

THE PERCEPTION OF ENGLISHNESS AND ITS ROLE IN DESTINATION IMAGE DEVELOPMENT

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The appeal of England as a tourist destination depends on the perception of Englishness outside the country. The concept of Englishness however is influenced by an endless variety of written and audio-visual factors including classic and contemporary fiction, movies, magazine articles, music, television, newspapers as well as promotional materials and indeed education. Visitors generally wish to experience 'the real' England, but their own notion of what this 'real England' might be depends on their socio-cultural background, education or previous travel experiences.

Keywords: perception of Englishness

The proposed paper presents the findings of a comparative analysis of Englishness: using on both quantitative and qualitative research methods, the perceptions of tourism students and students of English as a foreign language are assessed. In addition to trying to identify the places most strongly associated with the concept of Englishness, the visual components of England's image - including colours, landscape elements, weather characteristics and man-made constructions - as represented in destination marketing communication are also analysed. Furthermore, the perceived milieu of England (Michalkó and Rátz 2006) is discussed through studying students' agreements with a set of statement describing England and the English derived from travel literature, classic and contemporary fiction, and magazine articles.

Introduction

The appeal of England as a tourist destination depends on the perception of Englishness outside the country. The concept of Englishness however is influenced by an endless variety of written and audio-visual factors including classic and contemporary fiction, movies, magazine articles, music, television, newspapers as well as promotional materials. Visitors generally wish to experience 'the real' England, but their own notion of what this 'real England' might depend on their socio-cultural background, education or previous travel experiences.

The paper presents the findings of a comparative analysis of Englishness: using both quantitative and qualitative research methods, the perceptions of tourism students and students of English as a foreign language are assessed. In addition to trying to identify the places most strongly associated with the

concept of Englishness, the visual components of England's image - including colours, landscape elements, weather characteristics and man-made constructions - are also analysed.

Theoretical Background

Englishness is a nexus of values, beliefs and attitudes which are offered as unique to England and to those who identify as, or wish to identify as, English. From the point of view of the English, Englishness is a state of mind: a belief in a national identity which is part of one's sense of self, and which is based on a complex set of images, myths, collective memories and beliefs (Giles and Middleton 1995). For international tourists however, Englishness is a set of geographical and cultural icons perceived as (stereo)typically English, the construction of which is influenced by a range of visual representations, writing or travel, among others. The construction of Englishness is never complete, since it is constantly disrupted by competing or supplementary versions of national and cultural identity.

The concept of Englishness is based on England's past, cultural memory and national identity, where England itself is a complex notion including a geographical territory, a culturally constructed idea, or a specific set of interrelated ideas, images and values. Debates over what constitutes the essence of Englishness have raged throughout English history: the images of England and Englishness have been constantly changing, as products of political, cultural or economic processes. England has been impersonated by a variety of characters (Giles and Middleton 1995): the beef-eating, ale-drinking John Bull of the 18th century, the public-school educated gentleman of the 19th century, Churchill's cheerful Cockneys of World War 2, or the football hooligans and the party animals of the 20th century ranting havoc or enjoying drunken stag parties throughout Europe (Dunne, Buckley and Flanagan 2006).

Although the relationship between tourism and the various levels of identity is rather frequently discussed in the literature (e.g. Desforges 2000, Jeong and Santos 2004, Walton 2005, Burns and Novelli 2006), relatively few studies examine the embodiment of national identity and the ways in which travellers experience identity through encountering sites of national significance such as landscapes and buildings (Palmer 2005). Since tourism is one of the defining activities of the modern global world, it plays a key role in shaping the ways in one understands self and the other. The issue of identity creation and experience in connection with tourism arises in two different contexts: tourists search for experiences that help them understand their own national identity, as well as aim to familiarise themselves with the visited foreign countries' cultural roots.

Despite the fact that England is only one of the nations, regions and ethnic groups within Great Britain, there is a long tradition to use English and British as synonymous terms (Aslet 1997). The concept of Englishness has come to represent the uniform identity of the United Kingdom, to the point where Scotland and Wales have felt compelled to protect the iconography of Scottishness and Welshness (McCrone 1998, Grenier 2006). This ideology is present in the field of tourism as well, where English markers of identity - such as Buckingham Palace or Big Ben - dominate.

Among the wide range of tourism products offered in the United Kingdom, it is heritage tourism where the core component of the product is strongly associated with the sense of Englishness (Poria, Butler and Airey 2003). However, in the increasingly globalised tourism market it is essential

for most other kinds of UK leisure tourism products as well to include features that are uniquely English, in order to differentiate themselves and gain a competitive advantage. The tourism industry's attempts to create distinctively positioned products meet visitors' desires and expectations as well, since cultural authenticity and the selected destination's perceived uniqueness feature highly among the main factors pull factors shaping tourist behaviour (Swarbrooke 1996).

The concept of Englishness is mainly embodied in heritage sites associated with historic events that contributed to the development of the English as a nation and a shared national identity. Examples of such sites include, for example, the Battle Abbey that represents the roots of the English nation due to the Battle of Hastings in 1066 fought on the fields close to where the Abbey was subsequently built (Palmer 2005).

Englishness refers to both national and cultural identity, and while both aspects are of paramount importance for heritage tourism development, the experiences and perceptions of fellow compatriots differ significantly from those of curious outsiders. The heritage tourism experience is predominantly based on the individual's imagination, and visiting sites that represent one's own heritage may contribute to the development of a common understanding of national or cultural identity. Outsiders, on the other hand, can only catch a glimpse of this shared understanding, while trying to find the 'real' England in everyday encounters taking place in less-visited areas (Yeoman, Brass and McMahon-Beattie 2007).

The tourist experience is constructed around the consumption and production of symbols (Urry 1990). Tourist sites are 'spatial locations distinguished from everyday life by their natural, historical or cultural extraordinariness' (Urry in Bramham 2000:301). In the literature, tourism sites are often seen as a particular form of cultural landscape (O'Hare 1997), which reflects the character of the destination to a certain extent. Landscapes constitute the livelihood of tourism, the location of tourist activities; the perceived attractiveness of the landscape affects the travel experience and tourists' willingness to return to a destination (Michalkó 2007). Landscape characteristics are closely related to the image and identity of a destination (MacKay and Fesenmaier 1997), which leads to exciting questions in tourism marketing: does the distinctiveness of a destination's landscape qualities influence tourist demand? To what extent is the tourist image of a destination affected by the perception of its landscape character and identity? In the case of our research project, these questions might be re-framed in the following way: what are the inherent characteristics of the perceived English landscape? Is the notion of Englishness reflected somehow in the character of the landscape? And does the perceived Englishness of the landscape affect visitors' destination choice and travel behaviour?

Just like heritage sites, tourist objects and places - i.e. landscapes - also have local insider meanings and broader outsider meanings. The insider meaning lays at the heart of the 'genius loci' (Lowenthal and Prince 1965), the knowledge of which is generally restricted to the local inhabitants, while the outsider interpretation is represented by the social construction of the given destination's tourist milieu (Michalkó and Rátz 2006). However, although insider meaning is place-bound, it does not mean that landscapes have no meanings to those without local knowledge (Knudser, Soper and Metro-Roland 2007): in the absence of insiderness, one falls back on the more general meaning of objects and places based on previous experiences (Zaring 1977).

Although the concept of Englishness is obviously more complex than the perception of cultural landscapes, as a consequence of the spatial character

of tourism consumption, relatively high importance is attributed to the 'reading of the landscape' as a component of the visitor experience process. The photo-based landscape perception research method used in this project was selected to further explore the connection between actual and future travellers' visual landscape perceptions and their understanding of Englishness.

Daniels (1993) suggests that landscapes picture the nation, and as exemplars of moral order and aesthetic harmony, particular landscapes may achieve the status of national icons. According to Lowenthal (1991:213), the landscape is of particular importance to the representation of England: 'One icon of heritage has a distinctly English cast. That is the landscape. Nowhere else does the term suggest not simply scenery and genres de vie, but quintessential national virtues.'

The traditional concept of Englishness and English identity has been strongly connected to rurality and rural life. Rural landscapes are acknowledged as crucial in the way England was pictured in the first half of the 20th century, especially in the period between the two World Wars (Brace 1999). As Miller (1995:90) points out, Stanley Baldwin's remark that 'England is the country and the country is England' exalted the rural condition 'to a level of spirituality and purity', and debased the urban, industrial world to 'passing ephemera trapped by time and of ultimate insignificance'. Consequently, the standard tourist image of England has also been traditionally dominated by bucolic, semi-rural, quintessentially southern Englishness. In the interwar years, a range of cultural products, such as travel books, landscape art, popular treatises on rural life, and academic studies, contributed to the creation of a ruralist discourse, each stressing the integrity of rural life and the English landscape (Gruffudd 1994). A recent examination of England's tourist promotional materials also confirmed that the visual messages conveyed by these materials largely conform to the above-mentioned traditional rural image (Prieto Arranz 2006). Although the image currently emphasised and promoted by Enjoy England, the official tourist board for England, and VisitBritain, the British national tourism agency, is more inclusive and encompasses all things modern: rock music, blockbuster movies, trendy design and fashion, or thrilling motor sports, finding the optimal representation of British values in tourism marketing has proved to be a challenge. The 1997 'Cool Britannia' campaign was aimed to replace 'Rule Britannia', to present the country as a destination at the leading edge of popular culture and taste, selling the cool and trendy image of the vibrant cosmopolitan home of 'Britart', 'Britpop' and 'street cred' (McLaughlin 2002). However, the campaign that emphasised the need to release Great Britain from the sentimental, outmoded attachments to tradition, eventually failed, since it was considered too narrow and limited, not realising that British culture was something amorphous, changing, and complex, defined by and open to external influences. The subsequent 'UK OK' campaign launched by the British Tourism Authority in 2002 sought to re-traditionalise the country's image by highlighting its royal heritage and playing on the idea that it is impossible to imagine a Britain without the eternal representations of cultural heritage such as historic houses, castles and gardens. Thus, urban Britain became once more surrounded and contextualised by 'green and pleasant land'.

Tourism is a powerful medium to project a cultural identity which is recognised by both political authorities and place marketing organisations (Light 2007). The variety of rituals, practices, materialities and discourses which feed the intangible notion of Englishness is widely assumed as a major attraction for international visitors. National and destination-level

marketing organisations generally seek to present a nation or a destination to the rest of the world in a way that flatters and affirms national or local identity (Lanfant 1995). However, besides the impacts of official promotional materials that can be read as expressions of political and cultural identity, visitors' perceptions of national identities are also influenced by their own travel experiences which may contradict the image-formation and identity-building endeavours of destination marketing organisations.

The construction of Englishness has been fundamentally influenced by British literature, including fiction (e.g. Kazuo Ishiguro's *The Remains of the Day* (1989), Peter Ackroyd's *English Music* (1992) or Hanif Kureishi's *The Black Album* (1995). From our study's point of view, a particularly interesting contribution has been made by Julian Barnes (1998) in his novel *England, England* that describes in great detail a project aiming to build an essence-of-England theme park on the Isle of Wight. While the idea seems absurd at first, the rebuilding of famous monuments in the context of a tourist attraction is not without precedent (as illustrated, for example, by the case of The Venetian in Las Vegas - see Davis and Marvin 2004), although the complex audiovisual and sensual stimuli of the destination milieu cannot be reproduced yet by artificial or virtual reality (Rátz and Michalkó forthcoming). The novel incorporates a host of diverse traces of the English cultural past, including many myths and legends, juxtaposes competing versions of and discourses about Englishness, and provides highly self-conscious reflections upon both the invention of cultural traditions and the questionable notion of historical authenticity (Nünning 2001). In the novel's fictional 'England, England' theme park, all that England has ever been renowned for, such as Big Ben, Buckingham Palace or Harrods, is rebuilt, capitalizing on the late 20th century British obsession with national heritage (Lyth 2006). This successful replica of England is so popular with tourists that it gradually replaces 'Old England', i.e. the country itself: an alarming trend suggested by many scholars to actually take place in modern tourism (Kennedy and Kingcome 1998). The tourist scheme of the novel provides a realistic framework both for a thorough examination of the many aspects of Englishness and for the way in which versions of Englishness are constructed in order to serve the needs of the present. The design of the theme park is based on an eccentric list of the 'quintessences' of Englishness: 50 typically English geographical and historic sites, buildings, personalities, institutions, social concepts, or symbols, including the Royal Family, Shakespeare, Devonshire cream tea, marmalade, stiff upper lip, Alice in Wonderland or warm beer. The satiric picture the novel paints of tourism development motivated by a search for the stereotypes of the 'real' England is partly mirrored by the findings of our study.

Research design

In this section, we will discuss the aims of the survey, describe the participants as well as the techniques and materials we used for data gathering. The issues of processing and data analysis will also be addressed below.

Aims of the survey

The research project aims to explore the perception of England and Englishness outside the country, and understand the contribution of higher

education programmes in the field of tourism and English studies to the development of England's image. In order to achieve this aim, 8 research questions were formulated on the basis of the considerations in the previous sections. These are the following:

1. What are the most often mentioned places (geographical places, towns and places of interest) relating to England and Englishness by students?
2. What are the most often mentioned activities relating to England and Englishness by students?
3. Which colours do students regard as characteristic to England and Englishness?
4. Which dishes do students regard as characteristic to England and Englishness?
5. Which behaviours do students regard as characteristic to England and Englishness?
6. Can the students distinguish between photos taken in England and elsewhere?
7. Is there a relationship between students' major and their responses to the above questions?
8. Is there a relationship between students' past visits to England and their responses to the above questions?

Participants

The target group of the survey were Hungarian students at Kodolányi János University College. Students in two study programmes, BA in English studies and BSc in Tourism were chosen. This is because it was assumed that they possess a relatively well-informed opinion about England and what it means to be English based upon their studies and probable personal experiences. At the same time, it was also assumed that there might be a difference in the opinions between the representatives of the two majors. Yet another hypothesis was that past visits to England might have also formed students' opinions thus creating a difference in opinions between those who had been to England and those who had not.

The study programme in both cases is 4 years in duration. An attempt was made to involve respondents from all the 4 years. However, since that administering of the survey was carried out in June 2007, the final year students were not available at that time due to their preparations for their final examinations. The other 3 years are included in the survey. Student groups were selected randomly in the cases of both majors.

Techniques and materials

It was decided to carry out a survey to collect data necessary in order to answer the research questions. The data were collected by means of a questionnaire (see Appendix 1). The questionnaire is divided into three parts. Section 1 is concerned with personal data such as major, year of study, and experience relating to respondents' past visit(s) to England. Section 2 focuses on beliefs about England and Englishness by asking students to list items that belong to various categories (i.e. places, activities, colours, dishes and behaviours). In the case of each category, students were asked to name (1) items that came to their mind first, (2) items they would prefer to see, and (3) items that represented Englishness for them. This section of the questionnaire contains open questions. From the point of view of the survey,

it was regarded as important not to influence respondents in any way. The inclusion of open questions made this possible. Section 3 consists of 25 photos, 12 of which were taken in England, the remaining 13 elsewhere. (For list of photos see Appendix 2.) Students were shown the photos and asked to indicate whether, according to their assumptions, they had been taken in England. Respondents were also asked to explain their choices. The photo-based research method did not seek to assess aesthetic landscape quality, but aimed to identify certain traits of the landscape that influence the perception of its identity, in order to discover if there are certain positive or negative characteristics that respondents are likely to associate with Englishness and the English landscape. Apart from the questionnaire, a coding sheet was also developed for data analysis purposes.

Procedures and data analysis

The questionnaire was administered in June 2007. Randomly chosen student groups were asked to answer the questions within the framework of seminars and lectures. This procedure was done by the two authors of this paper. This made it possible to explain the purposes of the survey and to answer any questions that were asked by the students during the administration phase.

When the questionnaires were completed the data were organised using the coding schemes. Microsoft Office Excel 2003 was used for data organisation, and SPSS 12.0.1 for Windows was used to run the statistics. Various techniques were applied for data analysis. Descriptive statistics consisted of looking at frequencies, rank order and percentage.

Results and discussion

This section looks at the results of the survey and addresses the research questions we listed in Section 3.1 above. In 4.1, we will discuss personal information relating to responding students.

Background information on students and their past visits to England

Section 1 of the questionnaire dealt with personal information, and focused attention was given to factual data in connection with students' past travel experience in England.

Question 1 sought information about the major of the respondents. Results show that approximately half of the responding students (49.6%) major in English Studies, and almost the same number of students (50.4%) study Tourism at the university college (see Table 1).

Table 1 Proportion of students according to major

Major	Frequency	Percent
English Studies	65	49.6
Tourism	66	50.4
Total	131	100.0

In question 2, information was also sought about the students' year of studies. The study period in the case of the English Studies programme lasts for 3 academic years, whereas students majoring in Tourism are required to carry out their studies for a period of 4 academic years. The results show that all respondents were in their 1st, 2nd or 3rd year of studies. Approximately

50% of the respondents were in their 3rd year of studies. Most of the remaining English major students were in their 2nd year, while, in the case of Tourism, a large number of remaining students were in their 1st year of studies (see Table 2).

Table 2 Students' year of studies according to major

Year of Studies	English Studies	Tourism	Total
1 st year	9	30	39
2 nd year	26	5	31
3 rd year	30	31	61
Total	65	66	131

Question 3 investigated whether students had ever visited England. The overall results show that only one third of the responding students had already been to England at the time of filling in the questionnaire (see Table 3). This is quite a small number, taking into consideration that a large number of the respondents were in their 2nd and 3rd year of studies. It is important to note, however, that it is beyond the scope of the present study to investigate whether students have travelled elsewhere. Therefore, relating information was not sought within the framework of the survey either.

Table 3 Proportion of students having visited England

Past visits to England	Frequency	Percent
Yes	39	29.8
No	92	70.2
Total	131	100.0

Table 4 shows that there is a significant difference between the number of students who have visited England according to their major. Almost half of the responding students with an English major (46.2%) claimed that they had already been to England. At the same time, the same figure is much smaller in the case of Tourism students, approximately 14% of them stated that they had already visited England. A possible reason for the difference is that it is more likely that a larger number of students with special interest towards the English language, culture and history will choose England as their destination than students who are especially interested in Tourism. In the case of the latter, it is more likely that students choose from a large number of cultures and destinations.

Table 4 Proportion of students having visited England according to major

Major	Past visits to England	No past visits to England	Total
English Studies	30 (46.2%)	35 (53.8%)	65 (100.0%)
Tourism	9 (13.6%)	57 (86.4%)	66 (100.0%)
Total	39 (29.8%)	92 (70.2%)	131 (100.0%)

Questions 4, 5 and 6 focused on students' past visits to England. Therefore, these questions were answered only by one third of the respondents (n= 39), who had such experience in their life. Question 4 asked about the number of visits to England. Results show that most of the responding students visited England only once both in the case of English and Tourism majors. Only 3 students claimed that they had already visited England 3 or more times, and all of these students majored in English. As for

the Tourism students, with one exception, all respondents stated that they had only one visit to England (see Table 5).

Table 5 Number of visits to England according to major

Number of visits	English Studies	Tourism	Total
Once	21	8	29
Twice	6	1	7
Three or more times	3	0	3
Total	30	9	39

As for the number of days spent in England (Question 6), the majority of students claimed that they had spent time up to one month there. Only 5 of the respondents were in England over a month, which, in one case, refers to 3 years. Half of the remaining respondents spent time up to a month there, and the other half spent a few days up to a week. Results show that English major students spent a somewhat longer time in England than Tourism majors (see Table 6).

Table 6 Total number of days spent in England according to major

Number of days	English Studies	Tourism	Total
1 - 7	12	5	17
8 - 30	14	3	17
More than a month	4	1	5
Total	30	9	39

Question 5 investigated the purposes why students previously visited England. Results indicate that there are 3 main purposes why students travel to England. These are the following in rank order: (1) as a tourist, (2) to study, (3) to work. Table 7 shows that the largest number of the students visited England as tourists, whereas study and work opportunities are less frequently used. Comparison between the majors show that a larger proportion of students majoring in English travel to England as a tourist. Four respondents gave other reasons for their visits, these related to participation in different sports events and competitions.

Table 7 Purposes for visiting England according to major

Reasons for visit	English Studies	Tourism	Total
As a tourist	19	5	24
To study	4	2	6
To work	5	0	5
Other	2	2	4
Total	30	9	39

Images of England and Englishness

This section looks at the images respondents had about England and Englishness. Based on the questions in Section 2 of the questionnaire, we were particularly interested in which geographical places, towns, places of interest, activities, colours, dishes and behaviour were regarded as the most English by the students. Below, we will give a detailed account of the findings.

Geographical places, towns and places of interest in England: Associations, preferences and perceived Englishness

In questions 7, 8 and 10, they were asked to list geographical places, towns and places of interest in England according to the following criteria: (1) places that come to their mind first, in other words their associations, (2) places they would like to visit, and (3) places they regard as very English.

The analysis of data revealed that some respondents associated the mountains in Wales, the Highlands in Scotland or the Giant's Causeway in Northern Ireland with England and Englishness too. This points at an important feature of how the Hungarian way of thinking and the Hungarian language relate to England. In Hungarian, England, Great Britain and the United Kingdom are treated as synonyms as well as the adjectives 'English' and 'British'. In fact, England is the most often used term to refer to a country which, in reality, is made up of England, Scotland, Wales and Northern Ireland, and is called the United Kingdom. This explains why places elsewhere in the UK were mentioned too. However, taking into consideration the aims of the survey, these responses were not taken into account.

Statistical analysis revealed that there were no significant differences between the various target groups of the survey. Thus, it is not possible to differentiate between students majoring in English Studies and in Tourism in terms of which places they name in relation to England more frequently. Also, this is the case with those who have visited England and those who have not. As a result, the tables below give an overall summary of preferences regarding students' associations, preferences and mention of 'real English' places. No indication will be given to respondents' major and their past visits to England.

As for geographical places in England, the open questions made it possible for the students to name anything that came to their mind. As a result, specific places were mentioned as well as general morphological features of the country. Table 8 shows, in rank order, the most frequently mentioned geographical places. Given the fact that the responses were extremely varied and many of the places were mentioned by a few students only, it was decided to take into consideration places which were mentioned by at least 10 students or more. The most frequent association and preference here is Stonehenge, and it ranked third in the case of Englishness too. Despite the fact that Stonehenge is part of our cultural heritage, and, therefore, is not regarded as a geographical place, we took it into consideration for two reasons. Firstly, it ranked very high in all categories, and secondly, it was mentioned by considerably fewer students as a place of interest, which means that it was not possible to show the inevitable importance of Stonehenge in Table 10 below.

Results also show that respondents associate England with water very strongly. They also want to visit places where there is water and they think that water is a significant characteristic feature of England and Englishness. Both fresh water and the sea ranked very high in all the three categories. An important difference is that while Stonehenge precedes water in the case of associations and preferences, the seaside in general and the river Thames are regarded as more important features of Englishness than Stonehenge.

Table 8 Rank order of geographical places in England according to associations, preferences and perceived Englishness

Rank	Associations*	Preferences*	Englishness*
1	Stonehenge	Stonehenge	Seaside
2	River Thames	Seaside	River Thames
3	English Channel	River Thames	Stonehenge

*Also mentioned: lakes, hills, rivers, mountains, plateaus, white rocks of Dover, the Lake District

Results regarding towns students related to England the most often can be found in Table 9. Data analysis revealed that, in this respect, there are no significant differences between the three categories. In all cases, London ranked the highest. This is the town that came to students' mind first, this is the town they would like to visit most, and London represents Englishness very strongly for virtually all the respondents.

Three other towns can be found at the top of the rank. In the case of associations and Englishness, these are Manchester and Oxford. Manchester precedes Oxford in terms of associations, while the order is reversed in the case of Englishness. Oxford is referred to as an old and traditional university town by the students, and as such it has played an important role in the English culture for long centuries. Manchester is associated with football, and therefore, with modern times. It can explain its popularity regarding both associations and preferences, and it can also explain why it is regarded as 'less English' than Oxford. As for preferences, however, Oxford is left out of the top 3 of the rank. Here Liverpool is the third in the list, which students associate with the Beatles (i.e. music) and football, two very popular types of entertainment for young adults. These results suggest that, for the respondents, there is a slight difference between which towns they regard as very English and which towns they would like to visit.

Table 9 Rank order of towns in England according to associations, preferences and perceived Englishness

Rank	Associations	Preferences	Englishness
1	London	London	London
2	Manchester	Manchester	Oxford
3	Oxford	Liverpool	Manchester

Table 10 shows the places of interest students mentioned the most frequently in relation to England. Results show that respondents relate English places of interest to London much strongly than to other parts of England, with one exception only: In the top of the rank, Stonehenge is the only place of interest mentioned outside London. It ranked the second highest in term of preferences for visit, while in the cases of associations and perceived Englishness, Buckingham Palace becomes part of the list instead of Stonehenge. In all categories, Big Ben is the first in the rank, which indicates that, in the case of the students, it functions very effectively as a representation of England. The other powerful representation is the Tower, which appears in all the three lists ranking second in the case of associations and third in the other two cases. It is also important to note that both the Tower and Buckingham Palace refer to the form of the state: kingdom. This seems to imply that the fact that England has been a kingdom for almost a thousand years plays an important part in the image respondents have about it.

Table 10 Rank order of places of interest in England according to associations, preferences and perceived Englishness

Rank	Associations	Preferences	Englishness
1	Big Ben	Big Ben	Big Ben
2	Tower	Stonehenge	Buckingham Palace
3	Buckingham Palace	Tower	Tower

Activities: Preferences and Perceived Englishness

Questions 9 and 11 of the questionnaire investigated the activities students wanted to take part in when in England as well as the activities they regarded as necessary to engage in if they wish to meet the 'real England' (see Table 11).

Table 11 Rank order of activities in England according to preferences and Englishness

Rank	Preferences	Englishness*
1	Sightseeing	Sightseeing
2	Visiting pubs	Visiting pubs
3	Going to football matches	Drinking tea

*Also mentioned: making excursions, going to football matches, eating English dishes, talking to local people

Results show that sightseeing and visiting pubs (including drinking beer in a number of cases) are the most preferred activities in both categories. According to the responses, sightseeing makes it possible to visit places which represent England's history and culture, providing insights mainly into its past with the help of architecture. Visiting pubs offers insights into a way of life in England nowadays. Students' comments suggest that visiting pubs are important for them partly because they believe that they can engage in conversations with local people there.

According to the results, there is one difference between preferred activities and those relating to Englishness. While most respondents claim that drinking tea represents more significantly what it means to be English, going to football matches ranked much higher in terms of preferred activities. This is despite the fact that some students also commented on the possible danger created by the violence of some of the football fans.

Colours, dishes and behaviours: perceived Englishness

Question 7 also investigated which colours, dishes and behaviours students regarded as typically English (see Table 12).

Table 12 Most common associations regarding colour, food and behaviour according to students

Rank	Colour	Dish	Behaviour
1	Red	Fish and chips	Reserved
2	Green	Pudding	Cold
3	Blue	Ham and eggs	Unfriendly
4	Grey	Beefsteak	Polite
5	White	Tea	Serious

As far as colours are concerned, red, blue and white, the three colours of the national (i.e. British) flag ranked high. While the English flag includes the colours red and white, some of the students mentioned blue as a colour of the flag too. Blue was also associated with water, most notably the sea. Green ranked the second highest. This is because most respondents associated England with green grass. Grey is number four on the list. This colour is linked to the believed characteristic features of weather in England, which is cloudy, foggy, rainy and gloomy, and therefore, grey.

The following dishes ranked the highest according to responding students: fish and chips, pudding, ham and eggs, beefsteak and tea. The latter, although not a dish, was not removed from the data because of the large number of respondents who mentioned it. An interesting feature of the four dishes listed above is that their English names do not have a Hungarian equivalent, we use the English term to refer to them. It is important to point out that it is very likely, that what Hungarian students meant by pudding is not what the English mean by it. In general, the word 'pudding' is used as a synonym of 'dessert' in English, while in Hungarian we use the same word to mean 'custard', which is a popular dessert in Hungary with a name of English origin. To follow this line of thought, students maybe included 'pudding' in their list of dishes because this popular Hungarian dessert has an English name.

As for typical behaviours associated with the English, the picture is rather grey. 4 of the 5 behaviours at the top of the rank suggest that students believe the English like to create a distance between themselves and others. It is interesting to note, that the first three behaviours in the list suggest this and have a negative connotation at the same time. The first positive feature, politeness, ranked only fourth, followed by yet another characteristic feature which indicates some kind of distance. The above results suggest that respondents believe that it might be difficult to become acquainted with English people and develop a closer, friendly relationship with them.

Englishness in photos

Section 3 of the questionnaire consisted of 25 photos taken partly in England and partly elsewhere. Respondents were shown the photos one by one and were asked to write down their opinion about whether the photos showed a place in England. They were also asked to explain their decision.

Table 13 Rank order of correct guesses of photos taken in England according to major

Rank	English Studies			Tourism		
	Number of photo	Frequency	Percent	Number of photo	Frequency	Percent
1	13.	55	85%	5.	63	95%
2	4.	54	83%	4.	59	89%
3	3.	53	82%	1.	57	86%
4	5.	46	71%	3.	55	83%
5	1.	43	66%	13.	54	82%
Total		65	100%		66	100%

Table 13 and 14 show the results of data analysis according to major. The tables indicate the rank order focusing on the 5 photos which were guessed correctly by most of the students. There is a similarity between the results

shown in the two tables in that they contain the numbers of the same photos in each case. Differences, however, can be found in the rank order of photos.

First, we will take a look at the results in Table 13. As for students majoring in English, picture 13 ranked first where 85% of the guesses were correct, whereas picture 5 with 95% of the guesses is the first in the case of Tourism students. Picture 5 was guessed correctly by 71% of students majoring in English. Picture 13, which ranked first in the case of English major students, ranked 5th for Tourism students. It is important to note, however, that the percentage of correct guesses is almost the same. 82% of the Tourism students realised that the photo was taken in England. These data also show that students in Tourism studies had more correct guesses than those in English Studies despite the fact that the latter have a much deeper focus on England in their study programme. Also, a larger percentage of the English major students visited England in the past than those in Tourism.

Table 14 Rank order of correct guesses of photos taken in England according to past visits to England

Rank	Past visits to England			No past visits to England		
	Number of visits	Frequency	Percent	Number of visits	Frequency	Percent
1	13	33	85%	4	81	88%
2	3	32	82%	5	79	86%
3	4	32	82%	3	76	83%
4	5	31	79%	13	76	83%
5	1	29	74%	1	71	77%
Total		n=39	100%	n=92		100%

Table 14 shows that picture 13 ranked first (85%) in the case of students who visited England in the past too, whereas the same picture ranked 3rd, together with picture 3 in the case of those who did not visit England in the past (83%). It is very interesting, however, that the percentage of correct guesses is almost the same. In fact, it is visible from the results that a slightly larger percent of the student population without a personal experience of England guessed correctly at photos that were taken in England. Similarly to the results in the case of Tourism students (see Table 13), pictures 4 and 5 ranked at the top regarding respondents without past visits to England.

Table 15 and 16 focus on the results concerning photos taken elsewhere. The rank orders of correct guesses are shown according to majors and students' past visits to England.

Table 15 Rank order of correct guesses of photos taken elsewhere according to major

Rank	English Studies			Tourism		
	Number of studies	Frequency	Percent	Number of studies	Frequency	Percent
1	25	55	85	21	63	95%
2	9	54	83	20	62	94%
3	21	51	78	12	57	86%
4	12	47	72	25	57	86%
5	10	46	71	10	54	82%
Total		n=65	100%	n=66		100%

Table 15 reveals that the pattern pointed out in the case of pictures taken in England is very similar here as well concerning the major of students. In general, a larger percent of Tourism students had correct guesses that those majoring in English Studies. In the case of the latter, picture 25 ranked first with 85% of the guesses. While this picture is the 4th in the rank in the case of Tourism majors, a slightly higher number, 86% of the respondents guessed correctly here. Also, at the top of the Tourism rank is picture 21 with 95% of the guesses. It is important to point out, that there is one picture in the case of both majors which is not part of the top rank in the case of the other group. 83% of the English major respondents guessed correctly that picture 9 was taken elsewhere. At the same time, 94% percent, a very large number of Tourism students were right in saying that picture 20 was taken in another country.

Table 16 Rank order of correct guesses of photos taken elsewhere according to past visits to England

Rank	Past visits to England			No past visits to England		
	Number of visits	Frequency	Percent	Number of visits	Frequency	Percent
1	21	35	90%	25	81	88%
2	25	34	87%	21	79	86%
3	16	31	79%	20	78	85%
4	9	30	77%	12	76	83%
5	10, 12	28	72%	10	72	78%
Total		n=39	100%	n=92		100%

Table 16 shows results according to past visits to England. The comparison of results of the two target groups shows that in both cases pictures 21 and 25 ranked the highest in the list where the percents of correct guesses are also very similar. In the case of those who had visited England in the past, pictures 16 and 9 are also part of the rank while these pictures are not present in the case of the other group. At the same time, however, picture 20 received a high number of correct guesses from those who had not been to England while it is not the case for those respondents who had visited England in the past. It is very interesting, that the percent of correct guesses is somewhat higher in the case of no past visits of England in the case of photos taken elsewhere too. (For a comparison, see Table 14.)

Summary

To summarize, results on students' background show that the sample is evenly divided between students majoring in English Studies and Tourism, where most of the respondents are in their higher years of studies. There is a significant difference between the characteristic features of visits to England according to students' major in that a much higher number of students in English major had been to England. Also, the overall amount of time spent in England was higher in the case of English major students than in the case of those in Tourism. As for the purposes for visiting England, travelling as a tourist was the most frequently mentioned one in the case of both majors, followed by studying and working in England. Travelling as a tourist was a far more popular purpose for English major students than for those studying Tourism.

As for the results of Section 2 of the questionnaire, for a high percent of the respondents, the following relate very strongly to England and

Englishness: (1) water, which includes the sea, rivers and lakes in general as well as the English Channel and the river Thames in particular. (2) London, (3) Big Ben, and (4) Stonehenge. London is far the most frequently mentioned English town and a very large number of the places of interest mentioned are in London as well, Big Ben being the most frequently listed one. One notable exception is Stonehenge, which was also given a very high priority. In general, it seems that the capital city as well as places of interest that indicate that England is a kingdom play an important role in how students form an overall picture about what Englishness means to them. (5) Sightseeing and (6) visiting pubs are the most often mentioned activities that are associated with both being in England and as typical activities to do in order to find the 'real England'.

The most frequently mentioned colours, (7) red, (8) green, (9) blue, relate either to the national flag (in this case most often the British flag) or to natural phenomena, i.e. water, grass and characteristic features of the weather. The most often mentioned English dish is (10) fish and chips, where the name of the dish does not have a Hungarian equivalent. The way Hungarian students see the English is rather dark in that most respondents regarded them as (11) reserved and (12) cold, people who like to keep their distance from others.

Results of data analysis regarding Section 3 show that there is no significant difference between the photos students guessed correctly and the rank order of correct guesses according to major and according to past visits to England. With a few exception, the same photos can be found in the top five places of the rank in each case. Regarding comparisons according to major, an important result is that Tourism students had a larger percent of correct guesses than English major respondents both in the case of photos taken in England and those taken elsewhere. More surprising is that the same tendency is true in the case of students who had never visited England in the past compared to those who had been to England.

Conclusions

Visual impressions are particularly important in the tourist experience, destination marketing, etc. Tourism and hospitality education emphasises the use of visual material in education from the very beginning, while traditionally, language programmes focus on verbal and written information - which may explain Tourism students' higher success rate in identifying the selected destinations' origin simply on the basis of visual information conveyed by photographs.

The perceived image of a destination is influenced by a variety of external factors. Prior to actually visiting a destination, images are affected by stereotypical messages to a higher extent, since the media is likely to communicate a relatively narrow range of information (despite a vigorous effort not to do so). Consequently, while pre-trip one's destination image is mostly based on repeated stereotypes, post-trip image is significantly influenced by the visitor's own experiences of the destination's reality which might be rather different than the partly clichéd picture. This change in perceptions however may have also affected the survey participants' ability to correctly identify the selected landscapes' country of origin.

The findings of the research suggest a rather stereotypical knowledge of England and the English, with mainly positive associations. Particularly the identified physical components of Englishness - such as historic monuments, heritage architecture, and scenic landscapes - may act almost unequivocally

as pull factors in tourism. However, the perceptions of the English people's character and hospitality are more ambiguous, while the photo-based analysis suggests an almost homogeneously unfavourable image of the climate in England, which might have a negative impact on respondents' willingness to travel to England in the framework of a leisure trip, since the climate and the weather are among the key factors affecting tourism destination choice.

The lack of significant relationship between students' perceptions of Englishness and their educational programmes highlights the importance of further investigations in this field with respect to earlier influencing factors such as the media, primary and secondary education, socialization, or travel intensity. Since the contents of both Tourism and English studies are directly connected to the issues examined within the framework of this research, it would probably be useful to explore the characteristics of England's image as a tourist destination among students with different majors, such as e.g. German studies or Management, in an attempt to further clarify the contribution of higher education orientation to the perception of Englishness and the consequent UK image.

Due to the conceptual complexity of our topic, in the subsequent stages in the project we aim to test a variety of quantitative and qualitative research methods and research approaches in order to become able to deepen our knowledge of the interrelationship between national identity, destination marketing and travel behaviour.

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Appendix 1

Questions for the Englishness questionnaire

Section 1

1. Which Bachelor study programme do you attend?
2. Which year are you in?
3. Have you ever been to England?
If you have not been to England go to Question 7.
4. How many times did you visit England in the past?
5. For what purpose(s) did you travel to England?
6. How many days have you spent in England altogether?

Section 2

7. In each of the following categories, name 3 items that you associate with England and being English:
 - Geographical places
 - Towns
 - Places of interest
 - Colours
 - Dishes
 - Behaviours
8. If you had the chance to travel to England, which places would you like to visit most? Name 3 places in each category and explain why:
 - Geographical places
 - Towns
 - Places of interest
9. How would you spend your time during your visit in England? What would you like to do most? Name 3 activities and explain why.
10. In your opinion, which places should be visited in order to see the **real** England and meet the **real** English culture? Name 3 places in each category and explain why:
 - Geographical places
 - Towns
 - Places of interest
11. In your opinion, how should one spend their time in order to become acquainted with the **real** England and meet the **real** English culture? Name 3 activities and explain why.

Section 3

12. You will be shown 25 photos. Which ones were taken in England and which ones were taken elsewhere? Write down your decision and give an explanation.

Appendix 2

List of photos

Number	Country	Place	Description
1	England	Cirencester	Cirencester is an old Roman town in England. If you drive a short way out of the city, you'll be rewarded with this view.
2	England	Totnes	Flowers and gardens abound in England; every house seems to have some flowers no matter how small the plot is. This housefront caught my eye and seems typically English to me.
3	England	Gloustershire	This is a scene at the south end of the Cotswolds that caught my eye. There is nothing particularly special about it other than the serenity of the setting itself.
4	England	Oxford	I found this scene in Oxford by leaving the main thoroughfares and exploring some of the back streets. Part of the fun of photography is found in exploring, especially great old cities like Oxford.
5	England	Oxford	I found this scene off the main streets of Oxford, but very close to its famous schools.
6	England	<i>Garden</i>	B&B garden
7	England	Evesham	Avon River
8	France		Chateau-l'Eveque
9	Italy	Siena	Baptistery
10	Italy	<i>Volterra</i>	
11	England	Keswick	A beautiful lake at Keswick, the English Lake District
12	Spain	Galicia	Near O Grove
13	England	Whitsands Bay	
14	England	Ribble Valley	Longridge Fell
15	Italy	Bellaggio	
16	Italy	Merano	
17	Finland	Lake Naakajarvi	
18	England	North Norfolk	
19	England	North Norfolk	Cromer Pier
20	Switzerland	Alpes	
21	Switzerland	Alpes	
22	Finland		
23	Italy	Gardaland	Theme park detail
24	Italy	Stra	Villa Pisani
25	Iceland	Reykjavík	

The photos can be found at:

<http://www.constantlight.com/travel/england/england1.html>

<http://www.travelphoto.net>