

Photographic Images, Culture, and Perception in Tourism Advertising: a Q methodology Study of Canadian and Chinese University Students

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Abstract

Photographic images of travel products and destinations are perceived differently by different cultural groups. This creates a challenge for tourism marketers, who need to communicate specific messages to specific groups. In this paper, we describe group-specific perceptions of photographic images of travel destinations among university students in Canada and China. Although most educated travelers in their twenties seem to be motivated primarily by novelty-seeking and the experience of the unfamiliar, the cultural background of the traveler largely determines what is considered novel or unfamiliar.

Key Words: Tourism Marketing, Photographic Image Analysis, Culture and Perception, Q methodology

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Introduction

The marketing of tourism products relies heavily on photographic images. Picures that communicate messages of destinations, programs, and activities are the key to attracting and holding potential visitors who will, it is hoped, be motivated to make further inquiries and eventually a booking. Photographic images may also evoke memories and return business, or stimulate word of mouth recommendations to potential visitors. Tourism advertising layouts need to carefully select visual images for communication value (Weber et al., 1996). However, little has been written on methods of selecting visual images of travel destinations for hard copy material or electronic media. Expert opinion and "gut feeling" seem to be the major forms of selection (Nakakoji et al., 1998). Often the images are selected by one person or a small culturally or ethnically homogenous group. In this article we use Q methodology to show why attention needs to be given to differences in ways that visual images are read across cultures, and we show how photographic images that attract one cultural group are not of interest to another. The focus of this study is on university students, an easily accessible, high spending group of travelers (Schott, 2004).

A photograph is a complex text that can be read many ways. It is surrounded by a historical, aesthetic, and cultural frame of reference as well as by an entire "set of relation-

ships and meanings relating to the photographer and the point at which the image was made... The image is as much a reflection of the 'I' of the photographer as it is of the 'eye' of the camera..." (Clarke, 1997, pp. 27 and 33). Images are interpreted through cultural lenses. This implies that we expect differences in how individuals see, select, and read images; cultural backgrounds shape expectations and travel experiences (MacKay and Fesenmaier, 2000; Yu, 1995). The present research suggests that culture and prior travel experiences are strong influencers of the way young people view images of travel destinations.

Visual images in tourism and travel marketing

The relative paucity of research literature on methods of selection of photos for presentation to the customer is a problem for tourism marketers who wish to prepare effective presentation materials. The value of proper images and general layout of promotional material has received attention (Dilley, 1986; Johnston and Tieh, 1985). A few authors have discussed visual representation of destinations in tourism promotional literature (Stringer 1984, Henderson, 2001; Jenkins, 2003), and a small literature investigates perception of visual images of destinations in a historic North American context (Colpitts, 1998; Hoelscher, 1998; Wyckroff & Dilsaver, 1997). Much existing literature on image perception concerns itself with ethical and stereotypical imaging of destinations. Visitor-taken images are also analyzed to explain the travel experience as a type of artistic expression (Garlick, 2002) or to assess and interpret travel experiences (Groves and Timo-

thy, 2001; MacKay and Couldwell, 2004). Yu (1995) shows that landscape preference by tourists is significantly influenced by their cultural backgrounds.

Another line of empirical research samples the visitor or potential visitor to describe perceptions of specific visual depictions of travel destinations or activities. Hem, Iversen & Gronhaug (1990) report results of research on a sample of potential international visitors from several countries who evaluated photos of Norwegian nature-based destinations. Factor analysis of data revealed two underlying dimensions, which were termed "positive feelings" and "danger." The dimensions are related to the strength of the intention to visit, and gender has a moderating effect. Swaffield and Fairweather (1996) use Q methodology to identify visitors' attitudes towards landscapes and followed up their initial work with a series of tourism based studies in New Zealand. They show "the varied ways in which Kaikoura is experienced as a tourist destination," finding evidence of "subtle but significant distinctions between the experiences sought and appreciated by different visitor groups" (2001, p. 219). They also describe the differences in the way tourists and local residence view landscapes in Rotorua (Fairweather, J. & Swaffield S. 2002). Davis (2004) and Davis and Khare (2002) use Q methodology to characterize Bay of Fundy visitors' perceptions of photographic travel images and identify patterns of travel experience preferences for purposes of tourism product development.

This paper explores ways that various cultural groups view similar images drawn from electronic travel advertising and related literature. We show that different cultural groups differ in their preferences for travel-related photographic images and that acculturation of

individuals within a cultural group even for a relatively short period alters their perception of images. Although the literature on cross-cultural perception is considerable, little work has been done on how this relates to tourism and travel and the way that images are presented and perceived. Furthermore, little research has been conducted on preselection of images for use in promotion and marketing material. The issue of selection is not made easier by the fact that tourism is very much an international and crosscultural business so that selection for one geographical area and/or ethnic group does not extend to another. Images must match a specific cultural or ethnic group's perceptions and preferences closely enough to convey the intended meaning. The major problem for the selector of images for marketing and advertising in tourism revolves around four main issues: quality of the image; relation of text to image; the story the image tells; and matching the right story to the right audience. With the great increase in international travel and the potential for outbound travel from Asian countries (particularly India and China), marketers must re-examine the way images are chosen and how they are used by potential travelers. This paper explores how three different groups perceive photographic images of destinations. We find that People's Republic of China (PRC) university students read destination images differently than PRC students who have been exposed to North American culture through study in a Canadian university, and that both groups differ from Canadia university students in their preferences for photographic images. Further, we show that Q methodology provides a useful, relatively inexpensive approach to identifying and selecting appropriate images for promotional and marketing material. We refer to the PRC students in Canada as "acculturated" in the sense that acculturation is "the processes by which individuals, families, communities, and societies react to intercultural contact" (Rudmin 2003). Increased globalization makes the study of acculturation essential to understanding travel motivation and traveler decision-making.

Method

This paper uses Q methodology to provide insights into the travel image preferences of Chinese and Western university students. Q methodology is a way of extracting and describing subjective viewpoints. It assumes that subjectivity is structured and it combines qualitative and quantitative analyusis to to provide a systematic and rigorous means of objectively describing human subjectivity (Brown 1980; McKeown & Thomas, 1988; van Exel, 2005). Q methodology allows respondents to model their viewpoints in response to a sample set of stimuli, which can be statements or images. The objective of Q methodology is to systematically describe and compare viewpoints among persons, not to determine the distribution of viewpoints within a population. Respondents rank order items – in this case, photographs of tourism activities – according to a specific instruction - in this case, from most to least interesting - to represent their viewpoint. The resulting matrix is then factor analyzed. It is important to note that Q methodology does not seek to identify relationships among variables but among respondents. Respondents who rank order the stimulus items in similar ways share a viewpoint. In this study a commercial Q methodology software package, *PCQ for Windows*, was used for data analysis. This software performs factor analysis and varimax as well as graphical rotation of factors.

Q methodology requires the development of a "concourse" of stimulus items. Photographic images from the Internet in seven categories of tourism: adventure; cultural; nature/ecotourism; urban; rural; heritage; special interest and miscellaneous tourism topics. Eastern (Asian) and Western destination images were included in approximately equal numbers. Over one hundred images were reviewed by a team of three, a Chinese graduate student, a Chinese research associate, and an English speaking Canadian professor. An initial group of 41 images was selected for a pilot study involving twenty university students (ten English-speaking Canadians and ten students from PRC who had been in Canada between one and five years). Based on the pilot study, several small changes were made in the deck of images and the number of images was reduced to 34. Images are listed in Table 1. Space constraints do not permit reproduction of images here.

Q methodology has been applied in many disciplines such as political science, marketing, psychology, sociology, public policy, marketing, and health care.³ A number of researchers have used Q methodology in landscape perception research (see the discussion in Fairweather and Swaffield 2001). However, the use of Q-sorted images in tourism destination research is relatively novel. For example, Fairweather and Swaffield (2001) found that *families* prefer the coastal experience in Kaikoura, New Zealand, and through using photographs of landscapes and Q methodology Davis and Khare (2002) discovered that outdoors exploring and coastal environment observation are primary market segments for summer visitors to the Bay of Fundy region in Canada.

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³ For full descriptions of the method and examples of its use see McKeown and Thomas (1988), Brown (1980), or the journal *Operant Subjectivity*.

Three separate groups of students participated in the full study: 27 Canadian students with English as a first language (E), 27 students from the Harbin Institute of Technology's School of Management, Faculty of Business (CH), and 27 Mandarin speaking students from the PRC who had been studying in Canada for one to five years (C). We consider Chinese students in Canada to be "acculturated" and hypothesized that they would express different preferences for travel images than Canadians and Chinese students in China. Ninety percent of the participants in Canada were undergraduates from the Faculty of Business and ten percent were from other faculties. The students from Harbin were from third-year business classes. All of the participants were in their early or mid twenties. Approximately equal numbers of students of each gender participated.

Approximately half the respondents in Canada were recruited through a summer school business class in which volunteers were asked to participate in the study. The remaining students were approached in a popular meeting spot on campus and invited to participate. Fewer than five percent of invitees declined to participate. Once the students had consented, they were presented with a deck of 34 3" x 5" laminated photos and asked to rank order them according to instructions that are described below. Written instructions and follow-up interviews were conducted in the students' first language. The images were sorted on the flat surface of a table.

Students were asked to sort the 34 images in a forced distribution of seven piles consisting of three, four, six, eight, six, four, and three images respectively, as shown in Figure 1. In the card sorting procedure, respondents are asked to first sort the cards into three piles of cards that are generally interesting, generally uninteresting, and of no particular interest. Conventionally, the cards of most interest are in the right-hand pile, the cards of least interest are in the left-hand pile, and the cards of no particular interest are in the middle pile. From these piles they then select the images of most interest and of least interest, finally placing all the cards in the specified distribution. The occasional inability or refusal of a respondent to sort the cards into the prescribed distribution does not materially affect results.

(Insert Fig. 1 here)

Upon completion of the sorting, a short semiformal interview was conducted in the students first language. In the interview the participant was asked to explain his or her choice of most and least interesting destination images, and responses and comments were noted. The distribution was manually recorded on a work sheet by the interviewee and checked by the interviewer. The data was then transferred to the computer program for analysis.

Results

The 81 sorts were factor analyzed and several possible factor solutions were examined.

The four-factor solution was selected since it accounted for the largest number of sorts with simple structure, i.e. significant loading on one and only one of the factors in the solution under consideration. Sixty-seven of the eighty-one sorts thus loaded cleanly on the four factors (data not shown). Table 1 shows each item's score on each factor.

(Insert Table 1 here)

Factor A: Exotic Adventure (English-speaking Canadians)

Factor A shows a particularly strong positive interest among students in heritage architecture with three of the four heritage building images (Islamic Mosque, Petra, and a Asian temple) being placed first, second and third in the "most interesting" column. The adventure images are all rated as interesting or somewhat interesting. Students in this group also display a marked interest in natural area scenery showing vistas. This group expresses a disinterest in rural scenery and crowds, and shows little interest in images of culinary scenes. Wine tasting, beer festivals, and exotic foods are not considered of interest. The group expresses an interest in natural area travel as long as a degree of human activity is shown. Nature scenes that contain animals are not of interest.

This group is dominated by English-speaking Canadians. Of seventeen students loading significantly on Factor A, fourteen are English-speaking Canadians. The other three are acculturated Chinese. Seven females and 10 males make up the factor. Two Chinese females and one Chinese male form the acculturated Chinese component.

Content analysis of interviews shows that Factor A students seek to experience new things. Many have never experienced the activities shown in the images, but would like to. Students suggested that images of experiences that were "normal" or familiar to them were of limited interested and they would not travel to see them. Rural scenes in particular received negative comments as something common or familiar.

Because of the large number of Canadian students and the general interest in heritage architecture from Asia and the Near East (but less interest in western style heritage architecture) we call this factor 'Exotic Adventure.' The interest in adventure tourism contributed the second part of the name.

Factor B: Natural Solitude (Harbin Chinese)

Students loading significantly on Factor B consist of five acculturated Chinese, two Canadians, and sixteen Harbin Chinese. This group of students prefers images with solitude as a common theme. Images of natural areas and soft adventure are also significant. The group rates rural scenery the highest of the four groups that we identified, and expresses disinterest in images of crowded places to the point where all crowd images were in the least interested columns. This group also rated culinary images lower than other groups did, including one image of a Cantonese-style barbequed pig. Low regard for this dish is apparently due to the considerable difference in culinary style between North China and

the Guangdong area. Gender appears not to be a determinant of image preferences among students in this group.

Content analysis of the follow-up interviews suggests that Factor B students want to see and try new things in locations that are foreign to them. They definitely do not like crowds and they seek out solitary activities. The untidiness of the fishing village scene (image 7) elicited numerous separate comments, as did the street market. The poor, dirty conditions of the village are of little interest as part of a travel experience. The street market (image 10) is considered common and could be seen locally so is not considered something that one would travel to see.

Because of the preference for images of natural areas and images showing few or no people, we label Factor B "Natural Solitude."

Factor C: Water Lovers (largely acculturated Chinese)

It is surprising that one group's preferred images have largely to do with water. The seven images of most interest to Factor C students are all associated with water or water-related activities: hot springs, cruise ships, para-skiing, rafting, scuba diving, etc. The only water related image that Factor C students placed in the negative columns is the crowded beach scene. Images of least interest include crowded places and places that are perceived as dirty and messy. Culinary images are also of little interest. Of the twenty-

two students in this group, fourteen are acculturated Chinese. The group consisted of 12 males and 10 females.

Content analysis of interviews indicates a desire to visit new and interesting places and try new experiences (albeit safe ones) which to this group are clearly associated with water.

Factor D: Safe and Secure

Factor D is a small eclectic group of five students, four of whom are female. One student, a male, loaded negatively on this factor. Factor D students (all females) express preference for heritage images, urban scenes, and uncrowded beach scenes. Adventure tourism and rural scenes are disliked. The common feature of the four Factor D respondents is an aversion to perceived risky activities such as rafting and scuba diving, and perceived unsafe environments such as rain forests. This interpretation was supported by the interviews.

Discussion

A review of the literature shows that little evaluative analysis of potential photographic images for marketing purposes in electronic and hard copy travel literature has been undertaken. Even rarer is material that looks at the perception of potential travellers across

cultures of brochure images. This study is an exploratory attempt to deal with both issues.

Although there are some overlaps, most of the students in this study express clear group-specific views. In general, English speaking Canadians, acculturated Chinese and Chinese students respond differently to photographic travel images. English speaking Canadians regard images of adventure away from their home region as most desirable. Novel (untried) adventure activities are regarded as most interesting. It is surprising that this this group is also interested in exotic heritage architecture and expresses a desire to visit exotic heritage sites. In selecting images to attract this group, one needs to be aware of their adventurous spirit and of their interest in exotic heritage. Destination managers and marketers will do well to ensure that images differ from those of the potential visitor's home region. Familiarity is not positively valued by this group.

The second group, labelled Natural Solitude, is composed largely of Chinese students who have not yet travelled outside China. The interviewer noted that a significant subset regarded all travel images as interesting and had some difficulty in distinguishing levels of interest among images taking considerably longer to make their selections than the other two groups. These respondents showed considerable curiosity about most of the images and plied the interviewer with many questions. Most respondence in all groups preferred images that portray open space and solitude and are regarded as most interesting. Crowd scenes and rural images are of little interest. Crowds and rural images are regarded as commonplace and not worthy of the time and money to visit. Many students

expressed the fact they could see markets and agricultural scenes at home and so had no reason to travel to visit such activities. Suggestions of travel experiences of solitude in natural settings are what this group wants, and images of crowded or underdeveloped rural places are to be avoided. As with Exotic Adventurers, locations that are unfamiliar are most attractive.

The Water Lovers are somewhat more culturally eclectic. However, this group is dominated by the acculturated Chinese. Water-based recreational images are the focus of their interest. Images of water are represented in the nine images of most interest to this group. One water image, a solitary beach, is of slightly less interest but is still considered desirable. The crowded beach image is the only water image that is not highly valued. Crowded places and rural scenes are also seen as negatives. It is not clear to us why water based recreation is considered so interesting. Both fresh and salt-water scenes are included in our concourse of images, as well as scenes as diverse as cruise ships and hot springs. Interestingly, MacKay and Fesenmaier (2000) also found water to be a significant feature of Taiwanese perceptions of travel images.

The safe and secure group (Factor D) is very small. Members see safety as a major issue. Generally, they seem to be timid but curious. All those that loaded positively on this factor are female.

Across all three major factors, students are similar in that they desire the exotic, the unfamiliar. They show an aversion to crowds in urban and rural areas. Although shopping

is often considered to be a major tourism attraction, this does not appear to be true of this age group (18 – 30) regardless of cultural background. Adventure as a significant element of travel is not surprising considering the age group (Sung 2004). However, we did not expect to find such a strong interest in heritage and architecture among students. This finding and a general interest in heritage support Valiquette who suggests that young Canadians at least are becoming more interested in culture and rehumanization (Valiquette 2004).

Visual material needs to speak to the varied interests of different cultural groups. This could be a difficult task in hard copy media where destination managers often attempt to produce material that serves several markets. Electronic media, however, allows some flexibility by changing images and text to suit specific markets.

Limitations

Q methodology aims to describe a population of viewpoints, not the distribution of viewpoints or variables in a population. Rearch using Q methodology typically uses relatively small numbers of respondents. Our sample of 27 students from each of three groups is large by Q standards. Q assumes that a relatively small number of viewpoints exist in a population (Brown, 1980). Properly designed and conducted Q studies are able to replicate viewpoints (Thomas & Baas, 1992). That is, a Q study using a similar concourse, a similar population, and a similar condition of instruction will identify viewpoints similar to the ones that we have identified. In this sense, Q is replicable. However, we make no

claims about the distribution within populations of the viewpoints that we have described in this article.

Conclusions

Our research confirms that educated travelers in their twenties seek novelty and the unfamiliar; these seem to be a primary travel motivation, and the cultural background of the traveler shapes what is considered novel or unfamiliar. Degree of travel sophistication also plays an important role. Chinese students who have lived in Canada for more than one year show a different configuration of travel interests than Chinese students who have not travelled abroad. At the same time, our research has produced unexpected observations. The interest of English-speaking Canadian students to combine heritage tourism with nature/adventure tourism may indicate an opportunity to create a crossover segment for international travel products. The interest of mainland Chinese students to experience natural solitude has not been discussed in the literature. It seems to be an important part of Chinese youth culture and it may represent an emerging market segment. The interest in water by Chinese students with North American travel experience is completely unexpected, and further research is required to understand the significance of this interest. Finally, we detected a small group of young travelers who are very concerned about risk and safety. Travel images that stoke this anxiety will not win their business.

Our research results show that marketers need to recognize young people's changing travel interests. Although adventure tourism continues to be of interest, heritage tourism,

particularly exotic or foreign heritage, is of interest as well. Acculturation also affects travel preferences. As a cultural group becomes acculturated in a new environment, members' views and travel motivations change. Images of scenes with a small number of people are of greater interest than images of crowded environments. Cultural differences become clear when it comes to images of village and rural environments. Chinese students express very little interest in these scenes and consider the environments that they represent as "dirty" and "poor" while Canadian students express a higher degree of curiosity and interest. Culinary images need to be carefully selected as well. Few students express interest in culinary scenes. The image of the splayed barbequed pig would have been wasted space in an advertisement for all groups but for different reasons. Canadian students do not easily identify it as a pig, while for Chinese students it was not something they had eaten or were interested in eating. During our pilot study we noticed that Moslem students rejected the pig image and the bar scene for religious reasons. Marketers should take care to ensure that food and beverage related images relate to values within the experience of the target market. In summary, rather than depending on gut feeling and expert selection, .marketers who wish to maximize the impact of media images should consider surveys that allow potential customers to pre-select images and identify themes of interest to them.

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Figure 1: forced distribution of responses (example of Factor A)

Table 1: images and scores for each factor

1. Polar bears in snow outside a wheeled observation vehicle 1 0 2 3 1 2 2 2 3 3 2 2 3 3 2 2 3 3 3 3 3 3 3 3 3 3 3 3 3 4 4 4 4 4 4 4 4 4 4 3 4 3 3 3 4 2 4 3 3 3 3 4 2 4 3 3 3 4 3 3 3 3 4 3 3 3 3 3 3 3	Factor -→	A	В	С	D
3. The Bahai Lous temple in India, seen from the air. 0	1. Polar bears in snow outside a wheeled observation vehicle	1	0	0	-3
4. An old-time beer wagon drawn by two horses. 1 0 0 0 1 1 0 0 0 1 1 0 0 0 0 1 0 0 0 1 0 0 0 1 0 0 0 0 1 0 <t< td=""><td>2. Scantily clad girls dancing outside.</td><td>0</td><td>-2</td><td>-2</td><td>-1</td></t<>	2. Scantily clad girls dancing outside.	0	-2	-2	-1
5. Birds in flight over a mangrove coastline with mountains in the background. 2 1 0 1 6. Eight persons in wet gear in a raft in white water. 2 2 3 2 7. Asians in small boats piled with merchandise. In the background is a fishing village with houses built out over the water. 1 3 3 3 8. A person parasaling behind a speed boat on the ocean. 9. A man on a horse chasing four white-faced cattle in a corral. 1 3 1 3 2 10. A crowded scene of a crafts market in a street. 10. A crowded scene of a crafts market in a street. 1 4 1 2 1 11. A man tasting wine drawn from a barrel in a wine cellar. 1 1 1 2 1 12. Three persons standing in shallow water with five dolphins approaching as if to be fed. 1 2 1 2 2 1 13. An individual scuba diving near a rising kelp frond. 1 3 2 1 1 2 2 1 1 15. A tropical coastline, with palm trees, beaches, and whitecapped surf. 1 3 2 1 1 1 2<	3. The Bahai Lotus temple in India, seen from the air .	0	0	1	0
6. Eight persons in wet gear in a raft in white water. 2 2 3 -2 7. A sains in small boats piled with merchandise. In the background is a fishing village with houses built out over the water. -1 -3 -3 -1 8. A person parasailing behind a speed boat on the ocean. -1 0 3 1 -3 -2 1 9. A man on a horse chasing four white-faced cattle in a corral. -1 -3 -2 1 -1 -3 -2 1 -1 -3 -2 1 -1 -3 -2 1 -1 -3 -2 1 -1 -3 -2 1 -1 -3 -2 1 -1 -3 -2 1 -1 -3 -2 1 -2 1 -2 1 -2 -1 -2 1 -2 -1 -2 -1 -2 -1 -2 -1 -2 -1 -2 -1 -2 -1 -2 -1 -2 -1 -1 -2 -1 -1	4. An old-time beer wagon drawn by two horses.	-1	0	0	1
7. Asians in small boat piled with merchandise. In the background is a fishing village with houses built out over the water. -1 -3 -3 -1 8. A person parasailing behind a speed boat on the ocean. 1 0 3 -1 9. A man on a horse chasing four white-faced cattle in a corral. -1 -3 2 1 10. A crowded scene of a crafts market in a street. -1 -1 -1 -2 1 11. A man tasting wine drawn from a barrel in a wine cellar. -1 -1 -1 -2 1 12. Three persons standing in shallow water with five dolphins approaching as if to be fed. 1 -2 -1 2 13. An individual scubal diving near a rising kelp frond. 2 -1 -1 -1 -2 -3 14. A roasted pig on a serving plate, surrounded by other dishes. -1	5. Birds in flight over a mangrove coastline with mountains in the background.	-2	1	0	1
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10. A crowded scene of a crafts market in a street.	8. A person parasailing behind a speed boat on the ocean.	1	0	3	-1
1.1. A man tasting wine drawn from a barrel in a wine cellar.	9. A man on a horse chasing four white-faced cattle in a corral.	-3	1	-3	-2
12. Three persons standing in shallow water with five dolphins approaching as if to be fed.	10. A crowded scene of a crafts market in a street.	-1	-3	-2	1
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	32. A person scaling a rock cliff.	1	-1	0	-2
34. Three elk grazing in a field.	33. Sailboats with spinnakers.	0	-1	2	-1
	34. Three elk grazing in a field.	-1	3	0	0