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Cultural Heritage Stories in Use

The case of Scotch Whisky Distillery Tours

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Cultural heritage Stories in Use: The Case of Scotch Whisky Distillery Tours

Master thesis submitted in part fulfillment of the requirements of NHL-Stenden University of Applied Sciences for the Degree of Master of Arts in International Leisure, Tourism and Events Management and University of Derby for the Degree Master of Science in International Leisure, Tourism and Event Management. June 2020.

Declaration

I herewith declare that

1. This work is composed by me.
2. This work has not been accepted in any previous application for a degree or diploma by me or anyone else.
3. The work of which this is a record is done wholly by me.
4. All verbatim extracts have been distinguished by quotation marks and the sources of my information have been specifically acknowledged.

Signed:

A handwritten signature in black ink, appearing to read 'Isla van der Heiden', is shown within a light blue rectangular box.

Name: Isla van der Heiden

Date: June 2020

Place: Edinville, Scotland

Acknowledgements

I would like to thank Hanny Kadijk for her patience and guidance during the thesis writing process.

Many thanks go out to all participants for voluntarily giving up their time and sharing their thoughts with me.

Abstract

Distilleries are both factories and tourist destinations. Balancing the main business aims of selling whisky and the visitors' aims of learning about whisky and culture in an entertaining way posits a challenge for the tour guide. Cultural heritage storytelling is a technique that can be used to meet everyone's needs but there has been little research into how heritage stories are used in reality.

This study aimed to identify how heritage stories, told by guides during Scotch whisky distillery tours, are used. In order to do this, unstructured interviews with experts in the use of heritage and storytelling on distillery tours were conducted. The experts included tour guides, brand ambassadors, an archivist and deputy visitor centre supervisors. The participants were encouraged to self-reflect how they use heritage stories on tours.

The results showed that heritage stories are used to engage the tour group with subjects by forming connection with the group's previous knowledge and experience. This engagement is then used mainly for entertainment or educational purposes. Various secondary uses identified included: selling whisky, preserving culture, guide satisfaction, and establishing guide position.

It was found that heritage storytelling was widely used and seen as important by the participants. Recommendations include for distilleries to encourage learning among guides and actively use heritage storytelling to elicit emotional, verbal, and behavioural responses from the tour group.

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List of Abbreviations

BA: Brand Ambassador

VC: Visitor Centre

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1. Introduction

1.1 Presentation of Research Topic

Stories are how we interact with the past. This is how we create heritage, passing stories to the next generation. When it comes to running cultural heritage sites stories are vital in sharing heritage and creating positive tourism experiences.

Scotch whisky distilleries play with this idea of heritage and use it to sell their products. Since the first distillery visitor centres opened in the 1960s, they have played the dual role of promoting local heritage and promoting their brand (McBoyle, 1994; Stoffelen & Vannete, 2015). The underlying premise of the distillery visitor centre remains consistent to this day: if tourists visit the distillery and have positive experiences, they will have created positive associations and attitudes towards the whisky brand and are more likely to buy and become loyal consumers (McBoyle & McBoyle, 2008; Miller, 1994), in short, they want to change or reinforce positive attitudes towards their product through experiences. This mixture of business theory and cultural heritage in tourism does not always work well and can offer unique challenges in protecting the cultural heritage needs of a community when business and profit are involved (Walle, 1998), even on the tour guide level we see the conflict between wanting to share cultural heritage and make money (Salazar, van den Brenden, & Bryon, 2009).

Distilleries in Scotland are currently expanding their production and investing in tourism (Woodard, 2018). Well-known global brands like Glenfiddich, The Glenlivet, and Macallan have all invested in large expansions to increase

production in their distilleries in the past five years. They have found they need to consider tourism when doing so by designing the space with tours in mind and thinking about what visitors will want to see and do at the new sites (“Glenfiddich Expansion,” 2015; Hendry, 2015; Hopkins, 2015; “The Macallan”, n.d.). This highlights the need to find an appropriate balance between the commercial, cultural heritage and tourism aspects of distilleries.

With distilleries expanding to increase their production they are investing in state-of-the-art technology to increase efficiency. The modern distillery is a highly efficient spirits factory, visiting these buildings the commercial and mass production aspects of whisky making are abundantly clear to visitors making it more difficult to maintain the cultural heritage or authentic nature of the site (Cohen, 1985).

The stories told during tours may be a way of highlighting cultural heritage aspects of a distillery and keeping this aspect of visitor experience even when visitors are shown a modern factory. The information transmitted through stories by the guides is likely to be biased in some way or have some motive behind it (Bruner, 2003; Cohen, 1985). This study will analyse the stories told during tours of a modern distilling facility to find out how heritage stories are used: be it to educate on a community’s cultural heritage, to sell whisky or manage the tour group.

1.2 Background of Scotch Whisky Distilleries

Scotch whisky is a grain spirit, it must be distilled, matured and bottled in Scotland. There are two types of scotch whisky distillery: grain and malt. Grain distilleries

tend to be very large industrial sites, which are not open to the public. Malt distilleries are more numerous and use barley exclusively as the base product for their spirit. These distilleries range widely in size and style and are the most likely to have visitor centres and provide tours.

This study will focus on various distilleries in Scotland that produce single malt whisky (the product of one distillery using only malted barley as the base product). Each of the distilleries has strong links to place and the community (Baraniuk, n.d.) as its whisky has been produced in one glen (valley) in Scotland for generations with many having begun as family businesses. The distilleries offer tours through their factories which all include some modern machines. A number of the distilleries are part of the malt-whisky trail: a heritage trail in the Speyside region that promotes distilleries as cultural heritage visitor attractions (Martin & McBoyle, 2006). Others are also located in the Cairngorm National Park- a natural heritage area ("Breweries/distilleries", n.d.). Some distilleries have even gone so far as to publish books on their own history and heritage (Langley, 2000).

1.3 Problem Statement, Aims and Objectives

This leads to the problem statement of this thesis: heritage is used on distillery tours through storytelling, but it is not clear how or for what purposes. Distilleries play an important role in cultural heritage tourism in Scotland and are often used to promote the country as a heritage destination (Scotch Whisky Association, 2018; Stoffelen & Vanneste, 2015; Visit Scotland, n.d.; Visit Scotland, 2018). They are also functioning factories participating in mass commercial production. During tours tourists can visit the distilleries which are becoming increasingly modernised

with less tangible heritage apparent at the sights. This brings the challenge of preserving cultural heritage aspects of the visits.

The aim of this study is to identify how heritage stories, told by guides during distillery tours, are used. In order to meet this aim various objectives have been set. The first objective is to define cultural heritage storytelling. The second objective is to identify why heritage stories are told during distillery tours and what they are trying to achieve. A third objective is to identify any other factors involved in telling heritage stories on distillery tours.

1.4 Relevancies

This study is of high importance to industry. The whisky industry is an obvious beneficiary as the knowledge of how stories told during tours may be used to balance the seemingly conflicting aspects of their business, aid in updating tours and tastings, as well as guide training. Wineries, breweries, and other alcohol production sites can learn from this research in the same way. Other factories may also be interested in the role of stories in turning factory visits into cultural heritage experiences. Tourist destinations that wish to convey a message or idea to their visitors will also find this study helpful when developing storytelling in visitor experiences. The findings will also be relevant to tour guides and other storytellers as they will aid them in their understanding of their role and the techniques they employ.

The academic relevancies of this study are also clear. The definition of cultural heritage has evolved in academic literature to reflect the many different types of

cultural heritage that exist today, this study will discuss how stories may be a factor in defining a cultural heritage site. The power of storytelling in co-creating experiences and how this relates to Pine and Gilmore's (1999) experience economy will also be discussed in the case of distillery tours. This thesis will also discuss the role of interpretive guiding techniques (specifically storytelling) in altering perceptions of a toured object and how this relates to the concepts of experience creation and heritage in tourism.

1.5 Thesis Structure

The introduction chapter has given some background to the thesis, highlighting the aims, objectives and relevancies of the study. This is followed by a literature review that evaluates the previous research on the concepts in order to develop an understanding as to how heritage stories may be used on tours.

The methodology chapter displays how these concepts relate using a model and describes the steps that were taken in order to answer the research questions and meet the aims and objectives of the study. The research philosophy, design, data collection, and coding procedure will be laid out and justified.

The results chapter follows, presenting and analysing the concepts that arose from the interviews. The discussion chapter then takes these concepts and discusses them to answer the research questions.

Finally, the conclusion chapter includes a review of the main findings and their implications for academia and the industry. An evaluation of the study will also be conducted and recommendations for further research put forward.

2. Literature Review

2.1 Introduction

In this chapter a review of the literature related to cultural heritage and storytelling will be conducted. Firstly, definitions of heritage and culture will be explained then it will be shown how heritage is used for business, tourism, and community purposes. The role of interpretation in cultural heritage tourism will be discussed with a focus on how storytelling is used to share cultural heritage. Finally, various reasons why heritage storytelling may potentially be used are highlighted.

2.2 Defining Heritage

In order to discuss the role of stories in touristic cultural heritage sites heritage must first be defined. Traditionally heritage is something passed down through generations- although this definition is extremely wide making it impractical.

Heritage can be tangible such as a painting or a building, this also includes natural areas and landscapes; but heritage may also be intangible such as customs, traditions or stories (Pak, 2014; Dallen & Boyd, 2003; Dallen, 2011; United Nations Educational Scientific and Cultural Organisation [UNESCO], n.d. b).

Heritage is distinct from history, which aims to understand the past as accurately and objectively as possible. Heritage is more about the present (Matthe, 2018; Pak, 2014; Dallen & Boyd, 2003; Dallen, 2011) it is the parts of the past which have been chosen as important to tell, based on our current values, which means a selective and often one-sided perspective is represented. Heritage is extremely subjective and constantly changing as values change. The definition of heritage

presented above remains very broad which is why this thesis will mainly focus on the type of heritage most relevant for storytelling: cultural heritage.

2.2.1 Defining Cultural Heritage

Culture can be classed as the shared traditions, customs, beliefs, and stories of a community or society (Swidler, 1986; Tylor, 1871). Cultural heritage has a strong link with the community which practice the culture and it can be defined as that community's unique way of looking at their past and at themselves. As Alan Dundes explained in his study of folklore: “one finds a people’s own unselfconscious picture of themselves” (cited in Bronner, 2007 p1). Storytelling is often an important part of cultural heritage as this is one of the ways heritage is passed down to different generations. Cultural heritage is therefore intangible heritage not necessarily linked to a location, however places can also be important for communities as their heritage may add special significance to an area.

So, for the purposes of this study cultural heritage in storytelling will be defined as anything contained within the story that looks at the past and in some way relates to a specific cultural community. In this case whisky is a cultural heritage product so any stories set in the past about whisky are cultural heritage stories.

2.2.2 How Heritage is Used

Merriman (1991) believed that heritage could be used in two distinct ways. First, the traditional use of heritage sees it as belonging to the community who care for and preserve their own heritage in order to pass it on for the purposes of cultural identity and sense of belonging. A more modern use of heritage has evolved, now

heritage is often used by businesses or enterprises to promote their brands or image (Graham et al, 2000; Groot, 2017) as Appadurai (1996) put it so eloquently “rummaging through history has become a standard technique of advertising” (p78). There is an idea that through showing brand heritage or some connection with the past this gives the brand a sense of authenticity and longevity that builds trust and loyalty in a consumer (Groot, 2017). In an increasingly globalised and competitive market, businesses are becoming more interested in using heritage in this way due to its potential to provide uniqueness and distinction between brands (Urde, 2007). In tourism cultural heritage is used in the same way to distinguish destinations (Gluvačević, 2016; Keskin, Akgun, Zehir, & Ayar, 2016; McKercher & Du Cros, 2015). In the whisky industry, particularly in the Scottish whisky region of Speyside that has over 50 distilleries, differentiating oneself from competition may be of particular importance.

Tourism is an area where a community’s cultural heritage is used in both ways. Particularly for intangible tourism the community itself cares for their heritage and continues to pass it down to the next generation but, at the same time, share their heritage with outsiders for profit. With the democratisation of travel, increased outsider presence in communities may alter the way the community acts or performs their heritage. It may even alter their values and traditions ultimately changing their heritage. George (2004) showed how a new tourist driven social construct emerged in an area where tourism had recently developed as an industry as a society changes itself to accommodate tourists.

As Bec, Moyle, Timms, Schaffer, Skavronskaya, and Little (2019) put it: “Tourism is about creating engaging narratives to connect with the visitors, sometimes leading to exaggerated, unsubstantiated or overly dramatized depictions of reality”(p.118). As soon as heritage is used for purposes outside of the community there is potential for it to be misused. For the region of Speyside, the way in which it is branded for tourism already does not necessarily represent the local people accurately instead playing up to Scottish stereotypes (Spracklen 2011; Stoffelen & Vanneste, 2015).

As the second use of cultural heritage has the potential to cause dramatic change, the debate about related ethical considerations has been heated. Commodification of culture and cultural appropriation are buzzwords in today's world. For distilleries it is important to consider as they commodify cultural heritage not only for tourism but also to sell their product. The way in which heritage has been used in distillery tours may have altered the heritage and culture of the community- this is one of the reasons to better understand how heritage is being used in distilleries.

2.2.3 Cultural Heritage Tourism

These issues surrounding the commercial use of cultural heritage are not new, cultural heritage and tourism have always been connected but it is only since the 1980s that it has been classed as its own phenomenon in academia (McKercher & Du Cros, 2015; Richards, 2018). Pilgrimage is often described as one of the first examples of heritage tourism (Dallen, 2011). In modern usage the concept of ‘pilgrimage’ can be extended to include types of travel other than strictly religious, it may also be a journey to a place which is considered special (Clifford, 2008;

“Pilgrimage,” n.d.). Sites that are important to a certain culture can be classed as heritage sites and those people who travel to them as cultural heritage tourists even if there is also a hedonistic motivation.

Distilleries are potential cultural heritage sites. Whisky is the national drink of Scotland and has been made there since at least 1494 (Visit Scotland, n.d.). Often single distilleries have been making whisky for generations. It plays an important part in Scottish culture, traditions, and sense of identity particularly for the communities around the distilleries (Scotch Whisky Association, 2018). During distillery tours, guides share information and stories about whisky, a part of Scottish culture, making distilleries potential cultural tourism destinations (Kurin, 1998). In order to be a cultural heritage destination, the importance of the place and the product to the community must be communicated- the extent to how this is communicated through story as opposed to other methods is unclear.

One thing that defines cultural heritage tourists is the desire to learn more about different places, communities, and cultures (World Tourism Organisation, 2019), but they are not consistent in how they want to do this or what experiences they crave (Kauffman, 2018; Poria, Butler, & Airey, 2004). For some people being in a physical place may be important for the authentic learning experience, in a way that it is not for others (Mura, Tavakoli, & Sharif, 2017). For Scotch whisky distilleries it seems that visitors “learning more about whisky through knowledgeable, passionate staff is key” (Human Theory, 2018, p35).

2.3 Interpretation in heritage

One way in which heritage is used to enhance the tourist experience and perform authenticity is through interpretation. This can be defined as adding an extra layer of meaning to enhance the visitors' understanding of the heritage connected to it (Dallen, 2011) presenting the “cultural wealth of places” (Ababneh, 2017, p2) or indeed being a “culture-broker” (Cohen, 1985, p16). This is one of the roles of a tour guide (Alderson & Low, 1985; Cohen, 1985). The overall aim of interpretation is to create a connection between the visitor and the place (Hargrove, 2017; Weiler & Black, 2015) to share information with the visitor in a way that makes it interesting and builds neatly onto the knowledge that they already have (Cohen, 1985; Dallen, 2011; McGrath, 2004). Freeman Tilden (1957) identified six principles of interpretation:

1. Interpretation must relate to the experience and background of the visitor
 - a. This can be done either by making assumptions, engaging the visitor in dialogue to better understand their knowledge or by reading how they react to things.
2. Interpretation aims not only to pass on information but to add an extra level of meaning and truth
 - a. Here the guide is not only passing on information but aiming to pass on an emotional attachment, feeling of understanding and a feeling of authenticity.
3. Interpretation is an art form, no matter the content the way it is conveyed is the art

- a. Interpretation is often done in a creative way using some form of art form, storytelling is a perfect example of this as a well-constructed story is a work of art in itself.
- 4. Interpretation is provocation, it aims to get people to think for themselves in a different way
 - a. Interpretation often guides someone's thinking but mainly wants to actively engage the visitor so that they begin to make connections with the place themselves.
- 5. Interpretation aims to present the whole story
 - a. There are dangers in only sharing one side of a story and in best practice multiple perspectives should be shared but as heritage is inherently subjective and selective this is not always possible- in reality guides will pick and choose what they wish to share (Bruner, 2003; Cohen, 1985).
- 6. Interpretation for children should take a completely different approach to interpretation for adults
 - a. In the case of a distillery children are not allowed on the tour so this element is not directly relevant to this study but it does highlight the need to personalise the tour to the audience.

These general principles can be applied in different ways in heritage contexts and there are various methods to interpret something for a group, one of which is storytelling. It has not yet been studied how these principles are being applied in the context of distillery tours. It is possible that how guides use interpretation in

modern looking distilleries may differ from those making tours in more traditional looking facilities as Cohen (1985) highlighted that interpretation is often easier in a place which is objectively or obviously authentic but that the more staged the object that is being interpreted is, the more difficult making quality interpretation becomes and the harder the guide has to work to create the same kind of connection. Ababneh (2017) also discussed the importance of place arguing that guides need to connect the various or contrasting elements of the place to each other (such as tangible and intangible heritage or historic and modern aspects of local culture), he stated that to not do so the visitors may leave feeling that something was missing.

2.3.1 Storytelling to Interpret Heritage

Storytelling is one method used to interpret the toured object. One of the reasons that storytelling can be so effective in this is that we naturally use narrative and stories to interpret and understand our world (Mandelbaum, 2008; Rayfield, 1972) as Shank and Ableson (cited in Laszlo, 1997) explained, “virtually all human knowledge is based on stories constructed around past experiences” (p1). Almost every culture uses stories to transfer knowledge, values, heritage, and culture to others (UNESCO n.d. a).

2.3.1.1 *What is a story*

It is difficult to define a story as it is the kind of phenomenon that we instinctively know without analysing it (Booker, 2004; Bruner, 2003; Rayfield, 1972; Wiech, 2014). Aristotle (350 b.c.e) may have been the first person to puzzle over this

human phenomenon of storytelling with his insights still being relevant to today's storytellers.

Aristotle described stories as a form of 'imitation', a retelling of life, he distinguished however between story and history. He argued that history is the objective retelling of what happened whereas the story is about what is possible- this includes historical happenings but has a much wider scope. This shows the strong link between stories and heritage.

The structure of a story must be complete with a beginning, middle, and end with plot points that follow logically on without leaving loose ends (Aristotle, 350 b.c.e; Rayfield, 1972). A story usually focuses on one main character and has some form of conflict, struggle or problem (Rayfield, 1972). Good stories will have what Aristotle called the 'periepteia' which is a reversal of situations or 'plot twist' (Aristotle, 350 b.c.e). It has also been noted that the majority of stories find their base in something that everyone knows or understands such as a feeling, theme or universal truth (Weich, 2014).

Potts (cited in Rayfield, 1972) and Aristotle (350 b.c.e) suggested that stories about the past should use history selectively so as not to disrupt the plot or story structure. Bruner (2003) took it further to suggest that as a story must have an audience and a narrator, a story is always selective in its material and can never be objective. Bruner argued that every story has a message- even if we are unaware of it; they are a kind of subtle persuasive communication.

Booker (2004) after having analysed a wide range of stories suggested that there are seven types of basic story plots: overcoming the monster, rags to riches, the quest, voyage and return, comedy, tragedy and rebirth. The settings, characterisation and details change but the basic format of the stories seem to be universal building blocks for satisfactory stories.

2.3.2 Authentic Experiences Through Storytelling

Storytelling is a natural and authentic way of sharing and learning. Communities share their cultural heritage with visitors in various ways that may be perceived as authentic or inauthentic by the host or tourist (Zhu, 2012). One reason for telling stories is to create this feeling of authenticity through storytelling. As Weich (2014) put it: "Truth is a byproduct of story. Maybe not the whole truth, but enough to make something feel authentic and real." (p27). This makes it a powerful tool for transmitting a believable message.

MacCanell (1973) noted that authenticity is a key motivator for travel, however he also stated that although tourists seek the authentic, they will very rarely find it as they are presented with something staged specifically for them which often shows what it is thought the tourist expects to see. If something is experienced as authentic by the visitor there is a positive effect on their satisfaction level and desire to return to a destination (Park, Choi, & Lee, 2019) so destinations try to stage something that will be perceived as authentic by the visitor- this being important for a good experience (Human Intelligence, 2018).

Whether something is perceived as authentic or not is dependent on the tourist and host gaze interaction, that is to say the person's background, associations and

expectations (Larson & Urry, 2011), this makes it is very dynamic. Defining what is authentic becomes a challenge. It has been the topic of some debate in tourism studies with definitions changing over time from objectivism to constructivism to postmodernism (Rickly & Vidon, 2018; Terziska, 2012; Wang, 1999) however, in the case of storytelling performative authenticity seems to be most appropriate.

Performative authenticity is created in the interaction between tourist and host gazes, here authenticity is not simply objective or subjective but performative (Knudsen & Waade, 2010). This theory of authenticity is the only one that incorporates the host gaze (that of the tour guide). Stories on tours exist and develop through interaction between the tourist and host gazes. Sharing cultural heritage through story can be performed authentically or inauthentically on the host's part and may be received authentically or inauthentically on the tourists' part- making performative authenticity the most appropriate theoretical framework for this context.

The oral tradition of which storytelling is part, is a very natural way for cultural heritage to be passed along and therefore for authenticity to be performed on both sides (UNESCO, n.d. a). The stories which guides choose to tell, how and why they are told may, for them, be an authentic way of passing on their cultural heritage. For the tourist the way they receive and understand these stories, and how they use the information learnt in the story to interact and understand the distillery, whisky, and brand may for them be an authentic way of experiencing cultural heritage- how true the story is is not important.

In fact, if the story includes mythical characters it can add to the place becoming “hyper-real” according to Jones (2010). Jones uses the example of places that mix the objectively authentic (buildings, fields, real historical events) with objectively inauthentic (myths and legends) to show how multiple types of authenticity can be working together at the same time. It has been found that the telling of stories not based in fact is a common technique for tour guides, done for various reasons (Huang, 2011; Wynn, 2005; Wynn, 2010).

With this said the level of authenticity the host or tourist feels remains subjective. For some people the factual accuracy of what they are told may be very important for their experience. And, for some, storytelling may not be viewed as an authentic way to pass on this information.

Nevertheless, storytelling may potentially be a way of enhancing the feeling of authenticity on both sides. Performing authenticity for host and tourist will enhance the experience and create a bond between the tourist, host, place, and product. In terms of group dynamics on the tour this feeling of authenticity also creates trust between the guide and the visitor (Story Regions, 2014).

2.3.3 Social Representation through Storytelling

Stories are used to imitate reality and help us to understand our world. Social representation theory has been chosen as an appropriate way of explaining how they can be used in a cultural heritage context as a type of interpretation.

The theory was first proposed by Serge Moscovici and is concerned with how societies or individuals create meaning and share their ideas to establish common

cognitions (Höijer, 2011). A social representation is how we think about something, and the theory posits that, as in interactionalism, we add this meaning onto an object through interaction and negotiation with other people (Moscovici, 1988). As we understand the world in a narrative way (Booker, 2004; Clandinin & Connelly, 2000) storytelling is a very appropriate method of social representation. Here it shows that face-to-face storytelling is different to other forms of storytelling such as a film or text as at a heritage site these forms cannot be adapted to a specific target group as easily meaning they often can only portray shallow meanings (Pletinckx, Silberman, & Callebaut, 2003). Whereas face-to-face storytelling is adaptive and a deeper and stronger social representation can be negotiated.

So, in the context of cultural heritage sites, representation is a process of interaction between tour guide and visitor (Hanna et al 2004). The guide wants to develop a common way of thinking about the toured object within the group- sharing their heritage and culture. Using social representation theory this can be seen as a process of negotiation and storytelling is a tool used by the guide in this interaction.

In this way stories can be used strategically to persuade others to take a certain point of view or action (Fog, Budtz, & Yakaboylu, 2005; Hartman, Parra, & De Roo, 2019). In both community heritage and business, stories are employed in the same way- to inform, educate, persuade, and encourage certain behaviours (Srinivasan, 2005). Stories are also used to distinguish between and attract people to different tourism sites or different products in the same way (Choi, 2016; Keskin, Akgun, Zehir, & Ayar, 2016).

2.3.4 The Tour Guide as Storyteller

A cultural heritage tour guide is always a storyteller (Salazar, van den Branden, & Bryon, 2009; Wynn, 2005). Salazar, van den Branden, and Bryon (2009) even went as far as to call them “cultural tourism storytellers who, by narrating tourism tales, create or reinforce as well as contest existing imaginaries of a destination, its culture, nature, people, heritage, and so on.”(p 1). So tour guides have a big impact on how a visitor experiences a place, it was found that the type of tour guide, the training they received and how they perceive their role and the role of the tourists alters how they tell their stories and which stories they choose to tell (Cohen, 1985; MacGrath, 2004; Mathiesen, 2013; Potter, 2016; Salazarm van den Branden, & Byron, 2009) which will then show a destination in different lights.

Storytelling is an exchange which is active on both parts- the storyteller and the audience, each must engage with the story to understand it (Bednar & Welch, 2013; Mathisen, 2014; van Blerk, 2019). As the way a tourist experiences something is highly subjective, the host tells stories with the aim of connecting with the visitor’s previous knowledge, expectations, and experience and build upon these to encourage them to give meaning to and engage with what they see. In storytelling theory, the more connections or indices the story has with the listener the more memorable and emotionally connected a person will be with the toured object (Woodside, 2010). Interpretation tries to guide the tourists’ gaze and create greater authentic understanding between the tourist, host, and place.

2.3.5 Co-creation

Interaction through storytelling can be seen as an appropriate resource for co-creation of experiences in tourism (Mathisen, 2014). In co-creation the visitor is seen as an active participant in creating experiences. When the host tells a story they actively engage with it using their own background or gaze (Bednar & Welch, 2013), as the story is told they give off cues as to how they are engaging with it (Best, 2012). These cues could be facial expression, body language, laughter or gasps it may even be chipping in or answering a question during the story. The guide should pick up on these cues and alter their storytelling or line of interpretation accordingly to engage the visitor (Best, 2012; Potter, 2016; Mandelbaum, 2008; Yokoi & Almeida, 2003). Tour guides may wish to establish particular interests at the beginning of the tour through interaction with the information affecting which stories they tell and how they tell them (Lim & Aylett, 2007) for example asking where people are from or if they have visited other sites that are similar.

Co-creation of experiences has been shown to have a positive effect on customer satisfaction and loyalty (Lončarić, Perišić Prodan, & Dlačić, 2017) as well as keeping people's attention at a heritage site (Pletinckx, Silberman, & Callebaut, 2003). Through co-creation, storytelling experiences connected with brands become extraordinary and personalised for the customer making them more likely to become informal "marketers" for the brand (Golicic & Flint, 2013, p6). So, co-creation of experiences through storytelling can meet the needs of the visitor by

providing positive and memorable experiences as well as meeting the needs of the business by encouraging brand loyalty among customers.

The role of the tour guide is to strike an appropriate balance between the needs of the various stakeholders. As Salazar (2008) puts it “the best guides are those who know the tricks of the trade and have found a healthy equilibrium between their own interests, those of their clients, their employer, and the local people they interact with while touring.” (para 13). The stories that guides tell on their tours are a form of co-creation between the tour guide and the visitor, however the story does not only come from their interaction. Other stakeholders are also involved in the creation of the story including the distillery, the stillmen (those who make the whisky) and the wider local community.

2.3.6 Types of Stories

It is important to discuss which stories a guide chooses to tell as this often brings political or ethical dilemmas, particularly with heritage involved. When one side of a story is told it may even lead to the reproduction of inequality or fail to represent important aspects of heritage (Modlin, Alderman, & Gentry, 2011). With distilleries, for example, a guide may tell how the workers used to excitedly queue up for their weekly free whisky but they would not mention the many problems workers suffered as a result of addiction and alcoholism.

Lugosi and Bray (2008) found three types of story a guide may choose to tell on heritage tours: personal, obscure and public. Lugosi and Bray defined personal stories as mainly anecdotal coming from the guides own life or that of friends/family so vary widely from guide to guide- they explained how these stories

are used to “animate sites along the tour” (p10) and that they are very popular among visitors. Guides often tell personal stories on heritage tours (Lugosi & Bray, 2008; Potter, 2016) they may have other functions such as authentic feeling or establishing the guide as the expert.

Obscure narratives were classed as stories obtained from specialist, topic specific literature or personal knowledge, these stories tend to be myths, legends or anecdotes so the guide has the freedom to play with the telling of these stories. As these stories are more unusual or little known they can add value to the tour as they provide new and interesting information to the visitors. This is in contrast with public narratives that are made up of information that is widely available, so it may be the case that the stories are already known by the general public but for heritage stories they may be unknown to those from outside the community.

Lugosi and Bray (2008) also found that the stories guides told, how much detail was included, and the style of delivery varies from guide to guide and changes over time as the guides’ experience grows. There are various reasons why a guide decides to tell a certain story in a certain way, ultimately they will be trying to achieve something by telling this story and the next section will review possible reasons for telling heritage stories on a tour.

A study based on wineries found two distinct approaches to storytelling (Golicic & Flint 2013). One approach was to share the official company story with the guests, this was mostly found in larger wineries. The other approach was to co-create experiences that then become stories for guests to tell. There has been no research as to how this may apply to distilleries, this study will test this.

2.4 Why Tell Heritage Stories?

When stories are told on tours it is an experience for both the customer and the guide. Stories play with emotions so can cause all sorts of different experiences and achieve different things. Stories may be told for a plethora of different reasons.

Through interpretation and storytelling there is the potential to create emotional connections with a place by authentically sharing and learning about a community's cultural heritage; at a distillery it is likely that stories are used as a method of selling a product (MacBoyle & MacBoyle 2008); stories may be used to send a message and change attitudes; stories may be used to distinguish one product from another, other stories may be for pure entertainment; on a tour there is also the potential for stories to be used to create a certain group dynamics (Huang, 2011); to establish the tour guide's qualifications as expert, leader, or community representative; and some stories may even be told just to mix the tour up a bit for the guides' own feelings (Potter, 2016). Some of the reasons stories may be told based on previous literature are presented below.

2.4.1 Educate and Preserve

One of the primary reasons for storytelling to be used on tours is as an education tool. People visit distilleries and take tours to learn how whisky is made and to learn about local cultural heritage attached to it. Storytelling has been shown to be effective when used for educational purposes (Story regions, 2014). The Story regions study also found stories to be effective in engaging the listener and causes them to reflect on what they thought they knew or believed. Stories are a good way of keeping attention for education so that people receive the information (Wiech,

2014). In terms of retaining the information storytelling can also be effective (Woodside, 2010). This is in line with the general aim of a cultural heritage tourist who looks for learning experiences (World Tourism Organisation, 2019).

Educating on and sharing cultural heritage through tourism can have the effect of protecting it: if well managed, tourism will help to instil local community pride as well as interest among visitors to preserve cultural heritage (Duncan, 2009). Tours at heritage sites not only share cultural heritage with tourists but also with host communities. Heritage storytelling and adding intangible cultural heritage and extra meaning to a site can help to preserve tangible cultural heritage and buildings for the future (Wilson & Descha, 2016).

2.4.2 Management Group Dynamic

As cultural heritage storytelling may be used to engage an audience through co-creation it can also be seen in very practical terms as a tool for the subtle management of a tour group. Stories can be used to engage tourists and may also be used to create and maintain a certain type of relationship between guide and visitor (Huang, 2011; Mathisen, 2013). During the course of the tour the guide needs to have authority over the group, they need to be seen as competent and credible leaders (Cohen, 1985) without this status as 'expert' they are unable to create a quality visit as there is a lack of trust between the visitor and the guide. Some guides may use personal or obscure stories to reassure guests that they are the expert and knowledgeable enough on the topic that what they say can be trusted.

Good storytelling is directed at and adapted for the target audience, one important skill for a tour guide is to be able to create a “third culture” (Huang, 2011, p148) this can be done through stories establishing similarities and shared interest within the group and towards the toured object. This technique can also make the visitor feel empowered and special as relating stories directly to them causes them to believe their experience and knowledge is valuable (Story regions, 2014). Stories can also make the group more communicative in learning situations as they become more involved and more inclined to ask questions and interact with the guide (Story regions, 2014) encouraging further co-creation.

Stories that are used in this way have been shown to foster a sense of comradery in a group by bringing in a human element and increasing communication and trust within a group (Story regions, 2014). Particularly the telling of personal stories causes the group to see the tour guide as human, which creates a deeper connection between the tour guide and the group (Story regions, 2014). This contributes to a positive experience for both the group and for the tour guide themselves.

A further way that guides may use stories for tour group management is by filling silence while the visitors are looking at something (Best, 2012) or if the guide has to pad while they are waiting for the next tour group to move along.

2.4.3 Sell

The reason visitor centres are built connected to factories or distilleries is clearly for marketing purposes (Cudny & Horňák, 2016; Stoffelen & Vanneste, 2015).

Distilleries are used as a destination for leisure and tourism with a focus on

positive experience creation through guided tours and tastings (McBoyle & McBoyle, 2008) interpretation through storytelling is used as a tool to create positive memorable experiences that people then associate with the whisky. This idea follows the experience economy model as outlined by Pine and Gilmore (1999). Visitors develop more personal product involvement when they have been on a tour of where it is made leading to higher loyalty levels (Mitchel & Orwig, 2002). This means that using heritage storytelling to create a positive memorable experience at a visitor centre can be very profitable for the commercial side of the business and encourage loyalty to the brand (Golicic & Flint, 2013).

According to Pine and Gilmore (1999) businesses that use experiences to sell their goods are able to distinguish themselves from other similar goods and be more memorable for consumers. They are also able to charge more for their goods due to the extra value the experience has created and then resell the same experiences again and again. Heritage has also been shown to differentiate against brands and share company values (Urde, Greyser, & Balmer, 2007). Creating quality experiences based on heritage storytelling at distilleries can therefore help with branding, marketing, and selling the product.

2.4.3.1 Change or Reinforce Attitude

In order to analyse further how storytelling may be a tool for attitude change or reinforcement the process of attitude formation must first be explained. The Fishbein and Ajzen model adapted by Iso-Ahola (1980) will be used:

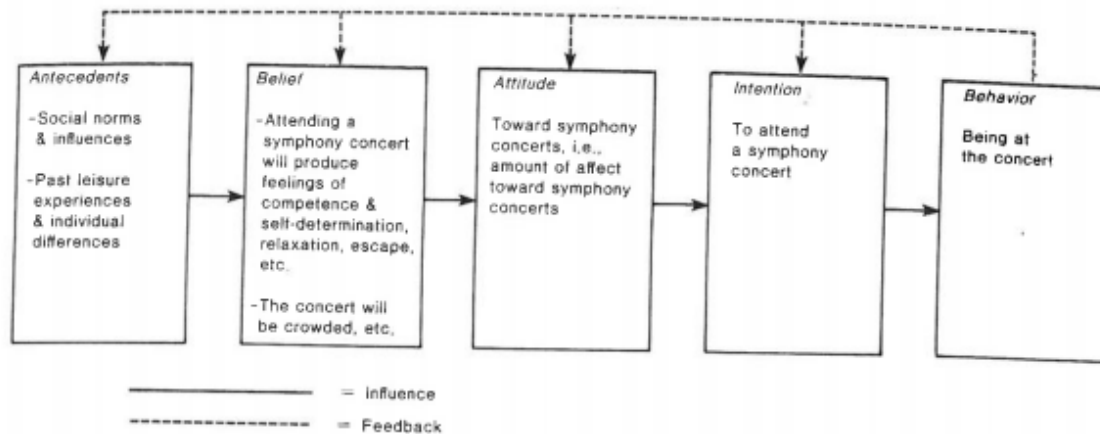


Figure 1: Behaviour development process (Iso-Ahola, 1980)

In figure 1 we can see how our experiences alter our beliefs, which influence our attitudes, which affect our intentions and ultimately our behaviours. For the distillery example the experience of going around a distillery and hearing heritage stories alters beliefs about the whisky which influences attitudes towards it which, in turn, has an effect on intentions and finally purchasing behaviour making people who visited distilleries more likely to buy the product which, is the ultimate aim of the business (McBoyle & McBoyle, 2008; Miller, 1994).

Iso-Ahola (1980) also presented strategies for encouraging attitude change with active participation and persuasive communication both being important factors in this. As was mentioned previously storytelling can be classed as persuasive communication as it can be used to pass on values and behaviours, it is also demands active participation from the visitor through co-creation.

2.5 Conclusion

From a thorough review of relevant literature, it has been found that cultural heritage stories have the potential to be used for different reasons by

stakeholders. The needs of the local community whose culture is on display are met through the use of storytelling to educate on and preserve their cultural heritage. Storytelling also allows the tourist to enjoy a positive, memorable and authentic feeling experience as well as giving them the opportunity to take some ownership and co-create their experiences. For the tour guide storytelling can be used as a tool to keep their tour group engaged and to create a workable relationship between themselves and the visitor. For the whisky making company they are able to use heritage stories to reinforce positive attitudes towards their product and create a loyal customer base at the same time as distinguish themselves from other brands.

However, the precise reason how they are used in distillery tours remains unclear. In such a setting where cultural heritage and commerce meet, and may indeed clash, this is important to understand.

3. Methodology

3.1 Conceptual model

The conceptual model below shows the connections between the concepts that were discussed during the literature review. It is possible that from the data other concepts will arise or it will be found that these concepts are not actually relevant to the use of heritage stories in distilleries.

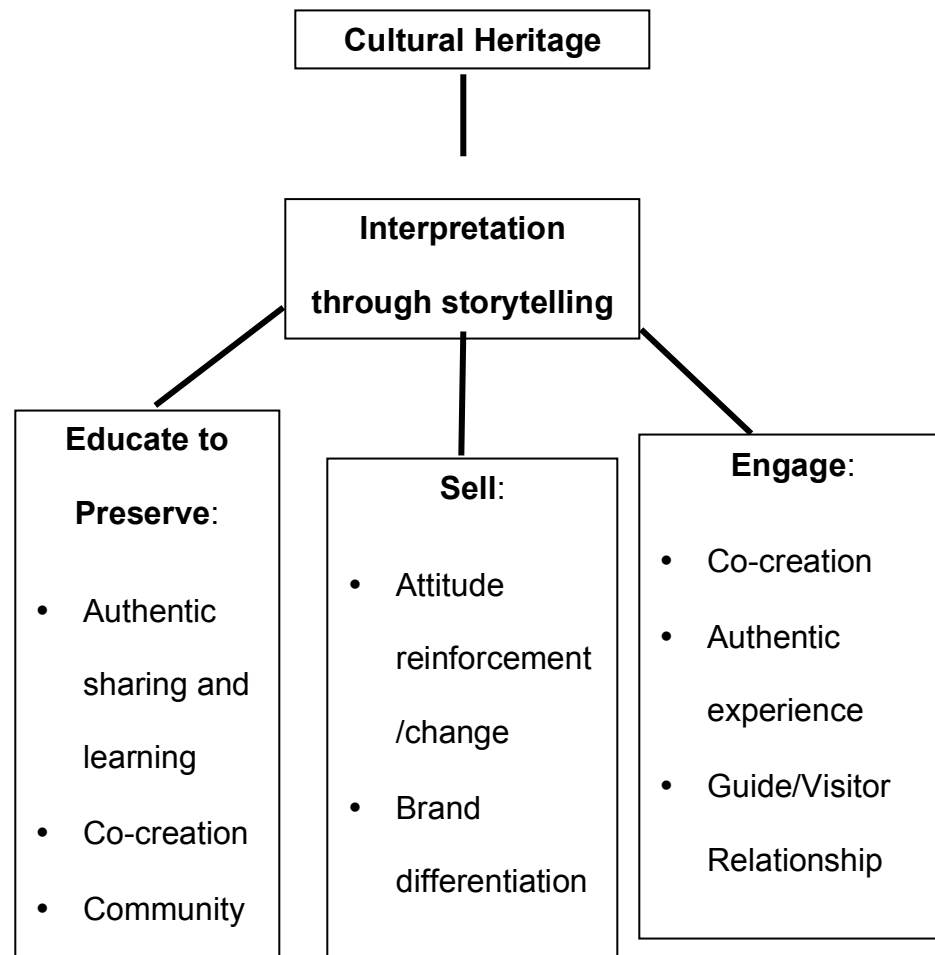


Figure 2: conceptual model (developed by the author)

As can be seen in the conceptual model cultural heritage is used in stories to interpret the toured object. From a literature review it has been found that there is potential for such heritage stories to be used in various ways including authentic cultural heritage learning and sharing, selling the product through creating positive attitudes towards the product and managing and engaging the tour group. This study discusses if these are indeed the reasons guides tell heritage stories in the context of a distillery tour or if there are other reasons guides tell stories that have not been established.

3.2 Research Questions

In order to discover if and why heritage stories are told during distillery tours various research questions have been devised:

1. Why is cultural heritage shared on a distillery tour?
2. Why are stories told on a distillery tour?
3. What purposes do cultural heritage stories serve?
 - a. How are cultural heritage stories used to educate on whisky and heritage?
 - b. How do cultural heritage stories contribute to the preservation of community heritage?
 - c. How are cultural heritage stories used to sell whisky?
 - d. How are cultural heritage stories used for engagement?

3.3 Research Philosophy

The ontological perspective that was used during this study is critical realism. This is the belief that we each see and experience the same reality but due to our mental processes we interpret and experience things differently and that there are reasons behind observable events that cannot be directly observed (Saunders, Lewis, & Thornhill, 2009). Normally critical realism's focus is on the how and why things happen (Danermark, Ekstrom, & Jakobsen, 2005; May cited in Grix, 2010). This seems most appropriate in this case as the aim of the study is how and why heritage storytelling is used. In this study heritage stories told during tours are the observable events- they can be recorded and observed in reality with the unobservable mechanisms of why they are being told.

The main epistemological perspective of this study is interpretivism; as the aim of this study is to understand how heritage stories are used the researcher must be able to see the world from the point of view of those who use heritage in the whisky industry (Saunders, Lewis, & Thornhill, 2009). In order to do this, unstructured interviews were chosen as a methodology, these allow for the guides and other experts in whisky heritage to go through their own thought processes and come to their own conclusions on a topic they may not have thought about before in much detail.

The transcripts of the interviews were analysed using an interpretivist approach looking to identify and explain the mechanisms behind how and why the stories are used. There has been very little research done into understanding how heritage and stories are used in settings where commercial and community interests are present so this research will be exploratory. This study aims to

provide an initial description of the situation to develop a range of ideas of why these stories are being told, which makes this an exploratory study (Brotherton, 2015). Through this grounded theory will be used to develop a new model explaining the uses of heritage storytelling.

3.4 Research Design and Limitations

This study takes the form of unstructured explorative expert interviews. Experts are those with specific knowledge of how heritage and storytelling is used in Scotch whisky distillery visitor centres- generally people who have experience working in visitor centres/the heritage side of the industry. These include various positions: brand ambassador, archivist, deputy visitor centre supervisor, head of visitor centres, and tour guide.

The exact breakdown of positions is displayed in the table below:

Position	Number of participants	
Guide	7	
Deputy visitor centre manager	1	
Deputy visitor centre manager/guide	1	
International Brand Ambassador	2	
Brand Ambassador (former guide)	1	
Archivist (former guide)	1	
Former head of visitor centres	1	
	Total participants	14

In order to answer the research questions and achieve the aim of this thesis it is important to look into the process of sharing heritage stories during tours. Those who decide on tour content are therefore experts in this field. The interviews looked to gather expertise on a specific phenomenon within their field (that is heritage storytelling) so explorative interviews discussing various aspects related to this topic seemed most appropriate.

This study was conducted in a similar way to Potter (2016), with the main focus being on guides and others who have an influence on how tours are conducted. Interviews with the relevant people with the researchers own knowledge and background from being a former guide themselves being used to make sure the content of the interviews and their analysis was informed by an in-depth knowledge of the topic.

Qualitative methods were used to be able to investigate the complexities of heritage storytelling through establishing the factors involved in choosing to tell a certain story and what the stories try to achieve. Distilleries and heritage storytelling are under researched areas in leisure and tourism studies so interviewing experts in the field on the topic and discussing their views with reference to relevant literature and theories it is hoped that the results make a unique contribution to this field.

3.4.1 Limitations

It was not within the scope of this study due to time constraints to adequately measure impacts of heritage storytelling but only intentions. The high season for the distillery and when the majority of people visit is during the summer, to be able

to measure the impacts on the typical distillery visitor research would need to be conducted during this time or throughout a full season, also due to the covid-19 pandemic distillery visitor centres were closed during the year the study took place.

As tours were not being conducted at the time this meant that some of the tour guides had not worked as guides since the previous summer season. This may have caused some recall issues as the researcher was asking about what they had been doing over 6 months prior to the interview. In order to mitigate against recall bias guides were chosen, as much as possible, that had multiple seasons experience guiding. This meant that they were more likely to accurately recall why they chose stories as they had more experience in doing so.

Due to the Covid-19 pandemic it was not possible to shadow tours to record and analyse the stories themselves, as was the original intention of the researcher. A different methodology using expert interviews was then implemented, although this was not the methodology initially chosen by the researcher it is still believed that the results are able to answer the research questions and achieve the aim of the study yielding relevant and valid results. One recommendation for further research would be to conduct this study as originally intended.

Also due to Covid-19 interviews were conducted remotely via online platforms rather than face-to-face. This meant that occasional technical difficulties caused time lags, distortion of answers with words being missed or an increased need for the researcher to interrupt participants asking for repetition. For some of the interviews participants and researcher could not see each other so they were

unable to pick up on non-verbal cues meaning there was some overlapping of speakers that would have been avoided if they were in the same room. A limitation coming from this is less flow in the interviews making it seem less natural so responses may be different as the participants and researcher were not as at ease as they would have been in a face-to-face situation.

3.5 Sampling and Data Collection Procedure

Experts were chosen for illustrative purposes- representatives from distilleries that have visitor centres that tell heritage stories and a non-whisky producing visitor centres with whisky heritage themes. Visitor centres were located in Speyside, Highlands and Lowlands whisky regions of Scotland. Guides who had experience of at least one full season of tour guiding at a distillery visitor centre or at a whisky themed visitor centre were chosen as suitable experts in the use of heritage storytelling. Others who work in heritage aspects of the scotch whisky industry including archivists, visitor centre supervisors, and brand ambassadors were also deemed to have suitable expertise in this area with many also having tour guiding experience in the past.

As it was not possible to know the exact number of people who could be classed as experts according to the definition stated above non-probability sampling techniques were employed. Convenience sampling was used as experts were approached that were known to the researcher from their time working in the industry. Although with this sampling technique there is a danger of researcher bias and problems with generalizability it was still seen as suitable for the purposes of this study as it is only through this form of sampling that this unique

set of experts could be reached with such a high participation rate (Convenience sampling, (n.d.)). Snowball sampling was also used to a more limited degree as experts were asked if they knew other experts that would have relevant information.

The interviews took roughly one hour each. During the interviews the researcher took notes on pen and paper using short-hand, beginning to highlight some of the themes that came through in the interviews. Interviews were also recorded using an mp3 device, the recording application on a mobile phone and/or an application that records computer activity for interviews conducted via online platforms. The interviews were then transcribed and later coded. In some cases the technology did not work so the researcher had to use the short-hand notes as the transcript.

Unstructured, in-depth, phone or video call interviews with the experts were conducted based on the themes of how heritage and storytelling is used during distillery tours and more generally in visitor centres and the whisky industry. The reason unstructured interviews were chosen was partly due to the varied roles that the experts played in heritage storytelling meaning that different questions needed to be asked depending on this. Another reason unstructured interviews were deemed to be the best interviewing technique was so that the experts have the flexibility to self-analyse how and why they used heritage storytelling in their particular role. Unstructured interviews gave the interviewer and the expert the freedom to discuss multiple elements related to the use of heritage stories (Thornhill, Saunders, & Lewis, 2009). Unstructured interviews meant that as the

researcher conducted more interviews they were able to alter their questioning dependent on the previous interviews.

During the interviews experts were asked to give their opinions on the use of heritage and storytelling in whisky distilleries as well as to give examples of stories they have told and what they were trying to achieve by telling these stories. The researcher was able to use examples from their own time tour guiding as well as their own knowledge of both the guides, the distilleries, and the whisky industry to create appropriate questions geared towards each expert as well as in understanding specific references used by the guides.

Before the interviews all participants were contacted via email or another messaging service to check their willingness to participate in the study, their availability and their preferred interview method (phone, Skype, Whatsapp, Microsoft Teams etc). At this point they were also told what the interview would be about, how long it would take, and what their rights were. Participants were also offered a copy of the thesis proposal to give further detail on what was being studied and how. The interviews were then arranged at a suitable time.

Interviews began with some small talk as the participants and researcher caught up with each other on recent events. The researcher would then explain again to the participant what was being researched, why this topic was chosen, and how the interview would be conducted. Interviews were deliberately started in a chatty and informal style to put participants at ease and set a relaxed tone for the interview so that they felt comfortable exploring their own thoughts on the topic.

To begin the main part of the interview the participants were first asked to give their thoughts on why they chose to tell heritage stories on tours and what they were trying to achieve by this. Usually at this point participants would discuss the official stories that were included on the tours such as the founding story of the distillery and what they thought this brings to the tour. Depending on the answers the research may ask more about the official stories or why this story is deemed important enough to tell or may encourage the participant to reflect on other kinds of heritage stories that they chose to tell on tours (such as personal, obscure stories, or stories learnt from other guides/tours), opening up the conversation to storytelling in general.

The researcher would occasionally give examples of the stories that are sometimes told during distilleries or ask the participant themselves to come up with examples to stimulate the participant to reflect on the stories they told and why. Questions depended on the way the conversation was going and the research tried to allow the participant to follow their own train of thought by asking probing questions such as why they think something is important to tell or summing up a point that was made by the participant.

Towards the end of the interviews the researcher would ask participants if there was anything else related to storytelling, heritage, or distillery tours that they would like to add or if they would like to reiterate a point they made earlier that they deem particularly important for them when choosing to tell a heritage story on a tour.

This was done to allow the participants themselves to come to their own conclusions on how they use heritage stories in their position. Finally, participants

were thanked for their contribution and invited to keep in contact with the researcher if they thought of anything else that they believe as important or had any further questions about the research.

3.6 Data Analysis

After collecting the data, as stated, the interviews were transcribed. The first interviews were transcribed using “dragon naturally speaking” software. This involved a process of re-speaking the interview to allow the voice recognition software to transcribe the interviews. The researcher then went through the text whilst listening to recordings of the original interviews editing the automatically transcribed text, adding punctuation, separating it into paragraphs, and adding in information about who was speaking as well as correcting any errors in the automatic transcription. When, during the analysis, quotes were chosen as particularly apt for use in highlighting certain themes or results, the researcher went back to the original recording of the interview to be sure that the quote was indeed transcribed accurately.

This process of transcription involved re-speaking and re-reading the data multiple times which gave the researcher detailed knowledge of the gathered data which generally helps during the analysis of data (Williams & Moser, 2019). The researcher was already able to begin spotting certain repeated themes within the transcripts as they neared the point of saturation during the interviews and reflected upon the conceptual model, these themes provided a starting point to begin coding.

For the other interviews the transcription software failed to work so the interviews were transcribed by hand. This involved listening to sections of the interview on an MP3 device whilst typing along and periodically pausing the recording to allow the researcher to catch up with the audio and take breaks from the transcription. Although this was an arduous and time-consuming method of transcription the results were very accurate and it again gave the researcher an in-depth knowledge of the interview content.

A form of grounded theory was used to analyse and code the data. This methodology was deemed most appropriate as it fit with the aim of developing a new theory on the use of heritage storytelling in distilleries (Vollstedt & Rezat, 2019).

The steps laid out by Williams and Moser (2019) for open, axial and selective coding were used. The first coding stage involved open coding which sorted the content into themes and concepts. These themes and concepts are developed in vivo as they come directly from the data itself without reference to already existing theories or literature (Vollstedt & Rezat, 2019). Each transcript was re-read and when interviewees were discussing similar topics the content was given a title with relevant parts being copied and pasted with each interviewee identified using their initials. The resulting document was a list of concepts (open codes) with quotes from various interviews on the same topic.

Axial coding was then used to further refine the results. The researcher then went through the open codes with the aim of establishing relationships between them and organise them into broader themes. This was done by rearranging the

headings and content in the document so that they became sub-heading within a broader title.

Finally selective coding was implemented in a similar manner to establish the overarching theoretical concepts that were discussed during the interviews. These concepts were then used to paint a coherent picture on how heritage storytelling is used during visits to Scotch whisky distilleries and develop a new conceptual model and theory. Once the coding had been completed the researcher was able to compare the new model with the conceptual model developed from literature to highlight similarities and differences. The new conceptual model is then discussed with regards to relevant literature to establish what is study contributes to understanding of relevant concepts.

3.7 Reliability and Validity

Reliability and validity are important concepts in research. In order to be able to contribute to the body of knowledge the methodology of a study needs to be sound. Results needs to be able to tell something new about the concepts studied. In this section both the reliability and the validity of this study will be critically analysed.

3.7.3 Reliability

Reliability is how consistent measurement systems are; that is how repeatable the study is (Drost, 2011; Price, Jhangiani, & Chiang, 2015). Using the methodology of unstructured expert interviews the reliability of the study is in question as test-retest reliability is limited due to the lack of structured questions. However, by

being clear about the topics covered during the interviews and keeping the interviews limited to these topics (that of storytelling and heritage in distilleries) means it is not unreasonable to conclude that this type of study could be repeated with similar unstructured interviews covering the same topics to re-test the results.

Taking a broad range of experts with different backgrounds and potentially different opinions on the subject is also important for reliability. Making sure that the researcher does not impose their own views when questioning, and allowing the interviewees to follow their own thought process and come to their own conclusions on the subject through self-analysis is also important to garner reliable results. This means that another researcher could conduct similar interviews and receive the same results.

As this study deals with large amounts of qualitative data, having a systematic way of sorting through and coding the data also adds to the reliability of the study as this takes out some of the potential bias a researcher may have when analysing data. Using coding based on grounded theory means that all the data is sorted through and patterns drawn up from the data itself with the researchers knowledge and background being applied to it as little as possible before it is analysed. Again, this means that anyone should be able to sort through the data in the same way and come up with the same results increasing interrater reliability.

3.7.2 Validity

Validity is how accurately the method chosen can garner the results needed to answer the research questions (Drost, 2011; Price, Jhangiani, & Chiang, 2015).

This study seeks to discover how heritage stories are used during distillery tours

with unstructured interviews on the topic of storytelling and heritage on distillery tours the face validity of the method is extremely strong as the researcher asks the people responsible for telling the heritage stories why they tell them. As long as these unstructured interviews remain on the topics of heritage, storytelling, or distilleries then the content validity is also good.

After each interview the researcher reflected upon its validity by beginning to identify what reasons for telling heritage stories emerged. Coding began before all the interviews had been completed, this meant that as the interviews went on the researcher was able to adapt their questioning to ask about topics that had been brought up by other participants. Again increasing the validity, this flexible approach allowed the researcher to begin building a thorough understanding of heritage storytelling on distillery tours.

The external validity or generalisability (Drost, 2011) is also fairly strong in this study. Experts with much first-hand experience and knowledge in heritage storytelling in distilleries were chosen to provide insights from within the industry. Experts came from various backgrounds and perform different roles meaning the potential for different perspectives on the subject of research was present giving wider, more rounded, and therefore more generalisable, results.

As with any research project this study cannot be said to be completely reliable or valid. However, the appropriate steps have been taken to improve both the reliability and the validity of the method making sure that the results are able to give practical insights into heritage storytelling for the industry as well as contribute to the academic body of knowledge on the concepts.

3.9 Ethical Considerations

All participants entered into the study voluntarily, fully aware of the purposes of the research and able to give informed consent. The interviewees were introduced to the topic of the research and the interview process explained and what is expected from them before the interviews began. Participants were also encouraged to contact the researcher after the interviews were completed if they had anything else to add, questions about how their data would be used, or wished to withdraw any data from the study. The researcher went to the appropriate lengths to keep the experts' identities confidential.

This study is based on the stories that are told on distillery tours and acknowledges that these stories present a one-sided version of alcohol consumption, Scottish history and culture. It was not within the scope of this research to look deeply into other potential views on these subjects but does acknowledge that they exist. Neither was it within the scope of this research to make moral judgements on the matter but to present and analyse the stories as objectively as possible.

4. Results and Discussion

In this section the results of the interviews will be presented with reference to the aims and objectives. First, the results will be displayed according to the themes (or selective codes) that emerged during the coding process and analysed relating to

the aim of this study, which is to identify how heritage stories told on distillery tours are used.

In the discussion section the results will be discussed and used to answer the research questions by breaking down the use of heritage and storytelling separately and coming to a conclusion as to what purposes heritage stories serve in this setting. At this stage literature will be used to illustrate how the results relate to the body of knowledge on the concepts of heritage and storytelling.

4.1 Results

This section will be structured according to the themes that emerged from the interviews as to the reasons heritage and storytelling are used on tours in relation to the last two objectives: why heritage stories are told on tours and what factors effect this. All participants mentioned that they use heritage stories, showing that this is indeed a principle part of the tour experience.

The most mentioned reasons for telling heritage stories were for entertainment or education these being the main aims on a tour, with participants highlighting storytelling's role in creating a balance of the two. Other, secondary reasons also came up in discussions such as marketing and preserving cultural heritage.

In terms of other factors involved in telling heritage stories: to eliciting some sort of response from the group be it emotional, verbal, or behavioural seemed to be a major factor, altering output to match the needs of the group was also deemed to be important, and how the guide feels about the story and about the group was clearly shown to effect heritage storytelling.

4.1.1 Why tell Heritage Stories?

4.1.1.1 Entertainment

Entertainment was a key reason for telling heritage stories on tour. It is recognized that it is mainly holidaymakers looking for positive touristic experiences who choose to visit a distillery in Scotland. It is believed that tourists do not want to be lectured or marketed to when they are on the tour but instead look for enjoyable experiences that are fun, authentic, and memorable. Stories were viewed as key ways of attracting and keeping people's attention for the duration of the tour, particularly for those who are not interested in whisky.

I think you need to tell a story to engage people more and once you have got their attention you can take it from there. (Guide E, personal communication, April 14, 2020)

I try and have a laugh with the visitors, we try and get the information across but we try and make it entertaining. I mean, they are paying... they want information but they don't want to be lectured to or listen to a corporate script. (Deputy VC supervisor/guide, personal communication, April 2 2020)

Rapport was regarded as an important part of experience creation and making the tour more enjoyable for both visitor and guide with sharing stories being seen as a key aspect of rapport building. Telling personal stories or stories the guide is passionate about was believed to be significant in building rapport with the group and encouraging interaction. When the group told their own stories and asked or answered questions the tour it was said to be more enjoyable for the guide and it

is also believed that forming a bond with the guide also makes the experience more memorable and positive for the visitor:

You also want them to enjoy themselves and having that personable relationship where they can tell you and you can tell them makes it so much nicer for everyone (BA/Guide, personal communication, April 14 2020)

The need to keep things light and fun was mentioned with a warning not to go into too much detail on particularly depressing or serious subjects. Other aspects that were said to reduce entertainment levels or lose group attention were reading from a script, giving out too much information, or only giving out facts and figures without including stories, anecdotes, or a narrative along with it. There was a clear consensus that using stories and anecdotes about things that happened or things that were said to have happened were important for keeping a group entertained and engaged:

With all the stories I tried to tell on my tour I would try to capture and engage them so it's a bit of fun rather than just being a boring tour. (Guide B, personal communication, March 26 2020).

Sometimes guides would tell stories that were not strictly true to add more entertainment to a tour. It was highlighted that bending the truth or making historic connections that were not necessarily there was acceptable to make the story more interesting or entertaining for the group. Humour was viewed as a key element for entertainment with even those who stated that they try to remain honest as much as possible also mentioned that they would embellish the facts for comic effect. For stories that were possibly myth, for the most part, participants

stated they would use a qualifier such as: it is believed that, some say, one story I heard was... and so forth.

There's obviously a lot of stories from 1800s and before, where nobody's really sure when the story you're telling is 100% true. I think that's fine as long as you go in with, oh this is an old story we don't really have any proof of this (Guide D, Personal communication, April 3 2020)

It is clear that heritage stories are used to entertain tour groups and keep visitors engaged for the duration of the tour. Guides aim to share something that is interesting or funny with the visitors to keep them entertained and build rapport and heritage stories are used for this purpose.

4.1.1.2 Education

Education was seen as a part of the entertainment offering as well as a factor on its own for the telling of stories. It was felt that each person should learn something from the tour, meaning there is often a focus on what is unique about that particular distillery. More general heritage stories are also used to give an introduction and background to the subjects that are covered on the tour, give an insight into the local culture, help visitors to understand whisky production and learn about the brand.

Heritage stories about the area were often used as an introduction to whisky and the landscape, showing the connection between the two. Putting the whisky in the context of the region was seen as important. Giving an idea of heritage at the beginning of the tour was said to set the foundation of the tour as it shows how the

distillery began, how it has changed, and what it is like now. This theme is then a basis for the tour as one guide mentioned

I think telling people the history helps them to understand it, it puts it into perspective. (Guide A, personal communication, March 25 2020)

It was understood that visitors are not necessarily solely interested in learning about the whisky or the brand but are also interested in the culture of the area and of wider Scotland. Heritage stories are used to educate visitors on the community connected to the distillery and how embedded in Scottish culture whisky has become. Reflecting a true version of Scotland rather than the stereotype was also seen as important and guides that truly appreciated and were enthusiastic about the connection between whisky and Scottish culture were deemed to be extremely important in showing this side of Scotland. This is why marketers not from Scotland or traditional whisky regions were deemed as not understanding this.

That is why it is so important you have the right people doing the tours and guiding and bringing it back to the local area. Rather than people, people in an ivory tower in London or you know Amsterdam, whatever it might be. They don't have true appreciation or true contact with the teams on the ground. You have to have that local touch. It is a big problem just now. (International BA B, personal communication, April 16 2020)

Telling stories about how whisky used to be produced was said to aid in the understanding of the product, the process and how it has developed. An emphasis was put on the need to show people that not much has changed in whisky making and traditional methods are still used. It was mentioned that this aspect was seen

to be relatable to people and that this aided in learning and remembering the information.

I think heritage is great, it is a continuation of things and people can associate with that (Guide C, personal communication, March 28 2020)

We give the story of how it started- and say we have just increased in size and become more efficient but it are still using the traditional modus operandi. (Guide F, personal communication, April 14 2020)

Education was also seen as a part of marketing as stories are told about the heritage of the brand. Discussing how the distillery was founded and how the brand grew was said to give the brand authentic credentials and provenance. The focus on giving the group new information about what is unique to the distillery gives brand differentiation, which is also helpful for marketing purposes. The conflict between what marketing departments want to be shared on tour, what the guide wants to share and what the visitor wants to hear was also apparent. Generally education on heritage and whisky production took precedent over brand messages.

The heritage or marketing departments want you to pass on doesn't always translate easily into what a visitor on the ground would like to hear. So to be fair we try to incorporate the corporate ethos as much as we can but foremost we try and pass on the information, the history and how we produce the whisky etc in as natural kind of way as we can. (Deputy VC supervisor/Guide, personal communication, April 2 2020).

The participants also mentioned various other constraints to education. There was a feeling that it was possible for too much information to be given and overwhelm the visitors. Sharing information through storytelling, however, was viewed as a way of educating in a natural, honest, simple, and entertaining way. It is believed that educating through storytelling was also a way of making the tour entertaining.

4.1.1.3 Sales and Marketing

Although participants generally stated entertainment and education as the main reason that heritage stories are told sales, branding, and marketing also came up- although more as bi-products of positive experience creation. Participants stated that they were uncomfortable seeing themselves as a salesperson on tour but rather saw themselves as educators or storytellers. The participants saw mentioning the shop or actively trying to sell whilst on tour negatively.

I just didn't like mentioning the shop. They were going to come out in the shop then there was always a guide there at the end to engage them in the shop if they wanted to know that. And I think if you over-mentioned it... If I was on tour I'd be like: right stop about the shop, we are not in the shop at the moment we are learning about the whisky and stories. So that wasn't my main focus. (Tour Guide B, personal communication, March 26 2020).

When participants talked of selling the product it was selling the product through their passion or interaction with people making visitors more likely to try a whisky at the end or buy a bottle. Inadvertent selling or marketing was acknowledged by the participants stating that the reason companies run the tours is to sell whisky, however for the guides on tour the focus was entertainment and education.

You want people to enjoy themselves and learn something and I would say them purchasing something would then be a bonus at the end. (BA/Guide, personal communication, April 14 2020).

From a marketing perspective telling the story of the founder and pointing out unique interesting aspects of the distillery and whisky making is good for brand differentiation and exposure- particularly if the visitors will be inspired to go and tell their friends these stories. Participants also mentioned that heritage stories in particular could be used to show the authenticity and provenance of the brand. A sense of continuation of the past and a sense of tradition linked to the product means that people are more likely to trust the brand. One participant even mentioned that this sense of heritage associated with the brand is used to justify the price.

We're trying to create genuine and authentic credentials for our brand and to justify and to celebrate the length of time that we've been distilling, to establish the expertise and the local provenance of what we do (International BA A, personal communication, March 23 2020)

Particularly when distillery visitor centres first began establishing themselves there was no need for a visitor centre to be profitable. It was seen by the company as a marketing tool aiming to get more people to try their product and potentially convert them into customers or to cause people to have more positive associations with the brand. Visitors hear heritage stories on the tour that inevitably show whisky in a positive light and having a tasting of the product at the end of the tour is clearly part of the marketing process:

I think everything leading up to that enjoyment of the product, that was the fantastic bit, because that is when you get people to say: I like this, I didn't think I liked whisky, I do like this and I think I will then go and buy a bottle and hopefully share that bottle with my friends at home and introduce other people to that brand. (Head of VCs, personal communication, April 16 2020)

Participants did concede that their efforts in making the tour entertaining and educational did result in sales but this was not what they felt was their main aim in telling heritage stories on the tour:

Obviously yes we are paid employees and the company isn't a charity, they are there to sell whisky but you would rather things... obviously you will point out things that are unique to the distillery and if people are enthused enough and like it and can afford it and want to buy it, great! (Deputy VC Supervisor/Guide, personal communication, April 2 2020)

4.1.1.4 Preservation

In a very similar way to marketing and selling, the preservation of cultural heritage was also seen as a secondary reason to tell heritage stories that came as a result of them rather than the main intention of the storyteller. Participants highlighted the fact that telling the stories kept them alive and even developed the sense of cultural heritage in the area in a very natural way:

I think it has probably kept them alive. You could say it has also given them a new lease of life as well. Because I occasionally overhear the stories being told and they have grown arms and legs- a centipede at the very least! So they've got a life

of their own. But it's also given us an impetus to do a lot of research into the local area. (International BA A, personal communication, March 23 2020)

The interviews highlighted that due to visitor centres telling heritage stories linked to Scotch whisky production, information on this subject has been gathered and preserved. This has been done in both formal and informal ways: by official company research as well as guides picking up stories from other guides, family members, or distillery workers.

Distilleries and whisky brands have put time, effort, and money into researching their brand's history and heritage but as whisky is a cultural product this means that the history and heritage of the local community is interlinked with this:

These distilleries have a great opportunity and almost a duty to reflect the community (Head of VCs, personal communication, April 16 2020)

The local community and the whisky industry are extremely interlinked and through the telling of heritage stories this link becomes clear to those working in the whisky industry, those visiting the distilleries, and those in the wider community. It was mentioned in the interviews that whisky companies do actively try to collect and archive heritage stories through community events, projects, and through interviews with people who are currently working or have worked in the stills. This research is done because of the prevalence of heritage storytelling and the clear benefits of this heritage demonstrated in the visitor centres.

Guides learn stories from other guides and there were instances described in the interviews of guides learning a story related to another guide and then

incorporating that into their tour. So as the stories are told they are then retold by other guides even once the initial guide has left- several participants mentioned guides that had stopped guided or had passed away but the stories they told remain in circulation. So informally by having the visitor centre hubs for oral storytelling and story sharing heritage develops in a very natural way and the oral tradition continues.

There is also a sense that the success of Scotch whisky, having visitor centres, and telling heritage stories has helped communities to flourish by bringing tourism, money, and pride into the area. The tourism industry has caused the local community to become more interested in their own history and heritage by providing a platform for it to be shared and appreciated. Although preservation is not at the forefront of a guides mind when they are telling a story there is a sense that doing tours and sharing the cultural heritage aspects of whisky making has contributed to the preservation of the culture by encouraging research, establishing archives, and promoting interest in the subject.

4.1.2 Other Factors Involved

4.1.2.1 Elicit Response

When telling stories there was a clear desire to elicit some sort of response from the visitors or interaction between the visitors and the guide. Heritage storytelling was a way to encourage emotional and verbal responses whilst on the tour and to inspire certain behaviours among the visitors both during the tour and post-tour. So if a story was thought to encourage these kinds of responses it was more likely to be told.

4.1.2.1.1 Emotional responses

The participants saw Storytelling as a way of creating an emotional connection between visitor and guide. As discussed the guide wants to be seen as personable, genuine, and human; one way they try to achieve this is through telling heritage stories. Such stories are used to show their passion, which visitors can relate to, and show that they are not reading from a script. Telling stories that guides are enthusiastic about or personally connected to in some way can help create a bond between the guide and the visitors which is seen as important for the creation of a positive experience for all parties. Telling of stories was also said to contribute to a relaxed and welcoming atmosphere on the tour. It was highlighted that the tour gives people a rare opportunity to connect with and learn from a genuine local person and this is seen as one of the great benefits of tours in creating memorable visitor experiences.

So I think if you can relate to people, the more you relate to them the more they see you as a person, you are as there for your passion for what you're doing, as opposed to just try to sell a product. (Archivist/Guide, personal communication, March 26 2020).

As well as connecting with the guide there is also a sense that heritage storytelling can create or strengthen an emotional connection with the whisky. The enthusiasm demonstrated through the guide's storytelling was described as contagious and incites an interest or excitement in the product's history as well as a sense of heritage and tradition. It was recognized that some visitors already feel a strong connection with the product as visiting the distillery is almost as a pilgrimage for

some people - in this case sharing stories is an appropriate way to share in that passion.

Their grandfather introduced them to whisky and the 12 year old was their favourite forever and they have aspired to visit the distillery for their whole life. So it is sort of like a built up emotion for some people so that is when I would probably go into a lot more history, heritage and stories. (BA/Guide, personal communication, April 14 2020).

Heritage stories were used to elicit laughter from the group, which again creates positive connections with the guide, the product, and the culture on display. When people laugh at a humorous story they are engaged in the tour, guides tell stories that they know not to be strictly true, will use exaggeration or imagine the past to get a laugh from the group. This laughter and enjoyment is seen as an extremely positive part of the tour experience. There is a limit as to the use of humour, however, having a laugh at the expense of another distillery or the politically incorrect jokes that were told in the past are no longer seen as acceptable on a tour. It was mentioned that humour needs to be carefully judged depending on the group but nevertheless remains an important part of the tour experience.

4.1.2.1.2 Verbal responses

As well as emotional responses stories are also used to encourage verbal responses from the visitors, stories were used to encourage visitors to answer questions from the guide, to ask the guide questions and even share their own stories or anecdotes. Creating interaction is said to make the tour more enjoyable

for the guide and visitor, as well as giving the guide important clues as to what information the group will find interesting.

Telling heritage stories and particularly personal stories about yourself or things that have happened on previous tours is seen as a way of putting people at ease and making them more likely to speak up during the tour. Participants mentioned that they would ask visitors questions to encourage this interaction for example:

I would always make a few comments about how I came to Scotland, and how much I love whisky, and all that stuff, and it helps to open up the tour at the start, you engage people, ask them where they are from? Have they been to a distillery before? At the start everybody should have said something in the group in my opinion, so they've heard their voice, so later on they are not as shy to ask questions. (Archivist/Guide, personal communication, March 26 2020)

Other participants mentioned that if there was a good level of interaction the tour becomes a conversation and it is easier to relate the content of the tour to the group for both entertainment and educational purposes. One guide mentioned that the more interaction they have with a group the more willing they are to tell more stories and the more enjoyable it is for them. Stories are said to be something that everyone can engage with and are clearly used by guides to encourage visitors to answer questions posed by the guide and to ask their own questions.

In some cases this engagement can go as far as to encourage visitors to share their own stories or knowledge during the tour. Guides also encouraged this as they saw it as an opportunity to learn something new for themselves that they may be able to use on future tours, to connect further with the tour group, or to simply

make the job more satisfying. There was a limit as to how much it is appropriate for visitors to share their stories with the group as sometimes it could be viewed as questioning the authority of the guide. One guide mentioned that when they have someone that is talking too much or taking over slightly they will use a story connected to what was being discussed to move the tour on and to regain control of the group. However, participants mainly mentioned that they would allow people to share their stories and saw this as a positive development in the tour.

You get quite engaging, demanding conversationalists where they are wanting all the information all at once and they don't care about the order in which you are doing it; they don't care about that, that kind of thing. So by bringing a story into play it makes it that you are the one talking, they are the one listening and you can take it back to what you want to do next. So I find that it works in that way as well.

(Tour Guide G, personal communication, April 16 2020)

4.1.2.1.3 Behavioural Responses

Storytelling has been shown to be used on the tour as a way of engaging people, and creating memorable experiences. It was also mentioned during the interviews that another reason storytelling is used is to encourage certain behaviours amongst the visitors. On the tour this can be as simple as telling a story about some of the dangers of the distillery so that they take extra care when in the building. Or telling stories to enhance the appetite for whisky and encourage people to try the whisky or buy a bottle at the end of the tour.

Stories are also used to encourage visitors to use their other senses or participate in the tour. For example getting them to direct their attention towards something,

focus on their sense of smell, get them to touch an object, look for something in their own memory, or do a certain activity. Telling a heritage story about the copper dog for example (a device that was used to steal the whisky) makes people eager to volunteer to take the whisky out of the cask themselves. Again it was the sentiment that this kind of active engagement made the experience more positive and memorable.

Post-tour, using storytelling to create a positive and memorable experience means that visitors are more likely to retell the interesting stories that they heard or retell their experiences at the distillery.

[Telling stories] means those people most likely go home and recommended the dram to their friends and actually say 'oh I know an interesting story about this' and they tell their friends and then gets passed on which I think is a nice thing about storytelling regardless of whether you're drinking whisky with it. (Tour Guide D, personal communication, April 3 2020)

Tour guides will deliberately structure their stories so that they are simple enough and interesting enough to be retold. It was also emphasized that their enjoyment of whisky was not a prerequisite for enjoying the stories and retelling the stories- so for branding this is a great way to spread awareness as even those who do not like their product will talk about the brand in a positive way.

4.1.2.2 Match Groups Needs

In order for entertainment and education to be effective and elicit such positive responses from the visitors, participants highlighted the need to tailor the stories to

their group. Participants consistently mentioned that every tour is different and answers to questions were often qualified with:

It depends on [the/your] group (Tour Guide D, personal communication, April 3 2020; Deputy VC Supervisor, personal communication, March 29 2020; Tour Guide B, personal communication, March 26 2020; Archivist/Guide, personal communication, March 26 2020).

So stories are sometimes used to establish common ground in the group, as well as to understand what the group is looking for in their tour and this then affects which stories are told and why they are told.

Various different factors of the tour and the group were mentioned as effecting the stories that were told including: whether the group was a trade group, whisky club or mixed group; their nationalities and English comprehension level; the size of the group; as well as previous knowledge of whisky and interest in whisky production techniques or history. The type of tour and length of tour was also a factor in the stories that are told; if a guide has more time then they are more likely to mention a more diverse range of stories, also how they feel about the group (what personal connection they feel with the people) will effect how many stories they want to share with the group.

Stories are used as a means to understand the group by gauging their reactions to a story and the guide will then adapt to the needs of the group based on that:

Some people want to know that more than others I think you try to drop hints something like that and if it appears to land on fruitful ground and people appeared

interested in it you carry on and if they don't seem interested you try something different. (International BA A, personal communication, March 23 2020)

Heritage stories are first used to see what the group wants and then are used to gain positive responses from the group through the appropriate balance of entertainment and education. What the group seems to want also takes precedent over some other aspects that have previously been discussed such as avoiding depressing or serious subjects:

Because they're a bit bleak were told to steer away from them, but then there are customers coming in, and they are like: have you got any gory stories? (Tour Guide D, personal communication, April 3, 2020)

This again highlights the importance of interaction and engagement on a tour as the reactions from the visitors, the answers to guide questions and the questions that guides get asked help the guide to understand the group and the groups needs. Generalizations are made based on nationality or the type of booking/group but the guide must still be flexible in their storytelling and adjust to the group that they have; again heritage storytelling is a key part of how a guide adapts.

4.1.2. Perception of Guide

How the tour group perceives the guide is important and participants have shown that heritage stories can also be used to alter this perception or address certain biases that could work against the guide. Storytelling is used by the guide to make them seem more genuine, trustworthy, and knowledgeable.

The connection that a tour group and guide have is important for the success of the tour. In some cases participants highlighted that they believe certain personal characteristics can cause biases among the group, jeopardizing their position. Seeing the guide as a genuine person is very important but guides must also be viewed as a trustworthy source of knowledge, the guide should also be respected as the leader of the group. Two main biases emerged from the interviews that the guides use heritage storytelling to address: gender and age.

There was an idea that the knowledge of female tour guides is not as trusted as that of male guides. Female guides sometimes felt that they had to defend their position as the expert of the group and heritage storytelling was a way of doing this. Telling a story about the history of woman in the whisky industry and the vital role that they played in the history and production of whisky was one way in which one female guide would assert that being a woman does not mean they know less than a male counterpart. Telling more obscure stories about whisky making and being able to relate a story to any question that was asked was another way in which female guides in particular chose to confirm their position as group leader.

Well, because I'm a woman in whisky I end up being asked about my own experience in the world of whisky. So I often use it as a way of saying: well there were many women in whisky there's nothing particularly innovative about being a woman who is a brand ambassador because there have been woman making whisky for years. (International BA A, personal communication, March 23 2020)

Age was another bias that came up during the interviews. The understanding among the participants was that younger guides were perceived as knowing less

about whisky production so were less trusted and respected as sources of knowledge and that older guides were deemed to know much more but were viewed as less approachable. Similar techniques were employed to counter this age bias, younger guides would prove their knowledge through telling heritage stories and older guides would invite questions and tell stories in a way that made them more approachable (highlighting how much they enjoy questions being asked).

I think that somebody with a white beard and loss of hair and glasses and basically they look at you and they think oh [intake of breath], maybe he is going put me down, and some people I think, they think he is going to put me down if I ask him a silly question or something like that. (Tour Guide C, personal communication, March 28 2020)

In general in order to be seen as personable, trustworthy, and knowledgeable by the group, being able to explain a complicated process in a simple and accessible way through a heritage story meant that the group develops a respect for the guide. There was a sentiment among the participants that the sense of rapport that is built between the guide and the group is important to establish the guides' position and allows the tour to go smoothly and that heritage storytelling is a vital part of this.

4.1.2.3 For Guide Satisfaction

What the group wants is clearly important to the stories that are told and why they are told but the needs of the guide have also been said to have an effect on this. Just as every tour group is said to be different there was a consensus that every

guide is also different and will tell stories in different ways and for different reasons.

The importance of allowing tour guides to “play to their strengths” (Deputy VC Supervisor/Guide, International BA B) was highlighted. Doing the tour in their own way and allowing their own personality to come through was seen as vital for the enjoyment of the tour. Passion and enthusiasm for the whisky industry and heritage was a key reason for allowing guides to share stories about things that were particularly interesting to them. The logic, generally is that if a guide is allowed to “geek out” (Guide A, personal communication, March 25, 2020) on a topic that they like then their passion comes through and the tour is more enjoyable for the visitors:

I know for a fact if I am not enjoying the tour they sure as hell wont be. (Deputy VC supervisor/Guide, personal communication, April 2, 2020)

So guides tell heritage stories about subjects that interest them for their own enjoyment, which should translate into enjoyment for the visitor.

There are also other aspects that encourage guides to tell heritage stories. As mentioned previously guides tell stories to get interaction from their group and like it when a visitor feels comfortable enough to tell their own story. Guides also mentioned enjoying seeing that people are having fun, so telling a funny story and receiving a positive response is another reason guides engage in storytelling. It was also stated that guides simply tell stories because they enjoy telling stories or feel a connection with one of the characters. And finally, participants stated that

guides genuinely enjoy educating people on whisky making and the heritage and culture surrounding it.

That last point leads onto the sense of pride that participants mentioned, having the opportunity to share stories about their culture and their community means a lot to those leading the tours. Especially as many of the visitors come from overseas, guides seem to relish the opportunity to share something that is important to them.

Definitely, it gives me some pride. I used to love it when you've got a really good group it was really fun to tell your stories to get them all engaged and you'd have a bit of banter with them all it just made you: yeah this is where I've grown up and this is how important it is to our culture and it is globally known and you are at the home of it. So yeah definitely pride was the main one. (Tour Guide B, personal communication, March 26 2020)

So having visitors that have made the effort to come to the distillery is satisfying for the guide and this makes them want to share their stories out of this sense of pride in their culture, the area they are from, and the whisky.

4.2 Discussion

In this section the research questions will be answered breaking down the themes that emerged to understand why heritage stories are used on distillery tours and discussing how this contributes to our knowledge of heritage and storytelling. A new model of the use of heritage storytelling on distillery tours will also be presented and compared with the one that was developed from the literature.

4.2.1 Why is cultural heritage shared on a distillery tour?

The use of cultural heritage on distillery tours was shown to be widespread in the industry and many reasons why guides use heritage in their tour offering were highlighted. The key concepts that arose from the findings were: mining the past for entertaining stories that produce emotional responses; adding a sense of history/heritage to the tour and brand; and educating or sharing information about the community-contributing to cultural heritage being preserved.

The power that heritage has is to be something everyone can connect with. This aids in creating entertaining stories that reach people on an emotional level. The results showed that for some people, visiting the distillery is like a pilgrimage with visitors already having an emotional connection with the product and the place; this coincides with new definitions of pilgrimage that applies to non-religious cultural heritage sites (Clifford, 2008; “Pilgrimage,” n.d.). Guides are clearly aware of this and will use cultural heritage elements on their tours to deliberately play on and build upon these emotions.

For visitors that are not already emotionally connected with the whisky, heritage was one method that guides used to try to build a bond. As pointed out by the World Tourism Organisation (2019), cultural heritage tourists generally are keen to learn about a destination’s community and culture. Talking about the past and how things developed was seen as a way of educating the tour group on why things are done the way they are today, heritage is an accessible way for visitors to learn about the culture surrounding whisky making and meet the needs of visitors. The first principle of interpretation states that connecting with previous knowledge

helps to add extra levels of meaning to and spark interest in the toured object (Freeman Tilden, 1957) so connecting to an innate human interest in people and the past through the use of heritage is an effective way of keeping people entertained and engaged whilst learning.

Using heritage to spark interest or create an emotional bond with the product can also be effective in terms of brand credentials and marketing. This is clearly the commercial use of heritage suggested by Merriman (1991) and supported by Appadurai (1996), Graham et al, (2000) and Groot, (2017). In part this was to do with brand differentiation, as it was pointed out by participants that each distilleries' heritage is unique making it interesting but also marking it stand out from competition (Urde, 2007). Other reasons why heritage is useful in branding was a suggestion that discussing brand heritage creates a sense of authenticity, provenance, and trust in the brand as well as helping to justify a high price point. The idea of building these kinds of credentials into a brand through the use of cultural heritage was mentioned by Groot (2017)- with this study showing that this is also a consideration at visitor centres. So clearly using heritage on a distillery tour can be used to build certain associations with the brand that improves its image among consumers.

Heritage has been shown to be an important part of the tour. The results indicated that it could also have an effect on preservation of culture. In some instances participants mentioned using heritage on tour has helped to keep it alive, however, there was also a sense that heritage can be warped through its use on tours in a very similar way to how Bec, Moyle, Timms, Schaffer, Skavronskaya, and Little

(2019) suggested it may happen when using cultural heritage for tourism. As long as those sharing the cultural heritage elements of the tour remained true to reflecting the community as accurately as possible, this minimises any negative effects of cultural tourism and maximise the positive aspects highlighted by Duncan (2009) such as community pride and increased interest in its preservation.

Heritage has been shown to play an important role in the tour for entertainment, education, marketing, and preservation. The key finding however was that heritage is seen as a way of connecting with the tour group with the guide and the place on an emotional level with the other factors building upon this base.

4.2.2 Why are stories told on a distillery tour?

Storytelling was highlighted as a natural way of passing on information to engage, educate, and entertain in both the results and literature (Mandelbaum, 2008; Rayfield, 1972, UNESCO, n.d. a). The results show that storytelling was used to create connections with the toured object and the guide, as well as to encourage certain responses and behaviours from the visitors both during and after the tour.

In the results it was clear that storytelling is consistently used on tours to interpret the toured object – that is to create or build on the connection between the visitor and the place (Hargrove, 2017; Weiler & Black, 2015). This is done through the use of stories to invoke responses from the visitor. In order for this to be effective it is important to build on the knowledge a visitor already has through relating to their experience and background (Cohen, 1985; Dallen, 2011; Freeman Tilden, 1957; McGrath, 2004). As was made clear in the results tour guides alter their storytelling and tours as they go depending on the group and their reactions. Therefore it is

clear for storytelling to be successful, guides need to be able to successfully judge what is best for the group and alter their storytelling accordingly, which corresponds with the literature (Best, 2012; Potter, 2016; Mandelbaum, 2008; Yokoi & Almeida, 2003).

Guides use storytelling to put the group at ease, as it is a format everyone is familiar with no matter their background (Booker, 2004; Bruner, 2003; Rayfield, 1972; Wiech, 2014). The responses from participants have shown this is vitally important for encouraging active participation in the tour, which is believed to make it better for visitors and guides. And indeed, other studies have shown storytelling can encourage groups to be more communicative (Story regions, 2014) and have higher satisfaction levels (Lončarić, Perišić Prodan, & Dlačić, 2017)- particularly if the stories are well related to the person hearing it (Story regions, 2014).

Encouraging co-creation was shown to be important for successful storytelling and storytelling was shown to be important for co-creation. This study has shown that guides are aware of the power of storytelling to encourage interaction as well as the benefits that such interaction has in terms of customer satisfaction.

This interaction is also important for the guide in terms of their personal job satisfaction as well as to establish a position of trust within the group. The point of view of the guide has so far been fairly neglected in the literature. Guide satisfaction and guide enjoyment were shown to be reasons stories are told on tours, so this is a clear potential area for further study. In previous cases storytelling has been used to manage the relationship between a guide and the group (Huang, 2011; Mathisen, 2013; Story regions, 2014), this is done similarly

during distillery visits. Particularly the need for trust in the guide's knowledge and honesty was highlighted by the results with credibility being important supporting with Cohen's (1985) view.

Another factor for telling stories that was found in this study is the potential for stories to be retold. This was already known in that co-creation can encourage people to retell their own experiences making visitors brand ambassadors themselves (Golicic & Flint, 2013). The results showed that using stories is believed to cause people to want to retell the story that they heard and share their experiences. One of the aims of storytelling is to get visitors to retell the stories and in doing so keep the stories alive (preserving history and heritage) as well as spread awareness of the distillery or whisky brand.

Storytelling on tours has been shown to be a way of encouraging interaction and active participation in the group. This technique is used to keep people's attention and encourage them to contribute to the tour and in doing so helps with entertainment, education, marketing, and preservation of cultural heritage.

4.2.3 What purposes do cultural heritage stories serve?

It is clear from the results that cultural heritage stories serve various different purposes, which are mainly dependent on the particular mix of visitors on the tour and the guide's own thoughts and feelings. The results clearly showed, however, that the main purposes for telling stories were entertainment and education with various other reasons being secondary to these two main aims.

From the first two research questions it is clear that both heritage and storytelling are used to encourage certain emotional, verbal, and behavioural responses from the group but in this question how the combination of heritage and storytelling is used to engage, educate, sell, and preserve will be discussed in more detail. This question has been split into various sub-sections to reflect these different purposes.

4.2.3.1 How are cultural heritage stories used for engagement?

The body of literature that was found in relation to tour guiding spoke of engaging a group rather than explicitly entertaining. However, the results showed that entertaining was a key part of their job and making sure that everyone had fun was a key reason to tell cultural heritage stories. It was believed that if people were entertained they would also be engaged.

In the literature it was clear that making connections with the background or knowledge of the visitor was more likely to get them to engage with the material and the tour (Cohen, 1985; Dallen, 2011; Freeman Tilden, 1957; McGrath, 2004,) and that when a story is told visitors must do this to understand it (Bednar & Welch, 2013; Mathisen, 2014; van Blerk, 2019) and the more connected they are the better their experience will be (Woodside, 2010). The results showed that this was done on tours, as guides mention adapting their stories to suit their audience, to suit their existing knowledge in particular. Participants mentioned that to find out this information they would use a combination of asking questions at the beginning and reading cues, as was suggested by various authors (Best, 2012; Lim & Aylett, 2007; Potter, 2016; Mandelbaum, 2008; Yokoi & Almeida, 2003). Laughter was a

key indicator of the visitors being engaged and entertained, this response seemed to be something that guides actively search for and prioritise.

The combination of cultural heritage everyone can connect with and storytelling actively encouraging people to think about their own connections, seems to be extremely effective in keeping visitors entertained and engaged during the tour. It has also been shown to be effective in keeping the guide more engaged and entertained. Potter (2016) hinted at this in their study into tours on southern plantations that guides would use different stories so that the subjects remained fresh and interesting for them. The results demonstrate that keeping it fresh and avoiding boredom was important for guides and that telling stories and talking about heritage that they have some personal connection to or are particularly proud of was important for this. This is an area that needs further research to fully understand the impacts of the guides' feelings on heritage storytelling.

[4.2.3.2 How are cultural heritage stories used to educate on whisky and heritage?](#)

Education was another theme that emerged as an important reason why heritage stories are told. Participants mentioned that during the tour they wanted visitors to leave having learnt something new about whisky making, the whisky brand, or the cultural heritage connected to it.

When discussing definitions of heritage it was clear that heritage is a way of looking at the past that tells us about the present (Matthe, 2018; Pak, 2014; Dallen & Boyd, 2003; Dallen, 2011). The results clearly confirmed that guides use heritage in this way, it was seen as an important foundation for understanding how whisky is produced, how brands developed, and the cultural significance of whisky.

Storytelling was seen to be a natural way of educating people and sharing this information in a way that would be seen as authentic, memorable, and entertaining; again this coincides with what is already known about storytelling to educate (Story regions, 2014; Wiech, 2014; Woodside, 2010).

Exactly what is shared and what is learnt seems to be very much up to the guide: what they are interested in and how they interpret the group's interests. Even when guides were told the messages that the marketers wanted them to get across guides felt that they are a better judge in choosing what is appropriate to share on tour. Salazar showed that guides do need to balance the needs of various stakeholders on tour (Salazar, 2008) but the results showed there is a clear emphasis on keeping the visitor happy, with other stakeholders coming second.

The results show that guides are given freedom to create their own tours and talk about what interests them; this is fairly consistent with the findings from previous studies that showed the type of tour guide, the training they have, and how they perceive their role effects the way the tour is conducted and the types of stories told (Cohen, 1985; MacGrath, 2004; Mathiesen, 2013; Potter, 2016; Salazarm van den Branden, & Byron, 2009).

Educating through cultural heritage stories shows a clear bias in the information given (Bruner, 2003; Cohen, 1985). In both the literature and the results it was clear that how stories are told and what information is shared depends heavily on the guide, meaning that visitors get different accounts of cultural heritage stories with different slants. What is factually true is very difficult to differentiate from what

the guide says to emphasise a point or their version of what is 'true'. Stories are told to encourage learning but it is not necessarily education on the objective facts, but rather education on what the guide believes to be important, interesting, or entertaining. This goes against the 5th principle of interpretation (Freeman Tilden, 1957) that, as discussed in the literature review, does not coincide with the principles of storytelling and now it is clear that it does not coincide with the reality of what guides do.

It is particularly interesting that in the results strong and authentic enthusiasm for the subject was deemed to be of vital importance taking precedent over great knowledge or mastery of the subject. Heritage and storytelling were important parts of educating in a natural and entertaining way: focusing more on sharing a passion than formal learning.

4.2.3.3 How are cultural heritage stories used to sell whisky?

This study found that although selling or marketing whisky was identified as an important reason to have a visitor centre as was suggested in previous studies (Cudny & Horňák, 2016; McBoyle & McBoyle, 2008; Miller, 1994; Stoffelen & Vanneste, 2015), on the tours themselves this becomes a secondary factor in how stories are used.

The results of this study have shown that guides, when they are on tour, generally do not think of themselves as sales-people and are particularly uncomfortable with the concept of the hard sell. Instead they focus on creating positive visitor experiences, which has a clear link with the experience economy model (Pine & Gilmore, 1999). This was explained through the attitude formation model (Iso-

Ahola, 1980). The results showed that it was the belief among participants that cultural heritage stories created interest in the whisky and an enthusiasm towards the product or its history among visitors, which made them more likely to try it and then eventually buy the product.

The responses from participants showed that even if the visitor did not like the product, being on the tour and learning about the heritage attached to it made them more likely to talk about it with people. Retelling what guests heard on tour was perceived as positive, being extra marketing or exposure for the brand. This is exactly the idea that visitors become “marketers” for the brand (Golicic & Flint, 2013, p6) as discussed in the literature review.

When participants began to analyse the stories they tell on tour and think about how this helps with marketing they mentioned heritage storytelling’s ability to differentiate the whisky from competitors and give a sense of quality in the product. The idea of differentiation was widely discussed in literature as a reason heritage stories are used by brands and tourism destinations (Gluvačević, 2016; Keskin, Akgun, Zehir, & Ayar, 2016; McKercher & Du Cros, 2015; Urde, 2007), and a sense of quality and heritage was also mentioned (Groot, 2017). The results show that guides are not explicitly aware of this whilst on tour and telling the stories but do have some awareness when they reflect on their practice.

So these uses of cultural heritage storytelling are bi-products of using these stories to entertain and educate. Education and entertainment through cultural heritage storytelling on tours is an unintentional ‘soft sell’ by the guides that is the express intention of having a visitor centre in the first place. It is positive that guides do not

believe they are salespeople, as it is because of their main focus on entertaining and educating visitors that this kind of selling is possible as this is how the experience economy works (Pine & Gilmore, 1999).

4.2.3.4 How do cultural heritage stories contribute to the preservation of community heritage?

In much the same way as using cultural heritage stories for the marketing and selling of whisky, heritage stories are unintentionally used to preserve the cultural heritage of the area, keeping it alive.

In the literature the preservation of culture through tours was mainly focused on tangible or natural heritage and encouraging visitors to donate to preserve something tangible or behave in a way that respects an historic environment (Wilson & Descha, 2016). The results of this study have confirmed that sharing cultural heritage stories on tours helps to develop the sense of pride in local people as was suggested by Duncan (2009).

Having the opportunity to tell stories on tour helps heritage to develop naturally and the results show there is an awareness among guides and those running visitor centres that authentically reflecting the community's values, traditions and stories that make up their cultural heritage (Swidler, 1986; Tylor, 1871) is important for their preservation. Particularly when there is a danger in playing up to Scottish stereotypes (Spracklen 2011; Stoffelen & Vanneste, 2015). Honesty was seen as important on the tour and participants were aware of honestly and respectfully reflecting the local community in their stories. This means that the warping of

stories that is said to happen in tourism (Bec, Moyle, Timms, Schaffer, Skavronskaya, and Little, 2019) is done carefully in order to still respect the original truth or sentiment behind them.

The results revealed that telling cultural heritage stories on distillery tours can contribute to the preservation of heritage, this is illustrated in the work that is being done in official archives that involve the community in their work and the fact that stories previously told by guides who have since finished guiding or who are long dead are still told on distillery tours today.

4.3 New Model

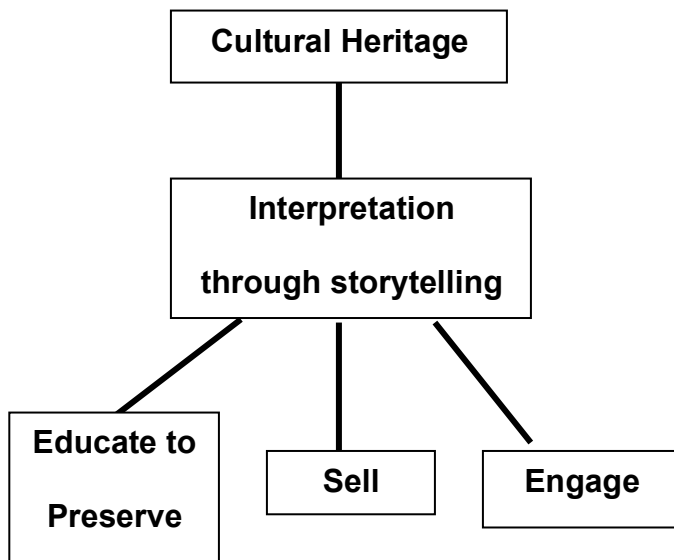


Figure 3- Old conceptual model (simplified)

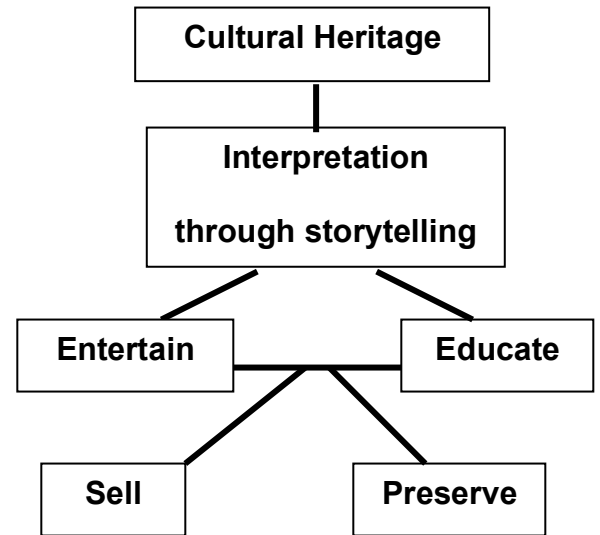


Figure 4- New model

The new model displays how cultural heritage is interpreted through storytelling in the same way as was believed. Where the old and new models differ is in the reasons behind telling cultural heritage stories.

The results indicated that from the storyteller's perspective the stories were not being used directly for selling or preservation but this was done through entertainment and education. Although participants mentioned engagement, it was generally seen as an aspect of educating or entertaining rather than an aim in itself. In the results it was clear that storytelling to interpret heritage is used to entertain or educate in a way that is adapted to the group and selling or preservation are bi-products of this, as is reflected in the new model.

5. Conclusion

This study began with a very simple aim: to identify how heritage stories, told by guides during distillery tours, are used. It was found that heritage stories are used in multiple ways on tours. The first objective was to define cultural heritage storytelling- this was done through a review of literature establishing the definition: any retelling of the past that relates to a community. This definition was shown to be successful, as participants' responses seemed to confirm that heritage was related to past, present and community.

The second objective was to identify why heritage stories are told during distillery tours and what they are trying to achieve. This was clearly met as it was found that heritage stories were seen to be essential for the tour. Two main reasons emerged from this study: entertainment and education with selling and preservation being bi-products of this. This finding was reflected in the new model presented.

The third objective was to identify other factors involved in heritage storytelling, acknowledging the underlying complexity involved in heritage storytelling. Various factors besides the overall aims were identified including: the groups' needs, responses, guide satisfaction, and guide position. Although these were not deemed to be the main purposes for telling heritage stories it was shown that they were factors in why and in what way heritage stories are used.

5.1 Contribution of Research

This study has made a contribution to the body of knowledge on the use of heritage and storytelling for both commercial and touristic purposes. Through a

focus on Scotch whisky distilleries it has been demonstrated that heritage storytelling has the potential to be used effectively when needing to balance the needs of various stakeholders including the business, visitors, local community and guides.

The results of this study produced original findings that led to the development of a new model illustrating how heritage storytelling is predominantly used on distillery tours. This model highlights reasons for heritage storytelling that were not previously studied or were under studied areas in literature, causing us to rethink the hierarchy of priorities regarding the reasons for telling these stories. This study has shown that the guide's perspective, position, and their own areas of interest are important factors in storytelling, which were only alluded to briefly in the literature. It was also clarified how guides alter their storytelling and style dependent on the group. Another interesting finding was the fact that the guides themselves don't like to see the tour as a way of selling whisky with some being uncomfortable with this view of the tours despite understanding that this is the main aim from the company's perspective.

As this was an under researched area this study has only begun to give an outline of the ways in which heritage stories are used but it has unearthed some interesting results that have further developed our understanding of the topic. Further research will be needed to create the full picture of how heritage and storytelling are used on tours to build on the findings of this study.

5.2 Evaluation of Research

This study was conducted at a time when distillery visitor centres were closed and tours were not running due to the Covid-19 global pandemic. This meant that the original methodology of combining observation with unstructured interviews with the guides was not possible. Although the alternative methodology of interviewing the guides was robust enough to produce results that are both reliable and valid there are nevertheless limitations to this study.

As visitor centres were closed not long after the beginning of the tourist season, some of the guides had not taken tours since the previous summer season. This meant that there could be some recall bias in the results. An attempt to mitigate this was made by conducting the interviews with experienced guides who had worked multiple seasons, but some bias may remain. As visitor centres were closed it was much easier to arrange interviews with participants, as they were all at home and more available than they would have been. A higher participation rate contributed positively to the reliability of the results and combatting some of the biases.

As tours could not be followed there could be an issue with what people believe they does not translate into their actions in reality. The ontological perspective of this study is critical realism: the way in which each participant interprets reality is different, so without the observation of the objective reality there are limitations as to how much the guides' interpretation of what they do and say on a tour can be taken as strictly true. However, collecting and analysing the interpretations of multiple participants with a wealth of experience and perspectives can bring us

closer to understanding the phenomenon of heritage storytelling on tours. It is also valuable to understand how guides interpret their own actions and allowing them to self-analyse as was the case in this study meant that they were able to share their interpretation of heritage storytelling with the researcher effectively.

In choosing guides and participants that had experience doing at least one full season of tour guiding this did mean that the perspectives of student or high-season only guides were omitted from this study. This means that it is more difficult to generalize the results to all guides, however, as the majority of guides stay for the full season, the results are still adequately generalizable to be applied to various settings and recommendations to be made based upon them. Also, as participants from various distilleries were used wide ranges of guides with different experiences were represented in this study.

It is recognized that the choices that were made by the researcher and the limited scope of this study may have influenced the results. However, as the researcher was aware of the consequences of their actions steps were taken to mitigate against potential biases where possible and at each step justifications were made for the decisions.

5.3 Recommendations for the industry

This study has clearly demonstrated the potential for heritage stories to be used in settings that have both touristic and commercial angles. For distilleries and other such businesses with visitor centres the recommendations that are derived from the results are to provide guides with the ability to develop and explore their

personal interests and share these on tours. It was established that guides enjoy telling stories and educating people so as long as they are able to talk about what they enjoy, storytelling techniques will naturally be used and their passion will translate into genuine interest from the visitors which is positive for both experience creation and marketing.

A further recommendation is to use heritage storytelling's potential to encourage active participation from the visitors. Allowing visitors to use their senses to experience something; re-enacting something from the past or allowing guests to contribute their own stories creates positive experiences that are then associated with the place, culture, and brand. Guides should be encouraged to share their own heritage stories where they are comfortable in doing so and also allow time for visitors to contribute, building a sharing atmosphere.

It is believed that these techniques may be used in settings other than working distilleries/factories. Museums, city tours, nature walks, corporate events, as well as visitor centres may find these recommendations useful in their offerings. This study has found that using heritage storytelling, if used well, can simultaneously be positive for creating entertaining and educational experiences, marketing commercial products and preserving cultural heritage.

5.4 Recommendations for Further Research

As the original methodology was unable to be used in this study the first recommendation for research would be to conduct the study as originally intended. This would involve shadowing tours and interviewing the guides about the heritage

and storytelling aspects that they had chosen to include on that tour. In this way a clearer understanding with more practical examples of how heritage and storytelling is used in reality could be developed.

From the results and discussion sections it is clear that some aspects of storytelling and the use of heritage on tours (such as the tour guide's perspective) have been somewhat neglected in the literature. This would be an interesting and valuable area for further research as this could have profound implications on tour guide hiring, training, and responsibilities as well as aid in the understanding of heritage and storytelling concepts more generally.

Further research could also address the balance of entertainment and education that emerged during the course of this study. Investigations could be conducted into how decisions are made as to what balance is needed between entertainment or education and the specific factors of group demographics or guiding style that are important for this.

Understanding how heritage storytelling is used in other touristic settings would be another area of research that could prove valuable. Other heritage sites, industrial heritage sites, and food and beverage tourism sites could compare heritage storytelling to increase our knowledge on its different aspects and usages.

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