

Testing a Cultural Tourism Typology

Bob McKercher* and Hilary du Cros

School of Hotel and Tourism Management, Hong Kong Polytechnic University, Hung Hom, Kowloon, Hong Kong

ABSTRACT

This paper tests further a cultural tourism typology based on the interface between centrality of cultural tourism as a trip motive and the depth of experience. Five types of cultural tourist are identified that represent five benefit-based segments. The segments are tested against a variety of trip, demographic, motivational, preferred activity, awareness, cultural distance and activity variables. Significant differences are noted between the groups, suggesting that the model presented may be effective in segmenting the cultural tourism market. Moreover, although the segmentation process is predicated on two variables, these variables are reflective of underlying trip motivation, activity preference and cultural distance factors noted between the different types of cultural tourist. Copyright © 2003 John Wiley & Sons, Ltd.

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INTRODUCTION

A cultural tourism typology model using centrality of purpose and depth of experience as the core dimensions was proposed in this journal (see McKercher, 2002). Five types of cultural tourist were identified in that study, ranging from those people for whom culture played no role in their decision to travel and who had a shallow

experience to those people who were highly motivated to travel for cultural reasons and who subsequently had deep experiences. The model was tested empirically in a limited manner and it was discovered that each of the five segments exhibited substantially different behaviour. This paper develops the tourism typology model further by testing the validity of the segments identified against a wider range of trip, demographic, experiential, motivational, attitudinal and learning variables.

CLASSIFYING CULTURAL TOURISTS BY CENTRALITY OF PURPOSE AND DEPTH OF EXPERIENCE

Marketing theory argues that every market consists of groups or segments of customers with different needs and wants (Kotler, 1999). Customers who react in a homogeneous way, be it in their motivations, behaviour, reactions to marketing activities, or the benefits they seek from consuming products and services can be grouped (Sollner and Rese, 2001), enabling products to be developed that can more effectively satisfy the differing needs of each segment. Segments are only meaningful if they help an organisation better match its products with its target markets (Mitchell and Wilson, 1998). The operationalisation challenge is to find a means of identifying discrete market segments while working within the financial and skills limits of the organisation.

If all markets can be segmented, then, it stands to reason that the cultural tourism market should be no different. In the absence of more discriminating variables, researchers sought to identify differences between cultural tourists and other tourists using demographic variables (Richards, 1996; Blackwell, 1997; Miller, 1997; Kemmerling Clack, 1999). But a number of authors (Prentice *et al.*, 1998;

*Correspondence to: B. McKercher, School of Hotel and Tourism Management, Hong Kong Polytechnic University, Hung Hom, Kowloon, Hong Kong.
E-mail: hmbob@polyu.edu.hk

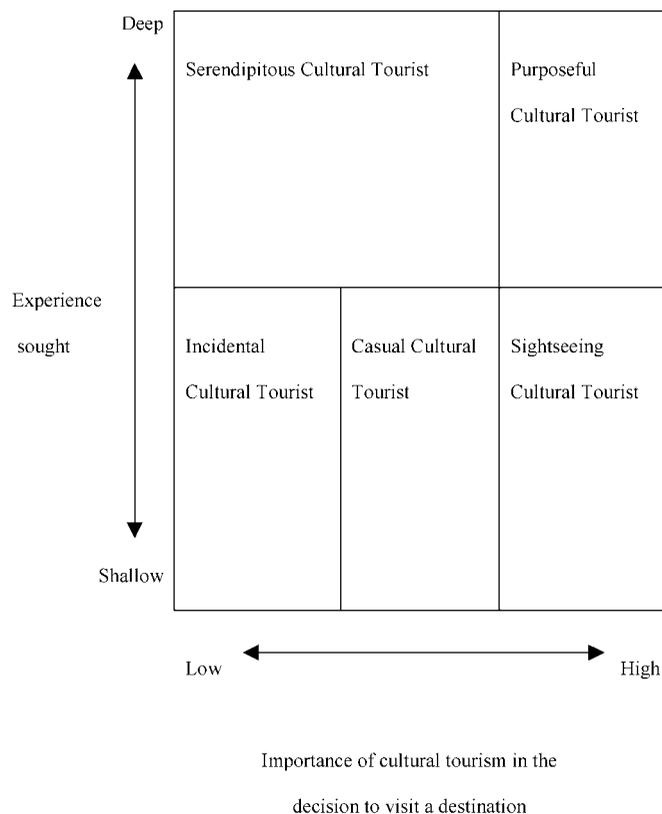


Figure 1. A cultural tourist typology

Frochot and Morrison, 2000) argue that because tourism is experiential and that experience is sought by groups of tourists across socio-demographic strata, benefit segmentation may be more applicable than strict socio-demographic segmentation.

To a large extent, though, much research into cultural tourism is still focused on using socio-demographic variables (Bowen, 1998; Prentice *et al.*, 1998). These studies treat the cultural tourism market as an undifferentiated market, with the implicit assumption being that all cultural tourists represent the prototypical 'deep' cultural tourist: someone who is highly motivated to travel for cultural reasons and who seeks a deep experience. Both assumptions are flawed. The importance or centrality of cultural motives in driving destination choice varies significantly among tourists. For some, it represents the central reason to travel. But, for many who participate in cultural tourism activities, culture is a second-

ary reason to visit a destination and may, in fact, play no role in the destination of choice (Silberberg, 1995; Richards, 1996; DKS, 1999; McKercher, 2002). Studies examining centrality of cultural tourism as a trip motive show that it influences the number and type of activities pursued (McKercher, 2002), awareness levels of primary and secondary cultural attractions, the amount of pre-trip research undertaken (DKS, 1999) and other trip factors. Likewise, it is recognised at both a conceptual (Stebbins, 1996; Timothy, 1996) and empirical level (Kerstetter *et al.*, 1998; Prentice *et al.*, 1998) that different people will engage cultural tourism attractions at different levels, depending on their own interests, level of knowledge, time availability, number and type of travel partners, and other factors.

Further, although it may be assumed that centrality and depth of experience are linked, this relationship does not apply in all cases. Because of the factors mentioned above, two

highly motivated cultural tourists may have substantially different experiences. Likewise, it is possible that someone who is not motivated to travel for cultural tourism reasons but who does participate in some cultural tourism activities could have an unexpectedly deep experience.

McKercher (2002), identified five types of cultural tourists based on centrality and depth of experience (Figure 1).

- (1) The *purposeful cultural tourist* (high centrality/deep experience). Learning about the other's culture or heritage is a major reason for visiting a destination and this type of cultural tourist has a deep cultural experience.
- (2) The *sightseeing cultural tourist* (high centrality/shallow experience). Learning about the other's culture or heritage is a major reason for visiting a destination, but this type of tourist has a more shallow, entertainment-orientated experience.
- (3) The *casual cultural tourist* (modest centrality/shallow experience). Cultural tourism reasons play a limited role in the decision to visit a destination and this type of cultural tourist engages the destination in a shallow manner.
- (4) The *incidental cultural tourist* (low centrality/shallow experience). Cultural tourism plays no meaningful role in the destination decision-making process. However, while at the destination, the person will participate in cultural tourism activities, having a shallow experience.
- (5) The *serendipitous cultural tourist* (low centrality/deep experience). Cultural tourism plays little or no role in the decision to visit a destination, but while there this tourist visits cultural attractions and ends up having a deep experience.

This model was tested empirically on a sample of cultural tourists visiting Hong Kong. Significant differences were noted in the types of cultural tourism experiences sought. The purposeful cultural tourist was the greatest consumer of intellectually challenging experiences, preferring to visit museums and lesser known heritage sites. The sightseeing cultural tourist collected a wide array of experiences, preferring to tour widely rather than pursuing

any one activity in depth. The casual cultural tourist tended to seek convenience based attractions but also had some interest in visiting temples. The incidental cultural tourist visited convenience based attractions that were located in tourism nodes, were easy to consume and were not particularly emotionally or intellectually challenging. Theme parks were especially popular with this group. The smallest group, the serendipitous cultural tourist, demonstrated no clear pattern, which is understandable given the highly personal nature of their deep experiences.

THE STUDY

This study builds on the earlier work, by testing the cultural tourism typology against a much wider array of trip, demographic, awareness, motivational and experiential variables. A similar method to the earlier study was used to ensure continuity in data collection. (For a detailed discussion of the method used in this study, see McKercher and Hui 2001.) Primary data were collected through face to face interviews conducted in the Departure Lounge area of the Hong Kong International Airport during October and November 2000. A team of eight researchers interviewed respondents. Prospective respondents were identified using a multistage cluster sampling design with stratification. The sampling method involved a non-random selection of flights to major source markets. A systematic method was then utilised to select potential respondents based on their proximity to a previously selected seat near the departure gate for the specific flight. In this manner, the respondents essentially self-selected themselves by where they chose to sit in the lounge area, ensuring that a sampling technique approaching randomness could be achieved.

Data were collected through a structured questionnaire. To begin, potential respondents had to satisfy three qualifying questions to ensure that they were tourists (not transit passengers or outbound Hong Kong residents) and that they had participated in some form of cultural tourism activity during their stay. This question read 'during this visit to Hong Kong, did you visit museums, historical buildings, historical sites, art galleries, go on any cultural

tours or attend any festivals/events?' Elsewhere in the questionnaire, they were asked to identify places they had visited from a list of more than 40 historical sites, museums, cultural or religious places, markets and other cultural attractions. They could also nominate other places not on the list they felt were cultural in nature.

A cultural tourism attraction, for the purpose of this study, was defined according to the definition used by the International Commission on Monuments and Sites, ICOMOS to define cultural heritage (ICOMOS, 1999). Cultural heritage is a broad concept that includes tangible assets, such as natural and cultural environments, encompassing of landscapes, historic places, sites and built environments as well as intangible assets such as collections, past and continuing cultural practices, knowledge and living experiences. Examples of tangible heritage includes museums, historical buildings, religious sites and arguably theme parks if they have a heritage focus, whereas intangible heritage includes collections, performance and festivals. They do not include, however, tourist attractions without a clear, recognisable cultural or heritage focus.

The questionnaire included a series of questions relating to the importance of the opportunity to learn something about Hong Kong's culture or heritage in their decision to visit, the depth of experience they had, perceptions of the appeal of Hong Kong as a cultural destination, the activities they participated in and general travel motivations. Semantic differential statements were used to gather information on why respondents travel internationally for pleasure. In addition, standard trip and demographic data were acquired.

A valid sample of 760 cases was identified from the initial set of 1153 respondents. A questionnaire was deemed valid if the respondent came from one of the identified target source markets (Australia, New Zealand, USA, Canada, UK, Europe, mainland China, Taiwan Province, Singapore and Malaysia) and also if the respondent nominated specific cultural or heritage places visited. The large number of cases excluded arose because more than 330 respondents who satisfied the initial screening questions either did not specify which places

they visited, or identified activities or attractions that could not be considered as cultural tourism attractions using the ICOMOS parameters. When queried further about their activities, these people nominated such activities as taking a harbour cruise, going to tourist markets or visiting the territory's best known lookouts as being 'cultural' attractions. Interestingly, statistically significant differences were noted between this group and those cultural tourists who nominated cultural attractions on most trip, demographic, experiential and motivational variables.

The exclusion of so many people and the apparent differences between official definitions of cultural tourists and individuals' own self categorisation as cultural tourists raises a number of issues relating to the definitional challenges involved in examining this phenomenon. Defining cultural tourism is complex, because it can mean different things to different people. For many tourists, travelling to experience different cultures equates to cultural tourism. For them, encountering different cultures is synonymous with a cultural tourism experience, for, presumably, they are consuming the different sights, sounds, tastes and smells of an unfamiliar culture. On the other hand, academics and tourism marketers define cultural tourism as a discrete product category that is differentiated from other tourism activities by the consumption of a destinations' tangible and intangible cultural heritage (Richards, 1996; Hall and MacArthur, 1998; Shackley, 1998; Leask and Yeoman, 1999; McKercher and du Cros, 2002). If the consumer believes cultural tourism means travel to experience cultural differences, then, perhaps a rethink of cultural tourism is needed? Much more research on this issue is required, perhaps using symbolic interactionism (see e.g. Colton 1987) as a guiding method.

RESULTS

Table 1 shows the distribution of the sample among the five types of cultural tourist identified. As in the previous study, almost half of all cultural tourists in Hong Kong could be classified as incidental or casual cultural tourists, indicating that cultural motives played little role in their decision to visit. In

Table 1. Classification of Cultural Tourists in Hong Kong ($n = 760$)

Cultural tourist type	Percentage of sample
Incidental	20.9
Casual	26.7
Sightseeing	32.0
Purposeful	13.4
Serendipitous	7.0

addition, they described their experiences as being sightseeing orientated or as providing a chance to learn a little about Hong Kong's cultural heritage. Sightseeing cultural tourists represent about one-third of the sample. These people indicated that cultural reasons were an important or the main reason they came to Hong Kong, yet, they still described their experiences as being sightseeing orientated or as providing only limited learning opportunities. Only about one in eight cultural tourists surveyed could be classified as purposeful cultural tourists, highly motivated to travel to Hong Kong to learn something about its culture and heritage and having a deep cultural experience. Lastly, a very small group of serendipitous cultural tourists were identified.

Socio-demographics and trip variables

This study corroborates previous research that suggests demographic variables are not accurate indicators of benefit-based segments. No significant differences were found on any of the demographic variables tested, except for age of the respondent ($\chi^2 = 39.165$, Df = 20, $p = 0.006$). Sightseeing and purposeful cultural tourists tended to be older than other groups, whereas the casual and serendipitous cultural tourists tended to be younger. Likewise, no differences were noted among the trip characteristics (such as length of stay, total trip duration, repeat visitation, identification of Hong Kong as the main destination, expenditure), except in the variable, purpose of travel ($\chi^2 = 54.459$, Df = 12, $p = 0.000$). It is generally assumed that cultural tourists are pleasure or VFR (Visiting Friends and Relatives) travellers, but this study also indicated that almost one-quarter (22.1%) of all people who participate in

cultural tourism activities were business travellers. They tended to be clustered in the incidental and casual cultural tourist segments, which is expected given their trip purpose.

Business tourists represent an often ignored potential market segment for many pleasure tourism activities. Yet, many business travellers either have or make the opportunity to incorporate some pleasure activities on international trips. They are an attractive segment, for they tend to be well educated and affluent tourists who wish to pursue some recreational activities outside business hours. Convenience-based and well-known attractions are particularly popular with this group.

Cultural distance/destination perceptions

Cultural distance refers to the extent to which the culture of the originating region differs from that of the host region (McIntosh *et al.*, 1994). The previous study suggested that cultural distance may influence participation in international cultural tourism. People from more culturally distant places were more highly motivated to travel for cultural reasons and sought deeper experience, whereas tourists from culturally proximate regions were less interested in cultural tourism and sought superficial, entertainment orientated experiences. Tourists from culturally distant source markets were interested in museums and heritage buildings, whereas those from culturally proximate markets preferred to visit cultural theme parks and mainstream, mass cultural attractions (for more details see McKercher and Chow, 2001).

This study tested the concept explicitly. A positive correlation was noted between distance from Hong Kong and the perception of cultural difference ($r = 0.283$, $p = 0.000$). The further the tourist's home country is from Hong Kong, the more likely he or she is to feel that Hong Kong's culture is different from their own. This finding explains further the relationship between cultural tourist types, perception of cultural distance and perception of the uniqueness of Hong Kong's culture as a tourist attraction (Table 2). Generally, the greater the cultural distance, the more likely the tourist is to feel that Hong Kong is rich in

Table 2. Cultural distance by type of cultural tourist (%)

	Serendipitous	Incidental	Casual	Sightseeing	Purposeful	Statistical tests
Origin (<i>n</i> = 760)	Asia = 47.3 West = 52.7	Asia = 46.5 West = 53.5	Asia = 36.9 West = 63.1	Asia = 13.2 West = 86.8	Asia = 15.7 West = 84.3	$\chi^2 = 76.499$ Df = 4, <i>p</i> = 0.000
Similarity of home region to Hong Kong (<i>n</i> = 759)	Basically the same = 23.1 Somewhat different = 36.5 Very different = 40.4	Basically the same = 26.4 Somewhat different = 40.3 Very different = 33.3	Basically the same = 16.7 Somewhat different = 40.9 Very different = 42.4	Basically the same = 11.1 Somewhat different = 34.6 Very different = 54.3	Basically the same = 9.8 Somewhat different = 41.2 Very different = 49.0	$\chi^2 = 29.934$ Df = 8, <i>p</i> = 0.000
Perception of Hong Kong as a destination (<i>n</i> = 753)	Little unique culture, history or heritage = 9.6 Some features that are unique = 44.2 Rich in culture, history and heritage = 46.2	Little unique culture, history or heritage = 14.0 Some features that are unique = 52.2 Rich in culture, history and heritage = 33.5	Little unique culture, history or heritage = 16.4 Some features that are unique = 48.3 Rich in culture, history and heritage = 35.2	Little unique culture, history or heritage = 12.0 Some features that are unique = 34.7 Rich in culture, history and heritage = 53.3	Little unique culture, history or heritage = 6.9 Some features that are unique = 27.7 Rich in culture, history and heritage = 65.3	$\chi^2 = 40.704$ Df = 8, <i>p</i> = 0.000

Table 3. Motivational semantic differential statements (%)

Statement	Serendipitous	Incidental	Casual	Sightseeing	Purposeful	Statistical tests
In general, when I travel internationally, I prefer to: travel for education and cultural reasons ... travel for recreation and fun (<i>n</i> = 753):						$\chi^2 = 46.073$ Df = 16 <i>p</i> = 0.000
	mostly/more often education and culture	22.6	27.3	27.9	38.0	
	equally education and culture/ recreation and fun	22.6	32.3	41.7	41.0	
mostly recreation and fun	45.3	52.2	40.4	30.4	21.0	
In general, when I travel internationally, I prefer to: see travel as a chance to grow personally ... see travel as an opportunity to relax (<i>n</i> = 751):						$\chi^2 = 32.035$ Df = 16 <i>p</i> = 0.010
	mostly/more often grow personally	44.2	40.4	48.5	61.0	
	equally grow/ relax	28.8	37.3	36.0	27.0	
mostly relax	26.9	28.3	21.9	15.5	12.0	
In general, when I travel internationally, I prefer to: have a chance to learn about another's culture ... have a chance to get closer to my family and friends (<i>n</i> = 751):						$\chi^2 = 43.802$ Df = 16 <i>p</i> = 0.000
	mostly/more often learn about other cultures	59.7	56.0	74.9	84.0	
	equally learn/be with family and friends	25.0	27.6	19.7	13.0	
mostly /more often get closer to family and friends	15.4	16.4	6.0	5.4	3.0	

Table 4. Experiential semantic differential statements (%)

Statement	Serendipitous	Incidental	Casual	Sightseeing	Purposeful	Statistical tests
In general, when I travel internationally, I prefer to: shop ... visit museums (<i>n</i> = 751):						$\chi^2 = 28.975$ Df = 16
mostly/more often shop	28.8	35.2	38.5	24.2	21.0	$p = 0.024$
equally shop/visit museums	42.3	41.5	44.5	51.3	43.0	
more often/mostly visit museums	28.9	23.2	17.0	24.6	36.0	
In general, when I travel internationally, I prefer to: visit a destination's well known attractions/sites first ... visit out of the way and obscure attractions/sites first (<i>n</i> = 748):						$\chi^2 = 28.143$ Df = 16 $p = 0.030$
mostly/more often visit well known sites first	61.5	48.2	58.5	48.1	41.0	
equally well known/obscure	23.1	27.8	33.0	32.2	42.0	
more often/mostly visit obscure sites first	15.4	13.9	8.5	14.7	17.0	
In general, when I travel internationally, I prefer to: wander through local markets ... shop at shops selling brand name goods (<i>n</i> = 750):						$\chi^2 = 27.725$ Df = 16 $p = 0.034$
mostly/more often visit local markets	69.2	64.1	71.0	76.7	78.7	
equally local markets/name brand stores	26.9	25.2	25.5	19.6	17.2	
more often/mostly shop at name brand stores	3.9	10.7	3.5	3.7	4.1	
In general, when I travel internationally, I prefer to: research the destination in depth before I visit ... do no research (<i>n</i> = 751):						$\chi^2 = 30.987$ Df = 16 $p = 0.014$
mostly/more often do research	55.0	51.0	57.7	64.5	70.0	
equally do research/do no research	17.6	18.8	20.4	13.8	17.0	
more often/mostly do no research	37.4	30.2	21.9	23.7	13.0	

culture, history and heritage. McKercher and Chow (2001) demonstrated a correlation between cultural distance and cultural tourist typology. This relationship is evident in this study as well, as the ratio of Asian to Western tourists changes across the cultural tourism continuum. The share of Asian tourists declines from about one-half of incidental and serendipitous cultural tourists to less than one-sixth of purposeful cultural tourists. Significant differences emerge between segments in relation to Hong Kong's image as a cultural destination.

Travel motives – centrality and preferred experiences

Two of the goals of this study were to gain a better understanding of why cultural tourists travel for pleasure and what type of experiences they prefer. These issues were tested through the use of semantic differential questions. Semantic differential questions present the respondent with two opposing statements and ask the person to select which one best reflects his or her point of view. For example, one statement read 'in general, when I travel internationally, and I prefer to: travel for education and cultural reasons ... travel for recreation and fun.' The choice of answers included 'mostly travel for education and cultural reasons', 'more often education and cultural reasons', 'equally travel for education and cultural reasons and for recreation and fun', 'more often for recreation and fun' and 'mostly for recreation and fun'. Three of the statements sought underlying reasons for travel, whereas the remaining 10 assessed preferred activities or experiences at a destination. Significant differences were noted in seven statements, including all three underlying motivational statements and four of the 10 activity statements.

The responses to the motivational statements are summarised in Table 3. Purposeful and sightseeing cultural tourists tended to state that they were motivated to travel for educational or cultural reasons, saw travel as a chance to learn about another's culture and saw travel as a chance to grow personally. The purposeful cultural tourist expressed these opinions more strongly than sightseeing cul-

tural tourists. By contrast, incidental and serendipitous cultural tourists suggested recreation and fun, relaxation and getting closer to family and friends were the main reasons they travelled.

A similar pattern was noted in the four statements seeking insights into preferred activities (Table 4). Again, the purposeful and sightseeing cultural tourists preferred museums over shopping, liked to visit out of the way or obscure attractions and preferred to shop in local markets rather than in stores selling brand names. They also tended to do more research about the destination prior to visiting. Casual and incidental cultural tourists, on the other hand, preferred to shop at name brand stores, would rather see the main sites of a destination and do little research before visiting.

Activities undertaken

Different behaviours were noted by each cohort. Incidental cultural tourists preferred visiting easy to consume, low involvement, well known, entertainment orientated, mass tourism cultural attractions. Theme parks and IMAX-type cinemas were particularly appealing to this segment. This behaviour is a reflection of both the low importance of cultural tourism in the decision to visit and of the underlying motivation of travelling primarily for pleasure. Sightseeing cultural tourists showed a preference for visiting British colonial sites and also the cultural precinct in Kowloon. Purposeful cultural tourists visited both Chinese and British colonial sites and were also the greatest consumers of commercial day-tour products. Sightseeing and incidental cultural tourists were also fairly active consumers of commercial products (approximately 12% each). Cultural or heritage tours hold little appeal for incidental and casual cultural tourists.

Amount of learning

One of the recognised goals of cultural tourism is to increase awareness of the destination's cultural or heritage values (ICOMOS, 1999, 2000; NTHP, 1999). This study suggests most cultural tourists do report learning something

Table 5. Amount of learning as a result of the visit

	Serendipitous	Incidental	Casual	Sightseeing	Purposeful	Statistical tests
Knowledge on arrival (mean)	2.82	2.79	2.73	2.87	2.98	ANOVA $f = 1.421$ $p = 0.225$
Knowledge on departure (mean)	3.48	3.22	3.32	3.54	3.76	ANOVA $f = 10.407$ $p = 0.000$
Change in knowledge (%)	Know the same = 36.0 Know more = 64.0	Know the same = 39.5 Know more = 60.5	Know the same = 31.3 Know more = 98.5	Know the same = 19.1 Know more = 80.9	Know the same = 8.9 Know more = 91.1	$\chi^2 = 41.278$ Df = 4 $p = 0.000$

after their visit, but that the amount learned is variable and depends on the type of cultural tourist. Respondents were asked three questions to assess their knowledge of Hong Kong's cultural heritage. The first asked them to assess their level of knowledge before arriving in Hong Kong; the second, their knowledge on departure. Both questions used a five point Likert scale. The third question asked them to indicate if their knowledge had increased, stayed the same or decreased as a result of the visit. The results are summarised in Table 5.

All cultural tourists, regardless of how they are classified, generally feel they arrive with about the same level of knowledge of Hong Kong's culture and heritage in spite of the fact that some are more likely to do pre-trip research than others. However, the study noted substantial differences in perceived knowledge gained on departure. Incidental and casual cultural tourists still felt they had average knowledge, whereas sightseeing and purposeful cultural tourists were more likely to say that they now knew more than the average tourist. A majority of serendipitous cultural tourists also felt that they now knew more than the average tourist. Overall, nearly three-quarters of respondents said that their knowledge of Hong Kong's culture and heritage had changed as a result of this visit. But, again, significant differences were noted between segments ($\chi^2 = 41.278$, $Df = 4$, $p = 0.000$). Only about 60% of incidental cultural tourists said they knew more. This figure grew steadily, peaking at more than 91% of purposeful cultural tourists.

DISCUSSION

This study tested further a cultural tourism typology developed by the authors. Five types of cultural tourist were identified using centrality of cultural tourism in destination choice and depth of experience as discriminators. The typology was tested against a variety of demographic, destination perception, cultural distance, trip motivation, preferred experience and activity variables. The study confirms that many shades of cultural tourist exist. The spectrum of cultural tourists ranges from recreational or pleasure tourists who happen

to participate in some cultural tourism activity to augment their trip experience to those people who travel exclusively or primarily to pursue cultural tourism activities.

The study tested, in part, the validity of the five types of cultural tourists identified as a means of segmenting the cultural tourism marketplace. The results appear to corroborate the validity of using benefits based segmentation. Substantial differences were noted between the five segments on most of the variables tested. Importantly, the five segments provide useful predictors of both the type of experience people will seek and also of the amount of learning they hope to gain. (Note, the authors also reanalysed the data from a supply perspective by conducting an activities-based segmentation study. Activities based segmentation assumes that different themed sets of attractions will appeal to different cohorts of tourists. See Mc Kercher *et al.* (2002) for full details.)

Collectively, these findings suggest that the simple two-dimensional model proposed, in fact, reflects more profound underlying motives that shape the tourists' desired travel experience as well as their cultural tourism behaviour. Indeed, the typology reflects the operationalisation of the factors that motivate tourists to travel in the first place and the preferred type of experiences they seek at a destination. The purposeful cultural tourist is not just motivated to travel for deep cultural experiences. This person, in general, sees travel as a chance for self development and seeks experiences that will facilitate the achievement of that goal. Likewise, incidental or casual cultural tourists are not superficial consumers of culture. These people see travel as recreation, refreshment and replenishment and seek experiences that help them achieve these goals.

The cultural tourism typology is similar in many ways to both Plog's (1976) and Cohen's (1979) more generic typologies of tourists. Although there has been some debate over the use of typologies, they do serve useful purposes in trying to understand the behaviour of different groups of travellers. Purposeful cultural tourists are similar in motives to Plog's near-allocentric or allocentric tourists or to Cohen's experimental or existential tourists.

Sightseeing cultural tourists are similar to Plog's mid-centrics or Cohen's experiential tourists, whereas the casual, incidental and serendipitous cultural tourists resemble Plog's near-psychocentric or psychocentric tourist or Cohen's recreational and diversionary tourist.

Likewise, an analogy can be made with Cohen's (1972) concept of strangeness versus familiarity. Purposeful cultural tourists seek travel experiences, in general, that lie outside of their familiar environment, and further, wish to embrace different environments as much as possible. As such, their cultural tourism experiences become a metaphor for their greater quest for strangeness. The ability to cope with strangeness, however, diminishes as the typology shifts from purposeful to incidental cultural tourist, resulting in the concomitant desire to seek more familiar experiences. Strangeness reduction is facilitated in a number of ways, including greater commoditisation of the experience, greater emphasis on fun and entertainment and the provision of experiences that can be consumed with little emotional or intellectual commitment.

These findings have significant implications for gaining a greater appreciation of the inherent diversity of the cultural tourism market, the potential size of any segment and the types of cultural tourism products that are most suited for different segments. Moreover, they offer insights into which markets most destinations should target. Proponents of cultural tourism like to argue that purposeful cultural tourists represent the archetypal cultural tourist: someone who is highly motivated to travel for cultural reasons and who seeks a deep experience. In the absence of more detailed research, inferences are made that anyone who participates in cultural tourism must be a deep cultural tourist. This type of thinking has led to the promulgation of wild figures about the size of the cultural tourism market based solely on participation, with respected bodies such as the World Tourism Organisation even suggesting that upwards of 40% of all international tourists are 'cultural tourists' (Richards, 1996). These figures have, in turn, been used by certain proponents of politically correct tourism to argue that cultural tourists represents a new type of mass

tourist who seeks meaningful travel experiences.

This study suggests otherwise. The many shades of cultural tourists fall along a continuum, just like any other cohort of tourists. The coveted purposeful cultural tourist is the exception rather than the norm, representing only a small minority of all people who participate in cultural tourism. The majority on the other hand, just like the majority of all tourists, tend to participate for recreational and pleasure reasons and not for deep learning experiences. De Kadt's (1978) observations from over 20 years ago that most tourists should not be confused with anthropologists and archeologists still holds true. The majority of cultural tourists are on vacation, a break from their normal hectic and stressful lives. They seek enjoyable experiences that entertain them, but do not tax them mentally or ideologically.

It is a mistake to assume that all cultural tourists are alike. Likewise it is a mistake to assume that all or most cultural tourists are seeking a deep and meaningful experience. Plog's (1976) and Cohen's (1979) models predict this phenomenon, and the semantic differential motivational statements explain the differences empirically. Tourism is still a pleasure activity that is undertaken largely for recreation, relationship building and rejuvenation. People participate in a wide array of activities, including cultural tourism to have these goals met. This study revealed that the majority of cultural tourists stated that they were motivated to travel, in whole or in part, to relax, enjoy themselves or to be with family and friends. Their preferred activities of shopping, seeing well known cultural sites and treating the visit to Hong Kong as a holiday, rather than work; by not doing much research before arrival reflects the recreational nature of their trips.

Further, the emergence of both physical and cultural distance as factors that influence the cultural tourism typology offer further insights into why most cultural tourists can be classified as incidental, casual or sightseeing, whereas there are relatively few purposeful cultural tourists. The short break, culturally proximate market, in particular is interested in escapist, recreational holidays. Seeing as this

market is now recognised as the dominant market for most destinations, it stands to reason that their cultural tourism behaviours will be evocative of recreational tourism. Long haul, culturally distant tourists will seek deeper experiences, but in the grander scheme of things, represent a smaller market segment.

The implications on product development of a dominant recreationally orientated cultural tourist market are equally as significant. Understanding that most cultural tourists prefer to travel for fun and recreation and are seeking lighter experiences means that successful products must cater to these needs. Cultural tourism must be presented in a manner that is enjoyable, easy to consume and, although it may contain an element of learning, must first seek to entertain. Products that ignore this maxim will struggle to find a large consumer base.

This study tested a proposed cultural tourism typology. The results verified the validity of the typology, but also identified a number of underlying factors that explain why and how cultural tourists can be classified into one of the five types or segments identified. Physical distance, cultural distance, travel motivations and activity preferences all influence what type of cultural tourist an individual is. In turn, these factors shape the type of preferred experience sought and also the amount the person will learn when participating in cultural activities.

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