

AN INTEGRATED RURAL TOURISM APPROACH
TO NORMANDY'S CIDER TRAIL

by

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A thesis dissertation submitted to the Graduate Council of
Texas State University in partial fulfillment
of the requirements for the degree of
Master of Science
with a Major in Geography
December 2016

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ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

A special thanks to Jennifer Devine, Colleen Hiner and John Tiefenbacher for their encouragement and guidance, my translator and colleague, Maël le Noc, his family who graciously opened up their home to me, Relais de la Route du Cidre representative, Julie Demarthes, and the Pays d’Auge cider producers for making this research possible.

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LIST OF ABBREVIATIONS

Abbreviation	Description
AOC	Appellation d'origine contrôlée
IRT	Integrated Rural Tourism
PDO	Protected Designation of Origin
PGI	Protected Geographical Indication

GLOSSARY

Appellation d'origine contrôlée (AOC): French certification granted to certain French geographic indications for wines, cheeses and other agricultural products. Appellation d'origine contrôlée translates as “controlled designation of origin” in English.

Calvados: An apple brandy originating from Normandy. Calvados is typically served as a digestif and often added to coffee, milk or desserts. Calvados is distilled from cider made from specially selected apple varieties.

Cidre: French name for “cider,” which is an alcoholic beverage made from fermented apple juice.

Cru de Cambremer: A union composed of 17 cider, calvados and pommeau producers located in Pays d’Auge, Normandy.

La Route du Cidre: French name for the “Cider Route” or “Cider Trail,” a 40 kilometer, self-guided trail in Pays d’Auge, Normandy.

Pommeau: A traditional Norman apéritif that ranges from 16 to 18% alcohol by volume. Pommeau is an aged mixture of apple juice and calvados in an oak tree cask.

Protected Designation of Origin (PDO): One of three European Union geographical indications. The PDO is the toughest registration; the product must have distinct qualities or characteristics which are determined by the region of production. It must also be produced, processed *and* prepared exclusively in that region.

Protected Geographical Indication (PGI): One of the three European Union geographical indications. A PGI is slightly less strict than a PDO registration; the product must have qualities or characteristics which are attributed to the region of production. The product can be produced, processed *or* prepared in that region.

Relais de la route du Cidre: The French name for the Cider Trail information center that was launched in 2010. Relais de la route du Cidre is also referred to as “la Porte Verte.”

I. INTRODUCTION

Overview

Within the past few decades, there has been an unprecedented growth in the demand for quality, locally-produced food and beverages, particularly those tied to a regional image or heritage. This increased demand for place-based foods has led to the creation of food-based tourism opportunities across the globe. Food-based tourism can focus on a diverse set of products, including wine, beer, regional cuisine, and spirits. However, unlike French wine, which has been studied in great scholarly detail, French cider remains unexplored, including a complete absence of scholarly publications relating to Normandy's *Route du Cidre* as of yet. The goal of this research is use an integrated rural tourism (IRT) framework to analyze Normandy's "Cider Trail." By examining the structure and daily practices of cider tourism in Normandy, I will illuminate the environmental and cultural impacts of this industry by asking and answering the following questions: How, does the Route du Cidre fit within the IRT framework? And in particular, what role does cider as a cultural commodity play in achieving the IRT goals of sustainability and cultural embeddedness?

General Background

Given the global status of French wine, perhaps cider will always remain second in importance to wine in France. Unlike British cider, which has become increasingly industrialized and globalized, French cider is more difficult to find outside the three regions that produce it: Brittany, Normandy, and Pays Basque (Figure 1.1). Normandy and Brittany are the two primary production regions and since the 1990s, have benefited from the European Union's protected geographical indication (PGI) status as "Cidre de Normandie" and "Cidre de Bretagne." Within these, two appellation d'origine contrôlée (AOC) or "controlled designation of origins" have been created, Pays d'Auge in Normandy and Cornouailles in Brittany. These appellations constitute strict French policy regulations and quality assurance.

This research focuses specifically on Normandy, though each of these cider-producing provinces have distinct regional identities that contrast with the general, national French identity. While other prominent French provinces maintain France's reputation as producer of quality wines, Brittany, Normandy and the Basque region continue to demonstrate that French craftsmanship is not limited to wine. The preservation of the cider-making tradition in these three regions speaks to that social departure. Cider production is restricted to these regions due in part to climate and geologic variations, but the continued prominence of cider is also a reflection of maintenance of distinct cultural identities. Together, these factors have established regions within the French fermented landscape (Hiner, C. C. (in preparation), and have resulted in polarized perspectives on the prestige and "Frenchness" of cider among French citizens (Brown and Bradshaw 2013).

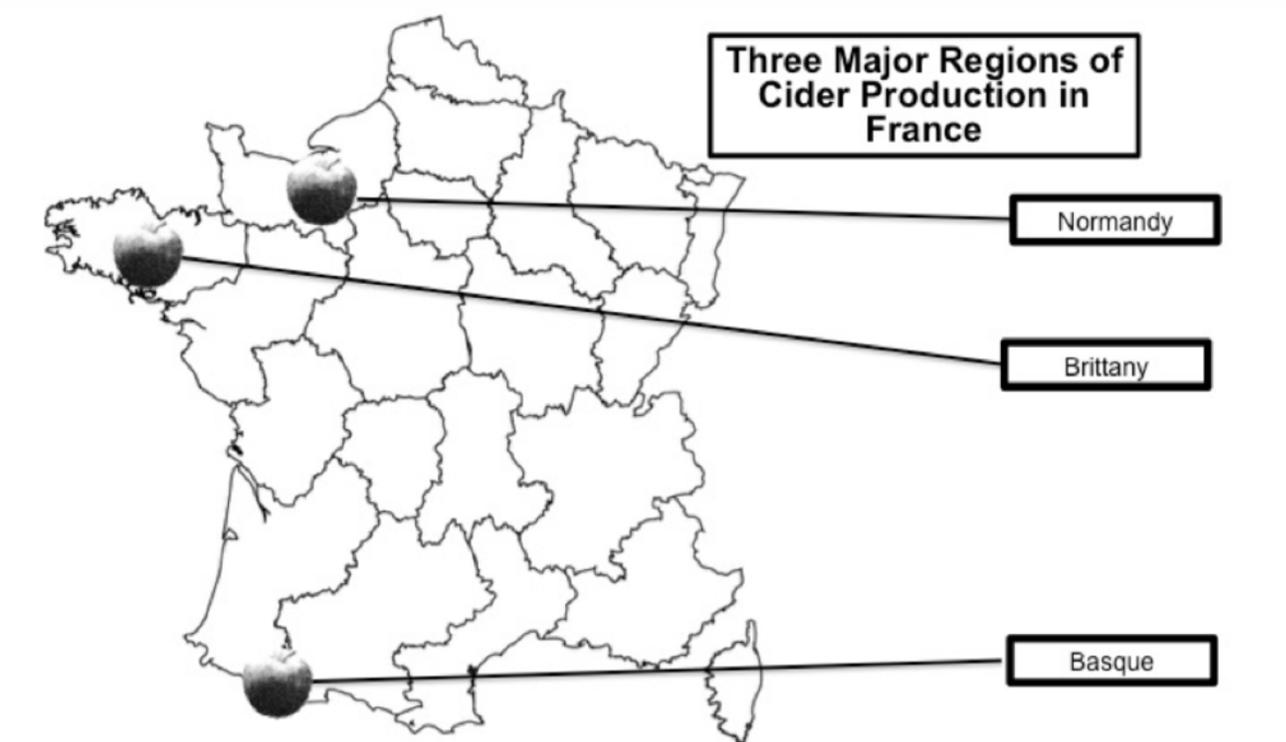


Figure 1.1 – Three Major Regions of Cider Production in France

Source: Ashley Jenkins

II. RESEARCH FRAMEWORK

Literature Review

Within the past twenty years, there has been a significant increase in consumer demand for high quality, locally-produced food and beverages. This increase in demand can be attributed to a postmodern consumer backlash against the industrially produced, homogenous products that have dominated national markets. This post-productivist transition (PPT) has generated a revalorization of the rural spaces and craft products (Ilbery and Kneafsey 1998; Kneafsey 2001; Gosnell and Abrams 2011). The promotion of these craft products compliments the adoption of endogenous, bottom-up strategies for rural development, facilitating “a sense of ownership by local people while creating niche markets for local enterprises, most notably in tourism, craft and agricultural product sectors” (Ray1999).

The PPT has also prompted a shift in tourism from “standardized mass tourism” to more “individualistic” tourism that prefers an authentic, and often rural, experience (Selwyn 1996; Briedenham and Wickens 2004; Saxena et al. 2007; Gosnell and Abrams 2009). As a result, rural landscapes are revalorized and commodified for tourists’ consumption because they represent a “romantic simplicity” and “golden traditionality” in the eyes of tourists (Kneafsey 2001).

Contemporaneously, European Union policy has emphasized the need for more integrated and territorial approaches to rural development strategies. The intent is not to replace existing activities, but to incorporate new sources of income, such as rural tourism and the development of niche markets, that complement activities already taking

place in rural areas (Ilbery and Kneafsey 2000; Petrou et al. 2007). Thus, rural tourism and traditional products (like Norman cider) can be marketed together to create linkages between rural production and cultural imagery.

Integrated rural tourism (IRT) acknowledges and unites these trends in policy, tourism, and consumer demand by providing a useful framework to critically analyze the multi-functionality of rural landscapes and uncover the dynamic relationships between different tourism actors, resources, and activities (Saxena et al. 2007).

IRT is “tourism explicitly linked to the social, economic, cultural, natural and human structures of the localities in which it takes place” (Jenkins and Oliver 2001). The key objective of IRT is to promote economic, environmental, social, and cultural sustainability in tourism while empowering local residents through bottom-up development. The IRT framework helps researchers break down and analyze the connections between economic, social, cultural, and environmental resources, tourism actors, and the end-product that is consumed by tourists (Oliver and Jenkins 2001; Weaver 2005; Saxena et al. 2007).

Prior to the development of the IRT, rural tourism scholarship was clearly divided in its purpose and perspective, resulting in several distinctly different conceptual approaches to rural tourism studies. Past models of rural tourism analysis include core/periphery approaches, consumerist approaches, commercialization approaches, existential approaches, performative approaches, community-focused approaches, and sustainability approaches (Saxena et al. 2007). These subject-specific approaches produce limited insights because they emphasize one sector or discipline over another, reducing their research focus to just a single set of interactions and interests (Saxena et al. 2007).

IRT combines these fragmented approaches and provides one integrated and interdisciplinary approach that promotes comprehensive and critical analysis of the resources, actors, and networks of the tourism industry (Cawley and Gillmore 2008; Sims 2009; Stoffelen and Vanneste 2015).

There are seven nodes of integration in the IRT model (Table 1.1) (Cawley and Gillmore 2008). The following section explores each node and details their characteristics.

Seven Integrated Nodes of IRT

Table 2.1 – Seven Integrated Nodes of IRT

Node:	Concept:
1	An ethos of promoting multidimensional sustainability
2	Empowerment of the host community
3	Endogenous ownership and development
4	Tourism that is complementary to existing activities and structures
5	An appropriate scale of development
6	Networking among stakeholders
7	Embeddedness in local systems

The first node of IRT encourages the development of tourism that sustainably harnesses local activities and resources, is economically viable, and protects the quality of the natural environment, local culture and well-being of the host community (Jenkins and Oliver 2001; Blackstock 2005; Saarinen 2006; Saxena, Clark, Oliver and Ilbery

2007). To better understand the first node of integration, multidimensional sustainability must be defined. Multidimensional sustainability has economic, socio-cultural, political, geographical, and ecological aspects. The economic aspect refers to satisfying human needs and goals. The socio-cultural and political aspects should promote equality and justice. Geographical aspect refers to spatial consequences of human actions. The ecological aspect refers to the protection of natural diversity and variety, and to the preservation of natural cycles.

The second integrated node of IRT, the empowerment of the host community, suggests that tourism networks should facilitate a shared understanding and ownership of goals and objectives; promote local management of physical, cultural and economic resources; encourage accountability; enhance members' ability to innovate; and lastly, promote community participation and collective decision-making (Cawley and Gillmor 2008; Saxena and Ilbery 2008). By contrast, disempowering networks ignore the wants and needs of the host community and place greater emphasis on profit generation (Jenkins 2001; Northcote and Macbeth 2006).

The third node deals with endogenous development and ownership which is closely associated with the concept of embeddedness or development structured around the local environment, economy, and culture. Resource ownership in this context defers to those who exert ownership, management, or control of the provision of the natural (water, land, etc.), cultural (historic buildings, local traditions, etc.) and human resources that enhance the quality of the tourism industry (like tour guides, hotel cleaning services, etc.). There is also a collective "agency" or sense of choice among owners when it comes to resource use. Resources should be used in ways that retain maximum benefits in the

locality. Endogenous development focuses on the local communities' needs, capacity, social values and “the complex phenomena of tradition that can be defined as handing down of customs, beliefs and ideas intergenerationally” (Saxena et al. 2007). By contrast, exogenous ownership constitutes external resource ownership and external decision-making. The local community does not own the resources, nor do they have a say in how they are used and this minimizes local benefits (Ray 1999; Kneafsey 2001; Jenkins 2000; Saxena and Ilbery 2008).

The fourth node focuses on the way in which tourism should complement existing structures and activities. This node is also closely related to the concept of embeddedness and scale, but is broader as several structures can exist in any given locality – social structures, economic structures, political structures, etc. Tourism should benefit the local economy while deterring social conflicts and should comply with existing policies (Cawley and Gillmor 2008). Tourism that complements a region's history, agricultural practices, culture, landscape, or local products and services provides visitors with a “distinctively local and quality package of products and services, [which results] in a better experience for both the tourist and host communities” (Saxena et al. 2007). One common complementary-tourism approach is to market rural tourism and place-based products together. This scheme links rural production and cultural imagery, in turn offering an authentic tourism experience. This facilitates the development of niche markets, employment opportunities, and social cohesion while also simultaneously educating visitors about the local culture and way of life (Ilbery and Kneafsey 1998; Kneafsey 2001; Jenkins 2001; Gosnell and Abrams 2009). This approach is “often

associated with regions of long-established quality product markets, particularly in France” (Oliver and Jenkins 2003).

The fifth node of integration refers to the scale of development, suggesting that the scale of rural development should be appropriate for the geographic context and for existing social structures. This typically involves locally owned, small-scale tourism opportunities that serve small groups or single travelers and consequently reduces environmental impact (Jenkins and Oliver 2001; Saxena et al. 2007; Cawley and Gillmor 2008; Saxena and Ilbery 2008).

The sixth node emphasizes networking among stakeholders. A network encompasses the dynamic social relationships created by actors to achieve tourism goals, making it crucial understanding IRT. Networks enable actors to search for, obtain, and mobilize resources, access information, cultivate a collective vision, diffuse ideas, and engage in cooperative actions that are mutually beneficial. In turn, networking can increase local pride, appeal to investors, and even counter negative perceptions (Cawley and Gillmor 2008; Oliver and Jenkins 2003).

Networking in the IRT context is more likely to be “soft” than “hard.” Soft networks have an open membership, place emphasis on social norms, are cooperative in nature, and form horizontal linkages between businesses, organizations, and individuals. Soft networks serve a broad range of interests in the community and are more likely to be driven by need than by quick profits. However, they are less likely to become economically self-sufficient; therefore, members require financial support from agencies. In contrast, hard networks are hierarchical (form vertical linkages). They are profit-driven, and are created to establish shared business objectives, like targeting new

markets, co-product development, co-production, or co-marketing. Some vertical linkages are beneficial as they can rally external support or attract tourists (Petrou et al. 2007; Saxena et al. 2007; Cawley and Gillmor 2008).

Networks can also be opened or closed. Open networks are structured so that members can easily access a range of services and they can capture knowledge and data from other actors or networks. (Amin and Thrift 1994; Murdoch 2000; Kneafsey 2001). Closed networks are collectivistic and take an “us versus them” approach. But these close social ties facilitate exchange of knowledge and form strong bonds among and between network members (Petrou et al. 2007; Saxena et al. 2007; Cawley and Gillmor 2008).

Finally, the seventh node in the IRT model is embeddedness. Embeddedness connotes resources and activities that are tightly linked to place. Embeddedness can also describe the relationships that are formed within the socio-cultural context of that locality (Kneafsey and Ilbery 1998; Hinrichs 2000; Winter 2003; Cawley and Gillmor 2008). “The unique socio-cultural characteristics and ideas, which are embedded in place, help shape relationships and networks and create psycho-emotional bonds between the individual and the place by providing repertoires of shared values, symbols and traditions” (Saxena et al. 2007). Together, these seven nodes of integration provide a framework for analyzing the resources, actors, and networks involved in the tourism industry, as well as a methodological guideline for continued research on Norman cider tourism.

Data and Methodology

IRT studies encourage a “holistic conceptualization of tourism, which in turn suggests a research methodology that seeks to engage with multiple actors and networks involved in the institution” (Saxena et al. 2007) and to give weight to the “local voice,” which is frequently absent in tourism studies (Crick 1989). The seven nodes of integration in the IRT model formed the foundation for data collection. Specifically, this research used qualitative research methods to assess the seven nodes:

1. The scale of tourism development
2. The way in which stakeholders network
3. Whether and how La Route du Cidre promotes multidimensional sustainability
4. Whether or not the Norman community has been empowered or disempowered by cider tourism
5. Whether or not ownership and development is endogenous or exogenous
6. To what extent cider tourism complements existing structures and activities
7. The level of embeddedness of local systems

To achieve these objectives and assess how Normandy’s Cider Trail fits within the IRT framework, data was collected using the following methods: participant observation, formal and informal interviews, content analysis, and historical analysis. Content analysis of promotional tourism brochures and associated web pages, was conducted to analyze cider tourism discourses, while the historical analysis of Normandy provided valuable insight on the creation of Normandy’s regional identity and

cider heritage, which was necessary to assess la Route du Cidre's degree of embeddedness and multidimensional sustainability.

Prior to embarking on field research, an Institutional Review Board (IRB) exemption was approved (EXP2016G417518M). During a thirteen day trip in July 2016 in Normandy, I conducted fourteen informal, semi-structured interviews with business representatives and tourists, and conducted audio-taped formal, structured interviews with the cider producers and tourism officials. As a participant and observer, I traversed the Cider Trail as a tourist myself, watching, listening, and engaging with fellow tourists as much as possible. The seven nodes of IRT served as conceptual checklist when formulating interview questions and analyzing data derived from the fieldwork experience.

Three styles of record were used throughout during fieldwork (Saxena et al 2007; Oliver and Jenkins 2003):

(1) Detailed field notes, which served as a general running account of the research process as it took place. These notes were used in conjunction with audio recordings to help facilitate analysis.

(2) Personal notes, where I recorded my initial impressions and thoughts while in the field. These notes served as a self-reflection tool and a means to identify any personal bias that may have been introduced during data collection or analysis.

(3) Theoretical notes were used to record emerging trends or themes throughout the research process. These notes served as a research reminder of concepts to follow up, as well as a record of generalizable themes and trends I observed in the field.

This compilation of notes was supplemented with secondary sources such local maps, photographs and tourism promotional ads to document the tourism experience.

Site and Situation

“Normandy is a farmer’s paradise” (Mattsson 2005, 29). Normandy’s marine west coast climate provides predictable rainfall, while Normandy’s mixture of clay and mineral-rich limestone gives way to fertile soils. The harvest and produce from Normandy's pastureland, coastline, gardens and orchards “has made Normandy a land of rich culinary tradition, known as the ‘Paris Larder,’ supplying the capital with seafood, fish, vegetables, dairy produce, meat and fruits” (Mattsson 2005, 31-32).

Calvados is a department located in the center of Normandy that lends its name to the apple brandy from specified areas of Normandy. The highest quality cider and calvados is produced in the green hills and valleys of Pays d’ Auge, which span the departments of Calvados and Orne (Mattsson 2005, 3).

La Route du Cidre is a 25-mile (40 kilometer) marked trail encompassing the appellation d’Origine Contrôlée des Cidres du Pays d’Auge (see Figure 2.1). In 1973, Houlgate County Council member, Ambroise Dupont, “advocated for the creation of a tourist route that would allow vacationers to discover the hinterland and enjoy the high quality of products augeron terroir” (larouteducidre.fr). The Cru du Cambremer Union, the Cambremer Community Council and departmental tourism authorities combined their efforts to launch the trail in 1974 (Demarthes 2012).

The trail includes seventeen producers of cider, calvados and pommeau and unites the villages of Beuvron en Auge, Bonnebosq, Beaufour Druval and Cambremer. All

seventeen producers belong to the Cru de Cambremer Union. Members are identified by the “Cru de Cambremer” signs that facilitate tourist navigation through the circuit; there are currently no guided tours (Demarthes 2012). The trail includes small farmhouse producers as well as a few large-scale commercial producers. The trail guides tourists through picturesque green hills studded with grazing cattle, apple orchards and traditional Norman half-timbered cottages. Tourists can taste and buy cider as they traverse the scenic trail. Some producers offer daily guided tours of their production facilities where they educate visitors on production methods and product selection.



Figure 2.1 – Map of la Route du Cidre

Source: Libre Cours, 2012

III. HISTORICAL ANALYSIS

Normandy's unique regional identity is a product of Normandy's long and complex historical narrative (Ward 2015). Therefore, to understand the construction of Normandy's regional identity, it's necessary to briefly explore the history of Normandy. By doing so, we also uncover the origin, diffusion and development of Norman cider. As Mattsson (2015, 32-33) states, "apples, cider, and calvados are and have been a natural part of the Norman way of life for centuries and still are."

Celtic and Belgic tribes, collectively referred to as the Gauls, initially populated the area now known as Normandy. France inherited apple cultivation knowledge from the Gauls and that knowledge was later improved upon by the Romans, who ruled the area for roughly five hundred years (Ward 2015). The earliest mention of French cider can be accredited to Greek geographer Strabo (63 BC – c. AD 24), who chronicled the abundance of apple trees in Gaul and described the apple-based drink (Brown and Bradshaw 2013; Apple Journal 2016).

Following the collapse of the Roman Empire in the 5th century, Frankish Kings (known as the Kings of France after 1190) filled the political vacuum left behind (Ward 2015). In the 9th century, Frankish King Charlemagne (768–814), was said to be "a protector of orchards. In the law of the times (the Salic Law) a special clause relates to fruit trees and the severe punishments for those who dared damage them" (Mattsson 2005, 1630-1631). In addition, Charlemagne ordered the expansion of apple orchards in what is now present-day Normandy and Brittany (Brown and Bradshaw 2013; Apple Journal 2016).

In 790 Vikings (or Norsemen) began invading the Norman coast in successive waves. Throughout the 9th and 10th centuries, the Viking incursions evolved into permanent settlement. These new residents became known as the “Normans,” descendants of the Norse Vikings and the people who gave the region its name, Normandy or “Normanni”, which means the “Men of the North” (Ward 2015).

In 911, after a decisive Viking defeat, King Charles III of the Franks and Viking leader, Rollo, signed the treaty of Saint-Clair-sur-Epte, which established the independent Duchy of Normandy. The treaty granted the Norman people local autonomy, so long as they observe the superiority of the Frankish King and promise to protect France from future Viking raids. Rollo’s descendants took noble Frankish women as their wives to solidify the compromise, thus resulting in an interesting blend of Frankish heritage with Old Norse traditions, which ultimately culminated in the unique Norman culture that is still associated with the region today (Ward 2015). Evidence of this cultural mixture is found in Norman place-names and the regional language, Norman-French, which borrows linguistic elements from both Old French and the Norse language (Bates 1982; Searles 1988; Crouch 2006).

The 11th century is referred to as the “Great Norman Age” due to the level of military prestige the Normans achieved through their successful invasions of present-day Ireland, Italy, and England. In 1066, Duke William II of Normandy, later known as William the Conqueror, became the first Norman King of England and reigned from 1066 until his death in 1087 (Ward 2015). The National Association of Cider Makers (2016), a British-based cider organization, argues that:

The wandering peoples, who travelled through the countries which we now know as Spain and Northern France, introduced their ‘shekar’ (a word of Hebrew origin for

strong drink) to the early Britons... however, it is true to say that the Normans had the most positive effect on the history of cider making. (National Association of Cider Makers 2016)

In addition, “after the Norman conquest of England in 1066...[the] popularity of cider grew steadily...[and] by 1300, cider became the drink of the English people” (Apple Journal 2016). Therefore, while England may be synonymous with cider production today, the Gauls and the Normans are responsible for the product’s development and diffusion. “England industrialized quickly, so it was easy for cider to be mass-produced and exported...[whereas Normandy] is still struggling to industrialize...that’s why people associate cider with [the English] and not [Normandy]...[Norman farmers] could never produce on that scale” (Masse 2016). After all, “[Norman farmers] are dairy farmers first, cider producers second” (Frapsauce 2016).

Following the 1066 conquest, the Duke of Normandy and the King of England were usually the same person, until King Phillip II of France seized Normandy from King John in 1204. John’s son, Henry III, recognized the French possession of Normandy in 1259 under the Treaty of Paris. The English monarchy made subsequent attempts to reclaim Normandy during the Hundred Years’ War and even claimed the throne of France itself for a short while (Ward 2015). British claims to the throne of France and Norman territory were not formally abandoned until 1801, when George III and the English parliament joined the Kingdom of Great Britain with the Kingdom of Ireland to form the United Kingdom. By this time, British claims to French territory had become obsolete, since the French monarchy itself had been overthrown in 1792 with the establishment of the French Republic (Brown 1968; Ward 2015). The French revolution dissolved the Duchy of Normandy and all its associated privileges and autonomy. The

territory was and restructured into five French departments or ‘county’ administrations in Normandy: Calvados, Eure, Manche, Orne and Seine Maritime. “Each contributes to the diversity and production of cider, pommeau and calvados. Not surprisingly, the department of Calvados is the main area for the apple brandy, calvados” (Mattsson 2005, 2).

At the start of the 19th century, Norman agriculture accounted for eleven percent of France’s produce on just six percent of its land – apples were their main contribution (Ward 2015). It was around this time that Odolant Desnos, a renowned Norman doctor and local historian, noted 300 varieties of apple trees that were found in the region. Cider production increased four-fold as phylloxera (a vineyard pest) devastated the vineyards and opened up the market for cider (Apple Journal 2016). “[Phylloxera] knocked out the competition from wine and wine brandy. Cider and apple brandy suddenly came in high demand. In Normandy, hardly any vines were replanted. With a growing cider production, effective column stills and a collapsed wine trade, the market for cider and apple brandy would never be better” (Mattsson 2005, 1800-1801).

As cider’s popularity grew, so did the number of hectares devoted to apple cultivation. From 1870 to 1900, the number of orchard hectares increased from four million to fourteen million hectares in just thirty years (Mattsson 2005; The Apple Journal 2016). By the turn of the century, the French government estimated that approximately one million people were employed in the cider industry (Brown and Bradshaw 2013).

During this time, “apple cultivation was essential for many [communities] for four reasons: the water was not safe to drink, [people] drank cider [instead because] it was

more sanitary...The trees provided wood necessary for home heating, cooking and furniture...dairy farmers diversified [their farms and their incomes] by planting apple trees because cows graze under and around [the trees] ...and of course the apple itself for food and products” (Frapsauce 2016).

During the First World War, the French government requisitioned alcohol and its means of production in order to produce explosives for the military (Brown and Bradshaw 2013). In the Second World War, the German invasion and occupation and the subsequent allied invasion devastated local infrastructure, buildings, farmland and orchards. Once the wars were over, the “government’s need for alcohol declined and a surplus built up. A political decision was made in 1953 to cut down on volume and focus more on quality” (Mattsson 2005, 1817-1818). That same year, French vineyards began to bounce back from their phylloxera infestation, which prompted the French government to issue a protective (in regards to the wine industry), but destructive (in the case of apple orchards), order that required apple trees to be dug up and destroyed (Brown and Bradshaw 2013). In 1956, the French “government stopped supporting the distillers. This combined with land redistribution, rural depopulation and changes in lifestyles resulted in a decline of the traditional farmhouse production” (Mattsson 2005, 1854).

Post-war industrialization undoubtedly contributed to cider’s decline. “People took industrial jobs in the cities, which also offered social and educational opportunities” (Mattsson 2005, 1788). “Farmland was abandoned...children did not want to take over the family farm... [as] industrial jobs offer more money and stability” (Demarthes 2016).

After WWII, cider was increasingly viewed as dull and old-fashioned and something only the old and the poor enjoyed in France (Brown and Bradshaw 2013).

“Cider made before the 1970s was not of good quality [compared to present day production] ...its acidity made teeth look bad, so cider [consumption] was not seen as something that should be expanded because it was poorly made and had a bad image” (Frapsauce 2016).

Cider production and quality began to improve in the 1970s when a surge of young people left their city jobs and returned to farm life. “It began with the organic movement...people returned to the abandoned farms [in Normandy] and studied how to improve cider with new methods and new recipes to make it more desirable” (Frapsauce 2016). The creation of la Route du Cidre in 1974 highlighted cider’s revival in the region. The trail’s creation also signaled an economic need; “for many Normans, the tourism industry has become an important source of income” (Matterson 2005, 38), but for small villages like Cambremer and Beuvron en Auge, “tourism was the only option” (Demarthes 2016).

IV. PROMOTIONAL CONTENT ANALYSIS

Web Analysis

Internet-based information regarding Normandy's Cider Trail is most easily found on the website <http://larouteducidre.fr>. The website contains various tabs and sections that offer information on the trail's history, location, AOC and PDO affiliations, as well as local accommodations, restaurant recommendations and useful links. The Cambremer Tourism Office's symbol and website link appear on the right side of the page, which suggests an affiliation between the webpage and the Cambremer tourism office.

However, when asked about the webpage, the Cambremer tourism officials explained that neither the office nor the Cru Cambremer have any connection to the page.

"Furthermore, not only did the person who launched the website never try to check the validity of its content with the producers, but neither did the producers try to contact this webmaster" (Demarthes 2012, 37).

Although it appears as though the webmaster had good intentions in promoting the route, the webpage is terribly misleading for tourist. For example, under the "circuits" tab, there's an interactive map of the trail entitled, "The tours to discover the Cider Route." The map is divided into four sections or "four stages of the circuit." For each section, viewers can "View/Download the tour by Gilbert Guillotin," where a PDF guide to the section is provided. "Some tourist would show up at the Cambremer tourist office or at the 'Relais de la route du cidre' expecting a guide to show them around as the name of a certain person is written at the bottom of the pdf files. Unfortunately, there is nobody available to show people around as the Cider Trail is a self-guided tour" (Demarthes 2012, 37). Additionally, the map provides the name, location, and contact information for

nineteen producers. In actuality, however, only seventeen producers are associated with the trail. Furthermore, the division of the trail into four sections or “stages,” was the creation of the master of the webpage, not the tourism officials or the Cru de Cambremer. The respondents had no knowledge of the trail ever being divided into specific sections; la Route du Cidre is one trail, although it spans does several small villages.

Given that “the internet is hardly ever used to promote the cider trail” (Demarthes 2012, 36), prospective tourists are limited to the few online sources available and, as mentioned, the most frequented webpage lacks legitimacy and is riddled with inconsistencies and inaccuracies. Representatives from the Cambremer Tourism Office, the Calvados Tourism Board (Demarthes 2012), and several producers in the Cru de Cambremer Union had heard of the website, but none of them expressed any desire to try to reform or remove the website, despite the confusion it has caused in the past.

A second online source for la Route du Cidre information is the Calvados Tourism Board’s webpage (<http://www.calvados-tourisme.co.uk>). Although this is an official webpage, it has just as many inconsistencies as the unofficial webpage. According to this website, “the Cider Route reunites twenty producers around the town of Cambremer,” which again, does not mirror the actual number of producers (seventeen) that are associated with the trail. The webpage does caution that “certain producers are open for visits by appointment, whereas others are open all year round, such as Calvados Dupont and the Manoir de Grandouet, to name but two” (www.calvados-tourisme.co.uk). This is certainly important information useful for tourists’ plans, however, the website does not indicate the producers that are appointment-based and which are open year

round (aside for the two mentioned, Dupont and the Grandouet Manor, which is owned by the Grandval family).

The Calvados Tourism Board's website also provides a map of the trail, but the map only shows thirteen producers and some lack contact information. This makes it challenging for tourists to know which producers require an appointment and which are open to the public year round. Further, as contact information for producers is not provided, tourists are hard pressed to answer these questions.

Another issue I found with Calvados Tourist Board's webpage is that the page does not mention that la Route du Cidre is a self-guided tour, which seems to be a rather crucial piece of information for tourists desiring to visit. On the more general Normandy Tourist Board's webpage (<http://en.normandie-tourisme.fr>), there is a small excerpt promoting la Route du Cidre, but information seekers are redirected back to the Calvados Tourist Board's page, a page that is inconsistent and lack key information for potential tourists.

Having exhausted all their sources of online information, one family traversing the trail "sent emails to try to make appointments with [various producers whose contact was available], but no one responded...so [they] ended up just visiting Huet, Dupont and Grandval," the three largest producers on the trail and the only producers who regularly offer guided tours of their estates and facilities.

Several conclusions can be drawn from this analysis: First, the availability of online information on la Route du Cidre is clearly limited, and the little information that does exist is either contradictory, factually incorrect or is insufficient for tourists' planning purposes. All three promotional websites fail at their attempt to provide users

with accurate information about la Route du Cidre, and this suggests a serious lack of communication and organization among stakeholders and tourism officials.

Second, the impact of disseminating false information can be significant. These websites have not only confused tourist upon their arrival (Demarthes 2012), but have likely deterred many prospective tourists from visiting the trail. Many tourists have been “disappointed because they arrive and the route is not what they expected” (Masse 2016). Furthermore, because only ten of the seventeen producers are involved in tourist reception (information that is not clearly stated on any the webpages), it is not uncommon for tourists to show up at estates where they are not welcomed (this will be discussed in greater detail in the section entitled “Brochure Analysis”).

Third, the lack of online information about la Route du Cidre works to the advantage of the trail’s three largest producers on the trail: Huet, Dupont and Grandval. Because they are the largest producers and export regularly, these producers realize the importance of having their own websites, where visitors can shop online, read product descriptions and view photos of their estates. Furthermore, because they are the largest, most profitable producers, they can afford to hire staff specifically dedicated to welcoming guests and leading year-round guided tours of their facilities. Therefore, at the very least, tourists can count on touring these three facilities without significant preparation (e.g. contacting them to schedule an appointment). The contact information for Huet, Dupont and Grandval was consistent across all three websites, whereas the contact information for smaller producers either varied from site to site and/or was not included at all.

Lastly, given that as we live in a digital age and so little Route du Cidre information is available on the internet, it is clear that the trail is not being promoted to its full potential, despite the fact that every tourism representative and cider producer interviewed expressed the importance of cider tourism and the role the trail plays in sustaining local villages. If the survival of these villages depends on tourism, la Route du Cidre's web presence should surely be a more robust.

Tourism Brochures

There are two primary brochures that promote the Cider Trail. The first is a comprehensive guide of local businesses and activities created by Cambremer Tourism Office (Figure 4.1) and the second is a four-page brochure dedicated to la Route du Cidre. The guide to la Route du Cidre was created by the Calvados Tourism Board and edited by the Cru de Cambremer (Figure 4.3). This section provides a detailed content analysis of these brochures, both of which I obtained from the Cambremer Tourism Office located in Cambremer, France. The Cambremer Community Tourism Guide has several components: an ad section devoted to local businesses and producers; an index of local restaurants, leisure activities and shops; a descriptive overview of the surrounding villages of Beuvron en Auge, Cambremer and Bonnebosq; and a brief discussion of the cider trail that unites them.

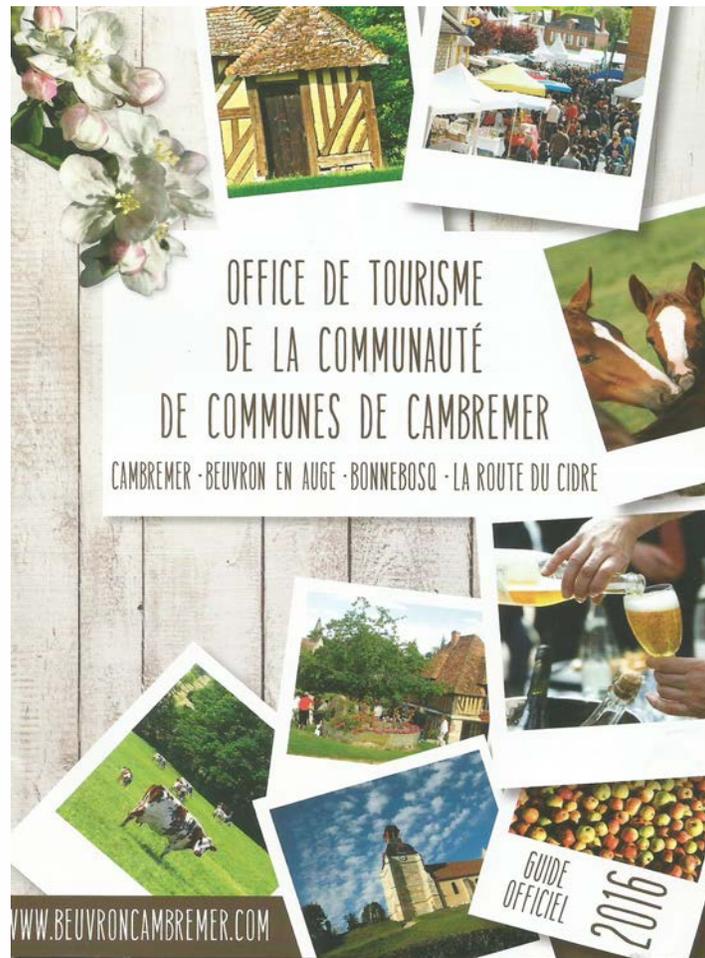


Figure 4.1 – Cambremer Community Guide to Surrounding Villages

Source: [http://www.samm-honfleur.com/gallery/20160314125849\(1\).pdf](http://www.samm-honfleur.com/gallery/20160314125849(1).pdf)

Two major observations stand out after analyzing the brochure: First, only la Route du Cidre’s three largest producers (Huet, Dupont and Grandval) are advertised in the brochure. All three producers have sizeable ad space in the back of the guide that details their location. Whereas if tourists wanted to visit the producers without ad space, they would have to call the number(s) listed in the la Route du Cidre section and request

an address (Figure 4.2). As noted in the web analysis, there is not a shortage of information pertaining to these three larger producers. The fact that their addresses are conveniently accessible in this brochure, even while others' are not, perpetuates a visible inequality among producers.

La Route du Cidre...

La Route du Cidre est un parcours tracé de 40 kms reliant les producteurs du Cru de Cambremer qui vous accueillent dans leurs caves toute l'année. Vous pourrez y déguster cidres, Pommeau de Normandie, Cidvados Pays d'Auge... certains producteurs proposent également une visite de leur exploitation.

www.larouteducidre.fr

En 2015, le Pays de Cambremer a reçu le label **SITE REMARQUABLE DU GÔUT** pour la qualité de sa production cidricole et le caractère remarquable de son patrimoine architectural et environnemental.

www.srg-cidre-cambremer.com

...et son relais

Point d'information touristique, la Porte Verte est aussi le Relais de la Route du Cidre, vitrine promotionnelle des producteurs du Cru de Cambremer.

« La Porte Verte » is a tourist information centre dedicated to the Cider Route and its producers.

From April to October, tastings are hosted. Our trained staff welcomes you with accurate advice for your purchase of local cider goods, delicacies and handicraft items.

MAISON DES PRODUCTEURS et lieu d'échange, des dégustations sont animées d'avril à octobre. La boutique propose un large choix de produits de qualité :

- Cidre AOP Pommeau de Normandie et Cidvados Pays d'Auge,
- Créations artisanales,
- Gourmandises de Normandie,
- Librairie et carterie.

Un personnel qualifié saura vous conseiller.

Producteurs de la Route du Cidre - producers

Vente uniquement - Only Sale

BEAUFOUR-DORVAL	M. LE POCE	02.31.05.12.75	[F2]
CAMBREMER	Mme FOLLIER	06.88.06.27.62	[E3]
CRÈVECOEUR-EN-AUGE	M. Mme VILAR	06.87.52.96.01	[E4]
GRANDOUET	M. Mme GARD	06.88.59.84.27	[F4]
GRANDOUET	M. SAUNAGE	02.31.63.83.00	[F5]
LION SUR MER	M. GAZDON	02.31.37.36.91	[F6]
RUMESNIL	M. NICOLAS	02.31.63.86.94	[F4]

Pour plus de renseignements sur les conditions d'achat et de vente, contactez les producteurs. Further information about opening hours & guided tours, contact the producers.

Visite des caves et vente - Guided tour and sale

AUVILLARS	M. GAGNON	06.12.82.24.29	[F3]
CAMBREMER	Cidvados Pierre FLET	02.31.63.91.89	[E5]
GRANDOUET	Caves de Marco de Grandouet	02.31.63.60.73	[F3]
LA MOULDERNIÈRE	M. FUMETTE	02.31.32.22.20	[F6]
PEPENTIGNY	M. Mme CLEBER	02.31.64.30.89	[E3]
RUMESNIL	M. HELLE	02.31.63.93.16	[E4]
ST AUBIN LEBZAY	M. MRAL OSSVOIS	02.31.05.11.84	[F3]
ST LAURENT DU MONT M. Mme BEMON		02.31.62.27.24	[E6]
VICTOT PONTFOL			
	Domaine Famille Louis DUPONT	02.31.63.24.24	[F4]

RELAIS DE LA ROUTE DU CIDRE
La Porte Verte
Point Information touristique - Boutique
BEUVRON EN AUGE - Tél : 02.31.39.59.14

Figure 4.2 – La Route du Cidre Section in the Cambremer Community Guide

Source: [http://www.samm-honfleur.com/gallery/20160314125849\(1\).pdf](http://www.samm-honfleur.com/gallery/20160314125849(1).pdf)

Second, issue I came across is located in the la Route du Cidre section of the Cambremer Guide (Figure 4.2). Following the first paragraph, the unofficial

(www.larouteducidre.fr) webpage is listed in bold, which is potentially problematic given all the problems uncovered with that website during the web analysis. Moreover, as mentioned previously, the Cambremer Tourism Office and the cider producers have denied this website's validity and described the site as being a source of confusion for tourists upon their arrival. Therefore, by themselves referring readers to this unaccredited website in the brochure, the Cambremer Tourism Office is doing both their own office and la Route du Cidre tourists a disservice.

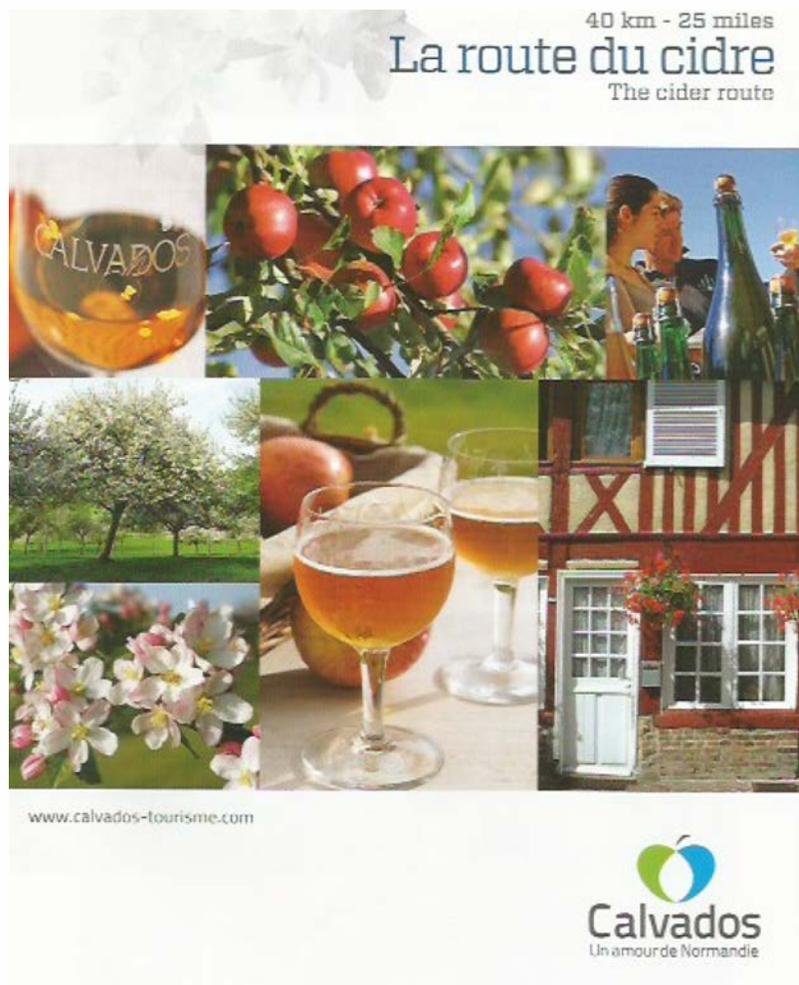


Figure 4.3 – La Route du Cidre Brochure

Source: [http://www.samm-honfleur.com/gallery/20130719135240\(1\).pdf](http://www.samm-honfleur.com/gallery/20130719135240(1).pdf)

The other brochure is a four-page brochure specifically dedicated to la Route du Cidre information (Figure 4.3). The brochure is a product of the Calvados Tourism Board and is said to be revised annually by the Cru de Cambremer President.

At first glance, it appears as though this brochure would be the most useful resource for tourists traversing the Cider Trail, and in many ways it is. However, if the guide is not read thoroughly, tourists may find themselves in places they are not welcome. The problem begins at the bottom of the first page (Figure 4.4).

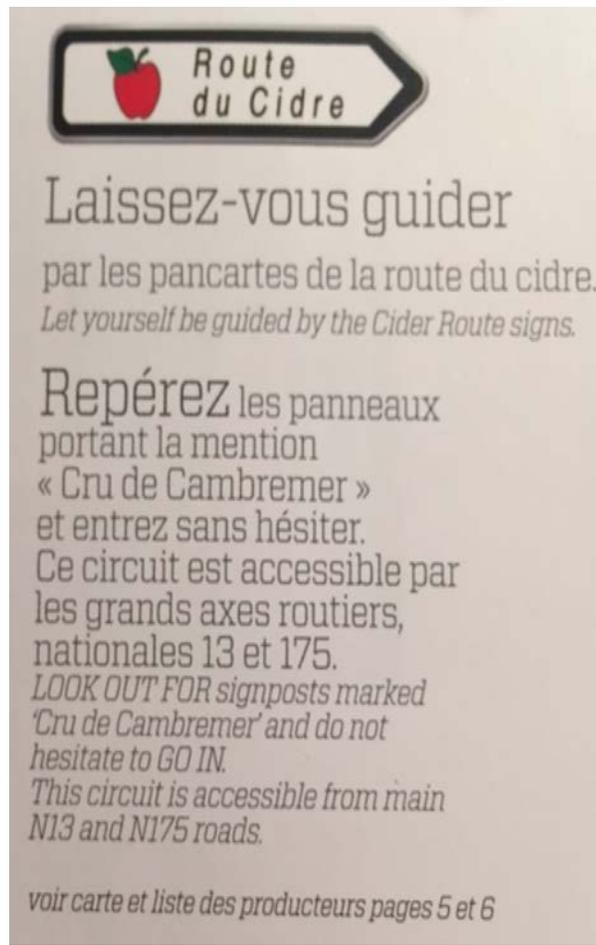


Figure 4.4 – Excerpt from la Route du Cidre Brochure

Source: [http://www.samm-honfleur.com/gallery/20130719135240\(1\).pdf](http://www.samm-honfleur.com/gallery/20130719135240(1).pdf)

The guide instructs tourists to “let yourself be guided by the Cidre Route signs...look out for signposts marked ‘Cru de Cambremer’ and do not hesitate to go in” (Libre Cours, 2012).

The instructions seem straightforward enough; they’re even reiterated on the following page, where it states: “those selected display the sign ‘Cru de Cambremer’ on the roadside at the entrance to their farm. You are welcome to visit the farms to find out how cider and calvados are made” (Libre Cours, 2012). Unfortunately, in reality, not all of those who display the “Cru de Cambremer” signpost accept visitors.

On page six of the brochure (Figure 4.5), the Cru de Cambremer Union members are listed along with their contact information. A tourist might thus expect to be welcome at these establishments. However, upon closer inspection, small symbols appear next to certain names; an apple symbol indicates producers who conduct sales on site, while a green triangle indicates producers who welcome visitors. Of the seventeen members, ten of them welcome visitors, eight conduct sales on site, six do both, and five neither welcome visitors nor conduct sales on site. Therefore, if tourists do not read this page of the brochure carefully prior to embarking on their journey, they may venture onto property where they may not be well-received, which “could have a negative consequence for the rest of the Cider trail, with tourists tending to remember bad experiences more easily” (Demarthes 2012, 35). As such, if the producer does not conduct sales on site and does not allow visitors, it might be preferable to remove their address from the brochure to avoid confusion for tourists and consternation for producers.

Syndicat du «Cru de Cambremer»

Syndicate of 'Cru de Cambremer'
producers (*local Cambremer produce)

1 ▲ **DOMAINE FAMILIAL Louis DUPONT**, Victot Pontfol, Ci. Cav. - TEL 02 31 63 24 24 / 06 08 83 64 06 info@calvados-dupont.com www.calvados-dupont.com
GPS : 49° 10' 28"N 0° 00' 27"E

2 ▲ **M. HELIE François**, Rumesnil, Ci. Ca. P. TEL 02 31 63 03 18
GPS : 49° 10' 46"N 0° 01' 23"E

3 ▲ **M. MONTAIS Bernard**, Rumesnil, Ci. Ca. TEL 02 31 63 06 94
GPS : 49° 11' 02"N 0° 00' 04"E

4 ▲ **Mme FOUCHER Marie-Louise**, Cambremer, Ci. Cav. - TEL 02 31 63 01 71
GPS : 49° 09' 33"N 0° 02' 39"E

5 ▲ **M. HUET François-Xavier**, Cambremer, Ci. Catv. P. JP. Po. TEL 02 31 63 01 09
calvados.pierre.huet@wanadoo.fr
www.calvados-huet.com
GPS : 49° 08' 51"N 0° 02' 51"E

6 ▲ **M. BIGNON Luc**, St Laurent du Mont, Ci. (Biologique) Ca. P. JP. - TEL 02 31 62 27 24 l.bignon@wanadoo.fr
www.ecologite.over-blog.com
GPS : 49° 07' 59"N 0° 01' 48"E

7 ▲ **M. VILAIN Bruno**, Crèvecœur en Auge, Ci. Ca. - TEL 02 31 63 03 83 (W.E.)
GPS : 49° 07' 43"N 0° 00' 59"E

8 ▲ **M. et Mme GIARD Roger et Michèle**, Grandouet, Ci. Catv. P. Po. JP. - TEL 02 31 63 02 40 / 02 31 63 90 51 - giard.m@wanadoo.fr
GPS : 49° 09' 57"N 0° 03' 44"E

9 ▲ **M. et Mme GRANDVAL Stéphane et Lucile**, Grandouet, Ci. Ca. P. JP. Po. TEL 02 31 63 08 73 - cavesdumanoir@orange.fr
www.manoir-de-grandouet.fr
GPS : 49° 09' 31"N 0° 03' 55"E

10 ▲ **M. SAUVAGE Alain**, Grandouet, Ci. Ca. P. TEL 02 31 63 07 65 / 02 31 63 83 08
GPS : 49° 09' 34"N 0° 04' 20"E

11 ▲ **M. RUNGETTE Thierry**, La Houblonnière, Ci. Ca. P. Po. - TEL 02 31 32 22 74 rungettethierry@orange.fr
GPS : 49° 07' 57"N 0° 06' 38"E

12 ▲ **M. LEPAGE Bernard**, Beaufour Druval, Ci. Ca. JP. - TEL 02 31 65 12 75
GPS : 49° 13' 33"N 0° 03' 50"E

13 ▲ **M. CENIER Jean-Luc**, Repentigny, Ci. Ca. P. JP. - TEL 02 31 64 38 69 / 06 18 87 34 94
getjl.cenier@orange.fr
http://pagesperso-orange.fr/terme-vallee-tanneur/
GPS : 49° 12' 30"N 0° 02' 37"E

14 ▲ **M. DESVOYE Gérard**, St Aubin Lébizay, Ci. Ca. P. Po. - TEL 02 31 65 11 94
gerard.desvoye@gmail.com
GPS : 49° 12' 30"N 0° 00' 32"E

15 ▲ **Mme DENIS Geneviève**, St Aubin Lébizay, Ci. Ca. Cav. JP. Po. - TEL 02 31 65 13 39
genevieve.dominique.denis@hotmail.fr
www.cidre-gite-denis.com
GPS : 49° 12' 22"N 0° 00' 31"W

16 ▲ **RELAIS DE LA ROUTE DU CIDRE**, point de vente des producteurs du Cru de Cambremer/ Cru de Cambremer cider producers' sales point, Beuvron en Auge - TEL 02 31 39 59 14
information@office-tourisme-cambremer.fr
www.office-tourisme-cambremer.fr
GPS : 49° 11' 15"N 0° 02' 50"W

Autres producteurs

Other producers:

M. AYROLE Jean-François, Cambremer, Ci. Ca. Po. - TEL 02 31 63 79 95/01 48 20 63 08
SciDomCam@aol.com - Pas de visite ni de point de vente/No visit, no gift shop on site.

M. CAIGNON Jean-Louis, Vergers d'Auvillars, Ci. Po. JP - TEL 02 31 37 36 91 - Pas de visite, point de vente à/ No visit, gift shop at Lion sur Mer au 30 rue de Luc.

Ci. : Cidre/Cider - Ca. : Calvados
Cav. : Calvados Vieux/old calvados
Catv. : Calvados Très Vieux/ very old calvados
P. : Pommeau - JP : jus de pomme/Apple Juice
Po. : Poiré.

▲ Expédition sur demande/Supplies on demand
▲ Visite sur place/Visit

Relais de la Route du Cidre/ Cru de Cambremer
cider producers' sales point
2 place Woolsey - 14430 Beuvron en Auge
TEL 02 31 39 59 14

Figure 4.5 – Page Six of la Route du Cidre Brochure – A List of Cru de Cambremer Producers

Source: [http://www.samm-honfleur.com/gallery/20130719135240\(1\).pdf](http://www.samm-honfleur.com/gallery/20130719135240(1).pdf)

V. INTEGRATED RURAL TOURISM ANALYSIS

The first node of IRT encourages the development of tourism opportunities that promote multidimensional sustainability. This means the tourism product sustainably harnesses local activities and resources, is economically viable, and protects the quality of the local environment, culture, and the well-being of the host community (Saxena, Clark, Oliver and Ilbery 2007).

As illustrated in the historical analysis section, this part of Normandy has a long cultural tradition of apple cultivation and dairy farming. The Cider Route provides tourists the opportunity to experience these Norman traditions, which ensures their continuation. With regards to the wellbeing of the host community, the route brings capital to many types of businesses surrounding the trail – cafes, bakeries, convenience stores, bed and breakfasts, art shops and retail specialty stores. Tourism is what makes these businesses profitable (Masse 2016).

It is also important to note that the Cider Route is just as much a visual experience as it is a tasting experience. “The rounded landscape with its chateaux, manors, half-timbered houses, orchards, makes up the picture postcard scene” (Libre Cours 2012), which draws tourists from outside the region. Because the landscape is picturesque and an important component of the tourism experience, much of the money generated by cider tourism is invested back into the villages in order to preserve their visual appeal.

The cider producers also do their part to protect the quality of the local environments. The majority of the producers located on the trail are small mixed-farm enterprises that farm ecologically and organically. The orchards provide shade for the grazing cattle, while the manure is used to fertilize the soils, eliminating the need for

chemical fertilizers. Many producers have maintained traditional high-stem orchards for generations, while the trail’s largest producers (Huet, Dupont and Grandval) have diversified their farms by adding low-stem apple trees. Farmers can plant more low-stem trees per acre than high-stem trees and low-stem trees also take half the time to come to harvest, thus greater yields in a shorter amount of time (see Figure 5.1). However, because the low-stems are planted so densely, they are more susceptible to pests and infestations, which makes it virtually impossible to forgo the use of pesticides. Fortunately, most of the producers located on the trail have retained traditional high-stem orchards, which require less equipment, less labor and no pesticides.

Two different kinds of orchards:	Density per ha:	Output:	Fully productive:
 Traditional 'haut-tiges' high-stem orchards	70 to 180 trees	Not exceeding 20 tons/ha, around 100 kg/per tree	After 18 years
 Modern 'basse-tige' low-stem orchards	400 to 750 trees	Around 25 but not over 40 tonnes/ha	After 8 years

Figure 5.1 – High-stem Versus Low-stem Apple Trees

Source: Mattsson 2005, 118

Perhaps the greatest testament of the trail’s multidimensional sustainability efforts is the “Remarkable Site of Taste” label that was awarded to the Cambremer County in December 2014. The label is endorsed by four national ministries and recognizes regions that feature an iconic food product, have distinctive architectural and natural riches, and offer quality hospitality. The criteria for the label (srg-cidre-cambremer.com) are as follows:

- An iconic product: cider and varied apple goods
- A singular landscape: apple orchards
- Traditional craftsmanship
- A remarkable architectural heritage: half-timbered houses
- A respectful use of the environment
- A quest for perfection: cider Protected Designation of Origin (PDO) since 1996
- Immense local pride
- Village life with its traditional markets and festivals: Festival of AOC, Cider Day
- A complete tourist product: la Route du Cidre
- A local association defending the authenticity of the terrior

The second integrated node of IRT focuses on community empowerment. In an ideal scenario, tourism networks should facilitate a shared understanding and ownership of goals and objectives, promote local management of physical, cultural and economic resources, encourage accountability, enhance members' ability to innovate and lastly, promote community participation and collective decision-making. Empowering networks generally place a greater emphasis on the wants and needs of the host community, rather than profit generation (Jenkins and Oliver 2001; Cawley and Gillmor 2008; Sims 2009).

As mentioned in the brochure analysis, only ten of the seventeen Cru de Cambremer members welcome tourists. This is primarily due to the fact that many of the members' primary source of income is dairy farming, not cider production. Therefore,

“the producers tend to focus on their farming activities while dedicating relatively little time welcoming visitors and showing them around” (Demarthes 2012, 23).

However, the Cru de Cambremer Union is composed of the same producers selected in 1974. Three generations of the same families have been involved in the Cider Trail, thus their attitudes and motivations vary (Demarthes 2016). “Originally, it was a group of producers in which everybody was involved in the same way” (Demarthes 2012, 38). Nowadays, some are more involved than others. Thus, it is clear that the Cru de Cambremer members do not all share the same goals, which results in varying degrees of motivation and participation. However, because the members have the freedom to be involved as much as they desire, I would argue that, overall, the Cru de Cambremer is an empowering network. The wants and needs of the producers (i.e. the need to tend to their farms and cattle because that is how they earn a living) takes priority over profit generated from Cider Trail. The union’s shared ownership of large farming equipment also supports the idea that the Cru de Cambremer is an empowering network.

The third node of integration advocates for endogenous development and ownership. In an endogenous system, resources should be used in a way that retains maximum benefits in the locality. There is also a sense of choice among owners when it comes to resource use. Endogenous development focuses on the local communities’ needs, capacity, social values and traditions. By contrast, exogenous ownership constitutes external resource ownership and external decision-making. In an exogenous system, the local community does not own the resources, nor do they have a say in how they are used, which minimizes local benefits (Saxena et. al 2007).

La Route du Cidre is undoubtedly an endogenous system, given that all the producers located along the trail own their own land and resources. To reiterate, the Cru de Cambremer is a union that stands for cider producer interests. All decisions regarding production are made within this group, because after all, without the Cru de Cambremer, there would be no Cider Trail.

It is clear from the second nodal analysis that the Cru de Cambremer members are free to decide how they spend their time and money. Some opt to focus on their dairy farming endeavors and others play more prominent roles in production and tourist reception, serving as evidence that Cru de Cambremer members have a “sense of choice” when it comes to resource use. Furthermore, not only does the Cider Trail help keep local businesses afloat, a large portion of tourism profits are invested in maintaining the character of local villages and preserving the scenic landscape, which supports the idea that resources are being used in a way that benefits the locality.

Lastly, the Cider Trail not only supports the local communities’ social values and traditions, it whole-heartedly represents them. “Cider apple farmers stand for Normandy (sic) identity and the region’s rural values (Demarthes 2012, 23),” thus the Cider Trail enables the producers to “share their traditional know-how with visitors.... [because] no one [can] better promote cider, pommeau and calvados as they have been producing these products for generations” (Demarthes 2012, 23).

The fourth node of integration focuses on the way in which tourism should complement existing structures and activities. In this context, tourism should comply with existing policies, deter social conflict and complement a region’s history, economic practices, culture and environment (Clark and Chabrel 2007).

As mentioned in the historical analysis, this region has a long tradition of cider-making and the Cider Trail is a product of that tradition. By marketing rural tourism and regional specialties together, tourists receive a “distinctively local and quality package” (Saxena et al 2007). The trail has also fostered the development of niche markets – not just for cider and calvados, but for specialty cheeses as well.

In regards to existing policies and structures, it is noteworthy that France has a long history of unionization and continues to regard worker’s unions highly to this day. The Cru de Cambremer speaks to this structural tradition. “Since its launch, the Cider Trail has not changed...[interviewees] made it very clear that the joint-working system that was defined in 1974 by the Cru de Cambremer was still being applied now and should not undergo any modification” (Demarthes 2012, 30), which suggests that the Cru de Cambremer works well with existing policies and structures.

However, in regards to social conflicts, fieldwork on site revealed that the creation of the Cider Trail information center (Relais de la Route du Cidre or “la Porte Verte”) was a source of tension for many producers. The information center was launched in 2010, with the help of local subsidies obtained by the Cru de Cambremer. “This information center was chosen as a direct marketing tool to support their communication strategy...tourist appeared to get lost among all the information on tourist activities in Normandy and did not access the cider trail information as easily” (Demarthes 2012, 32). The center acts as a “one-stop-shop” for all things related to la Route du Cidre; providing brochures, tasting schedules and products produced by a select few Cru de Cambremer members.

While conducting interviews with the producers, it became apparent that the launch of the information center was not popular. Only ten out of the seventeen members decided to participate in the tasting sessions and retailing their products at the center. “Some producers refused to use the information center facilities to promote their produce and sell it” (Demarthes 2012, 32). The producers who refuse to use the information center for the sales and promotions of their products, do so because they conduct direct sales at the farm gate. “When you welcome tourists on your own premises, they choose to come and visit your place. You are at home, you know everything, you feel confident...producers enjoy sharing their know-how with tourists during such visits” (Demarthes 2012, 33). At the Cider Trail information center, producers may feel out of their element. This makes sense because these people are first and foremost farmers, not master salesmen. Because of this, many producers are able to sell more products on site, rather than through the information center. Although the center’s creation did not cause a significant conflict, tensions did arise, which shows a resistance to change among the producers.

The fifth node of integration focuses on an appropriate scale of development, meaning tourism should develop in a way that retains the area’s rural character and appearance. This generally involves locally owned, small-scale tourism opportunities that serve small groups or single travelers and consequently reduces environmental impact (Jenkins and Oliver 2001; Saxena et al. 2007; Saxena and Ilbery 2008). Given that la Route du Cidre is a self-guided tour, it is well suited for small groups excursions, which minimizes environmental impact. As mentioned earlier (see the discussion of endogenous development), the farms located along the trail are all family-owned and operated and

have been for several generations. The majority of these are small farmhouse production facilities, but even the larger estates have managed to preserve their rustic feel and appearance. Lastly, the roads the route follows were already in place and serving the local community before the trail's creation, which means little to no landscape alterations were required to launch the trail.

The sixth node of integration deals with networking among stakeholders. In this context, a network means the dynamic social relationships created by actors to achieve tourism goals. Ideally, networks should enable actors to search for, obtain, and mobilize resources, access information, cultivate a collective vision, diffuse ideas, and engage in cooperative actions that are mutually beneficial (Saxena et al. 2007).

Networks in the IRT context are more likely to be “soft” than “hard.” Soft networks have an open membership, place emphasis on social norms, are cooperative in nature, and form horizontal linkages between businesses, organizations, and individuals. Soft networks serve a broad range of interests in the community and are more likely to be driven by need than by quick profits (Sims 2009).

Networks can also be opened or closed. Open networks are structured so that members can easily access a range of services and they can capture knowledge and data from other actors or networks. Closed networks take an “us versus them” approach, but close social ties facilitate exchange of knowledge and form strong bonds among and between network members (Amin and Thrift 1994; Murdoch 2000; Kneafsey 2001).

In the case of la Route du Cidre, the Cru de Cambremer union is a soft, but closed network. The Cru de Cambremer was formed to serve producer's interests, maintains a closed membership, operates based on social norms and bonds, but is not profit driven.

While many of the Cru de Cambremer members are less motivated when it comes to attending meetings, participating in tourist reception and collaborating with Cider Trail information center, when it comes to the farming needs of their fellow members, the Cru de Cambremer is very cooperative; sharing everything from expensive farming equipment to distillation techniques. When asked if there was any competition among the producers, one producer stated that “it is more cooperation than competition...we all want success for one another” (Bignon, 2016).

The last node in the IRT model emphasizes the notion of embeddedness, which draws attention to the significance of place-based practices and local identities. Embeddedness “suggests not only that resources or activities are directly linked to place but also that relationships are formed within particular sociocultural contexts in specific localities, and the unique sociocultural characteristics and identities that are embedded in place help to shape relationships and networks” (Saxena and Ilbery 2007).

As stated previously, Normandy’s climate and geologic formations made the area less suitable for wine production, but ideal for dairy farming and apple cultivation, and this led to Normandy’s cider-making and dairy-farming traditions. The Cider Trail displays and promotes these place-based activities and resources by allowing tourists to experience them first hand. These farmers not only represent the region’s rural values and identity (Demarthes 2012), they also ensure the continuation of Norman traditions. The Cru de Cambremer members are united by these embedded activities and traditions, which has resulted in strong social bonds among them.

However, embeddedness can also contribute to “defensive localism” (Winter 2003). Defensive localism often creates “inward looking’ attitudes which may inhibit

creativity, innovation, and participation” (Saxena and Ilbery 2007). In other words, deeply embedded communities, like the Cru de Cambremer, are more likely to resist change because they are firmly “set in their ways” (Masse 2016). As mentioned earlier, the trail has not changed since it was created in 1974, nor has the Cru de Cambremer. La Route du Cidre’s lagging web presence and the producer’s rejection of the Cider Trail information center demonstrates that resistance and this is additional evidence of their embedded nature.

VI. DISCUSSION

Three separate, but interrelated analyses were conducted during the course of this research: a historical analysis, a promotional content analysis, and an IRT analysis. The following paragraphs summarize the conclusions drawn from each analysis and illustrate how the three analyses inform one another other.

The historical analysis of Normandy provided valuable insight on the creation of Normandy's regional identity and cider heritage, which was necessary assess la Route du Cidre's degree of embeddedness and complementarity in terms of IRT ideals. The analysis uncovered the origins and development of Normandy's cider-making tradition and illustrated how significant events, such as the world wars and post-war industrialization, impacted Norman cider production, in turn altering the local economy. Lastly, the historical analysis revealed that the creation of la Route du Cidre in 1974 not only signaled cider's revival in the region but also indicated an economic need to sustain local villages.

The promotional content analysis of tourism brochures and associated web pages was conducted in order to evaluate the stakeholder's communication strategies, assess the reliability of the information disseminated and reveal any underlying discourse. Several conclusions were drawn from the promotional content analysis: First, the availability of online information on la Route du Cidre is clearly limited, and the little information that does exists is either full of contradictions, is incorrect or is insufficient for tourists' planning purposes. Together, calls into question the sustainability of the stakeholder's communication strategies. All three promotional websites fail at their attempt to provide users with consistent, reliable information on la Route du Cidre. The unofficial website

(larouteducidre.fr) is particularly problematic given the fact that neither the Cru de Cambremer nor the Cambremer Tourism Office has any connection to the page, but it is still promoted in the Cambremer Community Guide. Information gathered from these three websites were not the only sources of confusion for tourists upon their arrival (Demarthes 2012), the la Route du Cidre brochure also perpetuates confusion by instructing tourists to “look out for signposts marked ‘Cru de Cambremer’ and do not hesitate to go in” (Libre Cours, 2012), even though not all of those who display the “Cru de Cambremer” signpost accept visitors. Thus, tourists run the risk of venturing onto property where they may not be well-received, which may leave a bad impression of the area on its visitors.

Lastly, the promotional content analysis revealed that a significant inequality exists among producers in regards to publicity and accessibility. The trail’s largest producers: Huet, Dupont and Grandval receive a disproportionate number of tourist visiting their facilities compared to smaller producers. Because these producers generate higher revenues, they can afford lengthy ad space in brochures, whereas others cannot. Moreover, Huet, Dupont and Grandval are able to afford to hire additional staff responsible for tourist reception and facilitating daily tours, while the majority of producers are tasked to split their time between their dairy farming operations, greeting tourists and cider production itself. This underlying discourse informed the IRT analysis, particularly in terms of sustainability, as these three producers are the only ones on the trail that have introduced low-stem apple orchards, which produce greater yields but are incompatible with organic farming methods. Aside from the presence of these modern, low-stem orchards, cider production and apple cultivation in this area are not energy

intensive enterprises, nor do they require extensive irrigation systems. While all the other Cru de Cambremer producers have long practiced organic farming methods, Huet, Dupont and Grandval's densely packed, low-stem orchards require routine application of pesticides and artificial fertilizers. Thus, the introduction of these low-stem orchards tarnishes la Route du Cidre's otherwise impeccable sustainability record.

The conclusions drawn from both the promotional content analysis and the historical analysis enriched the IRT analysis, which assessed how la Route du Cidre fits within the IRT framework in regards to the seven nodes of integration. Based on the seven IRT ideals and the information derived from the promotional content and historical analysis, I conclude that while some shortcomings exist, overall, la Route du Cidre meets the IRT criteria and fits well within the IRT framework.

VII. CONCLUSION

The key objective of IRT is to promote economic, environmental, social, and cultural sustainability in tourism while empowering local residents through bottom-up development. IRT strives to achieve all-around social, economic and environmental benefits on the understanding that “the best form of tourism would be one which achieves gains on all dimensions and for all groups. It would not, for example, protect the environment by disadvantaging businesses, or benefit businesses at the expense of the host communities” (Clark & Chabrel, 2007).

The IRT framework goes beyond a “win, win” to multiple wins, thus trade-offs are seen as problematic. To possess all seven nodes of integration without any trade-offs is a very high standard to achieve. However, IRT is not just a tourism ideal to strive for, IRT is a spectrum; a continuum of greater to lesser sustainability and embeddedness. Thus, I argue that la Route du Cidre is very close to the IRT ideal, but further improvements can be made in identifiable areas where trade-offs exist.

For example, although the Cru de Cambremer satisfies the IRT ideal of embeddedness, too much embeddedness stifles innovation and fosters defensive localism, which is reflected in the Cru de Cambremer’s reluctance to improve their communication strategy and participate in the Cider Trail information center.

Furthermore, the Cru de Cambremer possesses the qualities of an endogenous and empowering network, but because Cru de Cambremer members have the freedom to choose how their time and resources are spent, participation in trail varies among members. Some members give priority to their farming activities and therefore do not

actively participate in tourist reception, while others do quite the opposite. Thus, it is clear that there are conflicting agendas within the union.

Lastly, in regards to the trail's ecological sustainability, the majority of the producers have retained traditional high-stem orchards, while the three largest producers (Huet, Dupont and Grandval) have introduced modern low-stem orchards to increase productivity. Without this interference, la Route du Cidre would be mostly, if not completely, sustainable.

Aside from these minor critiques, this research demonstrates that, overall, Normandy's Cider Trail fits well within the IRT framework. This research also indicates that cider, in particular, plays a significant role in achieving the IRT goals of sustainability and cultural embeddedness. "Unlike other popular souvenirs, local foods and drinks engage all the senses and have stronger connections with place" (Sims 2009). Local specialties, like Norman cider, have a history and meaning behind them that are deeply rooted in place and culture. Thus, tourists who drink cider are not just consuming a product of Normandy, they are also consuming the meaning and history behind it.

By inviting visitors to traverse the trail, la Route du Cidre tells a story of Norman cider production; a story that combines cultural imagery with rural production and local values. Together, these factors provide an enhanced tourism experience; an experience that connects the tourist with the people and landscape involved in cider production.

The promotion of cider through la Route du Cidre has also helped create an "image" for Normandy, which is helpful for attracting new visitors and establishing a cider niche market. Food and drink products tend to be a particularly effective means of creating such an image because of its direct ties to traditional rural landscapes and farming

methods (Sims 2009). Thus, by developing a niche market, cider tourism has generated “the kind of all-round benefits for hosts and guests that are sought as part of the drive to promote Integrated Rural Tourism” (Sims 2009).

In sum, cider’s role as a cultural commodity proved to be the key to achieving the IRT objectives because of its ability to symbolize place and culture. La route du Cidre is not just a marketing opportunity for local cider production, it is a tourism opportunity that fosters a connection to place, culture and heritage, all while encouraging the continuation of traditional and sustainable farming methods, conserving rural landscapes and providing a means to economically sustain local village.

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