Cultural Capital in Place-Making

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Abstract

Innovative fieldwork research in cultural tourism is presented which is based around a detective novel set in a seaside town in France. The participants completed autoethnographic writing to provide insight into the active processes of value creation, experience creation, place-making and identity formation. The original research proposes a theory for the way that the literary language in the cultural artefact, in this case the realist novel, activates the tourist's cultural capital and thus affects behaviours. A new theoretical term is proposed, the *toureme*. The theory has applicability to other towns where novels are set and hence is useful for place-making. Further, the research aims to provide re-usable tools for cultural development particularly in the emerging field of archaeological topphonics currently being piloted by the author.

Keywords: Toureme, Cltural capital, Literary tourism

Unlocking Concarneau's heritage image

Concarneau's municipal web-site paints a picture of a seaside town focussing on its historical heritage of sardine canning and tuna fishing. No literary connections are made. Only one stakeholder's web-site, the Hôtel Grands Voyageurs offers any literary history; in their case a brief mention of the stay in Concarneau made by Gustave Flaubert in 1847 (Grands Voyageurs 2014). However, Georges Simenon, the author of the Maigret detective novels stayed in the town and set two of his novels here. The novel explored here is his Maigret police fiction, *The Yellow Dog*, re-issued in 2014 in the UK. The built heritage in the French town of Concarneau mentioned in the Maigret novel is easy to access. For example, the ruin of the granite fort out at Cabellou Point is free to enter, has an interpretation panel and is secure for the public to visit safely. Whilst no mention of Maigret is made on the interpretation panel, the good condition and accessibility of the monument make it ideal for the literary visitor and cultural tourist. The town is home to five bookshops, unusual for a community with a population of just 21 000. Two of the case participants (Will 2014) and (Glen 2014) note that in only one bookshop is there any trace of Simenon's novel, copies of the French paperback version are displayed.

Neither the tourist information office nor the heritage centre display or sell *The Yellow Dog*. No souvenirs associated with the novel are on sale. This small seaside town in the west of Brittany provides a research opportunity for investigating ways of unlocking the intangible cultural heritage in urban spaces accessible to visitors and local citizens alike. The field research laboratory at Plymouth University: Journey, Place, Narrative aims to bridge the gap between purely theoretical knowledge by developing practical tools for the creation of cultural artefacts or by providing access to intangible cultural heritage.

Methodology of the case study

Using approaches from Caughey (2006) to uncover consumers' imaginative practices this study was designed around the reading of the novel, *The Yellow Dog* and culminated in two researcher-led field visits to the town of Concarneau. A more engaged relationship between the project and the 6 respondents was required to maintain commitment over a six-month period. To solve this engagement issue, a new methodology was introduced, called participant autoethnography, suggested in earlier research by Coghlan & Filo (2013) and by Ren, Pritchard & Morgan (2010). The study uses a practice that Coghlan & Filo (2013) call constant comparison method. Their practice of autoethnography, is closely linked to grounded theory, see also Tavory & Timmermans (2009). This is a suitable starting point for this participant study since the research has three key questions themed around value, pleasure, knowledge and self-identity but aims to build a more general theory of motivations for tourism based on the visitors' cultural capital.

By re-casting the respondents as case participants, and providing training in conducting and writing autoethnographic accounts, it was anticipated that greater motivation, rich data productivity and a longer period of commitment to the work could be achieved. Coghlan and Filo (2013) in tourism research re-use autoethnographic writing by Coghlan as data to understand the imaginative experiences of tourists. Their work is quite recent in tourism research and explains why in the two larger literary tourism studies, Watson (2006) and Ridanpää (2011), these methods are not explicitly named. Watson (2006) and Ridanpää (2011) use their own field observations and reflect on their own imaginative experiences at the sites that they visit but without acknowledging that this is a reproducible and verifiable process of data collection and analysis. Thanks to the work of Coghlan and Filo (2013) a method is available which separates the self-reflection into autoethnographic writing and then uses that document in a second step as data. This comprises formal preparatory training in autoethnographic writing and in travel writing practices and a structuring of the recording process by the case participants into (a) a reading diary and (b) a travel diary. This process draws on the

Sheffield study into reading imaginative literature (Usherwood & Toyne 2002). To analyse the written data thus produced, grounded theory was used, as described by Charmaz (2006), with open coding to move forward the theorisation from initial themes, after the work of Busby & Meethan (2008) and Busby & Laviolette (2006) on Visitor Books. Charmaz' (2006) well-documented method aims to produce new theory and, as such, lends itself to research where innovative theoretical constructs are paramount.

As the above themes show, the research method used here aims to take further the earlier approach of Busby, Korstanje & Mansfield (2011) which looks at the potential for literary tourism that may be revealed by a close reading of novels set urban spaces, by adding sociological approaches to the study and focussing on the reader's self-narration. The findings are presented here under six headings which evolved from the coding and memo-writing processes using the participants' testimonies as data.

Analysis of the findings

Being called into the literary text

Catherine Belsey (2002) uses Althusser's concept of interpellation (Althusser 1971) and her understanding of Lacan to develop the proposition that readers of fiction are hailed by the literary text (Belsey 2002). The reader is called in, to 'work by themselves in the social formation' (Belsey 2002, 67) that is being constructed by the novel and in the society that has produced the discursive practice of the realist novel. In the analysis of participant case data in these research findings Belsey's conception of interpellation, forms a starting point to consider how the detective novel addresses its readers and in doing so places them in particular spatial positions. This section presents how the 6 case participants have approached the book and the town; it shows how they have become implicated in the narrative and carried this forward into their activities and enjoyment of the holiday town. Anonymised first names are used to distinguish the participants. Specific paragraphs from their handwritten notes are referenced as stanzas, st., following the practice of narrative analysis.

In the opening paragraph of the text written by case participant 1, Adam, a comment is made which simultaneously situates this participant and provides a starting point for extending the the orisation by Belsey and thus contributes new knowledge, from this study, to the literary concept of interpellation (Belsey 2002):

A map with the location of the city would be useful to provide the readers with reference point.

From the field diary of Adam 2014

Adam immediately implicates himself in the work of fiction by his call for a map to locate the real place, Concarneau. The gap between fiction, the creative work of Simenon and the reality of a French seaside resort is not even questioned, the participant assumes that the novel is about a place that has been mapped and that he or subsequent visitors will find their way around that real place. Indeed, case participant Glen underlines this same link between the fiction of the novel and the real place when he wonders 'if that is the correct location from memory' (Glen 2014, E5, 1), from his earlier reading of the novel, and not from a previous visit to the town. What is at work here, this research proposes, goes further than the theoretical position that Belsey had reached, that is, that not only is the subject constituted by the literary language (Belsey 2002) but that the reader as subject is placed in physical locations by this language, too. Since a hailing process is taking place (Althusser 1971) the hailed and the hailer in the consciousness of the reader, must be standing somewhere for this interpellation to take place. The evidence for this is supported by looking at the deep structures in the literary language, where deixis can be detected, for example during close-reading (Simeon trans. Asher 1987, 100) or where toponyms are used from real world places. The writing from case participant, Marie, performs this unconscious self-placing even more explicitly, note how she emphasises this with the phrase 'as in fact', when she has not yet begun the journey to Concarneau at the time of this journal entry and is still in Plymouth:

Just started reading Le Chien Jaune… it is almost 1900 [hours], Plymouth Station on 25th March 2014; well, almost Plymouth Station and almost 25th March as in fact, I am in Concarneau, at onzeheuresmoinscinq [10h55] on the 7th November

From the field diary of Marie 2014,st.1.

Apart from the physical, self-placing by the readers in the locations where the story is set is their engagement with the hailing process, the interpellation. This is particularly well-evidenced at many points in the respondent text shared by Adam, where he appears to be called into the social formation of the small seaside town. This socialisation process initially surfaces as polemic statements stimulated by the actions of the fictional characters upon one another. However, the responses of the participant, Adam, begin to shift as they take on the social doxa presented by Simenon, so much so that at one point, Adam exhorts the 'People of Concarneau' to take note of the social injustices in the story. This confirms the socialising forces of the language of the realist novel posited by Moretti (2007), Bourdieu (1977) and Combettes & Kuyumcuyan (2010). The holiday readers let themselves stand, in the text, and, although they may not at first feel they are being themselves, the text alters their socialised position. This is compounded by language's function of

siting the reader, the one hailed by the language. An example of this occurs when the text of the novel uses deictic phrases, here, for example 'the noise of the children came up' (Simeon trans. Asher 1987, 100), which places the reader high-up in a hotel room above the school-yard and the streets of Concarneau. This research proposes as a key finding that the reading of realist fiction sets up in the reader's unconscious a credible knowledge of the place from having been addressed there repeatedly. This knowledge establishes a demand in the reader not to verify the setting since this would mean that knowledge has not been created but to be in a place that they already know. A different genre of writing that required more attention, or a text which did not hail the reader, for example a tourist guide-book, would not operate on the unconscious in the same way. The genre studied in this research, detective fiction, which uses free indirect discourse, deictic references, character, plot and simple language, can be seen as holiday-reading since it is so easy to read; here one of the case participants expresses her surprise at the speed at which she has finished the book:

I cannot believe that I read it in only 4 stages. I got so engrossed in it that I just had to keep reading it.

From the field diary of Marie 2014, st.18.

Hero identification

Caughey's early ethnographic interviews (Caughey 1984) reveal respondents fully engaged socially with their hero characters from the imaginary world of fiction. When the case participants talk about the characters from the Maigret novel in this study the level of engagement that Caughey saw in his research is not apparent, despite the participants' emotional reaction to the social milieu of the novel's setting, evidenced in Adam (2014, E1 *passim*) and Marie (2014, E3st.8-13). However, Marie does develop trust in the character, Maigret and an empathy which is close to identification with the waitress Emma:

And with Maigret looking after the whole situation [of panic and fear], this feeling becomes very comforting.

But why does Maigret exude such trust and reassurance to me?

Emma made me think of many, many things and all at once. An archetype of a really beautiful young woman although her beauty is visible only to those who could understand Beauty, such as Maigret.

From the field diary of Marie 2014, st.13-16.

Antonio and Marie both make reference to the author, Georges Simenon, 9 and 6 times throughout their testimonies, and here in his travel journal entry

for Monday, 31 March 2014, Antonio comes closest to identifying with an amalgam of the author and his main character, Maigret:

In a way I want to go out there and become inspector Maigret. Look for clues to compare the small coastal town Simenon lived in and wrote about in the 1920s to the Concarneau of today.

(Nobile 2014, Entry 31.4.14)

However, he has only identified with the Maigret-Simenon amalgam very loosely, 'in a way' (Nobile 2014), in his words and is not portraying the true social relationship that Caughey's respondents have with their heroes. Some explanations can be put forward for this, none of the case participants, with the exception of participant Peter, has a history of reading Maigret novels. It may be that regular exposure to the novels and familiarity with Maigret, who appears throughout 75 of Simenon's novels would lead to a hero-identification in Caughey's terms. For literary tourism this hero-identification is important, and may include an amalgam character of author and the character they create, or be the perceived author when the narrator of the novel uses the first person to address the reader. Hints of admiration for the skills of Georges Simenon as an author of realist novels can be detected in Glen's testimony (From the field diary of Glen 2014, 10-14) but again, no real identification with the writer is expressed. Overall, hero-type identification, either with the characters or with the author appears to be weak and this is finally borne out by Will's dismissal of Maigret as 'chauvinistic, patronising [...] heartless and aloof' (From the field diary of Will 2014, St.4).

Discovery of the toureme

One moment in both Antonio's travel writing and in Marie's autoethnography speak of the magic of hearing live music playing as they arrived at the ruins of the fort on the headland at Cabellou (From the field diary of Marie 2014, st.28) (Nobile 2014, Entry 31.4.14), one even connects this sound with that of korrigans, the Breton equivalent of pixies.

the walk out to Cabelou Point and the visit to the Fort were probably my favourite part of the trip

Nobile 2014, Entry 31.4.14

We went to Le Fort de Cabellou and now we are on the way back to the town. It was a long journey but so rewarding, I will write the amazing details tonight.

From the field diary of Marie 2014, st.28.

After a long walk out in the heat, the ruin of the fort does provide a sensual experience, with its weathered but rough granite surfaces, the breeze from the

bay, and the music in the trees. Gilpin's (1786) notion of the authentic ruin is well-known in the founding of the picturesque in tourism and this is extended into literary texts using the work of Valihora on Jane Austen (Valihora 2007); here, in these two testimonies, Gilpin's process can be seen operating as a moment of value for the literary visitor. The testimony of case participant, Glen, also builds this complex theoretical relationship between lived experience and the symbolic order of the text whilst also incorporating the cultural capital of the reader-visitor. In Glen's writing (2014, E5 10-14) he shows his interest in what Cormack & Fawcett (2001) regard as a rationalist version of material authenticity. For Glen it is the etymology of the novelist's choice of character names, the mention of traditional Breton costume, the period street furniture and verifiable geographical locations that all combine to satisfy what has been termed as serious leisure, see Chappel & Brown (2006) after Stebbins (2001). Here though, the practice can be seen to play out more fully where this reader-visitor shows himself to be making meaning from his previously held cultural capital, the pleasure he takes from seeing this capital both verified and extended by the realist literary text and his anticipation of seeing any final questions resolved (Glen 2014, E5 16) in the present-day reality of the town. From this it can be proposed that moments of value occur during literary tourism which are pleasurable and, in certain instances, are also moments of knowledge creation. This research tentatively calls these touremes. A toureme must be a lived layer built upon, and including points from the literary text, points which are held as real by the reader-visitor; the toureme must also call to the reader-visitor's mind their existing high levels of cultural capital and finally the moment of experience of the place, the lived layer, must include pleasurable elements from nature, the built environment and from the social milieu. A toureme is the package of value and meaning that the visitor takes away from the experience, related to a particular spot and will form the centre of any narrative related to friends and family after the holiday, or in this field study in the notebooks. It is clear that this is cultural production taking place in line with the process proposed by Ateljevic (2000).

Leisure time or laziness

A long, reflective passage written on the last evening of the stay in Concarneau by participant Pete, (Pete 2014, E4 23-32) introduces and goes some way to answering the question of what is holiday making for literary tourists. Participant Will returns to this theme occasionally, but Pete's autoethnographic writing provides here the richest resource from which to synthesise new knowledge on the changes taking place within the visitor during cultural holiday making. The following analysis uses the approach taken by Ross (1988) where she explores the right to laziness. Ross first sets the scene for her productive close-reading by explaining how literary theorist,

Maurice Blanchot (1907-2003) identified texts which recount a single episode by the teller. Pete's reflection is just that, a Blanchotian *récit* (Pete 2014, E4 24-32). Initially the *récit* appears to be describing a lack of enjoyment, caused by the isolation felt during the stay in the holiday town, and goes on to declare that 'this is not a 'real' touristic experience for me' (Pete 2014, E4 27). However, the subject's usual experience is one where demands are placed upon him by family and work even when he is trying to escape imaginatively or restore himself on holiday. A revelation towards the end of the passage completes the sense of tourism value created in his identity:

Actually, one thing I have realised is that I have enjoyed the last thirty minutes writing and reflecting. Perhaps I should do this more?
From the field diary of Pete 2014, 32.

Earlier in the passage, thanks to the subject's immobility, isolation and concentration as he sits outside the Hotel, *Les Grands Voyageurs* he notices something that surrealist scholarship terms the marvellous (Burns 2011), when a man dressed as a character from the Maigret novel strolls across the market square in front of the Admiral café:

As I look up a man is walking across the square in a bowler hat – is it Maigret? Can anybody else see him? Now he's gone, off in the direction of White Sands [a location from the novel visited the previous day during the stay].
From the field diary of Pete 2014, 32.

The case participant, now in the identity of true holidaymaker, has added his new tourism knowledge of where White Sands is located, conflated the characters from the fiction, and drawn on his cultural capital of how people dressed in the 1920s. The holidaymaker's story replays Blanchot's definition of the *récit* perfectly: 'Something has happened, something which someone has experienced who tells about it afterwards' Blanchot (1998 [original 1959]). Ross explains how this type of writing is oppositional. It is in direct opposition to the *doxa* retailed by the realist novel (Moretti 2007), breaking out of the social acculturation (Ross 1988) of the dominant genre not to give a report on what happened but to be a place, a person and a moment of created knowledge. Blanchot takes up the point, 'The *récit* is not the narration of an event, but that event itself' Blanchot (1998 [original 1959], 447) cited in (Ross 1988, 49). Tellingly, Ross uses the concept of the *récit* to propose a new order of laziness, one to which the working person has a right. Looking at the range of terms: idleness, laziness, leisure, on strike, vagabond, she demonstrates that the dominance of work in people's lives leaves them unsure and guilty about their periods of non-work. This removes pleasure from the moment of non-work. Both Pete and Will are concerned with this in their testimonies, for

example Pete writes earlier, when he is enjoying Cabellou Point, 'Guilty that I'm being paid for this' (From the field diary of Pete 2014, 12). In the longer *récit* by Pete, though, the working subject creates a social space within the town where he takes on the right to laziness, making his own holiday, thanks to the complex combination of the novel, the facilities of the open-air seating in front of Flaubert's choice of hotel, *Les Grands Voyageurs*, and the market square stretching out before him.

Value in visitor activities

Martin & Zenker (2011) feel that measuring the value of what a branded place provides is still in its infancy. This research proposes that holidaymaking activities produce value but these acts emanate from, and are essentially performances of cultural knowledge; this is a development of Ladwein's (2003) observation of tourism practices and of Xiao & Smith's (2007) question on how tourism knowledge is used. Pete's writing, above, in the form of a *récit* is just one of these knowledge performances but Glen's preoccupations (From the field diary of Glen 2014, 44) as he documents his exploration of the town, prompted by his reading of the detective novel, substantiate this study's proposed new theory of tourism knowledge:

On way back from White Sands, I detoured and found one example of a [sardine canning] factory with a chimney. Plus on way to White Sands, learned that CAC [Concarneau Arts Centre] was one once.

From the field diary of Glen 2014, 44.

Here Glen's reading of the novel has activated his existing cultural capital concerning industrial heritage stimulating him to explore the town for evidence of sardine canning from Simenon's time here at the beginning of the 1930s. He discovers a disused chimney which he reads as a sardine factory. The act of documenting this reminds him that he 'learned that' the Arts Centre was also a former sardine canning factory (From the field diary of Glen 2014, 44). His use of the verb, learn, is telling in this context; it demonstrates that knowledge creation within the cultural tourist is in process. It is knowledge creation that requires the very specific and complex conditions set out in these recorded incidents. Not least, is the movement at leisure around the town which is given purpose by Glen's existing knowledge and the knowledge acquisition process of learning. The net result is a piece of place-making by the case participant. He has used the urban space purposefully for leisure. The methodological approach, if applied by place-branding specialists, would reveal which components of an earlier branding exercise were being incorporated into visitors' image of the destination as a tourism site. This goes some way to filling the gap that Martin & Zenker (2011) identify.

Earlier, too, Glen offers place branders useful phenomenological measurements on what needs correcting in the destination:

Anyway, White Sands not quite as expected. Strong smell of sewage along the coast route from town did not help – plus outfall v close to the beach.

From the field diary of Glen 2014, 41.

So how can DMOs sensitively harness this propensity of knowledge society literary tourists, whilst bearing in mind the findings of Hanlan and Kelly (2006) that DMOs run the risk of being out of touch with the way organic destination image is communicated? A subsequent research project centred on developing new walking routes through the city of Nantes using literary texts as cultural catalysts is underway in 2017-18 to begin to find applications for the findings from this study on Concarneau.

Leadership in cultural tourism practices

Roland Barthes (1977) develops the concept that secondary texts, in his example journalism in *Le Figaro*, mythologise writers and their activities. In tourism this includes travel articles in newspapers and magazines. In his autobiography, Barthes experiences and documents a moment of literary tourism:

Imagine wanting to copy not the works but the practices of any contemporary [writer] —his way of strolling through the world, a notebook in his pocket and a phrase in his head (the way I imagined Gide traveling from Russia to the Congo, reading his classics and writing his notebooks in the dining car, waiting for the meals to be served; the way I actually saw him, one day in 1939, in the gloom of the Brasserie Lutétia, eating a pear and reading a book)!

(Barthes 1977, 76-77)

It is a skilfully documented moment by a leading intellectual figure of celebrity status, Roland Barthes that brings the Nobel laureate, André Gide (1869-1951), and an activity together in one accessible place. This combination, written up as an episode thus becomes a *récit*, and acts as a leading incentive to the literary enthusiast to go to enact the same activity in the same café. Attendance at the meetings of the new area DMO for *Quimper-Cournaille* revealed that the organisation wanted to find a French personality to act as a leader figure to attract tourists and to create a field of cultural activities in Concarneau. In the published literature on tourism and hospitality an important factor that the invited celebrity must show is expertise, which for literary enthusiasts Barthes does in the story recounted above, but more than one endorser may be required by the hosting organisation if they are to show leadership to different market segments (Kim, Lee & Prideaux 2014) and

(Busby, Ergul & Eng 2013). During the research period a local stakeholder did experiment with this approach of creating tourism leadership independently. A bookshop in Brest, *Dialogues*, invited Georges Simenon's son, John Simenon to visit Concarneau in July 2013 and keep an online journal of his explorations of locations from *The Yellow Dog* and of Simenon's time spent there (Simenon 2013). This leadership role in tourism practices is also present in Watson's methods (Watson 2006), acknowledged by Watson but not actually analysed, when she takes her daughters to visit writers' houses. It is the researcher and mother who is determining where to go and what to see.

In the data from this study the need for guidance once the cultural tourist has arrived in Concarneau is first hinted at by one of the case participants: 'Couldn't the municipality publish a brief historical guide to the town?' (Will 2014, E6 St.16). The following day, two of the participants have formed into a team to locate the White Sands scenes from the novel (Will 2014, E6 St.18) indicating that decision-making has been shared or even handed over to one person, to act as leader. This is not isolated. Marie talks of a decision to go to the Fishing Museum together, reached during breakfast with Antonio (Marie 2014, E3 39). In Marie's testimony three stanzas relate to this decision-making, about what to do next on holiday; one in particular, where it is unclear who has made the choice of activity (Marie 2014, E3 St.30) to sit on the terrace of the White Sands Hotel to drink coffee. Here, though, Marie shows her own decision-making is leading her tourism practices despite social leadership of what other holiday makers are doing:

People are actually bathing today which I find wonderful. A lady just immerses herself in the turquoise waters and is now gently gliding just underneath the surface of the sea. It must be exhilarating and I wish I could do the same right now. But I am also content with my situation, comfortably sitting on a bench writing my own thoughts down. I have a whole afternoon ahead of myself and I am planning to gently stroll back into town and explore. Even try and find the local museum as I need to learn WHEN did L'Amiral become L'Amiral!
From the field diary of Marie 2014, St.31.

Conforming to social pressure, to state pressure or to the market supply removes the necessity for the visitor to know which monument, museum or street to see next. During the fieldwork, four of the participants found their way to the Fishing Museum, one group of three did so specifically to look at the model of the town made in 1912 to share tourism knowledge about the position of the new bridge that Glen had discovered. The lead for this came in part from the quest for knowledge but also from a clear decision by Pete who had spent most time exploring the building extension to the Admiral Hotel. In the longer quotation above it is clear that Marie's decision to visit the museum

is led by her desire to find out more about the hotel Admiral. Reading the novel has provided the necessary leadership. In development work after this field study, the Ramble Strip was designed, in French called *La bande flâneuse*. These are documents set at 6 centimetres wide to display clearly on mobile phone screens. They can be downloaded to smart phones where wifi is good then used as guides during city walks even when no signal is available.

Conclusions

A key conclusion is the discovery of the way literary language places readers in the social life and physical setting of the text when they are using realist fiction for leisure purposes. Although Belsey (2002) and Althusser (1971) document the concept of interpellation, this language-placement of readers has not been developed before in the academic literature in tourism research. Contrary to expectations it was found that the case participant readers did not identify with the characters to the extent that Caughey found in his studies (Caughey 1984). However, very specific urban spaces provided value to the case participants; they spent time enjoying the full physical and emotional experiences, in the case of the ruin at Cabellou Point and in the square, on the quayside and in the alleyways around the Admiral Hotel, they spent 'serious leisure' time (Chappel & Brown 2006, 1765) trying to ascertain the exact spot where two of the incidents in the novel took place, mapped onto the town in its present state.

An innovative conceptualisation of what constitutes tourism knowledge is proposed here, too. This includes the sensitive balance of council intervention into the visitor experience. No evidence was found on the web-sites, nor on the trails set up by government bodies to provide interpretation on the relationship between Concarneau's connections with Simenon's *The Yellow Dog*, nor with Flaubert's stay in the town, yet this omission did not deter the cultural tourist who had prior knowledge of these links from their reading. British and US commentators, for example Drake (2011) and Morrison (Morrison & Compagnon 2010), note the strong state control of culture in France while MacLeod et al (2009) have pointed out that heavy-handed interpretation can discourage visitors if the state's agenda is too apparent. It appears from this therefore, that the initiating cultural signifier which provides that gratuitous value (Bourdieu 1977), needs to be acquired by the visitor unmarked by any state agenda. The moments of discovery, therefore, should not be over-prompted by those managing the building or place for new place-making to occur. Where the state can intervene sensitively is in providing public spaces that are accessible, as shown, and in finding subtle ways of eliciting, then mobilising knowledge so that this can be discovered along the way by the visitor. European urban space provides a manageable built

environment, including hotels, restaurants, ruins and monuments often with wifi or 4G network access. This provides the places for visitors to explore in the type of authentic reading discussed above. The lived experience of holiday making in these well-managed places, by the cultural visitor, also creates knowledge which has value since it provides moments to perform their cultural capital within the everyday hotel and restaurant buildings and surrounding streets. The autoethnographic writing also showed that these personal performances of knowledge are available for transmission to future visitors and form value in the memories of those who originally enacted them. A new term is proposed for these place-making moments, the toureme.

A key objective of this research was to contribute to the development of interdisciplinary methodologies for cultural knowledge creation, provoking scholars to engage critically with the importance of intangible heritage for the promotion of visitor satisfaction; in this objective the use of Charmaz' approach to develop new theories has provided solid grounding to support engagement with the other disciplines of literary theory and social anthropology. In more practical terms this research has shown that the employment of case participants who hold specific cultural capital can yield rich data for place-making projects. The concepts of cultural capital and gratuitous place value from Bourdieu (1977), place capital, as proposed by Busby & Meethan (2008), and the theories on the social imagination from Caughey (2006) have proven valid bases for critical engagement with cultural tourism. This study has initiated a focus on the creativity, value and pleasure of holidaymaking practices at a very detailed level, and has introduced the idea that the literary text can act as a leader at those moments when micro-decisions are made on what activity to pursue next in the urban space and hence contribute to place-making.

Acknowledgements

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