The evolution of the British hotel industry: 1760 – 2010.

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Abstract

This PhD by Publication explores the evolution of the British hotel industry from the mid-18th to the early 21st century. The thesis is constructed around five published articles. The five articles comprise: two that research the diffusion of innovation and British hotel industry evolution in the 19th century (Bowie, 2015; Bowie, 2018); two that investigate the adoption of management innovations in British hotel brands between 1998 and 2008 (Osman, Hemmington, and Bowie, 2009; Wang and Bowie, 2009); and a methodological article that evaluates the role of contextual analysis in management history research (Bowie, 2019).

All five articles primarily adopt an interpretive philosophy using qualitative research methods that yield contextual depth and rich data to facilitate detailed analysis. Two of the articles employ the historical method to analyse text in newspaper archives and trade directories. Two of the articles adopt a phenomenological strategy with the main focus on internal document analysis, non-participant observation, and interviewing customers, employees, and managers to explore their different perspectives. One article is a literature review analysing the relationship between contextual analysis and newspaper archives. There is an extensive evaluation of the methodologies used in these published works.

The creation of a tapestry analogy, used as a device to integrate the corpus of work, represents a methodological contribution to knowledge. The tapestry analogy provides a tool to explore hidden meanings in a text that can reveal intricate relationships within the narrative.

The thesis makes a theoretical contribution to knowledge in the field of British hotel industry evolution by developing a framework to explain the transformation of the British hotel industry from an ‘inn-keeping’ stage in circa 1810, to a ‘hotel management’ stage in circa 1910, to a ‘multi-brand, corporate hotel management’ stage in circa 2010. The framework incorporates multi-level perspectives of hotel industry evolution and innovation; and uses elements of industry lifecycle theory. The analysis extends academic understanding of the evolutionary nature of hotel industry development from small-scale, micro-managed, cottage businesses to an industry dominated by large-scale, systems-orientated, international corporations. This evolution is underpinned by wide-scale industry adoption of dominant innovations that eventually transformed the British hotel industry during different stages of the industry’s lifecycle.

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This thesis would not have happened without the encouragement of my wife Julie. She has been an inspiration throughout my academic career and, although she has never read any of my published work, I would have been unable to research and write without her constant support. Words are insufficient to express my feelings for her.

It cannot be easy to supervise a PhD student who also happens to be a long-standing colleague and a close friend. My supervisors, Dr Sarah Quinton and Dr David Bowen, are both colleagues and friends. However, this has not influenced the supervision process in any way. They have adopted a professional and highly-critical approach to supervising my thesis, which is exactly what I needed. Their comments, insights, and encouragement have helped me throughout the last year; and I truly appreciate their support. Needless to say, any errors are entirely my responsibility.

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Table of Contents

Table of Figures

Chapter 1 Introduction

This chapter provides a brief background to the published work; explains the extent and scope of my involvement in the co-authored articles; and describes the programme of research, its aim and objectives.

1.1 Background

This PhD by Publication explores the evolution of the British hotel industry from the mid-18th to the early 21st century. A series of innovations, introduced in the long 19th century[1] and in the late 20th/early 21st century, transformed a rudimentary inn-keeping system into a professionally managed, corporate hospitality industry with branded hotel chains. The 12 innovations that are evaluated in the published articles comprise:

- Emergence of the 'hotel' concept from France
- The influence of French cuisine
- Railway hotels
- The 19th century system of tours
- The guest perspective in the 1850's
- Adoption of American building & technological innovations
- Adoption of American management systems
- Specialist hospitality media
- Emergence of British hotel groups
- Emancipation & entertainment
- Revenue management
- Innovative hotel brand concepts

The PhD is constructed around five published articles: three solo and two co-authored published between 2009 and 2019 (see Figure 1 and Appendices 1 to 5). The 12 innovations are discussed in more detail in articles 1 to 4[2].

Article 1 (Bowie, 2018) analyses the drivers that facilitated the adoption of the first ten innovations listed above; these innovations helped to improve service quality and comfort in the British hotel industry between 1760 and 1914. The research adopts a multi-level perspective that integrates macro, meso and micro levels of analysis. The long 19th century

[1] The long 19th century is a recognised phrase for the period from circa 1789 to 1914.

[2] To make the manuscript more readable the published articles are referred to as article 1, article 2, etc.

macro environment provides opportunities for hotel innovations to gradually transform the British hotel industry at the meso level. The micro-level innovations include domestic and international inventions, revolutionary managerial systems, technological developments, and innovative responses to social change.

Article 2 (Bowie, 2015) explores the diffusion of international hotel innovations in Britain, from the guests' perspective in the 1850's. An analysis of letters published in *The Times* in 1853 reveals that business and leisure travellers complained about the poor facilities, service, and relative high costs of staying in British hotels compared to American and European hotels. The letter-writers champion the introduction of several innovations that could, and indeed did, improve the quality of mid-to-late Victorian British hotels.

Article 3 (Wang and Bowie, 2009) researches the conflict between the implementation of an innovative hotel revenue management system (the 11th innovation in the list on page 7) and key account business travellers in the early 21st century. In the last quarter of the 20th century, hotel brands computerised their reservation systems and, by flexing prices to demand patterns, increase their profitability (Bowie and Buttle, 2011). However, the implementation of this British hotel brand's revenue management system, with its focus on short-term revenue maximisation, clashes with the long-term benefits that derive from nurturing key account customers.

Article 4 (Osman, Hemmington and Bowie, 2009) examines customer loyalty to an innovative British hotel brand in the early 21st century (the 12th innovation in the list on page 7). Relationship marketing theory suggests that hotel brands need to utlise their database systems to recognise and reward customers in order to build customer loyalty (Bowie and Buttle, 2011). Unusually, this hotel brand focuses on delivering a differentiated high-quality service offer, at very competitive prices, by eschewing higher cost customisation policies and not offering loyalty programmes. These innovative brand features and better value offer delivers high customer satisfaction and strong customer loyalty.

Article 5 (Bowie, 2019) comprises a methodological evaluation of contextual analysis in management history research. Contextual analysis means describing, understanding and theorising the phenomena within the context of a study (Poulis, Poulis, and Plakoyiannaki, 2013). Since contextuality comprises multiple dimensions in flux over time, the concept is pertinent to historians interested in researching causal effects in macro and micro contexts. This article explores how newspaper archives can support management history research; and newspapers are the primary data source for articles 1 to 2.

Article and Appendix number	Article	ABS journal rankings, at time of article publication	When and where research was undertaken	Contribution
1	Bowie, D. (2018). Innovation and 19th century hotel industry evolution. Tourism Management, 64, 314-323. 10 pages.	4	2015-2018, UK.	Bowie 100%
2	Bowie, D. (2015): Pure diffusion? The great English hotel charges debate in The Times, 1853, Business History, 58, 2, 159-178. 19 pages.	3	2012-2015, UK.	Bowie 100%
3	Wang, L X and Bowie D (2009) 'Revenue management: the impact on business-to-business relationships', Journal of Services Marketing, Vol. 23 Issue: 1, pp.31-41. 10 pages.	3	2004-2007, UK.	Bowie 40% Wang 60%
4	Osman, H., Hemmington, N., and Bowie, D., (2009), 'A transactional approach to brand loyalty in the hotel industry', International Journal of Contemporary Hospitality Management. Vol 21, No 3, pp. 239-250. 12 pages. This paper won the "Highly Commended Award" from IJCHM at the Literati Network Awards for Excellence 2010.	2	1998-2001, UK.	Bowie 40% Osman 50% Hemmington 10%
5	Bowie, D. (2019). Contextual analysis and newspaper archives in management history research. Journal of Management History, Vol. 25 No. 4, pp. 516-532. 17 pages.	1	2017–2019, UK.	Bowie 100%

Figure 1: List of the published articles.

A tapestry analogy is utilised to help illustrate how articles 1-5 can be visualised as a coherent body of work (see 2.3.1). Tapestries comprise complex weaving processes that incorporate visible and hidden threads and often depict stories with hidden meanings (Bridgeford, 2006). A tapestry analogy has been used in academic writing to illustrate intricate relationships (Mokhtarian and Tal, 2013) and is used in this thesis to demonstrate how articles 1 to 5 form a coherent corpus of work

1.2 Co-authored articles

My co-authors, Dr Wang (article 3) and Dr Osman (article 4), carried out the primary data collection and analysis for articles 3 and 4 as part of their PhD studies. Dr Wang's research was undertaken between 2004 and 2006; Dr Osman's between 1998 and 2001. I was involved in both doctoral projects, from the beginning of the process through to the completion of the PhD and then onto the publication of articles. I co-designed the case study methodologies for both research projects. The research methods comprise company document analysis, non-participant observation, and the design of in-depth semi-structured interviews with customers, employees and managers. After the doctoral theses had been finalised, I discussed the focus and structure of writing-up the findings for publication in appropriate academic journals. My involvement included conceptualising suitable topics for publication and providing a strategic overview of the design of the article; in-depth support of the article-writing process, including reading, annotating, editing, carefully proof-reading the manuscripts, and helping to respond to reviewers' comments. Appendices 6 and 7 provide statements from Dr Wang and Dr Osman confirming my contribution to both of these publications.

1.3 The programme of research, its aims, and objectives

This thesis explores the evolution of the British hotel industry between 1760 and 2010. The programme of research provides a succinct review of the five published articles that form the body of work; an analysis of innovation and the evolution of the British hotel industry from the mid-18th to the early 21st century; an analytical overview of the original contribution to knowledge represented by the corpus of work; and reflections on the methodologies employed in articles 1-5 and this thesis.

The objective is:

> To make a contribution to knowledge by further developing the theory of British hotel industry evolution.

1.4 Chapter structure

The chapters in this critical appraisal address the criteria for the award of a PhD by Publication from Oxford Brookes University as set out in Regulation B7.

Chapter 1 summarises the background to articles 1-5; explains the extent and scope of my contribution in co-authored articles in relation to the other authors (7.2.6); and presents the research programme and its objectives (7.2.2).

Chapter 2 succinctly reviews the relevant literature and places my published articles in the context of this literature (7.2.1); demonstrates how the articles form a coherent corpus of work (7.2.4; 8.5.ii); provides an analytical overview of the original contribution to knowledge represented by the corpus of work (7.2.4).

Chapter 3 provides a reflection on the qualitative research methodology employed in the articles, where this is not covered in the published work (7.2.3), and reflections on methodological limitations revealed in the research.

Chapter 4 revisits the objective of the thesis, discusses the criteria for the award of a PhD by Publication, and makes recommendations for further research.

Chapter 2 The corpus of work

2.1 Introduction

The first section in this chapter places each of my published articles within the context of the relevant literature. The second section demonstrates how the articles form a coherent corpus of work; and the third section provides an analytical overview of the thesis' original contribution to knowledge.

2.2 Literature review

Industry evolution is a well-established academic subject that, amongst others, includes research in the fields of economic history (Schumpeter, 1939), organisational ecology (Peltoniemi, 2011), and technological transitions (Geels, 2002). The role of innovation as an integral driver of structural change in the evolution of an industry is also a well-established concept (Schumpeter, 1939). Radical innovations alter the structures of an economy (Quatraro, 2009) and are linked to the emergence, growth and decline of industries (Malerba, 2005). Schumpeter's (1939) seminal work categorised the innovation process into four stages: invention, innovation, diffusion and imitation. The introduction of a firm-level innovation has limited impact upon an industry and the wider economy (Sledzik, 2013); it is only when an innovation or series of innovations is taken up across an industry that economic structural change occurs as an industry evolves (Schumpeter, 1939). One aspect of industry evolution involves the dissemination of new technologies and novel management systems that is known as the diffusion of innovation (Rogers and Shoemaker, 1971).

There is limited academic research in hotel industry evolution, although Sund (2006) does link several innovations to the evolution of the Swiss hotel industry using industry lifecycle theory. In a systematic review of research on innovation in hospitality and tourism, Gomezelj's (2016) analysis of 152 articles suggests that the range of research topics are diverse. None of the articles discuss innovation and industry evolution and Sund's (2006) article was not included in the survey. Only two articles focus on the UK; one explores independent British hoteliers' adoption of technology (Lim, 2009) and the other researches a regional network championing healthy tourism (Novelli, Schmitz and Spencer, 2006). Most histories of the British hotel industry do not engage with theoretical constructs to explain the the evolution of the industry; examples include Borer (1972) and Taylor (2003) who provide descriptive narratives that lack contextualisation. Although Slattery (2009) uses a simple supply/demand model to explain the growth of the hotel industry, there is no mention of innovation in his article. These histories do not provide a theoretically driven explanation of the evolution of the British hotel industry from an innkeeping system to a hotel management system.

My research for article 1 addresses this gap in the literature by adopting Geels' (2002) multi-level perspective of technological transitions to provide a more complex, nuanced analysis of cumulative innovations that transformed the British hotel industry in the long 19th century. Geels' (2002) article is a foundational text for this thesis, because it provides a framework that integrates environmental developments that support industry-wide adoption of niche innovations and helps to explain industry evolution. The three multi-level perspectives are the macro-context which includes long-term landscape drivers of change; the meso-context that describes a socio-technical regime; and the micro-context that describes industry innovations. The meso socio-technical regime refers to a relatively stable period in the development of an industry. Gradually the cumulative effect of innovations disrupts the industry's stability and eventually a new meso-level industry configuration evolves. My research in article 1 explored how cumulative innovations transformed a basic inn-keeping system into a professionally managed British hotel industry during the long 19th century (see article 1, Figure 2).

The theory of innovation dissemination is linked to industry evolution and the adoption process is dependent upon a variety of industry specific factors (Schumpeter, 1939). From a hotel innovation adoption perspective, the temporal dimension is a lengthy process due to the fragmented characteristics of the industry (Dibra, 2015) and the heterogeneity of hotel owners/managers (Chatterjee and Eliashberg, 1990). This was true of the long 19th century hotel innovation adoption process in the UK. One aspect of innovation diffusion is whether the innovation is disseminated formally or informally. Greenhalgh, Robert, Macfarlane, Bate, and Kyriakidouls (2004) propose that the communication strategies of publicising an innovation can be analysed on a continuum from planned, formal, active dissemination to an unplanned, informal, almost accidental form of pure diffusion. Typically, inventors, entrepreneurs or companies formally promote their inventions and customers gradually adopt them. It is unusual for customers to have more knowledge than an industry's managers. However, Article 2 explores how well-travelled 19th century British hotel customers stimulated a national debate on how to improve the domestic hotel industry by introducing managerial innovations from Europe and the USA. In my analysis of British hotel customers' newspaper correspondence in *The Times* in 1853 (article 2), many letters provided examples of American and European innovations that could improve the quality of British hotel services whilst lowering prices. I posited that this process was an early form of 'pure diffusion' and was a rare and novel example of customers acting as the primary source of innovative product knowledge.

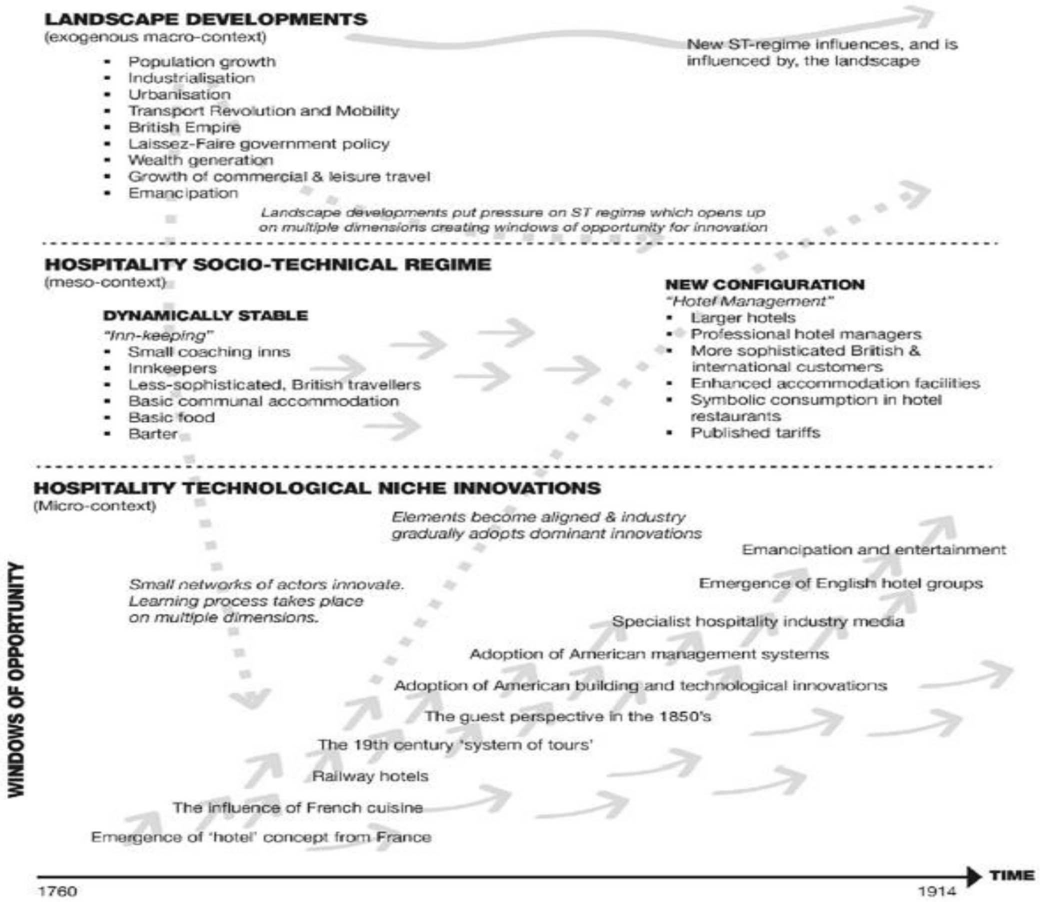

Figure 2: A multi-level perspective of cumulative innovations in British hotel industry evolution, 1760-1914.

Source: article 1.

Revenue management is a significant hotel management innovation that emerged in the late 20th century. Revenue management aims to maximise revenue by effective computerised management of pricing; inventory; and control of availability (Kimes, 1989). Article 3 analyses the consequences of adopting an innovative revenue management system for key account corporate customers in the B2B market. Key account management seeks "to build, grow and maintain profitable, long-lasting relationships with key accounts" Ojasalo (2001, p201). However, when trying to implement key account management strategies alongside a revenue management system, conflict occurs because the financial short-term needs of revenue managers challenge long-term customer relationship strategies (Kimes, 1994). Since revenue management has significantly enhanced hotel company profits (Bowie and Buttle, 2011), the major players in the industry embraced the concept, despite potentially damaging long-term B2B relationships. Article 3 was the first academic study to provide empirical evidence of the negative impact of revenue management policies on key account customers in the B2B hotel market. The findings in article 3 reveal that hotel brands' focus on short term, systems-driven, revenue management policies to maximise yield, devalues long-term customer relationships and erodes trust between brands and key customers.

In the last quarter of the 20th century, relationship marketing (Buttle, 1996) became a dominant paradigm in marketing. The traditional approach to marketing, known as transactional marketing, concentrates on acquiring new customers and once the customer has bought the product, there is no strategic effort to develop a relationship (Bowie and Buttle, 2011). Marketing theory and practice was reconceptualised from a focus on transactions to a focus on relationships, using database systems to communicate with customers; and academic research advocated the benefits of relationship marketing (Sweeney, 1990). The innovative British hotel brand, featured in article 4, adopts a non-relational marketing and operations strategy in the majority of its key markets. Despite this strategy, the brand enjoys a high level of repeat customers and brand loyalty due to this effective transactional marketing strategy. Customers appreciate the contemporary distinctive décor, the comfort, quality of service, and with a highly competitive pricing strategy the focus on good value for money. Article 4 challenges conventional academic thinking in the relationship/transactional marketing debate which assumes that hotel brand loyalty was only driven by relationship marketing with customers.

Article 5 explores the concept of contextual analysis (also known as contextuality) in management history research. Contextuality is the study of complex environmental phenomena (Johns, 2006). Since organisations are open systems and operate within fluctuating external environments, contextuality has a significant impact on the internal dynamics of an operation (Tsui, 2006). Contextual analysis is a multi-dimensional array of exogenous factors, continually in flux over time, and from the historian's perspective this temporal dimension is especially pertinent in researching causal effects on an organisation's managerial decision-making and employee responses (Rousseau and Fried, 2001). Contextual research incorporates multi-level perspectives including macro, micro and possibly meso-level variables (Johns, 2006). Article 5 provides an analysis of articles published in two management history journals, the Journal of Management History and Management and Organizational History, and reveals a lack of engagement with contextuality in the articles of both these journals. Article 5 also champions the use of newspaper archives to support contextualisation in management history research.

2.3 The coherence of the published work

Oxford Brookes University's regulations for the Award of the Degree of PhD on the Basis of Published Work requires a candidate to demonstrate the coherence of their corpus of work (7.2.4; 8.5. ii). The following themes recur throughout articles 1 to 4 and provide a unifying coherence for the thesis:

- an interpretive research philosophy;
- marketing;
- a focus on the British hotel industry;
- hotel industry evolution and innovation;
- a customer focus;

The first three themes provide an overarching framework for the work and clearly contribute to consistency in the thesis. Articles 1 to 4 employ an interpretivist philosophy, undertake data collection using qualitative methods, and collate rich data (see Chapter 3). They are also visibly anchored in the discipline of marketing and clearly focus on the British hotel industry. The remaining two themes require a more detailed explanation for their inclusion as unifying elements in the thesis. The theme hotel industry evolution and innovation is a core theme of this thesis. Indeed, hotel evolution can be found in the title and the objective of the thesis; and innovation is integral to industry evolution. Hotel industry evolution and innovation is clearly integral to articles 1 and 2, but is not obviously linked to articles 3 and 4. A customer focus is a fundamental element of hospitality marketing (Bowie and Buttle, 2011). It is critical to developing a successful marketing strategy (Hauser and Shugan, 2008) and is integral to the innovation process (Sundbo, 2008). Although articles 2, 3 and 4 include a customer perspective, the customer focus is less apparent in article 1. Both of these themes - hotel industry evolution and innovation in article 3 and 4, and a customer focus in article 1 – need to be explored in greater detail to justify their inclusion as core themes. This is discussed in the next section (2.3.1).

The concept of contextuality, that is central to article 5, is included in this thesis because of its connection to articles 1 and 2. Contextual analysis is especially relevant to business and management history research because ‘it makes our models more accurate and the interpretation of our results more robust’ (Rousseau and Fried, 2001, p1). Although the contextual background is often hidden, contextualisation helps to bridge the gap between macro and micro research (Bamberger, 2008). By including another theme – contextuality – into the discussion of the coherence of the corpus of work, an important but opaque link can be made between articles 1 and 2, and article 5.

To explore the linkages between these three core themes - hotel industry evolution and innovation, a customer focus, and contextuality - the published articles (1 to 4) have been evaluated using a tapestry analogy to establish how each article contributes to each theme.

2.3.1 Tapestry analogy

Tapestries are a form of woven textile which depict stories often with religious, classical or mythological themes (Victoria and Albert Museum, 2019) and which can incorporate hidden meanings (Bridgeford, 2006). The tapestry weaving process includes warp and weft threads that are used to turn yarn in to fabric. Firstly, the vertical warp threads are stretched down a loom and then the horizontal weft threads are weaved across the warp threads to form the tapestry. This process means that the vertical warp threads are hidden by the horizontal weft threads. The artist Joanne Soroka (2008, p1) suggests that since weaving, as a type of cloth, is also a form of clothing and ‘clothing conceals but also has the capacity to reveal ... in a like manner, tapestry conceals the warp in order to reveal its imagery in the weft’. Using their imagination an artist or a scholar can create meaning by unravelling the hidden warp threads in a tapestry to establish an original interpretation of the narrative. Bridgeford’s (2006) deep analysis of hidden meanings in the Bayeux Tapestry reveal new and unexpected findings that challenge the established historical paradigm of Norman Conquest scholarship. In pictorial art, Gibson’s (2006) analysis of hidden secrets and symbols reveals how everyday objects can convey covert messages. Gibson (2006, p10) suggests that if ‘you know what to look for’ surface images can reveal hidden background details (Gibson, 2006, p10). The tapestry analogy has been used in academic writing to illustrate intricate interrelationships (Mokhtarian and Tal 2013). Hunter, Berg, Lundgren, Ólafsdóttir, and Kirkham’s (2008) article endorsed the tapestry approach suggesting that the weft threads refer to visible factors and the hidden warp threads refer to unseen relationships that help to bind the different parts into a coherent entity. The concept of subtext refers to ‘an underlying theme in a piece of writing’ (Oxford English

Dictionary, 2019) that can be 'interpreted as being implied … (or) … hidden' (Oxford Reference, 2020) and is frequently found in storytelling, literary analysis and drama.

The reason for using a tapestry analogy in an analysis of the themes - hotel industry evolution and innovation; a customer focus; and contextuality - in articles 1 to 4 is to explore the subtext of the narrative in the academic discourse. In some ways, the tapestry analogy used in my research is similar to a hermeneutic analysis, starting with the concept that 'once authored a text assumes a life of its own … and it can generate insights that the author did not realise' (Arnold and Fischer, 1994, p61). This concept allows me to examine each of the articles (1 to 4) from alternative perspectives, seeing each article as a smaller tapestry within a tableaux or series of tapestries that collectively form an all-encompassing, interwoven tapestry. Using this tapestry analogy, key phrases and words are analysed to unravel the visible vocabulary and search for opaque meanings in the subtext of articles 1 to 4. The limitations of a tapestry analogy are discussed in 3.4.

Figure 3 reveals the relationship between articles 1 to 5 and all six themes. The 30 'threads' in figure 3 include 19 weft threads that are visible, five warp threads that are opaque, and six are not applicable. The relationship between each visible weft thread and each article is discernible due to the subject matter of that article. For example, a customer focus is clearly visible in articles 2, 3 and 4; but not in article 1. Four of the not applicable threads are found in article 5 and, due to the methodological subject matter in this article, are not linked to the other themes. The other two not applicable threads refer to articles 3 and 4 and the theme of contextuality. In the tapestry analogy of these articles there is no visible or opaque evidence to link articles 3 and 4 with the theme of contextuality; therefore, the not applicable thread is appropriate. The opaque warp threads are discussed in more detail below.

2.3.2 Opaque threads

2.3.2.i hotel industry evolution and innovation

The 'hotel industry evolution and innovation' theme in article 3 is described as opaque because the content of article 3 reviews the impact on business to business relationships when a hotel brand introduces a revenue management system. There is no obvious link to hotel industry evolution. A tapestry analogy of article 3 reveals visible and opaque thread factors that are relevant to the evolution of the British hotel industry. Visible threads include the fact that revenue management is an innovative concept borrowed from aviation. One of the opaque threads is the widespread adoption of innovative revenue management systems by multi-brand, international hotel groups, including UK corporates. The implication of this hidden thread is that by 2010 the British hotel industry included domestic and international branded corporations that were dependent upon complex, interdependent, computer systems linking

	Interpretive research philosophy	Marketing	British hotel industry	Hotel industry evolution and innovation	Customer focus	Contextuality
1. Innovation & 19th century hotel industry evolution.	Visible	Visible	Visible	Visible	Opaque	Opaque
2. Pure diffusion? The great English hotel charges debate in The Times, 1853.	Visible	Visible	Visible	Visible	Visible	Opaque
3. Revenue management: the impact on business-to-business relationships.	Visible	Visible	Visible	Opaque	Visible	Not applicable
4. 'A Transactional Approach to Brand Loyalty in the Hotel Industry.	Visible	Visible	Visible	Opaque	Visible	Not applicable
5. Contextual analysis and newspaper archives in management history research.	Visible	Not applicable	Not applicable	Not applicable	Not applicable	Visible

Figure 3: Tapestry analogy, illustrating the coherence of the published work.

reservation systems with internet search engines. This development is a significant innovation contributing to the evolution of the late 20th and early 21st century British hotel industry.

Article 4 examines the theoretical and applied perspectives of relationship marketing versus transactional marketing within the context of customer loyalty to a British four-star hotel brand There is no explicit discussion of hotel industry evolution or innovation. The text in the article only makes allusions to the brand proposition and its innovativeness, whilst the discussion actually explores hotel culture, hotel/customer relationships, hotel service, and customer loyalty. The tapestry analogy of article 4 (see Appendix 8) reveals four opaque thread factors – functional brand concept; price competitive; contemporary, distinctive, elegant décor; and a unique brand image different to competitors. This novel combination of factors coupled with hidden background details supports the argument that Brand H can be described as an innovative hotel brand concept. Underneath the surface images in this tapestry analogy, a dramatic change in the British hotel industry can be discerned. Between 1970 and 2006, the number of hotel brands operating in Britain rose from 3 to 140 (Bailey, 2007). This exponential growth of branded hotel corporations competing in the UK during the last quarter of the 20th century is another significant innovation and a key driver in the evolution of the British hotel industry.

2.3.2.ii Customer focus

The 'customer focus' theme in article 1 is described as opaque because, apart from one brief section, a customer focus is not evident in the narrative. The text in article 1 describes ten innovations that collectively helped to improve the facilities and services in British hotels and offer customers transparent prices. Customers' endorsement of an innovation underpins its adoption on an industry-wide basis (Brexendorf, Bayus, and Keller, 2015). A tapestry analogy of article 1 reveals that customers must have endorsed the innovations described in article 1, because their industry-wide adoption could not have been feasible without customer endorsement. Therefore the theme of a customer focus is an opaque sub-text in article 1.

2.3.2.iii Contextuality

Articles 1 and 2 are described as opaque in the 'contextuality' theme. Contextual analysis is a relevant concept in the analysis of how these articles collectively form a coherent corpus of work. However, when articles 1 and 2 were written, I was not aware of the concept of contextuality and consequently there is no mention of contextual analysis in the articles. The evidence in article 1 that contextual analysis has tacitly been incorporated into the article's research parameters is shown in figure 4, where the dimensions, levels and variables adopted in contextual research (Johns, 2006) are applied to the sub-text of article 1. A similar analysis of the evidence of contextuality in article 2 also reveals an unwitting engagement with contextuality.

Dimension (Johns, 2006)	Omnibus – broad focus	The context of Article 1 is the long 19th century and spans 150 years – and therefore adopts a broad focus.
	Discrete – focus on a specific contextual variable	The discrete focus is on the British hotel industry.
Level (Johns, 2006)		The multi-level perspective of cumulative innovations in British hotel industry evolution incorporates a macro-context, a meso-context, and a micro-context.
	Macro	The macro context identifies key drivers in the landscape such as industrialisation, urbanisation, the transport revolution, the British empire and emancipation, that provided windows of opportunity for innovation.
	Meso	The meso context describes the established industry configuration at a given moment in time – e.g. inn-keeping in 1810 and hotel management in 1910.
	Micro	The micro context lists dominant innovations that are adopted over time between 1760 and 1914.
		Each contextual level is discussed in detail in article 1.
Variables – there are no set number of variables in contextual analysis; variable selection depends upon the context of the research (Johns, 2006; Poulis, Poulis, and Plakoyiannaki, 2013).	Geographic	The geographic range explores hotel evolution in Britain, Europe, and the USA.
	Political and Economic	Political and economic factors are discussed in section 3.
	Social and Cultural	Social and Cultural factors are discussed in 4.2, 4.5, 4.10.
	Temporal	Covering three centuries from the 1760's to 1914.

Figure 4: A meta-analysis of contextuality in article 1.

2.4 The contribution to knowledge

Each of the published articles in this thesis provides an assessment of its own contribution to knowledge in the discussion/conclusion sections of the individual manuscripts. However collectively articles 1 to 4 also make a contribution to knowledge. Whilst thinking about the complex interrelationships weaved between articles 1 to 4 and hotel industry evolution, I realised that there are significant similarities between Geels (2002) framework of technological transitions and industry lifecycle theory (Peltoniemi, 2011). I therefore explored the possibility of borrowing concepts and terminology from lifecycle theory to further develop the British hotel industry evolution framework I created in article 1. There now follows a brief discussion of relevant industry lifecycle theory, the application of lifecycle concepts to the evolution of the British hotel industry, and a justification of why this approach represents a contribution to knowledge.

2.4.1 Industry lifecycle theory

This theory proposes that an industry evolves over time from an initial invention/innovation stage, through a growth stage, to maturity and eventually decline or rejuvenation (Agarwal, Sarkar, and Echambadi, 2002; Audretsch and Feldman, 1996; Peltoniemi, 2011). The similarities between industry lifecycle theory and Geels (2002) framework include:

- the emphasis on industry level evolution (Peltoniemi, 2011);
- the temporal dimension that is critical to understanding how an industry evolves (Agarwal et al, 2002);
- and the importance of innovation as a driver of change in the development of industries (Audretsch and Feldman, 1996).

There has been a significant volume of academic research in the field of manufacturing industries and lifecycle theory, with a focus on measuring transitions between one stage and another by analysing firm entry/exit rates as an indicator of industry evolution. In tourism, the Tourist Area Lifecycle (Butler, 1980) has attracted considerable academic interest. Sund's (2006) analysis into entry/exit rates in the Swiss hotel industry is a rare example of hotel lifecycle research, but incomplete and/or inaccurate data was a limitation in this research.

Lifecycle theory has been criticised from a conceptual perspective and on methodological grounds. Conceptually, lifecycle theory is considered to be deterministic, reductionist, and a simplistic device for dealing with complex real-world issues (Coles, 2006); that a single, simplistic model is unable to provide a relevant analysis for all industries (Lambkin and Day, 1989); and that it fails to provide an accurate forecasting tool for management actions (Agarwal et al 2002). Methodological criticisms include the difficulty in obtaining accurate data in tracking industry evolution through different stages of the lifecycle. Although these are legitimate criticisms, industry lifecycle theory still provides an effective heuristic to encapsulate key features linking hotel industry evolution within the concept of innovation.

2.4.2 Stages in the evolution of the British hotel industry

Using lifecycle theory, the evolution of the British hotel industry from 1760 to 2010 can be divided into three stages described as early, growth and maturity. Following Geels (2002) framework of technological transitions, each of these lifecycle stages equates to the meso-level of a socio-technical regime, and each stage can be described as a snapshot to illustrate a relatively stable period in British hotel evolution.

The research in article 1 provides an analysis of the early stage of a nascent hotel industry in Britain that can be extrapolated to the first stage in a framework of hotel industry evolution. Articles 1 and 2 provide details of how a series of innovations were gradually adopted and then transformed the British hotel industry from an inn-keeping to a professional hotel management stage. This stage can be described as a growth stage. The tapestry analysis of articles 3 and 4 discuss two innovations that illustrate how the early 21st century hotel had morphed into a mature stage dominated by corporate hotel management. Each stage is discussed below and Figure 5 provides a concise illustration of three stages in the evolution of the British hotel industry.

In the early stage, the development of the British hotel industry had limited demand from primarily domestic travellers. The accommodation was basic, the food offer simple, and the operation was run by mainly untrained hosts using a barter system for payment. This embryonic stage, discussed in more detail in article 1, is described as an inn-keeping stage and was dominant from the mid-18th century until later in the 19th century.

In the growth stage, the 19th century British macro landscape gradually created fertile conditions to stimulate domestic and international demand for hotel services. Allied with positive growth conditions, environmental conditions enabled a series of domestic and international innovations to cumulatively transform the British hotel industry from an inn-keeping model to a professionally managed hotel model. The emergence of small hotel groups with the separation of ownership from management helped to foster a more professional approach. From the 1860's onwards, purpose-built, larger hotels with enhanced accommodation, restaurant and entertainment facilities provided published tariffs; and in La Belle Epoch opportunities for symbolic consumption occurred on a lavish scale. The multiple factors involved in this growth stage, and the effect of cumulative innovations that were disseminated throughout the British hotel industry, are discussed in articles 1 and 2. A framework for hotel industry evolution and innovation between 1760 and 1914 was also devised for article 1 (see figure 2, p.13).

The analysis of the mature stage in figure 5 is derived from a tapestry analogy of articles 3 and 4. Visible evidence includes:

- statements in both articles about the case study organisations being hotel corporations with multiple brands - and one was a 'UK-based international hotel group' (article 3, p39);
- the hierarchy of corporate and executive hotel managers (article 3, appendix 1, p39; and article 4, p243-5);
- British and international customers (article 3, p39; article 4, p244);
- revenue management systems in article 3.

This tapestry analogy suggests that hotel customers were well-travelled, internet literate, and familiar with on-line booking. Although there is no data to support an evaluation of late 20th century accommodation facilities or food provision, there is sufficient evidence to suggest that by the turn of the 21st century the British hotel industry had reached a mature stage in the industry lifecycle. Even in a fragmented industry, when the mature stage is reached consolidation takes place and a smaller number of large firms tend to dominate the market. These larger-scale, systems-orientated businesses have significant capacity to manage 1,000's of properties, so that costs can be spread over more units, and enjoy considerable economies of scale (Peltoniemi, 2011). Innovation activity tends to be sponsored by these established companies (Agarwal et al 2002), especially in the critical area of computerised, information technology systems. As a hotelier with insider knowledge (Berger, 2013 – see 3.4) and following Gibson's (2006) suggestion that if you know what to look for then hidden meanings can be ascertained, I interpret this data to propose that by 2010 the British hotel industry has entered a mature stage of corporate hotel management. Suggestions for further research in this area are addressed in 4.3.

HOTEL SOCIO-TECHNICAL REGIME
(Meso-context)

Early Stage **circa 1810** **"Inn-keeping"**	**Growth Stage** **circa 1910** **"Hotel Management"**	**Mature Stage** **circa 2010** **"Corporate Hotel Management"**
• Small coaching inns	• Larger hotels	• International, multi-brand, systems-orientated, hotel corporations
• Innkeepers	• Professional hotel managers	• Hierarchy of corporate and executive hotel managers
• Less-sophisticated, British travellers	• More sophisticated British & international customers	• Internet literate, well-travelled British & international customers
• Basic communal accommodation	• Enhanced accommodation facilities	• Customer on-line booking, flexible pricing, & revenue management systems
• Basic food	• Symbolic consumption in hotel restaurants	
• Barter	• Published tariffs	

Figure 5: Stages in the evolution of the British hotel industry.

2.4.3 Contribution

This thesis makes a theoretical contribution to knowledge in the field of British hotel industry evolution by further developing the multi-level framework I developed in article 1 to incorporate elements of lifecycle theory. Three socio-technical regimes, described as the early, growth and mature stages in the British hotel industry lifecycle, represent an inn-keeping stage circa 1810, a hotel management stage circa 1910, and a corporate hotel management stage circa 2010. The evolutionary development between each stage is dependent upon hotel industry adoption of critical innovations that cumulatively transform the established socio-technical regime. The British hotel industry's evolution has taken 250 years to reach a mature stage in the industry lifecycle. This analysis extends academic understanding of the evolutionary nature of hotel industry development from small-scale, micro-managed, cottage businesses to an industry dominated by large scale, systems-orientated, international corporations.

The thesis also makes a methodological contribution to knowledge by the creation of a tapestry analogy to reveal hidden meanings in the text of academic articles. The academic literature on the use of tapestry analogies is limited. For example, Mokhtarian and Tal (2013) only mention in passing that intricate interrelationships are similar to the weaving in a tapestry. The tapestry analogy adopted in this thesis provides a template to help other researchers to examine the subtext of a narrative from alternative perspectives; and this represents a methodological contribution to knowledge.

2.5 Conclusion

The first section in this chapter places each of my published articles within the context of the relevant literature. The second section demonstrates how the articles form a coherent corpus of work. In parts the evidence for coherence is visible. Where the evidence is more obscure, a tapestry analogy of surface images that reveals hidden meanings (Gibson, 2006) is used to reveal opaque factors that validate the coherence of the body of work. The third section provides a summary of the thesis' original contribution to knowledge by extending the framework developed in article 1 to incorporate two 20th century innovations and using lifecycle terminology to explain the early, growth and mature stages of British hotel industry evolution.

Chapter 3 Methodological reflections

3.1 Introduction

This chapter provides reflections on the research philosophy adopted in articles 1 to 5; the research methods employed in articles 1 to 5, where that is not covered in the published work; and the Author's research journey.

3.2 Reflections on research philosophy

In a discussion of the philosophy of history and whether the study of history is a science or art, Tosh (2010) clarifies the issue: should the study of human activity adopt the same methods as the study of natural phenomena? If the answer is yes, then the same methodologies can be applied to all types of research. The scientific method provides valid, testable outcomes and generalisable laws can be formulated. The alternative perspective in historical research is described as 'idealism' (Tosh, 2010). The idealistic approach posits that researchers who investigate human events need to incorporate intuition and empathy to understand the historic context of people and events in the past. Since historians research unique individual events that take place in different epochs, scientific generalisations are not applicable in historical studies. Historians cannot observe facts like a scientist and many historical facts are actually inferences. The essence of historical research is therefore selectivity in the choice of relevant sources and historical facts; historians not only describe but also interpret the past (Whittle and Wilson, 2015). Traditionally business historians adopted the case study approach to research with an eclectic approach to literature and methodology (Wilson and Toms, 2011) but recently there has been a challenge to the dominant paradigm by de Jong, Higgins and van Driel (2015) and others. de Jong et al (2015) propose that business historians should adopt a more scientific, positivist, approach to research by building theories to explain causal mechanisms developed through generalisations. Given the wide range of subjects that business historians' research, I do not think there should be a prescriptive methodology that all business historians should follow; I feel that the methodological stance should be adopted according to the characteristics of the research question and the available data.

This positivist/interpretivist discussion about business history research is similar to methodological issues in marketing research. Holden and Lynch (2004) suggest that objectivism and subjectivism can be 'described as a continuum of polar opposites with varying philosophical positions aligned between them'. The objectivist/ positivist approach, following the principles of the scientific method and 'a belief in an objective, real world', typically utilises quantitative research to test hypotheses and propose, confirm or challenge theory developments (Antwi and Hamza, 2015, p218). In contrast, the subjectivist/ interpretivist approach suggests that 'people's knowledge of reality is a social construction by human actors' (Chowdhury, 2014, p433) and that 'knowledge and meaning are acts of interpretation' (Antwi and Hamza, 2015, p218). So many interpretative researchers adopt in-depth qualitative research methods to understand phenomena. Advocates on both sides of the positivist/interpretivist debate often employ emotive language to denigrate the opposing philosophy, emphasising the differences between the research approaches and not recognising the similarities (Weber, 2004). In between these camps, a number of academics propose that a mixed research approach provides researchers with the opportunity to combine both positivist and interpretative methods (Antwi and Hamza, 2015).

Reflecting on this acrimonious academic debate and the methodological philosophy underpinning articles 1 to 5, I realise that at no time – either in my thinking about the solo research I undertook or in discussions with my co-authors – did we discuss which research philosophy to adopt. Indeed, none of the published articles that comprise this PhD address research philosophy. Instead, the key issues were identifying and refining the research question; and then focusing on data sources and data collection to deliver answers to that research question. The selection of the interpretive philosophy adopted in articles 1 to 5 was therefore based upon the individual characteristics of the research questions, the focus on in-depth primary data collection, qualitative research methods, and small samples (Altinay and Paraskevas, 2008; Venkatesh, Brown, and Bala, 2013.). However, in four of the articles (1, 2, 4, and 5) an element of statistical data was incorporated into the research that was manually tabulated. Although my primary focus as an active researcher is to adopt the interpretative approach, I realise that I am more of a pragmatic researcher (Onwuegbuzie and Leech, 2005) than a disciple of either the positivist or interpretivist methodological philosophy.

3.3. Reflections on the research methods

In this section there is a reflection on the research methods employed in articles 1 to 5, where this is not covered in the published work – Figure 6 summarises the research approach for each article.

Articles 1 to 5 primarily use qualitative research methods that yield contextually depth and rich data to facilitate detailed analysis (Chowdhury, 2014). This interpretivist approach to data collection and analysis implies selectivity and consequently a subjective interpretation of the findings (Antwi and Hamza, 2015). This approach is criticised because of inherit researcher bias and the fact that there is no realistic possibility of the research being reliably replicated.

Article	Research method	Research strategy	Primary data sources	Data analysis
1	Historical method	Archival research.	Newspaper archives; trade directories; memoirs.	Textual analysis; Content Analysis.
2	Historical method	Archival research.	Newspaper archives.	Textual analysis; Content Analysis.
3	Phenomenological	Multiple methods; case study.	Company documents; non-participant observation; semi-structured interviews with customers, employees, and managers.	Categorising data and then coding scheme using a template analysis.
4	Phenomenological	Multiple methods; case study.	Non-participant observation; semi-structured interviews with customers, employees, and managers.	Ethnographic, domain analysis, and thematic analysis.
5	Literature review	Archival research.	Academic journal archives.	Manual tabulation, content analysis and textual analysis.

Figure 6: The research approach in articles 1 to 5.

So, issues of trustworthiness and credibility, as opposed to the positivist criteria of validity, reliability and objectivity, are key considerations in the interpretivist paradigm (Rose and Johnson, 2020). Trustworthiness means that rigour needs to be incorporated into the use of the chosen research methods; and credibility refers to the authenticity of the findings and analysis (Rose and Johnson, 2020). In addition to the above, the concept of reflexivity also helps to build a researcher's credibility. Reflexivity refers to a researcher's mindset that is influenced by demographic and socio-cultural factors such as gender, race, age, language, class, and influences how a researcher approaches the design of a research project and conducts research (Berger, 2013). These issues are addressed in the following discussion.

3.3.1 Historical method

The focus of articles 1 and 2 is business and management history: the methodology underpinning these research projects is the historical method. The historical method is a process of gathering, critiquing and presenting historical research and comprises four stages: problem formulation, selection of sources, determining which sources are authentic, and providing a narrative to discuss the topic (Wood, 1990). The primary data collection method employed in articles 1 and 2 was archival research. Data sources were discovered in hard copy and on-line newspaper archives dating from 1764 to 1899; contemporary business directories (1794-1901); and travellers' memoirs. Despite potential bias, including "silence" in the archives, archival material remains integral to historical research and "a sound anchoring in the past, the evidence, the archival record" underpins the historical narrative of reconstruction and representation (Decker, 2013, p. 161). Historians rarely discuss their approaches to methodology (Decker, 2013), however, establishing the authenticity of relevant documents and sources is critical to historical scholarship (Wood, 1990). Source criticism comprises external criticism that focuses on the credibility of a document, and internal criticism that focuses on individual statements within the document either based upon eye-witness or non-witness sources (Kipping, Wadhwani and Bucheli, 2014). Historians therefore demonstrate source transparency by providing extensive footnotes to identify specific sources (Kipping et al, 2014). This approach to historical scholarship has similarities with concepts such as credibility and trustworthiness to justify the rigour of qualitative research in marketing studies. For example, Holden and Lynch's (2004, p. 3-4) article in *The Marketing Review* suggests that the concept of trustworthiness 'refers to the systematic rigour of research design and the credibility of the researcher'.

From an external criticism perspective, the sources in articles 1 and 2 are credible because the provenance of British newspaper titles, business directories, memoirs, and academic journal archives are robust. For example, the British Library hosts the British Newspaper Archive and has an almost complete collection of all newspapers published in Britain since 1840, and an extensive collection dating back to the early 18th century (British Library, 2020). In terms of internal criticism, I included a wide range of evidence in both articles from eye-witness accounts derived from several different publications, that reduces potential bias issues. Source transparency is confirmed by the extensive footnotes and references in articles 1 and 2. The combination of all these factors support the proposition that these sources are credible (Kipping et al, 2014).

Both articles 1 and 2 employed textual analysis (Fursich, 2009) and limited content analysis (Krippendorff, 1989). The textual analysis enables an exploration of latent meanings in a text by combining meticulous reading with contextualised interpretation (Fursich, 2009). In both articles, the content analysis comprised manual data entry onto Excel spreadsheets to support quantitative tabulation. This process did include possibilities of minor data errors, and as a solo-researcher there were no team-members that I could ask to verify the data entries.

Articles 1 and 2 can also be critiqued on the grounds of both selectivity and subjectivity. For example the selection of the 10 hotel innovations that form the core of article 1 could have included alternative innovations; and the greater focus on luxury London hotels as opposed to mid-market and budget provincial hotels is probably unintentional author bias derived from the original research focus on the Savoy Hotel (see 3.4).

3.3.2 Case studies

The focus of articles 3 and 4 is phenomenological research that explore participants' experiences and interpretation of hotel marketing strategies; they are multiple-methods case studies and the methodology is discussed in some detail in each article. The research method comprises case study selection and a triangulation strategy which combined three independent sources of data to improve the reliability and truthfulness of the findings (Miles, Huberman and Saldana, 2014). Because of the confidential characteristics of the research context, the selection of the case study organisations was dependent upon personal contact. Although this can be problematic, the organisational gatekeepers did not impose any restrictions that could have skewed the findings.

Denzin (2001) proposed different categories of triangulation including data source, method, and researcher; and Miles et al (2014) added another category - data type. The primary data sources in articles 3 and 4 included interviews with customers, employees and managers that took place in six different hotels. The methods incorporated document analysis, interviews, and non-participant observation; and the data type comprised photocopies of non-confidential documents, interview transcripts, and notes on the non-participant observations. The combination of these data sources, methods and data type in both research projects conform to accepted triangulation procedures (Eisenhardt, 1989). Dr Wang adopted a coding scheme using template analysis in article 3 (King, 1998); Dr Osman adopted ethnographic, domain analysis, and thematic analysis in article 4 (Spradley, 1980). Both articles contain more detailed discussion of the data analysis.

Potential limitations in Dr Wang and Dr Osman's field work might have been due to the fact that they were inexperienced researchers who conducted their field work alone. The personal relationships they developed with potential respondents were critical in obtaining consent for interviews and then in conducting the interview process. Although this approach was potentially subject to bias due to the researchers' implicit assumptions, predispositions and different cultural norms (Diefenbach, 2009), the doctoral supervisory teams and PhD examiners scrutinised the methodologies, data findings and analyses in the theses and this helps to legitimise their research outputs.

3.3.3 Literature review

The research method of Article 5 is a literature review (Snyder, 2019) on contextual analysis and the use of newspaper archives in management history. The research strategy is archival research and the primary data sources are management and organisational history academic journal archives. The data analysis comprised a content analysis of two management history journals over a five-year period (2013-2017); and textual analysis of 10 articles which made extensive use of newspaper data to support their data collection.

A number of methodological criticisms which are not discussed in the article can be made including possible researcher bias in the textual analysis. Textual analysis "involves a prolonged engagement of the chosen text using … narrative … approaches to qualitative analysis" (Fursich, 2009, p240); such meticulous reading enables the researcher to explore the text in depth. However, textual analysis has been criticised because the researchers' close involvement with the text means that the analysis and narrative are inevitably prone to subjectivity (Walsham, 2006). The cases and quotes I selected to emphasise specific points in article 5 can therefore be criticised on the grounds of subjectivity. For example, perhaps a different researcher would not have used Hedger's 1906 description of the appalling living conditions of meat packers in the USA to illustrate the role of contemporary newspaper sources in contextual analysis (McLarty and Rosen, 2014). Clearly qualitative researchers need to find a balance between subjectivity and objectivity in their research strategies to reduce possible bias (Walsham, 2006); but providing the researcher is aware of their own assumptions and biases (Miles et al, 2014), then an element of subjectivity is an acceptable facet of interpretivist research.

3.4 Reflections on the research journey

The reflections on my research journey focus on the business history, solo-research I conducted for articles 1, 2 and 5 and on the process of researching and writing this PhD. Ethical issues are an important consideration when designing research and especially when the topic involves people who are alive or whose recent descendants are still alive. However, since my research explored historical subjects that took place during the long 19th century, there was no need for me to obtain permission from the Oxford Brookes University Research Ethics Committee to conduct my research. My personal profile is a white, retired, English-speaking, British male who is a third-generation hotelier. I worked in hospitality for more than 25 years and my interest in history from a young age clearly influenced the direction of my research. The opportunity to combine two of my greatest passions – history and hotels – has been a challenging, interesting, and ultimately rewarding experience over the past 11 years. Berger (2013) suggests that as an 'insider' studying the familiar, a researcher has an innate advantage over novice researchers. My extensive knowledge of the hospitality industry was a powerful asset in my research and enabled me to empathise with customers, employees, and managers in given situations - despite temporal differences in the historic context.

The challenges of historical research include sources with incomplete records, created by others many years ago, and produced for different purposes so that the researcher engages in iterative processes to collect, collate and analyse the evidence (Kipping et al, 2014). This sentence captures the dilemmas I faced when starting on my original research to explore the origins of iconic British hotels like the Savoy Hotel. The first entry in the diary log of my research journey was on 16 July 2009, when I set out key objectives and the context of my research. After several meetings with research active colleagues, attendance at PhD writing workshops and eventually gaining access to the Savoy Hotel, I had my first meeting with the Savoy's archivist on 13 June 2011. Unfortunately, the relevant data from the 1890's and early 1900's in the Savoy Hotel Archive had been water damaged. My research focus had to change; so I explored other potential sources and eventually my data collection involved visiting several different archive collections including the British Library at St Pancras, London and Boston Spa, Yorkshire; the British National Newspaper Archive, Collingwood, London; and the D'Oyly Carte Archive at the Victoria and Albert Museum, London. I was thrilled to read original paper editions of the early specialist hotel magazines in the British National Newspaper Archive, including the Caterer and Hotel Proprietors' Gazette that is still essential reading for people in the industry today.

My first business history manuscript was not rejected, but the requisite major revisions made me realise I needed to change my research focus. The Gale online newspaper database, including *The Times*, provided new sources with more usable data. I also needed to find appropriate theoretical concepts to give meaning to my articles. I changed my research questions, which continually evolved as I collected disparate data, and finally was able to integrate evidence, literature and analysis enabling me to write publishable manuscripts. This convoluting process taught me that the historical research I undertook seems to be governed by the availability of appropriate data, that then needs to be interpreted.

As a historical researcher my criteria for the selection of data, evidence, and sources was based upon what material was available and its relevance to the evolving research questions. I did not have a pre-determined agenda. I followed the data and then explored various theoretical perspectives to enable me to organise the evidence into a coherent narrative. For example, first I collated ten of the innovations that transformed the British hotel industry in the 19th century; then I searched for an appropriate academic model to frame hotel industry evolution and innovation. A eureka moment occurred when I realised that the transformation from sailing ships to steamships in the same period, was akin to the transformation from inns to hotels. I searched for articles that explored the transition from "sailing ships to steamships" on Google Scholar; and Geels' (2002) seminal article on innovation and industry evolution was at the bottom of the first page.

When I reflect on the process of writing this thesis, perhaps the most challenging aspect has been trying to find an appropriate vehicle to help meld articles 1 to 5 into a coherent corpus of work. I had already read Bridgeford's (2006) analysis of the Bayeux Tapestry and, in another Eureka moment, the idea of using a tapestry analogy created a potentially useful tool for fusing articles 1 to 5 together. Once adopted the analogy framework was effective in analysing most of the themes that connected the articles. For example, the data presented in articles 1 and 2 provides sufficient evidence of a strong engagement with contextuality. However, the data in articles 3 and 4 did not encompass any features that could be interpreted as contextual analysis. This was disappointing but once I recognised the incompatibility of using contextuality, in melding articles 3 and 4 into the coherence of the thesis, I was much happier.

The tapestry analogy is an unusual tool to use in business and historical research and has several limitations. In many ways the tapestry analogy is similar to hermeneutics with its focus on interpreting texts. Hermeneutics is not a logical, scientific process, instead it is more of an 'intuitive and divinatory' experience (Prasad, p18) that focuses on the search for hidden meanings in the text. Legitimate criticisms of the tapestry analogy could include the subjective interpretation of the findings due to intrinsic researcher bias (Antwi and Hamza, 2015); the trustworthiness and credibility of the research method that may be suspect (Rose and Johnson, 2020); and the fact there is little realistic possibility of the research being reliably replicated by another researcher (Weber, 2004). Although, I had to use subjective judgements in my tapestry analogy, I did endeavour to adopt a rational, analytical process to decide whether my published articles (1 to 4) demonstrated visible weft threads; or opaque waft threads with hidden meanings; or whether the not applicable classification was most applicable. My analysis of the mature stage in the evolution of the British hotel industry also relied upon a tapestry analogy and my insider hotelier knowledge (Berger, 2013) helped support some of the assumptions I made. The evidence to justify these subjective judgements is set out in 2.4.2 and 2.4.3.

From a reflexivity perspective, my background and mindset will have influenced my subjective approach to the study, but since I was not involved in interviewing respondents and there are no cross-cultural aspects to my research, potential methodological limitations due to reflexivity are consequently reduced. Many interpretative researchers have acknowledged the 'subjectivity problem inherent in … any qualitative analysis' (Armstrong, Davis, and Paulson, 2011 p. 153) and any bias in my work is unintentional.

3.6 Conclusion

This chapter provides a series of reflections on my research philosophy, the research methods adopted, and my research journey. I recognise that although I am intuitively an interpretivist researcher, I do not really engage in the positivist/subjectivist debate and my approach can best be described as a pragmatic researcher. The historical, case study and literature review research methods are each critiqued and various limitations are discussed. Finally, a reflective statement describes some of the key moments and challenges on my eleven-year research journey.

Chapter 4 Conclusion

4.1 Introduction

The first section of this chapter discusses how the critical appraisal achieves the objective set out in 1.3; the second section addresses the criteria for the award of a PhD by Publication; and the final section provides suggestions for further research.

4.2 Achievement of research objective

This critical appraisal explores the British hotel industry evolution between 1760 and 2010.

The objective is:

> To make a contribution to knowledge by further developing the theory of British hotel industry evolution.

This objective is addressed in section 2.4. The thesis makes a contribution to knowledge in the field of British hotel industry evolution by developing a framework to explain the transformation of the British hotel industry from an ‘inn-keeping’ stage in circa 1810, to a ‘hotel management’ stage in circa 1910, to a ‘multi-brand, corporate hotel management’ stage in circa 2010. The framework incorporates multi-level perspectives of hotel industry evolution and innovation; and uses elements of industry lifecycle theory. The analysis extends academic understanding of the evolutionary nature of hotel industry development from small-scale, micro-managed, cottage businesses to an industry dominated by large-scale, systems-orientated, international corporations. This evolution is underpinned by wide-scale industry adoption of dominant innovations that eventually transformed the British hotel industry during different stages of the industry’s lifecycle.

4.3 Achievement of the criteria for the award of a PhD by Publication

The criteria for the award of a PhD by Publication from Oxford Brookes University as set out in Regulation B7 have been achieved as follows:

- B3.2 ‘the work shall constitute a coherent programme of research, demonstrate the use of appropriate research methodology, and make an original contribution to the present state of knowledge.’

  Section 2.3 provides a detailed explanation of how the combined articles (1 to 5) constitute a coherent programme of research; chapter 3 explains the relevance of the various research methodologies adopted in articles 1 to 5; and section 2.4 articulates an original contribution to knowledge in the field of British hotel industry evolution within the context of innovation.

- B7.2 (i) 'Review the general literature in the field and place the candidate's submitted work in the context of this literature.'

  A succinct review of the industry evolution and innovation literature; 19th century British hotel industry evolution; innovative revenue management; hotel relationship marketing at the turn of the 21st century; and contextual analysis are all discussed in 2.2. Each of my published articles is 'placed' in the context of this literature.

- B7.2 (ii) 'Describe the overall programme of research and its aims and discuss how the individual items of published work submitted fit into this.'

  Sections 1.1 and 1.3 provide a background to the research and set out the aims of the programme of research. Section 2.3 explains how the individual articles (1 to 5) 'fit' into the overall programme of research.

- B7.2 (iii) 'Analyse the research methodology used where this is not covered in the published work.'

  Chapter 3 provides an evaluation of the research methodologies where this is not discussed in articles 1 to 5.

- B7.2 (iv) 'Analyse and assess the original contribution to knowledge represented by the published work submitted.'

  Section 2.4 discusses the original contribution to knowledge presented in the published work and this thesis.

- B7.2 (vi) 'In the case of multi-authored work, describe the extent and scope of the candidate's contribution in relation to the other authors' and B7.3 'in the case of each multi-authored work, a signed statement or letter shall be provided from at least one of the other co-authors, detailing and confirming the candidate's contribution to the work.'

Section 1.2 and appendices 6 and 7 confirm my contribution to the co-authored articles with Dr Wang and Dr Osman.

4.3 Further research

Although there have been many hotel history studies in the past, from an academic perspective this is still a relatively novel - and certainly a niche field - for future macro, meso and micro scholastic research. This section provides three ideas on potentially rich avenues for business history researchers to explore.

- The evolution of the British hotel industry (1760-1914) developed in article 1 provides a framework to explore in much more detail how the diffusion of innovations also influenced the evolution of the 20th and early 21st century British hotel industry (1914-2010). The mature stage of British hotel industry evolution discussed in 2.4.3 offers an incomplete picture that could be further developed by additional primary research and analysis. This research could be integrated with lifecycle theory to further develop hotel evolution theory. Borrowing concepts from industry lifecycle theory provides additional opportunities to explore aspects of hotel industry evolution. For example, there is extensive literature about different styles of competitor rivalry, at different stages of the lifecycle, and linked to the diffusion of innovation (Peltoniemi, 2011). This literature could provide the foundation for research into British hotel company rivalry at different stages of the lifecycle and could provide original insights into British hotel industry evolution. The framework in article 1 can be adopted in the analysis of hotel evolution in other countries or regions.

- There are a wide range of potential micro research projects in British hotel history. The specialist hotel and catering newspapers provide extensive coverage of the issues affecting hospitality management from late Victorian times up to the present day. However, most of this historic data is not available on-line and researchers would have to explore original copies in the newspaper archives at the British Library. When I was scanning these publications for suitable material for my research, I was fascinated by the local, national and international coverage of specific and generic topics - as well as advertising for suppliers' products. The regular columns of hotel and restaurant menus for special occasions provide insights into socio-cultural changes in culinary fashion. Every issue in every hotel magazine covered the topical issues confronting hospitality managers at that time. These issues are often raised in readers' letters and provide revealing insights into recurring problems, such as staff pilferage, as well as specific problems facing hoteliers at that moment in time. There are also opportunities to research management subject areas like accounting and finance, human resources, marketing and especially operations that are covered in varying degrees of depth in the specialist hospitality media.

- Lifecycle theory posits that innovation tends to emerge in geographic clusters (Audretsch, 1996). Since the late 18th century, the USA has constantly been a world-leader in hotel innovation. The reasons why the USA has been, and continues to be, at the forefront of hotel innovation could be a fascinating research project.

4.4 Conclusion

This chapter provides a concise summary of how the objectives of the research programme have been achieved; how the criteria for the award of a PhD by Published Work have been achieved; and makes a series of suggestions for further research.

This thesis extends scholarship in the neglected field of British hotel industry research; develops an original methodological tool in the form of a tapestry analogy; and provides a theoretical contribution to knowledge to explain hotel industry evolution.

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Appendix 1: Bowie, D. (2018). “Innovation and 19th century hotel industry evolution.”

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Appendix 2: Bowie, D., (2015). “Pure diffusion? The great English hotel charges debate in The Times, 1853.”

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Appendix 3: Wang, L, X,. and Bowie, D., (2009). “Revenue management: the impact on business-to-business relationships.”

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Appendix 4: Osman, H., Hemmington, N., and Bowie, D., (2009). "A transactional approach to brand loyalty in the hotel industry."

Appendix 5: Bowie, D., (2019). “Contextual analysis and newspaper archives in management history research.”

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Appendix 6: Co-author Dr Wang's statement of contribution (article 3).

15 July, 2020

To whom it may concern

<u>Re: David Bowie's contribution to our article published in the Journal of Services Marketing.</u>

I'm writing to confirm David's contribution to our article entitled 'Revenue Management: the impact on business-to-business relationships' that was published in the Journal of Services Marketing in 2009. As one of the supervisors of my PhD, David offered valuable advice on the analysis and discussion sections of my thesis from 2004 to 2006. More importantly, after I completed my PhD in 2006, David had confidence in me and encouraged me to work with him on the journal publication detailed above. His contribution including reading, annotating, editing and thorough proof-reading the manuscript before submission. David's help in addressing the reviewers' feedback was also greatly appreciated, especially for me as a young researcher at the time.

Should you have any further questions, please do not hesitate to contact me.

Yours Sincerely,

Dr. Xuan Lorna Wang

Senior Lecturer in Marketing and Revenue Management

Programme Director for MSc International Hotel Management

University of Surrey

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Appendix 7: Co-author Dr Osman's statement of contribution (article 4).

Bournemouth University

8 July 2020

To whom it may concern

Re: David Bowie's contribution to our article 'A Transactional Approach to Brand Loyalty in the Hotel Industry.'

This is to confirm Mr. David Bowie's contribution to our article 'A Transactional Approach to Brand Loyalty in the Hotel Industry' published in the International Journal of Contemporary Hospitality Management. Mr. Bowie contribution to this article was 40%. His contribution was invaluable to the design, writing up and editing of the article. He also led the process of responding to the reviewer's comments leading to the successful submission of the article. Through his professional network and prior to writing the article, Mr. Bowie played an essential role in facilitating access to two hotel companies where data was collected. The article reports on findings from my doctoral study conducted between 1998 and 2001 under Mr. Bowie's supervision. His involvement with the design of the overall study's methodology was instrumental to the successful completion of my PhD and consequently the publishing of the article in one of the leading international journals in Hospitality.

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Appendix 8: Tapestry analogy of article 4

Context

In the second half of the 20th century, hotel brands proliferated – especially in the USA – and from 1975 onwards national and international hotel brands expanded at an exponential rate. In 1970 there were only three significant British hotel brands, by 2006 over 140 hotel brands were operating in the UK (Bailey, 2007). Since the 1990's, hotel companies developed innovative brand concepts in all market segments by either acquiring a successful new brand concept or developing a new brand in-house. Simon Woodroffe developed the brand concept for Yotel by combining the functional element of a budget hotel with the experiential feeling of first-class air travel. Their first hotel opened at Gatwick in 2007 and the brand has been successfully rolled out across the world. The American based company Starwood Hotels who operate several brands in the UK created several innovative hotel brand concepts including W Hotels in 1998. These examples of innovative brand concepts, catering for a wide range of market segments, illustrate how the British hotel industry developed its own, and also imported, contemporary hotel brand concepts in the late 20th and early 21st century.

Brand H

Brand H, founded in the early 1990's, is the creation of a Scottish hotelier who has family connections with theatre and the arts. This theatrical background, coupled with an interest in French culture, influenced the design brief for Brand H hotels. The hotels are located in British city centres and most are conversions; there are a few new-build properties. Despite the focus on converted buildings, Article 4 describes Brand H as a harder brand - that means the hotels are relatively standardised operations. Hotels D and E conform to Brand H hotels' brand standards.

The sub-text in Article 4

In this tapestry analysis, see Figure 7, the visible words and phrases that describe hotels D and E are interpreted as four factors (functional brand concept; price competitive; contemporary, distinctive, elegant décor; unique brand image different to competitors) that help to define Brand H as a contemporary hotel brand concept. The hidden background details in the sub-text suggest that Brand H is also an innovative brand concept.

Visible (weft) phrases and words	**Hidden (warp) meaning – factors contributing to innovative brand concept**
‘Work procedures, types of service, interior design, style of décor, staff uniforms largely standardised’, (p243). *‘Simplicity in style and operation’, (p244).* *‘Reduced supplementary services and facilities’, (p244).* *‘No frills approach’, (p244).* *‘No augmented services, discounts, promotional offers’, (p245).* *‘Consistent service quality with no extra amenities’, (p245).*	Functional brand concept.
‘Aimed to offer customers good value for money’, (p244). *‘Reduced … supplementary services and facilities so that room prices could be kept competitive’, (p244)* *‘Company strives to maintain a value for money concept in order to achieve a base of loyal customers,’ (p246).* *‘Keeping prices relatively low’, (p247).* *‘Standardisation made it possible for managers to control both costs and service delivery,’ (p247).* *‘Customers saw the standard pricing and service as honest, reliable and consistent,’ (p247).*	Price competitive.
‘Contemporary décor’ (p243). *‘Distinguished art work’ (p243).* *‘Hotels’ elegant style,’ (p244).* *‘The thing that struck me about the hotel was its interior design … it was very modern and kind of chic … not like your typical modern hotel … very distinct design’ (p244).*	Contemporary, distinctive, elegant décor.
‘Distinctive brand image’ (p243) *‘The initial attraction of the majority of our customers … is our brand. Although we have different themes (decor), they have come across the brand some way or another. They would know that they have gone to one of our hotels (Manager, Hotel D)’, (p243)* *‘Unique brand;’ and ‘differentiated position,’ (p247)* *‘Clear brand image,’ (p248)*	Unique brand image different to competitors.

Figure 7: Tapestry and hidden meanings analogy for innovative brand concept, article 4.