

Capturing the essence of a brand from its history: The case of Scottish tourism marketing

Received (in revised form): 14th September, 2005

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Abstract

History has a habit of repeating itself but many people tend to forget this. This paper sets out to show how the history of Scottish tourism becomes a pattern for the future. In a climate of consumer trends, such as escapism, wellbeing and culture, the past becomes a retrospect of the future. By focusing on experience, cultural capital and authenticity, a marketing proposition is created through a brand essence that reinforces the philosophy that history is the future.

INTRODUCTION

The worldwide growth of tourism must count as one of the most remarkable achievements of the last 50 years.¹ With one or two exceptions, the proportion of the world population taking part in tourism activity has risen year on year through the last three decades. The tourism industry in Scotland has been booming for the last 20 years. Almost every year, a larger proportion of Scottish residents takes part in tourism-related activities,

whether domestic or international. This propensity for tourism, as in other countries, is linked to growing affluence and general well being. Increasing disposable income and a desire for a better quality of life have not only encouraged those who traditionally have not taken a holiday, but also encouraged those who already take holidays to increase the number and frequency of their holidays. There is now a greater propensity for travel to faraway places and for weekend breaks.

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The more people become affluent, the more money is spent on leisure activities. Spending on out-of-home leisure has nearly doubled over the last decade and now comprises 25 per cent of total household expenditure.

The importance of tourism cannot be understated. According to the World Tourism Organization,² tourism is the world's largest growth industry. Receipts from international tourism have increased annually by an average of 3.3 per cent since 1995, to reach US\$523bn in 2003. During the same period, international arrivals rose by a yearly average of 3.9 per cent to reach US\$703m in 2002 (there was a slide of 1.7 per cent in 2003 due to the Iraq conflict, SARS and a persistently weak economy). Today, tourism in Scotland contributes 4.5bn to the economy, represents 5 per cent of Scotland's GDP and 8 per cent of employment³ but it is scarcely understood and often taken for granted. Tourism is now a worldwide industry. Every destination and country partakes in tourism, even those traditionally closed countries such as North Korea or Iran, whether it is a six-star hotel in Dubai, veterans' tours of Vietnam paragliding in the Namibian desert or cruising in the Indian Ocean.

According to Morgan *et al.*,⁴ today's tourists are not asking 'What can we do on holiday?' but 'Who can we be on holiday?'. Tourists are increasingly looking for escapism, culture and discovery. These create the basis of an emotional connection that marketers can exploit through branding. Branding continues to be the most powerful tool available to destination marketers confronted by increasing product parity, substitutability and competition. Yet despite this aggressive

marketplace, destinations need to persuade potential tourists to visit and revisit one place instead of another based upon whether they feel emotionally close to the destination. This cognitive appeal to hearts and minds is the territory of brand equity.

HOW DESTINATION IMAGE IS GROUNDED IN THE PAST

The historian Hobsbawn⁵ observes that the past is a permanent component of human consciousness and patterns of the future. Each generation learns from the previous one and in the knowledge transfer process copies, improves and reproduces its predecessor as far as possible. If many 'big new ideas' in business are examined critically, it will be found that these 'new ideas' have been present in Scottish tourism for a long time. It may be through youthful naivety or excitement that a new phenomenon is regarded as genuinely new, but a wiser person would see the historical antecedents.

Anholt⁶ argues that destinations cannot separate tourism and country or place and product. Supporting this, Olins⁷ and Papadopoulos and Heslop⁸ state that a country's image, culture and appeal are all one and the same, therefore they become the foundation of place marketing and a country's brand equity. These authors suggest a country's history is its destination image. Manifestations of a country's history represented in such features as Scottish diaspora, sport as heritage (eg golf) or the Edinburgh Festival are ways to celebrate national identity. The opportunity for national tourism organisations is to optimise present and future consumer trends such as the interest in cultural capital,⁹ the desire

for new experiences¹⁰ and the search for authenticity¹¹ against the destination offering. From a Scottish Tourism perspective these trends correlate with the present offering and provide the opportunity for growth. Durie's¹² study of the history of Scottish tourism identifies many stories and historical events that are a representation of Scotland today and in the future. Hence, this captures Hobsbawn's¹³ view that the past is a permanent component of human consciousness and patterns of the future.

There is, of course, a real debate about the relationship of the past to the future. Is the past just that, or does it offer pointers and lessons to the brand marketing manager? Or is the modern world just too different? There are those who argue that the study of the past is not just an end in itself, but can provide a guide to the future direction and strengthening of the brand. The past is a kind of laboratory, which allows the identification of key causal factors, their classification into continuing or ephemeral, and some degree of extrapolation from past performance to the future. Much prediction and projections in marketing are based on the past, or at least a reading of it, but considerable scepticism attaches to this exercise in the minds of some marketing managers. Reading the past does not guarantee the future; as with stock market investments, 'past performance does not guarantee future returns' because there are too many variables. Yet while agreeing that the forecasting of visitor numbers is an uncertain activity, and certainly not a science, there is a need to develop marketing plans on a basis which is more than mere guesswork. Are there patterns and forms of tourism in Scotland

from the past which are still 'current' and likely to be valid, albeit reshaped and restated, which should inform marketing and policy planning? Alphonse Karr, the French writer and editor of *Figaro*, stated in his satirical review, *Les Guepes*,¹⁴ 'Plus ca change, plus c'est la meme chose' — 'The more things change the more they stay the same'.

A LOOK AT THE PAST

From a historical perspective, why did tourists come to Scotland? According to Durie¹⁵ the first tourists were in fact accidental tourists but Scotland by the early 19th century had established a reputation not as a barbaric and hostile place, but as a respectable and safe destination. This was in contrast to other parts of Europe, including Ireland. Indeed, it was a place where young men would not fall into sexual temptation, thanks to the rule of the Kirk, and travellers were unlikely to be mugged. Additionally, during the French Revolution, many of the nobility could not embark upon the Grand Tours in Europe, so instead they went to Scotland. A writer in the *Quarterly Review* observed in 1809 that 'since the Continent is shut against us, Edinburgh is as much visited by every dashing citizen who pretends to fashion, as Margate or Tunbridge'.¹⁶

Scotland is often associated with rain, more rain and *dreich* days. This is nothing new, during the mid-1850s, newspaper reporters such as John Hope were extending their coverage of the weather from big cities to the resorts, and forecasts had an impact on the impulsive traveller. It was noted in the summer of 1873 that it was one of the worst years for tourism in Scotland due

to a combination of a cold spring, disease and rain.

Durie¹⁷ identifies sport as the major force of 19th century development of Scottish tourism, rather than scenery. It was in Scotland that the game of golf was invented, hence Scotland has become known as the home of golf. Small wonder, therefore, that in the chaos of Perth Station in mid-August, as painted by George Earl in 1895, there are among the gun cases and other luggage, golf clubs aplenty. In 1888, the *Golfers Annual* listed 73 golf courses in Scotland, but between 1870–1914, across every major city and holiday destination, the development of 200 new courses took place. When a golf course was opened in Burntisland in 1898, many out-of-town players came by steamer from Leith. At nearby Kinghorn, of the 234 members enrolled, more than 135 had an Edinburgh address, and only 31 were from the burgh. Golf tourism was born, and as Baddeley remarked in his *Thorough Guide* in 1908, ‘in Scotland, a place is not a place without its “gowf”’.¹⁸ Golf today is still as important as it was in Victorian times.

Grouse shooting is another sporting icon associated with Scotland. With the Preservation of Game Act (1771) Scotland had set the seasons, 12th August to the 28th December for grouse (grouse was (and remains) the first of the British game birds of the season). On the eve of the glorious 12th, monster trains could be seen leaving London heading for Perth and Inverness laden with gentry, servants, dogs and guns. Scotland was a sporting playground, be it fishing, yachting, deerstalking or mountaineering; all of these activities had a pedigree associated with Scotland. For example, mountaineering origins

in Scotland included the well-trodden tracks up Ben Lomond and Ben Nevis. Blackwood’s *Edinburgh Magazine* in September 1882¹⁹ remarked that ‘the increase in this mania for mountain climbing was quite remarkable’, even though it was critical about the physical condition of some participants, with every year some elderly gentleman, whose ambition had outstripped his constitution, having to be rescued from the hills.

Climbing, walking and rambling attracted growing numbers of visitors in the 19th century, whereas fishing was a bigger attraction. It was noted in the height of the angling season that is from March until June, that every cottage on Tweedside was occupied by ‘some piscarory amateur’. The prime focus was trout, rather than salmon which were mostly reserved for the gentry of society. Today, grouse shooting, once the preserve of the upper classes, has been superseded by adventure sports and activities such as white water rafting, bugging, sand yachting and paintballing.

Today, the growth of tourism in New Zealand in one respect is associated with the *Lord of the Rings* Hollywood trilogy where the media are driving tourists to the destination. In Scotland, the effect of Sir Walter Scott’s *Lady of the Lake* in 1810 was dramatic. It sold 20,000 copies in that year and triggered a rush of visitors. For the Trossachs the results were immediate. In that November, Sir John Sinclair wrote to Scott²⁰ to congratulate him on increasing the number of visitors to Loch Katrine and the Trossachs beyond measure: ‘My carriage was the 297th in the course of this year and there never had been above 100 before in any one season’. Sinclair urged Scott to consider

a sequel to be entitled 'The Mermaid' or 'The Lady of the Sea', and to be set in his native Caithness, in the hope of inspiring a similar tourist boom there. This is an early example of product placement and advertising, not much different from the impact of the *Da Vinci Code* today.

Hay²¹ writes that health and spa tourism is a trend that many tourists are following. Tourists turn to spa treatments for relaxation and to beat the stresses of modern daily life. In Victorian times, tourists turned to health either by way of a cure or tonic. It was hydropathic establishments and their 'water cure' like those found at Peebles, Crieff and Craiglockhart that drew increasing numbers of visitors. Combined with a therapy of golf and exercise, these establishments were central to the perception of 'Scotland for health'.

Many of the tourists who came to Scotland in the early 19th century were a new wave of adventurers, travellers and investigators.²² They wanted more than sport.²³ They were in Scotland for the scenery:

'They came north in growing numbers after 1840 to search out for the simple magnificence of nature, exhibiting in sublime variety her stupendous monuments; that visual balance of symmetry between the stark nakedness of the hills and the glorious beauty of the woods that clothed them.'²⁴

Such reasons are true today, as a desire to escape and to 'get away from it all' mentality still can be evidenced.^{25,26} It was on his way North in 1804, when Mawman caught sight of the Cainsgorns, their he first beheld the Highlands, sweeping along in that wild state of nature which produces an impression perfectly new to an untravelled

Englishman. Here the tourist forcibly seizes their true character' which he called 'bold featured, majestic and desolate'.²⁷

Getting beyond the Highlands to the Isles also offered an opportunity for escapism. As Scotland has 6,000 miles of coastline,²⁸ the wonder of the Isles with their rocks, stacks and secret inlets compounded by isolation and breathtaking beauty is a characteristic found nowhere else in the UK. However, the biggest difficulty was getting tourists to and around Scotland. It was Thomas Cook of Leicester who pioneered the excursion to Scotland.^{29,30} Cook's contribution to tourism lies in the organisation of tours with all travel and accommodation planned down to the last detail. His genius was to open up Scotland to a much wider constituency than the upper classes. By providing tours costed down to the last penny, run methodically and to a tight schedule, it gave confidence to those who had little or no experience of longer distance travel. Scotland became a favourite haunt for Cook, returning two or three times each season with parties. Everyone spoke favourably of Cook, including (with some envy) the managers of the railway companies whose business he so increased. The *Railway News* (8 September, 1866) reported that 'this week Mr Cook has brought 3,000 excursionists from the Midland towns on a visit to Scotland ... looking to the large numbers he has to marshal and provide great quarters for, it is wonderful how few hitches occur and how few letters appear in the newspapers'.³¹ Today, the tourist has become his own travel agent, using internet sites like www.visitscotland.com or www.expedia.com.

Turning to more of a modern theme, the idea of an international festival of music and drama in Edinburgh emerged³² late in the Second World War after it was realised that, with continental Europe in ruins, the international festivals of Munich and Salzburg would take time to re-establish themselves. Many doubted whether Edinburgh could mount such a festival, and if it had not been for the pioneering work of Rudolf Bing, the festival would not be here today. The first festival was in fact an artistic success, attracting high-quality international performers including the Viennese Philharmonic and Margot Fonteyn. But even in those early days, the clashes between elitism and popular culture were evident. In 1947 eight theatre groups turned up uninvited to the first Edinburgh International Festival and had to fend for themselves. So the fringe was born. In 1948, Robert Kemp of the *Evening News* unknowingly coined the name: 'round the fringe of the official Festival drama there seems to be more private enterprise than before ... I'm afraid some of us are not going to be often home during the evenings'. In 2004, the fringe was represented by 735 groups and 15,621 performers.

MOVING INTO THE FUTURE: EXPERIENCE, CULTURAL CAPITAL AND AUTHENTICITY

If Hobsbawn³³ is correct that the past is a representation of the future, what does this mean for the future of Scottish tourism? Durie³⁴ notes that tourism has flourished in Scotland since Victorian times and is an industry with an everlasting future. One thing is certain; tourism will be there in 2025 and

beyond. It is an industry which cannot be outsourced to India or China, as are financial services and call centres. It is an industry which takes place all over the country, not just in one location. It will last longer than oil and gas when these resources are exhausted. More importantly, it is an industry which represents the nation's identity, values and culture. It is this identification of the past and culture which will be of benefit in the future, and will determine marketing strategies in the future.

It was Wilmott and Nelson³⁵ who identified the complexity of consumerism with consumers seeking new meanings consistent with Maslow's self-actualisation concept. Initially people are concerned about wider issues such as the environment, animal rights or third world employment. This movement to self-actualisation is a search for a wider meaning and sense of worth beyond material possessions. It is a fulfilment of moving beyond goods and services to experiences. At one level, it is increased spending on holidays, eating out, theatre and so on, but also includes special experiences such as white water rafting, spending a weekend at a health spa or shopping. This is what Pine *et al.*³⁶ call the 'experience economy', where providers have to stage an experience for consumers that goes beyond basics. It is also seen in the night-time leisure economy, reflected in the 24-hour opening of bars and the privatisation of cities' public tourism spaces.

In addition, drawing upon the influential French sociologist Pierre Bourdieu, Rifkin³⁷ maintains that the critical currency of the modern world is cultural capital. This is the knowledge and experience of arts,

culture and hobbies that help to define individuals and critically differentiate one from others (eg whether one can talk authoritatively about opera, wine or even *Big Brother*). He argues that people are moving from an era of industrial to cultural capitalism where 'cultural production increasingly becomes the dominant form of economic activity' and that securing access to the many cultural resources and experiences that nurture one's psychological existence becomes just as important as holding property. Whether the culture is high (opera) or low (celebrity watching) one can differentiate oneself, gain kudos and access opportunity by having cultural knowledge or experience. So as cultural capital becomes important to the consumer, Scotland is well placed to meet that need. The marketers of tourism destinations need to understand such developments in the development of brand plans.

As the experience economy matures,³⁸ a shift is identified in which authenticity has cultural capital. Consumers decide to buy or not to buy based upon how real they perceive the product/service offering to be. Thus, the rendering of authenticity emerges as a selection criterion for tomorrow's consumer. Authenticity means that consumers focus on the pure experience and search for a truly authentic tourism product or service which is steeped in culture and history. This suggests that brand ethnicity should be at the heart of marketing.

FUTURE POSITIONING FOR SCOTTISH TOURISM

Given the history of Scottish tourism and the desire for experience, cultural

capital and authenticity, it should be well positioned for the future. So how will these elements help to shape the future of tourism?

Authenticity

Lennon³⁹ points out that those destinations that can distinguish themselves from the competition through strong icons will survive and thrive due to the phenomena of international growth in tourism over the next 20 years. Scottish icons such as the history of tartan, golf, whisky, breathtaking landscapes, festivals, monsters, isles and cities make Scotland an authentic experience with high iconic value that cannot be manufactured. Holidays that focus on the real Scotland, such as activities of tracing one's roots and ancestors, are now major hobbies that are shaping tourism. Websites such as www.ancestralscotland.com facilitate such activity, leading visitors to come to Scotland to search through graveyards or records for their ancestors or living relatives, either on organised study tours or individual itinerary. Nowhere else in the world is tartan associated with a country. The kilt is unique to Scotland and is recognised all over the world. The Edinburgh Military Tattoo continues to sell out every year, six months in advance. It is the combination of the castle venue and tartan, bagpipes and drums with Scotland's military history that makes the Edinburgh Tattoo such an iconic event with international appeal.

Whisky is one of Scotland's leading exports. Its alliance with tourism is evident, whether it is a tour of distilleries, a visit to the Whisky

Heritage Centre in Edinburgh, whisky trails through Speyside or simply enjoying decent single malt after dinner. The authenticity and remoteness of Scotland's Isles is something that has not been spoiled by the trappings of a modern world. Destinations like Shetland and the Orkney Isles offer tranquillity and solitude away from the hustle and bustle of daily life. Scotland's cities offer a richness of history, whether it is the Georgian new town of Edinburgh or Stirling's castle and the Wallace monument.

Experiences

The desire for escapism and activities is well established within Scottish tourism. The growing trend for alternative lifestyles, concerns about food supply and obesity lead to a desire for health, activity and wellbeing. The development of spa tourism is well established in mainland Europe. These consumers are high spending with high expectations. Scotland's provision of hydrophatic spa services will lead to a product which will link beauty and anti-ageing to health spa treatments. The concerns over diet and food supply will facilitate more farmers' markets and food tourism based upon natural and local food produce. Concerns about obesity and anti-ageing will drive the sport and activities markets. Traditional activities such as walking and cycling will be supplemented with soft adventure sports such as blow-karting, bugging, white water rafting and abseiling. Destinations such as Perthshire and Arran will become known as adventure sports playgrounds. Many of these activities will focus on the weekend leisure visitor, where activities are hobbies

combined with holidays. An awareness of Scotland as a high-quality environment is well established. The promotion of Scotland as a green tourism and environmentally friendly destination is essential. For example, the change in behaviour of German citizens in refuse sorting and collection means that these consumers specifically seek out green tourism accredited products. The trait is now conditioned into many sophisticated consumers to the extent that a concern for the environment leads to conservation-style holidays, in which tourists repair dry stone walls in local communities in order to 'feel good'.

Cultural capital

As the authors talk about the 'arts', they reflect upon the role of culture in society as a means of fulfilment. The rise of the entertainment economy is an accumulation of experiences. From a tourism perspective, it means hobbies as activities and cultural festivals. Scotland is well associated with cultural capital. One has only to look at Edinburgh as a festival destination, which includes the International Festival, the Fringe, jazz and blues, television, film and Hogmanay. Traditional art forms include dance such as the Scottish Ballet or the visual arts such as the National Galleries. Whether it is an interest in Celtic culture such as the Mod or celebrity spotting at the MTV Awards, Scotland offers a diverse cultural experience from heritage to modern. The interest in hobbies such as reading has resulted in a destination such as Wigtown being developed as a book-town or there is the artists' town, Kirkcudbright, for art appreciation or a weekend break.

WHAT DOES THIS MEAN FOR MARKETING SCOTTISH TOURISM?

Experience, cultural capital and authenticity are the essence of the brand of Scotland and tourism, so this naturally leads to the development of a branding proposition for Scottish tourism. The starting point is trying to separate the images of country and tourism, when in fact they are the same essence or very close. Thus, the branding of a destination is predominately associated with the images and values of the country. Morgan and colleagues⁴⁰ state, in marketing terms, the brand represents a unique combination of product characteristics and added value, both functional and non-functional, that takes on a relevant meaning that is inextricably linked to the brand, awareness of which is conscious or intuitive. Hence, it is the image of the product created in the consumer's mind and how it is positioned which are of importance to marketers.⁴¹⁻⁴³

At VisitScotland (the national tourism agency responsible for marketing Scotland as a tourism destination), the brand essence is a definition of the brand's true character that binds all aspects of the brand together in a motivating, unique and credible way. This means capturing the experience of Scotland as a tourist destination.⁴⁴ It means building a brand essence that captures feeling from a rational to an emotional perspective. At VisitScotland the brand has been positioned by answering the following questions:

- What does the product do for me?
- How does the brand make me look?
- Describe the product.
- How does the brand make me feel?

This paper has shown the complexity of a tourism destination brand and emphasised that it is not just tangible elements of a destination that constitute the brand, but also its heritage and culture which become embodied into it. A study of the history of Scottish tourism reminds one about the importance of the 'essence' of a brand. Given centuries of history, culture and development, a vital foundation for brand development is available to the marketer. Current communication may emphasise the popular aspects of history, and may seek to turn attention away from the darker side of history, but the marketer must begin with a sound understanding of what makes the essence of a brand in the eyes of target customers.

From the essence comes the brand proposition — what are the particular benefits that a visitor to Scotland will gain from a holiday there? Clearly, the essence of the brand is consistent with a diverse range of brand propositions, so the essence of dramatic history could be turned into propositions appealing to hill-walkers, artists and sports enthusiasts, among others. The brand proposition to each of these groups is then supported with descriptions and symbols to show how the brand will create an experience which they value.

A 'brand essence wheel' is a useful device for summarising how the past can relate to the present positioning of a brand. It is essentially a conceptual map that brings together issues connected with the development of a brand, and avoids a myopic view which focuses on present perceptions of the product's features.

The preceding discussion about the development of Scottish tourism has

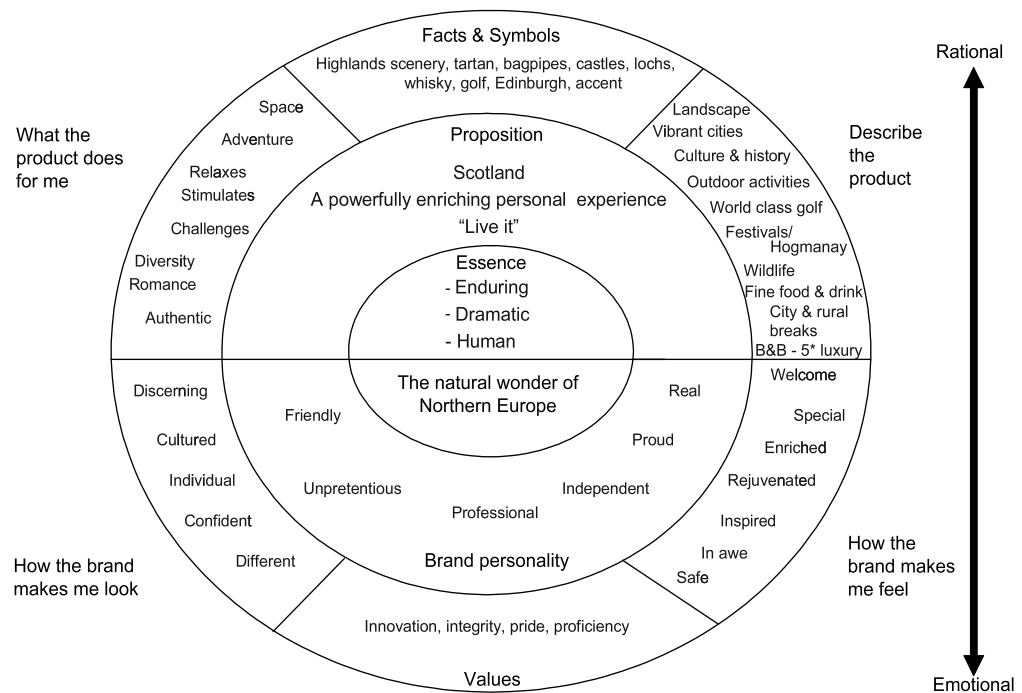


Figure 1 VisitScotland brand essence wheel

been synthesised and portrayed in a brand essence wheel (Figure 1). The framework has been used by VisitScotland for developing its destination marketing, which has focused on three key elements of brand essence: ‘enduring’, ‘dramatic’ and ‘human’, each of which relates to the natural wonders of northern Europe. Essentially, the ingredients that make up brand essence build upon the concepts of *experience*, *cultural capital* and *authenticity*, and the preceding discussion reports how the link between these concepts and the brand essence was made.

The present VisitScotland campaign *Live It*. VisitScotland draws upon the attributes of the brand essence wheel (Figure 2) for all advertising. For example, today Scotland’s adventure tourism product extends beyond the traditional sports of golf, grouse shooting and walking to the mountain bike

world cup in Fortwilliam, the urban rat race championships in Edinburgh, bugging on the River Tay or blow-carting in St. Andrew’s Bay. These adventure sports represent the tourists’ desire for new experiences drawing upon the words *space*, *adventure*, *challenges*, *different*, *innovation*, *inspired*, *enriched* and *real*, as captured in the brand essence wheel. The Marketing Society of Scotland has acknowledged the excellence of this campaign by awarding it its annual Brand Development Award 2005 for Adventure Tourism.

The desire for authenticity is reflected in the ‘Perfect Day’ campaign (see Figure 3) that promotes the core essence of the brand wheel as *enduring*, *dramatic* and *human*. Imagine oneself standing at the Waterloo Tube Station, London, at rush hour feeling hassled, stressed and rushed. VisitScotland displayed a 166-foot poster on the



Figure 2 Adventure tourism poster: 'Live it. VisitScotland'



Figure 3 Waterloo poster: 'Perfect Day' campaign

platform depicting stages in a perfect day of a relaxing break in Scotland. The poster alludes to the relaxing space and tranquillity of Scotland and focused on trying to get Londoners to choose a recuperating short break.

Searching for family roots or ancestors is a growing niche market for Scottish tourism. The foundation of this product is based on the Scottish diaspora.⁴⁵ The market is worth £153m⁴⁶ and it is projected to be worth £368m by 2015.⁴⁷ This tourism product developed by VisitScotland

draws upon the words *culture, heritage, enriched, inspired, special, safe, proud, real* and *authentic* from the brand essence wheel. By using an internet site (see Figure 4) potential visitors have a gateway which allows them to search for information about their ancestors and encourages them to visit Scotland.

CONCLUDING REMARKS

So, there is truth in Hobsbawn's⁴⁸ philosophy that history does repeat



Figure 4 Web page for www.ancestralscotland.com

itself. This past provides material for tourism to exploit, and indeed is recreated for present and future consumption, although there are limits to this process as the title of David Lowenthal's⁴⁹ (1985) magisterial study reminds one, 'The Past is Another Country'. There is of course the reality that for Scotland the past, with its buildings, battles, culture and heritage, is a central element in the tourist package. For many visitors, it is the past that matters rather than sport or culture.

From a marketing perspective, the brand essence reflects the history of Scotland and the tourism experience. The importance of such a saying is that tourism is a representation of Scotland's identity that cannot be taken away. Those with responsibility for tourism

today must ensure that the past is conserved in order that those in the future can see it and imagine it. That it has an everlasting future must be ensured, as it is the history of Scotland that is the brand of Scottish tourism.

The concept of a 'brand essence wheel' has been introduced as a framework for establishing the links between the essence of a brand, the brand proposition aimed at different target audiences, and the products and features that these audiences will value. It is a simple framework, which overcomes a myopic preoccupation with present-day features, possibly at the expense of a long cultural history.

Acknowledgments

The authors would like to thank Jacqui Souter (VisitScotland) for assistance with the brand wheel

and marketing information. They would like to acknowledge Corporate Edge which originally undertook the research for VisitScotland.

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