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Master's Dissertation in Tourism

An American Tourist in Portugal:

Destination Image as Represented in
Blogs and Online Reviews

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Porto. By Samantha Jane Walzem.

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***A note on style:** I will interchangeably use the accepted abbreviations “USA”, “US” and “United States” to refer to the “United States of America”.

1. INTRODUCTION

The primary goal of this dissertation will be to outline the attitudes expressed by American tourists about Portugal as a tourism destination (and also, inherently, about Portuguese culture and life) through a qualitative and quantitative analysis of reviews and “blog” entries written by Americans tourists about their stay on some of the most popular online travel websites. An understanding of the beliefs and attitudes that Americans have of Portugal is essential to those tourism entities and other enterprises in Portugal that seek to effectively market their services to Americans and to better meet their needs during their stay. To our knowledge, at the time that the research for this dissertation began, no such analysis had been done before in Portugal, although a number of scholars have undertaken similar research in other countries and regions, including the Middle East and North Africa (Douglas and Mills 2006), Italy (Volo 2010), India (Enoch and Grossman 2010), Taiwan (Republic of China) (Sung, Chiu, Hsieh and Chou 2011), Austria (Wenger 2008) and Australia (Carson 2008), to name a few.

Why try to capture American tourists? The mean household income of Americans who traveled to Europe in 2009 was \$116,000, the median was \$106,000 (per year) (“2009 U.S. Resident Travel to Europe”). These salaries are more than double the American average, and according to the same report, their top two favorite activities are dining in restaurants and shopping. This indicates that the American traveler to Europe is a higher “quality” tourist and has the potential to bring a lot of income to their destination. Even the current U.S. Ambassador to Portugal, Allan Katz, said in July 2011 that American tourists could “help the national economy”, lamenting the lack of tourism information transmitted to non-Lusophone Americans, the majority of whom “know nothing about Portugal” (“Turistas dos EUA ” 2011). Ambassador Katz is quoted saying, “On the contrary to all of the other efforts being made by the government and the private sector, this is probably the only area where Portugal’s economy can grow without it being necessary to spend more money,” noting that there is already an excellent tourism infrastructure in place. He highlights the attractions of Northern Portugal, such as the port wine cellars, the “great” Porto airport, the Douro River and river cruises (“Turistas dos EUA” 2011).

The theoretical framework of the dissertation will draw on theory from the disciplines of sociology, cultural anthropology and social psychology, principally those theories that apply directly to tourism and tourist behavior and experience, while also touching upon marketing and consumer behavior research. Finally, the section will conclude with a discussion of user-generated online content, specifically, blogs and reviews. We will attempt to address the questions of which tourists blog and write reviews, why they do so and how this content

influences (or not) the decisions and attitudes of those who read what they write. The selected theories have guided our chosen research methodology, which we hope to show, and will hopefully help to contextualize for the reader the results obtained from this study.

To expound briefly upon the research methodology, coding of the blog entries and reviews will be used for the initial generation of primary data. The qualitative categories and sub-categories generated by coding will always, when input as data, be accompanied by a code that identifies the valence, which can be “positive”, “negative” or “neutral” based on the attitude expressed about a feature by the reviewer. All data will at this point be statistically analyzed to generate some quantitative data summarizing our findings. The results of this study cannot be considered conclusive; they are at best tentative, but will hopefully shed some light on this research question.

1.1 Why blogs and online reviews?

We chose to analyze the content of blogs and online reviews (which we will define and describe in more detail in Chapter 2) because our primary interest is in obtaining a better understanding of how it is that American tourists view Portugal, even if only to a small degree. What we have learned from reading these individual accounts of travel experiences in Portugal cannot be generalized to the whole American tourist population, but it will hopefully allow us to detect some possible future directions for research as well as show some commonalities within the displayed attitudes and perceptions of the tourists. Even though they are all unique individuals with their own thoughts and feelings, with unique backgrounds and biographies, we suspect that the part of their biography that they all share, being Americans and sharing a common American culture, will likely be at the root of some of those commonalities (Beerli and Martín 2004).

That is, it is certain that a middle-aged, single woman who has traveled extensively on her own and who has a good knowledge of general European history will have a far different perspective of the city of Porto, than, say, a young 20-something male taking his first trip across Europe with a group of friends. The woman may appreciate the extensive history of the city and the challenges in maintaining its very old architecture, while the young man and his friends may be unimpressed with the lack of “famous” sights, the run-down buildings and the subdued nightlife.

Yet if both of these people are American, as are all of the selected tourists in this study, there are certain things that we know they will have in common. This is not a notion that we can prove in this study, but it is a guiding principle of our research. Part of our nature as human

beings is to compare and to contrast what we know with what is new to us. What a tourist knows best is his home country, the place where he grew up and spent the formative years of his life. The tourist carries her home culture with her when she travels, as it is a part of her and will affect how she interprets the world around her. The United States of America is a large country with many different states, each of which has certain unique laws and regulations, but we will all share certain notions about the way we think the world “should” work, as that is the way that our country works.

At this point it would be wise to define what we mean by “culture”, as it is this point that is the hinge of our method of data collection (Americans’ shared culture). There are various definitions of culture, ranging from the less to more specific. Hofstede (1984) defines it simply as “the collective programming of the mind which distinguishes the members of one category of people from another” (51). Kluckhohn and Kelly (1945) define it as “all those historically created designs for living, explicit and implicit, rational, irrational and nonrational, which exist at any given time as potential guides for the behavior of men” (78). Finally, we have this definition from Kroeber and Kluckhohn (1952) which serves well for our purposes:

Culture consists of patterns, explicit and implicit, of and for behavior acquired and transmitted by symbols, constituting the distinctive achievements of human groups, including their embodiments in artifacts; the essential core of culture consists of traditional (i.e. historically derived and selected) ideas and especially their attached values; culture systems may, on the one hand, be considered as products of action, and on the other as conditioning elements of further action (181).

How does culture influence people, and of what interest is it in tourism? As the definitions state, culture guides the actions that we take, as it did for our ancestors, whose ideas and actions we carry forward with us in our present culture. Culture affects how we perceive the world and how we react to other cultures that are different than ours. What aspects of American culture might influence American tourists in a common way? We will describe a few examples to illustrate.

All Americans suspect that if they do something illegal, whether it be a traffic infraction or stealing from a store, there is a high probability that they will be caught and punished; if not now, then at some point in the future if they continue to break the law. The law in America is solid and does not bend, and neither do our officers of law. The American driving in Portugal might be surprised that illegal parking is so commonplace, or that a police officer may not treat him or her with a suspicious air.

Most cities in America have wide sidewalks and streets, and bodily contact with strangers is generally avoided at all costs. To bump into someone on the street in America, even lightly, is rude unless one apologizes immediately. In Portugal, the American may feel

uncomfortable with having to share their “personal space” (or as we call it, our “elbow room”) with so many strangers, for whom it is normal to share a smaller space with others.

American cuisine does not typically consist of “adventurous” foods, such as innards, ears, snouts, feet, hearts, brains, etc., is not typically spicy, and generally fish is not served whole. One can imagine what the common American might think about eating Porto’s typical tripe dish, or a plate of snails in Lisbon.

America is a litigious society. Even if one avoids breaking any laws, there is always the risk that one could be sued. All of our monuments and museums have extensive railings, barriers and signage around them stating what is and is not allowed. It is incomprehensible to the typical American that a castle might be open for the public to walk around on, as they are in Portugal, without its high walls and walkways having some sort of railing on the edge. If one were to fall off of a similar type of structure in America, the blame would fall on the owner or manager of the property for not having taken adequate safety measures.

These are only a few examples of some of the most striking cultural differences that Americans are likely to notice between their country and Portugal. However, a very small percentage of these observations and subsequent opinions will ever be available to the tourism researcher as, traditionally, they could only be known through interview, questionnaire, or some other type of research method designed with the researcher’s objectives in mind (Volo 2010). The opinions of privileged tourists, such as professional writers and artists whose work merited publication and display, could also be known through an analysis of their sporadic accounts of travel experiences in periodicals (Takinami 1998; Pudliner 2007). Today, the great majority of tourist opinions and their experiences still remain unknown to the tourism researcher, but with the advent of the blog and travel review websites, as well the general spread of Internet access across the world, there has been a certain “democratization” of the travel narrative. Nearly any modern day tourist who wishes to share his or her travels with the public may do so through any number of online forums.

We decided to take advantage of this phenomenon to gain what we hope is some unique data and information about the American image of Portugal, and since the master’s student is American herself, we felt that this project would be particularly appropriate for her to carry out. She has personal and intimate knowledge of American culture simply due to the fact of growing up there, and thus can provide unique insight when interpreting and coding the reviews, especially when interpreting reviewers’ cultural references and non-standard language usages.

2. THEORETICAL FRAMEWORK

Positivist inquiry has long dominated the sciences as the methodology of choice for generating accurate and meaningful research data. Yet for decades the social sciences have embraced qualitative research, primarily but not exclusively within sociology, anthropology and consumer research (Riley and Love, 2000). Often, researchers employ qualitative research when they want to discover new areas of possible research, or further explore the boundaries of new research questions. The latter is precisely our goal with this study; the only general hypothesis that we have is that Americans as a group might have a unique image of Portugal as a tourism destination. What we seek to learn more about are the specific aspects of that image, such as what it is composed of and which elements are most salient to Americans.

What this section aims to accomplish is to establish the theoretical framework of this thesis and in so doing justify our line of reasoning. As mentioned in the Introduction, we will begin with a discussion of the relevant sociological theories pertaining to tourism, then of anthropology, followed by social psychology and concluding with a discussion of blogs and other Web 2.0 applications.

2.1 Sociological framework

2.1.1 Historical foundations of the sociology of tourism

Cohen (1984) claims that the first socio-scientific article addressing the issue of tourism was written in 1899, and the first specifically sociological texts on tourism were written in the 1930s. However, the discipline of tourism research did not begin to take shape until after the end of World War II, when the phenomenon of mass tourism grew among developed countries and, consequently, academic interest in tourism grew (Cohen 1984). From the 1960s until the late 1970s and early 1980s, tourism research was conducted mainly by sociologists, anthropologists and geographers (Cohen 1984; Riley and Love, 2000; Xiao and Smith 2006). The study of tourism as an independent discipline had not yet been established; although, even today the debate over whether tourism is theoretically developed enough to be called a discipline, rather than merely an area of study, is divisive among academics (Echtner and Jamal 1997; Tribe 1997; Leiper 2000; Tribe 2000).

Tourism is a natural line of inquiry for sociologists, as theirs is a discipline that examines the relationship between the individual and the society in which he or she lives, and how these mutually shape one another. When many individuals from a given society have the means and the will to leave their home for an extended period of time for leisure purposes,

tourism immediately becomes an area of sociological interest. Cohen (1984) also cites one of his own papers (1972) as being the seminal work that established the sociology of tourism as a discipline worthy of study in its own right, and asserts that it was only in the mid-1970s that the sociology of tourism began to garner interest among academics.

2.1.2 Defining “tourism” and “tourist” in a sociological context

The most basic and most troubling element within the sociology of tourism is defining tourism and the tourist. Defining “tourism” is difficult because it is a term that generally describes and globally encompasses a complex set of cultural, economic, social and other activities that may not even be obviously connected to tourism. Creating a single and universally accepted definition that captures all of the facets of tourism is a seemingly impossible task, given the recurring debates on the subject and the sense that not even all of the components of tourism have as of yet been identified (Cohen 1984; Cunha 2009; Ma and Law 2009). Sociologists in particular often find the most widely accepted definitions to be too technical and poor in theory, including the United Nations’ World Tourism Organization (UNWTO) definition, as defined at the 1991 WTO Ottawa Conference on Travel and Tourism Statistics:

The activities of persons traveling to and staying in places outside their usual environment for not more than one consecutive year for leisure, business and other purposes (“Collection of Tourism Expenditure Statistics” 1995: 1).

This definition is most useful for understanding tourism statistics, as the report specifies (“Collection” 1995), but it does little to elucidate the results of qualitative research projects, which might focus, to just a few examples, on the tourist experience or the socio-cultural impact of tourism on host economies; essentially, the types of projects that sociologists would be more inclined to carry out. What sociologists and other qualitative tourism researchers want, in short, is a more holistic definition of tourism, one that addresses not only how long the tourist stays in a location and his motivations for travel, but also the nature of the host-guest relationship and the cultural symbolism of tourism (Cohen 1984). Academics must be very careful when constructing this type of definition, however, because it can easily become too vague and unhelpful for practical application. Such was the criticism of Hunziker and Krapf’s definition of tourism as the “sum of the phenomena and relationships arising from the travel and stay of nonresidents” (Ma and Law 2009).

Given that the definition of a “tourist” is inextricable from the definition of “tourism”, part of the challenge in defining the “tourist” lies in the given definition of “tourism”. The tourist is basically the agent that performs “tourism”, but leaving the definition at that does not

capture the all of the intricacies of the role that the tourist plays in tourism. Cohen, again, was among the first scholars to establish that individual tourists vary greatly in their needs, wants and expectations, leading him to create different categories or “tourist typologies” based on these differences (Cohen 1972; Gibson and Yiannakis 2002; Wickens 2002). The primary differences between tourists, according to Cohen, result from the tourist’s level of “institutionalization”, or how connected he or she is to the official organs of tourism, giving way to four tourist typologies, from less to more institutionalized: the drifter, the explorer, the individual mass and the organized mass.

Cohen’s theory has been cited many times in the literature and many attempts to refine it have been made, particularly by those scholars who wish to highlight the psychological needs of tourists, which they believe has a great influence on a given tourist’s “type” (Wickens 2002; Gibson and Yiannakis 2002). Many scholars stipulate that the diverse activities undertaken by tourists are predictable and based upon the psychological needs of the tourist depending upon his or her lifestage, gender, income, marital status and education (Gibson and Yiannakis 2002). This understanding of the tourist is helpful in identifying the “push” factors that shape tourists’ decisions and motivations.

One scholar (Wickens 2002) found it helpful to interpret her conceptualization of the tourist with the help of Erving Goffman’s “dramaturgical” approach to self-presentation in different social contexts (Fulcher and Scott 1999). Goffman essentially maintains that each of us is like an actor on the stage of life, upon which we act out our different social roles – such as while at our place of work, at a party, with relatives, with children, when interacting with service clerks, and so on – convincingly, each having its own set of corresponding actions, emotions and attitudes (Wicker 2002; Fulcher and Scott 1999). Giddens argues that these roles are only conceptually meaningful, however, when they are viewed in a context of social interaction.

Our disparate social roles or identities only arise and are only kept separate due to the fact that in each unique setting we are interacting with different people. According to Goffman, we do our best to play the role that we believe best meets the expectations of the particular group that we are with at a given moment. With the knowledge that these and all social interactions are “situated in space and time” and generally have a finite beginning and end, it is helpful to understand and refer to our different social roles as being “situated roles”. When we find ourselves in a specific social context, we will naturally choose to play the role that we believe to be the most appropriate in that given situation (Wickens 2002). While acting out a situated role, our actions will generally fit with the actions of those who surround us.

A vacation is certainly a context which elicits a unique situated role from the individual – the role of “tourist”. Tourism certainly involves much social interaction, as all types of tourists will have contact with the “host” population, whether it be in the form of face-to-face communication or merely sharing the same space.

Since the interlocutor is in most cases quite foreign to the tourist, however, the situated role of the tourist (and conversely, of the host) will often be marked by awkward interaction that do not fit smoothly together as neither is sure of the correct actions, emotions or attitudes to be taken. One may have an expectation of how the other will act – for example, the tourist may expect the local to be hospitable, or not, and the local may expect the tourist to be a gracious and sensitive guest, or not – and vice-versa, which may or may not be met.

These awkward interactions can lead to misunderstandings with an ultimately positive, negative or neutral outcome for the tourist, as is often reflected when a tourist shares his or her impressions of local hospitality. This is quite an important issue for those on the supply side of tourism, as host institutions wish to provide the tourist with the best possible experience so as to increase their reputation and future revenue (Cohen 1984). Many scholars believe that this has led to a commercialization of the traditional guest-host relationship which will eventually lead to tourism becoming an industrialized form of hospitality (Cohen 1984). Concurrent to this process, tourists begin to be treated with increasing disdain as their numbers increase and traditional, reciprocal hospitality turns to hospitality driven by economic gain (Cohen 1984).

The results of this study will likely reflect many such clashes and harmonious meetings of roles.

As a final observation, although commonalities between individual tourists are what give way to the creation of specific tourist role types and groupings (Cohen 1984; Pearce 1982), we believe that these roles reflect only one aspect of the individual tourist, such as the actions, attitudes and emotions he or she is likely to display in the public realm. These groupings are very helpful when one is trying to find a general pattern within tourist behavior, but they are perhaps less helpful for framing an interpretation of individual tourist’s accounts of a tourism destination. The personal attitudes and emotions that the tourist does not share outwardly, but which he or she is likely to share on a personal web log (“blog”), which we will define later, or anonymously on a third-party review site, are perhaps better explained by personal biography and culture, which are harder elements to accurately identify and subsequently categorize. However, we believe that they, too, contribute towards shared feelings and attitudes in that the biographies and cultures of the tourists’ accounts that we have chosen have all been influenced by the fact that they developed from within the boundaries of the United States.

Given these complexities of the tourist's role and character, the analysis of which are beyond the scope of this thesis, we cannot at this point categorize the selected tourists that have provided our data, nor is that really our goal. The discussion of the tourist's role is useful to keep in mind as it may very well account for certain differences of attitude and perception, which could be studied in the future. The fact that all of our tourist experience accounts were written by Americans is the thread which holds them all together and the only real way in which they have been categorized.

2.1.3 Implications for the present research

Tourism is an as-of-yet still developing field of study and one that many sociologists have been hesitant to embrace, leaving the sociology of tourism as a poorly-developed and theoretically inconsistent field indeed (King 2001). The above presented sociological theories and conceptualizations of tourism and the tourist will hopefully contextualize the results of this study for the reader.

The main points that we would like to highlight from this section is, firstly, that tourism, in that it is a social phenomenon of mass mobility, is inherently of sociological interest. Secondly, of primary interest to the present study is the relationship between locals ("hosts") and tourists ("guests"), the roles that each play or are expected to play and whether the interactions between both tend to be positive, negative or neutral.

2.2 Anthropological framework

Another approach to the multidisciplinary subject of tourism is an anthropological approach. Graburn (1983, as cited by Palmer 2001) states that two main areas of study within the anthropology of tourism can be identified: one, the study of tourism and its nature, and two, the study of the impact of tourism on the host society, in social, cultural and economic terms, but focusing principally on intercultural contact and subsequent cultural change. These main areas of research can envelop sub-topics such as the host-guest relationship, identifying and defining the "subjective worlds of anthropologists and tourists" (Nash 1996a: 691), the generating forces behind tourism including those within the generating society, the tourist subculture, the search for "authenticity" (Duval 2000), and so on.

The anthropology of tourism is plagued by the same problems and criticisms that have always plagued the discipline of anthropology as whole, one of the main challenges being that anthropologists must constantly ensure that their research is rigorous both theoretically and

methodologically. In the relatively new field of the anthropology of tourism, this is an even greater challenge as the theoretical and empirical foundations are still not well established. Nash (1996a) cites one of his own co-authored papers (Dann, Nash and Pearce 1988) which bemoans the fact that the anthropological research on tourism has been a “theoretical discourse without empirical foundation; descriptive essays which assemble a collection of impressionistic and anecdotal material; and data analysis devoid of theoretical content” (4). It is imperative, they argue, that the anthropological study of tourism combine both “high theoretical awareness with high methodological sophistication” (Nash 1996a: 693).

The lack of a consistent theoretical framework seems to have marginalized the anthropological study of tourism and the validity of its conclusions, to the point that some authors have made “something like an ultimate insult” and compared anthropologists to tourists, which anthropologists have long considered to be on par with missionaries; that is, they considered both groups to be “beyond the pale” (engaging in unacceptable behavior) (Nash 1996a: 691). Nevertheless, anthropology remains an important discipline contributing to the study of tourism because it “analyses the socio-economic and cultural conditions which determine the human need to travel, and the effects those conditions have on visitors’ behavior, the host population and the resulting social interaction”, according to the UNWTO (Fayos-Solá 1997: 18).

We have identified two main areas of interest to our study within the anthropology of tourism that we will discuss in this section. First, the impacts of tourism on the host society and how this affects the guest-host relationship and also the local traditions, culture and economy (Silva 2007; Mazón, Huete and Mantecón 2009; Santos 2005). Second, the characteristics of the societies that generate tourism, the place of travel in modern society and the search for authenticity (Duval 2000; Lau 2010; Santos 2005).

2.2.1 Local impacts of tourism

A common approach to studying the local impacts of tourism is to begin by asking the locals themselves how they feel tourism has affected their community. Silva (2007) did this in two small Portuguese villages, Monsaraz and Sortelha, with populations of 120 and 256, respectively, and where tourism employs one third and one fifth of those populations, respectively. In our research, we are not evaluating this aspect of tourism, but Silva’s (2007) paper can help us to contextualize the interactions with locals reported by American tourists in our data. Why, aside from personality traits, might a local be friendly, helpful or otherwise to a tourist?

The author lists four categories that encompass the ways that tourism has impacted each village: 1) physical, 2) economical, 3) social and 4) cultural. Physically, tourism has had a positive impact in that it provided the income necessary to recuperate and restore aging monuments and buildings, to build new tourism infrastructure such as small hotels and stores, to “beautify” (improve tile paths, plant gardens and trees) the village and also to improve local sanitation and access to electricity. Negative physical impacts include the increased number of cars, and thus air and noise pollution, in the small villages, increased amounts of trash on streets and in parks and the poor aesthetics of tourism advertisements.

Job creation is the main positive economic impact of tourism, although in the villages studied by Silva (2007) they created very few jobs. He notes that at least the business activity developed around tourism in these villages is privately-owned by locals and small in scale, which means that the money generated stays in the local economy. On the negative end, when tourism constitutes a large percentage of the local economy, as it does in Sortelha and Monsaraz, demand seasonality poses a large problem. Inflated real estate prices and low returns on investments are also problems.

In the social sphere, tourism often brings many negative impacts, such as cultural misconceptions (Ren 2010) and local resentment of tourists (Cohen 1984), as well as the proliferation of crime, prostitution and gambling (Silva 2007). Cohen’s (1984) analysis of the often negative relationship between “hosts” and “guests” is a compelling one. He argues that the transitory, asymmetrical and non-repetitive nature of the encounters between hosts and guests – in which the host is expected to cater to the tourist and the tourist is interested in “immediate gratification” rather than creating a lasting relationship, nor is the tourist preoccupied with the future effects of their actions on the relationship – does not create a relationship based on mutual trust, consequently leaving it open to “deceit, exploitation and mistrust, since both tourists and natives can easily escape the consequences of hostility and dishonesty” (Van den Berghe 1980, cited by Cohen 1984: 379). If we accept this theory as true, it can help us to understand some of the processes that contribute to social frictions between tourists and locals. However, this does not seem to happen in the rural locations studied by Silva (2007), as he quotes a local: “It’s always nice to know that people from the outside like to come here and think that this is beautiful” (92).

Silva’s (2007) account offers some support for Cohen’s (1984) argument that initially locals treat tourists with traditional hospitality, just as they would a member of their community. In his reports, locals felt no animosity towards tourists and tourism, citing that it was of vital importance for the survival of their respective communities. These communities received a good number of tourists every year, but nowhere near the numbers of the bigger Portuguese cities,

and probably never will, as they do not have the dynamism or the attractions that make the cities top destinations. Silva (2007) also notes that tourism has not stopped the emigration of young people from the communities that he studied, so perhaps those who remain in the community are more thankful for tourism and tourists than they otherwise might be, since it allows them the economic possibility to stay in a place that they do not want to leave. While the bigger cities undoubtedly benefit from tourism, most city-dwellers do not directly benefit from tourism; instead they are directly affected by the negative consequences of tourism, including increased traffic and higher restaurant prices.

Tourism can also create social tension between locals, primarily due to the methods that local business owners use to attract customers. Silva (the 2007) reports that in one community, a hotel owner was accused of hiring another community member to spread negative word-of-mouth about competing hotels in order to increase his own business.

However, tourism can also have a number of positive social impacts, such as the exchange of different thoughts and ideas with foreigners and, in small towns or villages; in theory, it also helps to combat the phenomenon of “desertification”, or loss of population due to emigration, although tourism does not seem to help in this respect in rural Portuguese communities (Silva 2007; Ribeiro and Marques 2002).

Finally, tourism has a positive impact on culture in that it often revives old traditions or creates new ones, in the form of festivals and artisan crafts, making these dying art forms once again economically viable and thus forming a link between modernity and tradition (Silva 2007; Santos 2005). However, traditional art forms may be distorted and debased for the purposes of selling them to tourists, such as is the case in the village of Sortelha, where the typical *bracejo* technique of weaving sedge grasses into a tool for herding animals, and sometimes to make hats. Now, the same technique is used to weave raffia into a number of non-traditional and purely decorative items like baskets made specifically to be sold to tourists (Silva 2007).

2.2.2 Tourism in modern society and the search for authenticity

As we mentioned in the above section, the relationship between host and guest tends to be an asymmetrical one, and most anthropologists would agree that, in terms of relative “power”, it is a relationship that favors the “more developed tourist-generating centers” over the receiving societies (Nash 1996b as quoted by Duval 2000: 305), primarily because of the economic power and potential for development that tourism brings to those societies. Tourism is generally considered to be a product of modern Western society (Neveling and Wergin 2009), dating back to the late 17th century British “Grand Tour” (Cunha 2009). It is believed that at that

time, the term *touriste* began to be applied to those travelers, and their activity came to be referred to as *tourism*. Initially, tourists were those who travelled for pleasure only, distinguishing them from those who travelled for business, religious or health reasons (Cunha 2009). Tourists travelled because they had a desire to know other cultures, how they lived and their traditions, and to know new sceneries and historical villages, towns and cities. Later, as we mentioned in the sociology section, by the end of WWII, tourism became more widespread than ever before and continued growing through to the present day.

Some anthropologists go so far as to argue that travel is a human necessity (Fayos-Solá 2007), although more so in some cultures than in others. MacCannell's 1973 and 1976 works (as cited by Lau 2010) on authenticity and the tourist experience are still some of the most influential on the subject today. Borrowing from Goffman's theory of the "front" and "back stage" of social life, MacCannell argues that the separation of these two planes of social life, with the real and authentic relegated to the back stage and social interactions brought to the front stage, prevents the "truth" from being obvious and easy to find. This has led to a "concern of moderns for the shallowness of their lives and inauthenticity of their experiences" (Lau 2010: 480). The separation of truth from social life is more exaggerated in more developed societies, MacCannell continues, while in less-developed ("primitive", in his words) societies, social relationships have not suffered this separation, making them more "authentic". People from developed societies have a notion that this is true, and thus seek out these more "authentic" societies to fill that void in their lives (Lau 2010).

Whether or not this is applicable in the case of Portugal, as it is not a country with "primitive" communities (although one reviewer, #200, did refer to rural Portugal as such), it is a country with quite a few rural communities, and we did in fact notice that "authenticity" was a desirable attribute in the reviews that we analyzed. Generally, an "authentic" location for our reviewers was indeed a smaller town or village, and would often also be described as "charming", "cute" or "warm/inviting"; the latter descriptor fits with MacCannell's theory somewhat, as it suggests that social interactions are more truthful or authentic.

MacCannell deems this search for the authentic to be the modern day equivalent of the religious pilgrimage, as they are both "quests for authentic experiences" (as cited by Cohen 1984:377). Modern day people from developed countries, then, have become tourists for reasons similar to those that made "primitive" peoples religious pilgrims: to find the authentic, or sacred, where it exists, because it does not exist in their usual habitat (Cohen 1984). However, this quest is often made in vain, in MacCannell's view, because locals rarely allow tourists "back stage", instead presenting them with a staged and hyperbolic version of their reality. This is where some of the aforementioned cultural impacts can be seen in MacCannell's

theory; traditional crafts are altered and commercialized for tourist purchase, festivals are changed to be made more exciting and enticing to tourists, traditional spaces are altered to reflect a “more traditional” non-reality.

There is not much evidence of the latter in Portugal, for now, although a few examples come close. For one, although it was not redesigned with tourism in mind, the Paço dos Duques de Bragança in Guimarães could be seen as a deceptive monument, because although it was originally built in the XV century, it was completely remodeled in the middle of the XX century with an entirely new look (see ANNEX 1) and filled inside with furniture mostly from the XVII century (“Paço dos Duques”). Of course, it should be noted that the tourism information inside the Paço does state that it was redesigned, and there are pictures on display of the process, so tourists interested in reading about its history should not leave with the wrong information. A more accurate example might be the Fortaleza de Sagres, the fortress on the tip of the town of Sagres at the Cape of St. Vincent, the southeastern most point of Europe, which dates back to at least the XVI century (“Fortaleza de Sagres”). In the 1990’s a highly polemical “reutilization” project was carried out to make the area inside of the fortress more useable for tourism. A number of modern buildings were added for exposition space, stores and a cafeteria, which brought up much debate over how to marry old and new constructions in historical spaces (see ANNEX 2).

On the opposing end, Boorstein takes a more cynical view, arguing that not only is the tourist’s search for the authentic in vain, the notion that tourists are actually searching for the authentic is also a farce. He contends that the modern mass tourist only wishes to savor “contrived, vicarious ‘pseudo-events’” (Cohen 1979: 179). It cannot be said whether one theory of the tourist’s interest in authenticity is more correct than the other, and indeed the more accepted theory is that there is no single tourist profile, but rather many.

2.2.3 Implications for the present research

Anthropology shows us that tourism is a phenomenon that leaves a deep impression in many aspects of life in destination locations, at the very least at the cultural, social, economic and physical levels. There is a distinct relationship between tourists and locals that is different than the relationship that locals have with each other. The temporary nature of this relationship leaves it fragile and open to abuses, and how locals feel about tourism and its impacts is likely to affect their relationships with tourists. Negative experiences reported by tourists in reviews could in some cases be understood through this lens.

The discipline can also help us to understand the growing place that tourism has in modern society, and to help us understand a bit better what a tourist may be looking for when he or she travels. What is the appeal of the “authentic” experience, and are all tourists seeking it? Does tourism fill a void in our daily social life? These are not questions that can be answered in the scope of this thesis, but it is important to remember them as we consider each tourist’s individual experience.

2.3 Social Psychology Framework

We have already explored the sociological role of the tourist, now we will look to social psychology to define what is meant by *attitude*, *image* and *branding*.

It is important to understand these concepts and what they imply for tourism research and, consequently, tourism marketing. This study seeks to gain a better understanding of the overall *image* that American tourists have of Portugal by systematically gathering and analyzing their *attitudes* towards various feature objects, such as the local food, attractions, people, accommodations, and so on.

This study will not provide conclusive results, as it is not a causal but rather an exploratory study. However, the data that we present will hopefully provide tourism marketers with a few more insights as to how Americans view their “product” (Portugal) and perhaps how to *brand* Portugal so that it might appeal to more American tourists, which currently represent only a small segment of Portugal’s incoming tourists. The United States had the least number of tourists out of the eleven countries that the National Statistics Institute (INE – *Instituto Nacional de Estatística*)¹ of Portugal provides data on, constituting only 244,500 entries in 2007. Interestingly, the top emitting country, with over 2.3 million entries in 2007, was also English-speaking: the United Kingdom.

2.3.1 Attitude

Although there are nuanced differences between the various academic definitions of *attitude*, it can be said that almost all converge on a basic point; that an attitude is an individual’s evaluation of a given *attitude object*, that is, the physical or abstract entity (person, object or idea) that is the subject of evaluation (Aronson, Wilson and Akert 1999). *Evaluation* is considered by most academics as being the key component of *attitude*. When a person decides

¹ <http://www.ine.pt>

that they like or dislike a person, object or idea, they have made an *evaluation* of that person, object or idea, which then contributes to the person's overall attitude towards the given person, object or idea, or in other words, towards the attitude object. An evaluation is based on a combination of cognitive, affective and behavioral attitudes that a person holds about the given attitude object at the moment of evaluation (Maio and Haddock, 2010). In that these evaluations discern what an individual likes and dislikes, they are said to have *valence*, or directionality, that is always either positive, negative or neutral in nature (Maio and Haddock, 2010)

Yet this definition begs the question: if the formulation of an attitude is based on other pre-existing attitudes, then where do the pre-existing attitudes come from? In other words, what is the origin of any attitude? Again, this is an area of much debate among academics, given its complexity and philosophical nature. A full analysis of this area of social psychology is beyond the scope of this thesis, but it merits a brief discussion. We know that all individuals are affected by their social context, and that will influence their attitudes and beliefs. However, how an individual reacts to his or her social environment will be affected by his or her temperament and personality, which are believed to be a product of a person's genetic makeup (Aronson et. al. 1999). So we can reasonably establish that a combination of genetic and social factors affect the formation of attitudes. This is why most social psychologists interested in attitude research focus on three types of experiences that create attitudes: cognitive, affective and behavioral (Aronson et. al. 1999). Analyzed together, these three components allow for a complete and multi-dimensional understanding of any given attitude. Below the author will elaborate on the attitudes based on each of the three types of experiences described above. It is important to keep in mind that no attitude is based solely on one type of experience, although oftentimes one type of experience will hold much more influence than the others (Aronson et. al. 1999).

2.3.1.1 Attitude types: Cognitive, affective and behavioral

A *cognitively based attitude* is one formulated based on the objective qualities of a given attitude object. This type of attitude helps us to evaluate the relative value of the object in terms of the "punishments" and "rewards" that it offers, and thus helps us to quickly decide whether or not the object is "worth our while" (Aronson et. al. 1999:239). With regards to tourism, we can consider the example of a tourist planning an upcoming vacation. The objective qualities that will shape the tourist's choice of destination might be the cost (both transportation and *in situ*), the length of stay and distance from home. Oftentimes these attitudes have the strongest influence when an individual is considering a utilitarian object, such as which kitchen knife or space heater to buy, not an object that may have some affective value, such as making one feel more attractive or stylish.

When the latter is a primary goal, increasing one's attractiveness in the eyes of his peers, *affectively based attitudes* will have a stronger influence in one's relevant attitudes. An affectively based attitude is the emotional response of an individual to a product or place (Kim and Yoon 2003). Let's say that our tourist from the previous example is a New Yorker, and has decided that she would really, really like to go on vacation to Hawaii, despite only having four vacation days and despite the fact that it takes 12 hours to fly from JFK Airport to Honolulu International, not including layover time. For similar weather conditions, our New Yorker could fly to the Florida Keys in only a little over 3 hours for a third of the price². Obviously, in this scenario, the affective qualities of the Hawaii vacation outweighed the compelling objective qualities of the Florida vacation. Our tourist likes the status that a Hawaii vacation would give her among her peers, because she feels that Hawaii is more exotic and expensive than Florida.

Affectively based attitudes can have various origins, but it is generally agreed that they have three common characteristics: one, they are not the result of rational examination of facts; two, they are not logical; and three, they are often linked to people's values, which makes them very resistant to change (Aronson et. al. 1999:240). All of these characteristics can be applied to our New York tourist's decision: one, a rational examination of the objective qualities of each vacation (cost, distance) did not lead her to choose the Florida vacation; two, the former is not the logical choice; and three, our tourist believes that the Hawaii vacation confers more status than the Florida vacation, and the ability to convey a higher social status is of great value to her.

It is important to note that cognitive and affective attitudes are generally considered to be interrelated, however, in the sense that affective evaluations are dependent upon (and made in function of) a person's cognitive evaluations of the same object (Baloglu and Brinberg 1997; Beerli and Martín 2004).

Finally, *behaviorally based attitudes* are those based on observation of how a person acts in relation to a given attitude object. Behaviorally based attitudes can also provide the primary basis for an attitude, but only under specific circumstances (Aronson et. al. 1999). First, when a person's initial attitude towards a given attitude object is weak or ambiguous, they may look to their actions to infer their attitude, but not otherwise. For example, let's say that when our New York tourist arrives in Hawaii, she takes many pictures every day. If she had already decided that she hates taking pictures but does it out of obligation to show to family or friends, she would not think twice about her actions. In the second condition, attitudes will only be inferred from behavior when there are no other likely explanations for the behavior. In this case, let's say that our New York tourist does not have strong feelings about photography and no friends and family are interested in seeing photos of her vacation, but she still takes many

² Figures calculated using <http://www.expedia.com>

pictures while in Hawaii. A fellow tourist notices this and comments that she must love taking pictures because she takes so many. In this case our tourist may be compelled to agree that she must like taking pictures because she does indeed take a lot of them.

2.3.1.2 Attitude strength

As we have just established, attitudes are comprised of a varying combination of cognitive, affective and behavioral experience based attitudes. Attitudes can also vary at another level: their *strength*. This is logical, as an individual's attitude towards his mother will obviously be quite stronger than his attitude towards his toaster oven. Again, there are various theories as to what determines attitude strength. One theory argues that our genes determine attitude strength (inheritable attitudes are stronger), another theory argues that the more knowledgeable we are on a subject, the stronger our attitude about it will be, and so on. Happily, there is also some consensus on this issue; it is generally agreed that one, attitude strength strongly correlates with how accessible the attitude is in memory and, two, the stronger an attitude is the harder it tends to be to change (Aronson et. al. 1999).

The present study does not allow the author to accurately measure the strength of the attitudes expressed in the written reviews. The best way to measure attitude strength would be to administer a questionnaire that would allow for a quantitative measure of the strength of tourist's attitudes about Portugal, which might include either a self-report attitude strength scale or a computerized questionnaire that would allow for response time measurement, depending on whether we wanted to test for extrinsic or intrinsic attitudes, respectively (Haddock 2004). This type of investigation could provide further insight into Americans' perception of Portugal and would thus have value as a future research project. For now, our discussion of attitude strength will end here.

2.3.2 Image

Attitudes play a direct role in image formation. Image can be defined as "the perceptions, beliefs, impressions, ideas and understanding one holds of objects, people, events or places" (Gartner 2000). Images are essentially condensed and simplified versions of reality that the human brain uses to organize the copious stimuli that it receives on a daily basis, thus facilitating the daily process of interpreting one's surroundings (Gartner 2000). As noted above, the term "image" can apply to a range of entities, but for the purposes of this study we are primarily interested in image as it applies to Portugal as a tourism destination. The study of

tourism destination image (TDI) has become a popular area of research among tourism researchers, particularly since image has been shown to be one of the most important factors shaping the tourist's decision-making process and eventual choice of destination (Gallarza, Gil and Calderón 2002; Baloglu and McCleary 1999). Given the ever-growing competition between destination markets, there is much demand for a greater understanding of destination image and how it influences consumer choices to design better marketing strategies and increase individual markets' competitiveness (Kim and Yoon 2003; Baloglu and Brinberg 1997).

Although the above definition of image may seem simple enough, in reality image is a multi-faceted construct that is difficult to fully comprehend and even more difficult to operationalize and measure empirically. Furthermore, it has been argued that when image studies are undertaken within the realm of tourism destinations, the measurement of image cannot be generalized across all destinations because each destination has unique variables which contribute to a unique construction of image in the tourist's mind (Kim and Yoon 2003; Gartner 1989). Given the complexity of the concept of image, a thorough treatment of image and destination is neither possible nor necessary for the present research. It is necessary, however, to establish a basic notion of image and how we construe and apply it in this study.

2.3.2.1 Image Formation

One of the first questions the author proposed regarding the concept of "attitude" was "Where do they come from?" We can and should begin with the same question in regards to "image." In their article "A Model of Destination Image Formation", Baloglu and Brinberg (1999) assert that it is important to first understand what influences image before image can be used to influence consumer behavior in any way. Destination image will, for our purposes, be defined as "the aggregate sum of beliefs, ideas, impressions, and expectations that a tourist has about a destination area" (Crompton 1978 as cited by Chon 1990:3).

There are a number of theories that attempt to explain how it is that images are created, all are slightly different but most tend to agree that images are composed of both cognitive and affective components that are evaluative in nature; the fact that they are evaluative automatically implies that, like attitudes, they have *valence*, meaning they can be either positive, negative or neutral (Baloglu and McCleary, 1999; Baloglu and Brinberg, 1997). The cognitive component in the case of destination image refers to the knowledge and beliefs that an individual has about the destination in question, such as its geography, climate, demographics, culture, *et cetera*. The emotional response, or feelings, of the individual when he or she comes into contact with or thinks about with the place constitutes the affective component of

destination image (Baloglu and Brinberg 1997). Following this logic, it is generally agreed that affective evaluations are formed in function of the preceding cognitive evaluations, although both cognitive and affective evaluations are influenced by the characteristics of the individual, such as age, education, nationality and so on (Baloglu and McCleary 1999).

This process of destination image formation has also been conceptualized in other ways. One popular model (Gunn 1972) proposes that destination image has two dimensions; one, the destination's organic image, which is the image that tourists have of the place without actually visiting it, and two, the destination's induced image, which is the image that tourists have after having visited it. Later models (Kim and Yoon 2003) also embraced this conceptualization, albeit with subtle changes. Other researchers in this area have focused less on the formation process of image and more on the method of measurement used in destination image research.

One study of particular interest to the author is Echtner and Ritchie's paper (1993) that highlights the tendency of researchers to rely on structured methodologies, such as the use of questionnaires formulated and evaluated with the use of scales based on standardized attributes, to determine destination image. They claim that this is a method that, while effective in comparing common attributes among destinations, fails to discover and evaluate the "holistic" and unique elements of a given destination. To that end, they propose using an unstructured methodology consisting of a questionnaire with only three open-ended questions to then develop a scale addressing the unique and holistic aspects of destination image. Although we will not be developing a scale from this research, we will be evaluating essentially open-ended responses (online journal entries and reviews) from travelers and to that extent will hopefully gain valuable insight into the perceived unique characteristics of Portugal as a travel destination.

For the sake of this project, what is important to keep in mind regarding image is the following: one, that destination image is influenced by both cognitive and affective factors and two, that image has valence.

2.3.3 Destination image and branding

As we mentioned earlier, the competition in tourism is constantly growing. Even though there is a limited amount of physical space on the planet, new tourism destinations are being created all the time. How? Through marketing; a place does not become a tourism destination without marketing, and this is not a new phenomenon, although tourism marketing *has* become more sophisticated since the days when colorful posters and pamphlets at the tourism office were sufficient. Some places are easier to market than others, of course. Emblematic cities such as Paris and London will probably remain popular destinations in their own right for many

decades to come, and cities rich in human history such Rome and Cairo should also remain natural tourist attractions.

Yet these fixed “hot spots” of tourism are precisely what create a competitive environment for other destinations: “70% of international travelers visit only 10 countries, leaving the remainder of national tourism offices competing for 30% of total international arrivals” (Pike 2009). It is in a situation such as this that an organization, no matter what product it is selling, must distinguish itself from its competitors with a strong *brand*:

[...] a ‘name, term, sign, symbol, or design, or a combination of them intended to identify the goods and services of one seller or group of sellers and to differentiate them from those of competition.’ (The American Marketing Association definition, as cited by Kotler and Gertner 2002)

Branding a tourism destination is still a relatively new concept within hospitality and tourism marketing, so there is not a wealth of literature on the subject (Lee, Cai and O’Leary 2006). However, there is some literature debating the ethics of branding a nation which suggests that it is also not a new concept, as Olins (2002) argues using the case of France. The only difference is that tourism researchers and marketers have renamed the old process of building and rebuilding different nationalistic identities with “branding”, a word that seems to elicit a negative and “visceral” reaction simply because it is associated with meaningless (relative to a nation) items such as consumer products (Olins 2002).

The definition of *destination branding* proposed by Blain, Levy and Ritchie (2005, as cited by Pike 2009: 1) is similar to that of “brand” but more detailed, complete and helpful as we try to conceptualize the concept:

Destination branding is the set of marketing activities that (1) support the creation of a name, symbol, logo, word mark or other graphic that readily identifies and differentiates a destination; that (2) consistently convey the expectation of a memorable travel experience that is uniquely associated with the destination; that (3) serve to consolidate and reinforce the emotional connection between the visitor and the destination; and that (4) reduce consumer search costs and perceived risk. Collectively, these activities serve to create a destination image that positively influences consumer destination choice.

This definition is interesting because it refers not only to the benefits that branding brings to the supply side of tourism, but also to the demand side. Some benefits of branding for the supply side include the ability to charge premium prices, as consumers expect to pay more for branded items, particularly those which they have come to see as especially valuable, which in turn leads to customer loyalty (Kotler and Gertner 2002). On the demand side, brands help to facilitate consumer choice by reducing search costs and reducing the perceived risk of purchase (which is generally high in tourism, as we will discuss below) because a brand immediately conveys to the tourist what it is that they are buying (Pike 2009).

Because a brand quickly conveys a holistic image of a product, that brand must be very carefully constructed so as to only convey the intended information in a coherent way. This can be said to be particularly true when referring to the brand of a nation, as that nation's image will not only influence travel, as it has the capability to affect the performance of other brands from and associated with that nation (Pitt, Opoku, Hultman, Abratt and Spyropoulou 2007). Brands also convey only a limited amount of information about a product, so in the case of nation branding, tourism organizations can choose the best aspects of their nation to include in building their brand, while leaving the worst out.

In the case of Portugal, some current slogans on the website for Turismo de Portugal³ are "Portugal: A country to discover", "Heritage, Culture and Nature, everything close at hand" and "Lifetime experiences". The first slogan seems to portray Portugal's lack of fame relative to her popular neighbors (Spain and France in particular) in a positive light, as tourists can expect to "discover" something that their peers may not know about, perhaps giving them some bragging rights. The second puts Portugal's relatively (again, in relation to her larger neighbors) small size in a positive light (everything is close) and the third slogan seems to portray a general "feel-good" statement that the tourist will enjoy their time in Portugal so much that the experience will be unforgettable. The national tourism logo (see ANNEX 3) includes the colors of the national flag, seemingly organized to look like a human figure with joyous, raised arms. Perhaps at the same time the figure doubles as a sun over the sea, as the gold from the maneline orb in the flag sits above the swirly blue lines that seem to represent water. This logo may evoke images of fun, friendly people, sun and sea. None of the branding of Portugal as a tourism destination hints at the problems that one might find in any country, such as the trash in the street, degraded buildings, poverty or theft; the goal of branding is precisely that of "positive image building" (Lee et al. 2006:816), thus leading consumers away from thinking about the negative possibilities, which in turn helps to reduce the consumer's perceived risk of purchase.

2.3.4 Implications for the present research

Our hope is that this research can contribute to the knowledge of what tourists like about Portugal, and also what they don't like. To do this, our understanding of what image is and what it is composed of has been integral to designing our study.

Contributing to such a body of information is important because it can eventually contribute to improving Portugal's brand as a tourism destination, for there is another aspect of brand that is important to keep in mind: brands are not static (Olins 2002). They are altered,

³ <http://www.turismodeportugal.pt/english/TurismodeportugalIP/Pages/TurismodePortugalIP.aspx>

redesigned and repositioned according to changes in consumer taste and market competition. National identities are also not static, as history shows us, and have been “reinvented [...] as [their] regimes and circumstances have changed” (Olins 2002: 242). Tourism advertisements for Portugal have certainly changed a lot since the 1950’s (see ANNEX 4), today emphasizing more the natural beauty and landscapes of Portugal rather than the cultural themes that dominated the old images.

Future configurations of Portugal’s brand as a tourism destination will hopefully be increasingly more representative of what Portugal has to offer to meet consumer needs, helping Portugal to capture a larger share of the market.

2.4 “Web 2.0” applications and tourism

2.4.1 Blogs, online reviews and the tourists who utilize them

The dynamic between user-generated online content and tourists is a subject of fundamental importance for this study. The Internet and the growing phenomenon of blogs and online review websites have changed not only the way that humans communicate with one another, but also the dissemination of information. Before this virtual publishing medium was available large portions of the developed world, information and opinion were spread only by professional writers in newspapers, magazines and books; today, any person “lucky enough to have [Internet] access” can publish nearly any content they wish on their very own blog (Powazek 2002: 3, as cited by Pudliner 2007).

To recapitulate, “blog” is shorthand for “web log”, and is a term that was supposedly coined in 1999 by Peter Merholz (Mack et al. 2008). At their most basic, they are public journals or diaries hosted for free on the Internet by a hosting service (of which there are several). In their (reverse) chronologically-ordered entries, blog authors generally post a mix of text, photos, videos, audio and links to other websites or blogs (Pudliner 2007, Volo 2010). The virtual network or community of blogs is referred to as the “blogosphere” (Schmallegger and Carson 2008). Blogs, along with social networking sites like Facebook and content-sharing sites like YouTube, are a part of the so-called “Web 2.0” Internet applications which allow individuals and organizations to publish content online and communicate with each other “peer-to-peer” (Pühringer and Taylor 2008; Schmallegger and Carson 2008; Wenger 2008; others). Instead of being published by the website host, content is “relatively unstructured” and uploaded to the website “directly by the user” (Schmallegger and Carson 2008: 100). In the past few years, marketers have caught on to the potential utility of the many types of Web 2.0 applications, including blogs, such that at present, many different types of blogs can be

identified, such as corporate blogs, publication blogs, industry blogs and personal blogs. It is this last type that we are interested in, as it is in their personal blogs that people (people who travel to Portugal, for our purposes) express their “personal convictions, observations, suggestions, etc.” (Mack et al. 2008: 135).

Blogs allow travelers to share their thoughts and photos in an interactive way (readers, unless disallowed by the author, can leave comments on the blog entries) while they are physically far away from family and friends (Leu, Chi, Chang and Shih 2005). This sentiment is echoed on the home page of one popular travel blog site, incidentally one of the ones from which we collected data, TravelPod:

Travel blog ...because your trips are worth it. TravelPod's free travel blogs let you chart your trips on a map, share unlimited photos and videos, and stay in touch while you travel.

Online travel review sites are different from blogs in that users do not typically create journal entries about their experiences, but rather they rate (on a scale of 1-5, for example) and leave brief comments about a specific hotel, restaurant, attraction, etc. that they visited at their destination. We did not include these types of reviews for this study, as we are interested in tourists' global impressions of Portugal and destinations within Portugal. We want to know if the overall combination of an individual tourist's experiences with Portuguese restaurants, hotels, attractions, people, and so on, left that person with a generally positive, negative or neutral impression of Portugal. In providing us with as much of the information about the tourist's trip as he or she is willing to provide, global reviews give us a rich idea of the tourist's complete experience.

That richness is lost in individual reviews of specific tourist entities, as those reviews present only a small “slice” of the tourist's experience, and it is usually the absolute best or worst “slice”. As for bloggers, the data that we have collected suggests that there is a range in the amount of information that they share and the attitude valence (positive, neutral or negative) that it has; some document every aspect of their trip in a detailed manner, others share mostly those things that stood out most in their minds (in either a positive or negative way), still others simply list what they did without too much if any valence in attitude and a few wrote just whatever was in their mind at the time, in a “stream-of-consciousness” way, whether or not it had anything to do with Portugal.

One of the most popular travel review sites, TripAdvisor, is one such website that we decided not to include because it does not include global reviews, although it does provide visitors with thousands of specific reviews on nearly every restaurant, hotel and attraction one could imagine. It is our impression that this is the type of website that a tourist would visit to

plan the specifics of his or her trip after he or she has already decided, first, to take a vacation, and second, his or her actual travel destination. Thus, this type of site probably does not influence a potential tourist's impressions of a destination very much as the tourist is already past the stage of picking a destination; the latter being the step in the planning process which is perhaps the most influenced by the tourist's perceptions, attitudes and beliefs, although it is also heavily influenced by financial variables (cost of transportation, cost of vacation package, etc.) and the perceived utility that can be provided by a given destination (i.e., tourists who want to spend most of their time sunbathing on a beach will not consider a vacation in a destination with little sun and no beaches because they will not derive utility, or satisfaction of their wants and needs, from such a location) as well (Rugg 1973; Seddighi and Theocharous 2002).

We chose instead to gather data from those websites that encourage trip journaling and global reviews, specifically: VirtualTourist.com, RealTravel.com, TravelPod.com, Rick Steves' website, Yahoo!'s travel section and the travel section of the online edition of The New York Times. We will explain our method of choosing these websites in more detail in the methodology section.

Which tourists are most likely to write these blogs and reviews, and who reads them? As we stated earlier, blogs and review sites provide researchers with a wider view of the tourist experience. Not only that, it is also a view that can be obtained "unobtrusively", unlike survey and interview methods, which are designed by the researcher and inherently biased and not as favorable for obtaining the complete and unfiltered account of the tourist's experience (Volo 2010; Litvin, Goldsmith and Pan 2007; Carson 2008). Certainly, the bloggers are writing for a public audience and therefore may restrict themselves somewhat in their descriptions, but they also have the benefit of Internet anonymity if they choose to remain anonymous, so conversely, they may also *not* feel the need to filter themselves. For this study, since we are interested in the opinion of Americans, we did not include reviews made by persons whose nationality was unknown, but beyond that we did not have any other biographical requirements. Again, the methodology section will explain this method of selection in more detail.

It is not easy to ascertain the profile of blog readers, even when looking through the comments left by readers on the blog itself. If one were to solely consider those who leave comments, it would seem as though only other blog writers read blogs. However, this cannot be the case, as according to a 2008 figure, there were 346,000,000 people around the world who reportedly read blogs, and there have only been 133,000,000 active and moderately sized blogs indexed by Technorati since 2002 (Singer 2009). Furthermore, in a 2004 survey of 17,159 blog readers (which they admit only represents a small fraction of the blogging community) conducted by Blogads.com, a company specializing in blog advertising, 79.1% of respondents

did *not* have their own blog (Copeland 2004). According to the same Blogads study, 61% of blog readers are over 30, 79% are male, 75% make more than 45,000 USD per year – 2009 US average household income is a little over \$50,000 USD (USA Quick Facts 2011) – and the largest cohort makes between 60-90,000 USD per year, 60% are political liberals (Democrat or Independent), 91% are from the US and 61% believe that blogs are “more honest” (2004). We were unable to find a more recent but similar survey about blog readers.

As for who writes blogs and reviews, we were also unable to find much literature dealing with the factors that motivate consumers (let alone tourists) to write online reviews, and Carson (2008) claims that there is literally no published research on what types of tourists author blogs, nor on which destinations, if any, generate more blog content. Mack, Blose and Pan (2008) cite Rainie’s (2005) profile of the general blogger, and it is very similar to the profile of the general blog reader: most are male (57%), most are young (48% under 30), the use broadband, are Internet “veterans”, have a higher income and are well educated. Sobel’s (2010) findings confirm this profile. This is somewhat revealing, however, the profile of the typical blogger of travel and tourism may be different. There is somewhat more information about the effect of reviews on consumer behavior and product sales, which we will discuss later in this section.

Dellarocas and Narayan (2006) also note the dearth of relevant literature on the “antecedents” of online reviews in their paper on the subject of online movie reviews. They argue, as do Litvin et al. (2007) that online reviews can hardly be considered random or representative samples. Dellarocas and Narayan (2006) found that movie-goers were more likely to rate movies that were either very bad or very good (that is, movies they had strong feelings about), controversial movies (ones where there was no consensus among critics on the quality), movies that were not well-known among the mainstream population (giving reviewers an opportunity to display their sophistication) and movies that they perceive to be very popular and generating a lot of “online buzz” (“it’s fun to do what everybody else is doing”) (5). Similarly, Litvin et al. (2007) cite research (Bansal and Voyer 2000) stating that there tends to be a “U-shaped” response curve for online reviews, as the majority of posters only post when they have either a very positive or a very negative comment. We can probably assume with some degree of accuracy that the psychology behind posting travel reviews is similar to that of posting movie reviews; controversial destinations, very popular destinations and very obscure destinations (particularly if they confer some sort of social status upon the reviewer, such as in the case of a particularly expensive or “adventurous” location) will likely generate more online reviews.

Still, although commenter reviews may not be random nor representative, their comments are still of value in evaluating customer satisfaction and impressions as they are comments made in a “neutral” and “unbiased” environment, that is, they are posted at the will of the consumer, who can remain anonymous, and on a third-party website (Litvin et al. 2007: 14). Carson (2008) argues that this may mean that the thoughts freely expressed in reviews and blogs are more truthful.

Motivations for tourists to blog may be slightly different from motivations to write reviews, as blogs, unlike reviews, are not necessarily evaluative in nature. Again, there is little literature on the subject of why tourists blog (Chen, Shang and Li 2009), but the main reasons given are similar to those mentioned in the above TravelPod.com quote: to publish personal travel stories and to stay in touch with friends and family back home (Schmallegger and Carson 2008). Other reasons might include the need for self-expression, to interact with others who share the same interests and, similar to writing online reviews, to share positive and negative experiences (Schmallegger and Carson 2008).

2.4.2 Word-of-Mouth and “Word-of-Mouse”; the effect of blogs and online reviews on tourism consumers

We would not be interested in blogs and online reviews if they had absolutely no effect on the decisions made by the consumers who read them; obviously, they do have an effect. The real question is how *strong* is their effect?

There is data suggesting that the effect of user-generated online content on consumer decision making is indeed quite strong, particularly for a market segment like travel and tourism, which has a strong online presence. Schmallegger and Carson (2008) refer to a recent (at the time of their publication) study by Compete Inc. showing that user-generated content has influence over about \$10 billion USD per year spent on booking travel online, and more than 20% of consumers depend upon user-generated content to plan their travel.

In general, for nearly any purchase decision, the most important sources of information for the consumer are interpersonal influence and word-of-mouth (WOM) (Litvin et al. 2007; Mack et al. 2008). Their importance becomes even greater when a consumer is making a decision about a “high-risk” product such as an intangible tourism purchase, which cannot be “tried out” before purchase, cannot be returned and has no guarantee of meeting the consumer’s needs (Litvin et al. 2007; Schmallegger and Carson 2008). Litvin et al. (2007) go on to argue an interesting point, that in the past, before the Internet was available to consumers to book vacations, they would trust in the knowledge and experience of their physical travel agent for

purchase recommendations and reassurance. Today, with tourism still ranking as one of the top industries in terms of the volume of online transactions, and with 75% of online travelers (around 79 million Americans) booking travel online in 2005 (Mack et al. 2007), that face-to-face interaction with a travel agent simply no longer takes place. Yet, the consumer's need for reassurance has not changed, which is a main reason why, Litvin et al. (2007) speculate, that most online travel intermediaries, such as Expedia.com and Travelocity.com, for example, also have sections of their sites where customers can write and read reviews made by fellow customers.

It follows, then, that blogs also serve to fill in the recommendation and reassurance gap left by the outdated travel agent. All of these online sources of information have been termed eWOM, or "electronic word-of-mouth." Litvin et al. (2007) define eWOM as "all informal communications directed at consumers through Internet-based technology related to the usage or characteristics of particular goods and services, or their sellers" (9). These communications include those that take place between the seller and consumer and consumer to consumer. Some have taken the idea even further and termed this type of virtual peer recommendations "word-of-mouse" (Volo 2010). For our purposes we will refer to the information provided by Web 2.0 applications such as blogs and review sites as eWOM.

As mentioned earlier, WOM is one of the most important factors influencing consumer purchase decisions. This appears to be true even with eWOM, as a 2007 study by Deloitte Touche USA showed that "62% of American consumers read user-generated online reviews" and not only do 98% of them consider the reviews to be reliable, but 80% state that the reviews actually influenced their purchase decision (Mendes-Filho and Tan 2009: 2). Another online survey by Gretzel and Yoo (2008) revealed that during the process of planning a future trip, 97.7% of Internet users who travel had read the online reviews written by other travelers.

To expand upon the topic of reliability, those consumers that seek out user-generated reviews and other content seem to perceive these as being highly credible in large part because of the "perceived independence of the message" (Schmallegger and Carson 2008:100), that is, the reader assumes that since the writer of the blog or review should have no affiliation with or obligation to the product that they are writing about, there should be no reason for them to tell anything but the truth about it. Yet since user-generated content evidently has a large influence on consumer decision-making, a few companies – less than 5% of Fortune 1000 companies in 2006, according to a study by CRM Magazine, but that number was expected to triple by 2008 – have taken note, and their marketers have tried to integrate some form of Web 2.0 technology, blogs in particular, into their marketing mixes (Mack et al. 2008). Can these company-

sponsored blogs, which are obviously not providing independent and unbiased information, similarly influence consumer choices?

There is still little information about how consumers react to such eWOM marketing techniques, which is why the majority of marketers are still wary of adding them to their mix (Mack et al. 2008). With the goal of learning more about how consumers react to eWOM versus traditional WOM, Mack et al. (2008) conducted an online survey of college students (who fall into the demographic of the most active blog and Internet users) in the spring of 2006 asking them to rate the credibility of personal blogs, corporate blogs and traditional WOM, all relating to tourism and vacation planning. They found that traditional WOM was still significantly the most credible source of information for this sample group. One explanation might be that WOM has been shown to be most effective when there exists a “strong tie” between the listener and the person delivering the message (Bone 1992), which would explain why consumers would trust less in eWOM delivered by the author of a blog, an online stranger.

Interestingly, they found corporate blogs to have credibility similar to traditional WOM. The study authors suggest that there is room for blogs in the corporate marketing mix, and that a corporate blog may be most effective when it serves as a forum to address consumer complaints. They also suggest that, since they found that those consumers who keep their own personal blogs trust in other blogs more than those who do not blog, companies would do well to encourage “positive, personal blogs among [their] consumers as well” (Mack et al. 2008: 142). The authors caution that the limitations of blogs should not be ignored, but suggest that they are worthwhile to investigate further as part of a marketing strategy, since their results show that consumers will at some level be “receptive” to what they read in the blogosphere. One of the main benefits to having a company blog, however, seems to be the ability that it affords to directly communicate and form relationships with customers while addressing their complaints, concerns, questions and praises (Mack et al. 2008; Schmallegger and Carson 2008).

It should be noted, however, that although the Mack et al. (2008) study helps to shed some light on the question of blog credibility and application for marketing strategies, given the ever-changing nature of the Internet, the fact that their data was collected in 2006 already outdates the study. The size of the blogosphere, according to Perlmutter and McDaniel (as cited by Mack et al. 2007), *doubles* every 5.5 months. From April 2007 to September 2007 alone, the number of blogs counted by Technorati (a website self-described as the “first blog search engine”) and the “World Live Web” (a term coined by the founder of Technorati) increased from 70 million to 102 million and the daily rate of new blog creation increased from 120,000 per day to 175,000 per day (Schmallegger and Carson 2007). Yet it is difficult to obtain an

accurate count of blogs (it appears as though since 2008, Technorati no longer does an annual total blog count), let alone an accurate number of how many blogs are still active or are “dead”.

If all of the new blogs being created were created by new and unique users, it would stand to reason that, following Mack et al.’s (2008) argument that the increasing number of blog authors would imply an increasing credibility of blogs. However, individual bloggers have an average of two to three blogs each, and corporate bloggers average four (Sobel 2010). The results of Mack et al. (2008) also do not agree with the slightly more recent (2007) results of the previously mentioned Deloitte Touche USA study, in which 98% of the respondents that accessed user-generated reviews considered them to be reliable (Mendes-Filho and Tan 2009). However, in our opinion, this huge difference is due to their very different study designs. Mack et al. (2008) employed a convenience sample of college students asked to respond to their survey through the website Facebook, with the chance to win a free iPod, and the students had to choose which of three scenarios (traditional WOM, corporate blog and personal blog) provided the most trustworthy information about a vacation option. Meanwhile, Deloitte Touche USA’s survey separated those travelers who sought out eWOM when making travel decisions and those who didn’t; it is logical that those who did seek out eWOM also felt that it was highly reliable, or else they probably wouldn’t have sought it out in the first place.

2.4.3 Marketing with user-generated content and ethical concerns

At any rate, it seems that we can conclude that user-generated content, whether or not it is considered to be reliable, has an effect on consumer decisions; in some cases it has shown to be a strong effect while in others it seems to be quite weak. Regardless, as mentioned above, given the well-educated and affluent profile of the typical consumer who uses and produces user-generated content, this is an attractive segment of consumers that many marketers are eager to appeal to.

Good strategies for marketing with Web 2.0 applications, as touched upon earlier, might include components that allow for consumer feedback and company response and promote the creation of “buzz” about the company (Litvin et al. 2007). The latter can be done through a number of creative techniques, such as inviting bloggers out for dinners or trips or offering them free products in exchange for promotion on their personal blogs. Yet these strategies toe the line of good ethics, particularly within the blogosphere. As a community of strangers, there is often an unspoken expectation that fellow bloggers will be honest and express their true thoughts and beliefs; without it, bloggers would lose their credibility and trust in the eyes of their peers.

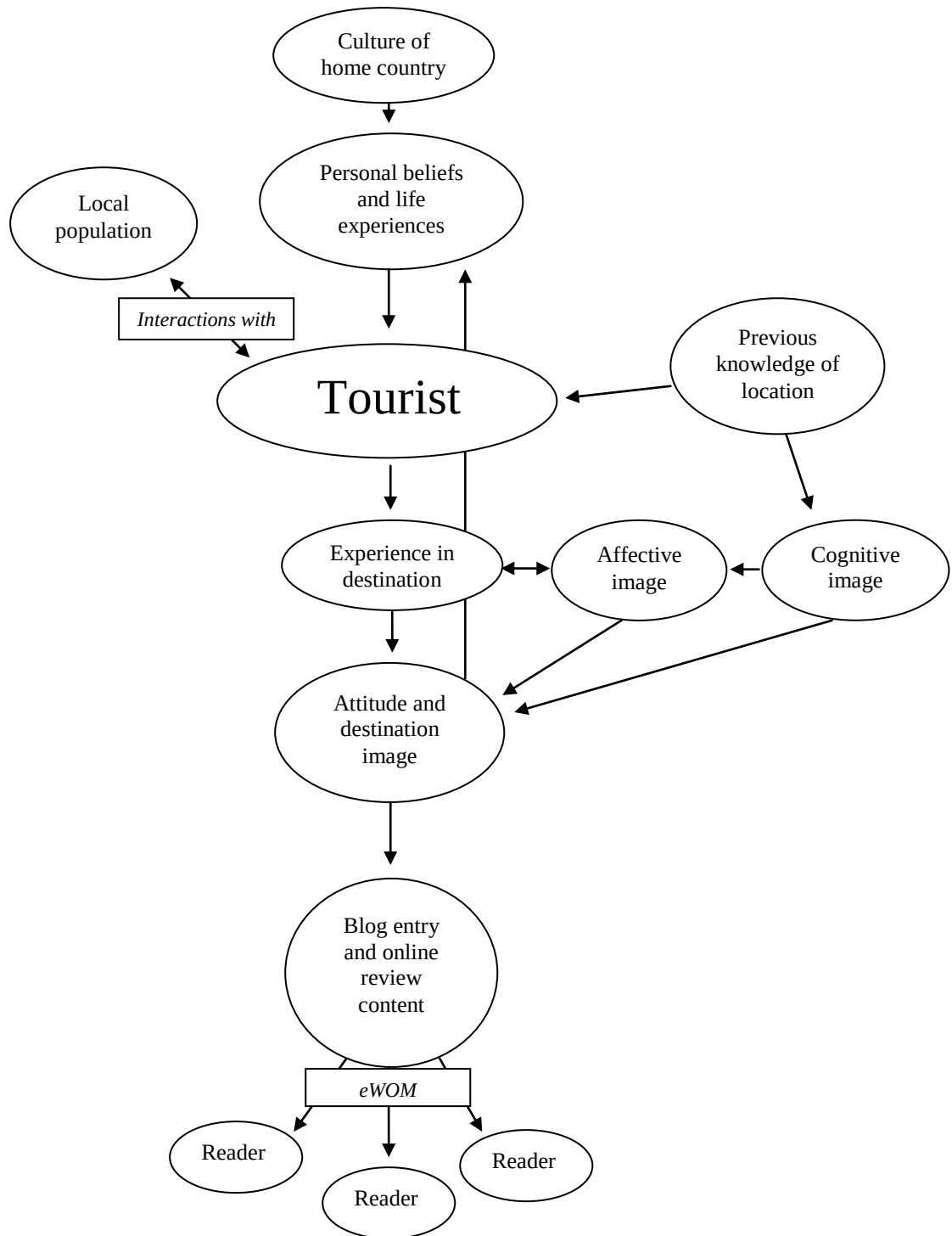
Bloggers may be put-off by any obvious attempts to “buy” the opinion of fellow bloggers, resulting in the opposite of the desired outcome.

Because nobody in the blogging world can ever truly be sure that they know exactly who their fellow bloggers are (unless they happen to have a personal relationship with them in “real life”), there is a lot of potential for the abuse of Web 2.0 applications by marketers. Litvin et al. (2007) imagine many such scenarios, including company employees posing as trusted members of a blog community while spreading good eWOM about their company and disparaging the competition. Or employees could do the same thing in review sites, chat rooms, forums, etc. Clearly, Litvin et al. (2007) state, there is a need to demarcate the line of ethical behavior for spreading eWOM.

2.4.4 Implications for the present research

Due to the ever-evolving nature of the Internet and other digital technologies, it is difficult to find up-to-date information about online applications and who uses them, especially since there is little published in that area at all. This knowledge would be helpful, for it is certain that the Internet is a valuable tool for tourism marketing; to cite Lee et al., “If ‘information is the lifeblood of the tourism industry,’ [...] the Internet is the heart that circulates that lifeblood” (2006: 816). Yet what we know about how to fully utilize the Internet for this end is still relatively weak. It does seem that more investigation into Web 2.0 application uses for tourism would be worthwhile, although care must be taken to ensure that proper ethics are adhered to.

2.5 Schema of theoretical framework



3. METHODOLOGY

The present study aims outline some of the attitudes and beliefs that Americans have about Portugal, with the goal of enriching the current understanding of the destination image that American tourists have of Portugal. The methodology of this study was particularly inspired by the works of Volo (2010) and Wenger (2008), who also analyzed blog contents to determine the attitudes of tourists visiting their countries, Italy and Austria, respectively.

The study of product image is typically a domain of marketing research, and since we would like to study the destination image of Portugal, a closely related concept, we have followed many marketing research guidelines in developing our methodology.

Given that few studies have been done on the general subject of destination image as expressed by tourists in online forums, and that none whatsoever (that we know of) have been done on the particular destination image that American tourists have of Portugal, neither the full dimensions nor all of the variables of this particular relationship are fully understood.

Because of this, we knew that our study would fall into the category of “problem identification research” instead of “problem solving research” (Malhotra 2004). Problem identification research encompasses a number of different areas of marketing research, such as market potential research, market share research, image research, market characteristics research, sales analysis research, forecasting research and business trends research (Malhotra 2004). This type of research can also be referred to as “exploratory”, which is used in cases when it is necessary to gain “insight into the general nature of a problem, the possible decision alternatives and the relevant variables that should be considered” in future descriptive and causal studies (in other words, “problem solving research”) that may be developed around the same subject matter (Creswell 2009:18).

Although exploratory research can be conducted as an end in itself, contributing to the development of causal and descriptive studies is one of the main goals of exploratory research. As we said earlier, exploratory research is used when little is known about a problem, but it is also used to identify alternative courses of action, to develop hypotheses and research questions and to identify the independent and dependent variables of a research question (Malhotra 2004).

Because qualitative research is “unstructured, exploratory in nature [and] based on small samples”, it is often employed in exploratory research, which is why we also felt that it would be an appropriate approach for this study (Malhotra 2004: 39). However, since our primary data collected from qualitative research was assembled into a data spreadsheet, we have also been able to analyze our data quantitatively using the Statistical Package for Social Sciences (SPSS, version 19) computer program.

There are a number of reasons to use qualitative research to generate primary data, as we have done here. Firstly, when one would like to find out the most “real” and “honest” thoughts of the respondent, a less-structured methodology may be more useful than a highly-structured one, like a questionnaire, in which respondents may refuse to answer certain questions that they feel are too invasive, or not express their thoughts about an important issue that was left off of the questionnaire. As Echtner and Ritchie (1993) state, the inclusion of open-ended questions in image research is essential to “capture the holistic components of destination image” (5). Blog entries may be thought of as being the answers to very open-ended questions, yet without being prompted (and guided) by a question.

Secondly, as we discussed in section 2.3.2.1, attitudes have both cognitive and affective components, but the respondent may not necessarily be aware of this fact, or know all of the reasons why they have a certain attitude or act in a certain way. It may be easier to ascertain the roots of a respondent’s attitudes and actions using a qualitative approach than through a structured quantitative approach (Malhotra 2004).

The latter aspect was of particular interest to us, and as discussed in section 2.4.1, blogs are a very new source of data that allow for unobtrusive data collection and present what some (Volo 2010; Carson 2008; Litvin, Goldsmith and Pan 2007) consider to be the most honest and “unfiltered” attitudes and opinions of travelers.

3.1 Data collection

Primary data for this study was collected in the form of user-generated online content, including personal blog entries and travel reviews. The blog entries and reviews that we chose to analyze were found through a simple search of “Portugal” in the chosen travel websites, and then accepted for analysis if they satisfied the following criteria:

- a) they were written by a self-proclaimed American (profiles of reviewers or bloggers that did not provide this information, if it was not explicit in the text, were excluded), not Canadian, Australian, British, etc.;
- b) they contained personal opinions of Portuguese culture, tourism or similar;
- c) the entry was substantial enough to gather data (entries that simply listed locations visited and nothing descriptive were excluded).

We collected data for this study between January and May 2011.

In many cases, the website searches for “Portugal” yielded a manageable number of results, such as in The San Francisco Chronicle Travel section and VirtualTravel.com, and all that fit these criteria were utilized. In other cases, such as in RickSteves.com and Yahoo!Travel, the search yielded many results but again, a manageable number of useable data sources. For the rest of the sites, such as TravelPod.com and RealTravel.com, there were many useable entries. In the case of TravelPod.com, which yielded over 44,000 results, entries were ordered (by the website) based on their relevance to the search term. Past about 70 pages of results, we noticed that the entries were quite irrelevant and unusable, noting only a non-descriptive chronology of events. This also happened with RealTravel.com, which also ordered its results by relevance to the search term. Because of this, we decided that randomly choosing entries from *all* of the results would not provide us with the most usable data, since the majority of the results merely reported that Portugal was visited on a trip, with no further detail. We did this not only considering how to get the most descriptive data for our study, but also assuming that readers looking for information on travelling to Portugal would likely not spend time reading a series of chronologies. They would likely choose to read the more descriptive accounts of which points on the traveler’s chronology are worth visiting or not, and which describe the person’s overall experience in the location. Following the theory that blog and review readers seek to reduce the perceived risk of their travel purchase (Litvin et al. 2007; Schmallegger and Carson 2008), they would be more reassured by reading subjective accounts of the positive and negative experiences of others, rather than merely an objective account of which sights.

Thus, we limited our random selection to those entries within a page range that provided us with mostly descriptive entries. After obtaining those entries, we excluded those that were not written by Americans. In those sites that returned very few usable entries (VirtualTourist.com and SF Chronicle), we included them all. We chose to analyze 200 entries in total because it is a manageable number and provided us with sufficient data to identify patterns and trends.

The websites used to gather our blog and review entries were chosen based upon a number of factors. First, a few large American newspapers with online editions, such as The New York Times, The Washington Post and The San Francisco Chronicle, were searched for travel reviews on Portugal. Only the San Francisco Chronicle provided entries of interest, and even they were few. Second, we searched the online contents of the websites of popular travel guides in the US, including Lonely Planet, Fodor’s, Frommer’s and so on. Only the website of Rick Steves’ travel guides provided the kinds of global reviews that we were looking for.

Rick Steves is an American man who, according to him, has spent 120 days per year in Europe since 1973, and who began writing his own travel guides on Europe a number of years

ago. He is the host of his own European travel show, which is the most popular show on American public television (“Rick’s Biography”). He is very popular among American tourists because of his personal style of writing and constant search for the “authentic” parts of Europe. He calls these places the “backdoors of Europe”, and this concept is in fact one that appeared many times in our analysis of tourist reviews. On his website, RickSteves.com, he explains that his expression “Through the back door” refers to “places that for quirky reasons have fallen through the cracks and don’t have the tourist crowds they deserve... places with no promotional budgets... places where it’s easy for the explorer to feel the traditional pulse of Europe.”

Third, in our search for data sources, we found through a number of articles ranking the best travel websites (“Best of Web for Trip Planning” 2006; “Best travel blogs and communities” 2009) and also through searches for “travel website” and “travel blog” in Google which were the travel websites that compile reviews and blogs. We chose what we felt were the sites that provided us with the richest data sources (very descriptive accounts) for this study. In the end, we compiled entries from the following websites: TravelPod.com, RealTravel.com, RickSteves.com, Travel.Yahoo.com, VirtualTourist.com and SFGate.com/travel/.

Our methodology for collecting data from these sources was developed with the intention of maintaining as much detail from the reviews as possible, particularly about the individual features described. To do this, we elected to use a freeform method to design a list of categories and sub-categories for every feature described. An initial category list was developed after a preliminary read-through of the first entry and after consulting the methods of similar studies (Baloglu and McCleary 1999; Correia and Pimpão 2008; Stylidis, Terzidou and Terzidis 2008; Echtner and Ritchie 1993; Kim and Yoon 2003; Ibrahim and Gill 2005; Beerli and Martín 2004). We identified ten primary categories:

1. Location
2. Transportation
3. Environment
4. Tourism Facilities and Tourists
5. Gastronomy
6. Accommodation
7. Entertainment
8. Attractions
9. Culture
10. Shopping

TABLE 1

Yahoo! Travel search results for term “Portugal” on 23-01-2011⁴	
Total	3,115
Trip Plans	1,113*
VirtualTourist.com search results for term “Portugal” on 15-01-2011	
Trips	43*
RickSteves.com search results for term “Portugal” on 26-01-2011	
Total	1,059
“Graffiti Wall”	679*
TravelPod.com search results for term “Portugal” on 28-02-2011	
Total	44,598
Trips	2,770*
San Francisco Chronicle Travel Section of the online edition, search results for term “Portugal” on 09-02-2011	
Total	8*
RealTravel.com search results for term “Portugal” on 29-02-2011	
Total	361
RealTraveler trips	319*

*Data taken from these results

As we continued to read through our sources, we would create sub-categories as needed. The full list of categories is annexed (ANNEX 5). Each of these categories was associated to a unique number, which was entered into the appropriate column of a Microsoft Excel spreadsheet. Next to each feature there was a cell in which a number 1, 2 or 3 would be

⁴ Search results were generally organized into several sections, such as Articles, Travel Tips, Images, and so on. We only list here the results for the sections of interest to us.

entered. These were the valence codes in which a number 1 would indicate a “positive” valence, 2 would indicate a “negative” valence and 3 would indicate a “neutral” valence. The valence codes corresponded to the attitudes expressed by the reviewers in reference to a given feature.

The Excel spreadsheet was organized in the following fashion:

TABLE 2

Review	C1	E	C2	E	C3	E	C4	E	C5	E	C6	E	C7	E	C8	E	C9	E	C10	E
##	11	1	23	3	341	1	441	2	547	1	642	1	7212	2	811	1	932	2	107	1

Each reviewer, who often had written more than one review, identified by a unique number would occupy one row each. The columns, from left to right, held the values for the review number, the first category, the valence (or evaluation) of the first category, the second category, the valence of the second category, and so on, through to the tenth category and its valence. This sequence was repeated as many times as necessary, and the values for each of the ten categories had to correspond to the same location. That is, an evaluation made of the restaurant a tourist ate at in Cascais would not fall into a group of ten where C1 (Location) corresponded to “Porto”; a new group of ten where C1 would correspond to “Cascais” would have to be started.

Table 2 provides an example of a complete, ten category set of data; this was not common in our data collection, usually only a few cells in each set would be filled in as it was not common for tourists to comment on a feature from every category for one location. At any rate, the data presented in this example represents that the tourist had positive feelings about Lisbon, was indifferent about Lisbon’s metro system, liked Lisbon’s architecture, did not like that there were many tourists in Lisbon, enjoyed eating seafood in Lisbon, liked the proximity of their accommodation in Lisbon to amenities, did not like the service at a Fado bar in Lisbon, enjoyed the Jerónimos Monastery in Lisbon, did not like the smell of sewage in Lisbon and liked the “traditional” shopping in Lisbon’s downtown area. These were some of the most salient impressions of Lisbon that this hypothetical tourist was left with and chose to write about. A few examples of how we coded are shown in ANNEX 6.

4. DISCUSSION OF QUANTITATIVE AND QUALITATIVE RESULTS

4.1 Quantitative results

Although we collected qualitative data first, we have decided to discuss the quantitative results of our research first to give the reader a concise overview of our findings, and then the depth of those findings will be explored below in the section for qualitative results. Given the large amount of data that we collected, we will only show the results for the features that were mentioned the most number of times within each of the ten main categories.

4.1.1 Interactions with locals

The interaction of tourists with locals was one of the features of most interest to us at the start of this study. However, not as many reviewers as were expected commented on their interactions with locals. Of those who did, the tendency was for the interaction to be positive. The table below shows the results only from Porto and Lisbon, as these were the two locations which receive the most comments on interactions with locals.

TABLE 3

Interactions with locals				Local hospitality	Little "anti-Americanism"	Not helpful	Welcoming	Helpful	Nice / Friendly	Not friendly
Lisbon	Eval	positive	Count	11	1	0	3	5	23	0
		negative	Count	1	0	3	0	0	0	3
		neutral	Count	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
		Total	Count	12	1	3	3	5	23	3
Porto	Eval	positive	Count	3	-	-	-	1	5	-
		negative	Count	0	-	-	-	0	0	-
		neutral	Count	0	-	-	-	0	0	-
		Total	Count	3	-	-	-	1	5	-

*Instances of "Not helpful", "Little 'anti-Americanism'", "Welcoming" and "Not friendly" were not reported in Porto.

As shown, Lisbon received by far the most comments on local interactions. There were no reports of negative interactions with locals in Porto and only a few in Lisbon.

4.1.2 Locations visited

Lisbon was the most visited location and Sintra was the second, presumably because it is a convenient and popular day trip from Lisbon, and Porto, Portugal's second largest city, was

the third most visited destination. The center and north of Portugal were relatively well represented, although the south of Portugal still received the bulk of tourists in this sample.

TABLE 4

Top 10 Locations Visited		Evaluation			Total
		positive	negative	neutral	
Lisbon (N=417)	%	88,0%	,2%	11,8%	100,0%
Sintra (N=96)	%	92,7%	,0%	7,3%	100,0%
Porto (N=91)	%	76,9%	6,6%	16,5%	100,0%
Lagos (N=32)	%	100,0%	,0%	,0%	100,0%
Funchal (N=27)	%	100,0%	,0%	,0%	100,0%
Évora (N=27)	%	100,0%	,0%	,0%	100,0%
Douro Valley (N=26)	%	84,6%	3,8%	11,5%	100,0%
Vila Nova de Gaia (N=25)	%	56,0%	,0%	44,0%	100,0%
Coimbra (N=21)	%	85,7%	,0%	14,3%	100,0%
Cascais (N=21)	%	100,0%	,0%	,0%	100,0%

4.1.3 Transportation

Our transportation results show that many tourists coming to Portugal travel on “low-cost” airlines, and in our sample, these flights were mostly taken on RyanAir to Porto. The negative reviews were due to the relative discomforts of low-cost travel (waiting in lines, little baggage allowance and advertisements on board). *In situ*, tram rides, particularly a specific tram route (number 28) in Lisbon, were also quite popular. Cruises were only taken to Lisbon, Madeira and the Azores.

TABLE 5

Top 5 in Transportation		Evaluation			Total
		positive	negative	neutral	
"Low-cost" airline flight (N=9)	%	44,4%	11,1%	44,4%	100,0%
Tram (N=8)	%	50,0%	,0%	50,0%	100,0%
Rental car (N=7)	%	,0%	,0%	100,0%	100,0%
"Scenic" Tram #28 (Lisbon) (N=6)	%	83,3%	,0%	16,7%	100,0%
Cruise ship (N=6)	%	50,0%	,0%	50,0%	100,0%

4.1.4 Environment

We decided to show more results from the Environment category because it received more comments overall than any other, by far. This category also represents much of the

imagery that tourists in our sample recalled from their trip, which we found to be of particular interest, and could also be of interest for marketing purposes.

Most attitudes regarding the environment were positive. The feature “hilly” generated a lot of negative attitudes because of the difficulty hilly cities posed for walking. Also, many tourists found that many downtown sections of the big cities of Lisbon and Porto were in a poor state of repair.

TABLE 6

Top 20 in Environment		Evaluation			Total
		positive	negative	neutral	
Traditional layout of city streets (N=64)	%	100,0%	,0%	,0%	100,0%
Beaches (N=61)	%	93,4%	6,6%	,0%	100,0%
Landscape (N=46)	%	100,0%	,0%	,0%	100,0%
Beautiful (N=40)	%	100,0%	,0%	,0%	100,0%
"Authentic"/"Back door" (N=36)	%	91,7%	2,8%	5,6%	100,0%
Relaxing/Laid-back (N=32)	%	96,9%	,0%	3,1%	100,0%
Weather (N=25)	%	68,0%	32,0%	,0%	100,0%
Hilly (N=24)	%	20,8%	54,2%	25,0%	100,0%
Tiles (N=24)	%	100,0%	,0%	,0%	100,0%
"Charming" (N=20)	%	100,0%	,0%	,0%	100,0%
Exceeded expectations (N=19)	%	100,0%	,0%	,0%	100,0%
"Magical"/"Fairytale" (N=18)	%	100,0%	,0%	,0%	100,0%
Gardens/foilage (N=18)	%	94,4%	5,6%	,0%	100,0%
Quaint (N=17)	%	100,0%	,0%	,0%	100,0%
Lush/Green (N=15)	%	100,0%	,0%	,0%	100,0%
Architecture (N=14)	%	100,0%	,0%	,0%	100,0%
Douro River/Valley (N=14)	%	100,0%	,0%	,0%	100,0%
State of repair (<i>baixa</i>) (N=13)	%	30,8%	69,2%	,0%	100,0%
Plazas (N=12)	%	100,0%	,0%	,0%	100,0%
Mix of old and new (N=12)	%	100,0%	,0%	,0%	100,0%

4.1.5 Tourism facilities and tourists

The most frequent attitudes expressed within tourism related to how many other tourists the reviewer saw. In general, perceiving there to be many tourists left a negative impression, while few tourists left a positive one. The impression that Portugal was a cheaper or better value, destination than the rest of Europe was also a common and positive one. Finally, many tourists in our sample reported choosing Portugal as a secondary vacation destination as a side-trip from their primary destination of Spain.

TABLE 7

Top 6 in Tourism	Evaluation			Total
	positive	negative	neutral	
Many tourists (N=26) %	15,4%	46,2%	38,5%	100,0%
Value / Cheaper than the rest of Europe (N=21) %	95,2%	4,8%	,0%	100,0%
Side trip from Spain (N=20) %	40,0%	,0%	60,0%	100,0%
Few tourists (N=16) %	93,8%	,0%	6,3%	100,0%
Bus tour (N=8) %	50,0%	,0%	50,0%	100,0%
Few American tourists / Not popular destination for Americans (N=6) %	,0%	,0%	100,0%	100,0%

4.1.6 Gastronomy

Overall, gastronomy attitudes were positive, both in terms of taste and price. Some traditional items and preparations that are not common in America, such as serving whole fish and tripe, generated negative attitudes. Wine, fish, seafood and pastries (particularly the *nata* or *Pastel de Belém*) were among the most popular food items.

TABLE 8

Top 10 in Gastronomy	Evaluation			Total
	positive	negative	neutral	
Enjoyable (restaurants) (N=51) %	94,1%	3,9%	2,0%	100,0%
Enjoyable (food) (N=40) %	85,0%	15,0%	,0%	100,0%
Seafood (N=29) %	100,0%	,0%	,0%	100,0%
Pasteis de Belém (from Lisbon bakery) (N=23) %	73,9%	4,3%	21,7%	100,0%
Port wine (N=19) %	78,9%	15,8%	5,3%	100,0%
Value (restaurants) (N=17) %	88,2%	11,8%	,0%	100,0%
Price (food) (N=15) %	93,3%	6,7%	,0%	100,0%
Green wine (N=14) %	100,0%	,0%	,0%	100,0%
Service (restaurants) (N=11) %	100,0%	,0%	,0%	100,0%
Pastries (general) (N=11) %	90,9%	,0%	9,1%	100,0%
Bacalhau (N=11) %	81,8%	9,1%	9,1%	100,0%

4.1.7 Accommodation

Hostels were the most commented upon forms of accommodation. Given that this type of accommodation is inexpensive and typically marketed towards the youth market, it would be logical to assume that a great number of our reviewers are youths. Camping was a surprisingly popular option as well, as was “couch surfing”. The latter is free accommodation organized through a website by the same name. These types of accommodation are also typical of the youth market.

TABLE 9

Top 10 in Accommodation		Evaluation			Total
		positive	negative	neutral	
Hostel (N=43)	%	69,8%	14,0%	16,3%	100,0%
Guesthouse / Pensão (N=27)	%	81,5%	11,1%	7,4%	100,0%
Hotel (N=22)	%	72,7%	13,6%	13,6%	100,0%
Camping (N=12)	%	33,3%	50,0%	16,7%	100,0%
Close to amenities (N=12)	%	100,0%	,0%	,0%	100,0%
"Couch surfing" (N=10)	%	90,0%	,0%	10,0%	100,0%
Staff hospitality (N=9)	%	100,0%	,0%	,0%	100,0%
Value (Hostel) (N=9)	%	88,9%	11,1%	,0%	100,0%
Cleanliness (N=8)	%	87,5%	12,5%	,0%	100,0%

4.1.8 Entertainment

Most entertainment options generated positive attitudes. The neutral attitudes were usually recorded when the reviewer merely stated that they went to, for example, a fado bar, but did not express strong opinions about the experience.

TABLE 10

Top 11 in Entertainment		Evaluation			Total
		positive	negative	neutral	
General nightlife ambiance (N=26)	%	88,5%	7,7%	3,8%	100,0%
Enjoyable / Fun (Fado bar) (N=13)	%	100,0%	,0%	,0%	100,0%
Hiking trails (N=11)	%	100,0%	,0%	,0%	100,0%
Scenic cruise (N=9)	%	88,9%	,0%	11,1%	100,0%
Bars (N=8)	%	75,0%	,0%	25,0%	100,0%
Outdoor cafés (N=8)	%	100,0%	,0%	,0%	100,0%
Outdoor picnics (N=7)	%	85,7%	,0%	14,3%	100,0%
Fado bars (N=7)	%	42,9%	,0%	57,1%	100,0%
Movie theaters (N=6)	%	33,3%	,0%	66,7%	100,0%
Scenic drive (N=6)	%	83,3%	16,7%	,0%	100,0%
Enjoyable (Nightclub) (N=6)	%	83,3%	16,7%	,0%	100,0%

4.1.9 Attractions

The attitudes about attractions were perhaps more mixed in valence than in other categories. Negative attitudes about attractions were usually expressed citing that the monument was in disrepair. There were many negative attitudes about the perceived lack of attractions in Portugal.

TABLE 11

Top 10 in Attractions		Evaluation			Total
		positive	negative	neutral	
São Jorge Castle (Lisbon) (N=45)	%	82,2%	,0%	17,8%	100,0%
Jerónimos Monastery (N=32)	%	71,9%	,0%	28,1%	100,0%
Moorish Castle (Sintra) (N=21)	%	81,0%	4,8%	14,3%	100,0%
Belém Tower (Lisbon) (N=19)	%	47,4%	5,3%	47,4%	100,0%
National Pena Palace (Sintra) (N=16)	%	93,8%	6,3%	,0%	100,0%
Many attractions (N=15)	%	100,0%	,0%	,0%	100,0%
Guided Tours (Port wine cellars, VNG) (N=15)	%	100,0%	,0%	,0%	100,0%
Monument to the Discoveries (Lisbon) (N=11)	%	63,6%	,0%	36,4%	100,0%
Not enough attractions (N=11)	%	,0%	100,0%	,0%	100,0%
25 de Abril bridge (Lisbon) (N=8)	%	100,0%	,0%	,0%	100,0%

4.1.10 Shopping

Shopping was not mentioned with much frequency. Some reviewers reported going to shopping malls to “compare” them to American malls, or to eat at the food court. Others enjoyed the traditional shopping in the city centers, and yet others enjoyed exploring local flea markets.

TABLE 12

Top 5 in Shopping		Evaluation			Total
		positive	negative	neutral	
Shopping centers / malls (N=12)	%	41,7%	8,3%	50,0%	100,0%
Traditional shopping in downtown (baixa) (N=8)	%	100,0%	,0%	,0%	100,0%
Flea Markets (N=6)	%	83,3%	16,7%	,0%	100,0%
Shopping (N=4)	%	100,0%	,0%	,0%	100,0%
Apparel Shops (N=4)	%	50,0%	50,0%	,0%	100,0%

4.1.11 Culture

The most expressed attitude regarding culture was a positive one about the Portuguese being “nice” and/or “friendly” people. This was always a positive attitude. Local hospitality also

generated many positive attitudes, as did the perception that locals were “helpful”. This was discussed by location, in Porto and Lisbon, in section 4.1.1, but here we can see that it was a global attitude across locations. Tourists also appreciated when locals spoke English.

TABLE 13

Top 9 in Culture		Evaluation			Total
		positive	negative	neutral	
Nice / Friendly (N=53)	%	100,0%	,0%	,0%	100,0%
Rich in history (N=47)	%	97,9%	,0%	2,1%	100,0%
Local hospitality (N=34)	%	97,1%	2,9%	,0%	100,0%
Locals speak English (N=21)	%	100,0%	,0%	,0%	100,0%
Locals do not speak English (N=15)	%	20,0%	60,0%	20,0%	100,0%
Festivals (general) (N=9)	%	88,9%	,0%	11,1%	100,0%
City cleanliness (N=8)	%	100,0%	,0%	,0%	100,0%
Helpful (N=8)	%	100,0%	,0%	,0%	100,0%
Fado (N=7)	%	100,0%	,0%	,0%	100,0%

4.2 Qualitative results

The qualitative results of this study were quite revealing and, to our surprise, many views expressed by the tourists seemed to fit into the theoretical framework that we had established for this study. We will show examples of those cases in this section, and we will also discuss the cases that led to the creation of some of the more “unusual” topics and sub-topics in our list of categories.

4.2.1 On American tourism in Portugal

To begin, in our sample of reviews, a number of tourists were acutely aware of the fact that Portugal is not a popular tourism destination for Americans. Reviewer #93, who wrote a letter to the travel editor of the San Francisco Chronicle about her vacation in Portugal proclaims that “The Algarve is a paradise still to be discovered by American tourists.” The tourist’s phrasing here excludes her from the group of ignorant American tourists, as she has already “discovered” Portugal, giving her something to brag about to friends; this is a notion that the Portuguese tourism authority marketers would like for her to have, if we believe in their ad campaigns (as discussed in 2.3.3).

Another reviewer, #201, expresses a similar view on TravelPod, hinting that Americans are not generally aware of what Portugal has to offer, although she phrases the sentiment in a less delicate way: “[...] since nobody would ever think of Portugal as someplace special, Cindy

and I can keep it our little secret!” It seems to be a point of pride for her that she has now been to this place that few of her peers are familiar with. “It was a secret before I told you some cool things, and it’s still a secret now! So if you want ‘in’ on the secret, you’ll just have to go!”

Reviewer #146, on TravelPod, does not refer to himself as an American, nor does he refer to American tourists as a group, but he expressed what seemed to be a common sentiment: “Portugal was surprisingly beautiful [...], I came to Lisbon with absolutely no expectations or an idea of what attractions may lie.” Another TravelPod reviewer, #151, states that “you don’t really hear about people traveling to Lisbon too often, but I actually think it’s actually (sic) quite a nice place to visit.” In this case, “people” can probably with some certainty be considered to be referring to Americans, as it is a common expression referring usually to people who you do not consider to be too different from yourself.

Another similar reaction was expressed by reviewer #205, also on TravelPod:

I was very pleasantly surprised with how beautiful Lisbon is. I didn’t really know what to expect because it’s not exactly as famous as Paris or Madrid. And I had managed not to see any pictures of it. So after I took the metro to the city center I was amazed.

Here, we can also see that the tourist has made a reflexive comparison of Lisbon to its two nearest neighboring capitals, Paris and Madrid, which also happen to be two of the most famous cities in Europe and highly popular destinations for American tourists travelling to Europe (France was the second most popular destination for Americans in 2009, while Spain was the fifth; Portugal was not in the top ten) (“2009 U.S. Resident Travel to Europe”). Lisbon does not seem to have the strong imagery associated with it as these other capital cities do, as we suggested they might in our discussion of branding and marketing a destination image (section 2.3.3).

Reviewer #144 expresses his surprise that Portugal isn’t more of a popular destination among Americans, not only because it has a lot of attractions, but also because its geographical location makes it a logical choice:

Portugal seems to have a wealth of wonderful places to visit in such a small country, and that coupled with its close proximity to the Eastern US makes it a mystery to me why it isn’t more of a European destination for Americans.

Another reviewer, #179, offers his opinion on why more Americans should travel to Portugal:

Overall, Portugal is a great vacation spot, in many respects even better than Spain. It is so easy to get around and explore, the atmosphere is very laid-back and relaxing, and if you only have 2 weeks’ vacation, as most Americans do, you can really see the entire country and get a good feel for it because it’s so small, without rushing from city to city. It is also significantly cheaper than its neighbor Spain, which just adds to its perks.

A number of other reviewers also cited the relaxed atmosphere—as one tourist (48) put it, “The order of the day in Portugal is casual and friendly”—and the low prices and high quality of products (particularly food and drinks) as their favorite aspects of the country as a tourism destination, leading us to create a sub-category (529) for restaurant food “value”, referring to the quality to price ratio. A high value meal was one with a high ratio of quality to price, which we determined to be the case when reviewers mentioned great quality and low price. “The food was absolutely fantastic, and cheap” (#101); “Food is cheap and delicious” (#121); “I would compare it to the high end restaurants in Napa Valley at a fraction of the cost” (#10); “great food at even greater prices” (#139); “Dinner was great [...] fresh and plentiful for quite cheap” (#160); “Portugal is great because it is so cheap” and “We just eat like kings and don’t feel bad about it because we practically got a donner kebab for the same prices in Switzerland” (#162).

4.2.2 Prices

To continue on the subject of prices, we came across the term “splurge” a few times and decided to include it as a sub-category for both restaurants and hotels (5241 and 611). It is not quite the opposite of value, as it implies paying a high price for high quality, and there is a certain level of enjoyment in paying that high price. We really only encountered this in reference to the Hotel Palace Buçaco (restaurant and hotel) and a few restaurants in Lisbon: “It’s a splurge place to stay or eat, but it’s a beautiful place to enjoy the gardens or do some hiking” (21) and “Tavares Rico [...] like eating in a palace, with impeccable service! Expensive but worth it” (87).

Naturally, in some cases, tourists felt that things were overpriced, usually hotels, which we categorized under either general accommodation price when it wasn’t clear where the tourists stayed, or under the value sub-category of a certain type of accommodation when it was known, with a negative valence: “We stayed at the Vintage House and didn’t think the price tag was worth it” (28).

4.2.3 Environment

It was very rare for Portugal’s natural features, whenever they were mentioned, to not elicit positive reactions. There were many mentions of the “lush” greenery in Sintra (79) and Madeira (78), the beautiful forest around the Hotel Palace Buçaco and the “gorgeous” sandy beaches (75). “This country is BEAUTIFUL”; “Driving across Portugal was absolutely

stunning” (103). Although many tourists were unimpressed with the large numbers of foreign tourists in the major Algarve cities of Faro and Lagos, as reviewer #111 points out:

Lagos is a small town, overrun with foreigners, both Americans looking to party on vacation, and northern Europeans (lots of Brits, Swedes and Danes) who move down [...] for the sun.

Although this fact did not seem to bother this particular reviewer very much, as he still had nothing but good things to say about Lagos:

Lagos [...] has some of the most beautiful beaches I've ever seen – including spots in Mexico, the Caribbean, Spain, California and Hawaii. The rock formations coming out of the water made the location so naturally beautiful and majestic.

One of the main environmental detriments in both Porto and Lisbon was the graffiti: “[Lisbon] is absolutely beautiful, albeit a bit over-graffitied” (139); “There is plenty of evidence of the graffiti that so troubles most modern cities” (175). Some of the seemingly younger reviewers, however, had a certain appreciation for it: “[Porto] seems to have mastered the art of graffiti and tags add some color to an already unique place” (152); “The talent level of the graffiti artists was a helluva lot better in Lisbon than in Rome” (125).

What we termed as the “traditional layout of city streets” (342) as a sub-category was definitely one of the most-loved aspects of Portuguese cities for many reviewers. The narrow and winding streets, *calçada Portuguesa* (black and white street tiles) and old, towering townhouses covered in *azulejo* (patterned tiles) were nearly always commented on positively. These areas were a feature of the cities that the reviewers seemed to think gave them the most authenticity, uniqueness and charm. “I can honestly say that [Porto] is one of the most visually unusual cities I have ever been to” (152); “Lisbon really is a beautiful and quaint city. The small, winding streets and tiled walls and streets make for a cozy and Mediterranean feel” (82); “Cascais is a lovely little beach town with white sand beaches, blue water, old narrow cobblestone streets, all underneath the watchful eye of a medieval citadel” (103); “The tile work here is amazing, entire buildings covered in tile. The sidewalks are black and white mosaic” (109). Some reviewers wrote very detailed descriptions, as wandering through these streets was, for many, their favorite activity:

[Lisbon] is a constant delightful maze of narrow winding cobblestoned streets, the apartments are tall and deteriorating and covered with tiles of every imaginable color and geometric design, there are old people resting their elbows on pillows on the window ledges of the balconies of the old deteriorating buildings amidst the laundry that is hanging to dry and old lace curtains (80).

The architecture in most locations generally received positive comments as well, with many citing the “interesting mix of old and new” (112) in the cities: in Lisbon, “[...] the interesting

modern architecture on display [is] a sharp contrast with the old city” (72) and in Porto, “I have never seen a city this visually different” (152).

Still, as the graffiti was a common point of dislike, so was the poor state of repair that some of these traditional and older parts of Porto and Lisbon were in: “I found the city center of Lisbon in need of restoration and cleanup” (30). Porto received more negative attention in this respect than did Lisbon or any other location.

Safety was another environmental issue that came up a number of times. The lack of handrails on castles and monuments was a concern:

All day today we could not get over the safety violations – at [St. George’s] castle – [the Monument to the Discoveries] – the riverside, etc. It makes Costa Rica look safe in a lot of respects. There also seemed to be a lack of supervision and guards at many of these sites (94).

Greater safety concerns, however, were the pick-pocketing – “pick-pocketing is intense in Portugal and Spain” (1) – and car break-ins – “Just be careful, these thieves are professionals” (4).

4.2.4 Food

Food was, of course, another popular area of comment. In general, most reviewers enjoyed the taste of Portuguese food, particularly the fresh seafood and fish, although sometimes the presentation of food was off-putting. A few reviewers stated that they tried the local specialties, but not many.

Positive comments included: “Food was superb” (23); “Delicious wild boar” (26); “Excellent seafood” (88); “Portuguese food [is like] really great comfort food [...]” (95); “As good as any meal we had in France” (216); “The swordfish was the very best fish I ever had in my life. I repeat, the best fish I have ever had in my life! Very bold, but very true statement!” (130). Negative comments were generally along the lines of: “it’s rather bland and uninteresting” (62); “I didn’t like the food very much” (68); “Portuguese food is just so blah” (166). And a few of the skeptical comments: “This one came out as the whole fish. Not quite what I had expected” (173); “All the fish have their heads intact... hmm...” (69) and , “The food is interesting [...] perhaps the special of the city, dating to the war, is too much for some, but there are other specialties” (31), referring, of course, to the Porto-style tripe.

Aside from general categories of food like seafood, fish and wine, the most popular food item was the *nata* custard pastry, either from the famous *Pasteis de Belém* bakery in

Lisbon or from other locations: “[...] be sure to stop in the world famous ‘*Pasteis de Belém*’ for some of the most delicious pastries you’ll ever have” (74); “Natas is THE best small custard pastry I’ve ever had” (85); “[Natas] honestly were the best pastries I’ve ever tasted” (103).

4.2.5 Attractions

Although most Americans would probably have difficulty identifying a major attraction in Portugal, as it does not have anything on par with the famous Big Ben clocktower of London, the Eiffel Tower of Paris, the Coliseum of Rome, etc., most of our reviewers found many interesting attractions in Portugal. The Moorish castle and the various palaces of Sintra were very popular, and all who went to Sintra enjoyed it, describing it as “lush” and “fairytale-like.”

A popular natural attraction in the North of Portugal was taking a train or a car ride along the Douro Valley for the views: “Take the slow ride on the narrow gage train into the Douro Valley from Porto and enjoy” (9); “I always recommend the train ride from Porto to Régua. The last 45 minutes of the journey are spectacular as the train winds slowly along the Douro” (34); “The [Douro] Valley has an incredible picturesque drive or river cruise through a very windy gorge-like vista. An excellent detour from Porto city” (55).

Going to Fado bars to see shows was a popular activity in Lisbon, and many reviewers enjoyed Fado music despite not being able to understand the Portuguese lyrics. “Try to find time for an evening of Fado... it’s unlike anything else...” (98); “That night we ended up catching a Fado show in a restaurant. Fado music is indigenous to Portugal, and it may be the most passionate music that I’ve ever heard” (103).

Bigger attractions such as museums were somewhat popular, although they were not mentioned as often as visits to city monuments such as the Clerics Tower in Porto, the Santa Justa Elevator in Porto, the Saint George Castle in Lisbon, the Dom Luís bridge in Porto, the Monument to the Discoveries in Lisbon, various churches and cathedrals, and so on. One reviewer felt that Lisbon’s attractions were underrated:

Lisbon has] an abundance of world-class attractions [...] the Maritime museum is a must see [...] [and] the aquarium is likewise a treat, every bit as good as the Shed in Chicago or the Monterey Aquarium (73).

Aside from trips to Sintra, another day trip from Lisbon that a couple of reviewers took was to the Queluz palace, although they were not very impressed with its level of maintenance. “Queluz [...] [is] supposed to be their Versailles, but needs a lot of work. It was really a little depressing [...]” (95). Only one reviewer went to see a bullfight, which was a positive

experience: “We attended a bullfight which was amazing and graceful (and nice because in Portugal they don’t kill the bull)” (119).

4.2.6 Transportation

While it may not affect a tourist’s image of a place too much, transportation certainly plays a role in shaping a tourist’s experience in a destination. Reviews about transportation in Portugal were mixed, with some expressing concern about Portuguese drivers: “If you’re thinking about driving into Porto, follow the advice of the natives: don’t! If you want to drive in Porto, first go to Palermo to practice” (35). Meanwhile, others expressed no concerns about driving: “Driving in Portugal was a piece-of-cake. All the freeways were new, and we never encountered much in the way of traffic” (56). Still others stated that they would have preferred to take public transportation, but had to resort to driving: “Train travel in all of Portugal is less direct and less convenient than most of Western Europe. We found driving gave us the flexibility to change directions and to change our minds” (38). The opposite opinion was also expressed: “All of the public transportation options [in Lisbon] were very easy to use, inexpensive, clean, safe and very efficient. And well integrated with one another.” Probably, these very different opinions can be attributed to each traveler’s prior travel experiences and what each expects from a certain type of destination (urban, rural, etc.) in terms of transportation options.

4.2.7 Tourism

Transportation was also hindered at times because of a lack of signage in English or easily-accessible information. The latter was the case for the following couple, who wanted to take the popular train ride along the Douro Valley that a few other reviewers also mentioned: “We’d prefer a train trip along the river, but can’t quite find the resource that helps us orchestrate this adventure” (44). Another couple attempted to buy a regional train ticket in Lisbon:

It took about 15 minutes for Keith to figure out the automated ticket machine, and then he’s still not sure he did it right, but we made it there (There was no English option and the terms were different enough from French that it was difficult) (82).

The complaint about a lack of signage in English in some museums and other attractions also appeared a few times, but not many.

Lisbon, Óbidos and the Algarve were frequently cited as the places that were the most “touristy” (highly oriented towards tourists) and with the most number of tourists, which was always a negative aspect. “[Óbidos is] very touristy, commercial, but with great scenic beauty” writes reviewer #38, suggesting that the scenic beauty of Óbidos makes up for its negative qualities of being touristy and commercial. Most of the reviewers seemed to be very interested in having an “authentic” experience, which we will discuss in detail below. It was rare for our reviewers to see other American tourists; in one case (82), as of April of 2010, a family was only the second American family to have stopped by a certain tourism post in Sintra – they didn’t specify the time frame, it seems as though they were suggesting they were only the second *ever*. This would be very unusual, however, because many other of our reviewers reported going to Sintra. These kinds of inaccuracies in reporting on the part of the reviewer represent a major challenge in the interpretation of user-generated content.

In terms of tourism services, a few reviewers reported enjoying the open-top bus tours, such as those run by the Yellow Bus Tours and Hop On / Hop Off companies. One reviewer enjoyed: “[...] intimate tours in a van with panoramic view glass top view (sic). The price was the same as the big tour buses but much better” (29).

Finally, many reviewers reported travelling to Portugal for a few days as a “side-trip” from Spain, some saying that if they hadn’t already been in Spain, they would have never thought to visit. Oftentimes these types of visits were seemingly short in duration, and the reviewer tended to spend time in only one city or region, limiting the depth of their understanding of Portugal and knowledge of the other “product offerings” (Wenger 2008: 175).

Similarly, a few cited the cheap RyanAir flights to Porto as being the reason why they visited the city, because otherwise they wouldn’t have, as this reviewer explains: “Never in a million years would I have ever found Porto without RyanAir offering the €1 fares to and from here, so the city basically found me,” and he wasn’t disappointed; “It’s Portugal’s second city but a clear first in my book” (152).

4.2.8 Comparisons with Spain

Given that Spain is a far more popular and known tourism destination for Americans – a reality that many were aware of: “Portugal is a bit overlooked due to its larger more dominant neighbor Spain” (81) – and the fact that many of our reviewers, as mentioned above, visited Portugal as a side-trip from Spain, there were many inevitable comparisons of Portugal to Spain. Most had to do with the food, the people, the general culture and the attractions and most, surprisingly, were positive. We say surprisingly because as we discussed in the section on

attitude strength (2.3.1.2), the more knowledge a person has about a subject (in this case, Spain, because only those tourists who knew Spain previous to Portugal could make these comparisons), the stronger one's attitude is about that subject, and the stronger one's attitude is, the harder it is to change that attitude (Aronson et al. 1999). There are a few other factors that come into attitude strength, such as the accessibility of the attitude in one's memory, but essentially we can conclude that those tourists who favored certain aspects of Portugal over Spain did not have very strong attitudes about those aspects to begin with, for whatever reason.

A few reviewers commented on how they made the choice to go to Portugal, one saying that "We entered Portugal blindly, not having done any research, adding it to the itinerary as a nice diversion from Spain" (104) and:

We always wanted to see Spain—who doesn't? As for Portugal—it came almost as afterthought... 'we will be close by—why don't we go? Who knows if we'll ever go otherwise...' ...Oh, we were sooo mistaken... Portugal turned out to be the highlight and unexpected surprise of the trip... (98)

In relation to food and dining, it was remarked that: "These folks [the Portuguese] don't keep the incredibly odd [dining] hours of the Spanish" (72); "The food in Spain was bad compared to what we've had in Portugal so far" (114); "either we are getting better at choosing restaurants, or the food is just plain better in Portugal" (216).

Many noted that in Portugal, the "People are nicer than in Spain" (102). There were many comments on the general cultural differences of both places: "[Lisbon]'s got a similar vibe to Spain, but doesn't seem to take itself as seriously. I really liked it" (103); "Lisbon didn't seem as exotic as Madrid" (185).

The cities and attractions of both countries were compared, with more negative impressions of Portugal: "The fact that [Lisbon] was leveled by an earthquake in the 1700's may have diminished some of its old-world charm" (185); "Overall, the Portuguese cities seem to be a little darker, dirtier, and not quite as nice as the cities in Spain" (97); "Portugal did seem to be lacking the cool palaces and art museums of Madrid" (133).

Of course, cost was also discussed, and generally fell along the lines of "Portugal, even compared to southern Spain, was incredibly cheap" (111).

4.2.9 Lisbon v. Porto

Many reviewers also felt compelled to compare Portugal's two biggest cities, Lisbon and Porto. Lisbon was by far the most visited city among our sample of reviewers, which

probably explains why it had a disproportionate number of reviews. There were many extremely positive reviews about Lisbon, and only a handful about Porto. Our impression was that most reviewers who went to both places found Porto to be an interesting city, but simply not as interesting as Lisbon. Some of the glowing reviews of Lisbon:

Lisbon is an amazing introduction to Europe. The most photogenic place I've ever visited (80).

I had heard great things about Lisbon before, but you need to immerse yourself in its atmosphere to really understand why everybody seems to love it so much... when you are in Lisbon – you just fall under the spell of its shabby romantic beauty – imperfect, but so sensuous that it simply cannot leave you indifferent... (98).

Lisbon is the kind of city that is impossible not to like (120).

Lisbon is an amazing city! [...] It is quintessential Europe in every way. The people, their dress, the architecture, the tiny (petrol efficient) automobiles, trolleys, billboards, cobblestone streets, espresso cafes, mullets (yes, here too...) and plazas with 100 year old statues, pigeons invading every street and park. It's unbelievable (48).

And some of the more negative reviews of Lisbon, although there were not many:

Regarding Lisbon, the culture of that area of Portugal is not that different from that of Madrid [...] the best part [of Portugal] is the small cities like Elvas and Évora and the hill towns along the Spanish border—or the whole northern part of the country (62).

Porto is many times more friendly, charming and photogenic than Lisbon (46).

Some very much disagreed with the last opinion:

Porto is exactly what Rick [Steves] has in mind when he talks about the following: Your travel time is precious – don't waste it in a town that isn't worth it [...] [Porto's Ribeira district] looks like every other old section of every other old European city, except that there's more 'picturesque' poverty (42)

On a ten day trip I would skip Porto, which we also liked but not so much that I would advise you to cut short your stay in [...] other places (58).

Porto received some positive feedback, but nothing quite as emphatic:

We spent our first day pleasantly roaming Porto, a nearly crumbling old city still full of life. Clothes lines hang out many windows old enough to be in museums in the US (121).

[Porto] is definitely a poor and rough around the edges city but what it lacks in newness and money it sure does make up for in atmosphere and character (151).

[Porto's] Ribeira is no end of old-world charm and delights (1).

4.2.10 Authenticity

We felt that the individual tourist's conception of "authenticity" had a great effect on which cities they enjoyed and did not enjoy, as authenticity for this sample of tourists was a very popular topic. Viewing the tourist's search and desire for "authenticity" through MacCannell's lens, we assume that what the tourist who seeks authenticity is seeking "truth". What that kind of American tourist, who comes from a very developed and, some might say, inauthentic and commercialized society, wants to find in their tourism destination is the "real life" of the locals; they want to experience another culture, to get "back stage" and get a feeling for what it is like to live the life of the "other".

This concept seemed to be very much present in some of the views expressed by reviewers, who would often refer to a place as "back door" (as explained above, this is Rick Steves' phrasing, but it does fit nicely with the stage analogy that MacCannell has borrowed from Goffman) or "off the beaten path" (which means that they are not common places that tourists might go to, so they should be less touched by tourism and the changes that it can induce and thus more authentic). Many reviewers also expressed that they enjoyed visiting "local hangouts" and watching locals go about their daily activities. One felt that it was an "experience in itself to see how another culture interacts at the dinner table" (106) and enjoyed doing so. Here, it seemed that Porto and Northern Portugal got more positive reviews, which suggests that they are more popular destinations for those tourists looking for "authenticity":

If you [...] are interested in getting off the beaten tourist path [...] you won't be disappointed [with Northern Portugal] (7).

Northern Portugal provides a nice, less touristy, experience that we highly recommend (8).

[...] Visit Guimarães, Braga and Viana do Castelo [...] each one is a back door by itself (11).

While [Viana do Castelo] is certainly 'off the beaten track', there is no shortage of warmth or welcome (18).

Northern Portugal is seldom included in travel guidebooks, and I think this must be the reason that it is so unspoiled and tourist-free [...] If you want a look at the REAL old-world Europe, I think that northern Portugal is one of the few places left that you can find that (26).

Someone said Porto was boring. Only if you are looking for the 'BIG SIGHTS' that I find relatively so unrewarding. They are checklist, the meat of a place is in its life and history. Know its general trend before you arrive and you will find many a 'boring' place has more than most find [...] Those who are clueless as to what they are observing are the bored ones. Part of the charm of the city is to soak up the atmosphere in the real back streets and climb those hills (31).

Marzagão itself is a sleepy and friendly village of about 300 [...] nothing spectacular, but a real taste of mountain village life (40).

It was great just walking around [Lisbon] and seeing the life that real locals live (156).

The true Europe, the one we learn about in the books, exists here [in Lisbon], like no other city I have visited so far” (68).

Lisbon [...] has its share of graffiti and homelessness, but mostly just felt like a real city with a lot of beautiful aspects to me (126).

One reviewer could not quite describe what it was that made Lisbon different, but it may have to do with some of the above unique characteristics the Portuguese cities seem to have in the eyes of the American tourist: “Lisbon is a hard city to describe. Somehow it is very European but at the same time doesn’t feel like London [or] Paris” (81).

4.2.11 Expectations

We find the last quote above to be very illustrative of many of our tourist’s descriptions of the surprise that they felt after spending some time in Portugal. Many seemed to have come without any idea of what to expect, probably due to a number of factors which we have discussed above, such as a) that for many, Portugal was not their primary destination, so they probably did not research it much and also b) that Portugal is simply not as well-defined in the imaginary of Americans, let alone American tourists. What is in their imaginary is what our media and culture have told us is the “typical” Europe, which is usually represented only by all of the famous destinations. The less well-known destinations, such as Portugal, will logically have a more nebulous form.

One reviewer reported experiencing “unexpected pleasures” and “surprises at every turn” (98), while another proclaims enthusiastically, “I’m addicted to Portugal, I love it there [...] Who would have thought that I could fall in love with PORTUGAL!” (99). Interestingly, one reviewer states that “since Lisbon is the capital of Portugal, I was expecting a big, busy capital city. However, I was pleasantly surprised when I found quite the opposite!” (196), while certainly other tourists would be disappointed by finding the city to be smaller than expected. These reviews constantly remind us that, commonalities aside, individual tourists can each have very different wants, needs and motivations in their travels.

Some tourists, however, did have an expectation of what Portugal would be like. Unfortunately, it tended to be a negative impression, although on the positive side that meant that Portugal usually exceeded their expectations:

I had some pre-conceived notions about what Portugal would be like and they were blown apart. Portugal is a lovely, cosmopolitan country with warm and friendly people” (65).

[...] the south coast was definitely not quaint fishing villages, but really more modern hotels for beach lovers (61)

But not always:

What initially struck me the most about Lisbon was how poor it seems compared to other places in Europe. Even most parts of Andalucia and Extremadura, the poorest regions of Spain, seemed better off than Lisbon. I heard some people comparing it to eastern Europe, but the main business-tourist sections of the big eastern European cities – Budapest, Prague, Krakow, and even Bratislava, Ljubljana and Zagreb were less run down. This isn't to say that I didn't like Lisbon – I actually really did – and some areas, like that of Belém and the main tourist areas were kept up nicely. I was just surprised by the economic situation, which is now (still) one of the worst in Europe (111).

This phenomenon of feeling that one's expectations have been exceeded or not met can be understood if we recall our discussion of Gunn's (1972) model of organic and induced image. All of these tourists came to Portugal with an organic image of what Portugal was, even if they knew nearly nothing about it, and inherent in holding this destination image they have expectations. Upon arrival in Portugal, they begin interacting with their surroundings and simultaneously forming an evoked image of Portugal. The resolution of these two images will leave the tourist with a new, complex image, and feeling as though the evoked image has confirmed the organic image, or not, leaving him feeling that his expectations were either exceeded or met.

4.2.12 Interactions with the locals

As discussed earlier, Cohen's (1984) analysis of the tourist-local relationship is that its temporary nature does not incite either side to act in ways that would support an actual relationship outside of the realm of tourism, leaving it open to "deceit, exploitation and mistrust" (379).

We found, however, that the majority of the interactions that tourists reported to have with locals were positive: "[...] we were treated wonderfully everywhere we went [...]" (1); "The owner took care of us and comforted us as if we were family" (4); "All the locals we met were exceptionally helpful and gracious" (7); "The people were so friendly" (28); "We ran into no anti-Americanism anywhere and found the Spanish and Portuguese people to be very friendly and helpful" (35);

[We] leaned against a stone wall to admire an orange tree in the backyard of an old house. Moments later, the owner of the house was telling us to take the three oranges that were resting on the wall. Before we could thank him enough, the man was beneath his orange tree, shaking its branches and reaching for more fruit (122).

Logically, it would make sense that the extent to which a tourist-local relationship could "go wrong" in the way described by Cohen would also be somewhat dependent on the

respective cultures of both. Kluckhohn and Kelly's (1945) previously mentioned definition of culture insists that culture "guides" the behavior of men, and Kroeber and Kluckhohn (1952) state that "cultural systems may [...] [condition] further action" (181). On the part of the Portuguese, a culture of honesty, hospitality, kindness and other features mentioned by the reviewers is more than likely to have influenced the positive tourist-local interactions reported in our sample.

One reviewer noted that locals in service positions were not as outright friendly, and felt that there was needed an "extra little step from stranger to acquaintance" (101), although this may be more reflective of the ubiquity of the scripted friendliness that most American service employees (waiters, cashiers, etc.) show and which Americans have come to expect.

There were a few extreme cases of negative interactions that did reflect the dangers of the transitory host-guest relationship; even though in some instances the problem seemed to be caused by a simple misunderstanding, in others it did seem as though the tourists were being taken advantage of. One reviewer couple (3) went to a Fado restaurant in Lisbon where there was no information posted about there being a cost to see the show. A waiter told them that there was a one-drink minimum, which they adhered to, but were then brought a bill for 20€ instead of the expected 7€, while being told that the price to watch the fado was 10€ each. Eventually the couple left paying the correct amount, with the reviewer stating "I refused to be taken advantage of", but the experience left them with a very negative impression.

One reviewer's bad experience was due to his misunderstanding of which Gulbenkian museum in Lisbon he wanted to visit. He bought a ticket for one but, realizing that it was not the one that he wanted to see, he tried to ask the museum to "honor" his ticket and let him into the other museum without paying for that ticket. They would not, and he left with a very, very negative impression, stating: "Do not let these thieves steal our money" (5).

4.2.13 Impressions of the Portuguese as a people

Not many other reviewers considered the Portuguese in general to be thieves like reviewer #5, not even those who were the victims of thievery, because most did not generalize this behavior and usually, at some point, had their "faith redeemed" (122) in the Portuguese. The majority of reviewers found the Portuguese to be nice, friendly and helpful, contrasting with what would be expected if following Cohen's (1984) theory:

People are gracious, often speak English, and went out of their way to be helpful (24)

We found the Portuguese people very gracious and many young people speak English (38)

The Portuguese are most hospitable and eager to help tourists” (48); “[...] the people were friendly! (51)

I liked almost everything about [Lisbon], mostly its people, I asked a guy for directions, and he didn’t let go of me, until I was absolutely sure I got it! (68)

We’ve found the people in Portugal to be very warm and friendly (82).

[...] the people are all really sweet (85).

There were a few negative comments, of course, but not as many as the positive: “People in Lisbon are not exceedingly friendly or helpful” (80)

Language abilities were often mentioned, and in general, either tourists found the Portuguese to speak no English whatsoever or relatively good English, and whatever the case, usually the Portuguese made a good effort to communicate: “[...] pretty much no one speaks English in Portugal” (85); “Most people (unlike in neighboring Spain) speak decent English, but even those who don’t (usually older people) try very hard to help you” (98).

There were a number of comments about the “emotional” characteristics of the Portuguese, and surprisingly, many tourists seemed to pick up on a theme that many Portuguese would use to describe themselves, although the tourists did not know the name for it: *saudosismo*. It is a word which can be roughly translated to English as a longing or nostalgia, in the case of the Portuguese, for the past (Saudosismo, 2004:7669).

The Portuguese lifeless people. They are very depressing, but the landscape is inspirational (20).

The people here are very proud of their illustrious past (81).

The people are so friendly and happy (126).

Lisbon did not leave us with any strong and memorable impressions other than a somewhat dour group of people [...] perhaps it is a lingering regret of what once used to be a significant nation (81).

Portuguese people are probably the most laid back, non-confrontational race of people I have ever been exposed to (125).

4.2.14 Culture

Hofstede’s (1984) concise definition of culture as “the collective programming of the mind which distinguishes the members of one category of people from another” (51) serves well to remind us that, while culture has many components, for the tourist it principally consists of all of the things that separate them from the “other”, the local, and also the things that they happen to have in common in spite of their differences.

There were a few comments about Portuguese culture regarding children: “This is a kid-friendly country” (69); “Do bring the kids. The Portuguese see them as a blessing rather than a nuisance” (74); it was also mentioned that small children seemed to stay up late, and a few found it unusual that they might be out with their families at night past 11pm, as it is very unusual for small children (under 8-10 years old) to stay up much past 10pm, at the latest. This is not a scientific figure, but one that the master’s student is stating based on personal experience and knowledge of American culture.

Another frequently made comment was that the Portuguese “know how to live”. This phrase seems to refer to the notion that Europeans have a good sense of how to balance life, leaving more time for enjoyable activities than Americans do. This is a common image that Americans have of Europeans: they work fewer hours, spend hours eating meals, they smoke and drink coffees and wine and eat fattening foods but are somehow still healthier than Americans, and so on. Europeans who “know how to live” enjoy life’s pleasures, in moderation.

The Lisboans know how to live. They drink plenty of coffee at the coolest cafés and patisseries from vintage ceramic restaurant ware standing at the espresso bar. They don’t eat on the go like we Americans, they take time to enjoy their coffee and pastry (80).

Like many places in Europe, people in Lisbon enjoy ‘slow food’, meaning that dinner is served slowly over several courses and diners enjoy the food, wine, atmosphere and company (82).

[The Portuguese] know how to enjoy life, having 3 consecutive days off to celebrate Carnaval (104).

Restaurants and dining out, however, seemed to be a source of frequent confusion for tourists, as the food and dining culture is quite different than it is in America. In America, typically a person is seated, and then a waiter comes to take orders and usually sets down a glass of iced tap water, free of charge, in front of everyone. Any bread or appetizer that is placed on the table without being asked for is also always free. Anyone familiar with the dining culture in Portugal can immediately see the problem here, as there is no circumstance when one would be served tap water and the appetizers or *couvert* are never free.

In Portugal, at the restaurants, they always bring out bread, cheeses, meats and olives to your table, all of which do cost extra (95).

During one lunch we didn’t eat any of the olives, but because we didn’t turn them away when the waiter brought them to our table we had to pay 4Euro for them (82).

Another cultural aspect that was frequently commented on was the “seafaring” history and the various “nautical themes” (101) Portuguese art and architecture. Even if a tourist came knowing little about Portugal’s history, nearly all must have left knowing that that maritime past was truly an important, albeit forgotten at least by many Americans, part of history:

Portugal fascinates me. It truly is remarkable that such a small country was once the world's leading power and that it has left such a rich heritage [...] (85).

4.2.15 The Azores and Madeira

Only 16 out of our sample of 200 reviewers visited one of Portugal's two archipelagos, the Azores and the Madeira islands. Madeira was the more popular of the two, receiving 11 reviewers of the 16. In both islands, the natural environment was highly praised. There seemed to be the impression that Madeira was the more prestigious destination.

On Madeira:

The island has an idyllic climate and a laid back style that has made it an increasing popular resort for wealthy Europeans who have seen the Med (78).

Lots of mountains, green nature, long bridges and perfect weather [...] Visit Madeira!! (88).

On the Azores:

We ALL love the scenery!; This is quite possibly the most beautiful place on Earth; The food is nothing short of phenomenal (96).

4.2.16 Sweeping summaries and slogans

To end our discussion of the qualitative results, we will discuss an interesting trend among reviewers, which was to attempt to "sum up" their thoughts, feelings and opinions about Portugal in one paragraph or less. Some of these summaries even sounded as though they could be tourism slogans.

There are young people here who are wearing the hippest euro fashions of tight jeans, pointy-toed shoes, Dolce and Gabanna sunglasses talking on cell phones. It is a place that is trying hard to catch up to the hipness and sophistication of Spain and France in the midst of the deteriorating history of a seafaring empire (80).

In this review, we have mentions of *saudosismo*, impressions of European culture in general and an implication of Portugal's inferior status within Western Europe.

[...] the world has discovered this country of beautiful sandy beaches, medieval villages, historical cities, unique architecture, and romantic castles and palaces. Portugal itself is a world waiting to be discovered (86).

Here is a more slogan-type review, describing the reviewer's perceived best features of Portugal. Also, as can be seen in the table of keywords that Yahoo! users used to describe the

best features of Lisbon and Porto (see ANNEX 7), “romantic” was a common adjective used to describe Portugal.

Portugal has a rich seafaring past, superb beach resorts, wistful towns and a landscape wreathed in olive groves, vineyards and wheat fields. Littered with UNESCO World Heritage sites and graced by one of Europe’s most relaxed and attractive capitals, it also remains refreshingly affordable. Savouring life slowly is a Portuguese passion, and much of the best is humble, traditional folk festivals; simple, honest food drowning in olive oil; music that pulls at the heart strings, recalling past love and glories; and markets overflowing with fish, fruit and flowers (110).

This review mentions the, by now, usual attractions of Portugal (beaches, traditional city structure and natural beauty) plus some positive cultural attributes such as the relaxed attitude, the “knowhow” to live life and enjoy simple pleasures.

And these were some of the most concise user-generated “slogans”:

If great wine, olive oil, history, castles, beaches, food, fado and romance are your thing, then this country was made for you (74).

Portugal, The Gateway to Europe. Portugal is a country proud of its seafaring (sic) history. You can see it in their art, their buildings, and in their hearts. If you love to shop, eat sea food and sit on the beach, then Portugal is for you (91).

Exotic, Clean, Fun, Friendly ... Four Stars for Portugal (149).

5. CONCLUSIONS

As stated in the methodology section, this exploratory study was conducted in order to gain insight into the destination image that American tourists have of Portugal. To this end, we have presented our qualitative and quantitative findings after searching the entries of 200 unique reviewers and bloggers for their impressions and opinions about Portugal.

One of the strongest points of our study was that we were able to unobtrusively (Volo 2010) obtain the personal, unlimited and self-motivated accounts of real travelers to Portugal, allowing us to see the full context of their experiences, as the context was not limited by the researcher. The reviewers could talk about anything that came to mind, in whatever way they liked, in as much space as they liked, allowing us to gather much more information than could be gathered in a survey, in-depth interview or other typical method of qualitative data collection.

Our results partially confirm the findings of Volo (2010) in that our reviewers indeed described many different aspects of their trip, ranging from transportation to food to culture to attractions and so on. However, we did not find, as Volo (2010) did, that people do not express the “experience essence” (308) of their travels in their blogs. Volo’s (2010) sample included a large number of entries that merely reported an objective chronology of events, while we consciously chose to exclude those from our sample. We found that the majority of our reviews expressed a great deal of detail about the tourist’s experiences, including their attitudes and their opinions.

Also in contradiction of Volo’s (2010) results, we believe that the blog entries in our sample might certainly serve as strong eWOM because of their subjective and descriptive nature, which may make readers feel closer to the writer, particularly if the writing provides enough detail such that they can identify similarities between themselves and the writer (Litvin et al. 2007; Mack et al. 2008). As Volo (2010) writes, “what is read on blogs may influence future travel decisions, but only if the writer of the blog expresses the ‘experience essence’ and the reader is receptive to its potential for emotional impact” (308). The latter point cannot be known, although one might assume that if a person is interested in others’ personal travel experiences, they are likely receptive to what they have to say. The “experience essence” was often expressed in our sample of blogs, which is why we would argue that their content is likely to serve as influential eWOM, especially since all of the entries were written in English. This widens the potential sphere of influence of this sample of blog entries and reviews, unlike the blog sample analyzed by Enoch and Grossman (2010), in which many blogs were written in Danish and Hebrew.

Wenger (2008), like Volo (2010) also expressed dismay at the shallowness of many descriptions of travel to Austria found in her sample of blogs. Wenger (2008) collected her sample from only one tourism blogging website (www.travelblog.org) and Volo (2010) collected hers by 1) searching Google and Technorati for individual blogs not associated with a

travel blogging website, 2) by searching for blogs on travel blogging sites Travelblog.org and Travelpost.com, and 3) by Destination Marketing Organization (DMO) blogs. Although Volo's (2010) field of data collection was wider than Wenger's (2008), both were, in our opinion, limited. In our research, we found that the reviews and blogs on certain websites had more propensity to be less descriptive and shallow, while on others they tended to be more detailed. The Rick Steves' website provided reviews that were relatively rich in the "experience essence" of a trip, probably due to Rick Steves' personal style of writing in his guidebooks that focuses a great deal on how to achieve the best overall experience in a location. Yahoo! Travel and VirtualTourist reviews tended to be less descriptive, while TravelPod reviews were rather mixed. In our opinion, when conducting these types of studies in which the overall influence of blogs on tourism is being assessed, data should be collected from a wide variety of sources as we did, so as to get a fuller picture of the overall range in content of tourism blogs across different websites.

Regarding the theories of local-tourist interaction, Cohen's (1984) argument that that relationship has phases according to how institutionalized tourism is in the location seems to have selective representation in our results. Cohen (1984) argues that, as tourism moves from being less to more institutionalized in a location, the relationship between locals and tourists passes from traditional hospitality, to a period of tourist saturation and local dislike of tourism, to professional hospitality. Tourism is a relatively well-established across all of Portugal, as it has long been a popular destination for northern Europeans looking for sun and sand. There were more negative interaction reports in Lisbon than in Porto, numerically and as a percentage (see TABLE 3), even though the former has more overall tourism. Or perhaps that is precisely why there were more negative reports? In our sample we had more reviewers discussing Lisbon than any other place, so it would be normal to have a higher number of interaction reports overall, yet this highlights a point of Cohen's (1984) argument that is perhaps lacking in detail. Tourism professionals may be trained in customer care when tourism becomes a large industry in a location, but the locals are certainly not, and their relationship with tourists, if it had already become negative, may not improve even as tourism becomes more "professionalized."

We found some support in our data for MacCannell's theory of the tourist's search for authenticity (as cited by Lau 2010 and Cohen 1984), as the topic of "authenticity" presented itself many times in the reviews. The specific word "authentic" was not always used in the reviews, but it was implied as reviewers discussed what was "real" and "back door" and "off the beaten path." MacCannell's relation of authenticity to the act of seeking truth and reality helped in our interpreting these sometimes vague comments. We have not been convinced from our results, however, that tourism serves as a replacement for spirituality in the tourist's life as MacCannell argues; perhaps for some it has a special, almost or real spiritual significance, but for the most part we did not perceive this to be the main motivation of the reviewers in our

sample. We did not set out to determine these particular travelers' main travel motivations, which could be a future area of research within this topic, but even a cursory reading of the reviews suggests that for many, travel is mostly a fun, exciting, unique experience.

We also did not find much support for Boorstein's (cited by Cohen 1979) pessimistic and elitist view that tourists are typically superficial and only wish to experience so-called pseudo-events.

The most valuable contribution of our study, in our opinion, is the overall variety of features of Portugal as a tourism destination identified by blog and review writers. The range of subjects which were commented upon were vast and provide a look into what American tourists may find to be the most salient features of Portugal, and which leave positive and negative impressions. Many of these may not be very different than those identified by tourists from other countries, which could be of interest for future research. The identification of which features leave positive and negative impressions could help tourism operators to improve or maintain those features to make Portugal an even more appealing destination.

6. LIMITATIONS AND FUTURE RESEARCH

6.1 Limitations

Overall, we believe that this study can be of use for researchers who wish to study Portugal's destination image and tourism marketing to capture more of the United States market. Our results help to contextualize the research problem and suggest variables that could be used in later studies.

What our results can't do, however, is give causal answers to why Americans hold the images of Portugal that they do, and to what extent this influences their decision to travel to Portugal because, as stated above, they are tentative and not conclusive. Our results can only help to clarify the general nature of this research problem and present some of the relevant variables that are involved, information that can hopefully contribute to future studies on the same subject (Creswell 2009).

Although this allowed us to capture rich and detailed information, our coding methodology was sometimes limiting, in the sense that the quantitative results from coding did not always reflect that richness. Take, for example, this account of a Carnival parade that one reviewer (150) witnessed:

Once the parade started however, it didn't take me long to realize this wasn't going to be like ANYTHING I had seen before. The first group of dancers I saw were between the ages of 12 and 17, wearing pasties on their boobies and thongs up their butts. They had cellulite pimples bellies shakin to the music, and none of them smiled when they danced.

We saw all kinds of floats, most of them making political statements or mocking the religious figures of the time. One of the most impressionable was the "Pope" smoking a cigarette and drinking beer. In fact, now that I think about it, there were very few entertainers on the floats NOT drinking beer. The parade drove in a circle about 3 or 4 blocks long, and just kept circling... we left after an hour or two (we had seen every float twice by then) and the crowds were just beginning to pour in and get more wasted. A little different than Highland Park's 4th of July parade. =)

This experience must have left a very strong impression on the reviewer, although she does not express a definite attitude about this very different cultural experience. Could it be classified as unique? Strange? Interesting? She did not seem to *not* enjoy it, but she also did not say that it was enjoyable. Although we made our categories for coding from scratch, creating them as we went through the reviews, one word, or even a phrase, was not always enough to capture the whole feeling of an experience, particularly when the tourist did not express directly his or her attitude. Only so much can be inferred from the text without crossing the lines of truthfulness on the part of the researcher. In this case, this was coded as “Cultural Event: Carnaval” with a valence of 3, or neutral. Not much more could be said, but it left us feeling as though something were left out.

6.2 Future Research

In relation to the theories presented in the theoretical framework, we found them to be useful in interpreting the results of our data, as there were a number of instances where the data truly embodied the theory, such as in the case of tourist typologies. We did not attempt to categorize our reviewers into typologies, such as Cohen's (1972) drifter, explorer, individual and organized mass typologies, or any others. However, such an analysis could be made following a data collection technique similar to our own (coding), as most reviewer accounts in our sample made such information obvious.

One reviewer was travelling through Europe on a bike with some friends (explorer); another was staying in a local's home in the Algarve until finding a job at a bar in Spain, with plans to return to the Algarve to work in a hostel at a later date (drifter); most reviewers were travelling with a significant other or family (individual mass) and a few came to Portugal and her islands on cruise ships (organized mass). As Gibson and Yiannakis (2002) argued, it also seemed that tourist motivations, which in our view are a factor in shaping a tourist typology, were related to his or her “lifestage”. Again, this was not a variable that we were actively seeking, but an overall consideration of our sample did seem to confirm that drifter-types were younger, individual mass tourists could be anywhere from young to old and organized mass tourists were almost always older. Only very few reviewers mentioned their age (usually only if

it happened to be their birthday), so exact ages could not be known using a methodology such as ours, but we believe that they could certainly be estimated from blog content and photos, as Wenger (2008) did. On that note, it was not within the scope of this project to analyze the photos and videos posted by the reviewers along with their blog entries, but that would certainly be an interesting study as well.

Also, analyzing 200 entries was a manageable number for one person, but analyzing a larger number of entries would likely prove to be worthwhile in order to make a stronger case for those trends that we have identified here. It would also be of interest to research which types of travelers (older, younger, experienced, inexperienced, group, individual, etc.) read which types of blogs (more descriptive, less descriptive, experience-focused, objective chronologies, etc.). A comparison of the American image of Portugal to the image held by people of other nationalities could be another possibility for future research.

We do not propose any kind of marketing strategy derived from our results, nor can we say which might be the most successful routes to market to Americans. However, we believe that our results could be of some use for those considering such an undertaking.

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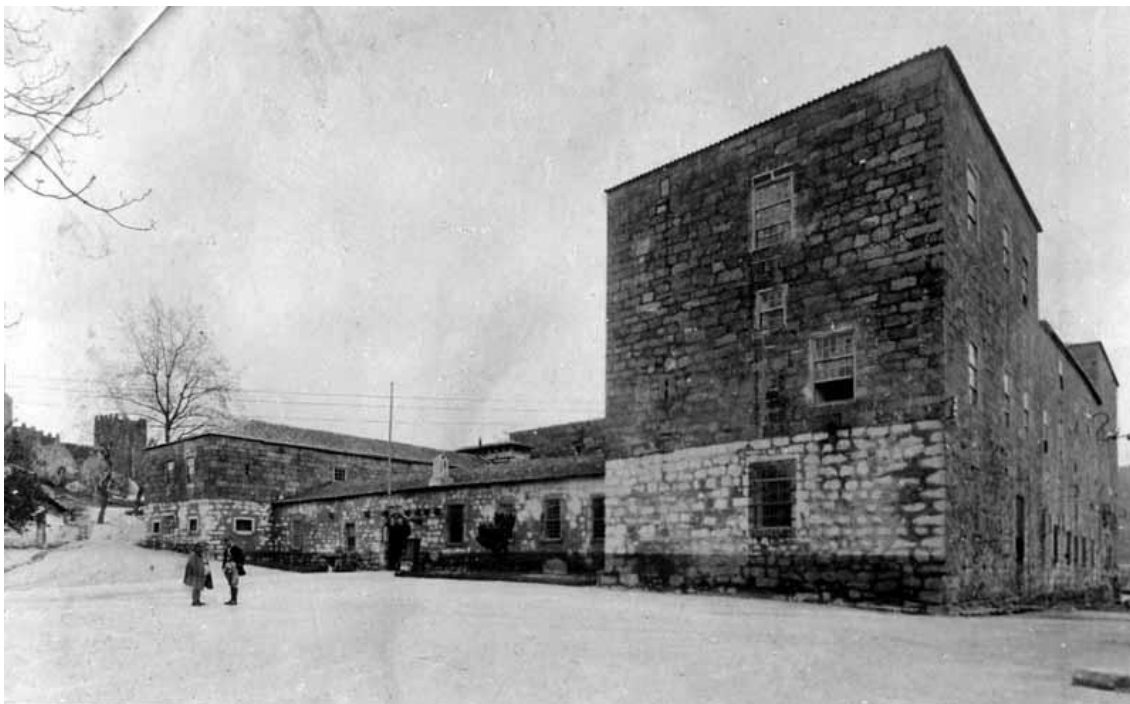
Rick Steves' Europe Through The Back Door, Search "Portugal", Graffiti Wall, http://www.ricksteves.com/graffiti/graffiti_menu.htm

Yahoo! Travel, Portugal, Trip Planner, http://travel.yahoo.com/trip-search;_ylt=AiTzgZuf8DXXUgbaE6pq_crbFWoL?destid=191501787

RealTravel.com, Portugal, Traveler Experiences, http://realtravel.com/de-1178-portugal_real_trips

TravelPod.com, search "Portugal", <http://www.travelpod.com/s/portugal?st=user>

ANNEX 1



Paço dos Duques de Bragança, Guimarães, photo from the early XX century.

Source: http://pduques.imc-ip.pt/Data/ContentImages/PacoDuques/PacoDuques/Galeria/16paco_gr.jpg



Current day photo of Paço dos Duques.

Source: http://pduques.imc-ip.pt/Data/ContentImages/PacoDuques/PacoDuques/Galeria/01paco_gr.jpg

ANNEX 2



The juxtaposition of a modern construction with an historic one, on the grounds of an historic site.

Source:

[http://3.bp.blogspot.com/_WItqFXt0k6Q/SS4GQFMuE7I/AAAAAAAAAD2Q/ATExelWWwx8/s400/Fort aleza+de+Sagres+-+padr%C3%A3o+e+capela.bmp](http://3.bp.blogspot.com/_WItqFXt0k6Q/SS4GQFMuE7I/AAAAAAAAAD2Q/ATExelWWwx8/s400/Fort+aleza+de+Sagres+-+padr%C3%A3o+e+capela.bmp)



The logo of the National Tourism Authority of Portugal.

Source: <http://www.new4media.net/resources/images/educacao/turismodeportugal.jpg>

ANNEX 4



Tourism ads, 1950s.



Tourism ads, 2011.

ANNEX 5

Categories:

1 Location

- 11 Lisbon
- 12 Porto
- 13 Sintra
- 14 Óbidos
- 15 Douro Valley (general)
- 16 Pinhão
- 17 Lamego
- 18 Viana do Castelo
- 19 Serra da Estrela (general)
- 111 Lapa dos Dinheirós
- 112 Seia
- 113 Northern Portugal (general)
- 114 Guimarães
- 115 Braga
- 116 Central Portugal (general)
- 117 Vila Nova de Foz Côa
- 118 Coimbra
- 119 Peso da Régua
- 120 Vila Nova de Gaia
- 121 Barcelos
- 122 Tomar
- 123 Azores (general)
- 124 Sortelha
- 125 Vila Real
- 126 Amarante
- 127 Mirandela
- 128 Ponte de Lima
- 129 Viseu
- 130 Fátima
- 131 Portugal (general)
- 132 Peniche
- 133 Évora
- 134 Carrazeda de Ansiães
- 135 Marzagão
- 136 Trás os Montes (general)
- 137 Santarém
- 138 Caminha
- 139 Vila Nova de Cerveira
- 140 Aveiro
- 141 Minho region (general)
- 142 Alcobaça
- 143 Sagres
- 144 Salema
- 145 Luso
- 146 Southern Portugal (general)
- 147 Nazaré
- 148 Algarve (general)
- 149 Cascais
- 150 Costa da Caparica
- 151 Funchal
- 152 Madeira

- 153 São Miguel (Azores)
- 154 Pinhal de Novo
- 155 Tavira
- 156 Faro
- 157 Lagos
- 158 Elvas
- 159 Faial (Azores)
- 160 Terceira (Azores)
- 161 Cabo da Roca
- 162 Albufeira
- 163 Valença
- 164 Gerês
- 165 Beja
- 166 Moura
- 167 Praia de Mira
- 168 Monsaraz
- 169 Mertola
- 170 Azenhas do Mar
- 171 Sines
- 172 Luz
- 173 Figueira da Foz
- 174 Vila Nova da Barquinha
- 175 Póvoa de Varzim
- 176 Vila Nova de Milfontes
- 177 Monção
- 178 Portimão
- 178 Marvão
- 2 Transportation
 - 21 Rental car
 - 211 Roads
 - 212 Traffic
 - 213 Driving (general)
 - 2131 Safety
 - 214 Car quality
 - 22 Taxi
 - 221 Safety (impression of, usually negative)
 - 222 Price
 - 23 Metro
 - 231 Easy to locate
 - 232 Ease of use
 - 233 Schedules/routes
 - 234 Comfort
 - 235 Price
 - 236 Safe
 - 24 Bus
 - 241 Easy to locate
 - 242 Ease of use
 - 243 Schedules/routes
 - 244 Comfort
 - 245 Price
 - 246 Enjoyable
 - 247 Timely
 - 25 Tram
 - 251 “Scenic” Tram #28 (Lisbon)
 - 26 Rail

- 261 Easy to locate
 - 262 Ease of use
 - 263 Schedules/routes
 - 264 Comfort
 - 265 Price
 - 266 Enjoyable
- 27 Boat
 - 271 Ferry
 - 272 Price
 - 273 Cruise ship
- 28 Air
 - 281 Airports
 - 2811 Clean
 - 282 Schedules/routes
 - 283 Price
 - 284 “Low-Cost” airline flight
 - 285 TAP Airlines
- 29 Location well-served by transportation/Easy to get to
- 3 Environment
 - 31 Landscape
 - 311 Douro River/Valley
 - 312 Beaches
 - 3121 Undeveloped/Untouched
 - 313 Vineyards
 - 314 Cliffs
 - 315 Atlantic Ocean
 - 3151 Temperature
 - 316 Tagus River
 - 3161 Polluted
 - 317 Mountains
 - 32 Weather
 - 321 Climate
 - 33 Security
 - 331 Pick-pocketing
 - 332 Car broken into
 - 333 Scamming
 - 334 Driving accidents
 - 335 Drugs (use/sales propositions)
 - 336 Street violence
 - 337 City “felt” safe
 - 34 City structure/layout
 - 341 Architecture
 - 3411 Tiles
 - 3412 Modern architecture
 - 3413 Unique
 - 3414 State of repair (general)
 - 342 Traditional layout of city streets (narrow, winding, *calçada Portuguesa*)
 - 343 Plazas
 - 344 Downtown (*Baixa*)
 - 3441 State of repair
 - 3442 Graffiti
 - 345 Handicapped accessible
 - 346 Gardens/foilage
 - 347 “Walkability”

	3471 Hilly
35 Health	
	351 Tap water
36 “Feeling”/Atmosphere	
	361 Old
	362 “Charming”
	363 Modern
	364 Traditional
	365 “Authentic”/“Back door”
	366 Relaxing/Laid-back
	367 Bustling/lively
	368 Sleepy
	369 Unique
	3610 “Warm”/Inviting
	3611 Photogenic/picturesque
	3612 Inspiring
	3613 Magnificent
	3614 “Only fishing villages”
	3615 Not unique
	3616 “Magical”/ “Fairytale”
	3617 Fun
	3618 Cosmopolitan
	3619 Mix of old and new
	3620 Exceeded expectations
	3621 Romantic
	3622 Lush/Green
	3623 “Trying hard to catch-up” to the rest of Europe
	3624 Overlooked
	3625 Developing / “Behind” other European locales
	3626 Not memorable
	3627 Sense of community
	3628 Quaint
	3629 Fascinating
	3630 Soulful
	3631 Beautiful
	3632 “A dump”
	3633 Nautical/Maritime themes/past
	3634 Disappointing
	3635 Boring
	3636 “Felt real”/ “like a real city”
	3637 Cute
	3638 Enchanting
	3639 “Predominantly working class”
	3640 City’s “glory days have long passed”
	3641 Feels “small”
	3642 “Has no soul”
	3643 Has “character”
	3644 “Massive”
	3645 Countryside is “primitive”
	3646 “Becoming more Europeanized”
	3647 “Better than Spain”
	3648 More developed than expected
	3649 Stunning
4 Tourism Facilities and Tourists	
	41 Tourism offices

- 411 Staff helpfulness
 - 412 Attractiveness of office
 - 413 Easy to find**
- 42 Posted tourism information
 - 421 Posted directions to tourist attractions
 - 422 Viewpoint (*miradouro*) signs along roads
 - 423 No information in English
- 43 Guided tours
 - 431 Van tour
 - 4311 Value
 - 432 Bus tour
 - 4321 Value
 - 433 On foot
- 44 Tourists
 - 441 Many tourists
 - 442 Few tourists
 - 443 Wealthy tourists
 - 444 Few American tourists/Not popular destination
 - 445 Many American tourists
- 45 Guide books
 - 451 Location information
- 46 As a tourism destination
 - 461 Value (read: cheaper than the rest of Europe!)
- 47 How chosen as destination
 - 471 Side trip from Spain
- 5 Gastronomy
 - 51 Food (general)
 - 511 Enjoyable
 - 512 Unique
 - 513 Price
 - 52 Restaurants
 - 521 Enjoyable
 - 522 Unique
 - 523 Diversity
 - 524 Price
 - 5241 “Splurge
 - 525 Service
 - 526 Ambiance
 - 527 Hours of service
 - 528 Easy to find
 - 529 Value
 - 5210 Menu
 - 52101 Not in English
 - 5211 Safety
 - 52111 Food poisoning
 - 5212 Brazilian steak house
 - 53 Traditional markets
 - 531 Easy to find
 - 532 Quality of goods
 - 533 Hours of service
 - 54 Regional/National products
 - 540 Wine (general)
 - 54011 Price
 - 541 Red wine
 - 542 Olive oil

- 543 Table wine
- 544 Cheese
- 545 Green wine (*vinho verde*)
- 546 Port wine
- 547 Seafood
- 548 Pastéis de Belém (from the bakery in Lisbon)
- 549 Madeira wine
- 5401 Ginjinha
- 5402 Pastries (general)
- 5403 Bolinhos de Bacalhau
- 5404 Bacalhau
- 5405 Coffee
- 5406 Bread
- 5407 Sausage over fire at table
- 5408 Roasted chestnuts
- 5409 Hamburger
- 5410 Barbecue
- 5411 Pastel de Nata
- 5412 Porto-style tripe
- 5413 Beer
- 5412 Beef
- 5413 Ice-cream
- 55 Food culture
 - 551 “Slow food”
 - 552 Charge for the unsolicited bread basket/couvert
 - 553 Drinking culture
- 6 Accommodation
 - 61 Price
 - 611 “Splurge”
 - 612 Value
 - 62 Comfortable
 - 63 Room amenities
 - 631 Television
 - 632 Internet
 - 633 Breakfast included
 - 64 Localization
 - 641 Surrounding gardens
 - 642 Close to amenities
 - 65 Accessibility
 - 651 Handicap accessible
 - 66 Type
 - 661 Hotel
 - 6611 Apartment Hotel
 - 6612 Resort
 - 6613 Value
 - 662 Hostel
 - 6621 Value
 - 663 Guesthouse/*Pensão*
 - 6631 Value
 - 664 *Pousada* (State-owned guesthouse)
 - 6641 Value
 - 6642 Restaurant
 - 66421 Enjoyable
 - 665 “Couch surfing”
 - 666 Camping

- 667 Autocaravan
 - 668 WWOOF⁵ home stay
 - 67 Staff hospitality
 - 68 Value
 - 69 Cleanliness
 - 691 Bed bugs
 - 60 Other amenities
 - 601 Availability of laundry facilities
- 7 Entertainment
 - 71 General nightlife ambiance
 - 711 Safety
 - 712 Crowded
 - 72 Bars
 - 721 Fado bars
 - 7211 Price
 - 7212 Service
 - 7213 Enjoyable/Fun
 - 722 Wine bar
 - 723 Nightclub
 - 7231 Enjoyable
 - 724 Happy hour specials
 - 73 Recreational activities
 - 731 Surfing
 - 732 Hiking trails
 - 733 Nude beach/activities in the nude
 - 734 Scenic drive
 - 735 Scenic cruise
 - 7351 Price
 - 736 Scenic train ride
 - 737 Scenic horse-drawn carriage ride
 - 738 Basket ride (*Baixada das cestas*) (Funchal)
 - 739 Golf
 - 7301 Dolphin/Whale-watching
 - 7302 Bicycle rental
 - 7303 Sea kyaking
 - 7304 Fishing
 - 7305 Swimming/wading in the ocean
 - 74 Movie theaters
 - 741 Film festival
 - 75 Dramatic theaters
 - 751 Interesting shows
 - 76 Concerts
 - 761 Live music/Street music
 - 762 Music festival
 - 77 Outdoor cafés
 - 78 Outdoor picnics
 - 79 “Local hangouts”
 - 710 University lecture
 - 7101 Gay bars / cafés
 - 7102 People-watching
 - 7103 Religious activities
 - 71031 Pilgrimage to Santiago de Compostela
- 8 Attractions

⁵ WWOOF: World Wide Opportunities on Organic Farms

81 Churches

- 811 Mosteiro de Jerónimos (Lisbon)
- 812 Basilica Santa Luzia (Viana do Castelo)
- 813 Santuário de Nossa Senhora dos Remédios (Lamego)
- 814 Mosteiro São Vicente de Fora (Lisbon)
- 815 Convento de Cristo (Tomar)
- 816 Bom Jesus do Monte (Braga)
- 817 Mosteiro de Alcobaça (Alcobaça)
- 818 Chapel of the Apparition (Fátima)
- 819 Capela dos Ossos (Évora)
 - 8191 Creepy/Grim
- 8101 Igreja da Nossa Senhora do Monte (Funchal)
- 8102 Igreja de São Francisco (Porto)
- 8103 Sé Cathedral (Lisbon)
- 8104 Igreja do Carmo (Lisbon)
- 8105 Mosteiro de Batalha (Batalha)
- 8106 Sé Catedral de Évora
- 8107 Santuário de Peninha (Sintra)

82 Castles

- 821 Castelo São Jorge (Lisbon)
 - 8211 Entry fee
- 822 Castelo dos Mouros (Sintra)

83 Monuments/Structures/Areas of Interest

- 831 Padrão dos Descobrimentos (Lisbon)
- 832 Casa de Música (Porto)
- 833 Ribeira District in Porto
- 834 Gil Eannes hospital ship (Viana do Castelo)
- 835 Palace Hotel Bussaco
- 836 Open air carvings of the Côa Valley (Vila Nova de Foz Côa)
- 837 Conimbriga (Coimbra)
- 838 Ponte de Lima bridge
- 839 Roman ruins (general)
- 8310 Celtic ruins (general)
- 8311 Ponte Dom Luis I (Porto)
- 8312 University of Coimbra
 - 83121 Joanina Library
- 8313 Ponte 25 de Abril (Lisbon)
- 8314 Templo de Diana (Évora)
- 8315 Parque Eduardo VII (Lisbon)
- 8316 Reid's Palace Hotel (Funchal)
- 8317 Palácio Nacional da Pena (Sintra)
- 8318 Quinta da Regaleira (Sintra)
- 8319 Torre de Belém (Lisbon)
- 8320 Elevador de Santa Justa (Lisbon)
- 8321 Palácio de Queluz (Lisbon)
 - 83211 State of repair
- 8322 Mateus Palace (Vila Real)
- 8323 Lagoa do Fogo (Azores)
- 8324 Parque das Nações (Lisbon)
- 8325 Oceanário de Lisboa
- 8326 University of Lisbon
- 8327 Caldeira do Faial
- 8328 Cristo Rei statue (Lisbon)
- 8329 Palácio Nacional de Sintra
- 8330 Castelo dos Mouros (Tavira)

- 8331 Torre dos Clérigos (Porto)
- 8332 Palácio Nacional da Ajuda (Lisbon)
- 8333 Praça do Comércio (Lisbon)
- 8334 Jardim Agrícola Tropical (Lisbon)
- 8335 Boat harbors (general)
- 8336 Fortaleza de Sagres
- 8337 Jardim Zoológico de Lisboa
- 8338 Palácio de Monserrate (Sintra)
- 84 Museums/Educational
 - 841 Gulbenkian Museum (Lisbon)
 - 842 Bread Museum (Seia)
 - 843 Serralves Museum (Porto)
 - 844 Museu de Lamego
 - 845 Museu Soares dos Reis (Porto)
 - 846 Maritime Museum (Lisbon)
 - 847 Basket factory (Funchal)
 - 848 National Tile Museum (Lisbon)
 - 849 Palácio de Rio Frio (Pinhal de Novo)
 - 8401 Parque Nacional da Peneda Gerês
 - 8402 Coaches Museum (Lisbon)
 - 8403 Museu Nacional de Arte Antiga (Lisbon)
 - 8405 Palácio da Bolsa (Porto)
- 85 Enotourism
 - 851 Winery (Quinta) tours
 - 852 Port wine cellars (Vila Nova de Gaia)
 - 8521 Operating hours
 - 8522 Guided tours
 - 8523 Value
 - 853 Solar de Vinho
 - 8531 Solar do Vinho do Porto (Lisbon)
 - 854 Port wine tasting (outside of Vila Nova de Gaia)
 - 855 Madeira wine tasting
- 86 Accessibility
 - 861 Handicapped accessible
 - 862 Hours of operation
 - 863 Attractions closed for repairs
- 87 Safety
 - 871 No handrails/guardrails near ledges
- 88 Diversity of attractions
 - 881 Not enough attractions
 - 882 Many attractions
- 89 Quality of attractions
 - 891 Museums
- 9 Culture
 - 91 Local hospitality
 - 911 “Kid friendly”
 - 912 Little “anti-Americanism”
 - 913 Not helpful
 - 914 Welcoming
 - 915 Helpful
 - 92 Personal hygiene
 - 93 City cleanliness
 - 931 Non-smoking spaces
 - 932 Smell of sewage
 - 933 Lots of smokers

- 934 Many dog feces on sidewalks
- 94 Language
 - 941 Locals do not speak English
 - 942 Locals speak English
 - 943 Locals speak English and other languages
 - 944 Young people speak English
 - 945 Portuguese as a language
 - 9451 Beautiful
 - 9452 Difficult/Complicated
- 95 Cultural events
 - 951 Festivals (general)
 - 952 St. John's Festival (*São João*)
 - 953 Changing of the guard parade (Lisbon)
 - 954 Carnival
 - 9541 Parade
 - 955 Renaissance Fair
- 96 Unique
 - 961 University student activities
 - 9611 Academic Tuna
 - 9612 *Latada*
 - 9613 *Praxe*
 - 962 Rich in history
 - 9621 Little of historical interest
 - 963 Fado
 - 964 Folk dancing
 - 965 Christmas decorations
 - 967 Traditional music
 - 968 Street mimes
 - 969 Street art exhibitions
 - 9601 Portuguese bullfight
 - 9602 Legend of the Barcelos cock
 - 9603 Gilded woodwork
 - 9604 Generally "cultured"
 - 9605 Show "graphic images" on TV
 - 9606 Culture is "not unique"
 - 9607 "No culture"
- 97 Characteristics of the "Portuguese people" as a whole
 - 971 Depressing/Gloomy/*Saudosistas*
 - 972 Nice/Friendly
 - 973 Gracious
 - 974 Charming
 - 975 "Know how to live"
 - 976 Not friendly
 - 977 Fashionable/ "Hip"
 - 978 Proud of their history
 - 979 Adventurous
 - 9701 Humble
 - 9702 Ugly (physical appearance)
 - 9703 Happy
 - 9704 Keep to themselves
 - 9705 Beautiful (physical appearance)
 - 9706 Unique (physical appearance)
 - 9707 More PDA/Affectionate
 - 9708 Flirtatious
 - 9709 Culturally diverse population

- 9710 Speak loudly
 - 9711 Dark complexion
 - 9712 Alcoholics
 - 9713 Genuine
 - 98 Artists
 - 981 Joana Vasconcelos
- 10 Shopping
 - 101 Flea Markets
 - 1011 Quality of goods
 - 102 Local crafts/goods
 - 1021 Black pottery
 - 1022 Vintage advertising posters
 - 1023 Items made with cork
 - 1024 Ceramics
 - 1025 Textiles
 - 1026 Traditional hat of Madeira
 - 103 Bookstores
 - 1031 Unique items
 - 104 Shopping centers/malls
 - 1041 Arrábida Shopping (Porto)
 - 1042 El Corte Inglés (Lisbon)
 - 1043 Almada Forum (Lisbon)
 - 1044 Alvaláxia Shopping (Lisbon)
 - 105 Apparel shops
 - 106 Hours
 - 1061 Shops close early
 - 1062 Odd hours
 - 107 Traditional shopping in downtown

ANNEX 6

From: Rick Steves (Review 34)

Steve Valandra - Tumwater, WA USA Sat 07/10/2004 Douro Valley is best part of Portugal

The Douro valley in Portugal is the most beautiful part of the country⁶. My wife, a native Portuguese, grew up here in the heart of the port vineyards. I've spent a lot of time here in my 14 trips to Portugal, including the year we lived in the country.

I always recommend the train ride from Porto to Regua⁷. The last 45 minutes of the journey are spectacular as the train winds slowly along the Douro⁸. Regua itself is not a particularly great town⁹, but it is a bustling place¹⁰ and has a number of treasures.

There are two good accommodation options a block from the train station in Regua. The more modern hotel is along the river bank. I don't recall the name at the moment, but it's clean and modern and relatively inexpensive¹¹. Across the street is the six-story residencial. I've stayed here several times and it's just fine.

Further down the train line is Pinhao. It's not a great place¹², but its setting is wonderful¹³, and there's sort of an upscale hotel here along the river. It's a wonderful place, even if you just go there to have a port¹⁴ or two.

I also recommend that visitors rent a car (if they're daring enough to challenge Portuguese drivers¹⁵) and make a few day trips in the region. Trains don't run up to the towns and villages in the steep hillsides where you must go to gain a full appreciation of the beauty of this part of the country.

A restaurant -- Varanda do Douro -- on the hills outside of Regua -- offers an incredible view of the valley as you dine¹⁶. And the food is wonderful¹⁷. The wine selection is great. You will find many of the fine local premium wines, especially the reds¹⁸.

I'd be happy to share more insights. Just send me a note. My wife and daughter will go to her hometown of Tabuaco (near Regua) in mid-August to take care of her aging mother. I'll go in mid-September for a few weeks. That is harvest time for the port vineyards, always a good time to be in the Douro¹⁹.

Boa viagem.

⁶ Location: 15, Valence: 1

⁷ Transportation: Rail: Enjoyable: 266, Valence: 1

⁸ Environment: Landscape: Douro River/Valley: 34, Valence: 1

⁹ Location: 119, Valence: 3, because "not particularly great" does not mean "bad"

¹⁰ Environment: Feeling/Atmosphere: bustling/lively 367, Valence: 1, because he states a negative ("not particularly great") followed by a "but", implying that the next characteristic ("bustling") is positive

¹¹ Accommodation: Value: 68, Valence: 1, because he said that they were "good options" and "relatively inexpensive".

¹² Location: Pinhao: 16, Valence: 3

¹³ Environment: Landscape: 31, Valence: 1

¹⁴ Attractions: Enotourism: Port wine tasting (outside of V.N.G.): 854, Valence: 1

¹⁵ Transportation: Rental car: Driving (general): 213, Valence: 2, because he suggests that it is not easy to drive in Portugal.

¹⁶ Gastronomy: Restaurants: Ambiance: 526, Valence: 1

¹⁷ Gastronomy: Restaurants: Enjoyable: 521, Valence: 1

¹⁸ Gastronomy: Regional/National Products: Red wine: 541

¹⁹ Included in code for feature referenced in footnote 3.

South and Central Portugal in December (part of Review 71)

My husband and I (M/F couple)

Day 1-Day 4 (Evora)

Mon 12/20/10

We started our Portugal trip at **Evora**. At the end of our 14 days, we voted this as our **favorite place**²⁰ during the whole stay. warning: Most places on this journal I speak for both of us although the opinions shared here may be more 'mine' than 'ours'. Besides being very **walkable**²¹, **historic**²² and **quaint**²³, Evora had an **old world charm**²⁴ to it that one could feel and take in wherever we went. It has a past that includes Roman conquest followed by Moorish influence and is therefore very **rich in history**²⁵. It is considered a UNESCO world heritage site and certainly deserves the title as is evident from the various pictures we took of it and in Evora. The other **nice thing** about Evora was the **cuisine**²⁶ and introduction to good (actually **great Port wine**²⁷!)..my husband considers the **porco preto**²⁸ (aka blackened pig) he ate is one of **the best meals of all times** and he's a hard core foodie! :-) Among the must see attractions would be the **Roman temple**²⁹, the **Aqueduct** (we stayed at a really nice hotel right next to it) and the **Chapel of bones**³⁰ (Capela dos Ossos). From Evora, we took day trips to nearby towns such as **Estremoz**, **Redondo** and **Monsaraz**³¹. We especially **liked** dining at the **Pousada** (old historic buildings converted into luxury hotels and govt. run) at **Estremoz**. It took us a good 2 rounds of the whole village to find the Pousada but it was worth the trouble. **Evora was beautiful**³² and is definitely worth visiting any time of the year.

²⁰ Location: Évora: 133, Valence: 1

²¹ Environment: City structure/Layout: "Walkability": 347, Valence: 1

²² Culture: Unique: Rich in history: 962, Valence: 1

²³ Environment: Feeling/Atmosphere: Quaint: 3628, Valence: 1

²⁴ Environment: Feeling/Atmosphere: "Authentic"/ "Back door": 365, because we established that the idea of these terms is roughly the same one, Valence: 1

²⁵ Included in code for feature referenced in footnote 17

²⁶ Gastronomy: Food (general): Enjoyable: 511, Valence: 1

²⁷ Gastronomy: Regional/National products: Port wine: 546, Valence: 1

²⁸ Gastronomy: Food (general): Unique: 512, Valence: 1

²⁹ Attractions: Monuments/Structure/Areas of interest: Templo de Diana: 8314, Valence: 1

³⁰ Attractions: Churches: Capela dos Ossos (Évora): 819, Valence: 1

³¹ Did not code Redondo and Monsaraz because they did not express opinions about them.

³² Environment: Feeling/Atmosphere: Beautiful: 3631, Valence: 1

Lounging in Lisbon (Review 81)

by Real Traveler **The Journeymen**

American couple (M/F)

From Around the World in 365 days in Lisbon, Portugal on Mar 13 '06

Portugal³³ is a bit overlooked³⁴ due to its larger more dominant neighbor Spain. The people here are very proud of their illustrious past³⁵ and are benefiting from membership in the European Union as the infrastructure of the country improves³⁶, etc. Lisbon³⁷ is a hard city to describe. Somehow it is very European but at the same time doesn't feel like London, Paris³⁸, etc. Our first day here Osa wandered into some clothes store I have never heard of but somehow she knew they sometimes had "great clothes"³⁹. (I'm not sure where it is but there is clearly a global network of clothes shoppers that every woman I know is a member of.) Anyway, so I'm killing time wandering among racks of women's clothes wishing the store had the decency to place a "husband" chair somewhere when I notice a whole section of the first floor made of glass. When I say "floor" I mean it. The thing you walk on was clear glass and underneath it was an excavation site with no plaque or labels⁴⁰ to explain anything. Nobody even bothered to look down until they saw me doing it and then acted like there was nothing to see. I had to ask a security guard what it was. Turns out there are Roman ruins⁴¹ of a salting house where they preserved fish under the store. That seems to be typical here. If you throw a rock in a random direction you will probably hit something of historical significance⁴².

An aerial view of one of the many plazas throughout the city. I've never been to a place with so many random open-spaces⁴³!

Lisbon did not leave us with any strong and memorable impressions⁴⁴ other than a somewhat dour group of people⁴⁵ (I had to think really hard to come up with an appropriate word!). Perhaps it is a lingering regret of what once used to be a significant nation.....⁴⁶

³³ Location: Portugal: 131, Valence: 3

³⁴ Environment: Feeling/Atmosphere: Overlooked: 3624, Valence: 3

³⁵ Culture: Characteristics of "the Portuguese people" as a whole: 978, Valence: 1

³⁶ Environment: Feeling/Atmosphere: "Developing"/Behind other European locales: 3625, Valence: 3

³⁷ Location: Lisbon: 11, Valence: 3

³⁸ Environment: Feeling/Atmosphere: "Authentic"/ "Back door": 365, because we felt that the images were roughly equivalent, Valence: 3

³⁹ Shopping: Apparel shops: 105, Valence: 1

⁴⁰ Tourism facilities and tourists: Posted tourism information: 42, Valence: 2, because there was no sign for the ruins

⁴¹ Attractions: Monuments/Structures/Areas of Interest: Roman ruins (general): 839, Valence: 1

⁴² Culture: Unique: Rich in history: 962, Valence: 1

⁴³ Environment: City structure/layout: Plazas: 343, Valence: 1

⁴⁴ Valence for location: 3

⁴⁵ Culture: Characteristics of "the Portuguese people" as a whole: Depressing/Gloomy/Saudosistas: 971, Valence: 3, because it didn't seem to bother them very much.

⁴⁶ Saudosismo, contributed to classifying feature in footnote 30

Our Honeymoon (lua de mel) in Portugal!! (Review 87)

by **acdny**, Adam, Male - New York City, US

We had an **incredible**⁴⁷ and **romantic**⁴⁸ two week honeymoon in **Portugal**!! We started in **Porto**⁴⁹, then **rented a car**⁵⁰ and stayed in **Viana do Castelo**⁵¹ (from where we visited Braga, Barcelos, and Guimaraes). Then we stayed in the castle in **Obidos**⁵², which was as **quaint**⁵³ and **inviting**⁵⁴ a town as you'll ever see (From there we visited **Nazare and surrounding beaches**⁵⁵). We next stayed in the hills of **Sintra**⁵⁶, which was the most **beautiful**⁵⁷ area!! Finally we went to **Lisboa** and **enjoyed the city**⁵⁸, from where we visited **Queluz**⁵⁹)
--The **people**⁶⁰ of Portugal, **the culture and history**⁶¹, **the food and wine**⁶², the **gorgeous landscape**⁶³--all contributed to make this a **wonderful and memorable** honeymoon!!

Restaurants

Tavares Rico in Lisboa

El Alcaide in Obidos

Os Tres Potes in Viana do Castelo

Tavares Rico--the oldest in Lisboa--**like eating in a palace, with impeccable service! Expensive, but worth it if you appreciate fine dining**⁶⁴.

El Alcaide--get a table out on the back patio, or in the quaint room inside.

Os tres Potes--**Great fondue**⁶⁵!

Favorite Dish: **At any restaurant**⁶⁶...**Cataplana**⁶⁷--a covered wok filled with fish, seafood and vegetables. **Delicious** as a big lunch or dinner!!

In Sintra--Quinta das Sequoias

In Obidos--Castelo (the pousada)

In Viana do Castelo--Pousada Monte Santa Luzia

Unique Qualities: Quinta das Sequoias--an informal manor house--so **relaxing** and **beautifully comfortable**.

Castelo--How can you pass up an **opportunity to stay in a castle in the city walls?**

Pousada Santa Luzia--**incredible views**⁶⁸ in every direction and a **beautiful hotel**⁶⁹.

⁴⁷ Location: Portugal: 131, Valence: 1

⁴⁸ Environment: Feeling/Atmosphere: Romantic: 3621, Valence: 1

⁴⁹ Didn't code because didn't say anything about Porto.

⁵⁰ Transportation: Rental Car: 21, Valence: 3

⁵¹ Didn't code because didn't say anything about Viana do Castelo.

⁵² Location: Óbidos: 14, Valence: 1

⁵³ Environment: Feeling/Atmosphere: Quaint: 3628, Valence: 1

⁵⁴ Environment: Feeling/Atmosphere: "Warm"/Inviting: 3610, Valence: 1

⁵⁵ Didn't code because didn't express an opinion about beaches or Nazaré.

⁵⁶ Location: Sintra: 13, Valence: 1

⁵⁷ Environment: Feeling/Atmosphere: Beautiful: 3631, Valence: 1

⁵⁸ Location: Lisbon: 11, Valence: 1

⁵⁹ Didn't code because no opinion was expressed.

⁶⁰ Culture: Local Hospitality: 91, Valence: 1

⁶¹ Culture: Unique: Rich in history: 962, Valence: 1

⁶² Gastronomy: Food (general): Enjoyable: 511, Valence: 1

⁶³ Environment: Landscape: 31, Valence: 1

⁶⁴ Gastronomy: Restaurants: Price: Splurge: 5241, Valence: 1

⁶⁵ Gastronomy: Restaurants: Enjoyable: 521, Valence: 1

⁶⁶ Included in code for feature in footnote 60

⁶⁷ Gastronomy: Food (general): Unique: 513, Valence: 1

⁶⁸ Accommodation: Localization: Surrounding áreas: 641, Valence: 1

⁶⁹ Accommodation: Type: Pousada: 664, Valence: 1

Theme: Other

Comparison: more expensive than average⁷⁰

Favorite Thing: --visit the wine lodges⁷¹ in Vila Nova de Gaia

--sip port in the Solar do Vinho do Porto⁷² (in Lisboa or Porto)

--visit the sites of Sintra

--walk the streets (and the walls) of Obidos⁷³

--eat Bolinhas do Bacalhau⁷⁴!!

Fondest Memory: So many...the serenity and beauty of Obidos at twilight, when most of the tourists leave town, and you get a glimpse of the quiet town this was centuries ago.

⁷⁰ Was not coded because it was not obvious what they were referring to as “more expensive than average”

⁷¹ Attractions: Enotourism: Port wine cellars (Vila Nova de Gaia): 852, Valence: 1

⁷² Attractions: Enotourism: Solar de Vinho: 853, Valence: 1

⁷³ Environment: Cit Structure/Layout: Traditional layout of city streets: 342, Valence: 1

⁷⁴ Gastronomy: Regional/National products: Bolinhos de Bacalhau: 5403, Valence: 1

ANNEX 7

Yahoo! Users voted Lisbon is best for:		
General	Trip type	Activities
Romantic (32)	Weekend (7)	Art (11)
Family (18)	Roadtrip (7)	Architecture (16)
Adventure (17)	Honeymoon (7)	Sightseeing (12)
Kids (15)	Last Minute (1)	Museums (13)
Singles (13)	Budget (8)	Beach (12)
Gay & Lesbian (4)	Luxury (9)	Outdoor activities (4)
Student (1)		Spa (4)
Historic (5)		Dining (10)
		Golf (7)
		Shopping (10)

Yahoo! Users voted Porto is best for:		
General	Trip type	Activities
Romantic (4)	Weekend (2)	Art (0)
Family (0)	Road Trip (2)	Architecture (3)
Adventure (1)	Honeymoon (1)	Sightseeing (4)
Kids (0)	Last minute (0)	Museums (3)
Singles (2)	Budget (1)	Beach (1)
Gay & Lesbian (0)	Luxury (1)	Outdoor activities (0)
Student (0)		Spa (0)
Historic (1)		Dining (2)
		Golf (0)
		Shopping (0)

These tables show a list of categories which Yahoo! users voted were the best features of Lisbon and Porto.