	Count	3	31	291	325
		Expected Count	5.4	37.3	282.4	325.0
	H.E. qualification	Count	8	45	285	338
		Expected Count	5.6	38.7	293.6	338.0
Total		Count	11	76	576	663
		Expected Count	11.0	76.0	576.0	663.0

	Value	df	Asymp. Sig. (2-sided)
Pearson Chi-Square	4.661(a)	2	.097
Likelihood Ratio	4.760	2	.093
Linear-by-Linear Association	4.615	1	.032
N of Valid Cases	663		

a 0 cells (.0%) have expected count less than 5. The minimum expected count is 5.39.

9.4.2 Individual experience of churches as heritage visitor attractions

As Table 9.12 shows, a large number (48 per cent) of tourists had not visited any other church, so far, on their holiday. However, 51 per cent had visited between one and six churches, indicating the need to consider these individuals when reviewing typologies. The serious church 'buff', making more than six visits, whilst on holiday, was represented by just six individuals – truly McKercher's (2002:31) "specialised cultural tourist". There is, indeed, a statistical association between qualifications and the number of churches visited whilst on holiday, significant at the 99.5 per cent level (Pearson chi-square – 18.635, df = 5) (Table 9.13), again confirming the idea of well-educated visitors both acquiring and displaying personal cultural capital. For example, for those in possession of higher qualifications visiting three churches, the expected count was 26.7 with an observed count of 35; for those visiting five or more churches, the expected count was 12.1 and observed count 20.

Table 9.12 Number of churches visited on this holiday – prior to survey church

Number	Frequency	Valid Percent
0	310	48
1	152	24
2	83	13
3	52	8
4	21	3
5	10	2
6	9	1
> 6	6	<1
Day visitor	71	
Missing	11	
Total	725	

Source: Author

Table 9.13 Number of churches visited and qualification

			Churches visited						Total
			0	1	2	3	4	5 +	
Fewer categories	Sub H.E. qualification	Count	143	74	40	16	10	3	286
		Expected Count	136.1	67.1	38.1	24.3	9.5	10.9	286.0
	H.E. qualification	Count	143	67	40	35	10	20	315
		Expected Count	149.9	73.9	41.9	26.7	10.5	12.1	315.0
Total		Count	286	141	80	51	20	23	601
		Expected Count	286.0	141.0	80.0	51.0	20.0	23.0	601.0

	Value	df	Asymp. Sig. (2-sided)
Pearson Chi-Square	18.635(a)	5	.002
Likelihood Ratio	20.273	5	.001
Linear-by-Linear Association	9.655	1	.002
N of Valid Cases	601		

a 0 cells (.0%) have expected count less than 5. The minimum expected count is 9.52.

The picture becomes slightly different when visitors were asked how many churches they had visited in the last month, other than for worship, thereby bringing day visitors into the results as well. As Table 9.14 shows, 58 per cent had not visited any other location whilst 39 per cent had visited between one and six churches. For a few

individuals, there seems to be a great deal of visiting – twenty-four respondents stating they had visited more than six churches. Interestingly, there are no statistical associations between the number visited and variables such as qualification or membership of heritage organisations.

The dual classification of *specific* and *general cultural/heritage tourist* appears to be too narrow. The continuum illustrated in Figure 2.3 is helpful whilst, at the same time, raising the issue of how to operationalise levels of faith: the data on church attendance (worship) is insufficient on its own. The three-way typology suggested by Smith (1992), and illustrated in Table 2.3, is of more immediate use; the Type B is argued to accord with most of the specific cultural tourists identified in the study, as Russell (1999) asserts, they are primarily visiting out of cultural/historic interest rather than religion. Furthermore, no statistical association was evident between number visited in last month and educational qualifications.

Table 9.14 Number of churches visited in last month – excluding present holiday

Number	Frequency	Valid Percent
0	419	58
1	97	14
2	74	10
3	48	7
4	23	3
5	18	3
6	14	2
> 6	24	3
Missing	8	
Total	725	

Source: Author

9.4.3 Visitor recommendation of Cornish churches

In response to the 'closed' question of whether the visitor would recommend visiting the specific church, an overwhelming 99.4 per cent stated that they would. Three individuals stated that they would not recommend and one did not know. When questioned as to *why* they would recommend others to visit, the largest single response (from 21.5 per cent) gave the 'setting' as the reason. A similar proportion cited 'setting' as the motivation for garden-visiting in Connell's (2004:242) study; she suggests the specific features are hard to identify, rather they "relate to peace and quiet".

A 'combination' of reasons was cited by 15.2 per cent whilst 14.6 per cent considered it was because the church was 'beautiful'. The reason given by 12.4 per cent of visitors was because the church was 'different' or 'unique': this can be compared with reasons stated for the church appearance being different, discussed later. The emphasis placed on spiritual or peaceful atmosphere by 1 in 10 visitors is, perhaps, low given Richards' (2002) 6,120 respondents, visiting cultural attractions, who perceived atmosphere of the place as very important: it is argued that this might be a less tangible marker. On the other hand, this is the most closely related aspect to the *numinous* (Gibbons 1999), discussed in Chapter 1. Negligible numbers suggested they would recommend the specific church because of the du Maurier connection, Betjeman connection or Celtic context, as Table 9.15 illustrates; this is not surprising for it illustrates the *special interests* of a minority.

Table 9.15 Reason for recommending the church be visited

Reason	Frequency	Valid Percent
Setting	146	21.5
Combination of reasons	103	15.2
Beautiful	99	14.6
Different or unique	84	12.4
Historic	71	10.4
Spiritual/peaceful atmosphere	69	10.1
Interesting	50	7.4
Lovely graveyard (St Just)	14	2.1
Architecture	11	1.6
Ceiling/vaulting	10	1.5
Du Maurier connection	6	< 1
Carving	5	< 1
Celtic context	4	< 1
Romantic	2	< 1
Betjeman comments	1	< 1
Spacious	1	< 1
Not recommend	3	< 1
Do not know if recommend	1	< 1
Missing	45	
Total	725	

Source: Author

9.4.4 Church and setting

Chapter 5 emphasised the importance of the surrounding topography when considering Cornish churches, guidebook writers reinforce this point – both in county and church guides (Betjeman 1993; Brabbs 1985; Davidson 1978; Jenkins 1999). It is argued that it forms a key component of the visitor experience and, as shown above, is a key reason for others to visit; this is taken further by Setten (2004:405) who argues that the landscape is "banalized" if it is regarded "as merely a scene or backdrop for social action". Indeed, according to Scazzosi (2004:337), landscape is "where different disciplinary elaborations meet, collide and compare", nowhere more so than in reviewing the setting of Cornish churches; for example, archaeologically and historically, the *lan* is indicative of the Celtic church, and the church and *lan* may,

themselves, be situated in one of the thirteen extensive AONBs (Areas of Outstanding Natural Beauty) in the county.

The surrounding landscape is imbued with ancient and more recent cultural and industrial traditions, which may have, or still do, influence writers, painters, naturalists, geographers, and historians – all of which gives the place meaning (Scazzosi 2004; Schama 1995). Furthermore, from a temporal dimension, once-new developments become old and historic, as with the long-established South West Way National Trail, providing a walking route to Gunwalloe church, amongst numerous others.

Both individual and collective identities are strongly influenced by landscape (Boswell & Evans 1999; Edensor 2002), resulting in cultural or territorial forms which also lend credence to Urry's (1990) concept of *the gaze*. In other words, the landscape is bounded by those actors shaping it and viewing it over time; Bourdieu's (1986) notion of *habitus*, discussed in Chapter 8, is valuable here for it explains how an aesthetic appreciation accords with the accumulation of personal cultural capital. Given the high proportion of graduates, discussed in Chapter 8, it is interesting to observe a statistical association, significant at the 99.5 per cent level, between qualifications and evaluation of the surrounding landscape. Table 9.16 illustrates this with, for example, those possessing higher qualifications rating the landscape as most attractive having an expected count of 304.9 and observed count of 293.

Table 9.16 Landscape evaluation and qualification

Likert Scale: 1 Unattractive – 5 Attractive			Fewer categories: Sub H.E. qualification	Fewer categories: H.E. qualification	Total
Landscape Attractive	3	Count	7	9	16
		Expected Count	7.8	8.2	16.0
	4	Count	12	35	47
		Expected Count	23.0	24.0	47.0
	Attractive	Count	305	293	598
		Expected Count	293.1	304.9	598.0
Total		Count	324	337	661
		Expected Count	324.0	337.0	661.0

In response to the question as to whether the setting adds to the attraction of the church, few did not believe this to be the case. Interestingly, the results when cross-tabulated by gender indicated that women believed the setting enhanced the attraction of the church rather more than men, as Table 9.17 illustrates.

Table 9.17 Setting enhancement of attraction and gender

Likert Scale: 1 Setting detracts – 5 Setting adds to church's attraction			Gender of respondent: male	Gender of respondent: female	Total
Setting	3	Count	7	1	8
		Expected Count	2.8	5.2	8.0
	4	Count	17	11	28
		Expected Count	9.8	18.2	28.0
	Setting adds to church's attraction	Count	219	441	660
		Expected Count	231.0	429.0	660.0
	Reverse: church adds to the landscape	Count	1	0	1
		Expected Count	.4	.6	1.0
Total		Count	244	453	697
		Expected Count	244.0	453.0	697.0

The comments discussed in Chapter 7.5 are given quantitative support by the survey data, lending some weight to Relph's (1976:30) assertion that "… the spirit of a place lies in its landscape". As was noted in Chapter 5, for some churches their "… glory

comes from the setting" (Brabbs 1985:126). Having said this, there is a statistical association, significant at the 95 per cent level, between whether the visitor has seen the church before and evaluation of landscape attractiveness, support for the argument concerning *depth of experience* (McKercher 2002) and *level of connectivity* (Timothy 1997), discussed in Chapter 2. As Table 9.18 illustrates, the expected count for repeat visitors rating the landscape as most attractive is 254.7 whereas the observed count is 264.

Table 9.18 Landscape evaluation and repeat visitation.

Likert Scale: 1 Unattractive – 5 Attractive			First visit to this church		
			Yes	Repeat visit	Total
Landscape Attractive	3	Count	12	4	16
		Expected Count	9.7	6.3	16.0
	4	Count	36	12	48
		Expected Count	29.0	19.0	48.0
	Attractive	Count	381	264	645
		Expected Count	390.3	254.7	645.0
Total		Count	429	280	709
		Expected Count	429.0	280.0	709.0

	Value	df	Asymp. Sig. (2-sided)
Pearson Chi-Square	6.183(a)	2	.045
Likelihood Ratio	6.537	2	.038
Linear-by-Linear Association	5.455	1	.020
N of Valid Cases	709		

a 0 cells (.0%) have expected count less than 5. The minimum expected count is 6.32.

9.5 A Contested Cornish Church Heritage

For some, possibly many, visitors, there is a social construction of the countryside as a place of escape from the modern world, one of spirituality and authenticity, where it is possible "to restore one's self through a return to nature" (Kneafsey 2002:129). A number of variables, in these findings, confirm this. Given the level of repeat visiting,

there is certainly a case for disagreeing with Garrod & Fyall's (2001) view that the experience can only be satisfactory for those visitors who see the church as part of their own heritage.

At the same time, the importance of the church, for some visitors, may actually be "external to the fabric", residing in the topography and territorial feelings (Turnpenny 2004:298), hinted at by some of the comments discussed in Chapter 7.5. There is, then, evidence to concur with Poria *et al's* (2003a:354) view that "a site's heritage represents different things with different meanings to different tourists, and those meanings are at the core of the understanding of tourist behaviour in that setting"; to concur with McCrone *et al* (1995:23), there are "a variety of heritages". This viewpoint reinforces the relativist stance, ontologically, such that multiple constructions of heritage are inevitable because there can be no uniformity in terms of how informed or sophisticated (Guba & Lincoln 1998) visitors are; logically, therefore, the experiential nature of this spatial activity supports the phenomenological approach, discussed in Chapter 2 in relation to 'Circuits of Culture' (Figure 2.1).

Whilst the findings indicate that a site's heritage does represent different things to different individuals, it is argued that, for many, there is either a conscious or unconscious search for *distinction* (Bourdieu 1986) and, as discussed earlier, at 2.5, a significant dimension in the concept of cultural capital is *gratuitous knowledge* (Bourdieu 1986:26) whereby the ability – or propensity – to remember stylistic or singular traits is predicated by education. In terms of the Cornish church heritage, it can be argued that this is hinted at by references to the stained glass, referred to in Chapter 7, for example. The point is, as with an antiques expert, it is educational qualification plus frequency of viewing which creates scholarly familiarity with the object gazed

upon – this is just as true for serious cultural tourists (such as McKercher's *purposeful*, it is argued). If we accept Silva & Edwards' (2004:12) contention that processes which create cumulative advantages, over time, come under "the rubric of capital", a good example must be the inculcation of children with cultural/heritage awareness; as mentioned in Chapter 8, visiting a church is perceived as an educational experience for children – "notions of self-improvement" (Meethan 2002:34) encapsulate the accrual of cumulative advantages.

Finally, given the relatively recent blurring of cultural divisions, the following statement from Voase (2002a:395) is pertinent to this contestation:

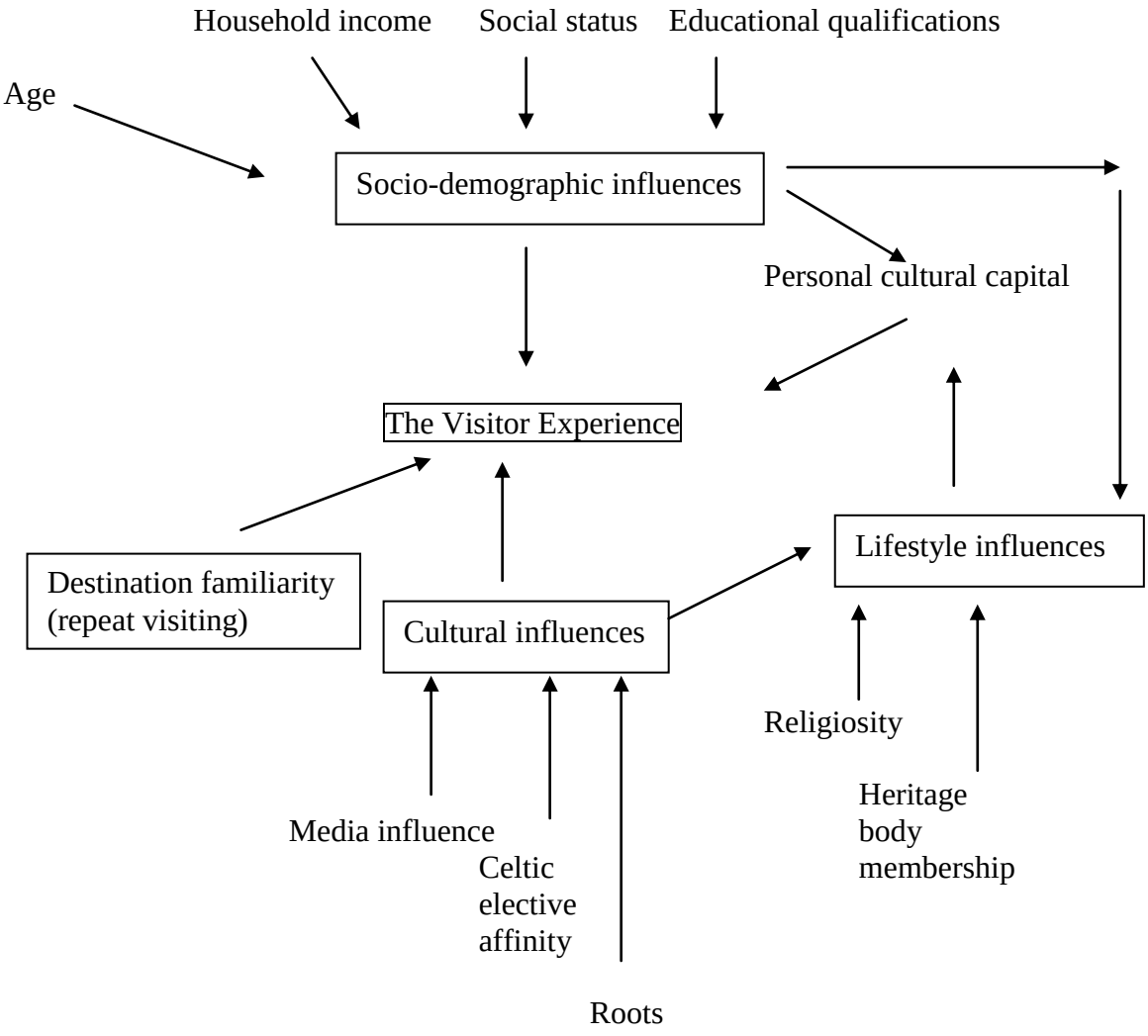
> "As visitors feel less constrained and intimidated by cultural divisions based on socio-economic class and levels of education, the search for meaning is unfettered, and the visitor is placed in a position to realise the potential of their own self-authorship: in other words, to construct their own 'immersive experience'".

From the discussion in both this and the preceding chapter, the following model (Figure 9.2) is proposed, incorporating many of the influencing factors for visitors to Cornish churches. As a criticism, what this does not show is the interaction between motivation and perception, argued by Levy (1987:16) to be a case of motives leading individuals "to perceive meaning in the objects they encounter and how the meanings of those objects affect their motives". In other words, for many visitors, there may well be an iterative process which also helps to explain the level of repeat visitation.

Despite, therefore, being a partial model, it does illustrate a number of the conditioning variables – and statistical associations between some of these have been discussed earlier. Undoubtedly, a number of socio-demographic features influence lifestyle as do some cultural influences; there are, then, a range of inter-relationships which,

themselves, affect the depth of experience and emphasise the value of McKercher's (2002) classification (Figure 2.2).

Figure 9.2 Generalised conceptual model of the Cornish church visitor experience



Source: Author

9.6 Conclusion

Echoing Opperman (2000), above, Mazursky (1989) suggests that past visitor experience is a key mechanism in accounting for future tourism intentions; it is argued that this helps to explain the large proportion of repeat visitors. However, given the

range of reasons for visiting identified above, the discussion from chapter 6, concerning phenomenology is particularly apposite; it is misleading to suggest "that experiences *have* meaning. Meaning does not lie *in* the experience. Rather, those experiences are meaningful which are grasped reflectively" (Schutz 1972:69). Illustrating the inter-disciplinary nature of this study, it is useful to draw on literary theory, here, for Eagleton (1996:50) argues that phenomenology secures a "knowable world" but one that is understood in relation to the individual, as a correlate of the consciousness.

Specifically, from a heritage perspective, it is interesting, therefore, to find Harrison (2005) reinforcing the point that, phenomenologically, heritage is subject to interpretation and reinterpretation continuously, as is manifest in the Cornish church visitor findings. Of critical importance, the churches are, however, but one element in the destination 'mix', as Busby (2002) has argued, and need to be viewed within what might be termed a *Cornish Gaze* – itself comprising multiple interpretations, as Chapter 4 attempted to show.

Nonetheless, drawing on the review of Urry's (1990) work, from Chapter 3, it can be argued that the churches are historic and authentic, as Chapter 5 discussed, although there may be scope for some to be the object of the collective, rather than romantic, gaze; for example, it may be justifiable to consider Gunwalloe and St Just as objects of the collective gaze, despite their history and authenticity. Furthermore, given that notions of post-modernism involve the dissolution of boundaries between cultural forms, such as television, architecture, tourism and art (Urry 1990), it is possible to view church-visiting as part of a wider sphere of cultural practices, *the experience economy* indeed. To this extent, McCabe's (2001:111) observation, discussed in Chapter 2, has a particular resonance, that is, it is through an application of

"commonsense constructs" to experiences and events that we can understand motivation in its appropriate phenomenological setting.

From another perspective, as Boswell & Evans (1999) and Edensor (2002) have argued, landscapes play a key part in "the formation of collective identities articulated in either cultural, religious or national terms" (Winter 2005:50): the findings do suggest a *Cornish Gaze*, as mentioned above, whereby perception of the church is influenced by the topography, tangible and intangible heritage. Undoubtedly, there are both cultural and religious collective identities – and, arguably, a national one. In diagrammatic form, Jansen-Verbeke's (1998) Tourist Attraction Index (Figure 9.1) is useful here, for the generally-accepted attractive scenery en-route to many visitor attractions is one of the determinants in creation of the *Cornish Gaze*.

Whilst Chapter 7 identified a Romantic Gaze, the quantitative data discussed in this chapter helps to underpin such a concept. Relating back to the discussion of *existential authenticity*, in Chapter 2, it can be seen that, as this is activated by tourist behaviour, it occurs for some church visitors when they feel, individually, more authentic than in daily life – not because the viewed object is authentic but "because they are engaging in non-everyday activities" (Wang 2000:50), critically, this form of authenticity is not about objects, rather it is about an "existential state of Being" (Wang 2000:50); perception of authenticity is also said to influence the depth of experience (McIntosh & Prentice 1999; Waller & Lea 1999), arguably, a reinforcing circuit for some, in relation to the Cornish church heritage. Wilson (1997) argues that Existentialism is the twentieth century term for Romanticism and, therefore, the Romantic Gaze is argued to be, principally, an existential phenomenon. In reviewing Wilson's contribution to the philosophy of New Existentialism, Dossor (1990:65) highlights the concept of man as

dual being – the cautious self and the other, open to "altogether broader horizons"; it is argued that the latter is exemplified by many visitors to Cornish churches.

Furthermore, existential authenticity addresses Rojek's (1997:55) concern that any site can be considered authentic if it is comprised of "a pot-pourri" of elements, because of the range of representational files, discussed in Chapter 4. The reasons given for visiting the survey churches and the reasons why the church might appear different from those in the rest of England demonstrate a pot-pourri of elements. Consideration of existential authenticity also has a resonance with Rojek's (1997:55) assertion that fantasy and myths play a significant role in visitors' "social construction" of tourist sights, again, emphasising the phenemonological perspective. For Payton (1996:47), notions of Celticity are "a romantic portrayal of 'Otherness' by outsiders".

What must not be forgotten in the intellectual discussion is that for a quarter of first-time visitors the church simply happened to be on the route of a walk; for them and, possibly, others, they may well not have been thinking of heritage, history or nostalgia, rather they were simply having a day out (Mellor 1991). However, as Mellor (1991:113) remarks, "the apparent simplicity of 'doing nothing' requires detailed understanding and explanation", nonetheless; for him, there can be too much emphasis on the meanings and representations of heritage – rather than visitors' intentions and activities. In addressing Mellor's request for explanation of simple activities, it is pertinent to consider the work of John Urry, again. For Urry (1990:89), "walking" is perceived as indicative of the intellectual demonstrating a preference for "aesthetic-ascetism", a resonance with the church visitor stereotype. This brings us full circle for Urry (1990) argues that post-modernism is about signification – and what is being signified here is the accumulation of *personal cultural capital*. Given that there are "increasingly

competitive intellectual conditions"(Eagleton 1996:206), it is argued that this form of cultural capital accumulation may, therefore, be on the increase.

Table 9.19 Summary of significant statistical associations discussed in Chapter 9

	First visit to church	Highest qualification	Religiosity	Household income	Gender
Number of churches visited on holiday		**2**			
Purposive classification				**5**	
Perception of Celticity		**2**			**2**
Familiarity with Cornish saints			**1**		
Landscape	**5**	**2**			
Perception of 'Welcome'		**6**			

Significance levels
1 = 0.001 (99.9%)
2 = 0.005 (99.5%)
3 = 0.01 (99.0%)
4 = 0.02 (98%)
5 = 0.05 (95%)
6 = 0.1 (90.0%)

Chapter 10 Conclusion

10.1 Introduction

This study has examined the relationship between visitors to Cornwall and the extant church heritage, in terms of individual visitor characteristics, reasons for visiting, and experience. A number of historical sources informed the review, namely, guide-books and postcards; these sources, in turn, have been enhanced by examination of the Visitors' Books and an extensive questionnaire survey, over 48 days, comprising 725 respondents.

It is argued that the perception of Cornwall as 'distinct', or representing 'The Other', influences the overall visitor experience; the churches are seldom seen in isolation to the surrounding topography and wider cultural perspective on the county. Indeed, it is argued that there is probably a *Cornish Gaze* or *Gazes*. The research contributes to the body of knowledge concerning tourism by suggesting that some destinations possess such a level of distinctiveness that individual attractions can be perceived through a destination lens, rather than being experienced in isolation.

Furthermore, the thesis has provided a detailed account of how the growing corpus of tourism literature needs to be considered when examining visitors to particular forms of heritage attraction. This chapter presents the principal findings of the research, with reference to the stated aim and objectives, identifies the limitations of the research, and provides recommendations for further work.

10.2 Summary of key findings

The principal findings can be allocated to three sections, reflecting the stated objectives in Chapter 1; these relate to the relevance of the academic literature for any examination of visitors to Cornish churches, the relationship of perceptions of Cornwall to the church heritage experience, and identification of multiple motivations in explaining the reasons for visits.

10.2.1 Tourism concepts and the Cornish church visitor

The first objective was to synthesise an understanding of the terms *cultural tourism*, *religious tourism*, and *heritage tourism* as they relate to visitors and the Cornish church heritage. This is addressed by Chapters 2 and 3, resulting in synthesis of concepts particularly pertinent to the church visitor research. Not in any ranked order, the relevant concepts are those of authenticity, attraction 'marker', creation of collage tourism, and the acquisition of cultural capital.

As Chapter 2 attempted to show, the term *culture* has come to embrace a very broad range of activities; nonetheless, and despite the postmodern blurring of boundaries between high and popular culture, it is argued that possession of *cultural capital* (Bourdieu 1986) has come to be seen as desirable amongst a large fraction of the population. This is because it indicates social distinction (Bourdieu 1986) and consumption of experiences has symbolic meaning in creating social distinction (Munt 1994). Bourdieu (1986) has emphasised the need of, particularly, the middle classes to establish and maintain social differentiation; indeed, Munt (1994:102) considers it to be "symptomatic of the frenetic struggle undertaken by the new middle class". Of importance here is acquisition of the 'real', therefore, authenticity and honesty (Munt

1994); this is argued to be symptomatic of the "plural lifestyles of the new cultural intermediaries" (Warde 2002:10).

Authenticity has been discussed in Chapter 2 and is specifically addressed, with regard to the Cornish church heritage, in Chapter 5. The research confirms the view of McCrone *et al* (1995:7) in that "authenticity is conferred by interpretation, not the object per se" for it is, after all, a social process, a negotiable concept over time and space (Burnett 2001). The discussion in Chapter 5 highlighted that what a visitor might see in a Cornish church is the work of the Victorians, their 'restoration' of a genuine medieval building – yet genuine Victorian 'pastiche'. Intriguingly, this does not prevent the sight being 'interpreted' as a Celtic church by the visitor for, it is argued, the wider perception of Cornishness is applied – although, as reported in Chapter 9, two respondents recognised authenticity, defined as being different from elsewhere in England, through existence of a *lan*.

This introduces the relevance of Wang's (2000) work for his three forms of authenticity are of value to heritage attraction research. Both objective and constructive authenticity are object-related, the former refers to what Wang (2000:48) calls "the museum usage of the term": there is a viewed object perceived as authentically original – Chapter 5 provides examples. However, constructive authenticity relies on social construction; it is not an objectively measurable quality for it is dependent on beliefs and social viewpoints and is, therefore, both negotiable and relative. Existential authenticity occurs when the visitor feels that they are more authentic than in daily life – not because the viewed object is authentic but "because they are engaging in non-everyday activities" (Wang 2000:50); critically, this form of authenticity is not about objects, rather it is about an "existential state of Being" (Wang 2000:50). The findings of this research

indicate that all three forms of Wang's authenticity are present in the eyes of Cornish church visitors. Both constructive and existential authenticity have a resonance with Rojek's (1997:55) concern that any sight/site can be justifiably authentic if it is 'comprised' of a pot-pourri (his term) of elements – this is because of the range of representational files creating *collage tourism*, as Chapter 4 emphasised.

A tourism concept closely allied to the creation of collage tourism is that of MacCannell's (1976) *marker* – he argues that visitor attractions are comprised of three elements, namely, the site (sight), the visitor, and the marker. As the next section will emphasise, wider perceptions of Cornwall can comprise markers; Chapter 5 suggests that guide-books, such as Simon Jenkins' *England's Thousand Best Churches* and television productions such as *Kernow: Part Seen, Part Imagined*, should be considered off-site examples of markers for specific Cornish churches; Chapter 7 referred to specific guide book comments and Chapter 9 identified the two titles most frequently cited, potentially *generating markers*. At the same time, it can be argued that citation of these guidebook titles, itself, indicates, to the interviewer, possession of *personal cultural capital*.

All of these concepts emphasise the social construction of the visitor experience, in some way, although it is clear that notions of post-modernity suggest that tourism is no longer about tourism *per se*, for other activities are incorporated (Munt 1994); intellectual aspects conjoin with tourism, that is, the phenomenon is about more than just recreation; for example, there may well be a search for self-actualisation. This is apparent in the search for 'roots', both diasporic and Celtic elective affinity as Chapters 4, 7 and 8 evince. This research advances the concept of personal cultural capital, in

relation to cultural and heritage tourism, by identifying acquisition practices at the churches – and communicating such to friends and relatives.

10.2.2 The church heritage and perceptions of Cornwall

The second research objective is to investigate the concept of church heritage tourism with particular reference to Cornwall and its place within the multiple representations of the county. Building on the review of the literature in Chapter 3, concerning heritage, the second objective addresses the multiple representations of Cornwall, created over centuries. It is argued that these wider cultural perspectives influence the visitor experience at individual attractions, whether consciously or otherwise. As Williams & Shaw (1993:92) observe "Tourists have very distinctive perceptions of Cornwall"; these perceptions have been created by a process of incrementalism, over centuries rather than decades, and whilst some perceptions may have disappeared, others have become more ingrained; incrementalism is here intended to convey that process whereby one visiting generation passes on perceptions to children and grand-children.

The sites of antiquity, such as stone circles, symbolise Celtic/early Cornish culture and, when early researchers' interest in these megalithic monuments was juxtaposed with study of the language, the phenomenon of Cornwall's 'Celticity' emerged. This perception was added to, incrementally, some decades later, by folklorist Robert Hunt's assertion that the Cornish were living Celts, supporting the Celtic-Cornish Revival, and this, in turn, led to Trevail, Hodgkin, and Baring-Gould utilising Cornwall's Celticity to assist the promotion of tourism. Cornwall was already known to the middle classes for artists, such as J.M.W. Turner, had been portraying the county and its inhabitants for more than a century. Later Victorian and Edwardian artists added to the popular representations – all at a time when tens of thousands of the indigenous population were

emigrating, creating *Little Cornwalls* around the globe, and influencing future generations of visitors with 'roots'. Utilising Massey's (1994) argument that place identity is based largely on the breadth of interchanges with other places, it can be seen that perception of Cornwall was influenced – and continues to be – by the scapes and flows referred to in Chapter 7.

The discussion in Chapter 4 emphasised that many visitor attractions in Cornwall can be considered to belong to the *heritage* domain and reference to Plate 4.1, alone, illustrates how the management (English Heritage) of one heritage attraction have utilised the concept of 'Otherness': whether the label 'Celtic' can really be applied to Tintagel Castle is debateable. Nonetheless, it is further evidence of 'signs' being applied to county-wide attractions, be it 'Celtic' or 'romantic', it is argued that the *Cornish Gaze* influences the visitor. In plotting the development of the church over time, Chapter 5 showed, where possible, the 'English influence'; however, it is clear that the vernacular input is very strong, from the intangible *Land of the Saints* and 'reality' of the *lans* to unique slate memorials, it is apparent that distinctiveness pervades Cornish churches; this distinctiveness is viewed by many through a *Cornish Gaze*, whether legitimate or not. Indeed, at Tintagel, if English Heritage promote the castle with reference to Celts, can the visitor view the nearby church with any other lens?

Just over half the visitor survey respondents considered that the church appeared different to those in the rest of England although, of these, nearly two-thirds cited perceptual or intangible aspects. It is argued that the data indicates those in possession of higher education qualifications do have different perceptions; possession of cultural capital can permit a modified gaze.

10.2.3 The Cornish church visitor: to know the reason why

Chapter 5 referred to the connection between Pelynt church and Bishop Trelawney, taking the form of the ballad well-known in Cornwall 'The Song of the Western Men'; the title of this section paraphrases one of the refrains – *Will know the reason why!* – to address the third research objective of explaining the Cornish church visitor profile in terms of multiple motivations.

Whilst "systems of disposition (habitus)", undoubtedly, characterise "different classes and class fractions" (Bourdieu 1986:6), heritage does provide a "chance for the most ordinary in society to indulge" in otherness (Pendlebury *et al* 2004:17); however, the reality is that social exclusion clearly operates as the discussion in Chapters 3 and 8 indicates. Whether all classes, and class fractions, would ever be interested is another matter; what is pertinent here is recognition, from this research, that there may not be a "plateau and precipice picture" of participation in cultural activities from one class to the next, rather it is more likely to be "step–by–step" (Roberts 2004:10). Starkly highlighting the issue of social exclusion, particularly, are Savage *et al's* (2005) findings which showed that those with more education and in higher classes "are more likely to have tastes for (any kind of) cultural genres".

Furthermore, from an ethnic perspective, Pendlebury *et al* (2004) suggest that Black and Asian people may well perceive the traditional built heritage as irrelevant, an argument supported by the English Heritage Omnibus Survey data (English Heritage 2000). A number of the variables discussed in Chapter 8, such as television viewing, radio-listening, religiosity and household income, indicate a higher social class profile for the majority of visitors to Cornish churches. The assertion has been made that "the middle

classes are leisure omnivores" (Roberts 2004:9); the survey data certainly hints at this – for example, reasons given for visiting the church and other attractions to be visited, as discussed earlier.

Analysis of the three visitors' books, in Chapter 7, indicates just how contested the Cornish church heritage is; a search for roots is evident – and not just from Cornish diasporic nationalities. In the contemporary world, 'remaining connected' is applicable to all repeat visitors, not just diasporic ones. Visitors' Book comments are said to represent *production* (a form of identity confirmation) as much as *consumption* (of the experience), confounding notions of tourism and post-tourism, whilst concurrently serving as examples of MacCannell's (1976) 'marker'; it is argued that the marker can reinforce the search for Celtic elective affinity. Without doubt, an understanding of the church heritage experience needs to be seen "in relation to the links between the tourist and the site" (Poria *et al* 2003a:345): diasporic links are but one discourse. This also emphasises the overlap between cognitive-normative and interactional behaviour, discussed at 2.4, whereby motivation fuses with activity at the sight (site). Arguably, some of the Visitors' Book comments indicate what Maslow termed a *peak experience* (Dossor 1990) – these are not rare phenomena and allow "a sense of self-value to emerge… (giving) the individual a new sense of strength" (Dossor 1990:97); to this end, Dann's (1981) *motivation as auto-definition* may comprise self-actualisation (Maslow 1943) and this is argued to be particularly pertinent to both diasporic visitors and those seeking Celtic elective affinity. As an adjunct to these comments, it is argued that the content analysis benefits from satisfaction of the reproducibility form of reliability concern (Krippendorff 1980) as a result of checking with a fellow researcher, discussed in Chapter 6.

The visitor survey, documented in Chapters 8 and 9, reinforces many of the themes emanating from the Visitors' Books. However, for many of those visitors who perceive a Celtic/Other dimension, it is argued to be a "psychological construct rather than an evidence-based one" (Busby 2004b:180). As Payton (1996:47) asserts, notions of Celticity and Otherness are a "romantic portrayal…by outsiders". This 'fits' into the wider portrayal of the county, discussed in Chapter 4. It is not only diaspora tourism which "shapes individual's self-perception" (Coles *et al* 2005:474) for representations of Cornwall affect visitors in a reinforcing circuit of culture (Figure 2.1), discussed in Chapter 7, such that the general interest tourist is influenced as much as the elective affinity Celt.

The notion of postmodern tourism only serves to enhance Payton's (2004:5) observation that individuals adopt "different identities in different social contexts… (they) assume a number of spatial and ethno-religious identities", lending weight to Williams' (2005:17) assertion of "multiple realities" when considering Cornwall; there is also a resonance here with the Travel Career Ladder (Pearce 1988) in that whilst individuals can start at different levels, they may also exhibit different motivations between and, indeed, within holidays (Shaw & Williams 2004) – the second or third holiday of the year may be to Cornwall, for different reasons to the others. This research, therefore, concurs with the view that "magnetism exists in the eyes of the visitor, and each visitor has unique interests" (McGettigan & Burns 2001:138), concurrently indicating that multiple motivations lend weight to Poria *et al's* (2003b) suggestion that true heritage tourists are those for whom the site/sight has particular meaning. This does not, however, deny that Cornish churches are active agents in identity-formation for others, they simply form but one component of a wider discourse of Cornwall. Furthermore, Lowenthal (1996:250) suggests that "Sacredness secures fealty"; this is argued to be a possible

explanation for high levels of repeat visitors and, on this basis, visitors may well be illustrating how heritage has "become a quasi-religious cult" (Lowenthal 1996:250).

The findings thus indicate heterogeneity of visitor types and reason for visiting, if not motivation, whilst confirming Prentice's (1993) assertion that churches may well attract those with specific interests, discussed in Chapter 3. Besides genealogy, special interests can be said to incorporate regard for the fabric of the church and connections with literary and historic figures. The *lans* discussed in Chapter 5 appear to have little influence although, arguably, citation of *lan* for the church appearing different to those elsewhere in England by two, out of 713 valid responses, is, perhaps, healthy; such a level of sophistication, or being well-informed, accords not only with a relativist ontology (Guba & Lincoln 1998), it also illustrates the validity of Bourdieu's (1986) interpretation of cultural capital. Therefore, reflecting on the discussion of typologies in Chapter 2, it is argued that both *general cultural tourists* and *specific cultural tourists* (Richards 2001a; Stebbins 1996) are attracted. However, McKercher's (2002) classification is of more value than Richards' and Stebbins' dichotomy to this study; use of the two axes (*importance of cultural tourism in the decision to visit* and *depth of experience*), illustrated in Figure 2.2, permit the identification of five types of visitor. Table 9.3 attempted to quantify this, to some extent, although further data is required. For example, if it could be shown that some of those categorised as *incidental* made more detailed Visitors' Book comments, they move across to becoming *serendipitous cultural tourists*.

Having mentioned Bourdieu's cultural capital, evidence from both Chapters 7 and 8 indicates the acquisition of *personal cultural capital*, a motivation in its own right. However, it must not be forgotten that for a quarter of first-time visitors, the church visit

was quite simply motivated by its existence on the route of a walk; whilst postmodern tourism has a valuable part to play in explaining the activities of some, many "ordinary people have not, in their own consciousness, succumbed to postmodern depthlessness", as Mellor (1991:113) puts it – they were simply having a day out. On the other hand, the discussion in Chapters 8 and 9 indicate that a significant minority should be categorised as religious tourists – whether they visited because the church was on the route of a walk or not. What is apparent is that church-visiting, whilst on holiday, is argued to form part of a carefully constructed space of lifestyles.

Leading on from the discussion concerning *personal cultural capital*, this research suggests that the Cornish church heritage provides *destination-based cultural capital* (Busby 2006) in that it is under-promoted to visitors, if promoted at all, and, yet, is an 'asset' which could enhance the visitor experience besides providing revenue for upkeep and, concomitantly, representing authentic Cornish heritage. Finally, it is argued that the Cornish church heritage has been valued by visitors historically, let alone contemporary ones; the discussion in Chapter 4 highlighted the importance of churches in 19th century guide-books. Indeed, the postcards of a century ago hint at 'Otherness' and, whilst difficult to measure, such postcards may be said to equate to *generating markers* (Leiper 1990; Richards 2002); this form of marker and other examples (such as word-of-mouth testimony, discussed in Chapter 7) are argued to communicate with small numbers of similar individuals and, given the increasing difficulties visitors have in differentiating their leisure practices from others, it is considered to limit appreciation of the site to a particular social grouping: the new middle class (Munt 1994). With the reality of under-promotion of the sight, it must be considered that 'new' visitors become acquainted with these churches, especially those less 'obvious' than Gunwalloe, through purposive practices of some sort, although these still comprise multiple motivations.

10.3 Limitations of research

As with all research, there are a number of limitations to this study; the principal ones can be categorised as relating to either the methods or geographical dimension. These are reviewed in turn. The study was limited by both time and finance, time not so much in the sense of hours on-site as, rather, travelling time from residence in South Devon. Therefore, only three locations were sampled; admittedly, two are undoubtedly the most-visited churches in the county but this leaves Lanteglos as the only small-scale, listed church and, therefore, the question arises as to how representative it is of the majority in the county. Offsetting this is a reasonable sample size, permitting comparison with the visitors' book data, that is, an attempt at triangulation – in the sense, discussed in Chapter 6, of providing reassurance concerning the findings in the two data sets.

In considering external validity (generalizability) of the data, it could be argued that Gunwalloe and St Just are 'outliers' to the extent that they are not representative of the remaining two hundred plus Cornish churches. However, Lanteglos-by-Fowey visitors are not motivated by sub-tropical grounds or the beach and can, therefore, be said to represent the average Cornish church visitor if, indeed, they are distinct from St Just and Gunwalloe visitors. Review of other visitors' books, over a number of years, indicates the occurrence of similar themes elsewhere; for example, as suggested in Chapter 5, there are comments at St Juliot concerning Thomas Hardy and for John Betjeman at St Enodoc. From another aspect, the spatial distribution of sites is somewhat limited; whilst not a large county, comparison sites in West and North Cornwall would have been valuable: the trade-off was the increased number of days at the three sites, over eight months.

With recent publication of the ESRC-funded *Cultural Capital and Social Exclusion* project (August 2005), it is noted that further questions, such as assessment of parental background of respondent, would have been useful in the church survey because, it is argued, entire lifestyles influence behaviour, rather than discrete variables, and early development of the individual may play a key role (Roberts 2004; Savage *et al* 2005). This is, therefore, the point at which to also stress the limitations of the generalised model (Figure 9.2) of the visitor experience – it is merely a starting point. Furthermore, having referred to the ESRC study, it is interesting to note that Savage *et al* (2005:11) criticise the "extremely limited operationalisation of variable for measuring high and popular culture" in their review of thirteen surveys which have attempted to analyse cultural taste – the discussion in Chapter 2 highlighted how the distinction has become blurred, in any event.

In the years since the 2002 survey, the Internet has continued to develop and it is recognised that usage by respondents could have been assessed, alongside television-viewing and radio-listening habits. Since 2002, there has been juxtaposition of world-wide web and television in the form of IPTV (Internet Protocol Television), a growing global market (www.aminocom.com 2006). The ability to read, for example, of the Lynher Valley churches, discussed in Chapter 4, immediately after viewing the BBC's *A Passion For Churches*, on the same screen, must be influential. Therefore, whilst usage of the Internet was significant by 2002, the influence – in terms of this research – has become apparent only recently. Indeed, even central government measurement of activity by socio-economic class, in 2005, did not specifically identify usage of the Internet (out of 16 named activities) (www.statistics.gov.uk 2006) although Urry (2004) refers to one billion users worldwide by 2005.

In terms of *approach* to the research, it is argued that whilst the ontological position accords with Guba & Lincoln (1998:207), the Methodology does not provide the significant "interaction between investigator and respondents" advocated by them although survey respondents did appear reflective and to, perhaps, appreciate the opportunity to comment. If the researcher as "facilitator" (Guba & Lincoln 1998:211) is acceptable, the limitation based on interaction-level disappears. Ultimately, the constructivist methodology requires that "consensus construction" (Guba & Lincoln 1998:207) is arrived at; use of *emic* and *etic* perspectives are argued to provide this.

This leads on to the last of the methods limitations; firstly, whilst the Visitors' Book comments are argued to represent an *emic* perspective, it is recognised that in-depth interviews would have provided significantly more 'rich' data: time constraints precluded this. Additionally, given the discussion of a *Cornish Gaze*, it would be extremely useful to probe non-visitor backgrounds – and why churches do not appeal, an almost non-existent level of promotion might explain much although there are also ethnic groups who do not perceive it be *their* heritage and, accordingly, not relevant. Finally, whilst recognising that an additional researcher would have been needed, the monitoring of entry and exit times would have provided useful data in order to discuss McKercher's (2002) assertion regarding duration and experience; when added to the data concerning educational qualifications, this would permit the multi-dimensional scaling referred to in Chapter 2.

Besides the spatial distribution of survey sites, referred to above, it is important to bear in mind that similar findings might result from research at Hartland, for example; despite being a little distance from the county boundary (into Devon), there are parallels

with Cornish churches, not least the dedication to a Celtic saint – St. Nectan (Cherry & Pevsner 2002). Besides any intangible similarity such as this, it is argued that the vernacular building style does not significantly change with progression over the boundary into West Devon. The research deliberately focussed on Cornwall, as a case study, because of the perception of 'Otherness', a phenomenon which few would attribute to Devon because of much more distinct Anglo-Saxon links with the 'Centre'. This links with possible directions for future research.

10.4 Future research

A number of possibilities for future research exist. Given the range of variables assessed in the visitor survey, it is argued that inter-site analysis has only been reviewed at a superficial level; examination of possible associations for each church needs to be addressed – as does use of cluster analysis in order to identify the existence of any groupings predicated on particular lifestyle characteristics. It may be possible to identify which visitors are heritage tourists in the sense intended by Poria *et al* (2003b), discussed in Chapter 3.

Following on from discussion of the geographical limitations, a study of visitors to Devon churches would permit logical comparison with not only this research but also that of Brice, Busby & Brunt (2003) which considered a substantial visitor sample at two Exmoor churches, taking the link into Somerset – and, potentially, creating a South West profile. This would permit a more substantive overview of the perception of 'Otherness' as it applies to Cornwall and also to phenomena such as special interest tourism, be it literary, genealogical, or historical, such as the example, related in Chapter 5, to the Zulu War connection with St. Winnow. Indeed, given that the last

national survey was undertaken in 1982 (Hanna 1984), it begs the question as to whether VisitEngland should consider this aspect of heritage in more detail. The research could also be related to other cultural tourism studies in order to compare behavioural aspects.

With respect to the Visitors' Book analysis, a programme of research which sets out to capture exactly who does and, significantly, who does not provide a comment is essential to aid confirmation of representativeness – or otherwise. Without in-depth qualitative research, it is impossible (except with solo visitors) to report whether comments are pertinent to the writer or indicative of the party's experience. Observed comments would appear to suggest both possibilities.

Thirdly, the relationship between visiting churches and other attractions merits further investigation; this research suggests a distance-decay effect for attractions to be seen on the same day: for example, St. Mawes Castle, two miles from St. Just church, and the Halzephron Herb Farm, a mile from Gunwalloe. The latter example also introduces scope for the examination of forms of 'new' tourism, such as the retail leisure experience; as mentioned in Chapter 3, the nexus between heritage and retail activity has been considered by Dutton & Busby (2002), in terms of antiques shops, and this conceptualisation provides a rich field of study. The literature review suggested a certain paucity of research concerning visitor attractions and, particularly, the inter-connections between different forms; this aspect is worth further consideration.

10.5 Conclusion

The originality of this study resides in a synthesis of the literature concerning the phenomena of cultural and heritage tourism – and how this is manifested in one English county. Whilst it is difficult to differentiate between the two forms of tourism, this is exacerbated in Cornwall because of wider social and political constructs, together creating a degree of 'Otherness' not found elsewhere in England. Whilst Chapter 5 identified distinctiveness in Cornish churches, it is argued that the wider perception of 'Otherness' is what influences visitors' views. Both Cornish culture and heritage have been commodified, to some extent, although this is less apparent in the county's churches: there is remarkably little in the way of interpretative material and, therefore, the visitor views each church through a lens of multiple representations of Cornwall. This can be said to apply to the special interest visitor as much as those embarked on a 'good day out'; for example, the diasporic visitor is influenced by representations of 'home' passed down generations by oral discourse and by what has come to be a significant literature base. The visitor from Andorra, discussed in Chapter 7 (7.11), is an exemplar of this.

For some visitors, there is a search for personal cultural capital accumulation and, axiomatically, *distinction*; the research is argued to support the notion of particular place-based practices underpinning middle class identity, especially for what Munt (1994) terms *the new middle class*. For other visitors, there is the substitution of attendance at a service – Shackley's (2002) concept of heterotopia. What cannot be doubted is that there is heterogeneity of motivations, perhaps more than are exhibited at other heritage sites, emphasising Prentice's (1993) point about very specific motives for church-visiting, discussed in Chapter 3. It should also be remembered that visiting churches is not a contemporary phenomenon, as the 19th century guidebooks and early

20th century postcards illustrate, it simply occurs on a greater scale today, arguably, an outcome of globalization upon contemporary society.

At a more general level, the research adds to the knowledge base concerning heritage attractions in the United Kingdom and exemplifies the debate concerning multiple motivations amongst the visiting population. Within the domain of heritage tourism, the issue of 'who' is a genuine heritage tourist stands out – a concept which, it is argued, can only really be ascertained by qualitative research. From the data collection perspective, the use of multiple methods is argued to enhance the research design, providing broad reassurance for the findings, and presses the case for greater use of documentary sources.

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Appendix 1

Confidence intervals related to sample size – 95% confidence level

Percentages found from sample ('results')

Sample size	50%	40 or 60%	30 or 70%	20 or 80%	10 or 90%	5 or 95%
50	13.9	13.6	12.7	11.1	8.3	*
80	11.0	10.7	10.0	8.8	6.6	*
100	9.8	9.6	9.0	7.8	5.9	4.3
150	8.0	7.8	7.3	6.4	4.8	3.5
200	6.9	6.8	6.3	5.5	4.2	3.0
250	6.2	6.1	5.7	5.0	3.7	2.7
300	5.7	5.5	5.2	4.5	3.4	2.5
400	4.9	4.8	4.5	3.9	2.9	2.1
500	4.4	4.3	4.0	3.5	2.6	1.9
750	3.6	3.5	3.3	2.9	2.1	1.6
1,000	3.1	3.0	2.8	2.5	1.9	1.3
2,000	2.2	2.1	2.0	1.7	1.3	1.0
4,000	1.5	1.5	1.4	1.2	0.9	0.7
10,000	1.0	1.0	0.9	0.8	0.6	0.4

Source: Veal (1997)
Note: "for some statistics, for the smaller sample sizes, the confidence intervals are not calculable because the total margin of error is larger than the original statistic" (Veal 1997:212).

Appendix 2 Church Survey Questionnaire

Name of church: **St Just-in-Roseland** Day/Date: Approx. time:

Please circle appropriate response and specify further details when requested

1. What is your normal place of residence? (do not survey locals, i.e. living < 5 miles from church)

U.K. (specify county)	1 …….	Circle code and enter county or country
Specify other country	2 …….	

2. Is this a day-trip from your permanent home?

Yes	1
No	2

3. If you live outside Cornwall, is this your first visit to the county?

Yes	1	Circle relevant code
No	2	

If NO, how many times have you visited the county?

Number of times:

4. Why are you visiting Cornwall on this occasion?

5a. Is this your first visit to this particular church? Circle relevant code

Yes	1	Go to 5b.
No	2	Go to 5c.

5b. If YES, why have you visited this church today?

5c. If NO, when did you last visit?

Approximate year	1 …….	Circle relevant code, enter year
Cannot remember	2	

Why did you first visit this church?

6. Would you recommend visiting this church to friends and relatives?

Yes	1
No	2

Why would you recommend visiting?

7. Whilst on holiday, how many churches have you visited OTHER than for worship?

Result:

8. How many churches have you visited in the last month OTHER than for worship.

Result:

9. If you consider Cornish churches appear different to those in the rest of England, please state how they differ.

10. How did you find out about this church? Identify all sources that apply.

11. Have you used any of the following guide books in connection with your visit to this location?

Simon Jenkins' *England's Thousand Best Churches*	1	Circle all that apply
Durant's *Good Church Guide*	2	
Nicholson's Guide to English Churches	3	
Other (please name) ……..	4	

12. What is your impression of this church? Circle relevant score –

Interesting	5	4	3	2	1	Boring
Welcoming	5	4	3	2	1	Off-putting
Atmospheric	5	4	3	2	1	Ordinary
Beautiful	5	4	3	2	1	Ugly
Cornish Celtic	5	4	3	2	1	English

13. How do you rate the landscape/area surrounding the church? Circle relevant score –

Attractive	5	4	3	2	1	Unattractive
Setting adds to the to the attraction of the church?	5	4	3	2	1	Setting detracts from the attraction of the church?

14. In terms of physical access to and within the church, have you experienced any difficulties?

Yes 1
No 2

If yes, please specify:

15. Are you familiar with ANY of the history surrounding the Cornish/Celtic saints?

Circle code

Yes	1
No	2

16. How often do you go to church to worship?

Once a week	1
Once a month	2
Seldom	3
Never	4

17a. Have you, or are you planning to, visit any other attractions today? Circle code

Yes	1	If yes, go to 17b.
No	2	

17b. If YES, please name those that apply.

Names of attractions:

18. Since coming on holiday, which attractions have you visited?

Names:

19. Which attractions are you likely to visit before finishing your holiday?

Names:

20. Do you belong to any heritage conservation organisations? Circle relevant code

Yes	1
No	2

If YES, please name

21. Please estimate how many hours of television you watch each week.

Result:

22. Can you tell me which radio stations you listen to regularly?

Result/s:

23. Please specify which newspapers and magazines you read regularly.

Newspapers …….
Magazines ……

24. How many holidays of the following types have you taken in the last twelve months?

A holiday of more than 4 nights in Britain ……
A holiday of more than 4 nights overseas ……..

A holiday of less than 4 nights in Britain …….
A holiday of less than 4 nights overseas

25. If you are not a day visitor, what type of accommodation are you staying in?

Result:

26. How many people are in your group (of friends/relatives today)? ……..
(Mark one if single visitor)

27. If children are in the group, is the experience of visiting this church considered to be educational?

Yes	1	Circle relevant code
No	2	
Not applicable	3	

28. Gender Circle code

Male	1
Female	2

29. Age. Circle relevant code.

Under 16	1	45-54	5
16-24	2	55-64	6
25-34	3	65-74	7
35-44	4	Over 75	8

30. Employment

What is the occupation and industry of the chief income earner in the household? Please give as many details as possible; for example ‘dental receptionist – large practice with four departments’, ‘heating engineer – CORGI self-employed with two staff’
……..

Or circle if retired	1	Or circle if unemployed	3
Or circle if in education	2	Or circle if at home/ with children	4

31. Do you possess any of these educational qualifications? Circle all that apply

O levels/CSE/GCSE or similar	1
A or AS levels/National Diploma/OND/ONC	2
Higher National Diploma/Certificate	3
First degree/post-graduate award	4

For overseas visitors, interpret as qualifications at age 16, 18, degree, and beyond degree.

32. Which of the following (gross) income bands does your **household** belong to? Circle relevant score.

Less than £5,000 per year	1	£25,000 to £29,999 per year	7
£5,000 to £7,499 per year	2	£30,000 to £39,999 per year	8
£7,500 to £9,999 per year	3	£40,000 to £49,999 per year	9
£10,000 to £14,999 per year	4	£50,000 to £59,999 per year	10
£15,000 to £19,999 per year	5	£60,000 to £69,999 per year	11
£20,000 to £24,999 per year	6	Above £70,000 per year	12

33. Do you have any other comments about your visit?

34. By which route have come?

King Harry Ferry	1
Tregony and Truro direction	2
Tregony and St Austell direction	3
Other	4

35. Have you – or do you intend to – visit St Mawes?

Yes	1
No	2

Appendix 3 Visitors' Book Data

Visitors' Book data for Gunwalloe, Cornwall, for the year 2000

	Jan	Feb	Mar	Apr	May	Jun	Jul	Aug	Sep	Oct	Nov	Dec	Total
UK	144	169	245	429	497	604	677	852	554	471	107	133	4882
USA		1	8	9	17	22	19	17	7	1	1	1	103
Canada	1		6	8	11	14	8		7	3		1	59
Australia	2	3	3		4	11	5	1	11	6	3	1	50
N.Z.				4	2	9	7	3					25
Germany				8	5	6	28	19	20	16			102
France		2		2		1	9	1	2	3			20
Switzerland					4	7	3		1	4			19
Ireland	1						1	3					5
Seychelles	1												1
Turkey		1											1
B.V.I.		1											1
S. Africa		1				6	2		6				15
Italy			2	1				1					4
Holland			2		4	14	6	7	8	2			43
Austria				2			1	3		1			7
Belgium				4		2	2						8
Sweden				3		1	3						7
Argentina				1									1
S. Korea				1									1
Japan					1								1
Tr. & Tob.					1								1
Finland						1							1
Colombia						2							2
Indonesia							3						3
Poland							1						1
Norway							12		2				14
Antigua							1						1
Andorra								1					1
Zimbabwe									1				1
Greece									1				1
Hong Kong											1		1
Total	149	178	266	472	546	700	788	908	620	507	112	136	5382

Tr. & Tob. – Trinidad and Tobago

Visitors' Book data for St Just-in-Roseland, Cornwall, for the year 2002

	Jan	Feb	Mar	Apr	May	Jun	Jul	Aug	Sep	Oct	Nov	Dec	Total
UK	84	270	475	729	1130	1219	1509	1497	1619	729	227	180	9668
USA	2	5	6	15	58	42	47	29	45	25	11	12	297
N.Z.	2			3	13	13	16	3	7	3		6	66
Canada	1		1	16	18	3	16	10	18	21	4	3	111
Spain	1			4	1	1		6	2	1			16
Australia		3	3	11	23	31	24	22	35	19	2	10	183
France		2	2	16	4	5	26	36	9	5		3	108
Italy		2	2	2	13	3	13	15	9				59
S. Africa		2		3	4	5	9	3	7	5	1		39
Germany			8	7	33	26	76	35	28	14	1		228
Kenya			1										1
C.A.R.			1										1
Sweden				15			6	3		2			26
Austria				8	2	2	7	11					30
Norway				2	2	2				1			7
Russia				2				2					4
Belgium				1	10	7	6	13					37
Ireland				1		5	5		2	4			17
Netherlands					15	15	27	10	8	3			78
Switzerland					2	4	13	7	7	2			35
Denmark					2		1	1	2				6
India					2								2
Zimbabwe					2		1						3
Luxembourg						2							2
Bermuda						1	1						2
Czech Rep						1		1	1				3
Malaysia						1							1
Gambia						1							1
Poland							4					1	5
Chile							2						2
UAE							2						2
Taiwan							1						1
Ghana							1			1			2
Turkey							1						1
Mauritius							1						1
Slovakia								3					3
Bahrain								2					2
Liechtenstein								2					2
Nigeria								1	1				2
Finland								1		1			2
Estonia								1					1
Thailand								1	1				2
Hong Kong								1		4		2	7
Japan									2				2
Israel									2				2
Egypt									2				2
Peru									2				2
Greece									2				2
Cayman Is									1	2			3
Brazil									1				1
China									1				1
Lithuania										2			2

Pakistan											1		1
Panama												1	1
Total	90	284	499	835	1334	1389	1815	1716	1814	844	247	218	11085

C.A.R. Central African Republic

Visitors' Book data for Lanteglos-by-Fowey, Cornwall, for the year 2000

	Jan	Feb	Mar	Apr	May	Jun	Jul	Aug	Sep	Oct	Nov	Dec	Total
UK	2			62	96	62	126	197	121	113	17	28	824
Germany				3	2		22	16	2	3			48
USA				2	6		4	6	6	7			31
Australia				2	3	2	4	2	3	3			19
Canada					7			4					11
Switzerland							6			3			9
N.Z.						4	2						6
Austria							3	3					6
Holland					2				3				5
S. Africa							5						5
Sweden							5						5
R.o.Ireland								4					4
France						2						1	3
Belgium						2							2
Spain						1							1
Peru							1						1
Norway							1						1
Total	2			69	116	73	179	232	135	129	17	29	981

Note: Two visitors (from Leicestershire) on 1st January, then church closed until Easter because of re-roofing.

Appendix 4 Visitor Attraction Data

Name of attraction being visited same day

Name of attraction	Frequency	Valid Percent
St Mawes Castle (E.H.)	76	26.8
Halzephron Herb Farm	35	12.3
Trelissick Garden (N.T.)	17	6.0
N.T. coastal property	17	6.0
Marconi Memorial	14	4.9
Lamorran House Garden	11	3.9
Heligan Gardens	9	3.2
Eden Project	9	3.2
Trebah Gardens	7	2.5
Smuggler's Cottage, Tolverne	7	2.5
Truro Cathedral	7	2.5
Gweek Seal Sanctuary	6	2.1
HMS Anson Memorial	6	2.1
St Michael's Mount (N.T.)	5	1.8
South West Coast National Trail	5	1.8
Goonhilly Earth Station	3	1.1
RNAS Culdrose tour	3	1.1
St Winnow church	2	0.7
St Mawes church	2	0.7
Lansallos church	2	0.7
Pendennis castle (E.H.)	2	0.7
Poldark Mine	2	0.7
Charlestown Maritime Heritage Centre	2	0.7
Trelowarren	2	0.7
Trevarno Gardens	2	0.7
Trerice House (N.T.)	2	0.7
'Gardens'	2	0.7
Glendurgan Garden (N.T.)	1	0.4
Headland Garden, Polruan	1	0.4
St Keverne church	1	0.4
Gunwalloe church	1	0.4
Landewednack church	1	0.4
Sithney church	1	0.4
Polruan church	1	0.4
Lanhydrock (N.T.)	1	0.4
Fowey Castle	1	0.4
Land's End	1	0.4
Pandora Inn	1	0.4
Theatre Royal, Plymouth	1	0.4
The Lizard Serpentine Shop	1	0.4
Cornish Goldsmiths	1	0.4
Carnglaze Slate Caverns	1	0.4
Organic Farm, Portscatho	1	0.4
Cider Farm, Callestick	1	0.4
St Anthony Lighthouse	1	0.4

Blue Reef Aquarium	1	0.4
Mullion Craft Centre	1	0.4
Helston Folk Museum	1	0.4
Helston Boating Lake	1	0.4
Tehidy Country Park	1	0.4
Veryan Round Houses – exterior	1	0.4
Porthcurno Telecomms Museum	1	0.4
Penryn Museum	1	0.4
Fowey Museum	1	0.4
Total	284	
Not decided/No plans	420	
Missing	21	

Note: N.T. National Trust; E.H. English Heritage

Attraction already visited (first named attraction)

Name of attraction	Frequency	Valid Percent
The Eden Project	94	25.8
Heligan Garden	42	11.5
Truro Cathedral	20	5.5
St Michael's Mount (N.T.)	16	4.4
'Other Cornish churches'	15	4.1
Trebah Garden	14	3.8
Trelissick Garden (N.T.)	11	3.0
St Mawes Castle (E.H.)	11	3.0
Tintagel Castle	10	2.7
National Trust coastal property	10	2.7
Lanhydrock (N.T.)	8	2.2
Land's End	7	1.9
Pendennis Castle (E.H.)	7	1.9
Tate St Ives	7	1.9
Trevarno Garden	6	1.6
Cotehele (N.T.)	5	1.4
Goonhilly Earth Station	5	1.4
Flambards Theme Park	5	1.4
Charlestown Maritime Heritage Centre	4	1.1
Marconi Memorial	4	1.1
Glendurgan Garden (N.T.)	4	1.1
The Lizard Lighthouse	3	0.8
Gweek Seal Sanctuary	3	0.8
Pine Gardens, Holmbush	3	0.8
Lanyon Quoit	3	0.8
'Several gardens'	2	0.5
Trewithen Garden	2	0.5
Trengwainton Garden (N.T.)	2	0.5
Halzephron Herb Farm	2	0.5
The Pilchard Works, Newlyn	2	0.5
Trelowarren	2	0.5

RNAS Culdrose tour	2	0.5
Geevor Mine	2	0.5
The Minack Theatre	2	0.5
Helston Flora Day (annual event)	2	0.5
Paradise Park, Hayle	2	0.5
Smuggler's Cottage, Tolverne	2	0.5
Lamorran House Garden	1	0.3
Caerhayes Castle garden	1	0.3
Probus Garden	1	0.3
Trerice House (N.T.)	1	0.3
Antony House (N.T.)	1	0.3
Barbara Hepworth Museum	1	0.3
Newlyn Orion Gallery	1	0.3
Helston Folk Museum	1	0.3
Wheal Martyn China Clay Museum	1	0.3
Derek Tangye's Nature Reserve	1	0.3
Carn Brea Castle	1	0.3
Owl Sanctuary	1	0.3
Lappa Valley Railway	1	0.3
St Anthony Church	1	0.3
Falmouth Museum	1	0.3
Fowey Museum	1	0.3
Cornish Mines & Engines (N.T.)	1	0.3
Sancreed Holy Well	1	0.3
The Lizard Serpentine Shop	1	0.3
Smuggler's Museum, Polperro	1	0.3
Shire Hall, Bodmin	1	0.3
Pengersick Castle	1	0.3
Jamaica Inn	1	0.3
The Admiral Benbow	1	0.3
Total	365	
None	271	
Not applicable (day visitor)	74	
Missing	15	

Attraction likely to visit (first named attraction)

Name of attraction	Frequency	Valid Percent
The Eden Project	99	28.6
Heligan Garden	38	11.0
Trelissick Garden (N.T.)	18	5.2
St Michael's Mount (N.T.)	16	4.6
Tate St Ives	13	3.8
Truro Cathedral	12	3.5
Trebah Garden	12	3.5
Lanhydrock (N.T.)	11	3.2
'Gardens'	10	2.9
The Minack Theatre	10	2.9
Glendurgan Garden (N.T.)	8	2.3

‘A National Trust property’	8	2.3
‘Other churches’	7	2.0
Trengwainton Garden (N.T.)	6	1.7
St Mawes Castle (E.H.)	6	1.7
Tintagel Castle (E.H.)	6	1.7
South West Coast National Trail	6	1.7
Land’s End	5	1.4
Pendennis Castle (E.H.)	5	1.4
Trerice House (N.T.)	4	1.2
Geevor Mine	4	1.2
Gweek Seal Sanctuary	4	1.2
Goonhilly Earth Station	4	1.2
Marconi Memorial	3	0.9
Flambards Theme Park	3	0.9
Penlee House Gallery, Penzance	2	0.6
Godolphin House	2	0.6
Cider Farm, Callestick	2	0.6
Penjerrick Garden	1	0.3
Pencarrow	1	0.3
Cotehele (N.T.)	1	0.3
Charlestown Maritime Heritage Centre	1	0.3
Wheal Martyn China Clay Museum	1	0.3
Falmouth Art Gallery	1	0.3
Pine Gardens, Holmbush	1	0.3
HMS Anson Memorial	1	0.3
Poldark Mine	1	0.3
Trevarno Garden	1	0.3
The Lizard Serpentine Shop	1	0.3
‘Ancient monuments’	1	0.3
Trewithen Garden	1	0.3
Lappa Valley Railway	1	0.3
St Mawes – Falmouth Ferry	1	0.3
Bosvigo Garden	1	0.3
Mullion kite shop	1	0.3
St Mawes church	1	0.3
Lamorran House Garden	1	0.3
The Owl Sanctuary	1	0.3
Hawk Conservancy, Watergate Bay	1	0.3
The Lizard Lighthouse	1	0.3
Total	346	100.0
None identified	295	
Not applicable (day visitor)	73	
Missing	11	