

CONFERENCE PROCEEDINGS

3rd Critical Tourism Studies Conference
Connecting Academies of Hope

'Critical actions and Creative vistas'

EDITED by V. RICHARDS and A. RAGUŽ

Zadar, Croatia 21-24 June 2009

'The breeze at dawn has secrets to tell you.
Don't go back to sleep.
You must ask for what you really want.
Don't go back to sleep.
People are going back and forth across the doorsill
where the two worlds touch.
The door is round and open.
Don't go back to sleep'.
(JELALUDDIN RUMI)

CONFERENCE PROCEEDINGS FOREWORD

This volume contains abstracts and working papers presented at 'Connecting Academies of Hope: Critical Actions and Creative Vistas' , the 3rd Critical Tourism Studies Conference organised for the third time in Croatia. From the first gathering in 2005 when we began to connect scholars from the critical school of thought in tourism studies, through 2007 and our further efforts to cohere a vision of an Academy of Hope visions, we have arrived together in 2009 for a third time. This time we are in Zadar where we want to connect those visions and hopes again and this time to connect tourism research and education to the tourism world through our thoughts, actions and vistas.

The Proceedings are organised according to three key ways of producing social change in and through tourism: critical thinking, critical action and creative vistas. This reflects the settings through which our academic and practical efforts can be exercised. The first part is 'tourism research' which includes the papers that stress the importance of critical thinking and creative vistas in tourism research inherently creating ground for critical action. The second part is 'tourism education' which maps out the moral, academic and practical role of educators in developing ethical and responsible graduates and explores the student experience. The final one, the 'tourism world' is comprised of the papers which deal with actions carried into the world of tourism. Furthermore, the 'tourism world' papers attempt to provide new understandings of the ways in which social justice and social transformation can be achieved in and through tourism.

The organizers of this years' Conference, namely Wageningen University and the Research Centre, University of Wales Institute, Cardiff and the Institute for Tourism, Zagreb approached the organisation process in a way that the conference itself becomes a form of critical and creative action. In addition to challenging the presenters at the working sessions to involve their audiences in more innovative and interactive ways than previously, the organisation of the conference itself has been more active and has engaged local NGOs and a series of student initiatives. The intention was all about inspiring and acting inspired! In doing so, we have strived to create a sustainable, creative and innovative platform for future CTS conferences that demonstrates the importance of *walking the talk*.

It is also important to mention that for this, our third CTS conference, we have the honour of collaborating with The Annals of Tourism Research in order to recognise excellence in doctoral research, awarding the best full paper by a doctoral candidate with The Annals of Tourism Research/Carole L. Green Prize.

At the end we would like to thank all those who have helped to create the conference at every single step of its way, particularly to our local organiser Slaven Reljic and his VenEvent team; our hard working assistants and often leaders in the process: Ana Raguz and Vicky Richards who have also put the conference proceedings together. We should, of course, add thanks to those who have offered to share their thoughts in the abstracts and working papers presented here and at the conference, especially our headline speakers Peter McLaren, Nathalia Jaramillo, David Botterill, Chaim Noy, Scott McCabe and Elizabeth Stokoe and our Wageningen team of students who have provided a special inspiration in the process: Hermes Arriaga, Saskia Leenders, Arjaan Pellis, Ana Raguž and Lisa Schwarzin.

Conference Co-Chairs:

Irena Ateljevic , Wageningen University, the Netherlands

Nigel Morgan, University of Wales Institute, Cardiff, UK

Annette Pritchard, University of Wales Institute, Cardiff, UK

CONFERENCE HEADLINE SPEAKERS

Peter McLaren

'Critical Pedagogy for a Post-Capitalist Future'

The speech addressed recent developments in critical pedagogy, specifically its move away from the poststructuralist approach most often associated with cultural studies, toward a Marxist-humanist approach, stressing the development of a "philosophy of praxis" and "absolute negativity". It was also discussed about the implications of critical pedagogy for the production of a "public pedagogy" and "critical committed intellectuals" advancing social justice initiatives in the larger struggle for a post-capitalist future.

Peter McLaren is Professor of Education, Graduate School of Education and Information Studies, University of California, Los Angeles. He is internationally recognized as one of the leading architects of critical pedagogy worldwide. An advocate for social justice, particularly those in the Exploited World (misnamed the Third World) he has developed a reputation for his uncompromising political analysis influenced by a Marxist humanist philosophy and a unique literary style of expression. His latest book *Pedagogy and Praxis in the Age of Empire: Towards a new humanism* (Sense Publishers 2007) is co-authored with Nathalia Jaramillo.

David Botterill**An interview 'Academia and emotional labour'**

'Freedom to pursue self directed lines of enquiry, intellectual criticism conducted with respect and integrity, and professional trust are the necessary pre-conditions to creative intellectual work, I would argue. The question now though is, "where in society might such pre-conditions be expected let alone guaranteed?" Can any of the institutions that we might normally presume to support such values now be relied upon to deliver them in the 21st century? Take universities for example, generally understood in the 20th century to be a part of Western 'civic society' operating alongside the judiciary and the non-profit sector to ameliorate the powerful interests of both business and government. Can we continue to rely on universities to provide that buffer of independent opinion resisting the dogma of the powerful? '

(David Botterill)

David Botterill is Professor Emeritus in the Welsh Centre for Tourism Research at the University of Wales and Visiting Research Fellow at the University of Westminster. He is currently Associate Director of the Higher Education Academy for Hospitality, Leisure, Sport, and Tourism.

Peter McLaren and Nathalia Jaramillo

A joint seminar discussion on critical pedagogy:
'How and if academics can make a difference'

Within the 3rd Critical Tourism Studies Conference Prof. McLaren and Prof. Jaramillo participated in the interactive session of dialogue and discussion on the crucial issues that we as citizens face in our communities and in the world today.

Nathalia Jaramillo is Professor of Education in Purdue University College of Education. She has published widely in the area of critical pedagogy and multicultural education. During the last few years Peter McLaren and Nathalia Jaramillo have given numerous lectures, workshops and seminars to students, teachers and community activists around the world. Their scholarly work deals with reconceptualizing education, politics, and activism in an age of global capitalism and empire.

Elizabeth Stokoe and Scott McCabe**Workshop 'Performing and listening'**

The workshop exposing on how ordinary people talk about holidays and leisure travel experiences in naturally occurring interactional settings. The empirical work of the authors is based on over 200 hours of audio recorded conversations in a variety of settings, including telephone and face-to-face conversations between friends, speed-dating encounters, telephone calls to neighbour mediation services and local council antisocial behaviour and environmental health services, as well as interviews between police officers and suspects in the UK police service some of which were provided at the workshop.

Elizabeth Stokoe joined the Department of Social Sciences at Loughborough University in 2002. She has published many articles about gender and interaction, using conversation analysis, mostly investigating categorial reference to gender within systematic courses of action. She runs lectures, workshops and data sessions on *conversation analysis, membership categorization and gender and interaction* in the UK and internationally; neighbourhood mediator training workshops as well as workshop on animating transcript with audio and video in PowerPoint.

Scott McCabe is Lecturer in Tourism Management/Marketing at Nottingham University Business School. His main research interests include tourist consumer behaviour; tourist experience and consumption; non-participation, social equity and social exclusion in tourism; tourism marketing communications and representation in tourism promotion; qualitative sociological/ethnographic research methods in tourism.

Chaim Noy**Workshop 'Performing and listening'**

In this lecture Chaim Noy takes a performance approach to how meaning is created and sustained in and through tourists' actions and behaviors, proposing a rather unusual stage of and for tourists' performances: a visitor book, which he argues, can serve not only as bureaucratic documents where tourists register their visits at various sites and add additional comments, but under certain circumstances, a visitor book essentially supplies a symbolic space wherein tourists' meaning-making actions are both produced and registered. He then takes the space to rethink this research by employing reflexivity in order to critically examine the production of academic knowledge with particular reference to ethnographic practices in tourism research. The deconstruction builds on an appreciation of the fact that there are different epistemological discourses that compete over the frames of interpretation in various tourist attractions.

Chaim Noy is an independent scholar presently teaching part time at the Sappir College in the Negev, and at the David Yellin Teachers' College, Jerusalem. His general research interests are language, discourse and semiotics in tourism; performance and gender approaches; material and embodied cultures of tourism; critical approaches and methods in tourism studies. His PhD research, title *Narrative Analysis of Israeli Backpacking Stories*, focuses on backpackers travel narratives, from the perspectives of interpersonal communication and performative studies. Recently, his research focus has expanded, and includes material culture in performance studies, and sociology of technology and communication in tourism.

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Tourism Research

'The challenge of critical approaches to rural tourism studies'

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The challenge of critical approaches to rural tourism studies

With this paper, I present a reflexive look at some “practical” implications of becoming a critical tourism researcher. Linked to recent (and essential) discussions about reflexivity and ethics, not to mention the challenges of critical tourism research, I consider the opportunities and obligations inherent in intervening to foster change. Trained in critical social research approaches, feminist theories, human geography, and political economy, I’ve sought to embrace a critical approach to tourism studies for nearly a decade of research, writing, teaching, and mentoring. In 2008, as I approached two coveted milestones of academia (tenure/promotion and sabbatical leave), I began to reflect on these “rites of passage”, considering, as hooks (1994) does, the ramifications of “success” in this chosen career. I use this paper not only to expose and consider my experiences with these “entanglements”, (Ateljevic, et al., 2005) but to contribute to a growing discussion in our field about the contexts and constituencies of (critical) tourism research.

The paper has three parts. First, I argue as others have argued recently (see especially Tribe, 2008; Ateljevic, et al., 2007) critical tourism scholars are developing tools to situate tourism within the broader social, cultural, political, economic, and ecological context and yet their work must also include an effort to change the discourse of tourism and to challenge mainstream approaches. Engaging our work critically and reflexively helps build an atmosphere where we can set out our assumptions, consider power relations both on the ground and in academia, sharpen our skills, and strive to make our work as effective and transparent as it can be. Next, I follow Botterill (2003), Ateljevic, et al., (2005), Hall (2004), and others who have legitimated these kinds of presentations to reflect on nearly decade of working with small communities in Canada. Primarily interested in tourism policy and issues of process in development, this paper foregrounds some of the challenges, tensions, and opportunities shaping my experiences - first as a student and now a newly tenured professor. While I’m heartened by opportunities to discuss tourism (research) critically, experience on the ground and in communities suggests that we need to go much further to challenge mainstream discourse and to re-frame everyday assumptions and expectations.

Last, I ask: What’s next for maturing critical tourism research(ers)? If, as Franklin wrote (2007), tourism can best be thought of as a fundamental, yet ever-changing ordering, what, if any role do I/we have in this process? Given the potential of new and especially critical paradigms, can we transcend the false dichotomies of objectivity/subjectivity and describing/prescribing? Jamal, et al., (2006) considered the potential of a new paradigm for (eco)tourism research and action, “not driven by the instrumental reason of managerial and scientific interests, but rather ...envisioned on the basis of participatory democracy and human ecological well-being.” (p. 147) Add to this questions with which I’ve been struggling: How can researchers counter the conventional wisdom that tourism is an adequate way to keep small communities alive? Given the broader context of the current, global, economic slump, are traditional tourism researchers, business leaders, and policy makers

finally ready to say that Tourism-the-Emperor has no clothes? How can I/we make sure that tourism development and research post-2009 comes closer to its emancipatory potential?

A role for reflexivity: Facing the challenge of critical tourism research

Some time ago, Tribe (1997) set out the distinction between academics and industrialists in tourism - a not completely comfortable division between knowing and doing. He also indicated the power seemed to rest increasingly in the realm of the latter. Tribe also engaged Lyotard's post-modernism, a critically-oriented approach that seems to have vanished from more recent post-modern orientations:

One consequence of Lyotard's analysis is that the business of tourism part of the field of tourism exerts a strong pull on knowledge production and that much tourism knowledge is generated for profitability. Epistemology is led by functionalism, and the aim of knowledge production becomes not an impartial uncovering of truth but a search for truths which are useful in terms of marketability and efficiency. (2004, p. 55)

Jamal and Everett (2007) used Habermasian language to consider how tourism research has met the needs and interests of scientific and economic rationalisation shored up by a focus on technical and practical knowledge, which occludes opportunities for meaningful participation and emancipation. Unfortunately, and despite the growth in critical approaches to knowing tourism that have an activist edge (as exemplified in this conference series) the so-called business of tourism still dominates development policy as well as university and college curricula. Rowe (2005) reflected critically on his experience conducting applied tourism research and consultancy. Against the backdrop of decreased public funding for research and the tightening relationship between universities and the private sector, Rowe exposed the broader socio-political economic context of tourism consultancy and applied research:

Tourism researchers, consultants, and advisors, both in and outside government, are therefore often charged with the task of demonstrating to communities that tourism is inherently a "good thing" and, once persuaded of this argument, how "to do tourism". (p. 129)

For small communities in particular, this has created a rather limited, constrained, and homogenized approach as many are merely encouraged to replicate ideas from other places including 'building museums, halls of fame, and spectacular "big things" that diminish the very differences they are seeking to promote...' (Rowe, 2005, p. 134; see also Mair, 2006). Tribe (2004, p. 55) summarizes Hollinshead's (1999) contention that tourism researchers are among the powerbrokers whose research and publishing choices mask opportunities for change.

The power of surveillance is shown by Hollinshead as an authoritative mix of normalizing discourse and universalizing praxis which routinely privileges particular understandings of heritage, society, and the world in and through tourism. Hollinshead argues that tourists and those who work in tourism can be seen as *Homo docilis*, participating in the regulation of the world and in the mastery of its social cultural, natural, and geographical environments, but also in regulating and constraining themselves.

Environmental concerns in particular have elicited deep thinking about the role of research(ers) in tourism management. Wearing, et al., (2005) called for a de-commodifying approach to tourism. They highlighted research paradigms that would foster a process, led by NGOs, wherein tourism management confronts the dominance of market-oriented perspectives. Jamal, et al., (2006), after Gramsci (1971) call on tourism researchers to be “organic intellectuals” and entreat us to become directly involved in participatory research and praxis (see also Jamal & Everett, 2007). More critically, however, and central to the discussion here, is the on-going reluctance to question the existence or encouragement of tourism. Indeed, the goals and processes underscoring most tourism research rarely include encouraging non-tourism options. Why?

Humberstone (2004, p. 122) argued tourism research ‘needs to engage with issues around the nature of knowledge and its production’. This means we must contend with the political, economic, and social contexts within which knowledge is constructed and especially how it is used in communities and by whom. Reflexivity is an increasingly useful tool both for individual researchers to come to terms with their work but also for encouraging others to do the same and to build a larger, reflexive conversation that can only strengthen our field. For those involved in social research, the critiques of their own motivations, assumptions, and impact can be uncomfortable, humbling, and unsettling. Nonetheless, critical reflexivity is central to identifying these tensions and thereby for improving practice and research. Organised chronologically within an inter-related framework of contexts and constituencies (i.e., mutually-reinforcing experiences, places, and people), the next section presents a reflexive assessment of my efforts to instill practice and research with a critical edge.

Resisting and reifying conventional wisdom

Contexts and Constituencies I: Building a value-full researcher

I grew up in a small village on the Atlantic Coast of Canada. Like my siblings, I could barely wait to leave for university in a bigger, more central Canadian city. An undergraduate degree in Political Science with a focus in International Development Studies fostered a keen if skeptical interest in rural development. A graduate degree in Political Economy and research on the collapse of the Atlantic Canada groundfishery in the early 1990s fostered a romantic desire to protect and conserve the small communities blighted by human-made environmental, economic, and social disaster. Tourism didn’t enter my mind until it became clear that a significant, formal, policy response to the ruin of many communities in Atlantic Canada included tourism development projects. My feminist, critical, political economy-trained mind (and heart) knew it could never be that simple. In an unpublished final paper, I wrote that researchers needed to:

...interrogate this effort to sell the region on account of its beauty and simplicity in terms of the impact these changes might have on the way in which women and men relate to these spaces and each other. An interesting study would attempt to determine whether this has led to an increase in home-centered tourism (for example, bed and breakfasts) wherein women open their homes to travelers, redefining their relation to the homespace to accommodate the whims of global capital and make some extra money. (AUTHOR, 1995, p. 65)

Contexts and Constituencies II: Becoming a critical tourism researcher

When I was 27, I returned to the community where I grew up and was taken aback by the indelible imprint of tourism on many communities in the area. I worked first at the local paper mill and then with a quasi-government, environmental group and became increasingly aware of the complexity of development in an economically-depressed region. At 29, I moved again to a mid-sized city in central Canada to attend university. Over the course of the doctoral degree, I worked on small projects assessing rural tourism development and planning in a number of communities. I knew that my own doctoral work would inevitably have to come to terms with what I saw as a short-sighted and wrong-headed answer to the conundrum of rural development. And yet, despite what I thought was a finely-honed, critical lens, I can now see significant differences in how I used this lens to shape my thesis research and paid research work. In short, I was asking “why tourism” (i.e. policy) in one world but questioning “how tourism” (i.e. process and planning) in the other. As I put these two questions together, I can see how I was trying to help communities resist tourism and yet was reinforcing tourism in many ways.

Shortly after starting the doctoral program, I was in the throes of my first tourism-related research consultancy project. My supervisor was invited to a meeting in a community torn into factions as result of disagreements about the nature of tourism development. This tiny village had created two tourism brochures and had opened two tourism information booths; each selling a different image of the community. That this was an untenable situation was not lost on many members of the community and my supervisor, well known in the area as “an expert” in rural development, was invited to a meeting by the president of the Business Improvement Association. My job (as a new doctoral student) was to present our “community-based approach” to rural development and to talk about our participatory philosophy. I talked enthusiastically about inclusive planning processes and the impacts of tourism development without community consent and/or collaboration. In addition to the broad literature on tourism impacts, I had been reading Freire (1970), Friedmann (1987), and Forester (1989); the gurus of inclusivity, conscientization, participatory processes, and social change. The dozen or so people in attendance (although this was a meeting advertised widely in the community and open to all) seemed to have neither patience nor interest. I could feel them getting bored. It became clear those in attendance were from one side of the debate and I remember how during the course of the discussion that followed, they kept turning to my supervisor (a very tall, middle-aged, white man) hoping he might tell them how to win. He kept saying: “I can’t give you the answers but I have some ideas about ways you can come together to talk about this collectively and sort this out as a community.” We reinforced our message and offered to facilitate any future meetings the community might host should they wish to undertake a more inclusive, participatory approach. While this experience provided fodder for a few in-depth qualitative, interviews about the split in the community, and, following from that, conference presentations and publications, we were never invited back. We were left to describe the tensions we saw but not to engage in addressing them.

This experience left a deep awareness of both the lack of power inherent in my student (perhaps young female) status but also in regards to the importance of the wider social, economic, and

political context within which (tourism) planning is always situated. Economic restructuring, particularly the downturn of some natural-resources based economies (and now manufacturing in North America) sets the stage for a ready acceptance of a services-based approach to economic growth. At least from a policy standpoint, tourism fits this service-led growth agenda well. Add to this the atmosphere of uncertainty and insecurity permeating most small communities and it doesn't bode well for a commitment to process-oriented planning approaches and long-terms views. Ultimately, I was disappointed that my "truth" hadn't been embraced. I thought that the "proper" planning process would help the community understand that tourism was at best only part of the solution.

In 2000, partly as a result of the experience described above, my supervisor and I decided to develop what we considered to be a community-based tourism planning process. Soon, we had crafted a hands-on, plainly written, tourism planning manual that members of rural communities could use on their own. We based the manual on the model of a community search conference (Emery & Purser, 1996) and set out to "test" it in as many communities as possible. After a few presentations at rural development conferences, leaders of three communities approached us and volunteered to help. It should be noted that these communities were undergoing forced amalgamation – a controversial process whereby their governments and services were merged as part of a broad trend of making local government "more efficient" that swept through the province of Ontario upon the election of deeply conservative leadership.

I had also started teaching my first course on tourism and recreation planning and was determined to encourage students to think about relations of power in communities and about the benefits of a collaborative approach. I was reading Reed (1999), Ritchie (1999) and others who were committed to undertaking an approach to tourism planning that was at least sensitive to power relationships. When it came time to work with the communities, I was determined to encourage participants to engage equally in a dialogue about community health and development before talking about tourism. Together with another doctoral student, I developed and held a series of collaborative planning events. Participants were keen to take the lead in the process we facilitated. While attendance was low, the outcomes (strategies) developed were centered on meeting community needs that went beyond tourism-led responses to economic concerns. However, when my supervisor and I made a presentation to the local government (our funders) on the results of our project, councilors were much more interested in hearing our thoughts on the tourism potential of the area and possible economic development opportunities. One of our key recommendations was that communities undertake this process again, on their own with more participants and as a newly amalgamated group and to do it at regular intervals such as every 5 years. This recommendation elicited next to no discussion and to my knowledge, it has not been taken up. As with the previously mentioned project, the details of these events have been presented and published elsewhere as we sought to describe the process and to encourage other researchers to undertake similar activities. However, despite irregular contact with a key player in one of the communities, engagement with these communities and their tourism planning endeavours has since ceased.

These experiences stand out as among the few opportunities to encourage a tourism planning process built on assumptions about community power and where tourism is deemed a secondary focal point. And yet, as with Rowe's experience, the discussion of process and encouragement of critical reflection about the nature of development itself, was neither actively supported nor maintained, especially at leadership levels. Rowe noted:

A deeper, reflexive research process may take the participants far from conventional boosterist platitudes, imitative strategies, and "safe" recommendations, and provide critical perspectives of local culture and its future directions that may not be entirely welcome (2005, p. 135).

Indeed, the broader context of fear and insecurity that permeates much thinking about development in small communities often overrides even the best intentions of praxis. While I cherish these important experiences, they reaffirm the challenge inherent in decoupling tourism from the overriding discourse of economic growth. I'd softened my sense of having a kind of truth to instill; nevertheless, I was still firmly committed to process. And yet, at the time I felt quite powerless to find ways to excite and engage other small communities in these kinds of planning endeavours. Doctoral research allowed me to return to the ivory tower as I satisfied myself with undertaking a critical analysis of the trajectory of tourism and rural development policy in two provinces over 25 years. Two case studies of small communities (one was close to where I grew up and the other was one of the communities mentioned above) assessed the impact of those development policies at the local level. Upon completion of the degree, I felt I'd contributed to the field but had not moved any closer to the goal of social change. As Tribe (2007) outlines, critical approaches not only embrace the paradigmatic shift from "is" to "ought" but attempt to help move the process along.

Contexts and Constituencies III: Finding community or "The Dubrovnik Effect"

Perhaps one of the reasons why I've struggled with the challenge of putting praxis at the forefront of work with members of rural communities considering tourism development is because there are few others around me who think this way. Certainly, "community-based tourism" is a major theme in tourism research, but, as authors such as Blackstock (2005) argue, the use of this term often signifies an inherent disconnect from 'the bottom-up, anti-oppressive, empowering ethos of community development' (p. 46). Not only do many researchers and planners ignore the local context as well as the complexity of community (rife with power struggles and competing values), Blackstock argues, the community may be co-opted and tourism privileged over other development options, opening the door for the advancement of a neo-liberal agenda. Certainly in the North American context, tourism conferences seem dominated by market-oriented approaches and lack critical insight, quite unreflective of major paradigmatic shifts in our field.

I realised that intellectual isolation was taking its toll when I attended the first Critical Tourism Studies conference in Dubrovnik, Croatia. I was overcome by a feeling of being in community for the first time since I'd returned to university. The conference became, as I would describe later to colleagues, a "support group" for critical tourism researchers. From 1999 until 2005, I had satisfied myself with presentations on tourism planning processes at conferences – turning my critical sights towards "how tourism" and away from "why tourism" – and feeling a growing frustration. Needless

to say, when I got to Dubrovnik, not only had I found a group I could relate to, I realised how far the field had come. While I had thought deeply and written a bit about the potential of critical and interpretive approaches to tourism research, papers by John Tribe, David Botterill, Irena Ateljevic, Nigel Morgan, and Annette Pritchard, indicated that others were pushing the field in exciting new directions. I returned home refreshed and rejuvenated and committed to unapologetically injecting a critical spirit into every aspect of my work. And yet...

Contexts and Constituencies IV: Being critical in an increasingly constrained (and uncritical) world

I started my first academic appointment in 2004 and, as noted above, was determined to continue to foster this critical and praxis-oriented approach to rural tourism research. The paradigmatic revolution so well articulated by Goodson and Phillimore (2004) and Ateljevic, Pritchard and Morgan (2007) has shaken the foundations of tourism research and scholarship. The on-the-ground context of university research, not to mention neo-liberalism, however, has made things increasingly difficult. Other research projects, limited time, teaching and supervisory commitments, as well as funding challenges, has meant that I've had to be satisfied with teaching about the challenge of community-based processes and doing critically-oriented research in communities where this process *ought* to have been undertaken. In 2006, I traveled to a community in western Canada and was immediately caught by its endeavour to craft a tourism theme connected to an enduring popular culture icon. It became immediately clear that not everyone in the community supported this development but that economic downturn in the early 1990s had led a small group to push the idea through as an attempt to keep the community afloat economically. I had been teaching a graduate course in tourism dynamics and included a section on theming and branding. I was reading Hollinshead, (2004), Paradis (2002), and Mordue (2001) and was thinking about ontological developments and how places are performed in and through tourism and what this means for those who live there. As indicated by this entry in my research journal during the second visit to the community, however, I found myself once again struggling with my own ideological viewpoints and those of community members who seemed desperate to make tourism work:

So, it's clear that these are emotional issues – I'm trying really hard to be positive and not critical while keeping the critical lens at the front....but I feel for this community and its attempts to stay afloat. The little history description [name of interview participant] gave me begins with, "In the 1980s, [our community] was in trouble, stores were closing and being boarded up" so we can see what people think the options are – my concern is how it comes to pass that these are the options when the stakes are so high for members of this community. [interview participant] seems to see it as a question of making sure people agree with the image and can somehow see themselves in it... – I wonder if the two can co-exist when we are talking about tourism. [Research Journal entry – December 5, 2006]

Interestingly, this paragraph was included in the paper I prepared for the second Critical Tourism Studies conference in Split, Croatia, yet I ultimately removed it when preparing the final version for publication. I was concerned about word count and reflexivity didn't seem to fit the overall tone of the paper. In this sense, then, I feel I've moved even further from my initial motivations for academic work. My research in this community did little more than reinforce the argument that tourism should be encouraged (albeit in more inclusive ways). In short, I did not challenge the conventional

wisdom of tourism-led rural development. In the presentation and journal article, I put the critical analysis at the forefront but also, as Thomas (2005) would argue, in the shadows as only other academics might see it.

Three weeks after undertaking research in the community, I received a phone call from an economic development officer from a town nearby. She had read a story in the local paper about my research (an impromptu interview with the editor of the paper led to a description of me as an expert in rural tourism development). She asked for my help in creating a big attraction or theme. Specifically, she wanted my help in convincing members of her community that building the world's largest motorcycle would be a good use of limited resources (instead of a swimming pool for which most members of the community appeared to be asking). I explained to the officer that I was reluctant to offer support for such tourism projects in small communities, especially when they appeared to be developed in the face of community resistance. I offered to send her a copy of the tourism planning manual I'd developed as a graduate student and she said she'd, "take a look". I also offered to come to her community to facilitate a community-based tourism planning process that might help elicit some other, more supported ideas about development. She seemed mildly interested in this offer. I put the manual in the mail the next day and never heard from her again. A recent check on the website indicates that the community does not appear to have built said motorcycle.

As I reflect on these experiences, it's clear that members of many communities are generally not prepared to think beyond the tourism agenda. This is the greatest challenge to my work. What might I have done differently in these cases? How could I have encouraged community members and their leaders to more actively engage a collaborative process that fosters critical thinking about the potential of tourism? Why I was reticent about sharing my values (skeptical of tourism as I am) more directly with community members? While I remain emotionally and intellectually committed to the ethos of a critical praxis-oriented approach, I have yet to attain that goal, let alone "conscientization" or "emancipation". In a recent publication written with my supervisor, we revisited transformative and collaborative planning traditions (cf. Forester, 1989; Healey, 1997) and tried to come to terms with the practicalities of tourism policy and planning as we had experienced it. Alas, our paper concluded with an imagining:

It is possible to consider the role that tourism development can play not just in expressing community uniqueness and values, but also in countering the growing infiltration of the economic development imperative into considerations of community development more widely. Allowing for tourism to form one component of community development engenders its de-centering and re-prioritization. Moreover, this approach may even provide opportunities to build skills that can help oppose or re-design unwanted tourism developments and/or off-set some of the homogenizing tendencies of global cultural change and economic restructuring more generally.

As tourism research(ers) enter(s) what Macbeth (2005) called a sixth platform of developing self-awareness, considering and becoming clear about ethical positions and reflecting upon their implications, perhaps it is time to consider the potential for a more mature, critical tourism research(er).

Finding the heart of my/our work

Thinking about the course of my admittedly short tenure and reflecting on discussions with students and colleagues, I'm led to the conclusion that I/we need to work even harder to build an environment (academic and practical) that fosters a critical discourse and where counter-hegemonic language is not marginalised. Through the creation of what Hollinshead and Jamal (2007) call 'critical texts', researchers can build communicative spaces, where:

...we might be able to struggle dialectically and gainfully to reconceptualise and reshape some of the existing myths and the dominant social constructions of and about nature and environment (p. 113).

Botterill (2003) highlights a critical realist tourism research agenda, which has researchers looking beneath the surface of tourism and 'thinking about the underlying mechanisms and powers that act to create or constrain tourism' (p. 105). This is a central issue and not just for researchers. Indeed, how do we create more opportunities for people in communities to discuss (and resist) these mechanisms and powers? The answer may lie in process and ethics. Macbeth (2005) called for ethically reflexive, prescriptive, value-full, scholarship in our field. While Iloathe to prescribe a particular ethical orientation he encourages all policy makers, planners, developers, critics, and commentators to come to terms with their own ethical standpoints. Then, he makes the following plea:

...one needs to be prepared to argue for no tourism! More precisely, treat this industry like any other development option and assess its viability to contribute to the wider sustainable development of the region, the state, the country and the "living earth", but without ignoring the political economic of the North-South divide in the early 21st century (p. 980).

Jamal, et al., (2006) have invited researchers to embrace an ethic of care and well-being when 'using, managing, and living within the physical, social and spiritual systems that sustain our existence'. (p. 161) Surely part of this ethic of care involves questioning not just the *practice* of tourism research and development but the very *presence* of tourism.

By presenting this paper, I hope to create a dialogic, reflexive, critical text about an unfinished process. The question must always be: now what? The task remains for me, then, to spread the Dubrovnik-effect in the places where I research, learn, and teach and to keep at the forefront considerations of social change. For Hrezo (2000) social change:

...comes through the daily efforts of human beings who are able to use their bodies and their minds to organize and complete the tasks required to accomplish mutually agreed upon goals. Thus the freest and least evil society is the one in which the most people are obliged to think while acting, exercise as much control as possible over social life, and have the largest amount of independence to choose the ends of their actions. Such people cannot overcome necessity, but they can learn to use love and reason to persuade necessity, thereby eliminating social oppression and affliction to the extent possible. (p. 102)

At the end of our last gathering in Croatia, we were asked: '*What lies at the heart of your work?*' The heart of my work must be fostering and facilitating empowerment in small communities so that they may be increasingly involved in defining their own future. Other aspects of my work lead me to look

at places and spaces where community members can gather and build relationships and, subsequently, be able to create the networks and skills that will help them resist unwanted developments. Encouraging a wider discussion where saying no to the tourism-led agenda is a viable and supported option must become part of the heart of our collective work. In this time of economic downturn where the façade of tourism-led growth is exposed like never before, the time is right for this agenda to gain legitimacy.

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'Broadening the Vistas of Tourism Epistemology: The Concept of Being in the World'

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Abstract:

The landscape of tourism studies has been marked recently by scholars calling for new approaches to tourism and greater levels of transparency, placing the emphasis on the cultural politics of research making. This composite agenda of issues has been voiced and marked broadly under the umbrella terms *The Critical Turn* and “new” tourism research. This paper argues that the emergence of critical scholarship is important for further theorizations about tourism. It seeks to challenge the reader to think beyond the traditional notion of what tourism is/does and stresses the importance of emic (culturally situated) approaches to research. It is argued that researcher’s philosophical assumptions play an essential role in the process of knowledge production, in particular when it comes to one’s ontological and epistemological underpinnings. By drawing on the concept of *being in the world*, it emphasizes that the everyday life cannot be separated neither from tourists nor from researchers who act as culturally situated story-tellers.

Introduction: Current Shifts in Tourism Studies

Contributors to tourism study call ever more stridently for greater levels of transparency, they are becoming more open about their personal biography and experiences, and there is a strong emphasis on the cultural politics of research-making and legitimisation of interpretive, qualitative, reflexive modes of inquiry (Ateljevic, Harris, Wilson, & Collins, 2005; Hollinshead, 2007; Phillimore & Goodson, 2004a, 2004b; Tribe, 2005). Tourism research now seems to follow the lead of the social sciences and moves into what Tribe (2004) calls “new” tourism research or what Ateljevic et al. (2005) describe as the “Critical Turn” in Tourism Studies. The adherents of the “Critical Turn” also claim that it stands for an ontological, epistemological and methodological shift, for researchers are building a “new commune that provides a space for shared understanding of more interpretative and critical modes of research enquiry” (Ateljevic et al., 2005, p.25). The boundaries of tourism research are starting to expand beyond the applied business approaches to research with scholars beginning to challenge the ontological foundations of tourism as well as addressing the need for greater plurality of epistemological approaches and methods (Coles, Hall, & Duval, 2005). Hollinshead (2006) also asserts that there is a turn towards constructivist/interpretivist thought and practice and the field is now witnessing tourism scholars making a deliberate move towards alternative and decommodified research (Wearing, McDonald, & Ponting, 2005).

In further making sense of what is currently happening in Tourism Studies, the “new” tourism research and the “Critical Turn” are perhaps not to be understood as something that is entirely novel, but rather as an evolution of the field. Tourism academia has reached a momentum where old ways of knowledge production and research focus may not be satisfactory any longer, and there is now a growing body of researchers that call for innovative approaches to tourism (Gale & Botterill, 2005). In this regard, Franklin (2004, p.278) asserts that “tourism is not just what tourists do at tourist sites, it is also how they came to be created as tourists; as a self-ordering as well as an

ordered travelling culture". From this standpoint, tourism can be linked to a variety of globalizing effects such as place making, cosmopolitanism, and consumerism. Tourism has become an important ordering of modernity as well as global society: resulting in an array of *ordering effects*. Also other writers have emphasised the need to engage with broader theoretical questions about tourism and travel, and new directions have recently been delved into: *actor-network theory* (Johannesson, 2005; Van Der Druim, 2007), *mobilities* (Hall, Williams, & Lew, 2004; Hannam, 2009; Meethan, 2003), *worldmaking* and *worldshaping* (Hollinshead, 2004b), and shaping of destinations and remaking places (Crang, 2004). Consequently, there is a shift from what Franklin (2007) calls *touristcentricity*, and more researchers seem to be following Lincoln and Guba's (2004, p.284) call for the creation of new texts that break boundaries:

...texts that move from the centre to the margins to comment upon and decentre the centre; that forgo closed, bounded worlds for those more open-ended and less conveniently encompassed; that transgress the boundaries of conventional social science; and that seek to create a social science about human life rather than on subjects.

The Evolving Field of Tourism Studies: A Brief Overview

Tourism has not always been (and still is struggling to be) a domain of varied approaches and well discussed subjects. When it comes to assessing knowledge production in the field of Tourism Studies, it is valuable to look briefly at its history of development. According to Graburn and Jafari (1991) it was not until the 1930s that scholars other than historians started to make contributions to tourism, catching the attention of geographers and later, economists and planners. In the 1960s the importance of tourism grew and other disciplines became interested in certain subject matters of tourism: from anthropology to sociology, to ecology, to leisure and recreation studies and political science. In the 1980s tourism slowly began to gain a rather greater usability as a research topic, and was marked by the establishment of now well known research journals (*Annals of Tourism Research*, *Journal of Travel Research*, *Tourism Management* etc.) (Graburn & Jafari, 1991). Since the 1970 and 1980s, so-called "first generation scholars", have been contributing to, and hence establishing, tourism as a legitimate field (Pritchard & Morgan, 2007). It is important to note, however, that the review of the tourism field in 1991 by Graburn and Jafari (in the special issue of *Annals of Tourism Research*) was performed at a point in time when it was still possible to carry out an in-depth assessment of the field in term of scope and size (there were only 6 journals in the 1980s). In the past sixteen years tourism academia has grown into a very prolific space. There has been a tremendous growth in students as well as professors of tourism management (approximately forty) and there are now over seventy tourism journals out of which forty are recognized internationally (Pritchard & Morgan, 2007).

Based on these facts, one would presume that after forty years of tourism scholarship the field would have achieved a certain degree of maturity and a plethora of issues would have been explored, theorised, and conceptualised. Yet the opposite appears to be the case. For instance only a little is still known about tourism identities, relationships, mobilities and consumptions, the body, gender and post-structural theories of language and subjectivity (Pritchard & Morgan, 2007). In Pritchard and Morgan's view, the research has rarely been breaking new conceptual, ethical or

epistemological ground and has remained rather confirmatory and reproductive. Tourism sites and experiences are used merely as the context for studies, often driven by positivist industry authority. In their opinion, "positivist discourses and a commitment to empiricism, quantification, neutrality, objectivity, distance, validity, and reliability continue to be the appropriate markers of the authoritative voice in much tourism research" (Pritchard & Morgan, 2007, p.18). Similarly, Jamal and Everett (2007, p.58) confirm that the business or functionalist/applied approach has dominated tourism studies and the "economics-externalities camp" (the industry-oriented aspect) somewhat overshadowed the "impacts-internalities camp" (the social and cultural aspect).

In regard to disciplines, the sociological explanations of tourism have mainly delved into separable life world at a distance from a non-tourist life world (Franklin, 2007). Travel through the lens of social sciences has according to Hannam, Sheller and Urry (2006, p.4) been a "black box – a neutral set of technologies and processes predominantly permitting forms of economic, social and political life that are seen as explicable in terms of other, more causally powerful processes". Anthropology for instance has had its own point of view - treating tourism as one of many cultural phenomena (Nash & Smith, 1991). Nash and Smith further confirm that, through an anthropological lens, tourists are seen as *sightseers* or *leisured travellers*, taking part in the *touristic process*, and making an impact on host societies. When it comes to geography, Franklin (2007, p.133) states that there has been something "quintessentially geographical about tourism" thus predisposing tourism as a spatial phenomenon. In Mitchell and Murphy's (1991, p.59) review of geography and tourism, we learn that "the environment is the totality of tourism activity, incorporating natural elements and society's modifications of the landscape and resources". Subsequently, attention has been drawn largely to the structure of seaside resorts, tourism-environmental models and resource allocation, the urban-tourism realm, and to social and destination developments.

The study of tourism can therefore be perceived as the result of disciplinary orientations: whether it was sociology's leanings towards *producerist* society (work, employment, social reproduction of labor power etc.), the anthropological focus on the touristic impacts, or the geographical focus on tourism as a spatial phenomenon (Franklin, 2007). It has been described as lacking theoretical sophistication (Apostolopolous, Leivadi, & Yiannakis, 1996) and in need of embracing the "the full breadth of social science research paradigms" (Wearing et al., 2005, p.425). When it comes to tourism theory, one of the main quandaries still remains that our understanding of tourism has become "fetishized as a thing, a product, a behaviour – but in particular an economic thing" (Franklin & Crang, 2001, p.6). Crouch (2004) underscores that tourism locations continue to be poorly considered only in terms of the word *product*. He further insists that scholars must move beyond the *positivist polarization* between tourism business, policy, investors, and hosts on one side as producers and tourists on the other as consumers. Others researchers also propose that in order to conceptualize tourism adequately, academics need to go beyond the economic and appreciate the relationships of tourism, leisure, and recreation with other social practice (Hall et al., 2004). This, of course, is not to say that traditional (positivist and recently post-positivist) modes of enquiry and a focus on travellers' taxonomies do not have their place in Tourism Studies, but there is also great potential in further exploring new avenues of thinking about tourism.

This brief discourse shows that there is still an imbalanced understanding and set ways of seeking knowledge in Tourism Studies, and that there is also a lack of critical approaches in the field. Meethan (2002) asserts that much of the work has been platformed uncritically and the broader effects of tourism in and across societies fail to be evaluated. Ateljevic (2007) in her overview of the field further shows that tourism has been divided between business (tourism management) and social science (tourism studies) approaches: with the first often described as objectivist and positivist (also voiced by other scholars: Franklin & Crang, 2001; Hollinshead, 2003, 2004a; Riley & Love, 2000; Tribe, 2005) and the latter as fragmented and dispersed across an array of disciplines (Graburn & Jafari, 1991; Phillipmore & Goodson, 2004c).

Reading the work of Hall, Williams and Lew (2004), we are presented with a review of CABI leisure, recreation and tourism abstracts between 1976-2002. The findings show that sustainability, heritage and history were the major themes, while other concepts such as post-modernity, globalisation, sexuality and gay related issues appeared to have less or no impact on Tourism Studies. Although there is a substantial body of literature on these subjects, Hall et al. (p.17) argue that these have not become "central unifying concepts in tourism". Thus even though new themes in tourism research have emerged; a significant consolidation of the contribution has not been achieved. This claim is somewhat supported also by Boterill, Gale and Haven (2002) who reviewed doctoral thesis in the UK and Ireland between 1990-1999 and found that only few works had been influenced by critical theory. Therefore the field is still largely operating within the business/applied realm and the "Critical Turn and "new" tourism research has by no means become the new norm. The field is tuning and evolving.

"New" Tourism Research and the Challenges Ahead

Phillimore and Goodson state in their opening chapter to *Qualitative Research in Tourism: Ontologies, Epistemologies and Methodologies* that the term qualitative research is "something of an enigma" (2004b, p.3). This enigma may have become a well discussed enigma, but remains an enigma to many, and so do some of the other concepts in Tourism Studies. There continues to be a sense of vagueness about terminology, theories, and frameworks that researchers often employ from other disciplines. Many scholars, including those who perceive themselves as contributing to critical research or "new" tourism research, fail to probe more deeply into their ontological and epistemological views and address the fundamental issues of (1) how they arrive at their views, and (2) how the first impacts their work and hence their contribution to Tourism Studies. Despite the plethora of qualitative research in the field, most contributors follow other leading commentators in cultural and social sciences such as Guba and Lincoln (1989), and Denzin and Lincoln (2000; 2003), but uncritically. In fact, it can be said that almost mechanically. Many scholars position themselves largely to distinguish their work from the traditional, positivist approaches to research, but in doing so they forget to be critical in/and of their own work. In this regard Hammersley (1995) highlights that most references to positivism are dismissive and disparaging and promote other positions (i.e. more qualitative approaches). Hammersley also reminds us that "those who dismiss the work of their predecessors are likely to repeat previous errors" (1995, p.19).

As noted earlier, there is no doubt that researchers are becoming more critical and starting to ponder fundamental questions about what tourism *is*, what it *does* or *can do*, and what other things it may be connected to/with. Nevertheless, its contributors must carefully examine what they understand tourism to be, and more importantly, reflect on the modes of seeking knowledge (epistemology) in their everyday life as academics contributing to this field. In this regard, Hollinshead (2006) for instance warns about the inherent dangers of deploying a constructivist approach to tourism inquiry in a non-critical manner and emphasizes the importance of critical, contextual and inter-subjective matters. Similarly, the somnolent discourses on generalisations and the use of quantitative versus qualitative method hold some importance; however they are the result of how the ontological, epistemological and methodological questions are answered. Disappointingly, it is precisely this predicament that is neither considered as worthy of attention, nor understood by many tourism scholars. Hollinshead (2006) observes that the constructed nature of *emic* (culture-specific) as well as *etic* (culturally neutral) understandings have largely received a superficial treatment in Tourism Studies. In fact it can be said that tourism academics tend to focus on the “methodological” and “methodical” without pondering sufficiently the “philosophical” aspects of their work. In this sense knowledge production in tourism is a remnant of *functional* or *applied* research. Researchers who are serious about their criticality thus ought to examine reflexively and critically the part they take in the process, as well as the outcome of their academic undertakings. There is therefore a somewhat urgent need not only for more breadth and depth but also for broader debates on the production of knowledge.

This is not to say that everyone in the field of Tourism Studies is oblivious to epistemological and ontological matters. There are indeed hints of a shift beyond the traditional ways of seeking knowledge; with researchers starting to engage increasingly in social and cultural theory for instance (Franklin, 2004, 2007). The emerging Mobilities Paradigm (Urry, 2006) challenges the reader to ponder places in a different way and in fact requires critical and reflexive approach to thinking about the meaning and realness of a place. Also Hollinshead presents tourism as an agent of change - a “worldmaking agent” that makes, re-makes, but also de-makes places. It is a concept or what he calls an “angle of vision/s” that reveals the many things tourism *does* (or is involved in) and also what it *is* or *can be* (2008). Works of this nature move (although not necessarily always deliberately) the epistemological boundaries of tourism by shifting the focus away from seeing tourism in isolation.

Tourism and Being in the World

The human conduct in the world - the actions and behavior of people - is conceptualized and understood through a cultural and situated lens by us: researchers in Tourism Studies (and/or other disciplines). In other words, we take part in a highly creative activity in order to describe and categorise people as “tourists” – people who take part in a phenomenon we call “tourism”. Hollinshead (2004a) proposes that methodological-level decisions in which ontological concerns of ‘being’ as well as epistemological concerns about ‘knowing’ should be primary to methods-level decision making. He calls for “more situationally sympathetic and more contextually pertinent thinking about the issues of *being, seeing, experiencing, knowing and becoming*” (p68). In a wider epistemological context, tourism is therefore not necessarily an “ephemeral aspect of social life”

(Hannam, 2009), but constitutive of everyday life (Edensor, 2007; Franklin, 2003). The tourism phenomenon thus cannot be separated from the everyday life and is part of the way we are in the world.

This proposal lies in considering our understanding of tourism as the result of our situated *being in the world*, a philosophical notion proffered by Martin Heidegger (1962). In Heidegger's view humans are always in an intrinsic relationship with the world. Heidegger, whose work is by some scholars (Rouse, 1991) portrayed as social constructivism, was mainly concerned with what he calls "Dasein" or *being* – paying attention to human being in particular. The term Dasein translates literally to "being there" (Solomon, 1972). In this framework, to *be* in this world or to be human is to be thrown into the tangible world around us (Steiner, 1978); a world that cannot be separated from our lives. Guignon (1991, p.83) further describes *being in the world* as follows:

Heidegger's description of agency as being-in-the-world shows that we are for the most part caught up in practical activities, grappling with contexts of equipment that are "significant" in the sense that things show up as counting or mattering to us in relation to our undertakings.

In this view, tourists cannot be separated from the everyday life – their *being in the world* – and nor can researchers for that matter. The phenomenon we call "tourism" can indeed be conceived as the result of our *being in the world*: it is how we make sense of our lives (and the lives of others) meaningfully, while being situated in the field of Tourism Studies. In this light, also the earlier notion of tourism as worldmaking, re-making, and de-making of places can be seen as the result of humans *being in the world*. People indeed have the agency to shape places into what they are and how they can be meaningfully interpreted. The world is therefore made/remade and made sense of based on people's intrinsic relationship with the world: through being and interacting with places, people. In returning to matters epistemological, however, the significant issue lies in exploring how our *being in the world* impacts what we know and how we make sense of the world. This is something that is often overlooked in the field of Tourism Studies.

Tourism and tourists are not necessarily a given, a fixed reality. We all operate in a world of meaning. Crotty (1998) reminds us that we are born into a world that is at once natural, social and cultural. Therefore people are not born tourists – they become who they are through their *being in the world*: they are shaped by their upbringing, parents, education, society, experiences and culture. Furthermore, they are meaningfully interpreted and conceptualized as tourists by researchers who are able to share a similar understanding of the world. In other words we examine people's lives through a cultural and theoretical lens which in return allows us to see the world of tourism and tourists. This notion is embedded in a subjectivist epistemology that acknowledges other views of tourism and its knowledge production. It encourages researchers to explore other ways of thinking about tourism.

Concluding Remarks: Opening Future Debates

The impetus of this paper was to promote further discourses on the ways of understanding/studying tourism, as well as researchers' role in the process of creating knowledge. In other words, the overall implication is embedded in the need to critically examine how tourism knowledge is produced within specific story telling traditions/paradigms (Pritchard & Morgan, 2007). Undoubtedly, tourism academia is still dominated by the positivist/scientific paradigm as confirmed by Xiao and Smith (2006) in their recent historiography of tourism research. The notion of tourism research lacking substantial theory has been underlined by several scholars (Dann, Nash, & Pearce, 1988; Hall, 2000; Hall & Butler, 1995) over the last decades, acknowledging that it has been in isolation from other fields (Farrell & Twining-Ward, 2004). Pritchard and Morgan have argued that except for a few leading scholars the field remains dominated by positivist discourses, empiricism, quantification, neutrality, objectivity, distance, validity, and reliability. This notion has been voiced in the last decade by many academics (Aitchison, 2000; Echtner & Jamal, 1997; Hollinshead, 2004a; Riley & Love, 2000; Tribe, 1997), however, little is known still on the methodologies and philosophy of social research in Tourism Studies (Jamal & Everett, 2007). Moreover, the field has not yet produced "enough substantive, in-depth analysis of what tourism means socially to different individuals and groups (Hollinshead, 2006, p.50). Research underpinned by epistemological concerns is far from being accepted as a valid nexus of debate among mainstream tourism academia and instead remains the privilege of a few who are familiar with this terminology. Yet epistemological matters are vital in every research study, despite the fact that this is something that lies dormant in most researchers' consciousness. The ways of knowing or how we know (epistemology), is what determines what we know and what we claim to be real (ontology) (Slife & Williams, 1995). Therefore epistemological issues are fundamental.

In this epistemological framing, the future of Tourism Studies perhaps does not lie as much in "correct", "reliable" and "valid" accounts of tourism and the descriptions and endless categorizations of what we call "tourists". The future waits at more critical and reflexive approaches to tourism with researchers thinking and moving beyond the boundaries of realist epistemologies. There is a need for more situated and emic (as opposed to etic) research. There is need for more discourses on how we arrive to *knowing*. The paper therefore also calls for more constructionist modes of knowledge production. It sought to offers new vistas by portraying tourism as something that is part of our everyday life: indissoluble from our *being in the world* and interpreted by culturally situated individual/s.

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'Exploring a Sociology of Volunteer Tourism: The use of critical theory and social movement theory to establish research propositions in Volunteer Tourism'

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INTRODUCTION

Volunteer tourism is receiving a great deal of attention, both as an industrial phenomenon and as a research subject. Volunteer tourism is defined by Wearing (2002) as "holidays that may involve the aiding or alleviating [of] the material property of some groups in society, the restoration of certain environments, or research into aspects of society or environment". While defining the concept is important, debate persists as to the language of volunteer tourism, what constitutes volunteer tourism, how volunteer tourists view themselves, and how communities that host volunteer tourists view the phenomenon. As is often the case with emerging tourism-related research, a theoretical foundation is vital to help address these debates, but it also difficult to establish. While some of the work in volunteer tourism has utilized strong theoretical frameworks, much lacks a rigorous theoretical foundation. Young researchers may be quite excited and passionate about the subject of volunteer tourism but simply unfamiliar with the host of theoretical options available to them. This paper aims to explore two theoretical perspectives that could be gleaned from sociology and applied as a framework for volunteer tourism, then concludes with several research propositions. The primary perspectives to be examined include critical theory and social movement theory.

CRITICAL THEORY

Critical theory offers perhaps the richest ground from which to cultivate a theoretical foundation for volunteer tourism. Critical theory may be described as a Marxist-based perspective developed by members of the Frankfurt School. Issues of power, domination, and oppression are central to critical theory: who has power, who does not, and why (Kincheloe & McLaren 2003). Originators of critical theory did so with the ultimate goal of human emancipation (Horkheimer 1982, p.244), which is achieved through the exposure of power relations in all circumstances of domination and oppression, both subtle and obvious, followed by the application of consensus or "real democracy" (Horkheimer 1982, p.250) as the location for cooperative, practical, and transformative activity (Habermas 1978). While critical theory originated in the broader social sciences, it has garnered attention from tourism researchers as well. Critical theory has not always been welcomed in tourism research circles, but this does seem to be changing. Wilson, Harris, and Small (2008) argue that the dominant hegemony of tourism research appears to be turning the corner in terms of its acceptance of both critical theory and critical methodology. This has been exemplified most recently by the publication of Tribe's (2008, p.245) work in a traditional top tier journal whereby he discussed the importance of critical theory to tourism overall as both a valuable theoretical concept for research and as "vital to the management and governance of tourism."

The inherent complexity and contradictions of volunteer tourism beg to be examined with a critical lens. The following are examples of phenomena occurring within volunteer tourism and

accompanied by the domains of critical theory that could be utilized as a theoretical foundation for the study of such phenomena. The domains of critical theory are largely taken from Kincheloe and McLaren (2003).

Proposition 1: Critical Enlightenment

Tour operators and promoters of volunteer tourism commonly cite the ideals of *giving back* or *contributing to society* as well as *helping those in need* and creating an opportunity for *cross-cultural understanding*. In addition, many voluntourism organizations offer programs that provide information and enlightenment to participants regarding socio-economic and political issues that are the cause behind the inequalities they may see in the host communities. In other words, the volunteer tourism organizations attempt to provide a mechanism by which they “uncover the winners and losers in particular social arrangements and the processes by which such power plays operate” (Kincheloe and McLaren, 2003: 441), a primary domain of critical theory. Subsequently, it could be argued that the goals of many volunteer tourism organizations align closely with human emancipation. However, the very foundation of volunteer tourism, which involves more powerful volunteer tourists (who are, by nature, in possession of enough economic power that they have the discretionary time and income to travel to a distant destination) who can pay to volunteer, and can stay for several days to upwards of several weeks, and less powerful host communities (who are, by nature, being exploited or dominated by forces that place them in the position of being “voluntoured”) completely shatters any notion of human emancipation, and in fact achieves quite the opposite. Herein lies the inherent contradictions and hence the need for critical analysis of this contradiction.

Proposition 2: Emancipation of all?

Another contradiction within the phenomenon of volunteer tourism exists in the use of volunteer tourism as a mechanism of emancipation, aimed not at those who are most obviously oppressed (members of the host community), but rather aimed at the more economically comfortable but emotionally and spiritually hamstrung proletariat (the volunteer tourists). Critical theory argues that there are multiple forms of power beyond merely the economic and is categorized as the domain of “rejection of economic determinism” (Kincheloe and McLaren 2003). Volunteer tourism has tremendous appeal to the over-worked, over-exposed, and under-connected Anglo working middle classes of the West who suffer from their own kind of powerlessness. While this perspective may seem more Marxist than critical, there is a component of the critical emancipation domain of critical theory at play. Volunteer tourism operators often portray the benefit of improving ones self-concept as exemplified by ideals mentioned above whereby volunteers can change the world. In past research, volunteer tourism has been seen as a potential cultivator of agency for the volunteer tourist (McGehee and Santos 2002). So the research questions then become: is human emancipation in the critical theory sense only for those who are most oppressed, or is this also available to and necessary for the working and middle classes? Is it possible that a scenario exists that emancipation can occur for both the volunteer and the voluntoured? This presents yet another area of research that could benefit from the marriage of critical theory and volunteer tourism.

Propositions 3 and 4: Hegemony and Discursive Power

In another example of the need for critical theory in volunteer tourism, any quick scanning of volunteer websites reveals the urgent need to evaluate the portrayal of the dominant hegemony through the discourse of volunteer tourism, as well as providing an abundance of examples of the use of signs and images in the culture of volunteer tourism, all geared toward the maintenance of power and control. The images associated with many volunteer tourism operator websites are rife with examples of the subtlety of power relations between the volunteers and the volountoured, particularly images that depict volunteers with the children of the host communities. The overwhelmingly Anglo-European, attractive, young and vigorous volunteers are depicted in protective poses with children, e.g. with their arms around them, bestowing them with material gifts (trinkets or inexpensive school materials), intellectual gifts (reading or otherwise educating them), or emotional gifts (hugs, smiles, hand-holding). Rarely, if ever, are members of the host community shown in positions of power or dominance over the volunteers, or even in neutral or equal positions.

The language, or discourse, of volunteer tourism operator websites certainly provides fertile ground to examine the social construction of “what can and cannot be said, who has authority and who must listen, and whose social constructions are valid” (Kincheloe and McLaren, 2003, in Tribe 2008: 247) in the world of volunteer tourism. The self-descriptions of many of the volunteer tourism organizations are a fascinating potential source of research. For example, organizations rarely use the term tourism but rather volunteer abroad, international volunteer abroad experience, or expeditions. Host communities are not exploited or oppressed, but instead lack resources and face challenges, and of course, the term sustainability is sprinkled liberally throughout many of the websites. It only takes a perfunctory glance to be assured that a deep critical analysis of volunteer tourism websites and other forms of communication is certainly called for.

SOCIAL MOVEMENT THEORY: RESOURCE MOBILIZATION (SOCIAL NETWORKS), CONSCIOUSNESS-RAISING, AND SELF-EFFICACY

At the simplest level, modern social movements are “an organized effort by a significant number of people to change (or resist change in) some major aspects of society” (Marshall 1994:489). Generally, social movements take place outside the mainstream political system. They often consist of people who either choose to be or are excluded from routine institutionalized channels of participation. Examples include the civil rights movements in the United States during the 1950s and 1960s, the anti-nuclear arms movements in Europe in the 1970s and 1980s, and the nearly global anti-apartheid movement of the 1980s and 1990s. Social movement theory has emerged from the study of social movements over several decades, and examines both the organizational level and the individual level. At the organizational level, resource mobilization has received a great deal of attention. This involves the examination of how and through what *networks* social movement organizations obtain economic, political, and human resources. Theorists have argued that people who were excluded from routine access to power participated in movements to implement social change in ways that maximized whatever limited power and resources they did possess (McCarthy and Zald 1973). At the individual level, the social psychological aspects of *self-efficacy* and *consciousness-raising* are central. Self-efficacy may be defined as one’s sense of an ability to overcome obstacles in life (Wiggins, Wiggins and Vander Zanden 1994). Without a strong sense of

self-efficacy, a person would be disinclined to participate in social movements. Mueller (1992) characterizes consciousness-raising as an individual's identification with and awareness of the "battlefields" of social conflict. Consequently, it is closely bound with participation in and support for social movements (Eisenstein 2001).

It should be easy to see the ontological and epistemological relationship between critical theory and social movement theory: both are concerned with issues of power and agency. While the former provides the foundation for social movement theory, the latter provides a location for praxis. In other words, if one of the big questions of critical theory is how society may achieve human emancipation, social movement theory is attempting to provide an answer. While volunteer tourism organizations are not social movement organizations, they may provide a conduit for the development of social movements. Social movements provide a place for the powerless to gain power and act as agents of change. Social Movement theory offers a strong lens through which critical researchers can examine volunteer tourism as a catalyst for social movements. In particular, social movement theory can provide a framework whereby best practices in volunteer tourism may be discovered.

Proposition #5: Social Networks

One suggested area of volunteer tourism research involves the exploration of social networks established between volunteer tourists and the voluntoured. According to Knoke (1988) and other resource-mobilization proponents (Klandermans and Oegema 1987; McAdam and Rucht 1993), networks are important predictors of social movement participation. The individuals and organizations that are linked together through one or more social relationships form one's networks. In that they reinforce social movement activities, such examples of networks as personal ties and organizational alliances are all predictors of social movement participation and activism support. In fact, Barkan et al (1995) argued that while microstructures and networks were not the only predictors of social movement participation, they were generally the strongest. While some research has focused on the role of volunteer tourism and social networks (McGehee 2002; McGehee and Norman 2002), to date no one has examined the potential for resource mobilization via networks established between volunteer tourists and the voluntoured. Research focused on unearthing examples of best practices whereby volunteer tourism organizations facilitate social networks, and subsequently resource mobilization, between volunteers and the voluntoured, could potentially revolutionize volunteer tourism. For example, are there existing volunteer tourism organizations that have found ways to facilitate the development of networks between the volunteer tourist and the voluntoured? Are they tracking these networks and continuing to support them even after the volunteer tourism experience is over?

Proposition #6: Self-efficacy

Since scholars began studying social movements, one of the major questions has remained the same: Who participates in social movements and why? During nearly 100 years of research, the ways in which these questions have been answered have gone through many changes. Prior to the 1960s, social psychological theorists argued that people participated in social movements because they were frustrated, irrational, or social outcasts who had no other recourse but to go outside the

usual institutionalized social structures to attempt to implement change. Such perspectives proved inadequate during the 1960s, when people from a variety of socioeconomic and educational backgrounds who were not perceived as irrational or social outcasts became activists. As a result, the social-psychological concepts of self-efficacy and consciousness-raising emerged from the study of social movements (Gamson 1992). Proponents of social psychological explanations of social movements have argued that a high level of self-efficacy is an important prerequisite for participation (Kelly and Breinlinger 1996), because an individual must possess a personal sense of her/his ability to overcome obstacles before participating in an organization advocating change to the *status quo*. If a person is highly efficacious, that person will feel very competent, welcome a challenge, and feel confident in her/his ability to implement change. Self-efficacy has been examined as a link between attitudes toward social issues and social movement participation (Emig, Hesse and Fisher, 1996; Kernis 1995). For example, a person may have strong attitudes about racism, but if that person has low self-efficacy, she/he will feel unable to do anything about the problem and will be less likely to join a social movement organized to combat racism. In order to become involved with and committed to social movement activism, one must possess an optimistic view of how participation can re-create society (Gamson 1988; Kelly and Breinlinger 1996). While the notion of self-efficacy was explored in McGehee's (2002) study of how and whether participation in an Earthwatch expedition (a form of volunteer tourism) impacted participation in social movements by facilitating changes in self-efficacy, the examination of changes in self-efficacy amongst volunteers and the voluntoured begs further study.

Proposition 7: Consciousness-raising

The irony of consciousness-raising is that it is an intensely individual experience that nearly always occurs within a group context. Additionally, people cannot simply be told to change; they have to discover change through personal experiences (Gordon 2002). Consciousness-raising can occur over a long period of time or can occur suddenly and dramatically. Consciousness-raising can occur not only through collective action within a specific social movement, but also through interactions with members of other outside coalitions (Klandermans 1992). A volunteer tourism experience may provide a similar indirect/informal channel for exchange of ideas, and in the process, result in a consciousness-raising experience.

Another important element of consciousness-raising is seeing the personal as political (Srivastava 2003). An example of this concept is found in Taylor and Whittier's (1992) examination of lesbian feminist mobilization. Women who participate and support the movement do not limit their involvement to political activism such as letter-writing campaigns and protests, but include activism in every aspect of their lives. For example, women of the movement shop only at gay-friendly stores, subscribe to magazines that promote their political and social platform, and travel using only gay-friendly airlines, accommodations, and restaurants. From this theoretical perspective, an argument may be extended that a volunteer tourism experience presents a unique opportunity for exposure to social inequalities, as well as environmental and political issues, subsequently increasing social awareness, sympathy, or support. In other words, if volunteer organizations provide ample opportunities for consciousness-raising experiences, the potential for actual change amongst volunteers in both social movement participation and the everyday adoption of more socially-

conscious economic and social behavior (ie personal as political) in the post-volunteer tourism experience could be enormous. This is an important area of research that holds great potential.

CONCLUSION

The propositions presented in this paper are far from exhaustive. In fact, it is the hope of the author that these initial propositions will generate discussion resulting in an even more comprehensive list. Originally, the author planned to examine not only critical and social movement theories, but also feminist theory and dependency theory, as well. However, the author quickly recognized the scale of such a project exceeded the parameters of this paper. Feminist theory is, of course, a form of critical theory, but it deserves special attention (Wearing and McDonald, 2002; Aitchison 2005; Lyons 2006). Feminist theory may be particularly useful in exploring gender differences amongst volunteers, the ways in which men and women approach voluntouring differently, and the power differentials between the voluntourists and the voluntoured. Dependency theory also has potential for support of the macro-level examination of the volunteer tourism phenomenon and its impact on power relations between the countries that typically provide volunteer tourists and the countries that host volunteer tourism experiences. These are rich sources of theoretical opportunity for the study of volunteer tourism and should be examined in addition to the theoretical perspective mentioned in this paper.

A word about methodology

Critical theorists posit that science itself can be not only a tool of exposing power differentials but can also reinforce the power differentials acting as an instrument of oppression (Habermas 1978). Hollinshead (1999) has pointed out to us on numerous occasions the value of critical theory, or more specifically, postmodern Foucauldian thought, as a way for tourism researchers to understand that the notion of neutrality in research is folly, and that our *a priori* understandings of "reality" should be recognized as part and parcel of our interpretations of tourism. Critical theory and social movement theory both provide not only theoretical frameworks for propositions but also methodological paradigms. Both perspectives argue for a subject-centered approach, the recognition of power relations that exist between the researcher-subject, and the role of scholar activism.

A cornerstone of critical theory calls for the transparency of the researchers ontological and epistemological foundations, so this paper would not be complete without a declaration of motives on the part of the author. In spite of the numerous critiques of volunteer tourism that this paper seems to be calling attention to, it may be surprising to learn that the author does not wish to "throw the baby out with the bathwater" by calling for the exposure and elimination of volunteer tourism as another form of tourism that survives only through the oppression of some so that those who are in power may somehow appease any guilt by participating in a form of tourism that focuses on making the volunteer feel good about themselves. In fact, quite the opposite is true. There is a glimmer of hope for volunteer tourism as a mechanism to be used as one small part of the greater idea of the emancipation of humanity that is so crucial to critical theory.

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'Research critically: tourism entrepreneurship in Croatia'

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Introduction

This paper charts the intellectual journey travelled by a PhD researcher who critically engaged in, analysed and deliberated upon: the nature of cumulated knowledge associated with her field of study, where the power base of the knowledge resided, and consequential issues for advancement of thought. Further, as the journey progressed she reflected on the impact of social setting of the key actors which are the focus of research, and resultant implications for research methodological design. In addition, was the confrontation that the researcher required to transform from a 'dispassionate scientist' to 'insider participant'. The magnitude of this revelation is given context and profound meaning within the setting of Croatia, a former socialist country that has faced severe political, economic, and social turmoil and transitions, including war.

The field of study combines the areas of tourism and entrepreneurship. To date, understanding of both has been informed predominately by economic research and analysis. Furthermore, it has been proposed that the degree of entrepreneurship exhibited in the tourism sector is relatively low, dominated by entrepreneurs who are buying a certain lifestyle primarily, and economic motives play a secondary role (Morrison, 2006). Thus, it is proposed that researching this phenomenon through economic theory alone would fail to reveal understanding and knowledge pertaining to the primary motivations of such entrepreneurs. Moreover, entrepreneurial activity is conditioned by a vast number of factors, including the structure and ideology of the society within which an entrepreneur acts, specific characteristics of an industry sector, and the personal motivation of each individual operating a business. Therefore, account also needs to be taken of the social context in which the tourism lifestyle entrepreneurs are embedded, and interact. Thus, the objectives of this paper are: to expose the uni-dimensional understanding achieved through dependence of economic analysis of entrepreneurship and tourism; to critically analyse the impact of social setting on entrepreneurial behaviours and attitude; and to reflect on how the two previous points influence researcher behaviour and methodological design. Reference is made to the society and geographic area that will host the study to emphasise and illustrate the importance and particularity of social setting in the research process. To be specific, research was undertaken within the Dalmatia region of Croatia, a former socialist country. This region has explicitly included tourism in its development plan. The concentration is on the small hotel owners within the tourism industry.

Entrepreneurship

Since Cantillon (1755) used the term entrepreneur a vast number of scholars through the history of economic though endeavoured to define entrepreneurs. For example, they were seen variously as economic agents, decision makers, risk takers, coordinators of scarce resources, innovators, and agents of economic change (Cantillon, 1959; Menger, 1976; Say, 1855; Schumpeter 1934). A number

of entrepreneurial typologies have also been developed aiming to distinguish entrepreneurs from the remainder of the population. Despite their attempts they failed to arrive at one universally accepted definition. Unfettered by such academic activity, entrepreneurship succeeded to adapt to different social settings, historical epochs, and different game rules present at a certain point of time (Hébert and Link, 1988). Over time, entrepreneurship and entrepreneurs became a subject of interest of many other social sciences, such as, anthropology, geography, psychology, sociology, law. Each observes the phenomenon through their particular disciplinary lens. This research practice created multiple theories and ways of understanding and knowing, and there continues to be a lack of a unifying framework which can bring them together (Sougata and Ramachandran, 1995). Furthermore, from a review of the literature it is apparent that entrepreneurship research is undergoing a critical shift in focus, exploring a wide range of issues, from the personal characteristics and psychology of the entrepreneur, to the importance of entrepreneurship for economic and social development in regions and nations. However, while the developed Western economies recognised the role of entrepreneurial activity in bringing innovation and change, employment and new venture creation, growth in economic activity and technical progress (Baumol, 1986; Kirby, 2002; Schumpeter, 1934; Thomas and Mueller, 2000) this was not the case throughout the world. For example, former socialist economies had very different development paths. In their ideology, supported by the dictatorship of the ruling communist parties, socialist societies eliminated all major institutions and conditions for entrepreneurial development. These included private ownership, market competition, and freedom of individuals to establish private enterprises (Kovac, 1990). While similarities can be identified, each of the former socialist countries, depending on its own particular historical, political and economic attributes, developed its own version of a socialist economy. Aside from these differences, the common feature of all those societies was the position of the entrepreneur, seen as a deviant individual, infused with Western ideology, and a threat to a communist society (Bateman, 1997; Franicevic, 1990). Although little research has been undertaken regarding specific types and definition of entrepreneurship and entrepreneurs in transition economies, Dallago and Scase have made a significant theoretical contribution. Within a Soviet type of economic system, Dallago (1997, p.104) identified two types of entrepreneurs: economic entrepreneurs; and systemic entrepreneurs. The former 'transforms the structure and working of the system in a novel, non-routine way so as to render it better able to solve certain problems'. The latter type of entrepreneur works within the existing system to further specific interests. Within the economic entrepreneur type Dallago identifies four sub-types: elite member (former socialist elite); domestic; returning migrants; and foreign entrepreneurs. Research carried out by Scase (2000) within post-socialist countries of Central Europe and Russia revealed the existence of two distinct processes, which correspond to Dallago's findings: entrepreneurship and proprietorship, identifying the legitimate and illegitimate entrepreneurs often connected with 'mafia' members.

From the foregoing, it can be concluded entrepreneurship and entrepreneurs are not new phenomena. They have existed throughout history in different guises influenced by epoch, rules and social setting. In comparing and contrasting Western conceptions of entrepreneurship and entrepreneurs with examples from former socialist economies acceptance of homogenised world views are challenged. Indeed, it is pointed out that even within socialist economies there are variations in attitudes and behaviours dependent of the historical, political and social setting.

Contributions to understanding and knowledge of what constitutes entrepreneurship and entrepreneurs started with an interest in the phenomenon by economists. Gradually, the interest of a wider range of social scientists was captured bringing multi-disciplinary perspectives and methodologies to bear. According to Tribe (2006) this is beneficial as a dominance of one discipline can not only determine what will be excluded or included in research but it can literally discipline both perception and knowledge creation. Foucault (1974) adds the close relationship and interconnection between knowledge and power; if knowledge of entrepreneurship and entrepreneurs is left in the hands of the economists then it is logical to suggest that research will serve an economic interest to the exclusion of other areas. Furthermore, Ogbor (2000) contributes a viewpoint that suggest that the ideology underpinning entrepreneurship research is dominated by assumptions derived from male oriented cultural ideologies, highly discriminatory and gender biased, justified in terms of its appeal to a free market system. The research challenge, therefore, is to be cognisant of the danger of partial and uncritical knowledge creation through disciplinary and/or methodological, ideological bias or power. Furthermore, the fact that the subject areas continue to evade unifying definitions and/or conceptual frameworks is perhaps testimony to the complex and irreverent nature of the phenomena and therein lies an exciting research challenge that explicitly requires to incorporate the dynamics of social setting.

Tourism entrepreneurship

The dominance of small, owner-managed tourism businesses in many countries (Morrison et al., 1999, 2006; Tinsley and Lynch, 2007; Thomas, 2000, 2004; Shaw, 2004; Shaw and Williams 2002) has 'led to recognition of the significance of entrepreneurship' (Shaw and Williams, 2004 p.99). Despite this, tourism scholars argue that the field has not received the level of attention it deserves (Ioannides and Petersen, 2003; Li, 2008; Shaw and Williams, 1998; Thomas, 2004). Furthermore, research has been dominated by that derived from developed economies, with a paucity of studies focusing on lesser developed or transition economies (Morrison et al., 2008). Some points of similarity across economies have been identified, such as, relative ease of entry into tourism, and financial and human resource poverty (Morrison and Teixeira 2004; Shaw and Williams, 1998, 2004). Researching small business owners in tourism, Dewhurst and Horobin (1998, p. 25) conclude that the majority are individual entrepreneurs 'who are not motivated by desire to maximise economic gain, who operate business often with very low levels of employment, and in which managerial decisions are often based on highly personalised criteria'. Exploring tourism entrepreneurship in Cornwall, Williams et al., (1989) observed the concept of lifestyle entrepreneur which was to become a permanent figure in further studies conducted within the tourism industry (for example, Ateljevic and Doorne, 2000; Di Domenico, 2003; Getz and Petersen, 2005; Hall and Rusher, 2004; Ioannodes and Petersen, 2003; Morrison et al., 2001; Mottiar, 2007; Rowson and Lashley, 2007; Shaw and Williams, 2004). These studies confirmed a number of factors associated with the phenomenon including: entry is often related to a desire to retain some control over working lives, or having a 'clearer line between work and private leisure time (Di Domenico, 2003, p. 255); desire to 'be my own boss' (Rowson and Lashley, 2007); move to an agreeable natural environment (Shaw and Wiliams, 1987); exit a stressful urban corporate employment (Morrison et al., 2001) and keep the family together (Hall and Rusher, 2004). What is clear from the range of studies is the prioritization of a certain, consciously selected lifestyle, by a significant number of entrepreneurs

within the tourism industry, over a focus on business growth and profit maximization. Morrison et al., (2001, p.17) summarized that lifestyle proprietors are those who are likely to be concerned with:

‘survival and securing sufficient income to ensure that the business provides them and their family with a satisfactory level of funds to sustain enjoyment in their chosen lifestyle...[The] lifestyle proprietor defines an individual who has a multiple set of goals associated with their businesses. Profitability in their business operations will be only one of these goals.’

Further research by Shaw and Williams (1998) has drawn attention to two different models of entrepreneurship among small tourism businesses, which are closely connected with the lifestyle entrepreneurship. The first comprises those owners who have moved into a tourism destination for non-economic reasons, usually combined with a lack of business experience, and this group operate as non-entrepreneurs. The second consists of so called constrained entrepreneurs. These are mostly young people with a greater level of economic motives drawn from more professional but mainly non-business background and are constrained by lack of business skills and capital. Getz and Carlsen (2000) found two motivational types of entrepreneurs, so-called ‘family first’, being predominant and ‘business first’, although half of the entrepreneurs within their study did not have formal business goals.

This lifestyle protection over business economic development view is in contrast with findings of Buick et al., (2001) who examined small hotel proprietors in Scotland. Their study revealed that most respondents (52%) saw their business as being at a growth stage, and 59% had plans for expansion. Research carried out by Glancey and Pettigrew (1997, p.23) within the small hotel sector in a Scottish town, showed that the investigated sample ‘...generally displayed characteristics and motivations associated with opportunistic entrepreneurs’ and furthermore, the majority had some other business interests (portfolio entrepreneurs). Although, these two studies were small in size, and the research methods employed (a mail and a postal survey) did not allow a further elaboration of the responses, authors argued that there has been a ‘death of the lifestyle entrepreneur’ (Buick et al., 2001) and that ‘small hotel owners would display tendencies associated with business oriented entrepreneurs in other sectors of the economy’ (Glancey and Pettigrew, 1997 p.24). Their findings also indicate that some sectoral characteristics may play a role when searching to understand the lifestyle entrepreneur. Furthermore, under the umbrella of the tourism industry exists a continuum of entrepreneurial cultures, from strong profit and growth orientation at one end to a tenacious focus on social orientation of ‘business’. However, a number of these studies conducted in the context of developed economies found it difficult to explain the motivations of small businesses (Dewhurst and Horobin, 1998). The reason for this returns to the subject of what disciplinary lens and methodological approaches employed, for example, Tribe (1997; 2004) emphasises that tourism studies crystallise around the field of tourism business studies, dominated by positivist approaches. Understandably, they fail to observe tourism in its wider social settings, focusing on the economics of business, and ‘only offering a partial reading of the world’ (Tribe, 2007, p.280). This narrow and constraining view is reflected by Franklin and Crang (2001, p.6) who state that as a consequence understanding ‘has become fetishized as a thing, a product, a behaviour – but in particular an economic thing’. This leads Coles et al. (2005, p.31) to argue that if studies of tourism are to reflect

contemporary conditions, 'they should move away from traditional inner- and multi-disciplinary approaches to more flexible forms of knowledge production'.

It is reiterated that much of the foregoing originates from literature emanating from developed economies, and although there exists a respectable number of case studies of tourism development in Central and Eastern Europe (Bacharov, 1997; Balaz, 1995; Hall, 1995, 1998; Johnson 1995, 1997; Unwin, 1996) the role of tourism in former Yugoslavian countries remains relatively unexplored. The situation within Croatia is slightly better, with most of the studies focused on the recovery from the war or the influence of tourism on the national economy (Cavlek, 1988; Petric, 1998; Vukonic, 1997, 2001). While tourism represents a key pillar of the national economy, and a significant focus is given to entrepreneurial activity, to date, tourism entrepreneurship has not been explored within the Croatian context. An exception is the work of Ateljevic and Doorne (2003) who investigated tourism entrepreneurship in the Village of Murter. They researched the phenomenon in the context of socio-cultural issues in the post-Communist period through adopting an 'insider' perspective. A contribution from Hitrec (2000) only offered a summary of quantitative data illustrating the importance of small tourism enterprises for the European Union. One reason for a dearth of research into tourism entrepreneurship, and why what does exist is highly quantitative in perspective, can be found within the Croatian academic community. Traditionally, it explores the phenomenon through purely economic lenses, strictly relying on economic perspectives. A quote from Vukovic (1999, p.151) provides a insightful illustration of such perspectives. He defines entrepreneurial activity within the hospitality industry as: '...creative and innovative business activity where entrepreneurs, in the free market conditions, combine resources, especially financial capital and its investment into numerous entrepreneurial ventures with the aim to obtain the biggest as possible profit.' Within Croatian literature, other motives apart from profit achievement for starting a business are rarely considered. It can be proposed that the tourism academic community in Croatia reflects broader society, culture, traditions, economic and political systems. Four points may explain this:

- Coming through a period of communism, war and economic transition, tourism emerged as a central contributor to the national economy, generating significant foreign currency, and results in revenues that cover approximately 40% of the trade balance deficit (HNB, 2009);
- Tourism and hospitality studies as academic fields are physically and organisationally located in Business and Management faculties, with curricula informed through economic methodologies, theories and concepts;
- Academic communities tend to operate in a closed culture, influenced by authorities from the past who rejected any kind of changes in tourism research, resulting in the shaping and conditioning of the next generations of researchers' academic practice; and
- Funding bodies strongly influence the nature of research practice placing pressure to produce technically useful and policy oriented research.

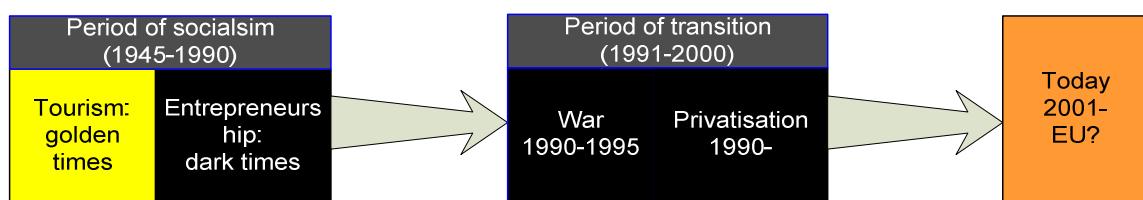
Thus, relative to tourism entrepreneurship care has to be taken to scrutinise the origins of literature both in terms of socio-economic setting and through which disciplinary lens knowledge has been informed, and the extent to which it provides only a partial reading of the 'world'. Conventional wisdom needs to be questioned, for example, does the lifestyle motivation for tourism businesses

hold true in all socio-economic settings? Traditional, uni-discipline approaches require to be challenged, and more open forms of knowledge production embraced, such as, the value of an 'insider' perspective. Finally, understanding of the politics of power and influence of groups in society on what is known and what is left unknown is informative, as was illustrated within the context of the Croatian academic community whose minds tend to be closed to the economic 'unorthodoxy' of the likes of lifestyle motivated enterprise.

Social Setting

It has been argued that social setting presents an important factor in shaping and making entrepreneurs and also determines the extent to which the society accepts entrepreneurial behaviour to be desirable (Morrison, 2000). Furthermore, the cultural framework can facilitate or even hinder entrepreneurial activity, as was the case with former socialist countries in general. The case of Croatia is now presented to illustrate this point. Its historical framework can be divided into three stages (Fig. 1).

Figure 1. Position of the tourism and entrepreneurship within Croatian historical framework



From Figure 1, it can be seen that entrepreneurial activity was significantly constrained by a socialist regime and transition period. During the period of socialism, entrepreneurs were portrayed as individuals incapable of securing a public sector job. The transition period was marked by an inappropriate privatisation policy which enabled frauds by privileged individuals called entrepreneurs, that has created an image for the entrepreneurs as corrupt criminals. This negative image was especially reflected in the hospitality sector and manufacturing industry where government enabled these entrepreneurs, to buy enterprises far below market price with an obligation to invest money and increase employment. The situation in practice was the opposite, where people who bought those enterprises would strip out equipment, fired workers and abandoned it. Currently, entrepreneurship is becoming a philosophy of progress, and the entrepreneurs who create new values and new jobs are seen as capable individuals who 'build a welfare state and economy' (GEM, 2002). Thus, the entrepreneurial climate in Croatia has changed, becoming more of a stimulant for entrepreneurial activity. However, Croatia is, according to the Global Entrepreneurship Monitor Research (GEM, 2006), still experiencing difficulties in fostering entrepreneurial activity. This is obvious when comparing the GEM data which confirms that the number of entrepreneurs who have become entrepreneurs due to a business opportunity is much lower than the number of those who have become entrepreneurs out of necessity. In global comparison, rates of necessity entrepreneurship in developing countries can be five times higher than observed in developed ones (Reynolds et al., 2003). Baker et al., (2005, p.497) stressed that these differences 'point to the importance of national context in shaping the opportunity set and consequently the opportunity cost evaluations of potential entrepreneurs'. In Croatia's case this

might be due to the national economic-political system which generated many economic, social, psychological and general barriers to entrepreneurial venture, such as: the collective decision-making process which hindered individual initiatives, the lack of private savings and limited accessibility to credit money at commercial banks (difficult to start new business); social egalitarianism; mistrust towards people not belonging to the ruling party; a romantic nationalist feeling resulted in many barriers to foreign investments; corruption and profiteering as substitutes for entrepreneurship; and the educational system which did not promote creativity and critical observation (Bartlett and Bateman, 1997; Glas, 1998).

The case of Croatia provides a vivid example of social setting's influence in shaping and making entrepreneurs, and the extent to which entrepreneurial behaviour is considered desirable by the host society, or not. Previously constrained entrepreneurship, during times of the socialist regime and economic transition, emerges to manifest itself as corrupt and unethical, in part, supported by the misconstrued privatisation policies of the day. Hence, it attracts a negative image. Encumbered by a legacy of cultural conditioning associated with the previous regime, entrepreneurship is emerging to be associated with more positive language, such as, 'progress' and contributing 'new values'. This indicates a gradual change in the climate that is more stimulating for entrepreneurship, but there still remain many challenges in fostering this movement and for individuals not to be deterred by actual and perceived opportunities costs associated with starting and developing enterprises.

Research Methodology

The content of the paper so far provides insight into the key issues and challenges that confronted the researcher in her PhD research journey and suggests how they informed research methodology. Table 1 provides a summary. Points 1 to 4 have been addressed already through the paper. The following concentrates on points 5 and 6, explaining how these have impacted on research methodology adopted.

Table 1: Research Methodology Issues and Challenges

1. Literature: recognise the danger of partial and uncritical knowledge creation that is informed through uni-disciplinarity and/or ideological bias.
2. Knowledge production: understand the politics of power that influence groups in society in terms of what knowledge is produced and what is not.
3. World views: scrutinise literature to understand the origins in terms of social setting to allow for taking account of various world views regarding the same phenomenon.
4. Conventional wisdom: be critical and questioning of, for example, acceptance of the dominance of lifestyle entrepreneurship in tourism.
5. Knowledge production: explore other than traditional approaches, seeking more flexible and open forms, for example, insider's perspective and the explicit positioning of the researcher within the research process.
6. Social setting: explicitly incorporate social setting into research design to reflect history, ideologies, dynamics etc. that influence and condition social actors.

Knowledge production

The following demonstrates how more flexible forms of inquiry, encompassing a wide range of context specific varieties, and explicitly positioning the researcher therein, can contribute to new forms of knowledge production. Commencement of this form of research orientation was to adopt a research methodology which aimed to achieve:

- disclosure of complex relationships which exist between small hotel owners and their external and internal environment;
- enable explicit incorporation of the analysed social setting and the nature of the investigated phenomenon into the research design; and
- contribute to the knowledge base that gives a deep insight into the observable phenomena, and not simply recycle existing and saturated business and management theories.

The relationship between small hotel owners and their environment are complex in nature. Furthermore, different social, political and economic structures that exist strongly influence those relationships that the researcher seeks to understand from the perspectives of the analysed individuals and their consequent actions. This demands an interpretivist stance, which aims to interpret and understand social life, to discover people's meanings which are attributed to different situations and actions, and also it acknowledge an observer as a part of the observed process (Easterby-Smith et al., 1991; Sarantakos, 1998). Specifically, the aim is to interpret and understand the different ways in which people enter into the world of entrepreneurship, particularly within the small hotel sector and what factors facilitate and constrain entrepreneurial activity. By revealing operators' motives, backgrounds, and future aims, the existence of lifestyle entrepreneurs, or not, will be explored, and compared and contrasted with tourism entrepreneurship research findings from a range of social settings. Thus, a social action perspective is emphasized which recognizes individuals as taking actions and making meanings in their particular social world. Those actions are not without boundaries which derive from the social structures being created. Di Domenico and Morrison (2003, p.268) argued that social action approach 'represents a humanistic perspective, avoiding reducing people to sterile factors of analysis that may rob them of their essential characteristics as actors in social process.' This approach in its essence takes into account the characteristics of the research subjects and context of their action, as this influences how they will construct, and in the end interpret, their social lives. Namely, the context of the research participants, such as geographical location, urban or rural positioning, formal and informal networks, and the personal lifecycle history can significantly impact upon participants' definitions and interpretations of their situation. Thus, it seeks from the researcher the contextual understanding of social behaviour. This approach both requires and allows from the researcher the close observation of the research participants in their natural settings, where the social world will be interpreted from the perspective of the people being studied (Bryman, 2004; Miles and Huberman, 1995). This is all the more pertinent within the context of tourism entrepreneurship which is best understood as a process, more precisely, as a dynamic process which can not survive in a closed system; therefore, it will considerably differ within different country settings and industry sectors. Therefore, it represents a dynamic and socially constructed phenomenon that can not be reduced to its simplest elements, and causal relationships, with fundamental laws applicable to different settings. It can be encompassed only if observed as a phenomenon that reflects the broader sociological, political and

economic environment and an interpretive, exploratory and qualitative stance seeks to understand entrepreneurship in its broader setting. This represents a significant shift away from the more traditional, economic and positivistic approaches, discussed earlier in the paper.

For the researcher this shift was radical in nature. Before coming to University of Strathclyde, over a six year period, the researcher graduated and immediately secured a job after graduation at the Faculty of Economics, Croatia. The nature of her host academic community is explained earlier in the paper and had significantly influenced the researcher. In addition, Croatian academic journals are biased to accepting quantitatively informed research, and statistically informed objective generalisation is the prerequisite in securing PhD award. It is therefore understandable that the researcher's world view was of research as a one way path in which she extracts information from the participants and gives nothing in return. Her position under positivist approach was a 'neutral, value-free 'collector' and disseminator of knowledge' (Ateljevic et al., 2005, p. 170). Revelation of the value of human beings as the objects of the study, with the social world interpreted through their eyes and voices, significantly differed greatly from previous concentration on inanimate economic aggregates. The challenge was obvious for the researcher, it was necessary to enter into the social world being studied, the one of small hotel owners and understand their world from their point of view.

In adopting this stance, the researcher is not only an analytical tool and 'dispassionate scientist', but the value of insiderness is recognised as crucial. In this process it is also important to establish reciprocity between the researched and the research, and to understand the human dynamics that significantly enhances trust between the subjects. Allowing the researched to have an agency in the process can challenge our assumptions, academic mindsets and all other biases we bring as researchers (Harris et al., 2007; Phillimore and Goodson, 2004). In the process the respondents became an equal, co-member of a communicative relationship and are no longer objectified. Important aspects of the research process were found to include:

- The establishment of empathy between interviewees and researcher;
- Management of negative perceptions assigned to the researcher prior to interview, and how these were modified to be positive once both parties had met;
- Securing the trust of interviewees, putting them at their ease, allowing them to feel safe in sharing sensitive and sometimes personal insights;
- Communicating the sincerity of the researcher that she was genuinely interested in what the interviewees had to say; and
- Profiting from the lack of interest in the interviewees by authorities in their problems;

Thus, it can be said that the research adopted highly reflexive practice which can significantly contribute to the production of new knowledge, concepts and theories. Furthermore, while it can be noted that tourism and hospitality studies are challenging current academic thinking and also showing intellectual evolution (such as Ateljevic et al., 2007; Lashley et al., 2007; Phillimore and Goodson, 2004) in entrepreneurship studies the changes are of much slower intensity. Ogbor (2000, p.624) described research practice in entrepreneurship as follows 'researches do not engage in a conscious attempt to go beyond taken for granted assumptions, ideas and norms of the

society...[and] have a tendency for subscribing to what appears as the evident truth through the concepts and the language used in entrepreneurial research.' This research methodology outlined in this section clearly illustrates a move into the 'beyond'.

Social setting

The role of social setting has been established already in this paper as integral to research into tourism entrepreneurship, and within the context of small hotel owners. Thus, it follows that it must be incorporated into research design to reflect history, ideologies, dynamics, etc. that influence and condition the social actors. This can be addressed through approaches of technical and context-specific nature.

Technically, the nature of the inquiry was determined by the fact that tourism entrepreneurship in Croatia was largely un-researched. This meant that there were few culturally-specific theoretical grounds on which to base this research. In addition, the situation requires a flexible design which is capable of adopting new and unexpected findings (Bryman, 2004), emerging from the real setting of the actors, to reveal understanding of complexities therein. This demands that the researcher is interactive with, and inseparable from the respondents. Given these circumstances and adhering to the premise that the object under study should be the determining factor in choosing a methodology (Flick, 1998), qualitative methodology, embedding a process of communication between researcher and the researched, was considered to be most appropriate. Moreover, it involves researching people in their natural settings (Bryman, 2004; Miles and Huberman, 1994; Sarantakos, 1998). In this context, the researcher's role is to gain a holistic overview of the context under study and the researcher attempts to capture data from the inside, from the perception of those involved (Miles and Huberman, 1994). The method employed was in the form of semi-structured interviews which is flexible, providing rich, detailed answers. Furthermore, 'rambling' is encouraged that gives insight into what an interviewee sees as important, process is influenced by an interviewee and it is possible that the interviewee may be interviewed on more than one and several occasions (Bryman, 2004).

Context-specific circumstances reflect in a considerable part of Croatian historical and ideological attributes which also condition the behaviour of social actors. For example, the extent of tourism development varies across counties and regions, due to geographic diversity and the national policy adopted since the period of the former Yugoslavia. This renders comparative analysis redundant. For this research the Splitsko-dalmatiska county was selected for the following reasons: it has a long established tourist tradition; and in recent years entrepreneurial activity within the tourism and hospitality industry has growing rapidly enabling the researcher to find 'the best representative' population. However, perhaps the most important reasons is that the researcher originates from the area giving potential for an 'insider' perspective through access to the research population. Importantly, she could incorporate her local knowledge and values in the interpretation of research findings from an insider's perspective to reveal underlying sociological, cultural and political complexities. In qualitative studies this orientation is supported by the nature of qualitative research which seeks for the intensive study of a small group or setting (Bryman, 2004; Denzin and Lincoln, 2000). Qualitative researchers are not obsessed with generalizability, but with 'thick description'

(Geertz, 1973) of the observable setting, what gives another justification for employed methodology and methods.

To summarize, this study is proposing new directions in tourism entrepreneurship research by following Ateljevic and Doorne's (2003) advice to go beyond purely economic premises and appreciate social structure and cultural background. Justification is in the believe that it will enhance the conceptualisation of tourism entrepreneurship. This moves away from tourism theories centism which has tourism as its centre, irrespective of social, cultural, political and geopolitical setting (Franklin, 2007). The aim is to uncover the particular of the dynamic context and not to generalise commonality. Thus, in exploring small hotel owners in a former socialist country, this paper strongly argues that understanding of entrepreneurship can be enhance through contextualisation of theories within a specific cultural and industry sector (Aldrich 2000; Ateljevic and Doorne, 2003; Cole, 2007; Morrison, 2006; Welter and Lasch, 2008).

Conclusions

Revealing only one part of the researcher's PhD journey this paper aimed to reflect more deeply and critically analyse literature pertaining to entrepreneurship and tourism entrepreneurship particularly and also reveal the nature of knowledge accumulated in the both fields. This approach indicated that both E&T knowledge created is mainly based following positivism, saturating business research interests, preoccupied with generalisations and mainly drawn from the western developed economies. As both phenomena do not operate in a single, but multiple contexts, this research argues that the shift is needed in a way knowledge is created.

The shift proposed acknowledges that different cultural context and disciplinary lenses will generate different versions of the 'truth' of the same phenomena. In this case it is necessary to find ways to capture these complementary world views to enhance the existing knowledge base. What is important is to be explicit about which lens and research methodologies and methods are employed to reveal one of possible truth versions, what also adds to the transparency of the research process. This becomes even more important in communicating findings with a broad audience, which has to be familiar with the disciplinary lens, research context, methodologies and methods employed.

Although this study does not employ 'modern' methods, but very standard and ordinary methods in the form of semi-structured interviews, meanings to the study are given through personal reflection, by explaining the role of the researcher whose role is transformed from 'dispassionate scientist' to 'insider participant'. Interpretive research by its nature places both the researcher and the subject at the centre of the research process. By taking a more reflexive stance, challenging the dominant unidiscipline approach and acknowledging the influence of socio-economic setting on the researched phenomena, this research among others is proposing to question conventional wisdom dominant in E&T. Although the main purpose of this paper was to create a base on which findings from the conducted study will be built and elaborated on and to point to new possibilities of knowledge production, this paper is also calling for a pause and reflection upon the current state of thinking in the both fields. This paper is proposing that researchers should: ask questions regarding how knowledge is constructed in the particular discipline; who has a power in knowledge creation; what

research orientation and methodologies predominate and to seek for possible explanations; to be aware of different world views on the same phenomena and resist in adopting homogenised similarities; to include characteristics of the observable setting, that of social, political and economical; to explore different research approaches, flexible designs and the recognition of the self in the research.

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'The effectiveness of a combination of quantitative and qualitative methods in tourism research'

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Abstract

This paper aims to examine how effectively a combination of quantitative and qualitative methods works in tourism research through the author's PhD research. The research investigated the impact of World Heritage designation on local communities. The data needed to be collected from the specialists in local tourism and/or heritage issues, as well as local people to obtain comprehensive views of communities as a whole towards changes in their communities after the designation. Some useful insights emerged through the review of previous tourism studies (e.g. De Bres and Davis, 2001; Bramwell, 2003). As Pearce et al. (1996) state, most studies adopt questionnaire surveys and ask questionnaire respondents to rate in some way a list of tourism impacts and very few studies develop this list from respondents or give them an opportunity to add to or comment on these lists. This means that tourism researchers have a very limited view of the nature and content of a host community's perception of tourism (*ibid*). In light of their assertion, the researcher decided to use a qualitative method as well as a quantitative method. Within the limitation of labour, time and budget, the best feasible methods were explored. Consequently, a questionnaire including two open-ended questions was adopted for questionnaire surveys to local people mainly for quantitative data. Semi-structured interviews with local specialists were conducted mainly for qualitative data. In conclusion, this combination worked well and the researcher could successfully achieve the aim of his PhD research. The researcher believes that this paper could contribute to one of the conference themes, "Envisioning the future of tourism education and research", as it demonstrates that this combination is effective and useful to collect the data with different nature from various stakeholders in tourism under the constraints of labour, time and budget.

Key words: *a combination of methods, quantitative methods, qualitative methods, conceptual maps*

Introduction

This paper aims to examine how effectively a combination of quantitative and qualitative methods works in tourism research through the author's PhD research. The research investigated economic, socio-cultural, environmental and attitudinal impacts of World Heritage Site (WHS) designation on local communities from their point of view, and discussed similarities and differences between two WHSs, Ogimachi, Shirakawa-mura, Japan and Saltaire, Bradford, UK. The author needed to collect the data from the local specialists who are familiar with the WHS, local tourism, heritage and/or the situation of the changes in local communities, as well as local people who live in/around the WHSs to obtain comprehensive views of communities as a whole towards changes in the communities since the designation.

Research Design

There are a number of alternative approaches in social science research. Of these, the distinction between positivist and interpretive approaches can be regarded as a primary dichotomy (Veal, 2006). The positivist approach aims to follow the principles of natural scientific research and

proceeds by the formulation and testing of hypotheses with a view to making inferences about the causal connections between two or more social phenomena, or "facts" (Jupp and Norris, 1993). On the other hand, the interpretive approach puts more reliance on the people being studied to provide their own explanation of their situation or behaviour (Veal, 2006). The research stems from positivism and adopts both deductive and inductive approaches. In other words, the PhD research was conducted by a combination of quantitative and qualitative methods and these two methods worked in a complementary manner.

Through the review of the data collection methods in previous tourism studies (E.g. Andereck and Vogt, 2000; Andriotis and Vaughan, 2003; Bramwell, 2003; Burns and Sancho, 2003; De Bres and Davis, 2001; Getz and Nilsson, 2004; Kuvan and Akan, 2005), some crucial issues emerged. As Pearce et al. (1996) point out, most studies ask questionnaire respondents to rate in some way a list of tourism impacts and very few studies develop this list from respondents, or give their respondents an opportunity to add to or comment on these lists. This situation means that tourism researchers have had a very limited view of the nature and content of a local community's perception of tourism (*ibid*). If the researcher, however, utilised a questionnaire consisting of open-ended questions, he would face serious difficulties in the data collection, although he could collect detailed data. This is because the questionnaire respondents are ordinary local people in the street and generally they do not want to spend a lot of time filling in a questionnaire (Jimura, 2007; Veal 2006); in addition, not all local people would have comprehensive knowledge of the issues raised in the questionnaire (Jimura, 2007). These difficulties would become more serious if the researcher adopted interviews as a method for collecting their views. Moreover, these methods would not be appropriate to gather relatively simple data from a number of people (Riley et al., 1998) to examine overall tendencies in the local communities. Under the constraints of labour, time and budget, the researcher overcame these problems by including two open-ended questions at the end of the questionnaire and by adopting questionnaire surveys to local people and semi-structured interviews with local specialists.

The questions set in the questionnaire and interview sheet are identical, because the research aims to identify the changes since WHS listing by two different methods from two different points of view. Basically the questionnaire surveys were adopted to collect quantitative data and the semi-structured interviews were used to obtain qualitative data. Going into detail, in the questionnaire local people's answers to the close-ended questions are highly quantitative and those to the open-ended questions have both quantitative and qualitative nature. In the interview sheet "the local specialists' direct answers to the questions" (Direct Answers) contain both qualitative and quantitative nature. "Their references to the causes of the issues stated as their Direct Answers" (Causes) and "their references to the actions to or outcomes from the issues stated as their Direct Answers" (Actions or Outcomes) are considerably qualitative.

Questionnaire Surveys

Sampling

Firstly, the researcher defined three kinds of areas which the research targeted:

- "WHS": the area which is designated as a WHS
- "The First Area": the area to which the WHS belongs, except a WHS itself

- “The Second Areas”: areas neighbouring on the First Area.

In this research, the researcher uses “the Target Area” as well as “in/around WHS” when he means the WHS, the First Area and the Second Areas. The questionnaire respondents are the local people who live in the Target Area. This research aims to identify the overall tendency of the Target Area’s whole population through the questionnaire surveys to the limited number of the respondents living in the Target Area. To suit this purpose, the samples in the questionnaire surveys must be probability (random) samples. This is because, strictly speaking, only probability samples allow a statistical generalisation from sample to population (May, 2001). According to the latest information available as of the fieldwork in 2005, the population of the Target Area in Shirakawa-mura was 1,248 (WHS: 613, The First Area: 68 and The Second Areas: 567); and that of the Target Area in Bradford was 14,020 (WHS: 1,421, The First Area: 479 and the Second Areas: 12,120).

The minimum sample size (n) was decided based on the population of each Target Area (N) and various factors such as confidence interval (a), aimed precision (e) and presumed proportion in N (P). (k) is a constant and corresponds to (a); therefore, when (a) is set, (k) is also fixed. (e) is an acceptable error percentage and basically (e) can be set freely based on the researcher’s requirement (Uchida, 2002). However, there is a standard and it is around 10% (Uchida, 2002). In this research, one of the most significant questions is the change in local people’s pride in their living area and all the questions were set using the Likert scale (1-5). The researcher presumed that 80% of the questionnaire respondents rate 4 or 5 (increased or much increased). Therefore, (e) was set as 8% (0.08). Generally (P) is presumed based on the results of previous similar studies; however, there were no suitable studies for presumption of (P) and the researcher could not presume (P). In such a case, (P) should be set as 50% (0.5) because the safest (largest) size of sample can be calculated when (P) is set as 50% (Uchida, 2002). The formula which calculates (n) is as follows (see Figure 1):

$$n \geq \frac{N}{\left(\frac{e}{k}\right)^2 \frac{N-1}{P(1-P)} + 1}$$

Figure 1 Formula to calculate of the minimum sample size: finite population (Uchida, 2002)

Consequently,

- (N) = 1,248 (in/around WHS Ogimachi) and 14,020 (in/around WHS Saltaire)
- (P) = 0.05
- (e) = 0.08

In the research, (a) was set as 95% (0.95) and automatically (k) was set as 1.96. Consequently, (n) became 135 for in/around WHS Ogimachi and 149 for in/around WHS Saltaire (see Table 1). As a result of the fieldwork, 150 answered questionnaires were collected at each site, more than the required minimum sample.

	N	P	e	a	K	n
In/around WHS Ogimachi	1,248	0.50	0.08	0.95	1.96	135
In/around WHS Saltaire	14,020	0.50	0.08	0.95	1.96	149

Table 1 Minimum sample size (n)

Qualification of Questionnaire Respondents

The questionnaire respondents in the research must satisfy the following three qualifications:

- Place of residence: Local people who live in the WHS, the First Area or the Second Areas
- Year of residence: Local people who started to live in the Target Area before the WHS designation (WHS Ogimachi - 1995 and WHS Saltaire - 2001)
- Age: Local people needed to reach 17 years old as of the WHS designation in order to make sure that they remember the situation before the designation.

Questionnaire Design

The questionnaire consists of three parts and has 25 questions. The first part consists of six close-ended questions using multiple-choice and asked the questionnaire respondents' profiles. The second part has 17 close-ended questions using the Likert scale and asked them to rate their views of economic, socio-cultural, environmental and attitudinal changes after WHS designation. Two open-ended questions in the third part asked them about the most positive and the most negative changes for them since WHS designation (see Appendix 1). The exact presentation of the questionnaire was finalised, considering the feedback from the pilot surveys. The questionnaire for the survey in/around WHS Ogimachi was written in Japanese, because most Japanese people do not read English. The questionnaire was initially developed in English and was then translated into Japanese.

Interviews

Sampling and the Qualifications of Interviewees

The interviewees had to be selected to cover various issues from different point of views. This means that the interviewees should consist of local specialists from various public and private agencies, and a representative from local communities. Hence, only one interviewee was selected from the same team or department at each site. Bearing the above-mentioned requirements in mind, the researcher identified some local specialists at each site through a review of baseline data. It was, however, impossible to find out all local specialists the researcher needed to contact through such a review alone. Thereupon, the researcher firstly contacted the local specialists he had identified in order to obtain their cooperation as interviewees and to ask one of them to work as a gate person. Secondly, the researcher asked them to introduce him to other local specialists. In short, the sampling strategy for interviews was a combination of judgement/expert choice and networking/snowballing. As a result of the fieldwork, seven semi-structured interviews were completed at each site and all the questions in the interview sheet were answered by at least one interviewee at both sites.

Interview Sheet Design

The overall structure and most questions are the same on the interview sheet and questionnaire. That is to say, the five questions in the first part ask the interviewees' profiles, 17 questions in the second part obtain the interviewees' views of various changes since WHS designation, and two questions in the third part are about the most positive and most negative changes for local people since WHS designation from their point of view. The number of questions in the interview sheet was

24 (see Appendix 2). As well as a questionnaire, the interview sheet for the interviewees in Shirakawa-mura was written in Japanese and in Bradford the sheet was written in English.

Analytical Methods

All the answers collected through the questionnaires were analysed, using the Statistical Package for the Social Sciences (SPSS) and Microsoft (MS) Excel. All interviews were recorded, transcribed and analysed by the word frequency count and “Conceptual Maps” (see Appendix 3 for an example), using MS Word and MS Excel. These two kinds of data analysis were then linked together for the purpose of interpretation and discussion.

Analysis of Data Collected through Questionnaire Surveys

Organising the Data

The nature of most data collected through questionnaires is quantitative. SPSS was chosen as the tool for the analysis of data collected through the questionnaires, because SPSS is the most suitable and most widely used software in quantitative analysis in social sciences. MS Excel was also utilised in the process of sorting out respondents' answers to two open-ended questions. In SPSS, each question in the questionnaire, except two open-ended questions, was operated as a variable, and each variable was named based on the question which the variable corresponded to. For example, “Question 1: Which of these areas do you live in?” was named “liveplace” as a variable. Each variable has a specific number of values. All the variables have two values for invalid answers: the value “98” was given to the answer, “Don't know”; and the value “99” was used for “Not Answered”. In the variable corresponding to Question 6, another value, “-1”, was also added for the answers from the respondents who did not need to answer this question because of their answers to Question 5 (see Appendix 1). Regarding the six variables corresponding to Questions 1 to 6, the number of values in each variable was decided by the number of choices in a question. Each value corresponded to each choice of the multiple choices in the questionnaire. For instance, Question 1 in the questionnaire for in/around WHS Saltaire has seven choices; hence, the number of values in this variable became nine. For example, the choice “1 Within World Heritage Site (WHS)” was given the value “1” and the choice “2 Saltaire (Outside WHS)” was given the value “2” in SPSS (see Appendix 1). Regarding the 17 variables which correspond to Questions 7 to 23, the number of values in one variable was seven. These questions consist of a Likert scale with two tails and five levels, and the most negative choice was given the value “1” and the most positive choice was given the value “5” in SPSS. Like the variables corresponding to Questions 1 to 6, the values “98” and “99” were also set in these variables for invalid answers. Consequently, the number of values in these variables became seven.

The variables corresponding to Questions 1, 5 and 6 in the first part of the questionnaire were recoded as different variables for unification of values. For instance, the variable (Question) 1 in the questionnaire for in/around WHS Saltaire has seven values (choices) for the valid answers; however, after the recode, the four values corresponding to the four choices (3, 4, 5 and 6) were merged as the variable 3 and named “Area next to Saltaire” in the new variable. The variables corresponding to Questions 1, 2, 3 and 6 in the first part and 17 variables corresponding to Questions 7 to 23 in the second part of the questionnaire were recoded as the different variables in order to change the nature of the data from “nominal” to “ordinal”. In other words, this recoding excluded the values

"98" and "99". Regarding Questions 24 and 25 in the third part of the questionnaire, the answers to these questions were sorted out by the contents of the answers, using MS Excel. In conclusion, two data sets of SPSS and MS Excel, one set for in/around WHS Ogimachi and the other for in/around Saltaire were completed.

Analysing the Data

Firstly, the frequencies of each variable were calculated and the central tendency of each variable was measured. The mode was calculated in both nominal and ordinal variables in order to clarify the value (choice) which was chosen by respondents most frequently. The mean were also calculated in ordinal variables in order to find out the average value of each variable. Through comparison of the mean of each variable, the researcher could identify which issue (question) was regarded as the most positive and the most negative changes by questionnaire respondents.

Secondly, the relationships between two different variables were investigated. Cross tabulation is one of the simplest and most frequently used ways in which to show the presence or absence of any relationships. As cross tabulation can be used to analyse any nature of variables, all the combinations of two variables in the research were examined. Cross tabulation can suggest that two variables are related, but it cannot bring a result which tells the researcher whether this is statistically important in the wider population (Weinstein, 2004). In such a case, the researcher needs to use other analytical methods in order to declare with absolute confidence that any relationship exists between two variables. The chi-square test can be used for any kind of data and is a suitable test which should be conducted first for such a purpose. However, the chi-square is not a reliable test when the expected frequencies are too small (Weinstein, 2004). Bryman and Cramer (1999) state that the chi-square test should not be adopted when any expected frequency is smaller than 1, or when more than 20% of the expected frequencies are smaller than 5. In this research, most of the combinations applied to these cases, even if the recoded variables which had merged some values for unification were adopted. Consequently, in the research the chi-square test was not a reliable statistic and was not used in analysis. Instead of this, the researcher adopted correlation coefficients as the method in the third stage of analysis.

The chi-square test can tell the researcher if a statistically significant relationship exists between two variables, whilst correlation coefficients can show both the strength and direction of the relationship between two variables (Weinstein, 2004). The nature of variables must be ordinal or scale in order to conduct a test for correlation. Firstly, the variables corresponding to Questions 1, 2, 3 and 6 in the first part of the questionnaire were recoded as the different ordinal variables. The variables which could not become ordinal were the variable "gender" which corresponded to Question 4 and the variable "job" (main job) which corresponded to Question 5 due to the nature of these variables. The variable "gender" was still nominal, even if the values for invalid answers, "98" and "99", were excluded. The variable "job" (main job) was also still nominal, even if invalid answers were excluded and the variable was recoded as the different variable, "jo2" (main job – recoded), for unification of values. Next, all 17 variables corresponding to the second part of a questionnaire were also recoded as the different ordinal variables. After that, correlation coefficients were calculated in all possible combinations.

As stated above, the variables "gender" and "jo2" (main job – recoded) were not ordinal data and they had to be dealt with as nominal data. Hence, concerning relationships between "gender" or "jo2" (main job – recoded) and other variables in the first and second parts of the questionnaire, the researcher could not adopt correlation coefficients. The researcher, therefore, decided to use nonparametric tests to analyse relationships between these two variables. Nonparametric tests enabled the researcher to examine the difference in a variable by values in another variable. If the latter variable had two values, the researcher adopted the test type of Mann-Whitney U, and if the latter had three or more values, the researcher utilised the test type of Kruskal-Wallis H. For instance, the researcher examined the difference in a variable "trainfr2" (respondents' views of the change in traffic infrastructures – recoded) by another variable "gender". In this case, the variable "gender" had two values for valid answers, "1" for male and "2" for female; hence, the researcher used the test type of Mann-Whitney U. In this case, if the level of significance is smaller than 0.05, it can be said that there is a difference in respondents' views of the change in traffic infrastructure between males and females.

Concerning local people's answers to the two open-ended questions regarding the most positive and the most negative changes, the researcher conducted both quantitative and qualitative analyses, using MS Excel. Firstly, the number of questionnaire respondents who had referred to an issue as the most positive or the most negative change was counted. Secondly, the researcher examined whether the issue which had been stated as the most positive or the most negative change was related to any question included in a questionnaire. Lastly, the researcher investigated if the issue also had been pointed out as the most positive or the most negative change by any interviewee. Consequently, the tables of the most positive and the most negative changes stated by local people were developed from the MS Excel data sets.

Analysis of Data Collected through Interviews

Organising the Data

At both sites, all the interviews were recorded and then transcribed, using MS Word. The interviews with the local specialists in Shirakawa-mura were conducted in Japanese. The researcher did not create an English version of the Japanese transcripts as that would have meant losing the genuine meanings of many Japanese words before the analysis. When the researcher wrote up his PhD thesis, the results of the analysis of the Japanese transcripts were translated into English after much consideration. The order of topics in the transcripts was basically the same as that in the interview sheet. However, the interviewees sometimes referred to different topics when they talked about a topic, or they sometimes talked about particular issues repeatedly during the interviews. In the first case, the researcher gave the relevant question number to their statements about the different topic. In the second case, the researcher put the same question number on all their references to the same question. Concerning the interviewees' answers to the most positive and most negative changes for local people, the answers were sorted out by their contents, using MS Excel. Consequently, 14 transcripts, seven for each site, and two MS Excel data sets were prepared for analysis of the data collected through the interviews.

Analysing the Data

The first part of the interview sheet asked the interviewees' profiles and the second part explored the interviewees' views of various changes in the Target Area since WHS designation. The researcher reviewed the transcripts carefully and developed "Conceptual Maps" (see Appendix 3 for an example) to present the results of the analysis of the interview data. In conceptual maps, each question was presented at the top-centre of a map. "Direct Answers" from the interviewees were presented as tables and placed at the centre of a map. "Causes" were presented on the left-hand side, whilst "Actions or Outcomes" were presented on the right-hand side. The conceptual maps indicate how many and which interviewees referred to which "Direct Answers", "Causes" and "Actions or Outcomes". The researcher also generalised each "Direct Answer" by examining its direction (positive, not changed, or negative) and this information was included in each conceptual map. The number under each direction shows the number of interviewees who referred to (an) answer(s) with the negative, not-changed, or positive direction. If the number is "3 (2+1)", two interviewees referred only to (an) answer(s) with the positive direction and one interviewee referred to not only (an) answer(s) with the positive direction but also (an) answer(s) with the not-changed or negative direction. This procedure for generalisation is very significant when the researcher combines quantitative analysis of the data collected through the questionnaires and qualitative analysis of the data collected through the interviews. If a "Cause" or an "Action or Outcome" was commonly pointed out in two or more questions, this "Cause" or "Action or Outcome" was underlined in order to clarify this point. There are three kinds of "Actions or Outcomes": one had been done before the interviews, one was being done when the interviews were conducted and the other will be done after the interviews. Hence, "Past" in the first case, "Present" in the second case and "Future" in the third case was added to each "Action or Outcome" in conceptual maps.

In conceptual maps, the relationships between "Causes", "Direct Answers" and "Actions or Outcomes" are indicated by arrows. In some cases, the relationships within "Causes", "Direct Answers" and "Actions or Outcomes" were also identified and these relationships are also shown by arrows. Regarding these relationships, the researcher also examined how many and which interviewees referred to each relationship and this information was also presented in a map. Some relationships between "Direct Answers" went across two questions. In other words, a "Direct Answer" to a question was also a "Cause" of a "Direct Answer" to another question. This meant that there was also a relationship between these questions. The relationships which went across two questions were presented by dotted arrows and how many and which interviewees referred to each relationship was also indicated by thick letters. The conceptual maps for the questions which shared these relationships were connected with each other. Consequently, 17 conceptual maps were completed for each site, which correspond to each question in the second part of the interview sheet (34 maps in total).

As well as local people's answers on the most positive and the most negative changes, the researcher conducted qualitative and quantitative analyses on the interviewees' answers on these changes, using MS Excel. First of all, the number of interviewees who had stated an issue as the most positive or the most negative change was counted. Next, the researcher examined if the issue which had been stated as the most positive or the most negative change was related to any question

included in the interview sheet. Thirdly, the researcher explored whether the issue also had been pointed out as the most positive or the most negative change by any questionnaire respondent. Consequently, the tables of the most positive and the most negative changes pointed out by the interviewees were developed from the MS Excel data sets. These tables contain the information on the results of the above-stated analysis.

Conclusion: Linking Quantitative and Qualitative Data

The analysis of the data collected through the first and the second parts of the questionnaire were highly quantitative and were presented with numerical information. On the other hand, the analysis of the data collected through the third part of the questionnaire was both quantitative and qualitative in nature. That is the case because the data were categorised and counted in the process of the analysis; however, the data collected through the third part of the questionnaire were not the answers which followed one of the choices the researcher had prepared in advance, but were generated from the respondents' own statements. The analysis of the data gathered using the questionnaires were supplemented by the analysis of the data collected through the semi-structured interviews. The analysis of the data collected through the first part of the interview sheet was highly quantitative, except the analysis of the data on the contents of the interviewees' jobs. Only the analysis of this part was mainly qualitative and partly quantitative as the interviewees described their job with their own words.

The analysis of the data collected through the second and the third parts of the interview sheet had mixed elements. The analysis of the issues stated as "Direct Answers" was originally qualitative since "Direct Answers" consisted of the interviewees' own words and they included concrete examples. The analysis of the issues stated as "Causes" and "Actions or Outcomes" was highly qualitative as they were voluntarily generated by the interviewees in relation to "Direct Answers". The issues stated as "Causes" and "Actions or Outcomes" went across various fields and were very detailed. The analysis of these three kinds of highly qualitative data, "Direct Answers", "Causes" and "Actions and Outcomes", could successfully make the researcher's arguments more substantial.

After the qualitative stage of analysis was completed, the analysis entered into the next stage: "Causes" and "Actions or Outcomes", as well as "Direct Answers" were abstracted and generalised into quantitative data (see Appendix 3). This stage was vital for the research and can be regarded as re-interpretation of qualitative data as quantitative data in order to fit the data obtained from the semi-structured interviews with the data collected through the questionnaire surveys. These two stages of data analysis demonstrated that even if the data analysis was originally very qualitative, it could support the highly quantitative analysis of the data and could enhance the overall quality of data analysis by showing actual examples, and the backgrounds of and the implications between the issues examined in the research. In other words, if the researcher had adopted only the analysis of the highly quantitative data, his discussions would have become very objective with a lot of numerical information, but would not have been able to explore and identify the hidden issues such as "Causes" and "Actions or Outcomes". Overall, the data collected by a combination of quantitative and qualitative methods worked very well in a complementary manner and successfully provided the researcher with comprehensive views of local communities towards the changes after the WHS

designation. The researcher believes that this paper could make a contribution to one of the conference themes, "Envisioning the future of tourism education and research", as it shows that a combination of quantitative and qualitative methods is effective and useful to collect data of different kinds from various stakeholders in tourism under the constraints of labour, time and budget.

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Appendices

- Appendix 1: Questionnaire (in/around WHS Saltaire)
- Appendix 2: Interview Sheet (in Bradford)
- Appendix 3: Conceptual Map – Example (in/around WHS Ogimachi)
- Appendix 1: Questionnaire (in/around WHS Saltaire)**

1. Which of these areas do you live in?

1. Within World Heritage Site (WHS)	2. Saltaire (Outside WHS)	
3. Hirstwood	4. Moorhead	
5. Shipley Central	6. Lower Baildon	
7. Other		

2. When did you start to live there?

1. 2002 or after	2. 1996-2001	
3. 1991-1995	4. 1986-1990	
5. 1981-1985	6. 1980 or before	

3. Which of these age-groups best describes you?

1. 20 or less	2. 21-26	
3. 27-34	4. 35-44	
5. 45-54	6. 55-64	
7. 65-74	8. 75 or more	

4. Gender

1. Male	2. Female	
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5. What is your main job?

1. Public job related to WHS / Tourism (Heritage, Transport, Planning etc)	
2. Attraction or Tourist Information Centre	
3. Owner (Hotel / Restaurant & Bar)	
4. Owner (Retail outlet)	
5. Employee (Hotel / Restaurant & Bar)	
6. Employee (Retail outlet)	
7. Working (Other)	
8. Not working (Housewife, Retired, Student, Unemployed etc)	

6. If you work, where do you work?

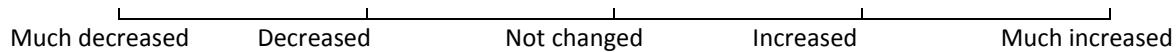
1. Within World Heritage Site (WHS)	2. Saltaire (Outside WHS)	
3. Hirstwood	4. Moorhead	
5. Shipley Central	6. Lower Baildon	
7. Within City of Bradford (Other)	8. Other	

7. Do you think that there has been any change in traffic infrastructures such as roads and highway in your living area [Within WHS, Saltaire (Outside WHS) or Areas next to Saltaire] since WHS designation (2001)?

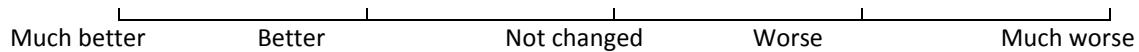
Much worse Worse Not changed Better Much better

8. Do you think that there has been any change in the number of tourist accommodations in your living area

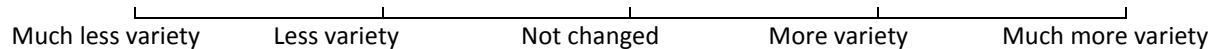
since WHS designation?



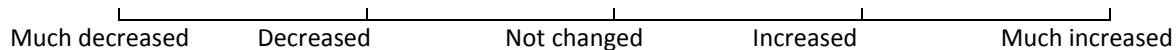
9. Do you think that there has been any change in the natural environment such as air, lands, forests and water in your living area since WHS designation?



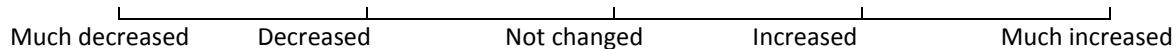
10. Do you think that there has been any change in the variety of businesses in your living area since WHS designation?



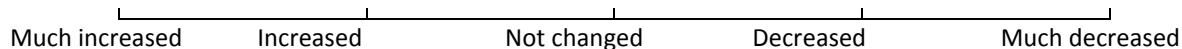
11. Do you think that there has been any change in the number of employment opportunities in your living area since WHS designation?



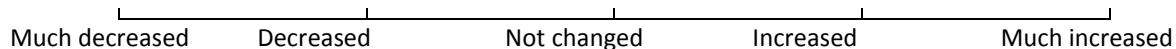
12. Do you think that there has been any change in your household income since WHS designation?



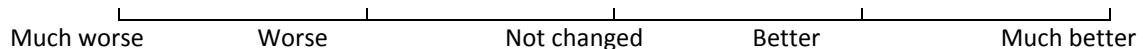
13. Do you think that the level of vandalism, crime and litter in your living area has changed since WHS designation?



14. Do you think that there has been any change in your cost of living since WHS designation?



15. Do you think that there has been any change in traffic congestion and related problems such as noise and parking problems in your living area since WHS designation?



16. Do you think that the privacy of your daily life has been respected or invaded since WHS designation?



17. Apart from actual structures, do you think that there has been any change in the 'feel' and spirit of your living area since WHS designation?

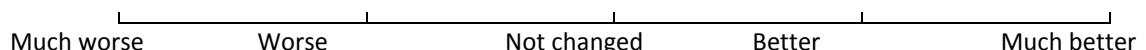


Much weaker Weaker Not changed Stronger Much stronger

18. Do you think that there has been any change in the level of conservation of townscape of your living area since WHS designation?

 Much decreased Decreased Not changed Increased Much increased

19. Do you think that there has been any change in the quality of cultural exchanges and interactions between you and overseas tourists since WHS designation?

 Much worse Worse Not changed Better Much better

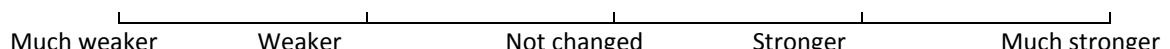
20. Do you think that there has been any change in your attitudes towards tourists in/near Saltaire since WHS designation?

 Much positive Positive Not changed Negative Much negative

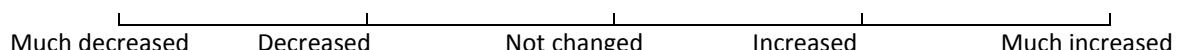
21. Do you think that there has been any change in your level of interest in the conservation of historic buildings since WHS designation?

 Much decreased Decreased Not changed Increased Much increased

22. Do you think that there has been any change in the strength of your attachment to your living area since WHS designation?

 Much weaker Weaker Not changed Stronger Much stronger

23. Do you think that there has been any change in the level of your pride in your living area since WHS designation?

 Much decreased Decreased Not changed Increased Much increased

24. What are the happiest and the most disappointing changes for you in your living area or in your mind after WHS designation? (Not limited to the changes above)

Happiest:

Most disappointing:

Thank you very much for your co-operation.

Appendix 2: Interview Sheet (Bradford)

1. Which of these areas do you live in?

1. Within World Heritage Site (WHS)	2. Saltaire (Outside WHS)	
3. Hirstwood	4. Moorhead	
5. Shipley Central	6. Lower Baildon	
7. Other		

2. When did you start to live there?

1. 2002 or after	2. 1996-2001	
3. 1991-1995	4. 1986-1990	
5. 1981-1985	6. 1980 or before	

3. Which of these age-groups best describes you?

1. 20 or less	2. 21-26	
3. 27-34	4. 35-44	
5. 45-54	6. 55-64	
7. 65-74	8. 75 or more	

4. Gender

1. Male	2. Female	
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5. Could you briefly tell me about your job?

[Main task, the length of experience, the place to work (Office and Field)]

Please tell me your views about each issue and each place [Within WHS, Saltaire (Outside WHS) or Areas next to Saltaire].

6. Any change in traffic infrastructures such as roads and highway? [**Worse-Better / Examples / Why**]
7. Any change in the number of tourist accommodations? [**Decreased-Increased / Examples / Why**]
8. Any change in the natural environment such as air, lands, forests and water? [**Worse-Better / Examples / Why**]
9. Any change in the variety of businesses? [**Less variety-More variety / Examples / Why**]
10. Any change in the number of employment opportunities? [**Decreased-Increased / Examples / Why**]
11. Any change in local people's household income? [**Decreased-Increased / Examples / Why**]
12. The level of vandalism, crime and litter has changed? [**Increased-Decreased / Examples / Why**]
13. Any change in local people's cost of living? [**Increased-Decreased / Examples / Why**]
14. Any change in traffic congestion and related problems such as noise and parking problems? [**Worse-Better / Examples / Why**]
15. The privacy of local people's daily life has been respected or invaded? [**Invaded-Respected / Examples / Why**]
16. Apart from actual structures, any change in the 'feel' and spirit of each area? [**Weaker-Stronger / Examples / Why**]
17. Any change in the level of conservation of townscape of each area? [**Decreased-Increased / Examples / Why**]

18. Any change in the quality of cultural exchanges and interactions between local people and overseas tourists?

[Worse-Better / Examples / Why]

19. Any change in local people's attitudes towards tourists in/near Saltaire? **[Negative-Positive / Examples / Why]**

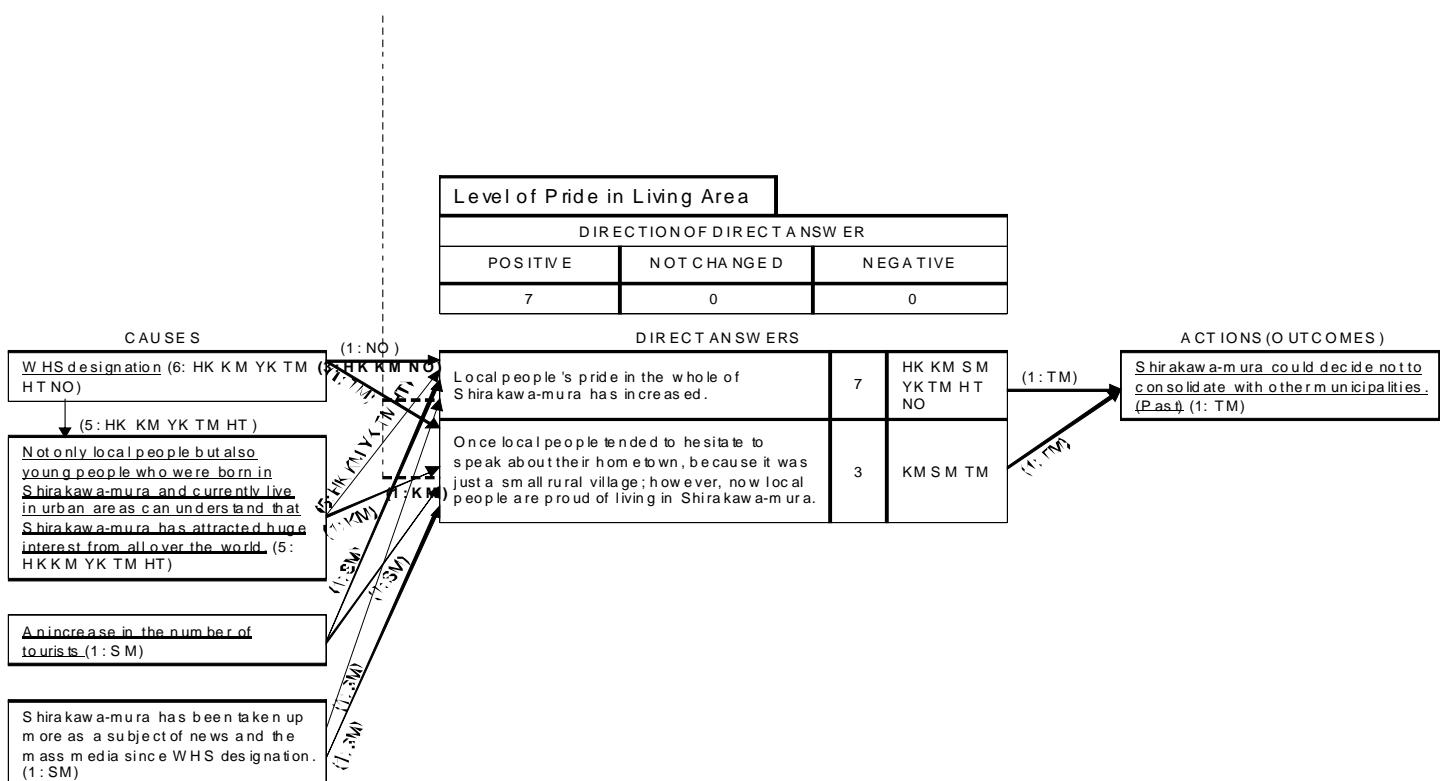
20. Any change in local people's level of interest in the conservation of historic buildings? **[Decreased-Increased / Examples / Why]**

21. Any change in the strength of local people's attachment to their living area? **[Weaker-Stronger / Examples / Why]**

22. Any change in the level of local people's pride in their living area? **[Decreased-Increased / Examples / Why]**

23. The happiest and the most disappointing changes for you in these areas or in local people's mind after WHS designation? (Not limited to the changes above) **[Happiest + Most disappointing / Examples / Why]**

Appendix 3: Conceptual Map – Example (in/around WHS Ogimachi)



'Visual Methods: Using Photographs to Capture Hosts' Favourite Space Within Their Commercial Home'

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Abstract

Hospitality research has given rise to the concept of the commercial home which recognises hybrid space for public as well as private purposes, and is therefore particularly complex. This paper offers a critical analysis of people-place-space relationships through exploration of commercial home owners and their favourite place within the home. The commercial home challenges traditional conceptions of public/private space largely because of its contested and fluid usage. Research methods draw upon interviews, observations and photographs taken of commercial home hosts in areas of their home they have identified as their favourite place. The study highlights the importance of suitable research methods, focusing on moving away from the limitations of conventional methods. The aim of this paper is to elaborate the use of photo-elicitation as a method of data collection. By using a study where photographs were used in in-depth interviews, analysis is illustrated through the hosts narratives and experiences. Concepts of space, time, and place attachment are identified and discussed.

Introduction

In the context of hospitality, the commercial home is hugely significant (Sweeney and Lynch, 2007). At its simplest, the commercial home refers to the provision of commercial hospitality within a home setting. This paper offers a critical analysis of people-place-space relationships through exploration of commercial home owners and their favourite place within the home. The commercial home challenges traditional conceptions of public/private space largely because of its contested and fluid usage. The aim of this paper is to elaborate the use of photo-elicitation as a method of data collection. By using a study where photographs were used in in-depth interviews, analysis is illustrated through the hosts narratives and experiences. Concepts of space, time, and place attachment are identified and discussed.

Review of Literature

Allowing the family and business to co exist within the same space confuses the naïve simplicity of economic theory, of going out of the home to earn money (McCloskey, 1987). Couples and families running a business can face numerous challenges for balancing work and family, especially when there is physical overlap between home and space devoted to the guests (Getz et al, 2005). It may be difficult keeping family life separate from the business, because of spatial issues, and this will therefore have an impact on the guest's experience.

Ram et al (1997) suggest that through management of space and time people will be able to create and maintain different identities. Hosts may have designated parts of the home that are specifically

for work or for personal use. The host's bedroom may be private and they may feel 'at home' there. How space is generated within the home can be very significant. Wise (2000) suggests that space is in continual motion, composed of vectors, speeds. It is 'the simultaneous co-existence of social interrelations at all geographical scales, from the intimacy of the household to the wide space of transglobal connections (Massey, 1994:168). Space is marked out to establish places of comfort. In commercial homes certain spaces may be marked out for guests. They may not be allowed to go into some places because these are for the hosts. The hosts may want space for themselves somewhere they feel comfortable. Goffman's (1959) argument of front-back regions may be identified here. However that is not to say that the hosts put on a performance when they are in the front region. They may act the same in all areas of the home but have their own places of comfort.

Wise (2000:300) also identifies symbols as a marker of space. The symbols we use have an effect on the space around us, 'it attracts or repels others, drawing some together around the same theme'. In commercial homes the symbols and artefacts displayed may be there to attract people to stay at that property. Indeed they could be a reflection of the host, as Marcus (1996) argues that 'home is a reflection of self.' Either way, the symbols and artefacts displayed in commercial home have significance; they are displaying a message to the guests. Ainley (1998) identifies the security of having your own space. Home need not be seen as a place of boredom and limitation (woman as housewife) but also as a site of possibility and pleasure.

Wise (2000:301) states that home is 'a collection of milieus, and as such is the organisation of markers (objects) and the formation of space. But home, more than this, is a territory, an expression'. Home is not just about objects but also feelings. It is the habits that are formed and the presence of others. The process of homemaking is a cultural one. 'The resonance of milieus and territories are cultural in that the specific expression of an object or space will be differentially inflected based on culture'. Pink (2004) argues that objects within the home can have an effect on an individual's creativity, 'homes and objects in them can impose on the way individual creativity is realized in a particular material space' (Pink, 2004:9).

Sensory experience has usually been related to memory and emotion, (Rapport & Dawson, 1998a, Hetch, 2001, Petridou, 2001); which are important elements of the ways individuals create their homes and experiences in them. Artefacts that are displayed throughout the home can evoke memories of the past. A picture bought on holiday, dried flowers from an anniversary, photographs of a graduation or wedding, ornaments given as presents, can bring up happy memories from the past. Memories of sad times can also be triggered by pictures of past loved ones.

Chevalier's (1998) work indicates how different relationships to the material of the home are embedded in values and beliefs, which in turn inform different uses of space and things in the home and how space and objects are implicated in social and kin relationships.

The commercial home challenges traditional conceptions of public/private space largely because of its contested and fluid usage:

'Blurring of boundaries' between the public and the private, fail to capture the multiple mobile relations between them, relationships that involve the complex and fluid hybridising of public and private life.

(Sheller & Urry, 2003:108)

The concept of family business blurs the separation of the home and business, which in turn demolishes the divisions of the private personal life from the public spheres of work (Munro, 1996). It is hard to divide the home, which is usually a private space, into one that is private and public, when it becomes a commercial home.

Sennett (1977) understands an approach to the private as fundamentally rooted in private life, defined by private space, in which the means of inclusion and exclusion revolve around social relations and physical and symbolic boundaries between different spaces. This is the private sphere marked off from the 'public spaces' of the streets, or everything outside the household. The commercial home does not conform to this approach, as the workplace is not outside the household, but in fact inside the home. Therefore, everything inside the home cannot be private as there are guests inside the home, consequently dividing the home into private and public space. Although there may not be definite spaces that have to be solely public or private, they can sometimes be more fluid. For example there are certain times of the day when a space changes from being public to being private. The dining room may only be open to guests for breakfast and then be closed off so that the host can use it as a private space.

Method

Accessing subjective feelings of the host, including dimensions of self not usually given consideration is a major methodological challenge. Therefore the aim of this research is access the nature of the people-place-space relationship. As a result, this research is distinguished from what has gone before. Prior studies have focused on readily accessible 'objective' issues, rather than below the surface issues accessing the inner self, the intangible dimensions of self, which nevertheless may determine aspects of the hospitality product.

To conduct this research, a sample of 25 commercial home hosts was selected throughout Scotland. Two visits to the host were carried out. On the first visit, the photographs of the commercial homes were taken. The photographs were used as visual aids, and as a prompt to talk about the commercial home on the second visit. It was felt that this technique was conducive to more detailed research. Photographs were taken of all areas open to guests and some areas that were personal to the hosts. Décor and artefacts were photographed so that the host would have a visual stimulant when asked about décor in certain parts of their home, which they would not be able to see during the interview. The photographs jogged memories of the past, and some hosts told stories about certain artefacts that would probably not have been remembered had it not been for the photographs. The hosts were asked to have their photograph taken in their favourite part of the home. This was done to capture meanings of home for the hosts.

The photographs were used solely to initiate conversations with the host. The visual images helped trigger memories and the hosts gave more detailed responses to the questions because of the photographs on show. The photographs were not analysed in the findings, but instead used to illustrate quotes made by the hosts. Analysing the photographs warrants a study of its own because of the sheer volume of photographs.

Photo-Elicitation

Harper (2002) advocates the use of photo elicitation because images evoke deeper elements of human experiences than words alone. Collier and Collier (1986:106) suggested that photographs, when used in interviews, "sharpen the memory and give the interview an immediate character of realistic reconstruction" and that "photographs are charged with psychological and highly emotional elements and symbols" (Collier and Collier, 1986:108). The emotional content extracted from and projected onto the photographs affords the researcher a greater understanding of participant's experiences than from the spoken or written word alone (Carlsson, 2001).

Prosser (1998) noted that the status of image-based research has been disproportionately low relative to word-based research and, therefore, that image-based research has been undervalued and under applied. Harper (1998) echoed this sentiment and suggested that photo-elicitation interviewing is an underutilised method with nearly limitless potential. In the interviews carried out, discussion was initiated and propelled by photographs (Harper, 2002).

There are three ways in which photo elicitation can be carried out; auto driving, reflexive photography, and photo novell (Magnini, 2006). Auto driving entails the interviewees "driving" the discussion regarding photographs that were typically provided by the researcher (e.g. Collier, 1967; Suchar and Rotenberg, 1994). This is the most common form of photo elicitation (Harper, 1994). The second type of photo elicitation is reflexive photography that involves the interviewees taking photographs and then reflecting on the deeper meaning of their photographs. Lastly, photo novella entails asking interviewees to take pictures that they best feel depict their daily routines and common events and then asking them to describe their meaning (Hurworth, 2003; Warren, 2005; Wang and Burris, 1994).

Findings

The photo-elicitation technique not only provides more information than word-only interviews, but different information (Samuels, 2004). For instance, in the context of hospitality, asking commercial home owners to blindly remember their feelings, emotions and attachments about certain artefacts, décor and spaces is distinctly more difficult than showing them a picture of it and asking them to talk about it. This is because there is a salient difference between "memory" and "seeing" (Magnini, 2007). Berger (1992:192) stated "the thrill found in a photograph comes in the onrush of memory".

During data collection hosts were asked to have their photograph taken in their favourite part of the home. The hosts of the small hotels had photographs taken in the business part of the home, usually the 'office', claiming this was where they spent most of their time, which may or may not interpret where they feel most at home. Some hosts had their photograph taken in the garden as this is where

they enjoyed spending time. The majority of hosts chose a place in the home that was not available to the guests. Table 1 shows the location the hosts chose. The table shows the space the hosts' selected in relation to guest space, shared space and private space.

Table 1. Location where host photographs were taken.

	TYPE	LOCATION	GUEST SPACE	SHARED SPACE	PRIVATE SPACE
1HF	Host Family	Conservatory		X	
2B	B&B	Kitchen			X*
3B	B&B	Living room		X	
5B	B&B	Conservatory		X	
6B	B&B	Front door		X	
7B	B&B	Living room			X
8B	B&B	Conservatory		X	
9B	B&B	Front door		X	
11B	B&B	Guest lounge	X		
13G	Guesthouse	Kitchen			X*
14G	Guesthouse	Living room			X
15G	Guesthouse	Garden			X
16G	Guesthouse	Front door		X	
18G	Guesthouse	Kitchen			X
20G	Guesthouse	Living room			X
21G	Guesthouse	Garden		X	
24H	Small Hotel	Office			X

25H	Small Hotel	Office			X
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* Indicates private space but is seen by guests. Guests may walk through it but they do not use it.

HF = Host Family

B = Bed and Breakfast

G = Guest House

H = Small Hotel

For the purpose of a photograph the hosts chose the favourite part of their homes, ranging from the kitchen (2B) to the balcony (6B) and the living room (16G) to the conservatory (1HF). Figures 1 and 2 show the hosts 5B and 1HF, respectively, in their favourite part of the home. They give reasons why they love them so much:

In the summer when it's very busy I do like to disappear through to the conservatory in the afternoon or evening and that I find a sort of, slightly our area. It's awkward because in the summer that's where most guests have breakfast, but they do have a sitting area in the big drawing room, and there are benches outside to the front of the house and I try and keep sort of a little bit round just outside the conservatory where we can have you know, benches and a barbecue and whatever else and most people are you know, if I'm sitting out there reading, I'm so lucky! Then you know, on the whole they might walk round looking at the garden or whatever and exploring but they're not going to come and join me on the whole. So... it's a matter of you know, I just keep my nose in my book and then people soon get the message.

1HF also loves her conservatory and describes the intangible elements of it and then goes on to describe why she chose the décor for it:

I look on my garden, which is really great, and I feel relaxed there and I love sunshine, I hate being anywhere dark and dingy, it depresses me. So the more light, I just feel totally relaxed there, looking out in the garden when its in bloom and just the evening goes on and on and on, the sunsets, you see it all and surrounded with glass, its just lovely, I love it.

(1HF: 103-108)



Figure 1. Photograph of 5B in her favourite part of the home.

Figure 1 shows a photograph of a host in her favourite part of the home, which she decided was her conservatory. The female host runs a Farmhouse B&B in the suburbs of Edinburgh. From the photograph the B&B and the host can be interpreted as being quite traditional. The old-fashioned floral print two-seater sofa with the array of cushions implies that she likes her comforts and appreciates having somewhere to relax while being surrounded by nature. As she has chosen the conservatory it implies that she likes the light and enjoys the sun even when it is too cold to go outside. She likes to be surrounded by flowers and may enjoy gardening. Her dress sense implies that she likes to dress for comfort and would suggest that she does not alter herself for her guests. It could be said that this photograph sums up a typical farmers wife who enjoys her comforts, which is exactly what it is.



Figure 2. Photograph of 1HF in her favourite part of the home.

The décor, well I just wanted to keep that simple and just... I wanted somewhere nice to sit and chill out, so the décor... we built it all ourselves, so I wanted the wood to remain consistent through the house and again, I like wicker, it's natural... and the blinds are natural so its really natural things I like, you know, natural woods, natural flagstones and anything that's natural.

When some hosts talk about their favourite part of the home they emphasise the intangible elements, the light, air, sunshine and the views. They do not talk about the physical elements of the room or the tangible materials but about the feeling their favourite place gives them. 5B loves her conservatory because she can '*disappear through*' to it and she feels '*very lucky*' (5B: 210, 218). The room gives her a feeling she does not get anywhere else in her home. The conservatory is also the favourite part of the home for 1HF. She loves to, '*look on my garden*' and says '*I feel relaxed there*'. Light is very important to her, '*I hate anywhere dark and dingy, it depress me*' the sun makes her feel better, '*I love sunshine*'. The views are what makes this place special for 1HF, '*looking out in the garden when it's in bloom and the evening just goes on and on, the sunsets, it's all surrounded with glass, it's just lovely, I love it!*'

For 15G his favourite part of the home is his back garden (Figure 3). It is a place that he does not share with his guests but likes to keep for himself:



Figure 3. Photograph of 15G in his favourite part of the home.

Our part of the house is very separate, it's at the back of the house and guests are not allowed in our part of the house and we have our own private back garden and they're not allowed in our back garden and I think that's very important.

(15G: 304-307)

The back garden is a place that 15G likes to keep private although it is overlooked by his guests:

And this is very much our private space out in the back garden. It would be very rare that I let a guest come out there even though we are actually slightly, we're overlooked by two of the rooms so they look down longingly! I even have the odd guest that comes down and says I just need to find the door to the back garden. There isn't one, not for you! In the nicest possible way sorry, that's my garden!

(15G: 551-557)



Figure 4. Photograph of 24H where he feels most at home.



Figure 5. Photograph of 2B in her favourite part of the home.

Figure 4 shows a male host in the part of the home he identified as being where he felt most at home, which does not necessarily mean it is his favourite part. He is the host of a three-star small hotel in Edinburgh city centre and this area, his office is a space where his guests do not see. Although his office is part of his home he has pictures of his family on the wall suggesting that the office is away from his home. He has drawings that his children have done for him stuck to the wall. It appears that he has constant reminders of his family around him when he is in his work space to remind him of his home, even though he is at home.

Figure 5 shows a female host in her favourite part of the home which she decided was her kitchen. The host runs an un-graded B&B in the suburbs of Edinburgh. Guests do not use this area but do walk through it to get to the dining area. It is a very busy area with lots of things going on. There are lots of artefacts spread around the room. Tiles with animals printed on them and animal ornaments, suggests she likes animals. She is standing next to the aga with her hand on it, holding a tea towel, which suggests she likes cooking. There are large family-sized containers of salt, which have not been put in salt holders or out of sight. She is dressed casually in jeans and a jumper which suggests she does not change for guests and likes to be comfortable. There is a lamp on even though it is morning time which gives a cosy atmosphere. There are dishes sitting on the worktop which haven't been washed yet, implying that she is not preoccupied with tidiness. There are lots of books, tapes and CDs on the shelves which suggest that this is a part of the home that is used quite a lot. There seems to be things tucked away in every possible nook and cranny, which suggests that there is no performance for guests and that they see the home as it is. From this photograph the host appears to be comfortable and relaxed and at ease.

Discussion

When considering issues of people-place-space relationships, the visual displays of hosts in different parts of the home can reveal a lot. Host 2B decided that her kitchen was her favourite part of the home. It was a space that challenged traditional conceptions of public/private space largely because of its contested and fluid usage (Sheller and Urry, 2003). It was not a space that was open to her guests, but at certain times of the day, guests had to walk through it to get to the conservatory where breakfast was served, making it an area that was both public and private. The fact that her guests had full view of her kitchen did not stop the host from reflecting her personality in the way it was decorated and the artefacts that were on display (Marcus, 1996). This challenges Ram et al's (1997) theory of maintaining different identities through management of space. If the host is using an area that is specifically for work, then it would prove very difficult to have different identities in the same place, i.e. her work identity and her home identity, her place as host or as a wife and mother.

However for host 24H who was photographed in his office. Ram et al's (1997) theory that through management of space and time people will be able to create and maintain new identities may be what he is trying to achieve. This may be a way for him to differentiate when he is at 'work' and when he is at 'home' although both spaces are under the same roof. By having a space that he can identify as a workspace then it allows him to keep his family life separate. The concept of family business blurs the separation of the home and business, which in turn demolishes the divisions of the

private personal life from the public spheres of work (Munro, 1996). It is hard to divide the home, which is usually a private space, into one that is private and public, when it becomes a commercial home.

Space is marked out to establish places of comfort. Host 15G identified his back garden as his personal space, somewhere he felt relaxed and comfortable. In commercial homes certain spaces may be marked out for guests, or in this case marked where guests are not allowed. Goffman's (1959) argument of front-back regions may be identified here, although can be challenged as the host could be seen by his guests. The hosts who chose their conservatories as their favourite part of the home related their feelings to sensory experiences (Rapport & Dawson, 1998) choosing to describe the intangible elements such as light, air, sunshine and views which are important elements of the ways individuals create their homes and experiences in them.

Sometimes hosts get pleasure from guests using space that they do not use frequently, '*the drawing room, we don't use that often, so it's actually nice when it's used by the guests'* (2B: 509-510). 2B likes her drawing room but it's the type of room that only gets used on special occasions so she is happy that her guests use it, so that it is not a wasted or unused space. 1HF also likes her students to use her sitting room with her and does not want them to stay in their room, '*we haven't encouraged them to stay in their room because I don't think that's really sharing your home'* (1HF: 66-68). 1HF puts herself in their shoes, '*I wouldn't like that myself, so really just treat them as I would like to be treated if I went to somebody's home'* (1HF: 70-72).

However other hosts are not as happy to share space and time with their guests. 14G felt that they needed to be more separated from their guests and whilst they did not start off wanting to be separate, that is the way it evolved;

I mean it develops your feeling after, it was after our first or second year that you really start to feel bad, I think that we've got more of that feeling that you needed to keep it more separate. We didn't really think about it when we started up we weren't thinking well this will be a completely separate part and we can get away, but it sort of became more like that you know.

(14G: 220-225)

How space is generated within the home can be very significant (Wise, 2000). 14G realised that they were not entirely happy sharing space with their guests, and so for their business to work and their family life to be happy the solution was to separate the space between the two. Hosts may have certain parts of the home that are specifically for work or for personal use, '*this is very much our private space out in the back garden'* (15G: 551). Hosts go to different lengths to keep their space separate, '*just as our guests' rooms are always locked when they go out so are ours'* (17G: 505-506).

Hosts manage their space in different ways. Space is marked out to establish places of comfort (Wise, 2000). This can be done by displaying private signs throughout the home, or mentioning politely to guests areas that are private, or by leaving it up to the guests' discretion as to where they

should and where they should not go. 11B has private signs in some areas of her home, '*I've got notices here and there, you know to sort of say it's a private area*' (11B: 218-219). She has one in the kitchen, '*for safety reasons, but people still come in for a blather or to put something in the fridge*' (11B: 220-222). Although she does not mind this there are certain areas which she would mind if her guests went there, '*I would get a wee bit annoyed if people do go up to our level which is our bedrooms which I believe is private*' (11B: 226-228). Not all hosts like to use signs and notice in their home, and '*hope perhaps that if a door is closed then people won't walk in*' (5B: 182), or preferring politely to mention which areas are private:

The other part of the house is private to ourselves but we don't have signs we just politely say that this is ours you know, there's nothing to indicate that people can't go anywhere but it's kind of, it's just polite.

(5B: 99-102)

Conclusion

The identification of people-place-space relationships within the commercial home recognized the issues of time, space and place attachment. Hosts identified their favourite place within the home and explored the reasons why they were attached to it. Photo-elicitation proved a powerful research technique in capturing the feelings and emotions of the hosts. Having a visual stimuli evoked memories and emotions of why they were attached to certain spaces. Relationship with space explored how the hosts designate space within their home for themselves and their guests. Some have sacrificed a lot of space in their homes for their guests, giving up their sitting room or even their bedroom. Some hosts display private signs around their home to show guests their limits while others prefer to rely on guests' common sense to recognise where they should and should not go.

The relationship the host has with their commercial home has an influence on product construction. How the host feels about their home will affect the guest experience. This research has contributed to the field of hospitality. This adds to the body of knowledge in relation to understanding the private, non-commercial home. In this way hospitality research could be seen to contribute towards the development of knowledge in other disciplines. The host perspective has been explored in this study an area that was lacking from the literature in relation to the topic

For future research, an area worthy of interest is the marketing of the commercial home sector. An umbrella term could be used for all the B&Bs, guesthouses, small hotels etc. to be part of and be promoted as one type of hospitality. Within this there could be target audiences. If there is for example a website that includes all commercial homes, graded and un-graded then they could be linked to specific types of commercial homes, or for specific types of guests, i.e. commercial homes targeting couples, families, business travellers, singles, vegetarians, gays, or sports orientated people. This could also be divided up into specific regions, city commercial homes, or more rural commercial homes.

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'Destiny and Destination, Or Topos and Object In the Dialectics of Desire'

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“Ανδρών επιφανών πάσα γη τάφος.”

Περικλέους Επιτάφιος II, 43.4

Fierce objections remain mirrored in new enunciations. And it requires no more than common sense to understand why Tribe (1997) is right when ascribing a pre-paradigmatic character to tourism studies. His allusion to the positive nature of such a character is slightly more questionable, and it would be difficult not to recognise therein an escape in the face of enjoyment.

To say that tourism studies have not attained a paradigmatic status is to confess the absence of a theory that has thought. None of these is too bizarre, albeit they attest to the paradoxical nature of tourism studies. Because, very simply put, for as long as tourism studies remain tourism studies they are also bound to remain pre-paradigmatic.

If the object of tourism studies is tourism, and their objective is to understand it, they will always remain in need of tools to do so, which will necessarily have an external character. In other words, tourism studies will go on using theories originated outside them, to understand tourism, and, hence, will never be able to get rid of their applied character. But, although application may, in certain cases, inform theory, it never generates it. If tourism studies insist on tourism, they are condemned to be unable to generate theory. In a nutshell, if tourism studies want to acquire a paradigmatic status, they have to self-dissolve. And this is the paradox of tourism studies.

Let's not continue seeing in tourism 'metaphors of/for', but let's, instead, see in the touristic the metaphorical itself, the structure itself of the metaphor, and do away with tourism altogether. Because, if I can say 'I feel a tourist in my own life', it is not the tourist, in the act of tourism, on the symbolic level, that constitutes the positioning of the signifier 'tourist' within the (all too common) phrase possible, but the signifier emerging in it that constitutes the act of tourism possible. The sequence is structural.

Which ethnographer, tourist or pilgrim, which warrior, ever cared to admit that it is a pleasure too intense and guilty to admit, which guides the production of knowledge by means of (corpo-real) displacement? Something like libidinal (e)utopias of cannibalistic orgies, for instance. The loot always awaits at the destination, however.

The level of the desiring subject, of the Freudian subject, not identical to the self by any means, is not the level of anthropological operations, although it is this order which will register anthropology within an order. Indeed, the question that has – not by accident, certainly – never been really asked

by anthropology itself is exactly the one regarding the desire of the anthropologist: What does the anthropologist, as an ethnographer, tourist, pilgrim or warrior want?

Anthropology has been very successful in failing to formulate and posit the only meaningful question, by means of depositing it in order to confront the epistemological question in its place. By asking whether it can know the other (an object like the self – an objectification of the subject as self), how, how much, and from what position, it displaces the question of its own desire. To be certain, this is the operation of modern science, of the field of the Cartesian subject: the separation, the cut, the breakage between epistemology and ethics (given that ethics, as psychoanalytic experience has shown, is identifiable with the question of desire). By its very constitution as a discipline, anthropology, then, cannot escape, whether it would like to or not, being inscribed in the scientific discourse, where it is destined to remain for as long as it presupposes a self identical to the subject and articulates its desire as a desire to know the other.

In this context, it follows that the positioning of the subject is being equated to the position of the (imaginary) self. This is also why the position from which the ‘partial truth’ of ethnography is spoken is the position of the anthropologist, of the anthropological self, that is of an imaginary identification. Nevertheless, this is exactly where the subject is not, and nowhere in what is spoken does the subject appear. Those ‘partial truths’ then, are no truths at all, to begin with. Not that it isn’t true that truth can only appear through a half-said (because truth is the truth of what resists symbolisation), but the ‘partial truths’ of anthropology are no truths at all, they are, on the contrary, knowledge, which is something of a completely different order than truth. In sustaining the identity of the self as identical to itself, anthropology, as ethnography, tourism, pilgrimage or war, is bound to remain confined in a field where the game to be played is one of (mis)recognition, which will allow the anthropologist to (mis)recognise himself as same, by positioning the other (as same to his own self) as other.

What is at stake, of course, is not whether the anthropological self is same with or other than the other (but always a self identical to itself), something that ‘halfie anthropology’, for example, is all too keen to position at the centre of its problematic, but, rather, the extend to which it can be understood that the constitution of the self is always, structurally, a process of misrecognition, that is that ‘I’ is always another, on the one hand, and secondly, that apart from the level of the enunciated, where the self is found, where an ‘I’ takes its place, there is also another level, the level of the enunciation, with another, a different subject, and that it is the latter that is the true subject of desire. It is at this point that the distinction between language and speech, as well as the one regarding the level of the subject of the enunciation and the level on which the subject of the enunciated appears, is what above everything else has to take (its) place.

From such a perspective, one could wonder what is really going on when an anthropologist does his fieldwork, a tourist goes on his trip, a pilgrim on his pilgrimage, or when a warrior invades, and it is from this perspective that one could orient his gaze towards desire. Because, in final analysis, if there is to be such a thing as Tourism Studies, it is only within the broader field of a Philosophical

Anthropology, enquiring what it is to be human, and whether to be human is really to be 'Homo Viator' (Haddad, 2002).

Let there be no misunderstanding. Anthropology is acutely accurate in its conceptualisation of Culture as Other, there is no doubt about it. Moreover, any understanding of Culture as Other is our symbolic debt to anthropology. However, for most of anthropology, the world is a world of Others, and any distinction between Other and other is not at stake.

Anthropology is a word on knowledge. It is presented in history as the articulation of the knowledge of an Other. And even when it takes a turn orientating its gaze upon itself, this gaze remains an epistemological function, even then it fails to see that when looking in the mirror there is something that remains ever unseen. There still is an Other, cultural or other, to be examined and thoroughly investigated, but an anthropology of anthropology, even, if not especially, when anthropology becomes reflexive, is still to take place. That would be an anti-anthropology, of course. There, in what exists as anthropology, either there is an Other with an Other, a (symbolic) Other of the (symbolic) Other circumscribing the first one, or there is no Other at all, and calls to do away with the notion itself of culture have not been unheard of.

It is precisely this very failure to distinguish an object, other than the object of knowledge, the profound unwillingness that anthropology has exhibited and continues to exhibit to guess an object of desire, which will constitute it as anthropology in the first place. Otherwise, what we would be dealing with would be, as has already been stated, an anti-anthropology. Moreover, the same 'structural flaw', that does allow the question 'what is the desire of the anthropologist?' to be enunciated, is what constitutes the question, which this text can be partly seen as a response to, possible. Because, in this fashion, the object to be investigated would be the ethnographer himself, he would become his own object of desire *qua* subject. From such a point onwards it would become impossible to sustain an Other which has an Other, and the truth, with the characteristic utter stupidity of truth, would erupt in his face.

The misleading character of any ethnography whatsoever – except for the one exception pertinent to every rule – as long as it continues to call itself ethnography, is that the ethnographer will never realise which is the true field of his 'fieldwork', what takes place during the process, that the Other to be confronted is not the other of cultural difference, but the Other of Culture, the Other posing the question of the ethnographer's desire. And to be honest, if this was realised, he would no longer be an ethnographer, but an analysand. Or rather, he would stop being an analysand who thinks that he is an analyst. Additionally, he might also recognise that there is a self, himself, which thinks it is the subject. There is an 'I' that mistakes itself for the true subject. And, indeed, as has already been seen, this ego is a mere product of misrecognition.

There is no anthropology (as there is no psychoanalysis either), without or before the Cartesian subject.

This is why we support that the fundamental misunderstanding of anthropology is inherent to it, because it is necessary for its existence as anthropology; it is that very misunderstanding that constitutes anthropology as such. Perhaps, this is also a way to understand why anthropology bugs anthropologists so much, why it is the perpetual object of a fierce debate amongst them, why the debate on anthropology is an anthropological constant.

The discourse of the ethnographer, the tourist or the pilgrim, is most clearly, in this fashion at least, accentuating and fortifying the unbreakable front between truth and knowledge. The ethnographer expects from the Other, demands from the Other, the solution of the riddle of her being. And all the ‘emic’ perspectives she is so eager to demonstrate, even her ‘positionality’ on blurred (cultural or discursive) boundaries, proceed through the felt symbolic debt to the Other, from whose place all speech also proceeds. Hence, the only ‘emic’ possible there, is that of the polemic.

What needs to be recognised in the core of a writing of displacement, of the being-out-of-place, is a thesis, both as a position and as a proposal, and even as a stop, which is foundationally and in principle ethical, and which, in any case, presents itself as a reference to a certain ethos: the writing of the being-out-of-place is itself a writing-out-of-place, de-localised, the displaced writing of displacement.

Perhaps, this ought to be better defined – the reference here is to an honest writing which, if it truly means to be honest, would have to emerge from and proceed through displacement, and, in every occasion, be alert to its recognition. Certainly, such a writing does not locate or position, it does not put in place, it doesn’t find anything. Like all desire, it aims at dis-satisfaction. It is being written as passion, sadness, pain and joy. It is symptotic with what indicates the descent of Eros from Thanatos – *Pathos*.

In all honesty, this is a writing ‘on the knees’, even a simple desk can be an unattainable luxury, a writing of the foot, and it couldn’t be otherwise. This writing is written in buses, trains, ships and airplanes. On narrow, unforgiving tables of more or less hospitable cafés, in stations, ports and airports. Often accompanied by coffees seemingly prepared with toilet water. A writing at times defying and at times incorporating crowded sounds, visual and acoustic noises.

In this cheap and miserable coffee place, that is not even really a coffee place, next to the highway, where truck drivers stop for a small glass of tea – this is how they drink it in Turkey – and for something to eat, it is cold. The Sphinx stands right across me, in her combination of half-bodies, staring at me, waiting, ready to tear me apart. Here the solution to her enigma is a question of life and death, and there’s no emergency exit in sight.

- ‘What is it that moves? – What is something that moves?’

Strangely enough, the answer is obvious:

- ‘Eppure si muove’

This is how what is of the subject, of the true subject, the displaced one, of the being-out-of-place can be told from what is in the sphere of images, fraud, illusion and meaning – whatever is written on the foot, against the knees, is true, whereas whatever has the scent of scholarship, whatever testifies study is of the order of the testimony, of that compulsory lie taking itself for reality in front of the inquisition. If one would look, in vain, for truth in the Argonauts of the Western Pacific (Malinowski, 1922), for example, he might only find some in Malinowski's diaries, an account which he meant to remain unaccountable for – the traveller's pathos.

First of all, there is no 'anthropological concept of culture', there is only a big misunderstanding. Culture is the one thing anthropology can have no clue about. It certainly is not the webs of significance Geertz (1973) professes, the 'bounded thing' after the model of isoglosses Baskow (2004) talks about, what has an unbounded relation to place, in the way of Gupta and Ferguson (1992), the un-fix-ability that Abu-Lughod (1991) would like to substitute with 'discourse', the totality of symbolic representations, Turner (1967) favoured, or what have you. Culture is not even something that is there in relation to an unconscious, and there is definitely no cultural unconscious, an unconscious side of culture, allowing for a psychoanalytic interpretation of culture, as psychoanalytic anthropology or ethnopsychology enjoy discussing, although, we owe a lot to people like Géza Róheim.

Culture is the unconscious. It is the discourse of the Other.

What we are left with is the Freudian subject.

And for that subject, the whisper tells the truth, as long as it is not detected by the all-devouring ears of the inquisitors, under the condition that it will not be heard, as I turn my back at them and walk away, with my egoism in shambles. Why not reflect on the possibility that not only does the truth come in the half-said (Lacan, 1991), but that also the half-heard is its condition? This is why truth is always a whisper, because the social requires that it is the whisper of a shattered egoism. Because only when the ego breaks into pieces can the truth of the subject emerge, and this only in the course of a retreat.

The subject moves, walks away, departs – in the last resort, returns.

The ethical request, as it is positioned by psychoanalysis, is exactly this: 'Eppure si muove', or, in other words, 'Wo Es war, soll Ich werden' – where it used to be, to hide, to be lost, missed, wounded, ruined, I must be torn apart.

This 'Eppure si muove' establishes the necessity of the enigma, just as much as it is the only real response to it. I can imagine Oedipus replying 'Man', and turning his back to walk away from the Sphinx, victoriously walking towards his horrible destiny, while whispering 'and yet, it moves'.

What led Sphinx to her death remains somewhat of a mystery, but one could very well wonder whether Oedipus really escaped the danger she presented. Had we had the chance to look at the Sphinx as Oedipus was distancing himself from her, turning his back and walking away, would we have discerned a smile on her dead face? Because, if we accord it some reflection, even though he

thought he was going away, escaping his homeland and destiny, he was, as a matter of fact, returning. Thus we can see how the destination is always the returning destiny of subjectivity.

More than anything else, this reveals the tragic substance of the myth, if not of the paradoxical existence of the speaking-being as being-out-of-place itself – the unknowing return, which has to be as much unknowing, as it must be a return. Isn't this the Freudian discovery, after all? A knowledge that doesn't know itself (Lacan, 1975). The myth finds here a subject that is not the subject of knowledge, a subject that is obliged to be returning, while the subject who thinks it is leaving is just ignorant of this, with this very ignorance constituting what we know as knowledge. In fact, all the myth finds is an empty place. This returning motion, taking itself for an escape, is what we can allow ourselves to call *Pathos*. Pathos positions itself as the quest for the human experience, as the Sphinx has put it, of the human as a subject in motion, as the being-out-of-place.

The Sphinx demands an answer to her enigma, the latter being here perceived both as the enigma posed by her, the one that is spoken by her, and as the enigma of her existence, as an assemblage of bodies. So, it is 'the answer, or your life'. Much in the same fashion as Lacan's robber, who will demand (either) your money, or your life, here too there is not really much choice. Ridiculous as it is, the only option in this 'either-or' is to give the answer – or the money, in the case of the robber.

If this demand is, in fact, a demand for meaning, as it seems to be, then to refuse the answer would most certainly lead to losing your life, and what good would meaning be to you then? You'd have simply lost both of them. It appears, however, that contrary to Lacan's robber, the Sphinx could not possibly strip you off the meaning you choose to withhold after you're dead.

There is a theory of meaning located within the myth. What happens when you fail, one way or the other, to provide the Sphinx with meaning, you die – and provide it thus. It is, effectively, your death that is the answer she is looking for, the meaning she will deprive you of, because meaning and the subject are never at the same place, and the absence of the subject will allow the advent of meaning. At the end of the day, one always meet with their destiny.

Of course, there is something wrong with this picture: an enigma, any enigma, the enigma is never really a demand for meaning – that would be a test, a quiz, or whatever of that order have you. An enigma is always the enigma of desire, the enigma of the subject, and it is through it that the subject and desire meet. The Sphinx is only a monster, an impossibility.

If the victims of the Sphinx, those who preceded Oedipus, fall into a trap, that trap could only be that they fail to recognise the enigma as such, but do indeed try to provide an answer, treating it as a demand with an object that can satisfy it. Well, there is no object that could possibly satisfy that demand, simply because that is not a demand. At least, not from the perspective of the Sphinx. Otherwise, she would have simply stopped. But each time she got what she asked for, this was not it.

A very pressuring question emerges thus: what was it that has saved Oedipus? If there is an answer to this, that would be 'nothing'.

He went on, being the only one to be able to say that he crossed paths with the Sphinx, and proceeded to his destiny and towards his destination, just like everyone before him, but if someone was saved that was most definitely not Oedipus. Perhaps, it was the Sphinx herself. The answer of Oedipus, on the level of meaning, that is the imaginary, must have had nothing to do with it. What kept him breathing, on the contrary, was his direction, misrecognised as it was. Indeed, what he thought he was, which we identify here with which he thought his direction was, whether it was forth or back, away from or towards, was not what, in fact, factually, he or his direction really was. And, most probably, what this misrecognition, this disorientation did was that in them the Sphinx was able to recognise her own inconsistency.

This is what has killed her, what has turned her from an insurmountable bar to a barred something – what, in the end, has made her *Tópoς*, and what equates her to the holy inquisition, as the keeper of the spirit of the scriptures at the time that something of Oedipus utters through Galileo “Eppure si muove”, which can, in this occasion, be taken as ‘and yet there is a (desiring) subject’.

Well, if indeed there is, then this subject moves. We could even go as far as to say that this subject is motion. Not *a* motion, but *motion*. And certainly, the subject does result from a metaphor(a) (Fink, 1995). Moreover, this motion, as exhibited in the case of Oedipus, or of Lévi-Strauss (2001) with his farewell to savages and explorations, is always the motion of return.

There is a second writing.

This writing, aiming, at least to a certain extent, to exhibit that the father is himself castrated, a father who seems to be keeping all the jouissance to himself (but, in fact, does not), is not properly modelled after his own writing, although it also fails to resist its charms. No, this writing is modelled as an attempt to acquire its own style. Only then, if it becomes symptomatic, or even a symptom, can it become subjectivised. This here is the only really difficult task that we can take it upon us to fulfil. In this manner, though, this writing also becomes my travel, inseparable from it, neither its effect nor its cause, and this is the ultimate goal.

One could very well think that what is taking place here is the research or quest for a moral alibi to my travel.

This is how Urbain (2002), for instance, describes, or even defines, the ethnographer and other non-touristic travellers – as tourists with an alibi from a society that has turned against leisure, one that has opposed leisure for leisure’s sake, substituting the *otium* with the *neg-otium*, which has drained all the ethical validity out of simply doing nothing, of just being idle. Even if you are idle, you have to show busy. The well diagnosed perversion of capitalism, one might rightfully observe.

This, according to Urbain, explains the disdain the tourist *enjoys*, not least by the tourist himself, in the time of mass tourism. And this is the actual point of reference hidden in the utterly ridiculous phrase ‘We’re not tourists, we’re travellers’. What ‘speaks’ here is alienation itself. Hence, Wang’s (1999) beautiful proposition that we consider an existential authenticity contingent in travelling is

fundamentally flawed in that it presupposes a subject for which the return to a ‘before alienation’ is possible. Little does he know that the only non-alienated subject is the psychotic, and, strictly speaking, the psychotic is not a subject at all (Chiesa, 2007).

The presence of tourism in such a reading appears as something like the return of the real of capitalism, capitalism’s own impossibility as its condition of possibility, as something like a symptom. And, certainly, the ethical dimension is, from a psychoanalytic perspective, not negligible, since the ethics of psychoanalysis, as posited by Lacan (1986), the ‘don’t give way to the issue of your desire’, runs counter to any protestant-inspired work ethics.

Nevertheless, if our reading of Urbain is not too misguided or misleading, and what he proposes is, indeed, a thesis supporting a somehow ‘subversive’ character of tourism, and if such a thesis proceeds through a ‘love’ of tourism, then we could only, plainly and directly, stand in opposition to it. In fact, there could be no thesis proceeding through a love of tourism, no perspective that does not entail an aggressiveness seeking to destroy it, which we could be comfortable with. In any occasion, though, Urbain only really tries to articulate that those other forms of travel, and especially ethnography, are, through the establishment of a moral alibi compatible with capitalist ethics, just less honest than tourism. In a sense, he treats those other forms of travel as pseudonymous tourism, as rather more ‘polite’ and ‘civilised’ imperialisms. In this, Urbain crosses paths with Hakim Bey, who sustains that tourism is an offspring of war, sharing the latter’s attributes. MacCannell (1999), on the other hand, prefers to view tourism as a survival and modernisation of pilgrimage.

Although it has remained relatively un-approached and under-problematised, this relation between tourism and ethnography, important and of significant interest to us by way of our experience, which, almost by necessity, doesn’t cease to draw my attention, is, despite its very problematic character, what has to be brought to the fore, if we are to attempt any conceptualisation of the tourist as (the) desiring subject, with any substantial ambition. To be straightforward, it is quite clear to me that, on the level of desire as such, there has to be a perfect overlapping of the ethnographer and the tourist. To be fair, however, there have been a few interesting approaches of the issue. Indicatively we can refer here to Galani-Moutafi’s relevant work. To be sure, however, the indicated example suffers all the ills described in the present work, unable to overcome the common anthropological conviction regarding the ethical superiority of the ethnographer in relation to the traveller and the tourist, sustaining that both the latter “may not achieve the type of self-consciousness that anthropologists working within a self-reflexive paradigm attain when gazing at the Other” (Galani-Moutafi, 2002, p. 203).

Here, one could probably (and would likely) diagnose an aggressiveness towards ethnography taking over. Although that would not be completely untrue, it would constitute a misreading. We entertain no more of a negative disposition towards ethnography than towards tourism. We’re constantly and with no shallow consistency within the field of *hainamoration*.

From this field we can state that if ethnography is tourism with an alibi, then tourism is ethnography without a theory. Both the alibi (theory) and its absence cannot, however, account for the traveller’s

pathos. This is not to say that the investigation of what produces theory or its absence is a question that has no relevance here. Quite the contrary. Psychoanalysis has something to say about the relation between tourism and ethnography precisely because the traveller's pathos will produce something – theory, its absence, or loots of war, for that matter – which cannot account for it.

It has to be underlined, parenthetically, that tourism actively produces the absence of theory. This is one of the reasons, a very important one, why we could accord some justification to the thesis relating tourism with war and regarding it as a modernised version of imperialism, but none whatsoever to theses of tourism as pilgrimage or symptom, neither of which we can perceive outside the hysterical discourse.

Ethnography, on the other hand, produces the anthropologist. It must not be by accident that ethnography and tourism are historically symptomatic, although such a chronological consideration would not necessarily signify a lot. The 'armchair anthropology' before Malinowski and Boas made their entrance into the anthropological scene, has been a phenomenon of a different order. On that scene before the production of theory was not preceded by tourism as corporeal displacement to the place of the Other – never forget the Sphinx – presupposing the return to the departure point, which, in this case, is none other than the University, where the ethnography will be written. It is the separation of writing and displacement that creates the space for the advent of modern anthropology. After Malinowski and Boas, and their apostles, there can only be an anthropologist if and only if such a displacement has already taken place. It is this very displacement that will become the sine qua non of the production of an anthropologist, under the condition, of course, that (a) writing will take place after the necessary return to the University. This alienated and barred subject, the anthropologist, being the product of this discourse, constitutes it a University discourse, and this being the case, it would seem that, at this point, tourism and ethnography really do part ways.

Not the least bit, I dare say. On the contrary: isn't it true that the discourse of the University is nothing but the modernised version of the Master's discourse (Lacan, 1991)? Hence, we return to Urbain's thesis positioning ethnography as a civilised, modernised, rationalised tourism. What the tourist will acquire or conquer by brute force and an un-accountable will – and that will be surplus enjoyment, or the absence of theory – and which will bring his pathos within the field of the visible, the ethnographer will hide behind knowledge, as if everything is performed on the anthropological scene from the place of knowledge and for knowledge's sake. He will have to position enjoyment at the place of the Other, at the Other place, blind as he is, by definition, to the fact that place is the Other and that there is no Other place, and interpret, search for meaning. What is thus produced, of course, is, indeed the anthropologist, a subject alienated within the Other like the rest of us. In this case the Other is Culture, like for the rest of us, which he, by profession, misrecognises as culture.

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'A multi-paradigmatic research framework: The role of ontology and epistemology'

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ABSTRACT

Tourism research offers an ontological sphere in which the epistemological dispute in the social sciences can be more satisfactorily resolved (Botterill, 2001). This conceptual paper reflexively describes the research paradigm journey that led to the adoption of a multi-paradigmatic approach. It will examine literature from other disciplines to try and establish the key features of a multi-paradigmatic research process. Tourism researchers do not often address the underlying ontological and epistemological issues related to their research (Phillimore & Goodson, 2004). The main body of the paper closely examines the nature of ontology and epistemology and what is required for a logically consistent multi-paradigmatic research framework. Kuhn(1970) opened the doors to inter-paradigmatic dialogue. This led to the mixing of paradigms (Lincoln & Guba, 2000). However, for a multi-paradigmatic framework to be able to inform a research investigation ontology needs to precede epistemology. Metaphysics, is the foundation of an ontology based on the premise of existing layers of reality, which supports an epistemology that encompasses both real being and mental being. The paper also discusses the divergent modern philosophies underpinning contemporary thought and research.

KEYWORDS: ontology, epistemology, paradigms, research process, multi-paradigmatic, methodology

INTRODUCTION

Qualitative research is becoming more widely acknowledged, yet there is still hesitation in adopting, accepting and, more specifically, in developing the understanding of the philosophical and theoretical processes that underpin knowledge production (Phillimore & Goodson, 2004). This paper reflects on the research process investigating tourism organisations. The nature of the investigation was highly social, interactive and political and it was decided that no one paradigm would be able to capture all the dimensions of the phenomena investigated. Therefore a multi-paradigmatic and bricoleur methodology (Denzin & Lincoln, 1994; Hollinshead, 1996) was adopted. Some could be sceptical about this multi-paradigmatic approach in analysing and reflecting on regional tourism organisations, but as Zahra and Ryan (2005) explain:

Some fellow researchers may find this approach of mixing paradigms and just taking what you need from each problematic. As one academic, who was interested and intrigued by this approach, stated: 'One needs to be careful; it can be dangerous putting red-coloured glasses on, then putting green-coloured glasses on top and then blue-coloured glasses on top again', implying that it can be very confusing to mix paradigms. This paper will conclude with the same reply, using the metaphor that the colours of the rainbow are mere prisms of light. What happens when you put all the colours of the

rainbow together? Light! Is not shedding light the purpose of our research investigations? (p.19)

This paper reflexively describes the paradigm journey that led to the adoption of a multi-paradigmatic approach to inform the investigation. It then examines the literature from other disciplines to try and establish the key features of a multi-paradigmatic research process. The main body of the paper closely examines the nature of ontology and epistemology and what is required to ensure that the colours of the rainbow come together in a multi-paradigmatic research approach to investigating tourism phenomena.

REFLECTING ON THE RESEARCH PROCESS

Critical enquiry and scepticism was present at the beginning of the research investigation when it appeared that no one paradigm seemed to fully inform the tourism phenomena under investigation. Positivism was perceived as too reductionist and simplistic and did not capture all the dimensions, especially the historical and political dimensions. The interpretive paradigm seemed too subjective. Obviously there were going to be subjective elements, especially in what the researcher chose to pursue, overlook or not deem important. The topic, nevertheless, was still an industry-relevant topic; the historical analysis relied on activities, actions and documents independent of the researcher. One of the objectives of the research was to document the 25-year history of the tourism sector. It was hoped that the data collection and analysis had some purpose and application to the industry. It was also hoped that there would be truth, validity and relevance to the industry and other academic researchers. If everything was subjective and just the researcher's view, what was the purpose of the exercise? No, the interpretive paradigm did not totally fit the perceived nature of the task.

In the initial discussions with the industry representatives and other academics, it became apparent that the research investigation was going to have some political elements. In a brief and fleeting fancy, one did contemplate that perhaps tourism organisations were an oppressed minority and the role of the researcher was to bring about change. Delving a bit deeper, the researcher observed that these organisations were not outside the power structures of the New Zealand tourism industry; on the contrary they were well entrenched, well connected and successfully driving their own agendas. Yet the critical theory paradigm could not be dismissed, as politics, power, obvious agendas and hidden agendas were continually being woven in and out of the phenomena being observed and studied. Nonetheless, further reflection left this researcher unconvinced that the critical theory paradigm should singularly direct the investigation.

The researcher was running out of paradigms. She was prejudiced against postmodernism. She considered herself a realist. Postmodernism seemed too transitional and fluid, with everything reduced to discourses. Foucault did not seem to have significant relevance to tourism, yet he had prestige. Postmodernism expounded that there is no truth except the truth of postmodernism and the truth of multiple truths. Putting prejudices aside, this researcher could not escape postmodernism. So she started to dialogue with context, signs, representations, meaning and the researcher as actor. The research investigation was descriptive, not abstract. Reciprocity was a feature; industry representatives were co researchers. The researcher was reflexive about the

research process, reflected on the situatedness of self, the situatedness of the participants. The research process was also reflexive, and more specifically, this reflection on postmodernism is reflexive. So the researcher came to terms with the notion that postmodernism was informing the research investigation. But the historical investigation was not framed as postmodernist dialogue. It was storytelling, delivered in an objective way. The phenomena of tourism organisations and associated historical records were surveyed, not engaged with. The historical knowledge imparted could not be reduced to the mental representations of the researcher's mind without any bearing to the external world: the tourism industry in New Zealand from 1980. Postmodernism was not going to totally underpin the research topic and drive the methodology and the methods of data collection; however, postmodernism was relevant and could partly inform the research investigation. This researcher continued to search for the right paradigm 'suit'.

Postmodernism opened the door to complexity, unpredictability, chaos and a social world of no fixed patterns. The researcher thought she had finally arrived; a paradigm that could fit in with the phenomena. The chaos and complexity paradigm views reality as having an objective basis, outside the human mind. It draws a distinction between the researcher and the phenomena being investigated. However, unlike positivism, human beings have free will and their actions are not always predictable. At last, a paradigm that adopts a holistic, evolutionary systems approach to tourism phenomena that can account for dynamic change, the impact of politics, egotistical behaviour, the irrational and the complex. The qualitative metaphorical approach to chaos and complexity was preferred to the quantitative applications of chaos and complexity theory, since the quantitative models assumed deterministic behaviour. The researcher set off to collect the historical and contemporary data and started looking for feedback loops, butterfly effects, patterns of bifurcations, strange attractors and non-linear relationships. It was all great and metaphorical, but did it mean anything? How much did this really contribute to industry knowledge? It seemed like a good academic exercise that might get published, but what is the relevance to the tourism industry? Once again, another paradigm that helped, informed and provided insights but left the researcher grappling, still searching for something that could provide all the answers she was looking for.

All the major paradigms were relevant but incomplete and therefore one would assume that a multi-paradigmatic approach would allow all the paradigms to inform the research. The researcher could look at the components of the phenomena from the perspective of different paradigms so the whole could be captured. All the above paradigms did inform the research investigation. Yet there is still a sense of dissatisfaction. As the researcher approached the end of the research process something was lacking. This restlessness led the researcher to revisit Kuhn's (1970) notion of a paradigm being a model "to summarise or collect a range of often-conflicting philosophical and methodological ideologies" (Zahra & Ryan, 2005, p. 5) and the multi-paradigmatic approach. The researcher "indulge(d) in what must admittedly be recognised as the longer reflective and necessarily deeper reflexive effort that the logic of qualitative methodologies is inclined to demand" (Hollinshead, 2004, p. 67).

REFLECTION ON A MULTI-PARADIGMATIC FRAMEWORK

The re-evaluation of the ‘multi-paradigmatic’ will commence with an examination of authors who have used the multi-paradigmatic approach in order to understand why they used this approach. A multi-paradigmatic framework has not been a common feature in tourism literature (Zahra, 2008); hence a need to research other disciplines arose. A multi-paradigmatic research approach was used in a range of social science disciplines: economics, accounting, communications, business ethics, social work, psychology and a number that can be grouped together and labelled management. It appears the need for a multi-paradigmatic framework is more evident in the social sciences than the humanities. One reason perhaps is that the social sciences are anchored in particular realities. They observe, apprehend and then abstract to try and reach a universal, otherwise known as induction, while the humanities in the twentieth century are situated in the realm of ideas, idealism or immanence (Mattessich, 2003). This section briefly discusses the contexts in which a multi-paradigmatic framework was used and why, and tries to identify themes or *modus operandi* similar to the research investigation of tourism organisations.

The multi-paradigmatic papers in the economics field (Knoedler & Underwood, 2003; Underwood, 2004) examine how economics was being taught at undergraduate levels in reaction to falling enrolments. They reject the positive-normative dichotomy and suggest a need to broaden the economic principles taught, beyond the neoclassical tradition and present multiple paradigms -such as Keynesian, positivism and Marxism- as explanatory vehicles of economic behaviour. Students need to be taught the evolution of economic thinking as “seen through a multi-paradigmatic lens” (Knoedler & Underwood, 2003, p. 704), as they need to be exposed to the nexus of ‘values leading to vision, which leads to analysis, which leads to policy’. Knoedler & Underwood (2003) quote Schumpeter (1949) for an explanation of the different perspectives: “Ideologies are not simply lies; they are truthful statements about what a man *thinks* he sees” (p. 704 in Knoedler & Underwood, 2003). Economic courses should be imparting tools needed to develop critical thinking, including the following criteria: realistic assumptions, predictive theories, logical consistency of theories, exploratory power of theories and evidence to help students in the future make judgements in the context of uncertainty. Economics sacrifices two of these criteria: realistic assumptions and empirical evidence in favour of predictive power and logical consistency. Disciplines like sociology and anthropology place more weight on the reality of the assumptions than on theoretical rigour. What are the main ideas and concepts that the tourism researcher can take away to help resolve her current dilemma? First, the need to delve into what is meant by realistic assumptions, theories and evidence grounded in reality. Second, ideologies/paradigms (Schumpeter (1949) was before Kuhn’s (1970) paradigms) and what is meant by perspectives of truth may need to be explored further.

Payne (1996) identified a need for the faculty of business colleges and management schools to examine the philosophical and knowledge construction assumptions underpinning their education planning and instruction choices. He recognises that “there are challenges too, in trying to apply multi-paradigmatic knowledge assumptions” (p. 25), as opponents believe the alternative paradigms and their research assumptions are incommensurate. It can also be difficult to get faculty informed by the different paradigms to dialogue, and this may require sensitivity and an ability to draw together the range of insights and applications of the common phenomena being investigated.

Netting and O'Conner (2005), in promoting a multi-paradigmatic approach to teaching social work organisation practice, seemed to spark tension amongst faculty members. Why so? Are academic staff's research foundations so tenuous they do not endure when confronted by a different perspective? If fundamental questions cannot be asked of academics, then of whom can they be asked?

Kamoche (1991) analyses human resources management (HRM) from a range of multi-paradigmatic 'lenses'. He argues that the predominant functionalist perspective is just one of a number of approaches in understanding social phenomena. There is a danger of adopting a one-dimensional view of theory and practice of HRM and of ignoring insights from other perspectives.

This follows from the supposition that the formation and interpretation of views from the investigation of social phenomena is predicated on the perspective that the theorist or social scientist adopts, which in turn is underwritten by various fundamental assumptions about the nature of the phenomena being investigated (p. 3).

A multi-paradigmatic approach can lead to a conceptual clarity that can have more relevance to practice and reality. This paper also alludes to the one-dimensional vs. the multi-dimensional, and the examination of reality and fundamental assumptions. In their search for a framework for accounting research, Searcy and Mentzer (2003) talk about a multidisciplinary approach utilising the strengths from different paradigms to investigate the phenomenon, since researchers should be aiming to give a complete explanation of the phenomenon. "This involves attempting to understand the actors, behaviours and contexts of the phenomenon and the interactions of those factors that cause the phenomenon to occur" (p.151).

D'Angelo (2002) contends that communications researchers should adopt a multi-paradigmatic approach to enable complex processes to be brought to light. He uses three paradigms to "examine the interaction of media frames and individual or social level reality" (p. 870). Researchers should study phenomena using many different theories. He also emphasises that "communication's integrationist mission is well served by the theoretical and paradigmatic diversity" (p. 871), which is similar to tourism's integrationist task. There is a common theme with the tourism research investigation: using the multi-paradigmatic approach to capture complexity and the relationship of the research to reality (both individual and social).

A multi-paradigmatic approach for psychology is suggested by Sternberg and Grigorenko (2001) to overcome diversity and disunity.

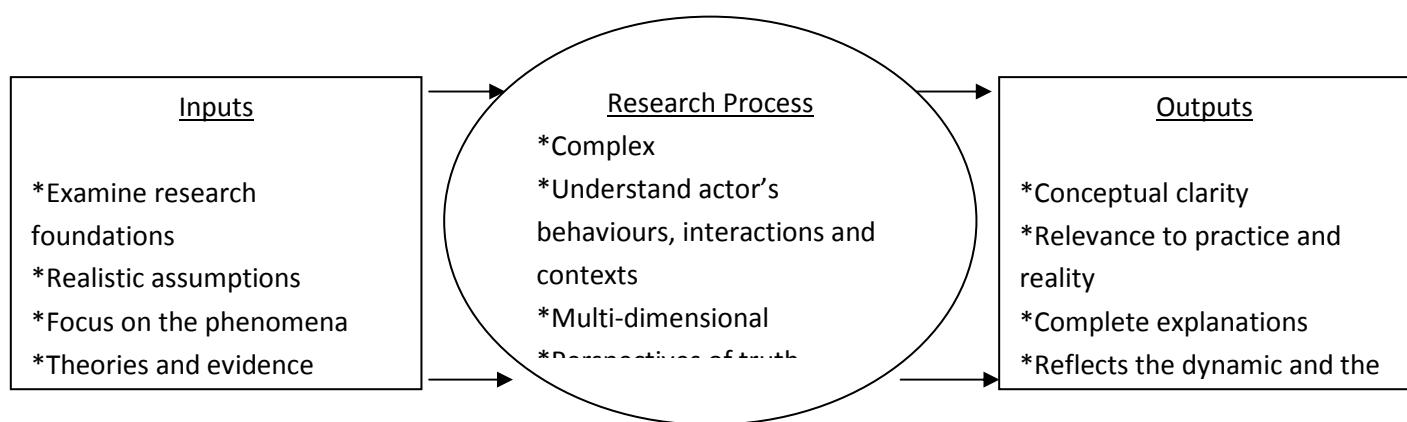
The history of psychology may be viewed as a history of a sequence of failed paradigms. The paradigms failed not because they were wrong –paradigms are not right or wrong (Kuhn, 1970) - but rather because they provided only incomplete perspectives on the problems to which they were applied (p.1075).

They argue that 'isms' (behaviourism, cognitivism, psychoanalysis) come and go; some synthesize the best of the previous ones, most just replace the previous 'ism'. With no reference to learning from

the past, the new one will also be a passing fad. The focus should be on the phenomena rather than on one paradigm, as this then frees the researcher to allow the phenomena to be informed by a number of perspectives/paradigms. Is this the same trap that tourism researchers are falling into? The disillusionment of 'isms' coming and going and then being confronted by incomplete perspectives are what led this novice researcher to start delving deeper into the research process and questioning the limitations that were appearing.

It is interesting to note that all the authors of these multi-paradigmatic papers are North American-based and not European. This researcher has always judged Europeans to be more philosophical and North Americans to be more pragmatic. Perhaps a multi-paradigmatic approach is pragmatic. Researchers turned to a multi-paradigmatic framework when they wanted to capture more than one dimension of the phenomena; were seeking theories and evidence grounded in reality; were grappling with complexity; and were in search of a complete explanation that was relevant to practice and reality. These concepts and others can be captured in a simple input-output model describing the multi-paradigmatic research process, represented in diagram 1: The multi-paradigmatic research process. This model seems to raise as many questions as it solves. Right through the process two notions are present -reality and perspectives of truth and knowledge- which can be linked to the ontological and epistemological foundations of the research process, which is where this investigation started. Was the researcher unleashing an iterated reflexive process that in the end leads nowhere? Or is a pragmatic multi-paradigmatic social science research process guiding the researcher to foundational philosophical ontological and epistemological questions that need to be answered? So the journey continues down philosophical paths.

Diagram 1
The multi-paradigmatic research process



ONTOLOGY AND EPISTEMOLOGY REVISITED

Goodson and Phillimore (2004) state that tourism researchers have been slow to address and raise to the forefront of tourism discourse the underlying ontological and epistemological issues related to their research. The discussion of paradigms dialogued with their ontological aspects, epistemological elements, assumptions about human nature and axiology. To avoid an iterated reflexive route that leads back to the issues already discussed, an attempt will be made to examine ontology and

epistemology devoid of paradigms, but rather relying on a history of philosophy. This section commences with a similar dialogue about ontology and then re-examines epistemology. It then tries to align the ontological concerns of ‘being’ with epistemological concerns of ‘knowing’ (Hollinshead, 2004).

Ontology

Ontology is the study of being and raises questions about the nature of reality and the nature of social reality. Hollinshead (2004) warns the researcher to be “reality aware” (p.64) and “to map out the profile of competing measures of reality” (p.72). He defines ontology as “the nature of reality in terms of concerns of ‘being’, ‘becoming’ and ‘meaning’” (p. 75) but he does not explain what he means by being, becoming and meaning. Humberstone (2004) states:

Ontology has been described as ‘a theory which claims to describe what the world is like – in a fundamental, foundational sense – for authentic knowledge of it to be possible’ (Barnes and Gregory (1997)...It can be understood as the assumptions about the nature of reality. At a taken-for-granted, lived experience level of individual authenticity, it is a state of being (p. 122).

Like Hollinshead, she does not explain what is meant by ‘a state of being’. Both Hollinshead (2004) and Humberstone (2004) acknowledge reality can be discovered even if they cannot explain it. Others, such as Connell and Nord (1996), dismiss any dialogue about reality as useless: “We did not know how to discover a correct position on the existence of, let alone the nature of, reality” (p. 408), rendering moot any debate in the social sciences between the ‘objectivists’ and ‘subjectivists’. Reality is an important premise for a multi-paradigmatic framework and cannot be dismissed. The next section will analyse the nature of reality. The discussion will draw a distinction between object and subject. Realism holds the position that objects in the world exist and have many of the properties they do, independently of what anyone thinks (Greco, 1995). McGuire and Tuchanska (2000) clarify this further and relate the ontological to the metaphysical, and state that ontological realism maintains a commitment to types of objects and to their independence from mental states and beliefs. The concept *metaphysical* is another notion that needs to be explained, along with being, becoming and meaning. There is still however a missing link in the puzzle: what is the link between ontological realism and critical realists who accept the notion of social reality? The role of the social realist is to dig deep into the ontological depths of social reality to discover causal laws/explanations which are independent of the events that arise from them (Botterill, 2001). Can social reality be treated as an object independent of mental constructs? The answer to this question is important for tourism research and, more specifically, a multi-paradigmatic approach to tourism research.

Katz (1998) states that a realist singles out not only objects but abstract objects, and he draws a distinction between general realism and particular realisms, such as linguistic realism and mathematical realism. General realism is a view of ontology (metaphysics). A particular realism is in the domain of formal sciences and deals with one or more abstract objects of a particular kind (the kinds of structure that abstract objects have). Katz draws a further distinction between the pure sciences and their concerns with abstract objects and the applied sciences and their concern with

concrete objects. Now we have not only objects, but abstract and concrete objects independent of the human mind (McGuire & Tuchanska, 2000), but how do they relate to social reality?

Mattessich (2003), an accounting researcher in the applied sciences, presents the onion model of reality or layers of reality. The use of "this metaphor is to facilitate a better understanding of the notion of reality as well as of the nature of conceptual and linguistic representation in relation to common sense notions and scientific perceptions" (p.446). This model regards layers of reality as dependent on and inclusive of each other. The model draws a distinction between *ultimate reality*, the foundation of all the other layers and the subject of metaphysical speculation, and *realities of a higher order*. The realities of a higher order can be broken down into the following (though they can have many sub layers in between):

- 1) Physical-chemical reality
- 2) Biological reality
- 3) Mental reality (of humans). Mental activity characterised by psychological and quasi-mental phenomena, such as preferences, intentions, pleasure and pain. There is a "distinction between the "*conceptual vs the real*" with that between the "*mental vs the physical*" (Mattessich, 2003, p. 477). The mental feels pain, is affected by emotions and possesses biological-psychic reality. The conceptual is a representation of physical, social and other realities. Conceptual representation is only part of the mental activity. A distinction is drawn between reality and perception or representation of reality. An essential characteristic of the human mind is abstraction via the senses, such as grasping what Katz (1998) calls abstract objects. The final product of abstraction is the 'concept'. Concepts are immaterial. Abstraction or conceptualisation can be seen as another sub layer.
- 4) Social reality. Humans generating social properties, such as economic, legal, moral etc. Economic and legal relations of a tourism operator are as empirically real as an atom on the physical level or pain on the mental level. These higher realities envelop all preceding realities, as well as ultimate reality. Even though one layer emerges out of the preceding layer, "this does not imply that any layer or entity in that layer can be 'reduced' to a preceding layer" (Mattessich, 2003) (p.448).

Hacking (1999) distinguishes physical-chemical reality and biological reality from social reality. The physical and biological reality is independent of *all* human minds and representation. Social reality is only independent of *some* minds -those not connected in the creation of the specific social reality under consideration. This is why tourism organisations, the tourism industry, actors and events are real and independent of the researcher. Searle (1995) concludes that "the ontological subjectivity of socially constructed reality requires an ontologically objective reality out of which it is constructed" (p.191). In the tourism context, some tourism organisations have socially constructed that their primary function is to be a marketing organisation. This researcher would call them (construct them as) a promotional organisation, as they do not have total control over the product as marketers do. On the other hand, policy makers have socially constructed them as destination management organisations responsible for sustainable tourism planning, as well as being responsible for marketing. All this social construction of a tourism organisation as a destination marketing or

destination management organisation presupposes a tourism product to be marketed: bungy jumping; trout fishing; Milford Sound; paper that is to be used to for a promotion brochure; land and waterways etc., which are ontological objective realities.

The discussion to this point has focused on the nature of reality. Ultimate reality or metaphysics has been circumvented along with being, becoming and meaning. Being is a metaphysical concept and can be traced back to Aristotle (Yarza, 1994). Aristotle points out that the most basic feature of all things is that they are: being is the most universal aspect of real things. Metaphysics studies the nature of being as such, the properties that flow from it, and the different modalities of being (potential and actual being, being in itself and being in another (Ross, 1995)). The first principle of metaphysics is the principle of non-contradiction: "It can be described as the law of being, for all individual beings are *some* kind of beings, and cannot be at the same time other than what they are" (Yarza, 1994, p. 145). The principle of non-contradiction applies to all reality. For Aristotle the concept of being is analogical and has different meanings. The term 'being' is applied to all things, but it is said of them neither in exactly the same way (univocally) nor in a completely different way (equivocally). Between univocity and equivocity, an intermediate position exists: analogy. Analogy allows a concept to have different meanings, all of which retain *something in common*. Hollinshead's (2004) 'being' and 'meaning' have been addressed, only leaving 'becoming'. Becoming is related to modalities of being –that of being-in-act and being-in-potency. Potential being is a reality that has yet to be affirmed. A child is potentially an adult. This change is passing from potency to act, or becoming.

Epistemology

Qualitative research in tourism does not simply encompass qualitative methods. Fundamentally, it is a way of conceptualising and approaching tourism research questions in a social context (Phillimore & Goodson, 2004). The fundamental philosophical issues -ontology and epistemology -are of greater importance in shaping a research investigation (Phillimore & Goodson, 2004). The ontological challenge has been addressed. This leaves epistemology to be revisited. Epistemology is that part of philosophy which studies the nature, structure, value, transcendence and limits of human knowledge. Phillimore and Goodson (2004), through the chapter title and manner of structuring their edited book chapters, imply that epistemology precedes ontology. Botterill (2001) wants to see an intensive engagement with epistemology in more tourism research. In this paper, it is argued that researchers need to engage not only in epistemology but also ontology. Perhaps Botterill (2001), like other constructivists, draws no distinction between ontology and epistemology due to the ontological-epistemological collapse (Lincoln & Guba, 2000; Shrivastava & Kale, 2003). This collapse is due to taking an *a priori* system of knowing, rather than the research phenomena and the associated layers of reality, as the starting point.

If epistemology is the nature, structure, value, transcendence and limits of human knowledge (Llano, 2001), what does this mean, for our understanding of tourism generally and the research investigation of tourism organisations specifically? Tribe (2004), states that there is no universal epistemology, as knowledge is conditioned by individuals, culture and society and therefore knowledge cannot be claimed to be an objective account of the world. He makes this claim based on

sociology. This paper examines knowledge in light of an Aristotelian philosophy. Metaphysics begins with being, which is previous and anterior to knowledge itself. Reality, then, (and all its layers) is the source of knowledge. Therefore, in adopting a multi-paradigmatic approach to tourism phenomenon, in which one is trying to capture a range of dimensions/perspectives, one needs to start with the nature of the reality and being followed by reflection on how one is going to know about this being. Why is a multi-paradigmatic approach being adopted for a study of tourism organisations? In order to avoid what Kuhn (1970) noted as “a strenuous and devoted attempt to force nature into conceptual boxes” (p. 52, in Tribe, 2004). These conceptual boxes are *a priori* subjective knowledge; if the nature of the reality does “not fit into the box [they] often are not seen at all” (p. 52, in Tribe, 2004). Tribe (2004) raises an interesting argument: that paradigms define the boundaries of accepted methods and knowledge for disciplines, due to their common rules. Tourism is not a discipline and does not have an agreed set of rules and therefore can be called pre-paradigmatic. Tribe is identifying the dilemma of tourism phenomena when confronted with paradigms. The case being argued in this paper is that tourism is not pre-paradigmatic but rather multi-paradigmatic, since tourism “does not occur in isolation from wider trends in the social sciences and academic discourse, or of the society which we are part” (Hall, 2004, p. 140). A multi-paradigmatic approach it will be argued rests on ultimate reality (metaphysics), which informs the ontology, which in turn informs the epistemology, which in turn informs the multi-paradigmatic approach to the research investigation, reflected in the model in diagram 2: The ontological and epistemological foundations of a multi-paradigmatic framework.

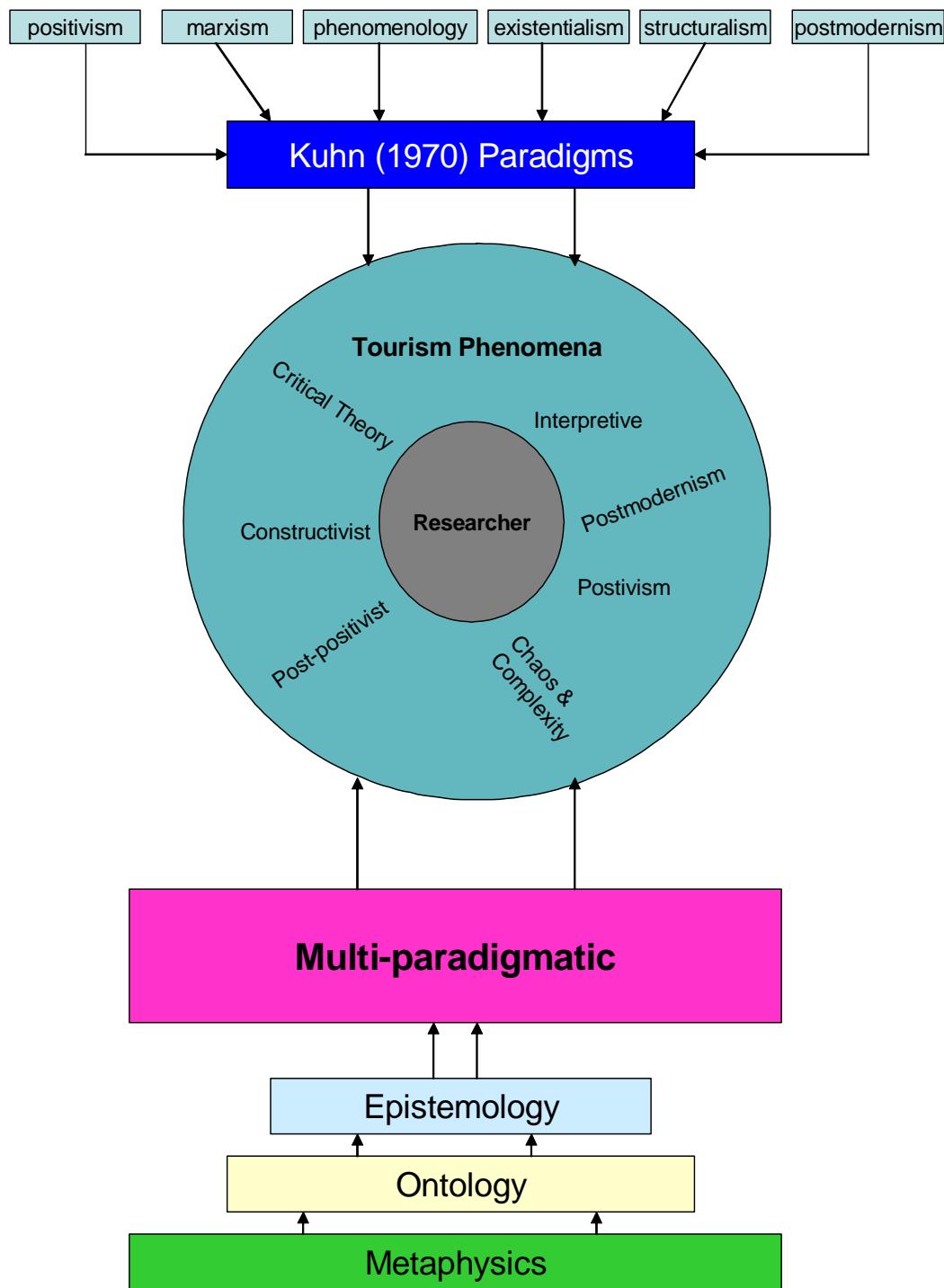
The question yet to be answered is: How do we know? Aristotle said the beginning of philosophy is to wonder (Ross, 1995). Wonder is what sets the researcher (scientist or social scientist) to ask what, where, how and why? Aristotle’s starting point was being, but he made a distinction between real being and being known by the human mind (Yarza, 1994). Aristotle began with sensible reality, not with *a priori* knowledge or universal ideas. We know through the senses, concrete singular things or sensible reality, and from those we abstract concepts. Concepts are formed through abstraction, which can lead to principles being formed through induction from particular phenomena. This process can lead to the whole being grasped, which is greater than the parts. This is how we can know and grasp the complex, the dynamic and the multi-dimensional. Aristotle begins with sensations, then memories and images and finally ends in the formation of propositions. Aristotle does not describe this as a reasoning process or experimentation in the modern sense of the word. It is intellectual ‘intuition’ which is the result of complex and repeated processes of experience involving the senses (internal and external), cognitive processes and the intellectual faculties of the human person (Alder, 1980).

The next question is: What can we know? We can know being or reality, including social reality. Aristotle, however, said we should not seek the same degree of certainty in everything (Alder, 1980). The physical sciences are more certain than the social sciences. Human affairs are not subject to physical necessity, but free rational (sometimes ‘irrational’) actions. Limitations to knowledge arise when certainty cannot be achieved. “Opinion is –of itself- an estimation of the contingent: i.e. of that which could either be or not be. Since not everything is contingent, not everything is a matter of opinion” (Llano, 2001, p. 52). Certainty, uncertainty and opinion can fuse right through the research

process of tourism organisations. Some historical facts and documents are certain, recollections of events can be uncertain and interpretation can be challenged as opinion. The researcher has had to acknowledge this in a multi-paradigmatic framework.

Diagram 2:

The ontological and epistemological foundations of the multi-paradigmatic framework



The final element of epistemology to be addressed is the truth-value of knowledge. "Truths discovered by science have a corresponding truth-value in reality" (Botterill, 2001, p. 204), which is a major point of dispute in contemporary social science. Yet, "dating to Aristotle, scholars in every discipline have diligently sought 'the truth'" (Smith, 2004, p. xv). What then is truth? Being is not truth, since truth or falsity exists in human judgement not in things (Copleston, 1985). A distinction can be made between real being (in the nature of things) and being in truth, which happens in the mind when it judges things. Aristotle explained the process of understanding to be apprehension, followed by judgement. The act of simple apprehension singles out, separates and divides, as things come in many forms. They are grasped, however, as a unity of many elements in a single act of understanding, albeit a complex act. Judgement is the part of understanding that reintegrates forms to restore the dynamic unity of natural things (Alder, 1980). Simple apprehension is true or it is not simple apprehension. Judgement is true or false depending on whether it agrees with being in reality. Many of the paradigms used in the multi-paradigmatic framework are based on a representationist epistemology, which reduces the known, to representation –being in the mind (Llano, 2001). For the representationists, real being found in the nature of things is secondary to being in truth and therefore mental being takes precedence. It takes precedence in some dimensions of this tourism research investigation, the researchers' judgements and interpretation documents, interviews and events. Despite that, this paper argues for and tries to justify the use of a diverse range of paradigms and concludes that a multi-paradigmatic framework needs to rest on Aristotelian epistemology, if it is going to be able to accommodate diverse paradigms, accommodating both real being and mental being in preference to representationist epistemology. A multi-paradigmatic framework recognises that being of truth is one of the meanings of being, but it cannot recognize it as the only meaning. An Aristotelian epistemology proceeds from an ontology of multiple layers of being (refer to diagram 2: The ontological and epistemological foundations of a multi-paradigmatic framework). "Human knowledge is only part of reality, and reality is neither a part, nor the whole, of human knowledge" (Putnam, 1975, p. 273).

CONCLUSION

It is easy to criticise and see the limitations of individual paradigms and conclude that no one research methodology and paradigm could provide all the answers, leading to the adoption of a multi-paradigmatic approach. However, during moments of reflexivity and winding in and out of paradigms, misgivings and apprehension arose. Paradigms provide common rules and define boundaries. The doubts did not arise while collecting the data, examining historical and contemporary documents or during interviews but rather the multi-paradigmatic insecurity arose during the analysis and interpretation. This required more reflection and reflexivity in an attempt to resolve the doubts. It became apparent that a multi-paradigmatic approach to tourism organisations needed to rest on a logical philosophical base. The philosophical reflexivity came at the end of the research investigation.

The call is being made for tourism researchers to address the philosophical foundations of their research, but are education systems, specifically postgraduate, equipping them to do this?

Kuhn's (1970) paradigms were a scientific revolution. He opened the doors to inter-paradigmatic dialogue, not that he foresaw this outcome. This led to the mixing of paradigms (Lincoln & Guba, 2000). However, it is argued that for a multi-paradigmatic framework to be able to inform a research investigation, it needs to rest on the building blocks found in diagram 2: The ontological and epistemological foundations of a multi-paradigmatic framework. Metaphysics, is the foundation of an ontology based on the premise of existing layers of reality, which supports an epistemology that encompasses both real being and mental being. The following quote highlights the role philosophy has in tourism research:

Philosophy addresses ontological and epistemological questions in the foundations of the sciences and the foundations of the foundations of the sciences that the sciences themselves do not address. The relation between philosophy and the sciences has both a vertical dimension on which philosophy attempts to understand the nature of the sciences and a horizontal dimension on which it attempts to understand aspects of the same reality studied in the sciences. Such knowledge is not the product of successful encounters with the skeptic. It is the product of the continuing dialectic among nominalists, conceptualists, realists, positivists, empiricists and rationalists (Katz, 1998, p. 211).

Two concluding reflections: One explanation of all the 'isms' of modern philosophy (shown in diagram 2: The ontological and epistemological foundations of a multi-paradigmatic framework) was that "Descartes' rationalistic emphasis on thought was so overpowering that in his ontology, the *mind* became a reality quite separate from (yet mysteriously connected to) the other reality *matter*. And this duality haunts philosophy to this very day" (Mattessich, 2003, p.444). Secondly, Botterill (2001) says that tourism has to find different ways of justifying its status as a knowledge system and needs to "act as a mediating discourse between 'expert knowledge' and a wider society" (p.212). Tourism research offers an ontological sphere in which the epistemological dispute in the social sciences can be more satisfactorily resolved (Botterill, 2001). It is hoped that this paper has contributed in a small way to the eventual resolution of these tensions and disputes.

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Tourism Education

'Joy in journeying: positive experiences of academics teaching tourism in transcultural contexts'

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Despite the vast increase in the numbers of international students in tourism higher education (King & Craig-Smith 2005), few studies have been conducted on the professional teaching experiences of academics teaching in transnational and multicultural contexts (Chang 2007; Ehrich 1997; Tribe 2005). The overall picture that emerges from the literature is predominately focused on the student experience, on negativity, and on prescriptive practice (Noddings 2003; Stevens 1978). This interpretive study recovers a potential positive perspective through qualitative interviews with 40 academics from two Australian universities teaching tourism in multicultural and transnational contexts. A phenomenological analysis of these interviews using mind-mapping techniques (Witsel 2006) yields a picture of the academics' own experiences of joy and benefit, found in journeying and teaching in multicultural and transnational contexts. The sense of journeying was experienced physically as well as metaphorically, and in a personal as well as a professional sense, and had positive impacts on the academics' happiness, and on the subject area as a whole. This study is part of a growing body of research on academic experiences of interculturality. In using a largely untapped source of oral histories of academic experiences, this project will contribute to future research on internationalisation of higher tourism education, travel, and happiness.

Introduction

The increasing levels of internationalisation of education reflect a growing trend towards globalisation (Leask et al. 2005; Marginson & McBurnie 2004). International education now represents Australia's eighth-largest export sector. In 2006, approximately 200,000 international students were studying with Australian institutions (IDP 2006), contributing over A\$4.2 billion to the Australian economy annually. In addition, Australia is now at the point where it has become a world leader in transnational education (Leask et al. 2005), offering over 1500 offshore programs through partnership arrangements alone (Murray 2005). Typically, an academic teaching at an Australian institution may be requested to teach for a certain length of time in the partner (transnational) institution's campus. This teaching may take the form of a series of lectures or an intensive series of workshops over a number of days, either with or without the local lecturer being present.

Teaching in the multicultural environment has been researched extensively, but with a strong focus on meeting the educational needs of international students (e.g. Barron 2004; Breitborde 1993; Chan & Treacy 1996; Kato 2001), and the design of inclusive curricula (e.g. Cheng & Tam 1997; Das 2005; Haigh 2002; Wood, Tapsall & Soutar 2005). Research into the experience of academics in the multicultural environments often has the aim of generating prescriptive outcomes for good practice, outlining how 'culturally responsive teachers' should behave (Villegas & Lucas 2002). Very little research has been done on the effect of international education on academics (Chang 2007). Ehrich (1997) argues that there is a need for understanding educators outside the confines of theoretical

constructs and overarching frameworks, and employs an interpretive phenomenological method which allows educators' experiences to speak for themselves.

Happiness or joy in education is not a topic that is commonly researched. Many educational researchers, on the contrary, tend to look at the negative aspects or difficulties in education, focusing on problems and offering potential solutions. Education itself is sometimes seen as a source or cause of great unhappiness (see, for example, Steven's (1978) book *Education and the Death of Love*), or even as a social process that erodes intellect (Barzun 1959). Nonetheless, as will be seen, although there are considerable constraints and concerns, there is also significant joy to be found in teaching in a multicultural context.

Relevant literature: a brief discussion

In a publication devoted to international tourism education, Tribe (2005) illustrates that although there is a growing body of research literature on tourism education, within this there is a need for greater attention to methodological issues, and more research is needed on effective teaching and learning. As Tribe points out, "pointers to successful teaching and learning techniques are few and far between" and in addition, "there has been little work on teachers and their qualifications" (Tribe 2005, p. 34). The whole issue of "how to teach", according to Tribe, has been overshadowed by curriculum issues - "what to teach". According to Stuart-Hoyle, "tourism's most valuable asset in Higher Education (HE) is arguably the Tourism teacher" (Stuart-Hoyle 2005, p. 411). She argues that "those who teach tourism in Higher Education have yet to be the subject of any significant body of research".

In an article which reviewed aspects contributing to the internationalisation of a programme of study (hospitality curriculum in this case), Black (2004) identified four main areas of importance: faculty, students, curriculum content and international alliances. Black (2004) concludes that internationalisation (for the students, for the curriculum and international alliances) may depend on the internationalisation of the faculty staff; and that there is thus the need to develop an internationalised faculty is of "overriding importance". Black suggests that systematic development of staff's cross-cultural skills is paramount and is a prerequisite for development in internationalisation in other areas. Black's study does not, however, go into how this can be achieved.

Developing teaching competence in the multicultural classroom

Knowledge of cross cultural communication theory alone does not necessarily equip an academic with the capabilities or the competence to manage effectively in an international or multicultural context (Gannon 2000; Witsel 2006). Cultural awareness, however, is crucial in developing intercultural competence (Bush et al. 2001). In addition, the higher the intercultural competence, the lower the communication anxiety (Mothienvichchienchai et al. 2002). An academic teaching in multicultural contexts will feel less anxious if they are interculturally competent, and can develop intercultural competence through cultural awareness.

Travel to other cultures is a prime method of developing cultural awareness. Very little research, however, has been done on the importance of travel in tourism and hospitality education (Hawkins & Weiss 2004; Sheldon 2005). Sheldon (2005) looked at the value of overseas experience for tourism and hospitality students, and outlines the very real benefits that students can obtain, on personal, academic, intercultural and career levels. Nonetheless, there have been no studies on the importance of travel for tourism and hospitality academics as such. Alred, Byram and Fleming (2003) argue the huge significance of the importance of travel in education (but again, from a student's perspective rather than a teacher's perspective), and recognise that it can be both positive and negative. If the intercultural experience is pedagogically balanced, the experience may be very positive, therapeutic, and may reduce stress. Nonetheless, experience of other cultures alone is not a sufficient condition for interculturality: in addition to the most probably necessary exposure, the successful interculturalist requires "reflection, analysis and action" (Alred, Byram & Fleming 2003, p. 5).

If intercultural experiences are positive, then this entails that the one experiencing the event must be experiencing some degree of happiness. What is happiness, though, and how is it experienced in the context of transnational and multicultural tourism education?

Happiness in education, and its importance in an educational work environment

Happiness is more than simple pleasure. Some researchers use the term 'happiness' interchangeably with 'subjective well-being' (Graham 2001). Others (Layard 2005; McGowan 2006; Noddings 2003) distinguish quite clearly between the two, and acknowledge that happiness is more profound than subjective or emotional well-being, and satisfaction. For an excellent review of the definitions and the literature, see the work of Richard Easterlin (Easterlin 2003, 2000). For a review from the behavioural sciences perspective, see Diener and Biswas-Diener (1999).

Happiness, according to Layard (2005, p. 12), can be defined as a 'state of feeling good', and can fluctuate from day to day, and hour to hour, and can most certainly depend on the activity being carried out at any particular time. The 'big seven' factors affecting happiness, in order of importance, are family relationships, financial situation (up to a point: overall happiness has not risen despite increases in wealth), work, community and friends, and health (Layard 2005, p. 62). The contribution of work in overall happiness is important not only because of its generation of income, but the fact that it contributes an extra meaning to life as we feel we contribute to a wider society, which has an impact on not only social relationships, but also self respect. Studies have shown that fulfilling work can and does lead to higher levels of emotional well-being (Helliwell 2003; Layard 2005). However, due to a psychological process known as 'adaptation', new experiences and new stimuli are required to raise your well-being. Challenges, thus, can be quite beneficial in maintaining emotional well-being and happiness.

Although some people are biologically more predisposed to being cheerful and happy than others (Lisanby 2003), research has also shown that those who care about others are on average happier than those who are more preoccupied with themselves (Lyubomirsky 2003). One's philosophy of life has influence on happiness (Layard 2005), as does the development of attainable goals (boredom, it appears, has a hugely negative effect on happiness) and the immersion in rewarding tasks (Mihaly

Csikszentmihalyi (1990) described 'flow' as the experience when you are so absorbed in what you are doing that you 'lose yourself'. However this does not suggest that a pursuit of pleasure will guarantee a good life; rather, psychologists suggest a broader definition of 'the good life' which blends 'deep satisfaction and a profound connection to others through empathy' (McGowan 2006). In addition, Ryff and Singer (2003) found that people who achieve a sense of meaning in their lives are happier than those who do not.

This suggests that work itself is very important for individuals in the first place, but also that in order for the working environment to contribute positively to the emotional well-being of the academic, the context of their work – the context in which education takes place – should be challenging (Layard 2005), meaningful (Ryff & Singer 2003), and contain not only the potential for socialisation (Helliwell 2003; Layard 2005) but also the potential for profound connection and empathising with participants in the work environment (Lyubomirsky 2003; McGowan 2006).

Nel Noddings (2003) explored happiness and its intimate relation to education. Again, the focus of the book is students rather than the teachers, but the prime tenet of the book – happiness as an aim in education – is as valid for teachers as it is for students, for without teachers who are capable of experiencing joy in education, how can education be a source of happiness for the students? This is not to say that an unhappy teacher is necessarily a poor teacher, but a joyful teacher is more able to evoke motivation, even joy, in students. Noddings remarks in her conclusion, 'Clearly, if children are to be happy in schools, their teachers should also be happy. Too often we forget this obvious connection.' (Noddings 2003, p. 261).

Methodology and analysis

This study makes use of an interpretive approach. Within an interpretive curriculum paradigm, "[t]he extent of the tourism world and tourism aims are not predetermined or predefined. Rather, part of the interpretive method is to seek agreement and understanding of the tourism world and tourism purposes" (Tribe 2001, p. 445). Although Tribe does not specifically argue for an interpretive approach when *researching* tourism academics, the interpretive approach does allow the researcher to seek agreement and understanding of the increasingly international world of tourism academics.

Twenty-nine academics, across seven campuses of two Australian schools teaching tourism and hospitality, were individually interviewed to ascertain what experiences these academics thought were of importance in the teaching of tourism in multicultural contexts. In addition, two focus groups were held, with ten - twelve participants. The academics were all at the time (June – July 2005) engaged in tenured positions or on long-term contracts at these two Australian universities, in two different states. The universities are both New Generation universities, and have multiple campuses and transnational programs, drawing students from a predominantly lower socio-economic environment. Nonetheless, both the schools of tourism and hospitality in these two universities were multiple award winners for excellence in education, both on a state level as well as a national level. It can be argued, that at the time of the interviewing, these were considered the best two schools of tourism and hospitality education in Australia (in terms of teaching and learning) at the time.

The participating interviewees' positions ranged from Professorial level (6 participants), Associate Professor (3), Senior Lecturer (4), Lecturer (12) to Lecturer A level (3). Nine of the academics stated that they were born in Australia: and bar two who did not mention their place of birth, the rest of the interviewees were born overseas (America, England, Scotland, India, New Zealand, Croatia, Vietnam, Malaysia, Netherlands, Africa, and Czechoslovakia). Most of the interviews lasted more than an hour and were digitally recorded and subsequently transcribed and analysed using mind-mapping techniques. Pseudonyms have been used.

The interviews – for the most part initiated as Single Question Interview Narratives (SQUIN, see Wengraf 2001) - were based on the interaction between the researcher and participant, and it is their interaction, which creates a complex picture, shaped by an inter-exchange of views. In this way, according to Kvale (1996, p. 32), the research matter is no longer objective data to be quantified, but "meaningful relations to be interpreted". The participants were encouraged to be reflexive as well as reflective in practice and encouraged to explore what they considered of importance in their experiences of teaching.

A phenomenological approach was adopted for the analysis of this research (Easterby-Smith, Thorpe & Lowe 2002) rather than a positivistic or scientific research philosophy (Guba & Lincoln 1994). The enduring value of phenomenological method is the manner in which it has steadfastly protected the subjective view of experience as a necessary part of any full understanding of the nature of knowledge (Becker 1992; Ehrich 2003; Merleau-Ponty 2002; Moran 2000). Ehrich (1997, 2003) examines the role of phenomenology in educational research, and argues that it has made, and continues to make, significant and rich contributions to education.

According to Wengraf (2001), there are three types of knowledge we can infer from an analysis of an interview: discourse, objective referents, and subjectivity. What is of interest here are the subjective referents: the issues that were emotionally important to the participants. A phenomenological analysis of these interviews using mind-mapping techniques is possible (Witsel 2006). For the purposes of this paper, the positive aspects were collated using mindmapping software, employing lateral thinking techniques. With lateral thinking, one generates as many alternative approaches as one can. In the case of concept mapping or mind mapping, the logic structures employed are more generative than linear, and in this way, more suited to interpretive methodologies, as it allows for a more inductive approach (Bogdan & Biklen 1988; Liamputpong & Ezzy 2005; Strauss & Corbin 1998; Ticehurst & Veal 1999; Wengraf 2001). The mind map of the findings for this paper are incorporated in figure one.

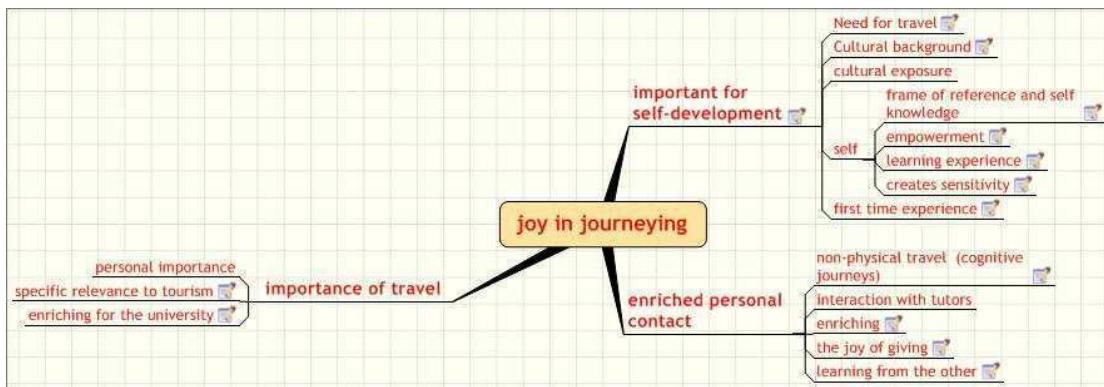


Figure 1: Mind map of themes surrounding joy in journeying

Findings and discussion

The academics' own experiences of joy and benefit were found in journeying and teaching in multicultural and transnational contexts. The sense of journeying was experienced not only physically, but also metaphorically, and in a personal as well as a professional sense. It had positive impacts on the academics' happiness, and on the subject area as a whole. In these findings, below, two broad themes emerged: the first concerns journeying and travelling, and the second happiness or joys engendered by the transnational and multicultural experience.

Journeys: travelling

Travel was seen as an essential component for the professional development of tourism academics by many participants. A head of school, in considering which tourism academics would be good at overseas teaching, stated: "... *a lot of staff are not able to connect if they have not travelled much; with the global contact, that this entails*" (Charles). It was not so much the length of time travelling and teaching abroad that was seen as of great importance; but rather the experience of another culture, as a benefit which "*stays with you*" (James). The experience of another culture creates sensitivity, which may not be achieved to the same degree if the academic does not travel: *I think the more that you go overseas, the more that is with you* (James).

In addition, the experience of the other culture was seen as most beneficial if it happens overseas, rather than experiencing the 'other' in one's own country. In the eyes of Kim, an academic of Confucian heritage background, travel transforms the teacher into a learner, able to experience an "*invaluable learning experience*", which is the very same experience teachers hope their students will undergo. In this way stereotypes make way for real understanding. The above supports the argument put forward by Gannon (2000) and Witsel (2006), that it is not so much an understanding of the cultural stereotypes (accurate or not) that helps create cultural sensitivity and awareness, but a more subtle, personalised understanding, which is developed through personal contact and travel, and helps create a pedagogy of intercultural experience, such as proposed by Alred, Byram and Fleming (2003), where the teacher becomes the learner.

Journeys: Cultural background

However, travelling overseas and teaching in a transnational environment was not seen as the only source of cultural exposure that had a beneficial impact on teaching. The very cultural background

(such as birthplace) of the academic can have a profound impact on teaching, and on the academic's approach to the tourism curriculum. Ellie, a migrant to Australia, finds that the experience of migrating has had a decided impact on her relationship with people; both on a personal level as well as on a professional level: "*and that had has had impact on my whole life and how I related to people and my students*".

On a professional level, the cultural background which is brought with these migrants to Australia - the different set of norms, values and attitudes - can have a distinct effect on the academic's choice of interest area. For Kim, his Confucian heritage background with its focus on politeness, face, and hospitality had a strong influence on his keen interest in service and service delivery. Once he had become an established academic and researcher, he recognised that his focus on hospitality and service stemmed from this background; and found that the research supported his interest.

Journeys: cultural exposure

But whether the cultural exposure to 'otherness' is a result of travel for business, holidays or education; or whether it is a result of birthplace and upbringing, there is a strong sense among the academics interviewed that exposure to other cultures increases interpersonal, even intercultural sensitivity. This is reassuring and of benefit when teaching overseas as it "*helps you appreciate the differences more*" (James), and makes one "*more tolerant of the cultures, more observant of differences*" (James).

For James, both birthplace as well as professional exposure to other countries (in this case Africa) has increased his appreciation of the students' backgrounds and lives:

So I lived in Africa for the first half of my life and I came to Australia for the second half..., Exposure to Asia is what I'm getting now, and I've had exposure to Africa, so when I have students from Ghana, Burundi and Ethiopia, ... I can appreciate their backgrounds and their lives as, as much as I can appreciate the Chinese and the Malaysians, and the Singaporeans and the rest of it. (James)

This sense of appreciation is extremely important. Consider the strength of the word "appreciate" in the context of tertiary education: appreciating difference, appreciating background, appreciating life, as in the case of James, above. Appreciation of one's workplace and the people in it is a hugely motivating factor in life. According to Robbins, Bergman, Stago and Coulter (Robbins et al. 2003), appreciation is one of the most powerful, yet overlooked aspects of successfully motivating and empowering people and groups. In this case, remarkably, it is not that the students are appreciating their teacher (although it is likely that they do), but it is the academic who is appreciating the students' backgrounds and lives, and this is partly which motivates the academic.

On a very practical level, the experience of travelling and meeting other people creates a wealth of knowledge which is seen as very pertinent to tourism education, and in fact, in the experience of the academic, Raleigh, actually "*forms the basis*" of his tourism education; and is seen as a strength. This is put to great practical use when teaching tourism and tourism related subjects, for the experiences and knowledge are indeed so closely related to tourism, and the anecdotes which are so pertinent to

teaching (as they sketch pictures for the students as they show how theory and practice are related), come readily to hand:

One of my strengths is that I've travelled a lot, [...] I've got a lot of experiences, a lot of places; I met a lot of people and that forms the basis of my tourism education in many ways I think [...] so I think that pays off in spades now, 'cos it means that I've got a lot of anecdotes I can talk about and can relate to the different cultures in some way (Raleigh).

The above quotes illustrate that travel and overseas teaching creates knowledge, skills and attitudes which are seen as pertinent; the experience creates awareness and sensitivity, and gives strength.

Journey: Self-knowledge

Pure exposure to other cultures alone, it has been suggested, is not necessarily sufficient (although it may be necessary) to create a condition for interculturality (Alred, Byram & Fleming 2003). An awareness of one's own culture-specific norms, values and practices (Pinto 1990), is a key element in improving cultural competence, according to many theoreticians which deal with intercultural business communication. According to Trompenaars and Hampden-Turner (1998, p. 201), "Genuine self-awareness accepts that we follow a particular mental cultural program and that members of other cultures have different programs. We may find out more about ourselves by exploring those differences". The sense that it is when travelling that one learns most about oneself is seen as very beneficial:

When you travel you learn a lot about different cultures, different ways of living, different economic systems, so many different ways of living a life, but ultimately you're going to learn a lot about yourself: and you know I think that is probably the benefit of the travel (Raleigh).

However, this "self" need not only refer to an individual self: the focus is on learning, only this time it is not the single individual academic who learns, but the subject area as a whole:

I do think it's a good thing, particularly with this subject area, because I'm in tourism, and it is so international, and I think the more we learn from each other, the better the subject will become; so for me to teach from a purely Australian perspective is very narrow (Raleigh).

The feeling that the subject area of tourism as a whole benefits from a multicultural teaching environment is quite prevalent among the participants, and there is a sense that this benefit is reciprocated, that there is a mutual link between especially tourism and internationalisation. Patrick, below, feels that internationalisation is a very positive factor, and that *because he teaches tourism, he is, ipso facto, pro internationalisation: Well I'm a tourism academic, I teach tourism, so I am pro internationalisation. Very much so.* (Patrick)

Wayne, a tourism academic, emphasises the 'richness' in the potentiality of diversity: "*I think there is still a richness in the sorts of cultural backgrounds*". The concept of multicultural education generating richness or enrichment in affective terms is quite prevalent among the participants in this study: Kim stated that teaching in multicultural contexts "*enriches my life*", and suggested that the enrichment came partly through an increase in confidence with respect to interpersonal relationships: ...*and I am able to relate to all sorts of people, without being worried* (Kim).

This state of ‘enrichment’ does not always come about immediately upon teaching multicultural cohorts. Quite often the academic undertakes a journey of their own as they develop as an educator: *It was hard work; there was always a sense it which that it would really take me a lot of effort to get to where I got to [...]. I feel fairly well satisfied that I now do that far better than I did at the start* (Bill).

Journeys, thus, are of deep significance in developing intercultural competence in the multicultural classroom. Journeys create a personalised understanding of culture and of otherness, which means that one’s own culture is placed in a frame of reference. The journeys and the understanding are of great value to the tourism academic, both in terms of the epistemology of teaching and of the subject matter, as well as ontology: “being” a teacher.

In all, the journeys and the travel aspect of international education were seen by the academics as enriching, and valuable, as these journeys increased intercultural awareness, and eventually increased intercultural competence. In addition, generally the journeys were viewed in a positive light, and were experienced as pleasurable, and increased the participants’ emotional well-being and levels of happiness. This raises the question then of where, more precisely, this happiness was found, and what aspects of international education the participants found enjoyable, and when they experienced joy.

JOY & HAPPINESS

Given that the transnational teaching experience is not necessarily enjoyable per se, and can entail significant amounts of “hard work” and possible emotional discomfort before the academic feels that they have “come to grips” with the culture and the teaching (Witsel 2006), there are nonetheless significant elements of joy in teaching in multicultural contexts.

Joy: First exposure to transnational teaching

Outside the possible sense of hard work and emotional discomfort due to inexperience as outlined above, first time travel as a transnational academic is seen by some as a very positive and enjoyable experience. The following academic, Rowan, describes his first experience of teaching transnationally, working with a local tutor: *The teacher was terrific, she was great; the experience was extremely positive, I really enjoyed it, the students were always very polite, keen to learn, apply themselves.* (Rowan)

The academic and teaching aspects of transnational teaching are of course only a part of the entire international experience of the participant. The academic can have the opportunity to experience the overseas location as a tourist, and experience leisure. In the next excerpt notice, on a discourse level, how this academic slips from using the past and perfect tenses when recalling the teaching, into the present tense as the experience is re-lived with enthusiasm:

I just think the reality of going to another place was terrific, I like Malaysian food anyway, and the lecturers were very hospitable, and take me out to lunch, and ask me to go to the market area and have some authentic cuisine. I took myself off for a couple of days to the city, to have a look, so you explore the place a bit, so it’s an adventure, and the result is

absolutely ... you've finished work, you go back to the hotel, you go down to the hall, sit down with a can of beer, or whatever they had, a bottle of ... fantastic way to end the day, it's great. (Rowan)

Joy: cognitive journeys

Cognitive journeys are those non-physical journeys we are led along in an academic sense but which also have the effect of broadening horizons and leading to new experiences. Tehani, a highly experienced associate professor in tourism, explains the phenomenon in the light of her multicultural class of onshore Master's degree students, which contained 17 different nationalities. Tehani relates how the students bring their experiences to the classroom, and share their experiences and knowledge, and thus take the academic on marvellous journeys:

They [the international students] take me to parts of the world, that I have never thought about, or worked in, or that I've been in. Tehani might never have been in a particular student's country of origin, but the experience of teaching the student and listening empathetically to their experiences and descriptions gave her the sense that she could vicariously experience that other country, through her imagination and understanding.

Joy: mutual care between student and academic

As mentioned above, emotional well-being and happiness derived from the workplace are of great importance to the overall happiness of people. Several of the academics interviewed actually expressed the opinion that teaching the multicultural classroom was in fact preferable to any other work-related activity they were engaged in: *From the here and now, my main enjoyment comes from my overseas post grad classes (Rowan).*

Perhaps the best journey the academic is taken on is the interpersonal journey of mutual care. This seems to be the salient issue that redresses much of the stress inherent in multicultural teaching. Jennifer, an academic – an associate professor with many years' teaching experience; both onshore and transnationally, had very positive experiences on this level. The relationships of care that are built are mutual, and generate genuine fondness. She gave many poignant examples, and concluded:

Certainly if I think of the people I am genuinely fond of, the majority would be overseas students: (a) they tell me more about themselves, and (b) because they are more interested in you as a person, and so this relationship does develop (Jennifer).

Jennifer, despite considerable research and administrative commitments commensurate with her position, portrays a passion about and motivation for multicultural and transnational teaching. To Jennifer, it is an intensely valuable part of her academic work, in part because of the sense that she feels valued in the context of the student-teacher relationship.

To come back, then, to Helliwell (2003) and Layard (2005), it is this socialisation aspect that contributed to the happiness Jennifer experienced in her work environment. Furthermore, this level of socialisation and interaction potentially enables the academic to empathise with and create deeper connections with participants in the work environment. These are factors which according to Lyubomirsky (2003) and McGowan (2006) can have profound implications for enhancing happiness.

Conclusions

Travel and teaching in multicultural contexts not only aids the tourism academic in developing the skills, attitudes and knowledge required to successfully (and happily) teach multicultural cohorts, but has a deeper effect of increasing self-knowledge and an enhanced awareness of oneself as a cultural being. The academic is transformed to learner as they negotiate the sometimes disquieting contradictions imposed by submersing in a different culture, and broaden their perceptions of education, of culture, and of societies.

Learning – and the ability for lifelong learning – is a significant trait of a successful interculturalist. As has been pointed out above, experience of other cultures alone is not a sufficient condition for interculturality: the successful interculturalist requires “reflection, analysis and action” (Alred, Byram & Fleming 2003, p.5). This is where the experience of learning becomes so important for the tourism academic: not purely in an epistemological sense where the subject knowledge is enhanced, but in an ontological sense where there is a degree of learning about the self. The increased understanding of self happens both on the level of the individual ‘self’ as the participant develops in a personal sense; and also the participant learns about their own culture as they see their own culture from a different, possibly refreshed, angle and thus develop a cultural frame of reference. This increased self-knowledge is put to good use in enhancing the teaching experience.

In this way, then, teaching in multicultural contexts becomes rewarding, and increases emotional well-being. As it is and continues to be a learning experience, teaching international students involves challenge, and as Layard (2005) points out, the innate human ability to adapt necessitates changing environments to enhance continued emotional well-being. A successful negotiation of these changing environments brings satisfaction to the academic, and increases knowledge of the subject matter and enhances the ability to teach successfully.

The learning component whereby the teacher becomes a cultural student is only one of the factors in which teaching in the multicultural classroom can enhance the happiness of the participant. Meaningful interactions and social relationships improve well-being as we feel we contribute to wider society: self respect improves, and the journey of “mutual care” as described by the participants is seen as particularly rewarding. The element of joy in “enjoyment” is in these cases generated by the mutual social empathy developed by the interaction of the academic and the international students. Ryff and Singer (2003) pointed out that this sense of meaningful interaction has positive outcomes for overall happiness. As Lyubomirsky and McGowan have illustrated (2003; 2006), empathy is a key factor in human happiness, because it breaks down the barriers of the individual as it allows for the potential for profound connection and empathising with participants in the work environment.

In this, two considerations must be made here. Firstly, an academic who is successfully negotiating the intercultural journey of teaching and is happier as a result is not, ipso facto, necessarily a good teacher or a knowledgeable academic. It seems highly likely that a happier academic with an accurate level of self-knowledge, enhanced self-awareness as a cultural being and increased levels of intercultural competence will be more successful at their teaching and in the eyes and experiences of

the students, but this is not a guarantee. Secondly, concern with inner states of mind such as happiness, emotional well-being and a search for self-understanding and knowledge may be a predominantly western pursuit. It is for these reasons that further research into the principles and practices of tourism academics who have been proven to be successful international teachers would be a valuable enterprise.

Nonetheless, the experiences of the academics participating in this study indicate the significance of travel for the tourism academic teaching in multicultural contexts. The potential joy that can be generated by the rewarding aspects of the teaching in a multicultural classroom contributes not only to the subject knowledge but also to the participants' sense of "being" a successful teacher.

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'Can Tourism Save the World? Encountering the Other through Study Abroad'

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Travel's potential to unite people across the lines of culture and nationality has long captivated the popular and scholarly imagination, and recent events such as the I IPT European Conference on Peace through Tourism demonstrate that this age-old concern has lost none of its fervor. Early work on tourism as a catalyst for crosscultural understanding (e.g., Milman et al., 1990) focused largely on the actual tourism encounter—a not-too-surprising approach, given the anthropological and social-psychological disciplinary paradigms that then dominated much of tourism studies. But as later cultural studies work would clarify, focusing on the encounter alone is insufficient because human understandings are not completely born from the realm of direct experience. Instead, we enter tourism encounters with a headfull of preconceived expectations based both on our own memories and on broader cultural imaginaries that quietly saturate our consciousness. Cultural studies work, which explores the production and consumption of tourism representations as part of the "worldmaking"¹ labor of tourism (Hollinshead, 2007), thus contributes greatly to furthering our understanding of the role of travel in promoting or inhibiting the development of crosscultural understanding, respect, and compassion, because it calls attention to the broader discursive environment in which tourism experiences are enmeshed.

Although popular culture has tended to valorize travel as a path to intercultural harmony, much scholarship has concluded otherwise, arguing that tourism often promotes essentialized views of people and cultures (e.g., Bruner, 1991). This outcome occurs through multiple and mutually reinforcing practices, as tourism brokers first employ established representations of destinations for promotion, and then produce sites in accordance, to avoid tourist disappointment (Buck, 1977; Bruner, 2005). Tourists' experiences at such sites thus often serve to reinforce extant stereotypes, and when they return home, they share stories and photographs that augment the supply of narratives rearticulating dominant discursive themes. This cycle of stereotyping is particularly problematic in situations when vast inequalities exist between tourist-sending and tourist-receiving societies (Echtner & Prasad, 2003). A growing mountain of empirical studies continues to convincingly demonstrate that western tourism contributes to the social construction of nonwestern people and cultures as exotic, primitive, sensual, servile, morally inferior, and dependent on the West.² This "western imaginary" serves to polarize the western Self and the nonwestern Other and promote a superiority ideology that legitimates inequality.

¹ "Worldmaking" is Hollinshead's collective term for the "creative and collaborative [processes of] essentializing/naturalizing/normalizing" that occur through all types of social interactions including tourism, the fruits of which, in the case of tourism, are collectively or disjointedly produced mythologies of spaces and cultures (2007, p. 166).

² Given space limitations, please see Caton & Santos (2008) for a specific review of the relevant literature on this front.

Despite its many important contributions, work in this vein has been somewhat limited, in that it has tended to address the phenomenon of tourism only rather broadly. Indeed one recent criticism of the tourism literature in general is that it tends to be overly totalizing in its analysis—prone, in the words of Hollinshead (2007), to the production of “grand clichés,” rather than being given to an emphasis on the investigation of situated instances in order to explore how particular outcomes are created. This decontextualizing tendency is echoed in patterns in tourism representation studies, in which analyzed depictions tend to be abstracted from their specific conditions of production, such that the connections between messages and the circumstances of their creation go underexplored and underarticulated. Recognizing, then, that tourism is actually a far-from-unitary practice, rather than asking the totalizing question of whether it functions as a site of maintenance or resistance to the western imaginary, perhaps a better question is *under what conditions might it do so?*

Thus far, empirical work on both tourism media representations and tourists’ experiences at destinations has focused predominantly on commercial or government tourism brokers and their clients—entities with obvious financial and development-related motives. However, travel brokers exist in the nonprofit sector as well, and some even advance overt humanitarian agendas, attempting to situate travel in a critical context in order to dismantle stereotypes and promote meaningful communication and global citizenship. A prime example is university study abroad (McCabe, 1993; Cohen, 2003). Do such programs differ from other types of travel that have been demonstrated by scholars to perpetuate the western imaginary? Do they open up new discursive possibilities for understanding nonwestern people and cultures in more socially healthy ways, and thus serve as sites of resistance to current hegemonies, or do they merely echo the discourses of mainstream tourism? In this project, I explore these questions through a case study of one popular American study abroad program: Semester at Sea.

Semester at Sea

Semester at Sea (SAS) is an unusual program in which 650 mostly American students spend a semester living and learning aboard a cruise ship outfitted as a university campus. The ship travels to approximately 10 countries per semester, most of which are located in the nonwestern world, spending roughly five days in each. At the time of this research, the program was affiliated with the University of Pittsburgh, but it recently relocated to the University of Virginia. Like many study abroad programs, SAS’s goals are to provide a critical context for travel, to promote crosscultural dialogue, and to help students become more aware, responsible global citizens.³

While traveling with SAS, students take up to four classes of their choosing, and all are required to enroll in the program’s central course, “Core.” While in port, they can choose to attend professor-led visits (known as “field practica”) to institutions within the host country, to purchase travel packages from the shipboard agent, or to explore the host country on their own. This variety of options for travel combines with SAS instruction and students’ individual personalities and biographies to create several of what I term *modes of encounter*—potential ways in which SAS students interface with program destinations and make sense of their place in these spaces.

³ For more detailed information on SAS’s history, mission, logistics, and so forth, please see Caton & Santos (2009) and the program’s website (www.semesteratsea.com).

Like many other study abroad programs, SAS has spawned some academic research, most of it relating to the program's ability to generate personal growth in participants (e.g., Welds & Dukes, 1985; Dukes, et al., 1994) and to encourage their development of a "global perspective" (McCabe, 1993).⁴ To my knowledge, no one has yet attempted to tackle the program, or study abroad enterprises in general, as a site of perpetuation or resistance to colonialist discourse.

Tourism and Ideological Production

Despite recognition that tourism has an important role to play in ideological production, there has been little theoretical work on this front. A conceptual framework can thus provide some grounding for the analysis in this paper. As noted, discourses do not appear from nowhere; they circulate and produce their "effects of truth" (or "truthiness," as modern comedian-commentators Stewart and Colbert would put it) by working through larger systems to which they are tied (Foucault, 1980, p. 131). Ways of understanding the world are not fixed and inevitable, but socially and relationally produced (Hall, 1997). The worldmaking agency of tourism thus exists not as a force unto itself; it works *through* a variety of external conditions that both constrain and enable particular outcomes. If we want to question hegemonic discourses, and ultimately to change them, then we have to understand their logic—where they come from and why they "make sense."

In Figure 1, below, I attempt to tackle this entanglement by proposing a representation of the discursive process as a situated phenomenon. The blue circle surrounding it denotes what I shall call the regulatory framework of discursive production and consumption. This framework consists of elements that mediate the discursive process, elements which can be grouped, in an ideal-typical sense, into three broad categories: material conditions, historical understandings, and human experience.

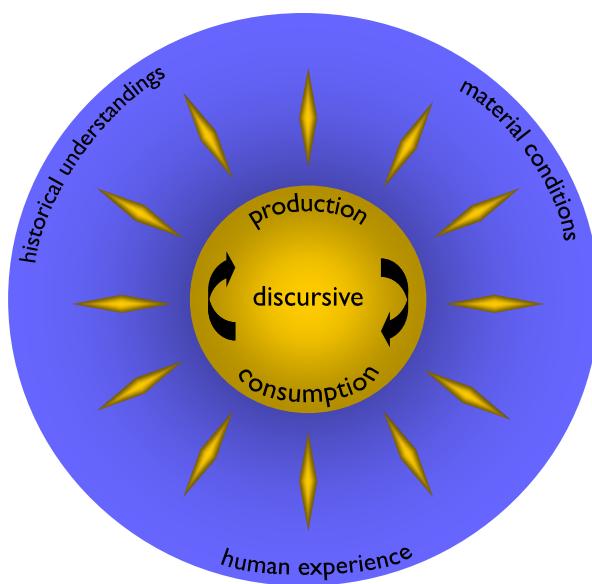


Figure 1. Discursive Production and Consumption as Situated Processes

⁴ In the interest of space, I have not included a review of the literature on study abroad; I am happy to provide interested readers with a copy of my dissertation, which covers related studies in detail.

Material conditions include aspects of the physical world that bear on human understanding; they include tangible elements, such as economic resources and physical characteristics of spaces, as well as more abstract entities such as formal legal codes. The inclusion of material conditions here captures the Marxian notion that human understanding exists very heavily in reference to one's place in the social hierarchy, as determined by his or her access to resources, as well as the Foucauldian notion that ways of making sense of a phenomenon at any given time are partially a product of the reigning institutions and available resources of the day. Historical understandings refer to the body of thought and speech already existing about a particular phenomenon up to the present moment. This idea captures Gramscian notions of the power of ideological, in addition to material, aspects of culture to shape human beliefs (Hall, 1986). Religious, ethnic, national, and other cultural traditions all influence the way elements of the life-world are understood, and new understandings are always situated, in some way, in relation to old ones. Human experience refers to the way that lived, embodied encounters mediate human understandings. Humans beings are not mindless drones, infinitely programmable by larger ideological and material forces; we are creative, cognitive, and moral creatures constantly in the process of interpreting that which we encounter. Although, as many thinkers such as Goffman (1974) have noted, we always interpret the world in light of what we have already come to know, we are also capable of modifying what we know based on new data we encounter. Thus, human experience is a powerful player in regulating the production and expression of understandings, and its inclusion in this scheme captures the contribution of philosophical hermeneutics scholars such as Gadamer, who emphasize existence as an ongoing dialogic encounter between human beings and that which lies outside them (Baronov, 2004).

The regulatory framework thus constitutes the web of conditions through which imaginative labor occurs. It is enabling as well as constraining—an inescapable forcefield which favors some outcomes and inhibits others. At the same time, however, discursive processes also exert outward pressure on the framework itself. Material conditions can be altered as a result of changing discursive patterns, new discourses eventually become part of historical understandings, and extant discourses bear on humans' interpretations of their experiences. As we shall see, this framework, which highlights the entanglement of discourse with forces and conditions external to itself, can help us to better understand the unique contours of ideological production in specific tourism contexts, such as SAS.

Methodology

The aim of this project was overtly political—to call attention to ways that tourism produces inequality, as well as to applaud instances in which it serves as a site of resistance to western hegemony. My goal was interpretive: to deconstruct visual and verbal representations and to understand why they were emerging. My undertaking was born of the view that meaning does not inhere in texts but is generated through contextualized readings (Schwandt, 2003). Mine is only one of many potential interpretations, and all the typical caveats apply.

In seeking points of entry into SAS's discursive production, I considered several data sources: (1) photographs from SAS's promotional brochure and website, which numbered 112 in total; (2) fieldnotes on instructional practices from a voyage near the turn of the millennium, on which I traveled as an undergraduate student; (3) photographs featured in the student yearbook from the

same voyage, which numbered 203; and (4) transcripts from in-depth interviews (some of which included photo elicitation), lasting between one and four hours, conducted with 15 other former SAS students and 2 former staff members—the helpful few of the over 40 contacted alumni from 2003 through 2005 who were listed in the SAS directory as living in Chicago (chosen for its proximity to the university where I conducted this doctoral work).

To gather and analyze these disparate data, I assembled a complex arsenal of qualitative methods.⁵ All photographic data were approached through a three-step method of content, semiotic, and discourse analysis (Albers & James, 1988). For the content analysis, focal themes were established based on the people in the images, the actions in which they were engaging, and the other included features, such as landscape elements. Content categories were then based on the presence and characteristics (e.g., gender, age) of hosts, tourists, or both; on the activities being undertaken by each; on the dress of the hosts; and on the age and state of repair of the buildings or landscapes pictured in each image. For the semiotic analysis, I considered the underlying features, including framing, lighting, and subject organization, that linked the elements within individual images together and helped them to “tell a story,” and then compared and contrasted those structures across images to look for recurring patterns. For the discourse analysis, I attempted to link the semiotics of the images to broader social structures of power, analyzing how the photos sought to naturalize particular understandings and considering who stood to benefit from such truth constructions. Approaching the project from the perspective of postcolonial theory, I specifically sought to identify ways that the images furthered or challenged hegemonic reasoning patterns about the relationship between the West and the Rest.

The verbal data in the study presented more challenges because, unlike the photographs, the oodles of talk from the course lectures and interviews I had gathered did not come in discrete, tidy packets. Thus, I approached each dataset (e.g., each interview transcript) as a whole, using frame analysis (Goffman, 1974; Gitlin, 1980) to identify dominant themes and draw conclusions about how the people, spaces, and cultures on SAS’s itinerary were being presented and understood.

Before moving on to discuss the outcomes of these methodological efforts, it is important to note that this study is clearly an incomplete exploration of cultural production at SAS. In addition to the obvious generalizations that come from not being able to consider every program decision ever made, every instructional practice ever implemented, and every thought uttered by all who have graced the decks of the S.S. *Universe Explorer*, the truth is that even the complete record of these practices would be but one sliver of the whole picture because SAS and its students are not the only actors holding sway over cultural production at this site. In facilitating encounters for its students, SAS cooperates with many agents from host countries and from international organizations, each of which bears its own ideological agenda and political-economic affiliations. Thus, in actuality, cultural production through SAS unfolds in complex ways, at numerous locations, through the physical and

⁵ Given the presumed level of familiarity with and purchase into the value of qualitative techniques on the part of conference attendees, in the interest of space, I do not offer a full discussion of each of the methods I employed, nor do I attempt a justification of their usefulness. Excellent discussions can be found in Rose (2001) on content, semiotic, and discourse analysis; in Holstein & Gubrium (1995) on active interviewing; and in Harper (2002) and Clarke-Ibáñez (2004) on photo elicitation.

ideological labor of various agents: it is a very Foucauldian drama, of which I have thus far willfully extracted but one piece.

Stories of the Other

If tourism is a worldmaking activity, and its players—brokers and tourists alike—discursive agents vested with interpretive and representational power, then what of the stories that are being spun? What kind of world is being imagined here? The answer, it seems, depends on who's authoring the tale.

To summarize the outcomes in brief,⁶ the SAS promotional materials and the yearbook photographs tended to present a colonialist anthropological fantasy: a world filled with exotic Others—mythical in their particularities—on display for touristic consumption. The promotional photos did this by picturing hosts almost exclusively in traditional dress, engaging in culturally distinct and stereotypical activities (e.g., praying at a mosque, weaving reeds), and sometimes performing services for SAS participants. They were depicted only with natural materials and were never shown using modern technology unless it was provided by an SAS participant. Racial distinctiveness was also highlighted in depictions of hosts, and they were further presented as being almost exclusively friendly and welcoming, happily posing for the camera's gaze. These depictions contrasted sharply with those of SAS students, who were presented as having various (including hybrid) racial heritages, using modern technology and synthetic materials, and experiencing a mix of emotions, including joy, reflection, and fatigue. The yearbook photos produced a similar picture, emphasizing binaries between students and hosts of modern–traditional, subject–object, master–servant, center–periphery, and moral/industrious–devious/lazy.



Figure 2. Traditional India (SAS Brochure)



Figure 3. Masters and Servants (SAS Yearbook)

⁶ In the interest of space, detailed results are not presented here. The results of the analyses of promotional materials and student yearbook photographs are offered in full elsewhere (Caton & Santos [2009] and Caton & Santos [2008], respectively), and the full outcomes of the analyses of instructional practices and student experiences are fodder for future manuscripts that will hopefully be shared in due time, although I am more than happy to provide interested readers with a full copy of my dissertation for a “sneak preview” of what I turned up.

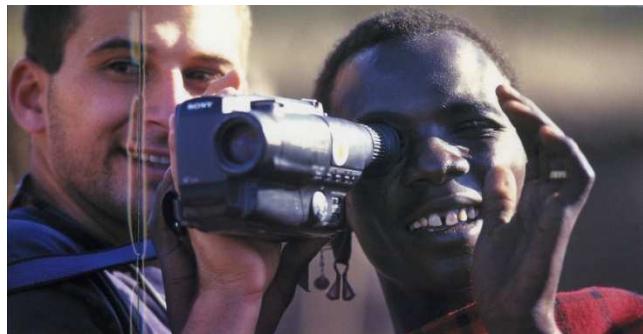


Figure 4. Cultural Collision (SAS Brochure)

The story told by SAS's instructional practices, however, was more complex. In some ways, the combination of Core, program field practica, and interport visits from residents of host countries served to deconstruct western privilege, to contextualize global problems, to call attention to the stereotyping process, to emphasize the complexity of cultures, and to promote an ethic of global citizenship. Core professors, for example, deconstructed privilege by introducing the concept of the "accident of birth"⁷ and then leading the class in a discussion about the way that rewards of wealth, power, and prestige are distributed within societies. They also attempted a contextualized presentation of countries, emphasizing the historical global interconnections that have produced today's outcomes. At the same time, however, SAS instruction was sometimes prone to falling into common discursive traps, which resulted in an emphasis on hosts' exoticism, a romanticization of their histories, and a tendency to present them as problem-riddled and past their prime. Drawing, for example, on the typical undergraduate sociology canon, Core's professors framed discussions of problems in host countries predominantly in terms of Durkheim's theory of anomie,⁸ which tended to characterize nonwestern countries as ensnared in a postlapsarian chaos of almost-modernity, struggling to make it up the other side of the development chasm—an interpretive framework that romanticizes preindustrial history and locates nonwestern cultural authenticity in a bygone world. There were also instances of outright exoticization, such as lectures that tackled China's environmental problems by referring to the practice of wealthy men using endangered species-derived products as treatments for impotence despite their having "no scientific value" (instead of focusing, for instance, on energy generation, a problem shared by the West as well) and presentations on women's rights issues that emphasized *sati* and cliterodectomy instead of the less eye-catching but more widespread problems of women's lack of access to education, health care, equal wages, and protection from dangerous working conditions.

Finally, students' perspectives were naturally even more complex and had to do with their individual biographies and personalities and the ways they engaged with program supports. I identified six

⁷ The accident of birth refers to the randomness of life chances of any given being based on the circumstances he/she happens to be born into.

⁸ Durkheim argued that as societies shift from an agrarian lifestyle, characterized by strong familial, communal, and religious rules and expectations, to an urban, industrial lifestyle which emphasizes individual choices, interpretations, and achievements, social norms tend to break down; this process leads to deviant behavior and social dysfunction, as people no longer share an overarching moral framework which places limits on individual desire.

modes of student participation, which included *site collectors*, who traveled predominantly for sightseeing; *explorers*, who fit the ideal of the “backpacker tourist,” eschewing packaged tours and searching for direct experiences of the unique and “authentic”; *hedonists*, who were concerned predominantly with sun, sex, and partying; *laboratory students*, who envisioned the trip as a hands-on intellectual opportunity; *aid workers*, who tended to engage in volunteering activities while in port; and *self-conscious intruders*, who were overtly aware of their privilege and uncomfortable with their identities as wealthy, powerful students traveling in poor, marginalized countries. Not surprisingly, the hedonists and site collectors tended to express the most stereotypical views of the world and to fail to recognize their own privilege as having a relationship to other people’s problems. The explorers were somewhere in the middle, as they tended to report that direct experiences with locals had changed their perspectives and led them to reflect on mistaken and even racist views they had previously held, but they were often skeptical of having their experiences mediated by the program and hence chose not to take advantage of intellectual supports, so they tended to have a shaky grasp of international relations and their consequences. The other groups tended to voice highly resistant views with regard to dominant western discourses.

Lessons from a Floating School

Given their critical framing and humanitarian missions, study abroad programs would seem to be fertile ground for the cultivation of discourses of resistance to traditional hegemonic western views about the rest of the world. Why, then, is this mark not being hit with more precision in the case of SAS? The answer seems to lie in the collision between the program’s many roles and its enmeshment in a regulatory framework that constrains and enables particular discursive outcomes.

First, although SAS is a nonprofit organization with humanitarian goals, it nevertheless competes with a variety of other organizations for students’ tuition and travel dollars, including not only other educational programs, but also brokers of pleasure travel. Thus, it can not fully escape the binds of a capitalist economy, in which revenue is generated not through public and private investment to further the greater good, but through effective competition for customers’ attention—a condition not likely to change anytime soon, given the present milieu of increasing “privatization” of higher education, in which U.S. universities are increasingly being forced to rely on nonstate funding sources. This “privatization” is, in turn, part of a larger ideological trend in western society in which education is increasingly being redefined as a commodity for advancing individual achievement rather than as a social good. Thus, especially in terms of its marketing practices, SAS is likely beholden to broader discursive norms in order to sell its program to potential participants and their tuition-paying families. Like other brokers, the program must to some degree engage standardized images, or “hooks” (MacKay & Fesenmaier, 2000), to attract participants to the destinations it features.

What complicates matters, however, is the simultaneous presence of a growing movement toward social responsibility in tourism marketing (e.g., Macbeth, 2005; Buzinde, et al., 2006; Yaman & Gurel, 2006)—a discourse to which SAS is clearly not immune, considering its representational choices in depicting its own student body. In its brochure and on its website, the program was careful to illustrate the racial and ethnic diversity of its participants to the point of vastly *overrepresenting*

particular groups (despite institutional efforts to increase shipboard diversity, SAS's student body continues to be almost exclusively white). Clearly, the program wants both to communicate a commitment to diversity and to represent itself as an atmosphere in which students hailing from various backgrounds will feel comfortable and will experience academic and social success, and those behind the helm of its marketing efforts are obviously visually literate with regard to these goals. Apparently, however, this discourse of social responsibility in marketing has not penetrated deeply enough to induce critical reflexivity in terms of the way the *toured* are represented.

This combination of progress with regard to depicting tourists and stagnation with regard to depicting hosts has interesting implications. If diversity and hybridity—and the cultural complexity they connote—are represented as features of cosmopolitan western society, whereas nonwesterners are depicted as being racially and culturally pure, isolated from the effects of globalization and crosscultural contact, then an old binary is being articulated in a new way: the West is dynamic, progressive, and complex as exemplified by the diversity of heritages that compose it and identities that are possible within it, whereas the Rest are simple, backwards, and unchanging. Such a discourse effectively uses western bodies of color to make arguments about western cultural superiority (ignoring, of course, the messy fact that those whose bodies and identities contribute to this image of a glorious western cosmopolitan utopia generally lack equal access to the spoils of western hegemony). Thus, SAS teaches us that race is not merely used to mark exoticism in tourism texts. It functions in more complex ways to create myths about Self and Other that reveal new discursive patterns—patterns which rearticulate old biases in new ways in the face of changing understandings of race, ethnicity, and identity in western society.

In terms of visual production, both SAS's marketing efforts and its students' photographic perceptions also operate within a larger realm of reigning aesthetic norms. Clearly, SAS wants to visually represent the beauty of the world; this is one way of paying respect to each destination on the itinerary. Aesthetics, however, are not a natural but a cultural phenomenon; beauty may be only skin deep, but the notion of beauty is incredibly complex. At the dawn of the 21st century, the combination of globalization and the spread of the post-Fordist economy, in which individuals have increasingly come to rely on market products to define and communicate (an arguably even to understand) their own identities, has resulted in the foregrounding of racial and ethnic diversity in modern consumer-culture aesthetics, both because of corporations' increasing need to manufacture and market niche products and because of their need to find new markets for the ever more highly differentiated raw materials of identity in which they deal (Giroux, 1993). Race and ethnicity have become an increasingly frequently tapped well for fueling this production of niche products, as the popularity of everything from "world music" to "third world cinema" to ethnically inspired fashion readily attests. In the words of Davidson (1992, p. 199), "capital has fallen in love with difference." Such a situation has made it possible for traditional imagery of the Other, of the type featured in glossy *National Geographic* spreads—once the fodder of armchair anthropologists and geographers—to find a new home in the pages of fashion magazines and other venues of hip, youthful popular culture. Thus, when SAS seeks to advertise the people and cultures of the world as its products, it is acting not only under the influence of a contemporary travel culture which prizes 19th-century notions of exotic and untouched authentic Others, but also under broader 21st-century

pop cultural constructions of nonwestern cultures as edgy and intriguing, interpretations which have quite a grip, backed as they are by the interests of corporations whose lifestyle products they help to move. Thus, remnant colonialist fantasies and contemporary, market-driven aesthetic imaginaries work hand-in-hand: regardless of whether they key into modernist fantasies of the search for an authentic, primitive Other or postmodernist dreams of uniqueness, fragmentation, and identity differentiation, travel brokers find themselves working with the same aesthetic palette—and Semester at Sea is not immune from this language of difference.

In addition to the marketing challenges it faces, SAS is not unconstrained in the formidable task of how to frame the destinations it visits in shipboard coursework and other instructional forums. In creating its educational content, it must be mindful of norms regarding disciplinary canons in order to bolster its legitimacy as a grantor of credit. Unlike many study abroad programs, which gain their scholarly legitimacy through the promise that their participants will experience in-depth contact with the destination country (i.e., the immersion argument), SAS must defend itself as a very different type of educational travel program. Its format, with only one week spent in each visited country, is indeed often used to justify other institutions' unwillingness to accept students' work with the program for transfer credit. Fewer schools willing to accept SAS credits, of course, means fewer potential participants for the program, because most students can not afford to lose an entire semester of coursework while attempting to complete a degree. Resultant pressures in curriculum formation can thus lead to the coverage of standard course material, leaving less time for more critical approaches. To the degree that the current canon is critical of hegemonic understandings, though, such pressures can work in consort with SAS's goals of advancing less essentialized, more contextualized views of destination countries and promoting an ethic of compassion and global citizenship.

In its role as an educator, SAS is constrained not only by what it can teach but also by what students are able and willing to learn, as well as how they are willing to learn it. Problems associated with teaching complex course material to an often seasick, sometimes homesick, largely exhausted body of students, who are constantly being bombarded with new sensory and intellectual experiences each time the ship docks, clearly compound the ordinary workaday challenges associated with instruction on land-based campuses—and the latter are not insubstantial. The rise of the modern “infotainment culture” and “attention economy”⁹ is producing students who increasingly expect course material to be delivered in a format more akin to stand-up comedy than to the traditional academic lecture, and one would have to look hard to find an instructor (myself included!) who has not at some point bowed to this pressure and pitched students a factoid or example meant more to excite, delight, or shock than to convey truly substantive content: after all, part of successfully communicating a message involves acquiring and sustaining the intended recipient’s attention. When the subject matter is people—their histories, cultures, and daily realities—however, the situation can

⁹ This is the idea that, in an age of intense information saturation, human attention is a much sought after commodity. This situation leads to the proliferation of increasingly sophisticated and sometimes outlandish methods of garnering this desired resource, which in turn leads to changes in the way humans expect to receive information.

become problematic, because the easy grab is often something that can unintentionally lead to exoticization and stereotyping.

Fortunately, SAS is not confined to the lecture format in its facilitation of educational content, and when it supplements coursework with other types of instructional activities such as field practica and interport guest presentations, things tend to work out better. Field practica are almost inherently stimulating because they involve direct, visceral engagement with sites in host countries, so students' attention is virtually guaranteed. Interactions with interport guests are also direct and unpredictable, so students tend to tune in a different way than they are sometimes wont to do in the classroom, and there is value itself in the demystification (Bruner, 2005) that occurs when students see a ship-visiting host, who had earlier donned an exotic costume and performed a traditional cultural demonstration, padding to the dining hall in her flannel pajamas or joining a table of students for a beer and a chat about the challenges of maintaining long-distance relationships in college. The program, however, is somewhat limited by students' desires and expectations in terms of the kinds of control it is able to seek over mediating the travel experience with these sorts of activities. If, for example, SAS required students to engage with host countries primarily through field practica, or if it ceased to offer package trips to landmark locations within host countries that result in students spending much of their port time in the "tourist bubble," many potential participants would undoubtedly be put off. Thus, SAS must walk a fine line: it must be sufficiently engaging and offer enough freedom for student pleasure-seeking to induce participant interest, while simultaneously pursuing its mission to transform students' worldviews.

SAS is also beholden to the perceptions of its clientele in another sense. As noted, it is charged with ensuring students' safety, as well as with promoting an *image* of safety, which can be an altogether different task. Thus, it is sometimes forced to make itinerary choices that buttress stereotypical understandings of particular countries or regions. These pressures can derive not only from the immediate population SAS seeks to serve—students and their parents—but also from larger political forces operating in the United States. Regardless of its own views on the safety or appropriateness of visiting particular destinations, it must bow to State Department "recommendations"—a situation which has led it to cancel visits to countries at the last minute because of "instabilities" (e.g., Israel in 1997) and to avoid other ports of call altogether because of political unpopularity (e.g., Cuba until 2003). Thus, in some ways, SAS's role as a university-affiliated program is accompanied by a rather different set of ideological constraints than those facing brokers of mass tourism. Commercial brokers, whose allegiances are dictated by cashflow and whose customers are financially independent consenting adults, need only concern themselves with meeting consumer demand; if doing so flies in the face of government ideologies, safety related or otherwise, then so be it. Programs like SAS, on the other hand, risk losing their mainstream legitimacy as institutions worthy of respect and the trust of students' parents if they too flagrantly challenge reigning political institutions.

Finally, SAS students' discursive production must also be interpreted in light of the many factors that mediate their experiences and the way they represent what they have encountered. As noted, an SAS voyage is, for many, an intellectually and emotionally saturating experience. There is something

almost surreal about circumnavigating the globe, visiting 10 countries on four continents in 100 days. Many postmodern philosophers (e.g., Baudrillard, Boorstin, Eco) have written extensively about the notion of hyperreality, a condition in which consciousness becomes unable to distinguish reality from fantasy. This condition is usually characterized as being the product of a media-saturated world, in which real phenomena are repeatedly represented in diverse, fragmentary forms, and simulations which look like reality, but whose only value is symbolic, abound. Objects are taken as truth, when in fact they are only simulacra—representations based on other representations.

In this hypermediated existence, the line between real phenomena, simulations, representations of reality, and representations of simulations begins to blur; reality gets lost in the sea of possibilities. An example of hyperreality at work can be seen in the band U2's both playful and serious critique of this condition of postmodern consciousness through a performance vignette featured in its 1992–1993 "Zoo TV" tour, in which frontman Bono wields a giant remote control, flipping through a series of channels whose content is displayed Andy Warhol-style in a repeating grid on the faces of individual television monitors that compose a wall of visual media. Using his remote control, Bono cycles through footage of military combat, sports matches, news reports, and soap opera dramas, illustrating the way that real events and seductive fantasies have come to live side by side, each receiving equal weight and being expressed in the same visual language in the undifferentiating virtual space of television.

Contemporary communication technologies are not the only developments that can help to throw individuals into a state of hyperreality, however: transportation technologies can do this as well. Modern transportation capabilities, combined with unprecedented levels of disposable income in some areas of the world, mean that actual places can be experienced viscerally in rapid succession to a degree not heretofore possible. Contemporary tourism allows for an intense juxtaposition of the real, and this uniquely modern experience occurs in the context of an already hypermediated world populated by substantive phenomena and simulacra alike. It thus becomes easy to imagine why a trip like Semester at Sea can leave students' heads spinning. Visiting each port feels like stepping through a surreal gateway into an unfamiliar world already in progress, from which one can, after the space of a week, retreat equally seamlessly, as though he or she were simply switching channels on a virtual-reality TV.

The challenge to consciousness in the face of this activity is to cling to anything substantive. SAS students accomplish this in different ways. Some pursue direct, concrete human connections. Others retreat inside themselves, sometimes dangerously so. Still others rely on the educational supports provided by the program to help them cognitively navigate what they are witnessing. Some students cling to their previously held frameworks of organizing information, processing what they experience in ways that reinforce earlier conclusions, such that the trip becomes nonthreatening. Some simply give in to the wash of stimuli. Most experience a mix of these outcomes. Thus, both the rapid-fire format of the program and students' individual personalities, which affect the way they engage with program supports, have a bearing on the way they are capable of processing the information they take in.

Students are also not unconstrained in the way they represent their voyages, especially when they are doing so formally, through a document like a yearbook. Like program marketers, students exist in a cultural milieu that privileges particular aesthetic codes which, at the moment, tend to be codes of difference. Furthermore, one of the goals of collectively authored memory products like yearbooks is to tell a story that will resonate with participants on a general level. Photos are of little use if they can not be interpreted in a meaningful way by members of the audience for which the yearbook is intended—in this case, both SAS participants and their families at home. Thus, language is, in some senses, inherently essentializing because it simplifies reality in order to unite communication partners around shared meanings. And unfortunately, the default visual vocabulary of modern tourism is steeped in traditional fantasies of the authentic Other. Such patterns are hard to break, living as we do in a culture characterized by amazingly low visual literacy, despite the centrality of images to 21st-century human existence (Rose, 2001). Without this literacy—a prerequisite for reflexive engagement with the way we ourselves communicate visually—it is easy to unthinkingly replicate the images that already surround us.

The challenges of furthering resistant discourses through tourism—even through nonprofit educational tourism—thus appear daunting. Global capitalism and its attendant pressures are not likely to disappear anytime soon, and education is a tough business to be in these days for other reasons anyway. Although there is no doubt that knowledge has become fashionable, as everything from the popularity of broadcast media like the History Channel to the success of quasi-academic entertainment ventures like Oprah's Book Club clearly attest, the rise of the attention economy and other forces leading to the generally hyperreal condition of postmodern existence create a discursive landscape that tends to favor sexy, fragmented soundbites over complex and well-developed arguments. Thus, the hybridization of the information and entertainment genres is producing a cultural milieu in which phenomena like educational tourism will arguably become more popular, at the same time that other forces are operating simultaneously to produce a citizenry that is becoming less willing and able to engage substantively with that which it encounters. What educational tourism benefits from, however, is its human capital. Educators can frame encounters for tourists in creative ways that can incite their interest and help them to see beyond the bounds of traditional imaginaries. This doesn't always happen: educators are products of the same discursive milieu as everyone else and are in some ways prone to making the same types of generalizations and misattributions that logically arise in a society that is heir to a vast and continuing history of unfairly acquired privilege and that has a vested interest in producing ways of seeing the world that legitimate that privilege. But it *can* happen, and when it does happen, it is a transformative force to be reckoned with. Educational programs must determine where their agency does lie and then work actively to practice behaviors that live up to their noble ideals.

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'Students preferred learning styles and the importance of curriculum content: a study of Norwegian tourism and hospitality students'

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ABSTRACT

This Norwegian study explores the learning style preferences of first, second and third year students in Tourism and Hospitality Programmes. Comparing the findings with an UK/Australian study, this study uncovers interesting differences in learning style preferences amongst UK/Australian students and Norwegian students. In addition, the importance of the curricula content is discussed in relation to the findings of changing learning style preferences between first, second and third year students, which indicates that learning styles can change. An approach to explain this phenomenon is to consider the theoretical content of curricula, in relation to the goal of developing students to become philosophical practitioners (PP). The study concludes that if the aim is to develop PP the content of the curriculum has to be modified accordingly, and that even though learning styles are important for how and what students learn, the content of the curriculum is also of importance.

INTRODUCTION

Tourism is one of the largest economic sectors in the world (Sharpley, 2003), and the demand for educated employees to fill related work positions is rising. Academic programmes in tourism and hospitality studies are offered in an increasing number of nation states (Formica, 1996, Airey and Johnson, 1999, Lashley and Barron, 2005, Dale and Robinson, 2001), including several Third World countries (Mayaka and Akama, 2006), and are essential contributors to the development of tourism. Nevertheless, hospitality and tourism instructors still face major challenges in preparing students to become part of tomorrow's workforce (Smith and Cooper, 2000).

In 1996, Sandro Formica published a study of tourism and hospitality education in Europe and America which examined programmes and future trends. Up until the 90s, the curricula had been based on a training that was skills-oriented. Even so, as the tourism world was changing and expanding, thereby affecting society, the curricula also had to modify, to improve the knowledge of the students who would soon become the future employees of the tourism industry. As Formica (1996) saw it, the trend in European education was to move away from a traditional vocational approach by recognizing tourism as an academic field of inquiry. Later research by Morrison and

O'Mahony (2003) also claimed that there was an international movement that supported the liberation of hospitality education from its vocational base. The literature, too, reinforces the inclusion of social sciences in the curriculum by balancing vocational and action-oriented studies with liberal and reflective ideas (Morrison and O'Mahony, 2003). As a result, students will learn more when exposed to social sciences, when they can reflect on the connection between real life experience and various theoretical ways of understanding society (Morrison and O'Mahony, 2003). However, according to Mayaka (2006), Tribe (2002) and Smith and Cooper (2000) there still seem to be too few guidelines or strategic plans when it comes to the development of tourism education. In addition, there appears to be a lack of agreement concerning the content of tourism programmes (Airey and Johnson, 1999) and the programmes vary widely in their approaches and philosophies (Williams, 2005). Another challenge for such education seems to be the tension between the needs of the tourism sector and the demands that education ministries make in many parts of the world (Smith and Cooper, 2000). The content of the curriculum is consequently essential and lies at the heart of education (Horng, 2004). A study of the curricula in the UK further reveals that they may not have changed as much as expected or needed. Nor are they significantly concerned about students' understanding of the future of tourism. According to Tribe (2002), curricula in tourism studies in the UK are not well developed. They are too vague and under-theorized. Either they focus on vocational and practical studies, or else they are too theoretical and liberal. A curriculum that emphasizes vocational action is aiming for students to work in the tourism industry; here both extrinsic goals and technical efficiency are important. This type of functional degree comprises programmes that offer students a more practical expertise of a particular area of the tourism sector (Dale and Robinson, 2001). But these kinds of curricula have been widely criticized (Airey and Johnson, 1999). Maximizing profit and satisfying the tourist is the main dichotomous goal. This limited objective, according to Tribe (2002), contributes to a tourism society that consists of only producers and consumers. Further, Morrison and O'Mahony (2003) claim that students who graduate may be deficient in their ability to reflect on the industry.

Liberalism and academicism (theoretical) curricula, on the other hand, have been criticized for not acknowledging the importance of work in the real world, and for not being sufficiently realistic or practically meaningful. Their emphasis is not on application, and their courses do not prepare their students for the world of employment (Tribe, 2002). A liberal and academic curriculum can also be criticized for being too theoretical and not taking the industry's needs seriously. To have a curriculum that is liberal and reflective can lose the "realistic perception of what is either socially desirable or practically meaningful" (Tribe, 2002: 347). There is also little emphasis on the practical use of taught skills, and students are insufficiently prepared for the jobs that await them when they graduate. As Tribe puts it, it can be a way of getting into a world of philosophizing, seeking a refugee from the real world (Tribe, 2002).

Since neither alternative is complete, it thus follows that graduates should have skills that include both liberal and vocational action and be liberally and vocationally reflective. They will then be able to meet the needs of the industry, as well as being philosophical enough to understand the complexity of the tourism world (Tribe, 2001, Tribe, 2002, Morrison and O'Mahony, 2003). The term

"philosophical practitioners" (hereafter PPs) is used by Tribe (2002) to describe the competence required for developing a tourism of the future. These graduates will be able to:

'...operate in a philosophical mode and recognize the partiality of the world of operations and technical problem solving. Their philosophical development would enable them to transcend this partial world and tune in to the bigger picture with its complex world of tourism – both the business and non-business domain of the phenomenon – by utilizing a broader range of tourism knowledge' (Tribe, 2002:349).

Even though the curriculum is vital in the students' learning process, in becoming PPs there are also other important pedagogical influences. Conventional approaches to education ignore individual differences in how students learn and assume that they 'are uniform in processing and organizing information' (Arthurs, 2007:2), but recent research establishes that there can sometimes be huge differences in how individuals learn. Educators then encounter a multitude of possible approaches to learning when they meet with students in tourism and hospitality programmes. If the content of the curriculum is one factor of substantial influence on what is learned, the other important factor is how the individual student learns. This point is made by Lashley and Barron (2005), who argue that what students learn is connected with how they learn, and this again is reflected in their learning style preferences (Shaw and Marlow, 1999). There is a distinction to be made between what is called "cognitive style", i.e., how the individual receives and processes information, while learning style also 'includes cognitive functioning and indicates general preferences for methods and environment for learning' (Arthurs, 2007:3). Thus, as cognitive style is a psychological approach, learning style is a broader concept, building on socio-cultural, environmental, physiological and pedagogical ideas. There is strong evidence to support the idea that when students enter a study programme they have a preferred way of learning (Arthur, 2007, Baron and Lashley, 2005, Kolb, 1984). But it still needs to be investigated whether this is a permanent position or whether it changes with the experience of being taught according to curricula and to certain ways of teaching traditionally in academic institutions.

In the present case it will be asked whether individual learning preferences change during the years of education, and if the importance of the content of the curriculum has an influence on changing learning styles. In other words, this paper is trying to further develop acknowledge of how tourism and hospitality students learn. Taking the same point of departure as Lashley and Barron (2005) in examining students' preferred learning styles, this study considers the effects of being in a study programme for two and three years on learning style preferences. Its main aim is to contribute to an increased understanding of how tourism and hospitality students learn to strengthen the educational foundation for developing tourism for the future.

THE CURRENT STUDY

According to Lashley and Barron (2005), it is important to take into account what kind of learning style preferences students have when they enter higher education. Learning style is a factor that includes the cognitive, the psychological and the affective; it thereby indicates how students respond to the environment of which they are a part (Duff and Duffy, 2002).

There is a wide range of positions to take in explaining how individuals learn. Within psychology, they vary from how the brain cells send signals to how children learn from their peers and how the environment influences learning processes (Reed, 1988, Benjafield 1992, Aronson et al., 2005). But according to Cathy Hsu (1999) educators have paid too little attention to how people learn. It is vital that educators have knowledge of and give attention to learning to enhance students' learning. One can also say that it is important to know more about learning since every person has his/her own preferences of individually learning and individual ways of problem-solving in everyday life. These preferences or these cognitive strategies are called learning styles and are acquired through socialization. 'Styles refer to people's preferred ways of using the abilities that they have' (Zhang, 2004:1551) and how they engage in learning processes (DeCapua and Wintergerst, 2005). Such styles comprise individual differences in learning and are, according to Slaats, Lodewiks and van der Sanden (1999), relatively stable ways of orienting the individual towards learning. Learning styles are said to contribute to academic success and therefore must have classroom implications (Busato, Prins and Elshout, 2000, Budd 2005). Learning styles can also differ according to age, culture, strategies, educational background and different situations (Barmeyer, 2004, DaCapua and Wintergerst, 2005).

The approach of this Norwegian study was the same as that of Lashley and Barrons (2005) precisely because it was considered of great interest to compare Norwegian with UK/Australian findings. The main theoretical perspective derived from Kolb (1984) who adopted a social constructive position on learning. Kolb stated that learning is a circular process containing four different points ranging from learning from experiences to abstract thinking, where the main issue is that students will have to approach their learning from the level they are on when the learning process starts. This means that some will have to begin with practice and experience while others can go into a more reflective process. As in the UK/Australian study, the Norwegian investigation was based on a variation of Honey and Mumford's (1986, 2000) questionnaire as developed by Barron and Lashley (2005), which measured four different learning styles. This was a modified, alternative version of Kolb's points of learning (Shaw and Marlow, 1999, Duff and Duffy, 2002).

In the study the students were classified according to the following four categories of learning style preferences (Lashley and Barron, 2005):

Activists: those who learn through their own experience of concrete situations. They are doers and immerse themselves in new experiences. They are focused on the present and often open-minded, flexible and enthusiastic (<http://www.mftrou.com/honey-mumford.html>).

Reflectors: those who learn through processing information from experiences and observations. They are observers, cautious, prefer to collect information and analyse it, take their time to come to a conclusion and are focused on the big picture (<http://www.mftrou.com/honey-mumford.html>).

Theorists: those who learn through connecting information to coherent theories and models. They use logic to solve problems, prefer rational approaches and are objective. They are able to assimilate disparate facts into coherent theories (<http://www.mftrou.com/honey-mumford.html>).

Pragmatists: those who learn through using new information to apply to practical situations and problems. They like to put their ideas and theories into practice, search for new ideas and experiments, are quick to act and have confidence in their own ideas (<http://www.mftrou.com/honey-mumford.html>).

Curriculum and the philosophical practitioner (PP)

There are many ways of describing what a curriculum is but in this study it is assumed to be a degree programme (Mayaka and Akama, 2006), like a bachelor qualification in hospitality and tourism. Most of the Norwegian students who entered tourism and hospitality programmes had previous experience from the curriculum of Reform 97 (primary and secondary school) and Reform 94 (upper secondary school). These reforms were guidelines for the curriculum of Norwegian schools at a lower level of education, introducing among other things new plans for learning. The reforms aimed at motivating the students and also increased their personal learning orientation (Broadhead, 2001, Aasen, Priøtz and Stensaker, 2004, Lillemøy 2002). The pedagogical guideline was activity learning with thematically organized work, responsibility for their own learning, the use of drama, project work and play (Haug, 2004). It comprised learning adjusted to each and every student so that everybody could be accepted in an inclusive school. The students moreover were expected to reflect and ask questions (Lyngnes and Rismark, 2002). This meant that there were more active students, and having more active students in turn meant that teachers had to expand their repertoire of teaching styles, they had to let the students lead as long as they did not lose direction (Broadhead, 2001). The curriculum being taught in lower education therefore, might have contributed towards developing the learning preferences of students prior to their entering higher education, and have oriented them in the direction of an activist learning style and maybe a reflector learning style as well.

When entering tourism and hospitality education in Norway the students were introduced to a curriculum different from that to which they were accustomed. The content of a bachelor degree comprises the courses contained in the programme's curriculum. The curriculum is then the key to understanding what kind of knowledge and competence students are supposed to end up with when they complete their degrees. The content and progression of the curriculum vary considerably between different colleges and universities and between different national approaches. It is not unreasonable to assume that curricula reflect the understanding of what is appropriate knowledge from the point of view of those who develop the curricula. This means that curricula represent a number of different understandings of what hospitality and tourism studies should be and hence, also what is needed to develop tourism. In such an educational context, tourism can be viewed either as an industry or an academic field, and this perception is reflected in the curricula. The content of these curricula must then be different; one will educate practitioners for the industry and the other will educate theoreticians who can work within research and education. Some curricula will try to balance both sides, and be open for the student either to continue education on a higher level towards a specialization or to be qualified for a job within the industry after a bachelor-degree. It is almost impossible to compare the many different curricula of tourism and hospitality studies, and to contrast them in detail. However, it is possible to compare their general characteristics; for example, when a subject on the curriculum claims to be vocational one can assume that it is. Although the

Norwegian curricula of tourism and hospitality in this study varied from college to college, what they had in common was that during the three years of study the students pursued subjects that were quite theoretical. They were also quite similar when it came to the main goal of competence that the students were meant to achieve through the acquisition of their bachelor degrees.

In what follows, the content of the bachelor-degree in tourism at Finnmark University College, (FUC) will be presented in order to illustrate how the curriculum seeks to develop a certain kind of knowledge, regarded to be necessary for the aim of the degree-programme.

The focus of the curriculum of the bachelor degree in tourism at FUC is to educate students to become responsible leaders in small/medium sized businesses and at the same time qualify for entry to a theoretical master-degree programme. The subject mix in the curriculum reveals this duality, as do the pedagogical approaches adopted.

The first semester of the first year starts with an introductory course where the students are presented with the duality of tourism; it is a social phenomenon, and hence studied from within social sciences, but it is also a business and an industry and therefore other perspectives are necessary. The goal of the curriculum, as one of the colleges states, is to 'educate candidates with knowledge, competence and the ability to analyse tourism as a phenomenon, as an economic activity and as a sector of the society locally, nationally and internationally' (authors' translation, Finnmark University College, Study Plan for a Bachelor Degree in Tourism and Hospitality). The students explore this through the literature and via familiarization visits to tourism attractions and businesses. Further it is stated in the curriculum that it is important to educate workers who are reflective. For Lashley (1999) it is important to have teachers who understand the preferences that students have on learning, but it is also important to move students into modes that are more reflective and theoretical. The Norwegian students therefore have to write reflective papers on specific subjects and on general issues important for understanding the dual nature of tourism.

In the first semester, they also follow a course in psychology, introducing them to how the human mind works especially connected to issues important for tourism, such as how humans make decisions, how they perceive, how they relate to others, how emotional responses work and what they are. It is required that the students write papers. The writing is thoroughly supervised by the lecturers, so that the students' final version of their paper has been through several rounds of guidance.

In the second semester the focus is on theoretical approaches; in particular, the idea of experience is looked upon from psychology, economics and nature based tourism, and a course in the sociology of tourism extends the understanding of the role of the social sciences in tourism studies. The semester finishes with a course which is very practical; it deals with the relationship between host and guest and the students are trained in how to lay a table, welcome guests, plan and prepare hospitality arrangements and so on.

This mix of theory and vocational knowledge is maintained through the second year but the focus is principally on marketing and economics. In the fourth semester the students are offered an international semester where they can go abroad and learn a foreign language, Spanish, for example. In the third year, various theories are advanced and put into practice; the students are required to use the theory on different assignments where they “go out” into the world and examine a destination or a business. Again, they must write papers on the subjects they examine.

Towards the end of their bachelor degree, the students write a major bachelor thesis. This thesis is written at the request of and in cooperation with a tourism business, looking into aspects of the business that the business wants help with improving and/or developing. The students are required to write the bachelor thesis within a scientific framework, using social science methods and relevant theories, collecting and analyzing data, and writing a conclusion.

In such a mix of theory and vocational work, the lecturers need to work closely with the students. The students are supervised through all their assignments, and they can contact their instructors for guidance at almost any time. The teachers pay close attention to the students’ development. Classes are usually organized with the lecturer introducing the theory and then encouraging the students to debate the subject. Students are given assignments and often work in groups with these. Quite regularly representatives from local businesses are invited to talk about their companies and the students visit local enterprises to learn from their experiences. The students, when finished after three years, are well equipped to work within the tourism industry and doing practical work, but they are also qualified to start on a master degree.

This Norwegian study therefore suggests that the Norwegian curriculum in tourism and hospitality is more closely linked to what Tribe refers to as the “philosophical practitioner” (PP), that is to say: ‘graduates who deliver efficient and effective services while at the same time discharging the role of stewardship for the development of the wider tourism world in which these services are delivered’ (Tribe, 2002: 338). The needs of graduating students are therefore not only practical in the way they think, but also take into account and responsibility for the wider society of which tourism is a part (Tribe, 2002). The aim of the PP is to strike a balance between satisfying the business and the demands of the society. The PP curriculum then has the purpose of educating students who can perform actions, but also of educating students who can reflect over what kind of possible action that can be taken without testing every one of them. Critical thinking should be brought into the vocational courses. The student should be able to explore different theories about tourism and then be able to use them later on. The students will then be able to look at tourism not only from a business point of view, but also from perspectives of anthropology, sociology, the environment and philosophy. The curriculum, then, ranges from the practical to the theoretical. The idea is that instead of a curriculum being only geared towards vocational action, it should include reflection, and liberal reflection should include liberal action. The curriculum is meant to become more philosophical. The students focus on what might occur, not just on what is happening today. A philosopher is someone who engages in action. Tribe’s idea is much like the ideas of learning that Schon (Hallett 1997) proposed when it came to teaching the curriculum. It was important that the students reflected on practice. Following the intention of the philosophical practitioner, to get the

curriculum to work the teachers influence on learning plays an important part. Being taught in accordance with the curriculum it is important to encourage the students to become philosophical practitioners. '...we have much more profound effects on students' abilities, ways of thinking and remembering, than we have so far imagined' (Alton-Lee, 2006:612).

RESEARCH APPROACH

As in the Lashley and Barron (2005) study, a variation of the Learning Style Questionnaire (LSQ) by Honey and Mumford (2000) was used to collect data relating to students' learning preferences in three Norwegian colleges. The colleges represent three of the most important institutions which offer degrees in tourism and hospitality. Among these three, there is only one that offers a masters degree in tourism. As the goal for this study was to collect data that could be compared with Lashley and Barrons' findings, the same multi-item questionnaire was translated from English into Norwegian. The translation was straightforward, since the questions were such that they were as meaningful in Norwegian as they were in English.

The questionnaire was constructed in such a way as to separate out different types of learning preferences by asking the respondents if they agreed or disagreed with 80 different statements. The instrument had four parts. 20 statements picked out the Activists, 20 identified the Reflectors, 20 questions addressed Theorists, and 20 focused on Pragmatists. Using a five point likert scale, where 1 was strongly disagree and 5 was strongly agree, it was possible to calculate the score of each student within each category, and thereby decide within which learning style preference category the student belonged.

The questionnaire was distributed in spring 2006, and within a period of two months the data were collected. The instrument was handed out to students in class and answered under the supervision of the lecturers. The latter had been previously briefed about the questions and were able to assist the students if necessary without suggesting the answers.

Compared to the study of Lashley and Barron (2005) the present inquiry also included students in different years of their degree course. The reason was simply that the researchers wanted to find out if the learning preferences differed between the beginning and the end of the programme, which again might suggest that curricula are important in changing learning style. This meant that the data included students from the first, second and third years of their bachelor degree.

Furthermore, this study included first year students ($n=25$) responding in writing to open-ended questions of why they had chosen to study tourism and hospitality and what they wanted to do when they graduated. These questions were given only to first year students in one of the colleges as a part of one lecturer's preparation for teaching. As the findings were seen as interesting in relation to the data collected in this survey, they are therefore included in this paper. The data were collected in class. The data provided information about how the students viewed tourism and the tourism industry, and thereby said something about what kind of education the students were motivated for and expected to have. This was of relevance to understanding their learning style preferences.

The sample

In total, 190 questionnaires were collected from students from Finnmark University College (FUC), Lillehammer University College (LUC) and the Norwegian College for Travel and Tourism located in Oslo. In debating whether the sample was too small to provide reliable findings, one argument was that in Norway, according to Statistics Norway (http://www.ssb.no/utdanning_tema) in 2003/2004 the numbers of students finishing an education were 31500. In 2005 in FUC 9 students completed their bachelor degree in tourism or hospitality and 64 finished their degree in tourism in LUC. Compared to the Lashley and Baron study, the countries of Australia and United Kingdom had a great many more students. In 2004 there were 540,000 degrees awarded by universities in the UK. This illustrates that if a total of 361 students in a UK/Australia study was judged to be adequate, *a fortiori* the same would apply to the findings from a sample of 190 Norwegian students with a much lower statistical universe.

FINDINGS

Lashley and Barron's (2005) study of first year hospitality and tourism students suggests that they had strong preferences when it came to learning styles. The students preferred learning styles that were active and concrete rather than learning styles that were abstract and reflective. The Norwegian study showed similar findings, but differed somewhat when it came to preferred learning styles.

Figure 1: Learning style preferences

The reflective learning style

Only 8.5 % of the Australian students and 20 % of the UK students preferred a learning style that was reflective (Lashley and Barron, 2005). The Norwegian study, on the other hand, showed that 32.6 % of the Norwegian tourism and hospitality students preferred learning that was compatible with the reflector learning style. According to Mumford and Honey (2000) this means that many of the Norwegian students need time to prepare themselves and look into and observe different perspectives. Their actions are carefully prepared and they will listen to the views of others before they give their own. Even though most of the UK and Australian students were not reflector oriented, when it came to preference of learning, the Confucian students, like the Norwegian students, favoured precisely this kind of learning style. The question is whether this had more to do with the kind of curriculum that they were used to or the fact that their culture differed from the other students. To get students that were reflective was according to the Norwegian curriculum one of the most important goals, i.e., teaching the curriculum seemed to be working for most of the Norwegian students.

The activist learning style

Quite a large percentage of the Norwegian students (30.6%) had preferences for the activist learning style, i.e. they like and learn from new situations, experiences and problems, and work well when they are challenged. For them, situations that are not predictable are exciting. They are enthusiastic at first but then lose patience after a while. The activist learner is also one who likes to work with other people. Such a result from this study was quite compatible with that of Lashley and Barron, but

there the percentage was much higher than in the Norwegian study. 74.4 % of the Australian students and 68.5 % of the UK students had strong or very strong preferences for the activist learning style. On the other hand, the majority of the Confucian heritage students did not prefer the activist learning style. Only 22.1 % had a strong or very strong preference for this kind of learning. The big difference between the Norwegian study and the UK/Australian study might have had something to do with the curricula being taught. The Norwegian curricula focused on the reflective and theoretical side of the tourism industry, but it was still important to be practical. One of the curricula says: 'Through the study you will get a thorough knowledge about tourism as a business..... We also have good connections with the industry, so it is possible for you to network even while you are still studying' (authors' translation, Study book, LUC).

The pragmatist learning style

26.3 % of the Norwegian students preferred a Pragmatic style. The Australian and British study showed that 10.6 % and no students respectively strongly agreed with this learning style. The difference from the Confucian Heritage students was also quite striking, where 14.9 % of them preferred a pragmatic learning style (Lashley and Barron, 2005). The Pragmatic students learn by practical experience. For the pragmatist there must be an obvious advantage to learning, the concepts should be applied to the work they are doing. This kind of learner is quite practical. In the Norwegian curriculum there was not so much a focus on practical experience, i.e. they do not get practical experience by working at a hotel or elsewhere in the tourism industry while studying, and this may have influenced the results of the study.

The theorist learning style

The Norwegian study further showed that there were rather few students who preferred theoretical learning styles – only 10.8 %. This figure was more compatible with the study of Lashley and Barron (2005) where just 6.3 % of the Australian students and 10 % of the UK students had strong or very strong preferences for this kind of learning. The students with Confucian heritage had quite strong preferences for this kind of learning, 46.8 % of them had strong or very strong preferences. Theoretically oriented learners are perfectionist, thorough and rational. The ways they process information are through incorporating it into theories and models. They always consider all the alternatives; indeed, a meaningful approach for such theorists to gain knowledge is by tackling complex problems. (Lashley and Barron, 2005, Shaw and Marlow, 1999). Even though the Norwegian curricula were quite theoretical, the study showed that few students preferred this kind of learning. The reason for this situation is that students learning the goals of the curricula will come to appreciate a less practical way of learning.

When comparing the Norwegian study with the study of Lashley and Barron's students, the findings suggested that the students had diverse learning preferences. The majority of the Australian and the UK students were activists (Lashley and Barron, 2005) and the Norwegian students were to a greater extent more activist and reflector learners. The Confucian students in Lashley and Barron's study, on the other hand, were not activists, but reflector oriented. It seems when it came to the preferences of theoretical learning styles, the Norwegians and British/Australian students were quite similar, i.e., they did not particularly like the theoretical learning style.

First, second and third year students

Norwegian curricula taught during a 3 year programme varied between the different Colleges and were altered from time to time; hence they had an effect on the result about learning styles and the way the present study was contrasted with that of Lashley and Barron. The Norwegian curricula were both theoretical and active, and the aim of the study was to have students who were able to reflect. The curricula in the United Kingdom were according to Tribe (2002) under-theorized. In comparison to the UK/Australian study this study also looked at second and third year students. This of course may have had a consequence for the findings whilst comparing the two studies. By categorizing students' learning preferences in first, second and third years, the Norwegian study was able to see whether the students' learning preferences changed over time, that students became more agreeable to the curriculum and to the way universities and colleges taught on a higher level.

Figure 2: Learning style preferences in first, second and third year:

When comparing the Norwegian first, second and third year students, this study found that 35.2 % of the first year students preferred activist learning styles. This was a compatible result to the study of Lashley and Barron even though their percentage was much higher. Subsequently their learning preferences were reflective, 33.8 %, and as the UK and Australian students they were the least theoretically oriented. Interestingly this study compared to the UK/Australian study, the Norwegian students had a much stronger percentage of reflective learners. During their 3 year study programme the Norwegian study found that the students became less activist oriented when it came to what style of learning they favoured. Apparently the Norwegian students became more pragmatic and more reflective learners or had these preferences. What is interesting is that actually 21.1 % of all Norwegian third year students had learning preferences that were theoretical. This was approximately 10 % more than both the Norwegian first year students and the Australian and UK students. On the other hand, 46.8 % of the students with Confucian heritage had a strong or very strong preference for the theoretical learning style (Lashley and Barron, 2005). As pointed out earlier, this seems to have been affected by the way the curricula were being taught. The first year was quite theoretical, which does not explain the fact that students preferred the activist style. The students, though had for years practised a learning style that was more activist and it would have taken time to change the preferences for learning style that were compatible with the curriculum that was PP. In the second year a large percentage of the students were pragmatic. This was the year where students went abroad to learn languages or to complement their education with something other than the studies in Norway could contribute to. The courses given were not as theoretically oriented as in the other two years. The third year again was quite theoretical and then the results showed that more of the students preferred learning styles that were theoretical. The chi-square analysis showed that there were statistical differences between learning style preferences and year of study ($\chi^2 = 10,941$, $df = 6$, $p = 0.09$).

A longitudinal study by Lashley (1999) of learning styles among students in hospitality management programmes seems to support some of our findings. They suggested that these students preferred to learn from concrete, action based situations when entering the programme. In addition they showed little preferences for the reflective and theoretical learning styles which actually make reflective

practitioners. It is therefore vital to take into account what kind of learning styles the students prefer, but also to move them into reflective practitioners. The programmes and curricula then should be shaped to the students' learning preferences. Interestingly the study revealed, as our study also does, that it was possible for students to change learning styles over a period of time. The study of Lashley, though, suggests that changes in learning styles may have had more to do with maturation than teaching and learning strategies. However, the results showed that learning styles changed and the students became less activist and more reflective, theorist and pragmatist than when entering the programme. This is the same as the results of our study of Norwegian students.

Previous study experience

An additional finding that is interesting in the Norwegian study is whether the students had previous study experiences in an institution of higher education. This indicated that previous study experience could lead to a greater knowledge of curriculum and learning styles in higher education and therefore the student would be more comfortable with the curriculum and the learning style than novice students. It was therefore expected that students with previous study experience would have a more reflective or a more theoretical preference for learning.

Figure 3. Learning style preferences and previous studies in higher education.

The study indicates that this might have been the case for the Norwegian students. 31 % of the students who had no previous study experience in higher education preferred activist learning, compared to 25 % of the students who had studied before. This suggests that previous experience has something to say about entering higher education again. Compared to the Lashley and Barron study, the students with previous experience are quite different to the students of their study. The ones who had studied before were, as we expected, more theoretically oriented than the ones who had no study experience, 9.9 % compared to 13.6 %. This is not a huge difference between the UK and Australian study, but we can see that the students with no study experience are more compatible with the UK/Australian students. If the students had studied previously, 34.1 % were Pragmatics, but if they had not studied before they were mainly reflectors. The fact that a large percentage of the new students were reflective when it came to learning preferences may not be as surprising as the curricula before entering higher education can be both reflective and active in teaching styles. Although the chi-square analysis showed no statistical differences ($\chi^2 = 2,801$, $df = 3$, $p = 0.42$), it however showed some tendencies suggesting a significant relationship between learning style preferences and previous study experience which we believe could emerge in a larger sample.

Findings from the qualitative study

In the qualitative study of first year students answering questions about why they had chosen to study tourism and hospitality and what they wanted to do after they had graduated their answers varied. But what was common for most of the first year students was that they had previously travelled a lot and this was something they wanted to explore more. To investigate new cultures also seemed to be an important motive for the students. Other reasons that were given were the contact with other individuals. There also seemed to be a need for understanding tourists and customers. Some of the students had travelled a long way. They had seen poverty and how rich countries or

peoples exploited the poor; they thus looked upon education as making a difference. Some of the students focused on the importance of sustainable tourism. Others again regarded it as a great opportunity to start a company of their own. There were students who already had a working experience from the industry and now wanted an education to develop and to seek more knowledge. Several students considered learning different languages as a reason for working in the tourism industry. There were students who emphasized the fact that they were practically oriented, and this was why they had chosen the study. The aim of going through a bachelor degree like this was for many to be able to work in the industry after completing their education. By looking at the answers that the students gave and comparing them to the first year students' learning preferences, the results of the Norwegian study indicated that most of the students were activist, and this might reflect some of the answers given, like those who wanted to have fun or liked to travel. Furthermore, like the activists, the students enjoyed to learn from new experiences and were triggered by unpredictable and exciting situations. Several of the students, as mentioned earlier, wanted to work with other people, which is compatible with the activist preferences. Other students again liked to focus and reflect on the problems that tourism could be a part of, being more like the reflector learner. Earlier observations when travelling made some of the students choose an education to deal with such possible problems. Like the reflector, observing was a way of preparing themselves for future jobs in the industry. A few of the students actually pointed out that when having previous experience in the industry it was important to get to know the theories and perspectives that lay behind the knowledge of tourism. This kind of statement could reflect the theoretical learning style. Even though these qualitative findings are insufficient to draw any conclusions, they might be seen as indicators of student approaches to the study of tourism and hospitality. In their approaches, it is possible to identify some thoughts that can be linked to the different learning preferences discussed in this article. Quite a few of the students do reflect on what to learn and why to learn it, but none seem to reflect directly on how to learn. To examine their learning preferences might therefore also contribute to developing students understanding of how they learn and thereby improve their studying situation.

CONCLUSION

Based on Lashley and Barron's study of learning preferences of Australian and UK tourism and hospitality students, a similar study was carried out on Norwegian tourism and hospitality students. The identified learning styles were activist, reflector, pragmatist or theoretical. The findings in the study of Lashley and Barron suggested that the students in their survey preferred a learning style that was activist. When students preferred a learning style that was activist, it was assumed that they learnt best while conducting assignments which were carried out in groups that decisions were made quickly, and that creativity was used. Whereas they liked to be challenged and new experiences did not frighten them, they were easily exhausted. On the other hand, if students were taught in ways other than in the learning style that they preferred, both students and teachers would have great challenges and the outcome would never be as good as desired. Lashley and Barron's advice was therefore to carefully take into account what learning preferences the students had and thereby have teachers preparing teaching that was compatible with the preferred learning style. The Norwegian study, by contrast, yielded a different result from that of Lashley and Barron. The Norwegian study, unlike the Australian/UK study, examined also second and third year students. The

reason for this was that it was considered reasonable to believe that the students could change their preference of learning styles, not so much because of what kind of learner they were, but rather because a different curriculum would have an effect on the way they saw or preferred to learn. This paper argues that preferences over learning styles may change as a result of the curriculum being taught and studied over the years. As noted previously, one reason is that learning styles can vary due to socialization, different ways of learning, different culture, etc.

During their first year, and even though the curricula were quite theoretical, the Norwegian students displayed preferences that were more in line with Lashley and Barron's year 1 students. It is argued that this had more to do with the new situation the students were in than the way they preferred learning styles and also the fact that students before entering higher education were used to teaching and learning styles and having curricula that were more activist and reflector oriented. To teach students according to curricula that were more reflective and theoretical seemed to change some students' preferred learning styles. To have students entering higher education who do not have theoretical preferences must have implications for teaching, and making theories more relevant to the students. The students with preferences that are not according to the PP we believe are possible to modify during three years of training. The curricula should contain a social sciences perspective, recognizing the need for knowledge of how tourism in all aspects influences the world. Hence tourism is much more than a mere business. It is further vital that the students be afforded the opportunity to reflect and philosophize over different themes and problems that are of importance to the tourism industry. The students then, when more experienced, would be more theoretical and reflective learners than activists. The Norwegian study also indicated that students who had studied previously when entering a tourism and hospitality programme preferred learning styles that were mainly not activist, suggesting again that experience had something to do with which learning style was preferred. If the aim is to educate PP the content of the curriculum has to be modified accordingly. This is not to say that taking students' learning preferences into consideration is not important, but we have to look equally at the curricula we teach to the future workers in the tourism industry.

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<http://www.mftrou.com/honey-mumford.html>

Figure 1: Learning style preferences.

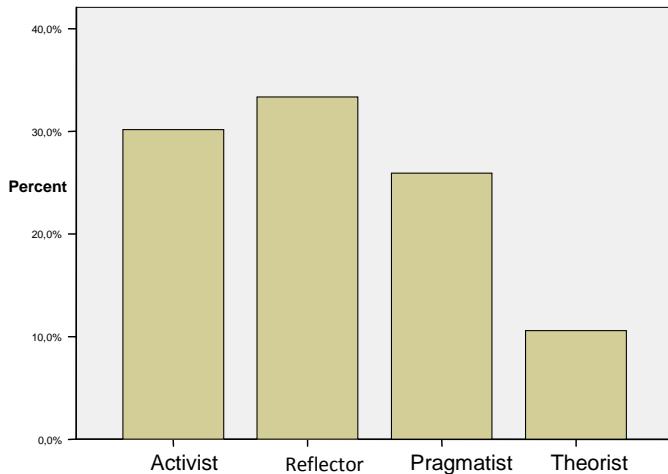


Figure 2: Learning style preferences in first, second and third year.

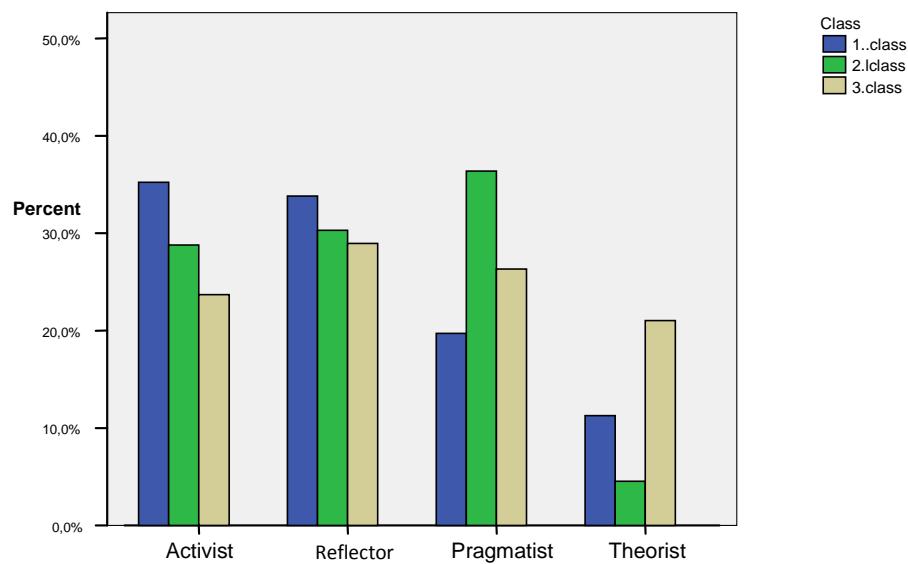
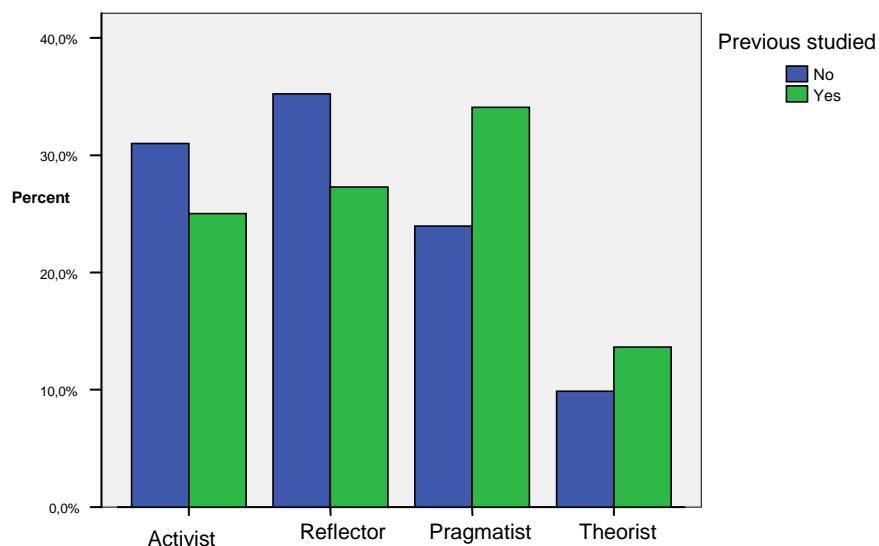


Figure 3 Learning style preferences and previous studies in higher education.



Tourism World

'An alternative vista – social entrepreneurs in tourism'

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1. Introduction

In the current economic climate the increasingly important role of the government is even more acutely clear. However there is a 'commonly held view that the welfare system cannot, and almost certainly never will meet all the demands placed on it.... When financial support is cut back... the shortfall issues become more acute, increasing the relative significance of the voluntary sector' (Thompson, 2002, p.412). There is increasing awareness in civil society of the important role of this third sector. Thompson (2002) notes how in January 1999 Tony Blair called on the British public to 'mark the Millennium with an explosion in "acts of community" that touch people's lives'. In Ireland following an identification of a decline in the number of people involved in volunteering deliberate efforts have been made to financially support and promote volunteerism as it is recognised that 'without volunteer managements many .. activities, [such as childcare, eldercare, health services, education, environmental, cultural, artistic and sport] which are so essential to a healthy vibrant society, would simply not exist'. (Minister Noel Ahern, Minister for Community, Rural and Gaeltacht Affairs, 2007). From an EU perspective More than 100 million Europeans engage in voluntary activities and a Euro barometer survey in 2006 revealed that ... close to 80% of respondents feel that voluntary activities are an important part of democratic life in Europe.

(http://www.engso.com/Data/European_Year_Draft_Campaign_Paper.doc)

This volunteerism can include helping out a local charity, providing assistance in schools, establishing a literacy group or support group for a marginalised group in society, organising fund-raisers, helping with a youth club, being on local community groups and being involved in sports clubs. The range and level of involvement can differ significantly from person to person. But what they have in common is the desire to make a difference, and offer time and expertise and skills for no financial gain. Leadbeater (1997) wrote a seminal piece identifying social entrepreneurs as individuals who played a significant role in the third sector. These are people who use their entrepreneurial skills to solve a social rather than a business problem. Thus they are an identifiable group within the voluntary sector as rather than them volunteering their time or skills when asked, they are more likely to initiate or lead a project and use their skills to bring it to fruition. The importance of social entrepreneurship is made clear by Neck, Brush and Allen (2009, p.18) who believe that 'social entrepreneurship is the engine of positive, systematic change that will alter what we do, how we do it and why it matters'.

This article seeks to explore whether the debate on social entrepreneurship has a place in the tourism literature. The next section analyzes the key issues in the literature on social entrepreneurship from the business discipline. The third section then explores to what extent these sorts of issues have been identified in the tourism literature. Section four then shows a number of ways in which the work of social entrepreneurs is evident in tourism referring to a number of case studies. The final section draws conclusions and highlights areas for further research.

2. Literature on Social Entrepreneurs

While the term social entrepreneur has been used to explain social change as far back as the 1970s, the term came to more widespread use in the 1980s and 1990s. However examples of social entrepreneurs can be identified throughout history. Commonly identified examples are those of Florence Nightingale, founder of the first nursing school and developer of modern nursing practices, Robert Owen founder of the cooperative movement, and Maria Montessori founder of the Montessori teaching method. A more contemporary example is that of Muhammad Yunus who won the Nobel Peace Prize in 2006 for his achievements in spreading the concept of micro-credit globally. A name commonly associated with Social Entrepreneurship is Bill Drayton who established Ashoka in the US in 1980. This organisation ‘works as a social venture capital fund, helping selected ‘Fellows’ with start-up funds to launch their ideas’ (Sen, 2006, p.534). According to Sen (2006) Ashoka has ‘pioneered the profession of social entrepreneurship and has invested in over 1,600 social entrepreneurs and is active in over 60 countries in 5 continents’ (p.536).

Interestingly academics have been relatively slow to start writing about social entrepreneurship. In 2005 the Social Enterprise Journal was launched in response to rising interest in the area. In an interview Bob Doherty the Editor of this journal stated that he believes that ‘academia is beginning to catch up and there are an increasing number of academics researching social enterprise. But [he thinks] that part of the problem is that within both business schools and social sciences departments people have an eye on the Research Assessment Exercise (RAE) and therefore tend to target the most highly ranked journals, which are very much focused on mainstream business and entrepreneurship, social enterprises are not their reviewers’ area’ (Adolphus, 2005) Nonetheless interest in this area is definitely rising and major business schools such as Stanford, Harvard and London School of Business now offer Social Enterprise programmes or engage in research or support for social entrepreneurs (Sen, 2007).

There is much debate about what exactly social entrepreneurship is. As Peredo and McLean (2006, p.56) state ‘commentators, both scholarly and popular, and advocates of every kind, understand it in a variety of ways’. It combines the passion of a social mission with an image of business-like discipline (Dees, 2001), and thus is something that changes the way voluntary organisations operate and source their finance. Or as Johnson (2000, p.1) states social entrepreneurship can be something much more as it emerges as ‘an innovative approach for dealing with complex social needs’. This combination of business and social objectives is clear according to Bill Drayton’s definition of social entrepreneurs as ‘individuals who combined the pragmatic and results-oriented methods of a business entrepreneur with the goals of a social reformer’ (Sen, p.536). Thompson (2002, p.414) divides social entrepreneurs into two groups, those who ‘are clearly seasoned and successful business entrepreneurs and executives who wish to “put something back” into society.. [while] many others.. are either much less experienced in business or less aware of what they are taking on at the outset or both. They are people on a voyage of self discovery and they often start with only limited self-confidence.. they are driven by a cause’. The Social Entrepreneurship Initiative based at Stanford University has developed a description of social enterprise that reflects this diversity. They argue that social enterprises can be classified in one of three ways: as for-profit organisations which use their resources to creatively address social issues; as not-for-profit organisations which help individuals

establish their own small, for-profit businesses or, as not-for-profit ventures which create economic value to fund their own programmes or to create employment and training opportunities for their client populations' (Shaw and Carter 2004).

It is important in order to fully understand the concept of a social entrepreneur that it is distinguished from other terms which are often used interchangeably with it such as voluntary organisations and non for profit firms. Voluntary sector organisation are usually established as charities and funded primarily through donations or grants. By contrast social enterprises 'operate as businesses that sell a "product"; their net revenues provide the financial means to enable social objectives to be pursued'. Some groups have both of these elements such as Oxfam which is an established charity but has a trading arm which sells products to make money for the charity. (Hare et al 2007, p.114). Clearly the distinction here is in terms of where money is sourced. There is increasing pressure on charities to become social enterprises with the recognition that there is not enough public money to sustain all of the charitable and community work that exists.

Then there is the issue of profits. Do all social entrepreneurs have to have exclusively social goals or run non-profit organisations? According to Dees (2001, p.2) mission-related impact becomes the central criterion, not wealth creation. Wealth is just a means to an end for social entrepreneurs. However Fowler takes a broader view (2000, p.645) believing that social entrepreneurship 'usually translates into using commercial undertakings to cross-subsidise social interventions'. The Big Issues is based on the idea that the profits made by the magazine are then used to support homeless people. Fowler (2000) classifies it as "integrated social entrepreneurship". Thus it is feasible for social entrepreneurs to run not for profit organisations, but equally they could run profitable enterprises from which they then use the wealth gained to address a social issue.

How to blend these social and profit objectives is an issue of concern. According to Fowler (2000, p.646) 'the art of integration is to marry developmental agendas with market opportunities and then manage them properly so that they are synergetic not draining. Too often this is the Achilles' heel for NGDOs. Rather than synergy, there is contamination, leading to reduced effectiveness and to long-term viability'. This is a concern expressed by Seanor and Meaton (2007 p.91) who say that 'some are concerned that this strategic and "rational" emphasis upon a business-like approach and financial management may lead to social mission "drift" '. The concern here is that as voluntary and non-profit organisations become social enterprises their social objectives will have to be modified to take account of more entrepreneurial concerns. From a more sectoral perspective Mc Brearty (2007, p.67) fears that "social enterprise" has been hijacked as part of a modernisation agenda'. Seanor and Meaton (2007, p.95) report how the voluntary groups in their sample 'all have business plans, possibly hastened by funding criteria, which do not appear as the "dog eared" tools Dees (2001) anticipated but instead sit untouched on shelves and in cabinets'. This portrays voluntary groups who are moving towards social enterprise as often necessitated for funding requirements, but which still see themselves as belonging to the community sector and focussing on their social objectives. And in fact Thompson (2002) discusses the fact that many would not consider themselves to be entrepreneurs, and may actually feel uncomfortable with that terminology (Thompson, 2002).

What then of corporate social responsibility? This is when companies donate money from their businesses to a particular social cause. The reasons for doing this can be due to a genuine interest in the social issue or charity, but as Peredo et al (2006) note "cause branding" can also be very profitable for businesses. Neck et al (2009) observe that 'Social responsibility is undeniably important, but it does not equal social entrepreneurship' (p.14). They believe that the category of social entrepreneurship is determined by the founding mission and market impact. Similarly Bill Drayton (as cited in Sen, 2007, p.540) clearly sees a distinction between social entrepreneurship and corporate social responsibility and altruism. He states that 'social entrepreneurs are typically not socially responsible business leaders, directors of enterprises promoting sustainable development, managers of non-profit organisations, ideologues or theoreticians'. By contrast Peredo et al (2006) observed a 'continuum of possibilities, ranging from the requirement that social benefits be the only goal of the entrepreneurial undertaking to the stipulation merely that social goals are somewhere among its aims'. They say that while it is 'tempting to trim common usage [of the term social entrepreneurship] to not include cause branding or corporate social responsibility' there are good reasons not to and they conclude that 'social entrepreneurship is the presence of social goals in the purposes of that undertaking'. (p.63).

A final area of interest in the literature is with how to measure success. Traditional entrepreneurs measure his or her success in terms of profits. Clearly this is not a key indicator for a social enterprise so objectives have to be modified to meet the social goal. Certo and Miller (2007 p.268) make the point that 'performance measures for social entrepreneurship are less standardized and more idiosyncratic to the particular organisation'. Thompson (2000, p.414) says a 'basic test of the value of any individual initiative is the extent to which it would be missed if it were no longer in existence'. Bull (2007) takes a more diagnostic approach and develops 'Balance' as a method of measuring performance in social enterprises. Sharir and Lerner (2006) attempt to explain factors which affect the success of social ventures referring to issues include the entrepreneurs' social network, dedication and the entrepreneurs' previous managerial experience.

3. Social Entrepreneurs in the Tourism Literature

Having discussed the key issues of debate in the Business literature on Social Entrepreneurship this section asks whether the tourism literature has dealt with this issue. Morrison et al (1999) list and discuss a number of types of entrepreneurs in the tourism and hospitality sectors. This includes copreneurs, ethnic entrepreneurs, female entrepreneurs and family run businesses. The authors also note that 'Entrepreneurship has the potential to be applied across institutions of all types: commercial firms; charitable organizations; and public-sector-controlled hospitals, retirement homes and leisure centres. Thus the idea of social entrepreneurship has been noted but few in the discipline have dealt with this issue. This is probably reflective of the lack of published academic research on entrepreneurship generally in the Tourism and Hospitality journals as observed by (Li, 2008)

In 2005 Johns and Mattsson wrote an article with two case studies showing how entrepreneurs can aid the development of a destination. One of those cases was of Arve Opsahl a Norwegian art dealer and gallery owner who had the artist Anthony Gormley's 20m high sculpture The Angel of the North constructed on Sola beach in Stavanger. This resulted in a key attraction which increased tourism

numbers significantly. The authors classify Opsahl as a social entrepreneur but the discussion is primarily about how these individuals had a role in destination development rather than the issue of social entrepreneurship. The identification of this case combined with the cases below show that social entrepreneurs clearly do exist in tourism.

In rural tourism, key community leaders often play leading roles in the development of tourism products and destinations. In many cases these individuals may have used entrepreneurial skills to solve problems that rural tourism has to deal with and so are in actual fact social entrepreneurs. As discussed above, they may not like to classify themselves as social entrepreneurs and instead think of themselves as community activists or leaders but nonetheless according to the literature they fit into this category. There are also cases where local tourism businesses may sponsor local events from which they know that their firm will benefit. This is an example of cause branding or corporate social responsibility.

The other place where the topic of this research is discussed is in Pheby's (2007) chapter where he discusses social enterprise in the UK Tourism Industry. He highlights some examples of social enterprise in terms of a Millennium project in Cornwall and a community project in County Durham. This current research adds to Pheby's findings by focussing on the social entrepreneur and identifying examples of social entrepreneurship in Ireland. Furthermore it supports Pheby's key argument that 'social enterprises do play a role that is valuable within ..the tourism industry.'

Given the sparse mention of social enterprise and social entrepreneurship in the literature to date the question then is whether as academics we need to create a space for social entrepreneurship in our academic landscape, whether we need to introduce this concept in a stronger way into our lexicon and begin to use it to describe the many ways in which we have been identifying this activity?

To aid our decision regarding the relevance of this concept for the industry and discipline the next section will present case studies of examples of social entrepreneurs from tourism. The empirical research for this section involved in depth semi-structured interviews with the individuals, and document analysis of various reports and minutes of meetings. The findings are exploratory in nature and the case study approach provides us with a depth rather than breadth of knowledge and this is appropriate considering the fact that this issue is only beginning to be identified in the tourism literature. It is hoped that the discussion that this generates will illuminate numerous other examples from countries, tourism destinations and sectors across the world.

4. Identifying the important role of Social Entrepreneurs in Tourism

Case A: A Social Entrepreneur attempting to alleviate poverty in a developing country via tourism

Brody Sweeney is a successful entrepreneur who owns O'Briens Sandwich Bars. This is a franchise business which has 300 stores across Europe, Africa, Australia, Asia and the Middle East, and according to Kehoe ([2007](#)) is understood to have annual revenues of more than €100 million. Sweeney built up this business from his first shop which he opened in Dublin more than 20 years ago. Due to a personal connection Sweeney became involved as a sponsor in the Special Olympics in 2003. This experience influenced him significantly and he said that it had a hugely positive impact on

the O'Briens business. This idea of corporate social responsibility then extended to a two year association with The Christina Nobel Foundation.

As this arrangement came to an end Sweeney, with a friend Philip Lee (who also runs his own business) began to discuss how they would like 'to give something back' and had the idea of trying to aid development in Africa by creating a project which would help in a different way to the aid agencies and government and supranational bodies. They believed that while these institutions all provide aid to a country to help them with the basic needs that the country has, Sweeney and Lee wanted to take a business or entrepreneurial approach to aiding development. The key objective is 'to stimulate the country's economic activity, by stimulating local businesses', this will then provide the government with the necessary funds to aid national development and build houses, schools and provide clean water. Thus the social objective of alleviating poverty would be gained via local entrepreneurial development aided by Irish expertise. The country that they chose to help was Ethiopia. Sweeney says that the key factors which influenced their choice of country was advice from people working with Irish Aid who had worked in a variety of countries, the fact that Ethiopia was a designated priority country for Irish Aid, the fact that English was the mother tongue and that it was a relatively safe country to visit and that the government was not corrupt and had a clear interest in alleviating poverty.

When they visited Ethiopia it became apparent that there were three areas in which most assistance could be given: coffee, textiles and tourism. These were the businesses where it seemed potential for assistance was the greatest and that Ethiopia might have comparative advantages in these sectors, with an abundant supply of good quality coffee, efficient low cost textile production and an unexploited tourism potential. For the purposes of this paper we are most interested in their activity relating to tourism. Through Connect Ethiopia Irish business people visit and work with their Ethiopian counterparts to help them to develop their businesses. To date this has happened with a range of businesses including textiles, photography, music, coffee, hospitality and tourism.

Sweeney believes 'that it is not our job to tell the Ethiopians what to do, they tell us what the problems are and then we can see how we can help'. Although Ethiopia is double the size of France it only receives 60,000 tourists annually. This is in spite of the fact that it has a rich resource of cultural and religious sites in the country. As Ethiopia is such an extensive country it was decided that Connect Ethiopia would concentrate on one area and one product and then when this had developed, this experience could be replicated across the country. The key tourist attraction currently in Ethiopia is Lallibela which has a number of historic churches. These churches are said to be 'among the most extraordinary architectural creations of human civilization. Each church is sculpted, both inside and out, directly from the living bedrock of the earth' (http://www.sacredsites.com/africa/ethiopia/sacred_sites_ethiopia.html)

Most visitors to these churches only come for a number of hours and consequently, or perhaps the explaining factor for this is, that there is no real spin off tourism enterprise. The potential for accommodation providers, souvenir shops and tourism activities is huge and this is an area that the connect Ethiopia group is planning to develop.

In November 2008 following a number of visits to the area and extensive discussions between the Irish and Ethiopian members of the group it was decided that a business plan should be developed for a development of and branding of a Historic Route. This area covers four towns Bahir Dar, Lalibella, Axum and Gondar and this product will be branded along the lines of the "Inca Trail" and "El Camino de Santiago". The objective is to encourage foreign tourists to visit and experience these historical and cultural sites. Specific objectives for the first three years include a) increasing the number of tourists to Lalibela from 8,000 to 20,000, b) increasing the number of nights tourists stay by developing added attractions and developing additional sources of income, c) to develop a Western standard website and d) to help develop two hotels in each city to a minimum 3 star world standard. Connect Ethiopia is currently awaiting government approval for the business plan.

This is a clear example of a social entrepreneur. Brody Sweeny has set his objective to make a difference and stimulate business activity in Ethiopia as a way of aiding economic and social development. He is specifically using entrepreneurial and business practices as the way in which to achieve this goal. The aim is to create an international tourism product and while it will take a number of years to see if this comes to pass, if it does then the social gains for whole communities will be huge. The aim is then that this success can be replicated across the country and with other tourism products. This has been a deliberate decision not to act in a social corporate responsibility way by simply donating money to a charity who does work in Ethiopia. Instead Sweeney has taken a much more personally active role; he actually spent last year concentrating on the work of Connect Ethiopia. He is using his knowledge, skills and contacts to attempt to solve a major international social problem. His vision is also far reaching as he believes that if Irish entrepreneurs can successfully aid Ethiopia, then business communities in other EU countries should do the same and work with other African countries. While the scale of the challenge is enormous, this social entrepreneur has risen to the challenge and utilises his, and other Irish peoples, entrepreneurial skills to attempt to create significant social and economic change in Ethiopia.

Case B: Social Entrepreneur developing an eco-tourism product in Ireland

This is quite a different case of social entrepreneurship, it describes the role of Mary Mulvey in the development of eco tourism in Ireland.

Economic development in Ireland is uneven and 'the border and midland counties in general have the lowest household income of any region' (Sheehan, 2009). Tourism tends to be an important industry in rural local economies but in Ireland tourists are concentrated in Dublin city which accounted for 28.6% of all overnight stays in 2007. By comparison the worst faring regions are East and Midlands accounting for 9.6% and the North West only for 7.5% (Failte Ireland 2007). As small rural communities these areas need to provide a source of sustainable income to ensure their long-term existence and development. With this in mind the Western Development Commission which is responsible for economic and social development in Donegal, Sligo, Leitrim, Roscommon, Mayo Galway and Clare developed a Blue Print for Tourism Development in the West. They divided the region into three zones and for zone three targeted specialist interest tourism product development. The primary objective was to find a way to utilise the natural resources to encourage tourism

development. A number of options were analyzed and it was decided that establishing eco tourism as a specialist tourist product in counties Leitrim, West Cavan, Fermanagh, North Sligo, South Donegal and North West Monaghan as a project worth pursuing. This is how the Greenbox emerged.

Eco tourism was seen as a viable and unique way of attracting particular tourists to this region. The objective was to encourage and aid firms in the area to develop eco tourism products so that tourist could gain accommodation, attractions, food and activities that were eco friendly.

Mary Mulvey is CEO of the Greenbox. She began working with Green Box in mid 2005. Her background was in Tourism Heritage, Community tourism, event management and the Arts. Her central belief is that tourism development should be bottom up and her key objectives in Greenbox were to establish that eco-tourism exists in Ireland and can be developed as a viable tourism product, increase awareness of the possibilities from this sector, and from a more local perspective attempt to attract tourists to the Greenbox area as a source of local economic regeneration.

Initially this organisation relied upon grants, particularly cross border grants, in order to develop and sustain its activities. In 2006 Greenbox secured €1.4 million INTERREG funding to establish two flagship eco-tourism projects (one North and one South of the border) and 42 smaller projects employing eco-friendly practices. This funding was utilised extremely successfully and there is now a niche of 40 eco tourism enterprises operating in the area, and flagship projects include Lough Allen which is Ireland first Ecotourism Activity Centre, Orchard Acre Farm which produces and sells organic food and engages in training and consultancy relating to ecology and sustainable lifestyle and Ard Nahoo Health Farm. Another vital development has been the creation of a Greenbox website to aid marketing. During this period Greenbox developed Irelands first all island Ecotourism label which is internationally accredited, developed a Responsible Tourism Skillsnet, and in partnership with the Institute of Technology Sligo Greenbox delivers a National Certificate in Ecotourism.

In a broader sense the concept of Eco tourism has been established in Ireland, and Mary believes that one of her greatest achievements is the fact that while there was no national Ecotourism policy in 2005 Greenbox is now mentioned in the programme for government. Furthermore with continual meetings and lobbying with government and national agencies, Mary has 'worked hard to ensure that ecotourism and responsible tourism is always represented in their plans and policy developments'. She believes that her 'work with Greenbox has helped transform the policy of responsible tourism in a wide range of agencies at national, regional and county level'.

Greenbox, and indeed Mary's role as CEO, has changed considerably in the last 15 months as the funding programme is now completed and the organisation has had to rely on commercial income on a project by project basis. This transformation has occurred by building on the strengths developed during the funding period. While activities were funded in the early years, the organisation built up a network of eco tourism providers in the area and developed key skills which they now rely on. Income now is achieved from a variety of sources: providing train the trainer programmes, providing training on eco-tourism for firms, mentoring business owners and providing individual solutions for

businesses. In addition the website which is a key resource for attracting tourists is run on a membership basis so this provides a steady income stream.

As the evaluation report on Greenbox states 'with 44 projects added to the Greenbox area INTERREG funding has 'certainly added mass 'but it is early days, and it would take a few tourist seasons to mature and develop before the return on investment could be judged' However it is clear that to date Greenbox has resulted in the development of a cluster of eco tourism producers, it has established itself as having a central role in training, product development and marketing of eco tourism products in Ireland and it is these strengths which will provide income for the group as it moves forward. Importantly the existence of Greenbox and the efforts of Mary Mulvey have brought the issue of ecotourism and responsible tourism into mainstream policy discussions and documents. An indication of its success lies in the fact that 24 of the top 50 top eco destinations in the Eco Escape Ireland (2008) book are located in the Greenbox area.

First Western (2008 p.9) note that 'Greenbox is building a different and innovative product.. [and] this product is also one offering a competitive advantage to an underdeveloped area by promoting the very aspect which has historically prevented its development; peripherality, isolation, harsh landscape (in terms of agriculture production), and poor infrastructure in terms of road network, rail and air access'. The success of Greenbox will be determined over coming years in terms of the development of tourism in these marginalised counties, the increased awareness of eco tourism among tourism operators nation wide, and the inclusion of the concept of eco tourism in national tourism strategies and discussions.

What is clear is that Mary Mulvey and Greenbox have brought the concept of Eco tourism to the table for discussion and have shown that it is a viable option for rural areas seeking to utilise their natural resources to enhance their tourism potential as a way of creating economic growth and rural sustainability. It is a clear example of a social enterprise and Mary as a social entrepreneur has attempted to solve the social problem of underdevelopment in rural areas by encouraging and generating enterprise in a niche product. As Greenbox becomes more commercial the entrepreneurial nature of the businesses is likely to expand even more.

5. Discussion and Conclusions

The case studies presented show two examples of social entrepreneurs active in tourism – they have both engaged in 'an innovative approach for dealing with complex social needs' (Johnson 2000, p.1). Interestingly, and in line with discussions in the literature, neither classified themselves as social entrepreneurs. Sweeny represents Thompsons (2002, p.414) description of a 'clearly seasoned and successful business entrepreneur who wish[es] to put something back into society''. On the topical issue of the role of profits in their activities Sweeney's activities in Connect Ethiopia have been supported by finance from his successful business but at the moment the key costs of travel by Irish entrepreneurs is funded by each individual. Thus Connect Ethiopia is not profit motivated but cross subsidisation between Sweeney's interests helps to achieve its aims. Mulvey stated that 'Greenbox is non-profit by nature we earn income on the side just to support Greenbox'. In terms of the broader social entrepreneurship literature these cases throw up two interesting issue which will require

further study and analysis: Mulvey is more of an example of a career social entrepreneur as she has harnessed her skills and position in a social enterprise to create local social change and national perceptions regarding eco-tourism. Secondly Sweeney is a perfect example of how an individual can move between Entrepreneurship and Social entrepreneurship and exploring this further in subsequent research will add to the broader Social Entrepreneurship literature.

Both of these case studies describe work in progress and clear results cannot be identified yet, however if successful they will create significant economic and social change in the local areas in which they are active.

This needs to be of interest to tourism academics from a number of different perspectives: firstly in terms of individuals who influence tourism, secondly in terms of the role that they have in destination and product development and thirdly (and arguably most importantly) as social change makers who improve social and economic conditions, via tourism, for those in need of help. Across the tourism discipline social entrepreneurs are of interest to those interested in SMEs, entrepreneurship, destination development, product development, rural tourism, innovation in the industry and social equality in tourism. As academics we need to step up to the plate and embrace this newly emerging concept and incorporate it into our analysis, as there is no doubt that these individuals have an important role in tourism. Furthermore they utilize tourism to affect societal change and recognition of this is vital.

Further research avenues are plentiful, firstly there is the identification of other examples of social entrepreneurship in tourism, then there is the whole issue of whether social entrepreneurship could, or should, be created or encouraged either regionally or nationally. From a theoretical perspective there are many gaps in the general literature as regards definition and who should be classified as an entrepreneur and the case example above of an individual who is actually an employee of a social enterprise but operates in a social entrepreneurial way needs further discussion. The development of a typology of social entrepreneurs would be useful. The crossover and links between community leaders and social entrepreneurs in tourism would be a fascinating piece of research. The whole issue of cause branding is another one which resonates across hospitality and tourism firm internationally. The list is endless, as this is a blank canvas from a tourism point of view, so there is plenty of room for both theoretical and empirical research.

The first step, which it is hoped this article has taken, is to clearly identify that social entrepreneurship is a concept which is relevant to the tourism discipline. We need to take a broader view of community leaders, rural tourism, destination development and entrepreneurs and SMEs to include social entrepreneurs in our vista. Furthermore we need to add this concept to our lexicon and thus explore and develop our ideas in this regard.

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'Philosophy and methodological tradition of Hermeneutics and phenomenology in researching 'lived experience'

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Abstract

This paper explicates the philosophical and methodological tradition, underlying hermeneutics and phenomenology with the view to illustrate how they can be applied in a research design of a lived experience study. In particular, this study focuses on how the two approaches of interpretative hermeneutics and phenomenology could form the methodology to portray and interpret lived experiences of practitioners. The aim of this paper is to show the suitability of these approaches and how they inform the inquiry process. It does this by plotting the various theoretical and philosophical tenets that shape these two approaches, and suggesting how they can be combined as a methodology in tourism and hospitality contexts. An understanding of the philosophical tenets provided in this study can benefit the researcher by providing greater control, choice and creativity with the kinds of methods and techniques that could be adopted to conduct a lived experience study.

Introduction

Research in tourism and hospitality can benefit from the methodological application of interpretative-hermeneutics and phenomenology to gain deeper insights into 'lived experiences' of practitioners and consumers. The exploring of 'lived experiences' is still an under-researched area in tourism and hospitality studies. One of the difficulties of using these philosophical approaches in research is that scholars appear to *do* phenomenological and hermeneutic research but do not adequately explain *how* the philosophy was translated into a methodological application. Thus the methodological applications of these philosophies are often a very much a trial and error process for most novice researchers.

To address this issue, this paper explicates the steps involved in applying a interpretative-hermeneutic and phenomenological methodology to a research project to describe and understand human experience, the way both 'culture has taught us', as well as 'by disposing (as much as possible) how culture has taught us' in order to see how phenomena presents themselves to us in our own immediate experience. This brings together two different traditions of phenomenology. The latter is grounded in the classical paradigm of philosophers such as Heidegger, Husserl and Merleu-Ponty, and the former in the new phenomenological tradition seen in most applied studies. Crotty who is a proponent of the classical tradition explains that unlike the new tradition the classical one is "not about the gathering of other people's narrated experience but openness to our own in its immediacy. It is a revisiting of our own experience in a contemplative mode for the purpose of discovering, not how culture has taught us to understand phenomena, but how these phenomena presents themselves to us" (1996a:265-266). Classical phenomenology wants to suspend our pre-conceived cultural notions because it believes that "the particular set of meanings which our culture imposes has come into being to serve particular interests and will harbour its own forms of

oppression, manipulation and injustice" (Crotty 1996a:267). However, as van Manen (1990) who uses the new phenomenological tradition points out, it is impossible to completely dispose of culture to arrive at the 'facts' of our direct experience as consciousness in itself is an 'interpretative process' and its expression is grounded in language derived from culture. However, both approaches can be useful in research and this paper aims to explicate how to apply both approaches.

The practical use of these two approaches as a methodological tool was shown in the first paper that I presented at this conference (see Wijesinghe 2009) by examples taken from my PhD study which portrayed and interpreted the lived experience of women receptionists in the hospitality industry. In portraying and interpreting the lived nature of the hospitality reception experience, it is shown here how the methodological application of the philosophical tenets of phenomenology for the portrayal and hermeneutics for the interpretation can be useful. Thus, the focus of this paper is to discuss how these two approaches are suitable for researching lived experience and how they can be applied to an experience based research project. However, before proceeding on to a discussion of the philosophy underlying these approaches it is necessary to explain why it is necessary to understand the philosophy underlying a methodological design.

Benefits of understanding the philosophy underlying the methodology

Understanding the interrelationship between ontology (what is the nature of reality?), epistemology (what can be known?), and methodology (how can a researcher discover what she or he believes can be known?) is important in any research project. In terms of the research methodology, Easterby-Smith et al (1991, as cited in Crossan 2003) identify three reasons why the exploration of philosophy is important:

1. *It can help the researcher to refine and specify the research methods to be used in a study, that is, to clarify the overall research strategy to be used. This would include the type of evidence gathered and its origin, the way in which such evidence is interpreted, and how it helps to answer the research questions posed.*
2. *Knowledge of research philosophy will enable and assist the researcher to evaluate different methodologies and methods and avoid inappropriate use and unnecessary work by identifying the limitations of particular approaches at an early stage.*
3. *It may help the researcher to be creative and innovative in either selection or adaptation of methods that were previously outside his or her experience.*

In the following section the various developments towards philosophical hermeneutics, its basic tenets and the way in which hermeneutics has been interpreted by different scholars and how it can be employed in research are described. Next, the same process is followed for phenomenology, where its developments, starting from Edmund Husserl, are traced and key concepts discussed.

Philosophical hermeneutics: an introduction

Hermeneutics is the "theory and practice of interpretation" (van Manen 1990:179). The word derives from the Greek mythological character Hermes, whose responsibility was to understand and interpret the divine sayings of the Oracle at Delphi. Its contemporary meaning, as used in scholarly work is something akin to "the art of understanding and the theory of interpretation" (Weininger

1999:1). This definition combines two elements, around which there has been much philosophical debate over the centuries, in “working out the tension between the technical, theoretical task of interpretation and the art of understanding texts, historical periods, and other people” (Weininger 1999:1). The different ways in which hermeneutics has been understood is outlined next.

Traditionally, hermeneutics focused on understanding historical texts based on pretensions of scientific epistemology, where the reader would attempt to build a system of understanding by re-enacting the relationship between the author and original audience in an objective fashion (Honeycutt 1995). Schleiermacher (1977) opened up the debate leading to hermeneutics by referring to it as a theory or technology of interpretation, especially in relation to religious and classical texts. He argued that hermeneutics is necessary when there is a possibility for misunderstanding as in the above genre (religious and classical texts). His intention was to “understand an author as well or even better than he or she understands himself or herself” (van Manen 1990:179). The emphasis here is on the thought of the other person experiencing the world. Dilthey (1985), another pioneer of this tradition, was on the other hand, not interested in the thought of the other person, but the world itself, the lived experience which is expressed by the author’s text, as it is in this paper. Van Manen succinctly explains this “Dilthey’s hermeneutic formula is *lived experience* [emphasis in original]: the starting point and focus of human science; *expression*: the text or artefact as objectification of lived experience; and *understanding*: not a cognitive act but the moment when ‘life understands itself’ ” (1990:180).

In the twentieth century, hermeneutics was re-defined in a radical way by the publication of Heidegger’s (1927) *Being and time*, which shifted the focus from epistemology to ontology (Honeycutt 1995). Heidegger broke away from the epistemology, which insisted on separating understanding from interpretation to arrive at what was perceived to be objective secure knowledge. Heidegger argued that interpretation is influenced by the interpreter’s preconceptions, which remain as an integral part to all understanding. Interpretation is a cyclical process, which is referred to as the hermeneutic circle (Hogan 2000). This cyclical process of interpretation is embedded within an overlooked possibility of the most primordial kind of knowing (Heidegger 1927:195). Hogan points out that Heidegger believes that “in order however to realise this possibility, critical attention would have to be paid not only to what the interpreter was attempting to understand, but also to the interpreter’s own ‘fancies’ and ‘popular conceptions’ – to the preconceptions that remain ever active in steering such attempts” (2000:1). In this regard, it is difficult to escape the subjective element in an interpretation. Hence absolute knowledge is impossible: “It is because absolute knowledge is impossible that the conflict of interpretations is insurmountable and inescapable” (Ricoeur 1981:193).

Heidegger’s work was extended later by Gadamer and his fellow researchers. Gadamer adds that in interpreting a text, we cannot separate ourselves or escape from the meaning of the text, as understanding is not “an isolated activity of human beings but a basic structure of our experience of life. We are always taking *something as* [emphasis in original] something. That is the primordial givenness of our world orientation, and we cannot reduce it to anything simpler or more immediate”

(1970:87). “Understanding is always an interpretation, and an interpretation is always specific, an application” (van Manen 1990:180).

Application of philosophical hermeneutics to research

The hermeneutic circle is used in present day interpretative social sciences in interviewing to obtain an in-depth and holistic understanding of a particular text, or phenomenon. “The hermeneutic interview has a conversational structure: it is oriented to sense making and interpreting experiential meanings. The interview has a collaborative conversational structure that lends itself especially well to the task of reflecting on phenomenological meanings” (van Manen 2002). Philosophical hermeneutics is employed with phenomenology in research, whereby one of the tasks is to interpret the meanings behind descriptive phenomenological texts that have been obtained from respondents/co-researchers. My PhD study separated hermeneutics from phenomenology because one of the other tasks of my research was to look for fresh meanings. That is, to look at how the phenomenon (reception practice) declares itself in the mind – by setting aside as far as practicable the predispositions about the phenomenon. In the hermeneutic process interpretations are made with pre-existing values and ways of seeing the world.

In my PhD study, hermeneutics was used to understand and interpret the meanings associated with hospitality reception work. The task of hermeneutics was to interpret and articulate how practitioners made sense of their lived experiences. It worked in conjunction with phenomenology to do this. The expressive phenomenology (see Wijesinghe 2009) used in this study is located within a general hermeneutic approach. Ricoeur (1981) argues that hermeneutics and phenomenology presuppose each other. The connection between hermeneutics and phenomenology can be traced back to Heidegger, who took the term phenomenology from Dilthey to distinguish his own philosophical investigation of ‘everyday being’ from Husserl’s transcendental phenomenology, which tried to achieve objective knowledge by suspending concern for the subject’s life-world.

The next section discusses the philosophical outlook of phenomenology, which includes its foundations, ontology, and epistemology.

Phenomenology: an introduction

The term phenomenology is a compound of the Greek words *phainomenon* and *logos*. “It signifies the activity of giving an account, giving a *logos*, of various phenomena, of the various ways in which things can appear” (Sokolowski 2000:13). Phenomenology is a term that has been used in philosophy as early as 1765 and in Kant’s writings. Kant (1724-1804 as cited in van Manen 2003) used this term to distinguish between the study of objects and events as they appear in our experience (phenomena) and objects and events as they are in themselves (noumena). For Hegel, phenomenology signified “Knowledge as it appears to consciousness, the science of describing what one perceives, senses, and knows in one’s immediate awareness and experience” (1770-1831 as cited in Moustakas 1994:26). In other words, Hegel saw phenomenology as the science in which we come to know the *mind* as it is in itself through the study of the ways in which it appears to us (van Manen 2003). However, it was not until Edmund Husserl that phenomenology became a well-

developed descriptive method, as well as a human science movement based on modes of reflection (van Manen 2003).

The foundation of phenomenology

Edmund Husserl (1859-1938), a German mathematician and philosopher laid the foundation for phenomenology with the aim to “establish a secure basis for human knowledge” (Crotty 1996b). For Husserl, phenomenology is an attempt to describe how the world is constituted and experienced through conscious acts (van Manen 2003). His phrase ‘*Zu den Sachen*’ refers both to the things themselves and to the concept of ‘let’s get down to what matters!’ The idea was that phenomenology must describe what is given to us in immediate experience without letting the experience filter through preconceptions and theoretical notions. Since phenomenology was first developed, it has undergone many changes of expansion and refinement, and today there are many schools of thought within it. Scholars applying methods of phenomenology to their research projects employ an eclectic mixture of the different traditions of phenomenology. There are several phenomenological movements and traditions today which include, but are not limited to, transcendental, existential, hermeneutical, linguistic, ethical, and experiential and practice phenomenology (van Manen 2003). This study uses an expressive stance to phenomenological inquiry, which is based on the tenets of hermeneutic and existential tenets of phenomenology. A discussion of these various branches of phenomenology is beyond the scope of this study, but the philosophical tenets of phenomenology as applicable to the expressive method are discussed selectively in this chapter.

As the classical phenomenologist Spiegelberg notes “All phenomenology takes its start from the phenomena. A phenomenon is essentially what appears to someone, that is to a subject” (1959:75); for example, the phenomenon in the present study is the experience of hospitality reception practice. Phenomenology differs from other qualitative human science approaches such as ethnography, symbolic interactionism, and ethno-methodology in that classical phenomenology seeks to distinguish between *appearance and essence*. Appearances are obtained by looking at something, but essences are obtained by looking deep *inside* something. In other words, phenomenology does not produce empirical or theoretical observations or accounts. Instead, it offers accounts of experiences embedded in temporal, spatial, sensual, and human relations as we live them. Although this study is not directly concerned with essence of a phenomenon/experience as such, it is interested in the common elements in the experience. The aim of this study is to arrive at an in-depth understanding of the embodied common elements in the experience of hotel receptionist work and to portray the experience through personal stories that express its everyday lived nature.

Creating a phenomenological body of knowledge

It could be stated that the aim of employing the phenomenological attitude in research is to rise above and examine one’s predisposition to operate from the natural attitude. So, speaking metaphorically, one could say that the natural attitude is like a trap that limits our understanding of our experience, and the phenomenological attitude offers a way out of this trap. The way out of the trap is to study the trap itself, so that the way in which it has been assembled becomes clear. What

we are seeking to do with a phenomenological description, in this kind of research , is to provide an account of the trap, so that one could see how, piece by piece, its structure has come together to appear like a trap. The phenomenological description has two underlying components in this kind of research. That is, it is not just the trap as it *appears* that is being described, but also the *awareness* of the person in the trap. These two components are referred to as objectivised subjectivity and subjectivised subjectivity respectively (see Willis 2002), and it is precisely these two components that differentiate the tenets of classical phenomenology from the new empathetic phenomenology.

Descriptive account and phenomenology

In phenomenology, the assumption is that the meaning of lived experience is usually hidden or veiled from our immediate view. So, phenomenological description offers an account of our consciousness, which helps unveil the lived reality of our experience. Description is the essential function of the classical phenomenological approach. Consciousness is a subtle process that lies above and beyond words. Any words that are used are pale shadows of the reality. So, trying to describe what we see in our immediate experience can be difficult. As Crotty observes:

...the difficulty does not lie merely in seeing ‘what lies before our eyes’ (which Husserl saw as a ‘hard demand’), or knowing ‘precisely what we see’ (Merleau-Ponty said there was nothing more difficult to know than that). We will also experience great difficulty in actually describing what we have succeeded in seeing and knowing. When we attempt to describe what we have never had to describe before, language fails us. We find our descriptions incoherent, fragmentary, and not a little ‘mysterious’. We find ourselves lost for words, forced to invent words and bend existing words to bear the meanings we need them to carry for us. This has always been characteristic of phenomenological description. We may have to be quite inventive and creative in this respect (1996b:280).

This points out to the challenge in trying to use language to describe what we have seen in our immediate experience. What is experienced can never be adequately described in the way it is experienced without some form of hermeneutic or processing taking place. One may still find that one cannot retain a conceptual hold of this reality and articulate it. As soon as one starts thinking, interpreting or attributing any meaning, the reality that has been experienced gets reduced. What one may end up articulating is not the real thing, but a representation of it – a pale shadow of it (yet, it seems that this is better than not having attempted it at all). Van Manen citing the Dutch phenomenologist Buytendijk refers to this as the iconic quality of phenomenological description in human science research. He comments that “every phenomenological description is in a sense only an example, an icon that points at the ‘thing’ which we attempt to describe” (1990:122). He then makes the observation that an effectively written phenomenological description acquires a certain transparency which enables one to see the meaning structures of the experience, “A description is a powerful one if it reawakens our basic experience of the phenomenon it describes, and in such a manner that we experience the more foundational grounds of the experience” (1990:122). When writing a phenomenological description one attempts to describe different instances of the experience, to see whether the same foundational grounds of the experience come through.

Putting this philosophical trait into practice, Buytendijk's phenomenological nod refers to the ability of an effectively written phenomenological description to resonate with our sense of lived experience. Citing Buytendijk, van Manen explains the phenomenological nod as, "something that we could nod to, recognising it as an experience that we have had or could have had. *In other words, a good phenomenological description is collected by lived experience and recollects lived experience – is validated by lived experience and it validates lived experience* [emphasis in original]" (1990:27). This is also referred to as validating circle of inquiry.

Application of phenomenology to research

The phenomenology originating from the early philosophers is one concerned with ontology. From this ontology scholars have derived an epistemology, so that the tenets of phenomenology could be applied to researching lived experience. As a result, there are many different methodological applications of phenomenology. In articulating a methodological relationship, some have moved away from the tenets of classical phenomenology. Crotty (1996b) in his investigation into the way in which phenomenological approaches are applied in nursing research pointed out two of its applications, which he named the 'new' and 'classical' phenomenology which were described above. These were later referred to as 'empathetic' and 'intuitive' phenomenology' by Willis (2002).

The classical approach emphasises the objective aspect of experience while the new phenomenological approach emphasises the subjective aspect. Classical phenomenology is "A study of phenomena, i.e. of the *objects* [emphasis in original] of human experience. It elucidates what people experience" (Crotty 1996b:3); for example, it asks, what is the nature of the experience of hospitality reception practice? What are the elements that make up the experience? Crotty observes that classical phenomenology, "wants to elucidate, first and foremost, the phenomena to which people are attaching meaning. It pursues not the sense people make of things, but what they are making sense of" (1996b:3); for example, it focuses on what is hospitality reception practice as a phenomenon that receptionists experience *before* they make any sense of it. The new phenomenological research concerns the study of people's subjective meanings and the sense they make of things (Crotty 1996b:3); for example, what does providing hospitality reception service mean to those workers? What sense do they make of the common elements in their experience of hospitality reception practice?

In this research, the emphasis is both on the *sense* people make of things and *what* they are making sense of by using a mixture containing the tenets of both classical and new phenomenology.

Designing a study based on hermeneutic and phenomenology

The designing of a study that takes into account the philosophical tenets of hermeneutics and phenomenology is not an easy task. To devise a research process true to these philosophical traditions, Max van Manen (1990:30-34) provides six activities to follow. He makes it clear that these activities are only suggestions and not meant to be followed diligently or in the exact order in which they are listed.

Selecting a specific phenomenon

A phenomenological study is a very specific piece of work, as it is always undertaken in the context of a specific individual, social, and historical life circumstance, and researches a particular aspect of human existence (van Manen 1990:31). For this reason, van Manen points out that “[a] phenomenological description is always *one* [emphasis in original] interpretation, and no single interpretation of human experience will ever exhaust the possibility of yet another complementary, or even potentially *richer* or *deeper* [emphasis in original] description” (1990:31).

Investigating the experience as we live it rather than as we conceptualise it

Van Manen points out that all “experiential accounts or lived-experience descriptions - whether caught in oral or written discourse – are never identical to lived experience itself. All recollections of experiences ... are already *transformations* [emphasis in original] of those experiences” (van Manen 1990:54). The implication of this is that researchers need to find ways of collecting experiential accounts as close to the lived experience as possible, but keep in mind that these accounts are *not* consciousness directly streaming onto paper. Van Manen suggests a variety of ways in which lived experiential ‘data’ can be gathered as follows (1990:54-76):

- Tracing etymological sources
- Searching idiomatic phrases
- Obtaining experiential descriptions from others
- Protocol writing
- Interviewing
- Biographies, autobiographies and personal life histories
- Diaries, journals, and logs
- Art (poetry, novels, stories and plays)
- Phenomenological literature

Reflecting on the essential themes which characterise the phenomenon

Third, reflecting on what it is that constitutes the nature of the lived experience under study. The nature or the essential themes are the typical structures or characteristics of the experience. For example this study, involved reflecting on the question of what is the typical nature of women receptionists’ lived experience in the hospitality industry. In reflecting on this we have to bear in mind that in our everyday existence we may have taken for granted some of these typical characteristics. Van Manen states that “phenomenological research consists of reflectively bringing into nearness that which tends to obscure, that which tends to evade the intelligibility of our natural attitude of everyday life” (van Manen 1990:32).

Describing the phenomenon through the art of writing and rewriting

Fourth, writing a piece of phenomenological text is a lengthy exercise, because it needs to be crafted in such a way that the description takes on a certain transparency – “it permits us to see the deeper significance, or meaning structures, of the lived experience it describes” (van Manen 1990:122). For example, in this particular study, the ‘data’ that was collected by interviewing women receptionists has to be carefully crafted into episodes of practice so that the experience ‘comes to life’ for the reader, exhibiting its ‘lived’ or experienced nature.

Maintaining a strong and oriented pedagogical relation to the phenomenon

Fifth, the researcher is expected to be dedicated to uncovering knowledge about the phenomenon true to the phenomenological and hermeneutic traditions. Van Manen explains this as follows: “[t]o establish a strong relation with a certain question, phenomenon, or notion, the researcher cannot afford to adopt an attitude of so-called scientific disinterestedness. To be oriented to an object means that we are animated by the object in a full and human sense. To be strong in our orientation means that we will not settle for superficialities and falsities” (Piantanida & Garman 1999:33).

Balancing the research context by considering parts and whole

Sixth, it is important to plan a careful inquiry into the phenomenon and not get lost in the data or get sidetracked in other ways. Van Manen suggests the following guiding questions to map out the inquiry (1990:34):

- Is the study properly grounded in a laying open of the question?
- Are the current forms of knowledge examined for what they may contribute to the question?
- Has it been shown how some of these knowledge forms (theories, concepts) are glosses that overlay our understanding of the phenomenon?

In looking at these activities, it is possible to see an overlap with the criteria for determining good qualitative research that Piantanida and Garman (Piantanida & Garman 1999) have proposed.

Judging the quality of a ‘good’ qualitative inquiry

In the book, *The qualitative dissertation: a guide for students and faculty*, Maria Piantanida and Noreen Garman (1999:148) address the important question of how to meet the criteria of quality or ‘goodness’ in qualitative dissertations. They present eight criteria that can be used to judge the soundness of qualitative dissertations. These criteria are now explained.

1. Verisimilitude - this is one of the critical attributes that a phenomenological study should have. To judge verisimilitude one should ask, “Does the work represent human experiences with sufficient detail so that portrayals can be recognizable as ‘truly conceivable experience?’” (Garman 1996:18).
2. Verité - authenticity of the study in a number of ways: Is it consistent with accepted knowledge in the field? Or if it departs, does it address why? Does it fit within the discourse in the appropriate literature? Has the researcher taken pains to cultivate a mindset conducive to an authentic inquiry? Is it intellectually honest and authentic? How well has the researcher articulated, documented and questioned the researcher’s reactions and thinking throughout the inquiry process?
3. Integrity - the soundness of the conceptual structure of the study in terms of its flow and connectivity, logic of justification, and voice and stance of the researcher.
4. Rigor - quality of thought in the inquiry and is related to the criteria of integrity and verité: is there sufficient depth of intellect, rather than superficial or simplistic reasoning?
5. Utility - ways in which the researcher has helped the advancement of knowledge in the field under study, and the importance of this contribution.
6. Vitality - When related to the dimension of verisimilitude the portrayal should create “a vicarious sense of the phenomenon and context of the study, readers often feel a sense of

immediacy and identification with the people and events being described. So, the study comes alive for the reader" (Piantanida & Garman 1999:152).

7. Aesthetics - "is it enriching and pleasing to anticipate and experience? Does it give me insight into some universal part of my educational self? Are connections between the particular and the universal revealed in powerful, provocative, evocative and moving ways? Does the work challenge, disturb, or unsettle? Does it touch the spirit?" (Piantanida & Garman 1999:148).
8. Ethics - relates to the researcher's ethical sensibility.

Conclusion

Most research using Interpretative hermeneutics and phenomenology *do* research but do not adequately explain *how* the ontology and epistemology informs the chosen methodology. In this paper, I address this gap by explaining how the theoretical underpinnings of the philosophical tenets of phenomenology and interpretative –hermeneutics can be translated into a research methodology. This paper provides a theoretical framework and some of the methodological conceptions to conducting 'lived experience' studies. The practical application of this methodology is shown through examples from my PhD study undertaken to research the lived experience of hospitality reception practice.

It is shown here that the ways in which phenomenology and philosophical hermeneutics deal with the process of meaning and understanding are fairly different and even contradictory to a certain extent. Yet this does not exclude the possibility of simultaneously employing both as methodologies in the research process.

In my 2nd paper presented at this conference, the path for the research inquiry is plotted further to make the connection from the methodological conceptions to the techniques and procedures of portraying and interpreting lived experience is shown using hospitality reception work as the context.

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'An arts based hermeneutic and phenomenological framework for researching 'lived experience' - an example from the hospitality industry'

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Abstract

For decades scholars have been arguing that diverse ways of knowing and modes of expressing insights on Tourism and Hospitality should be explored and developed. Arts based methods offer a different tool for knowing and expressing that we could use effectively in Tourism and Hospitality research. This paper suggests an arts-based expressive framework to research 'lived experiences' of industry practitioners, in the context of the hospitality industry.

The framework proposed in this paper was developed during my PhD research to investigate the *lived experience of women receptionists in the hospitality industry*. My PhD study stemmed from the fact that *descriptive* and *reflexive first-person* accounts of significant personal experiences of working in the frontline of the hospitality industry in all its emotional richness and depth were relatively under explored in research. Thus, my PhD was an inquiry pursued via personal experiences of *what it is like* to engage in hospitality reception practice.

This arts-based methodological framework consisted of five modes of textual representations that translated the philosophical tenets of phenomenology and interpretative-hermeneutics. The first step in the framework is a *factual description* of the socio-historical context within which the receptionists' experiences of their practice were situated, and an explication of the inquiry process used to investigate their experiences; second, *narrative portrayals* of the receptionists' experiences are represented through phenomenology; this 'experiential' dimension is *expressed* through portrayals consisting of a variety of arts-based textual genre such as narrative, poetry and metaphor. Third, *interpretations* of the meanings receptionists make of their everyday experiences are made through hermeneutic-interpretation, fourth, *significances* of the meanings and insights towards the contribution of knowledge in the study of hospitality are explored via a literature review of the sociological discourses; fifth, implications of the significant themes are discussed in relation to ongoing concerns for hospitality practice and professional development.

This paper discusses the five steps in this expressive framework and explains the reasons for its content, style and structure. The advantage of this framework is that it generates and represents the collaborative 'experiential' knowing of participants and co-researchers, as well as my own experiential knowing as a researcher-practitioner. It offers a reflexive and collaborative stance which lends itself towards addressing practical concerns. It is expected that hospitality practitioners will be challenged to review existing practices and policies as a consequence of the increased awareness brought through experiential-research.

This framework connects pedagogies across Hospitality Management, Philosophy, Education, Arts and Sociology and offers critical reflection on the study of lived experience. Although, the framework presented in this paper is contextualised in hospitality reception work, it can be applied to the study of 'lived experience' in other disciplines and industries.

Introduction to the study

This paper presents an arts-based expressive framework that I used for my PhD research to gain insight into women receptionists' 'lived experience' of hospitality practice. In this context, 'lived experience' is a notion borrowed from the work of Max van Manen on *Researching lived Experience* (1984). However, it is derived from the philosopher Edmund Husserl's concept of *Lebenswelt*, translated as life-world; the world in which our every day experiences take place. In this study, 'lived experience' refers to the obtaining of a *firsthand* account of a person's experience, "as opposed to all hearsay, conjecture, or imaginative and ratiocinatory constructions" (Burch 1990). Thus, my PhD study was an inquiry pursued via *personal experiences of what it is like* to engage in hospitality reception practice.

When I embarked on my PhD research (see Wijesinghe 2007), I found that very few hospitality studies had explored the immediate 'lived' dimension of the practice. So, in my PhD study, I wanted to bring out the typical lived quality of the experience of hospitality reception practice alive for exploration, as if the practice was a scene played out on stage, and techniques taken from the following approaches were employed for this purpose:

- Phenomenological texts that recollect lived experience were most useful in re-creating this dimension of virtual reality.
- Interpretative-hermeneutics on the other hand, was useful in mining the meaning of the experience.
- The arts based textual genres of poetry, metaphors and narratives were ideal means to 'express' the quality of the embodied experience, in terms of the thoughts and feelings that coloured the experience and gave it that particular lived quality.

Using these approaches, I was able to craft a textual representation of the experience in a way that its experiential quality was vividly 'portrayed' to the reader. My study contained ten lived accounts of hospitality reception practice. These textual representations of the experiences were then juxtaposed, and the typical and significant themes were identified and explored further for their significance and implications for professional practice.

The 'expressive' phenomenological approach of the framework was developed by Peter Willis (2002) in his study into the experience of Adult Education practice. He developed a mixed method called 'expressive phenomenology' using the tenets of existential phenomenology proposed by the philosopher Merleau-Ponty (1962), 'classical' version of phenomenology proposed by Michael Crotty (1996), and the 'new' hermeneutic–phenomenological tradition proposed by Max van Manen (1990) which he then combined with the arts-based textual representations proposed by Reason and Heron (1986), Barone and Eidsner (1997), and Garman (1974). In my PhD study, I adapted and further refined Willis' framework to extend beyond a descriptive account of the experience of the hospitality

practice, to include interpretations, significance and implications for professional development. The explication of the philosophical tenets of interpretative-hermeneutics and phenomenology, and how they are translated into a research methodology is outside the scope of this present study, as this is explained in my second paper to be presented at this conference (see Wijesinghe 2009) as well as my previous work (see, Wijesinghe & Willis 2002; Wijesinghe 2008). So, the focus of this paper is to explain steps in this expressive framework so that it can be used as a research design for the investigation of lived experiences by other researchers.

Contribution of this study

The steps described here on the expressive arts-based framework provide some steps to carry out similar experience based research in other areas. One of the advantages of the theoretical underpinnings of this approach is that it can be used to get at the socially embedded nature of human consciousness, and has the ability to bring out elements of the experience that may have been overlooked or repressed by powerful interests in society (Willis 1999). Such studies provide useful insights into the experiences of a particular practice that can help establish a foundation for further research. It is hoped that these insights will help prepare prospective workers to handle the practices of the workplace in a more informed way.

Kind of knowledge generated

In Positivist research, the knowledge that is generated has to be generalisable, whereas in interpretative research knowledge has to be transferable. This form of research requires the ability to identify sufficiently the elements of situatedness in which the inquiry was conducted, to know how applicable the findings are to that specific piece of research (Clandinin & Connelly 1990:7). The portrayal and interpretation of the experience of hospitality reception practice that was explored in my PhD study using phenomenology and hermeneutics do not lend themselves to knowledge that is generalisable. As the purpose of the study was to generate insight into, for example, what the experience was like for me, and what sense I made of the experience, it can hardly be expected that my experience can then be made generalisable to other receptionists, as being the same. This is not to say however that there is not a common human aspect to my experience, in that my experience could be a possible experience for others. Van Manen writes that "hermeneutic phenomenology is a philosophy of the personal, the individual, which we pursue against the background of an understanding of the evasive character of the *logos of other* [emphasis in original], the *whole*, the *communal*, or the *social*" (1990:7). So, in understanding my experience others may be able to make sense of their own similar experiences. As my study was not looking to obtain scientifically verifiable objective facts that can be generalised, I did not intend to describe actual facts or an accurate state of affairs. Accuracy is applicable to the extent of the researcher being able "to report things as they appear to be encountered in the field and documented in the field text, rather than as the researcher would have them" these involve personal preconceptions, un-stated assumptions and other prejudices (Chen, Kahn & Steeves 2000:86). Unlike objective-oriented Positivist research, that strives for propositional truth based on validity, objectivity and replicability, interpretative research is judged by a different set of criteria. These are verisimilitude, integrity, rigor, utility, vitality and aesthetics (Piantanida & Garman 1999). So, the strength of this kind of experiential study lies in the extent to which these qualities are present in it.

The phenomenological approach in which this study is fore-grounded "has a role to play in informing as well as transforming other modes of inquiry, such as those abstracting and objectivising practices promoted by positivism....There is an opportunity for phenomenological research to engage more with the tensions between theory and practice, and abstraction and immediacy, in a way that perhaps other theoretical frameworks are less equipped to do" (Barnacle 2004:66). Studies using a phenomenological approach compliment other objectivising and abstract based research.

Literature review on experiential knowing

For over a decade, scholars have been calling out for research approaches that are able to generate more holistic in-depth insights to advance knowledge about the hospitality encounter (Brotherton & Wood 2000). For example, Lundberg whose writing has been particularly concerned with widening the research focus has pointed out that, given the complexity, multiplicity and forever-changing nature of the hospitality phenomenon, consideration should be given to all approaches that can add research value. He points out "if our assumption of phenomenological complexity and changefulness seems more realistic ... it suggests that for a particular research project of interest to hospitality researchers a variety of paths for discovery and understanding may be equally viable. If this is so, then an awareness of and appreciation of alternative modes and means of inquiry is desirable if not requisite" (1997:2). Brotherton and Wood (Wood 1999:154) challenge that "these are uncomfortable times for the complacent and unquestioning researcher or practitioner. If hospitality management research and practice is to progress, those associated with it must reflect more deeply over its *essential nature and practical manifestations* [my emphasis added]". More recently, in the book *Knowing differently: arts-based collaborative research methods*, Liamputpong and Rumbold (2008:2) point out that despite the various ways of 'knowing' that have been identified:

it is still propositional ("conceptual") knowing [emphasis in original]
that dominates research in the health and social sciences ...
Propositional knowing is of course built on other ways of knowing ...
However, much academic research only samples experiential (felt)
***Knowing** in precisely defined and narrow terms, in order to explain*
phenomena, so that the data are second hand and the people who
provided them are kept, apparently at a distance ... Because
Propositional knowing is so dominant, other ways to knowing, that
access experience more immediately and richly or that translate into
action and practice, tend to receive less attention.

The point made above can be stated of hospitality research. A number of scholars have argued for the need to incorporate reflexive and critical paths of inquiry into Tourism and hospitality research (see Pritchard & Morgan 2007), in order to build its own disciplinary knowledge. Much of the current research within hospitality has been analytical in nature and removed from the real world application of the concept. These are conceptualisations of the hospitality employment experience by academics rather than first-hand accounts by people working in the industry. Such forms of analytical inquiry desiccate and reduce the phenomenon of hospitality employment practice. In particular, they fail to capture the unique essential structure of what makes the hospitality employment experience 'recognisable' as a possible experience and gain in-depth insights.

The advantage of the expressive qualitative approaches as used in this study is that (Hakim 1987:26):

It offers richly descriptive reports of individuals' perceptions, attitudes, beliefs, views and feelings, the meaning and interpretations given to events and things, as well as their behaviour; displays how these are put together, more or less coherently and consciously, into frameworks which make sense of their experiences and illuminates the motivations which connect attitudes and behaviour, or how conflicting attitudes and motivations are resolved and particular choices made.

Wilson, Harris and Small (2008:16) state that Lynch emphasised the underserved power of hospitality studies as an academic tool, in a recent seminar presentation. His "goal was to signal a new research and teaching agenda that would empower and enhance the subject of hospitality and facilitate the development of students of hospitality as 'philosophic practitioners'".

Methodology

This paper presents an expressive arts-based qualitative framework that can be used to access the experiential knowing of participants and co-researchers, as well as the researcher's own experiential knowing in a field of practice, in order to advance knowledge and build reflective practices. The methodological framework is based on the tenets of phenomenology, interpretative–hermeneutics and arts-based genre. I have presented some examples from my PhD research to demonstrate how the study was organised into topics of exploration. In the following pages, I describe steps relating to the major components of this framework.

Step 1: Factual description of the socio-historical context of the experience

This refers to the description of the situational background and actualities and contexts of hospitality reception practice, as well as formative background to the specific research issue.

Introduction to the study

In this kind of research, as with most qualitative studies the aim of an introductory chapter is to set the stage for the experience of hospitality reception practice or whatever practice is being researched, to unfold. It should introduce the phenomenon , set out the questions that led to the study, explain the aim and the contribution of the inquiry, and describe the researcher's background and interest in the study, so that so that any biases and pre-conceptions could be made explicit from the outset. For example, in my PhD study, *The introduction* was done in Chapter 1 and *The situational background* was elaborated in Chapters 2, and 3 as well as in the context preceding every episode of practice that was portrayed. Chapter 2 discussed the *Continuities in hospitality provision through the ages* under three sections: (a.) *Continuities in the traditions and functions of hospitality provision* (b.) *Continuities in the role of women in hospitality provision* which linked history of the provision of hospitality to the contemporary receptionists' role. (c.) *Role of contemporary hospitality receptionists* addressed contexts of the various concrete experiences, typical issues of everyday practice, professional responsibilities, nature of relationships (especially power), and challenges, role constraints, negativities and rewards. Chapter 3 discussed the theoretical perspectives on hospitality reception work; the aim of this chapter was to develop a conceptual framework to investigate how

the theoretical expectations established in the literature would compare later with the actual lived experience, to be investigated through my research's narrative approach.

The inquiry process

There are no prescriptive techniques and procedures that could be followed to design this kind of experiential research. The classical philosophers who contributed to phenomenology do not appear to have been concerned with the provision of a clear description of a research method, as their focus has been on ontological and epistemological issues. A researcher wanting to apply the philosophy of phenomenology to practical concerns has to pick and choose from a variety of methods and techniques that are best able to serve the purpose of his/her study.

Having studied the basic tenets of phenomenology and hermeneutics, and seen broad ways in which they can be incorporated into a research design, I looked at a number of phenomenological studies to get some ideas on how I could portray and bring to life the personal stories of receptionists, and how best to convey and interpret the meanings embedded in their stories. To bring out its lived quality, I wanted to craft the personal stories, in a narrative format that would showcase the experience. It would need to be a textual format that would make the reader feel as if he/she were the one having the experience. For this to happen the reader would need to get a sensory feeling for the contexts, feel the emotions of the receptionists and hear out conversations that were taking place. So, I turned to look at a number of phenomenological techniques that could help me do this. After reviewing a number of studies, I felt that the expressive techniques that Willis has developed in his book on Adult Education were useful. The expressive phenomenological techniques are an invention of Willis (see 2000; 2001, 2002), and it gave me several ideas to present my data. While drawing inspiration from his work, I felt that his techniques did not fully serve the purpose of my PhD study, as my study was not just concerned with portrayal but also meanings, significance and implications. As a result, his techniques were adopted with modifications. The inquiry process was described in Chapters 4 & 5 in my thesis. Chapter 4 explained the *Philosophy and methodological tradition of hermeneutics and phenomenology* and Chapter 5 *Techniques and procedures of the research design*.

Expressive research methods

The expressive research technique introduced here uses *language expressively and metaphorically* for example through poetic reflections, and story telling. It helps provide a *description* of the perception of a phenomenon rather than an *explanation*. It is essentially about perceiving rather than conceptualising. Merleau-Ponty the great phenomenologist has written that "Perception does not give me truths like geometry but presences" (1974:170). Willis, who is influenced by Merleau-Ponty in his design of the expressive phenomenological research technique writes "...the presences refer to the outcomes of being constantly in the world as part of it; of being awake and aware of the world in which, and of which, one is. Presences are generated by getting back to a first level of awareness before engaging in conceptualising processes to become aware of 'what is present' in their life world, and what experiences are present to them" (2002:134).

The expressive research agenda is to intuitively grasp and portray these presences, which are a pre-analytic primordial form of knowing. To extract this lived primordial knowing, a creative contemplative space is necessary, such as Reason proposes "...to make meaning manifest through expression requires the use of a creative medium through which the meaning can take form. This is not to be confused with a conceptual grid which divides up experiences, it is rather the creation of an empty space...which becomes a vessel in which meaning can take shape" (1988:80).

Identifying sources of data

In Phenomenological research experiential accounts of data involves narratives, poetry, metaphors, reflective journals as well as personal conversations.

Recollected personal experiences

Keeping with the phenomenological and hermeneutic traditions, the data of the study comprised of recollected personal stories from hospitality receptionists. Receptionists were asked reflect on the experience of their practice and reconstruct their experience in the form of a story. Piantanida and Garman (1999:142) citing Dewy (1916) note that "although experience is the context from which learning emerges, it is the act of *reconstructing the meaning* [emphasis in original] of experience that actually yields learning. Reconstructing the meaning of experience is, in essence, the interpretative act at the heart of interpretative inquiry". So, the data gathering process in my PhD study was one of collecting reconstructed experiences and their underlying meanings from the receptionists under study.

My PhD study contained rich personal stories that relate to the experience of hospitality reception practice. The stories were crafted both from my personal experience working as a receptionist in the hospitality industry prior to joining academia and the experience of other receptionists who have worked or have continued to work in the hospitality industry. One of the ways in which 'data' on the lived experience is gathered for research is by interviewing participants about a specific personal experience relating to the topic of study. In recollecting these experiences what is important is not that an absolutely accurate memory of the experience is obtained (as we know memory can be notoriously unreliable), but how the meaning of the experience is reconstructed in recollecting the experience in the form of a story that can yield learning. My own experiences were recollected by having one of my supervisors interview me and then later recorded in a journal using some formats of autobiographical writing.

...one form of writing is the narrative of the self. This is a highly personalised revealing text in which an author tells stories about his or her own lived experience. Using dramatic recall, strong metaphors/similes, images, characters, unusual phrasings, puns, subtexts, and allusions, the writer constructs a sequence of events, a 'plot', holding back on interpretation, asking the reader to 're live' the events emotionally with the writer. Narratives of the self do not read like traditional ethnography because they use the writing techniques of fiction. They are specific stories of particular events. Accuracy is not the issue; rather, narratives of the self seek to meet literary criteria of coherence, verisimilitude, and interest (1994:521).

As Richardson has shown here, plotting a story of a personal experience is a primary tool used in interpretative research. It creates a virtual reality into the experience by bringing out the lived sensual dimension of the account. The aim is to make the reader experience the reality of the episode as if he/she is a spectator or an onlooker into the experience. The reader should ideally see, hear, sense and feel what the narrator may have experienced at the time. If the story is narrated effectively the reader should be able to identify with the storyteller and empathise with his/her cause or situation. The reader is able to see in the story telling all the prejudice, values, fears and logic that coloured the experience and understand and empathise with the viewpoint from which it is narrated. Although the narrative is a fictional account taken from life, it mirrors the lived world and somehow makes the familiar fresh (Willis 2002). Another use of the narrative genre is that "It makes it possible to involve us pre-reflexively in the lived quality of concrete experience while paradoxically inviting us into a reflective stance vis-à-vis the meanings embedded in the experience" (van Manen 1990:121). The episodes sketched here are not only accounts of specific events of practice, but also contain typical elements of hospitality reception work and related experience.

The methods of data collection from other receptionists were through interviews of hospitality employees involving a small number of questions, which were used as a guideline for conversations around the topic. The questions took the following structure:

Interview questions

1. Can you describe in general terms your job title, the type of establishment that you work/worked for and the requirements of your engagement in hospitality work? What do you think were the key demands of your work? What roles do you think you were required to take on?
2. Reflect on an event that was/is typical of your everyday work. Can you narrate that incident in as much detail as possible telling me things such as - What happened? What were the issues? Who was involved? When was it? What was the setting like? What were the power relations?
3. What was the experience itself like? Can you express the experience by employing a metaphor by using sentence stems of the following format (adopted from Crotty:1996):
 - what comes to light when I attend to hospitality practice in this context is
 - hospitality practice in this context is like
 - hospitality practice can be described as
 - what shows up when I think of hospitality practice in this context is
4. How did you feel during this situation? Can you describe your feelings in relation to these events?
5. What sense can you make of this experience? (Or could be alternatively framed as - How did you make sense of that experience? Why do you think you felt the way you did? How would you explain the way you felt? What do you understand was going on? What did this mean for you?)

The respondents in this type of research are co-researchers working with the researcher to craft a textual representation that is true to their experience. This meant that once the researcher wrote up an episode of practice, the researcher would need to meet with each respondent to get his/her feedback on how well the issue was represented to its experiential quality. This involved an ongoing dialogue with the respondents throughout each phase of the crafting of the episodes.

Step 2: Portrayal of the experience

The narrative portrayal of each episode took the following format:

1. Introduction - The Researcher introduces the episode to be studied.
2. Context – The Receptionist describes the context in which the experience took place and the relevant issue.
3. Narrative - Receptionist explains his/her recollected experience in narrative format (sometimes poetry), and collaborates with the researcher to craft it into a narrative.
4. Feelings - Receptionist elaborates on his/her feelings incurred during the particular experience.
5. Metaphors – Receptionist and the researcher collaborate to capture and express the various significant aspects of the receptionist's experience through metaphors/similes.
6. Interpretations - Receptionists and the researcher collaborate to understand the meaning of the receptionist's experience.
7. Unravelling of themes - Receptionists and the researcher collaborate to distil significant Phenomenological themes of the receptionist's experience.

The narratives

"A narrative [emphasis in original] is an active (re)construction of events and experiences; the narrator decides to include certain events and to tie these events together in a certain manner. The plot is the scheme used for tying actions and events through time and place" (Abma 2002:10). So, a narrative is a reconstruction, it is *not* an attempt to capture the former meaning of an experience as it was first experienced, but a rearranging of the experience in a way that creates possibilities for new meaning to emerge or the authentication of former meaning:

...the power of creating new narratives about our lives cannot be underestimated. Re-storying, or re-telling one's own story, or drawing out unspoken stories, expands and creates possibilities. Creating my own visual narratives and stories has allowed me to reframe my own experience ... in a way, everything I know I have learned through stories, and I am really drawn into exploring the deeper waters of women's lives; investigating what is not said, in the silences and the gaps. I want to know about the deep crevasses, the eddies and the whirlpools, the indecision and the uncertainties. This is what we learn (Sophia 1998, as cited in McLaren 1999:365).

Richardson observes that narrative is a powerful literary tool used in social research, especially when writing about the researcher's own experience. He writes that it frames lived experience in such a way that others intuitively glean its meanings.

The narration of experience in an expressive inquiry such as this study involves identifying a significant and typical happening from one's practice, and then narrating it so that the full meaning of the episode, circumstances or situation, can be seen and communicated (Willis 2002). In this inquiry, four female receptionists narrate several personal stories from their practice, and each narrative is plotted around a typically mundane episode that illuminates the nature of everyday hospitality reception practice. Although the settings and narrators differ in each episode, the phenomenon that prompted the story – hospitality reception practice - is the same. So, the narration lends itself to an understanding of common elements in a common experience.

Metaphors/similes

Metaphor can also transform ideas into things such as when an abstract idea receives the qualities of the concrete thing to which it is compared" (Radzienda 2004). Metaphors and similes are one of the primary devices for representing experience with clarity (Fernandez 1974). They have a way of tapping into our primordial knowing that we can only intuitively grasp. This is argued by Polany, from the point of view that "Every interpretation of nature that is based on some intuitive conception of the general nature of things relates to the view that these intuitions are expressed in metaphors/similes (as intuitions of inchoate matters must be)" (1964:10 as cited in Fernandez 1974:119). Metaphors/similes are the closest that one can get to the experienced moment. Skinner claims that "Behaviourists have recognised that metaphor is the device men possess for leaping beyond the essential privacy of the experiential process" (1945 as cited in Fernandez 1974:119). The tool of metaphor is used in this research in an attempt to get close to the experience as much as possible and re-create pattern in metaphorical shape and form, without directly pointing out the meaning. Hence, the *Metaphors/similes* section of in my PhD recapitulated the experience of hospitality reception work in a series of metaphorical images, trying to capture and hold onto as much of the experience as possible.

The metaphorical intuiting approach used in this study is drawn from the work of Crotty (1996). Crotty's approach involves identifying and focusing on the phenomenon (not on one's self), bracketing-out all preconceptions, and letting the phenomenon shape the way you experience it. The idea is to contemplate the phenomenon, behold it in the consciousness and let the pen craft its shape and feeling through metaphor. This is not an easy task. So, to do this, he proposes the use of several sentence stems, which help describe the nature of the phenomenon. The following are some of the sentence stems that he has suggested and the words hospitality reception practice have been inserted here in the space left for the phenomenon (Crotty 1996:272-273):

I picture hospitality reception practice as -----

hospitality reception practice feels like -----

What comes to light when I focus on hospitality reception practice is -----

hospitality reception practice sounds to me like -----

What I see in hospitality reception practice is -----

Each of the sentence stems uses the classical/intuiting phenomenological approach to bring out 'what the experience was like' or nature of the experience, by tuning into different sensory awareness such as sight, sound, and feeling.

In this study, the various elements of the experience that have been woven into a plot in each narrative are expressed in metaphors/similes, so that its structure becomes clear and easier to grasp. Metaphors/similes are generated until all dimensions that were experienced are captured. It is assumed that there will be a point of saturation, at which point it will be the same elements that will be expressed over and over. At this point, where no new elements are uncovered, one should move forward towards unravelling of the elements of the phenomenon.

Step 3: Interpretation of the experience

The interpretation of each receptionist's experience is captured through his/her expression of feelings relating to the experience, and by unravelling the meaning of his/her experience which are then organised into themes.

Feelings

Feelings express the emotional and/or sensory reaction of the practitioner towards their situation during the episode. This section is located broadly within the empathetic phenomenological paradigm. The word feeling has been used loosely herein to denote emotion. Harre (1998) writes that the term emotion is multi-vocal in its usage and that the literature on emotion has conceptualised it in two ways. That is, emotions as a bodily condition or feeling, or alternatively as a physiological state. Harre views an emotional display as a complex judgement that is the performance of a social act; for example, raging at someone. Emotions also denote a sense of being embodied in the world.

As it was outlined earlier, this study is also interested in interpreting the meanings attributed to the experience of hospitality reception work. These meanings are pursued through hermeneutics, which allows interpretation of other people's meaning. That is, what sense do receptionists make of their work? What do they think is going on? What is their understanding of the experience? The aim is to 'step into the shoes' of the respondents and understand how they felt about the situation that has been described by them and then to interpret their meaning.

Unravelling of themes

Unravelling herein refers to extracting the characteristics of the phenomenon. The unravelling section is concerned with identifying, interpreting and putting into shape emerging phenomenological themes from each account that has been given of hospitality reception work. Drawing from van Manen (1990), Bricher points out that themes are "Simplification of the structure of the experience but their value is that they can assist in both giving shape to and capturing the phenomenon". She also points out that in contrast to its usage in other contexts, "A theme is not the outcome of a phenomenological study, but a part of the process which leads to the phenomenological description" (1997:43).

Once the narratives and metaphors/similes have been completed the process of unravelling is concerned with drawing out the lived meaning from them. Unravelling, in my thesis, represented what van Manen refers to as seeking meaning in his work: "We try to unearth something 'telling',

something ‘meaningful’, something thematic in the various experiential accounts – we work at mining meaning from them” (1990:86).

The phenomenological and hermeneutic themes expressed through the ten episodes of practice were juxtaposed so that common elements can be summarised into broader themes as follows:

Step 4: Significance of the experience

The above developed themes are categorised and then explicated, analysed, compared and grounded in pre-existing social discourses. That is, themes are linked and classified under broad topic categories, and explicated. The aim of this component is to help broaden the field relating to the experience of hospitality reception work through explanatory knowledge generated herein. For example, in my study into hotel reception practice, knowledge was promoted and extended by linking themes to the broader discourses in culture, feminist theory, role theory, power factors, labour and consumerism, and also notions about home environment.

Step 5: Implications

This component discusses the implications of the phenomenological and hermeneutic insights for practice and professional development. This study can be of use to a wide cross-section of the community, particularly in terms of practice, pedagogy, policy, and future research.

This study provides useful insights into the ways hospitality work is understood and explained by some receptionists working in the industry which has implications for those already working in the industry as well as those interested in taking up work in the future. Implications on the role of the receptionists for example in my wider PhD included, being able to: invite, welcome, and then subsequently through a mixture of friendliness, kindness and some strategic distance, transform and convert strangers to be compliant and generous guests, prudent customers to be generous spenders, travellers to be vacationers, and visitors to be tourists; form meaningful connections with guests during their stay and further convert them to archetypes of vacationers and possibly tourists who are disarmed, compliant, valued, pampered, enriched, and pleased; thus, biding farewell to departing guests, while encouraging them to return with assurances of rewards .

There are also implications for the pedagogy of hospitality practice as this study helps to make “interpretative sense of the phenomena [experience of hospitality reception practice] of the lifeworld in order to see the pedagogic significance of situations and relations of [receptionist work]” (van Manen 1990:2). For example, further research could look at the themes of the experience that has been uncovered to see whether these themes are generalisable for a cross-section of partitioners, and if so, the impact of these attributes on the HR processes of: recruitment, selection, performance management, development and rewarding.

For educators in tourism, this study will provide an insight into the kinds of challenges that students may encounter in the hospitality industry and the caring and pedagogic role that hospitality workers play in the host-guest encounter. It is hoped that these insights will help academics prepare prospective hospitality workers to better handle the practice of hospitality. In my teaching of

hospitality studies to undergraduate students, I developed a booklet containing the vignettes of lived experiences from my PhD study, to use as a point of discussion on the significance and meanings of hospitality work. I found this to be a very effective pedagogic tool, while my students found their work to be more meaningful as a result of the insights gained from reading about the practice. For example, my students reported that they were able to gain valuable insights into hospitality work which they had not previously foreseen; students who were undertaking hospitality work reported that the vignettes resonated with their personal experiences in the industry and that they were able to make sense of certain aspects of their practice which they had not previously understood or taken for granted. It is also hoped that hospitality practitioners will be challenged to review existing practices and policies as a consequence of the increased awareness brought through the experiences presented in this study.

The kind of approach suggested in this paper offers an opportunity to explore the experience of hospitality practice as if one was seeing it for the 'very first time'. This perspective allows researchers to identify structures of the receptionists' experiences that have not been noticed or recognised. By showing and interpreting the essential attributes of this type of work, a foundation for further research investigations can be established.

Challenges of the research design and concluding thoughts

While the expressive framework described in this study is very useful to studying lived experiences there can be many challenges in its practical application. Part of this is due to the fact that there appears to be no clear and precise methodology of taking the philosophy of hermeneutics and phenomenology to apply to research. In fact, very few studies seem to bridge the gap between the ontology and epistemology of hermeneutics and phenomenology to a methodological application in research. Therefore, the methodological application of these philosophies is very much a trial and error process for most researchers. My understanding of phenomenology did not make its application any easier. It took a considerable amount of practice before I was able to write a narrative description of a phenomenological portrayal, or arrive at phenomenological themes. The interpretative-hermeneutic themes in comparison were not as difficult. Having conquered my own failings, I started my interviewing process.

I discovered that to engage in this type of reflexive research the respondents needed a fair amount of ability for self reflection and a willingness to confront their experiences with an open mind and to learn from their experiences. The respondents also needed to have the interest and commitment to collaborate with the researcher for an extended period which placed much personal demand on their time and effort. After conducting a few interviews, I soon discovered that giving a descriptive account, without analysing, was not something that everyone was capable of doing. Nor were many people able to articulate their experience in terms of metaphors. I found myself engaging in the process of story-telling with my interviewees, to help articulate their experiences descriptively and metaphorically without making too many changes to the plot, and angles from which the stories were related.

Listening empathetically to the respondents' experiences and then generating metaphors/similes, to capture the structure of their experience analogically, was another learning experience. As the researcher, I tried to listen attentively with an open mind (without bringing my own assumptions) and understand their stories. At times, it was difficult to understand what the respondents were saying they were experiencing. The difficulty was one of balancing what the respondents were saying and what the researcher was hearing. Part of this difficulty was that in this exchange between listener and storyteller a certain amount of transforming by the researcher was necessary, to expand one's internal world to unfamiliar territories and to gain new maps of seeing (McLaren 1999:367).

Unravelling of themes proved another considerable challenge. The themes were expected to provide what Piantanida and Garman (1999:172) refer to as conceptual leaps which involved rising from the metaphors/similes and descriptions to capture the essence of hotel reception work, as each episode was foregrounded. This was a task that took a considerable amount of reflection and foresight. Based on the insights gained in this study, it may be useful to undertake survey-driven quantitative studies, to find out to what extent the elements of the reception experience unravelled in this study, are common to many receptionists in similar circumstances.

For Tourism and Hospitality to develop into a unique discipline in its own right, it is important that the knowledge that is generated in this field emerge from 'the things themselves' as experienced first-hand by practitioners, rather than by only borrowing concepts from other disciplines. In considering the implications of this study, I envisage that research carried out from the phenomenological and hermeneutic tradition has the potential to help reinvigorate positivist oriented studies and help to ground the latter in the life-world from which it has taken root.

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'Hotel Transvaal & Molar lines as a tool to open up spaces of hospitality'

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"Resistance is possible only through a creative act: Artists, filmmakers, musicians, mathematicians, philosophers, all resist" (Deleuze, 1988, p. 1).

In this article Hotel Transvaal is used as a case study to add to the discussion: 'How hospitality practices can lead to spaces of difference?' In the case of Hotel Transvaal, artists attribute 'hospitality' principles to draw attention towards massive state interventions in the so called problem Neighbourhoods. The artists invite others to experience this transformation through a stay in Hotel Transvaal. Hotel Transvaal is unlike any other hotel, since it is not fixed in one building, but includes an entire neighbourhood. A neighbourhood houses residents and Hotel Transvaal turns these residents into hosts and guests. These authors indicate how Hotel Transvaal, by playing with the organizing principles of hospitality, can facilitate difference by evoking unexpected becomings and intensities. This article is built up as follows: Firstly, the transformation process of the Transvaal neighbourhood is described, where the neighbourhood forms the context for Hotel Transvaal. Secondly, the setting of the daily operations of Hotel Transvaal is conceptualized as a space of hospitality, which can be regarded as a Deleuzian assemblage with a certain extent of organization. This conceptualization clears the road for the third part, a spotlight on the becomings and intensities which are 'produced' by the assemblage Hotel Transvaal. The last section discusses the becomings and intensities within a larger context of art, new space and cultural laboratories.

1. The Transvaal Neighbourhood

During its existence, the Transvaal neighbourhood in The Hague, The Netherlands, has undergone several transformations due to increased human mobility and the associated processes of globalization. Transvaal is situated south-west of the city centre in The Hague. Before the Transvaal neighbourhood was built, the area housed a castle and a large farm. The Transvaal neighbourhood was built at the beginning of the twentieth century. During this century, the inhabitants of Transvaal had become more diverse throughout the history of the neighbourhood and the amenities had changed character accordingly. On the 1st of January 2007, Transvaal hosted 190 different nationalities in 16,033 houses. Since then, the neighbourhood has attracted many businesses such as restaurants, including many ethnic cuisines such as those from Turkey, Morocco and Suriname; (Ayurvedic) massage salons, barbers and internet cafes. The ministry of VROM (the housing and environmental department) has considered the Transvaal neighbourhood as one of 40 problem neighbourhoods (De 40 wijken van Vogelaar) (VROM, 2007). These neighbourhoods were categorized as such on the basis of a clustering of social, physical and economic problems. Later these 40 neighbourhoods were redefined as 'Power neighbourhoods' (Krachtwijken) (VROM, 2007).

The Transvaal neighbourhood is currently undergoing a large-scale transformation process. 3000 social rent houses have been demolished and 1600 new houses are in the process of being newly built. These large-scale transformations in neighbourhoods in the Netherlands are not rare. Governments at various levels and housing co-operations in large cities must all manage deteriorating neighbourhoods. The policy towards addressing this deterioration is that of demolition and rebuilding. The consequences for the inhabitants of the neighbourhoods are that they are being reallocated to other parts of the city and may have the option of moving back. A part of the homes which are being newly built are to sell and not to rent out, unlike the current situation where the homes are rented through housing co-operatives. The people who live in the houses which will remain in the neighbourhood are experiencing a complete makeover of the urban space. In the meantime the inhabitants and visitors experience windows which are nailed up, open fields and building activities.

2. Hotel Transvaal: Conceptualized as a Space of Hospitality & Machinic Assemblage

Friese (2004), philosopher at the Goethe Universität in Germany, argues for more hospitality and it is argued here, in line with others (for example, Kant, Derrida and indirectly Kafka) that society needs spaces of hospitality which are open for difference, which is consequently needed for creating healthy societies. Statements about locating hospitality within the broader social issue of diversity and integration could be made. By healthy societies, we mean societies which are open for difference and where the minority becomes a voice. These authors would like to argue in favour of opening up spaces of hospitality and social relationships; for having new experiences and bringing about difference.

These authors argue for a welcoming of the stranger, as put forth by Friese, where she theorizes the guest as a stranger and how the stranger gets a special position within society. Friese questions this tendency to 'reduce' the guests' roles to that of the stranger's. According to Friese, the stranger embodies the encounter with the unknown, dubious, incomprehensible and uncanny. These authors contend that by 'destabilizing' hospitality spaces, the guests can become 'other', instead of the stranger. The fine art of hospitality needs to be broken. According to Friese (2004): "The fine art of hospitality avoids the destabilization of a fragile equilibrium, it certifies esteem and consideration which is exceptional but not challenging or insulting, as does the clear rule to depart at the right time, so as not to interrupt the daily routine and rhythm of the house and become a burden or a nuisance (p. 70)."

The term 'spaces of hospitality' needs explanation. It refers to spaces where 'others are invited'. The notion of space adopted in this article is that of glue, holding matter and ideas together. Thrift (2006) indicates that "The world is made up of all kinds of things brought in to relation with one another by this universe of spaces through a continuous and largely involuntary process of encounter and the often violent training that the encounter forces" (p. 149). Spaces of hospitality are created or opened up by inviting the other to participate. However, is the guest invited to become glue as well? In other words, is the guest being treated as a stabilized, singular identity or as someone who could evoke difference?

Hospitality has been seen so far as a response to the arrival of an 'other' and a demand inevitably always already implies a form of reciprocity. In this sense, hospitality intervenes as a regulatory factor in the obligation of the guest towards the host; and the mutual pact created between the one who receives, or the host, and the one who gives him/herself to the host, or the guest. This mutual pact, though promising negotiation and agreement, cannot be considered to be guaranteed or assured by hospitality (Friese, 2004, p. 73). Through this, Dikeç (2002) implies that 'conditional and controlled hospitality' from a host perspective may not be hospitable at all, considering the political and legal implications of a hospitality transaction; and as perceived by the guest. Instead, the 'hospitability' within a hospitality encounter, based on the dynamics in the host-guest relationship, may evolve into different space. Dikeç argues that thinking about hospitality should involve thinking about openings and recognition, and acknowledges the inherent nature of boundaries in the notion of hospitality. He implies a 'mutuality of recognition', and argues that boundaries need to be opened, without being totally abolished, and the stranger needs to be given spaces, thus providing for recognition on both sides of the boundary (2002, p. 229).

Concerning hospitality, both Dikeç and Friese want to open up spaces of hospitality to difference. These authors agree with Dikeç and Friese, that the notion of hospitality is one that needs critical reflection and investigation, and re-conceptualization. It may not always be liberating or emancipatory, for both the host and guest, but may on the other hand hide an unjust aspect beneath its welcoming surface (Dikeç, 2002, p. 228; Robinson and Lynch, 2007). These authors develop this argument and search for initiatives which organize hospitality interactions differently and may consequently open up space for new 'becomings'.

Conceptualization of Spaces of Hospitality as a Machinic Assemblage

The author-guests here introduce the Deleuzian concepts of 'assemblage', and 'organizational lines' to facilitate the analysis. As these terms are not widely known, a brief explanation of the terms is given as well as a short introduction to the philosophers behind the concepts.

Philosopher Gilles Deleuze, together with French psychoanalyst Felix Guattari invented the concept of assemblage. In the 1970s their cooperation resulted in far less predictable modes of philosophical writing (including references to mathematics, biology, geology, sociology, physics, literature and music). Colebrook (2002) argues that "More than any other thinker of this time, Deleuze's work is not so much a series of self-contained arguments as it is the formation of a whole new way of thinking and writing. For this reason he created an array of new terms and borrowed specialist terms from previous philosophers (p. xviii). These terms form a sort of philosophical toolbox for analyzing change. Malins (2004) indicates that this toolbox can be used "to open up space to new becomings and to enable thought to move away from essences and internal truths and toward multiplicities, affects and machinic potentials" (p. 92). According to Deleuze and Guattari (1987), it is not relevant to ask what a body 'means' or signifies; but rather, to what extent it has the capacity to 'become' different and to communicate intensities when it connects to another body, thus forming an assemblage. Deleuze and Guattari state very clearly that an assemblage should be measured for what it does in relationship with other assemblages. In their book - *A Thousand Plateaus: Capitalism and Schizophrenia* (1987, p. 4), Deleuze and Guattari ask "what it functions with, in connection with

what other things it does or does not transmit intensities, in which other multiplicities its own are inserted and metamorphosed..." Malins (2004) argues that "a body should, ultimately, be valued for what it can do (rather than what is essentially 'is'), and that assemblages should be assessed in relation to their enabling, or blocking, of a body's potential to become other".

An 'assemblage' is one of these terms which can be found in the toolbox, that is, any number of 'things' or 'pieces' gathered into a single context. An example of an assemblage is a snowman, where a snowman is an arrangement of snow, broom, carrot and perhaps coal. Another example of an assemblage is an office, which gathers paper-clips, coffee and morning-talks. An assemblage can bring about any number of 'effects'—aesthetic, productive, destructive, consumptive, informative and so on. Marcus and Saka (2006) state that an assemblage is a sort of anti-organizational structural concept that permits the researcher to speak of emergence, heterogeneity, the decentred and the ephemeral in nonetheless ordered social life (p. 101). The concept of an assemblage can be seen as a reaction against 'structure'. Structure in the natural and social sciences, grounds causal determination within a logic of stability and linear causality. Basically this means that assumptions towards action and reaction are drawn. An example of such an action and reaction assumption in a hospitality setting is the term 'McDonaldization'. The sociologist Ritzer (1996), author of the book - *The McDonaldization of Society* states that efficiency, calculability, predictability – standardized control etc. lead to predictable and homogeneous hospitality venues. Common sense knowledge underwrites this: visitors can perceive cities with hospitality venues which look all the same. However by evaluating the McDonaldization nature in venues at a local level, a radical alternative picture could be drawn. Although the menus and the physical appearance may be standardized, a hospitality venue can produce the different/specific, and vital and vibrant spaces at a local level. This example indicates limitations of approaches based on notions of determination which fail to explain change, resistance, or give insight into the unexpected or unpredictable.

Concluding this section, a space of hospitality, considered as an assemblage, is a space where the other is invited and welcomed to participate. The actualization of this welcoming becomes the space of hospitality itself.

Hotel Transvaal as Assemblage

Hotel Transvaal was initiated in 2005 when the artists' organization *Mobiel projectbureau OpTrek* asked the architects Jan Konings and Duzan Doepel united in *Rai2005* to visualize the transformation of the Transvaal neighbourhood. The concept of a hotel was chosen for this visualization, not a common hotel but a place in which, according to the artists, the whole neighbourhood became the hotel and all inhabitants became hosts. The hotel rooms are situated in those houses which are ready for demolition. As hospitality scholars, it is an interesting challenge to analyze such a venue, since it forces one to rethink the notion of 'hospitality' when a combination of the concepts of 'hotel', 'hospitality' 'neighbourhood' and 'renewal' become entwined.

Two distinctive artist's roles in the city can be identified: on one hand, the superficial decorative role of artists working with fashionable and institutional models of creativity, and on the other, artists who resist artists who create new becomings and new space. Although this difference is academic

and obscure in practice, this distinction helps to understand the role of the artist in a city context. Harvey and Verwijnen (1999) indicate that public art has become a part of urban regeneration schemes such as waterfronts, and is increasingly used to raise the value of real estate property and large-scale projects. They argue that in order to avoid a superficial decorative role, artists will increasingly have to operate as facilitators of local civic participation. Hotel Transvaal clearly qualifies for the second category, since the 'local' is the assemblage.

By accepting, adopting and applying the concept of an 'assemblage' to analyze Hotel Transvaal, causal relationships become useless and room is made to focus on potentialities. When focusing on Hotel Transvaal from an assemblage point of view, the emphasis is not so much on what Hotel Transvaal 'is', but rather on what Hotel Transvaal 'does'. Questions which are relevant in this respect include: what connections are being made by the production of the assemblage Hotel Transvaal? What encounters and spaces do the assemblage Hotel Transvaal produce? What consequences are produced by its encounters?

The Organizational Lines of the Machinic Assemblage Hotel Transvaal

Organizational lines indicate how the constructive parts of the assemblage are connected with one and other. Although Deleuze and Guattari do not explicitly write about hospitality and space, their ideas about space and movement, and the ethics of space and movement are relevant since these are present in spaces of hospitality. In *A Thousand Plateaus* (1987), Deleuze and Guattari develop a set of concepts which can illuminate the organization/movements in spaces. They mention 'lines' which express or effectuate different kinds of organization of space. These lines are molar lines, molecular lines and lines of flight. Woodward (2007) indicates that "molar lines organize by drawing strict boundaries, creating binary oppositions and dividing space into rigid segments with a hierarchical structure" (p. 69). As a result, the space of hospitality characterized by its organization through molar lines becomes highly organized and as a result the host-guest roles become strictly defined and predictable (Robinson & Lynch, 2007). The line of flight on the other hand does not organize space in a fixed fashion. According to Woodward (2007), "The line of flight is a pure movement of change which breaks out of one form of organization and moves towards another (pp. 69-70)." As a result, the space of hospitality becomes highly unpredictable and the host-guest roles can even become undone, and the space of hospitality may cease to exist. Furthermore, Woodward argues that the line of flight is the privileged line for Deleuze and Guattari since it is the line of metamorphosis and change, and that a line of flight breaks with tradition (2007, p. 69).

Various complex combinations of these lines in particular assemblages express varying tendencies towards different kinds of organization. Many spaces in the contemporary society are organized through molar lines; the most obvious example being a prison. In the organization of a prison the distinction, for example between staff and inmates is very much defined, which is visible in the design of the building and in clothing. A hotel is also organized along molar lines: the transactions in a hotel setting are usually very predictable; the distinction between host and guest is clear and the financial consequences calculable, secured through procedures, rules and rigid places. The creators/artists of Hotel Transvaal chose the molar line of organization to 'build' Hotel Transvaal, to connect the fragments together. A residence/host/guest is an example of such a fragment.

The molar lines, which the creators implemented in the Transvaal neighbourhood, can be explained through the Quintessence model (Zwaal, 2003, p. 25): In traditional hospitality management, "... the Quintessence model can be applied in conducting an organizational diagnosis for any company in the service business sector." Zwaal (2003) refers to five perspectives, known as the service pentagon, covering the quintessence of service management. These perspectives are the HRM perspective (all people involved), technological perspective (efficient and effective systems), operational perspective (to create and deliver, efficient, effective), customer & marketing perspective (a valuable and satisfying experience), and finally, a financial perspective (efficient, effective). It is this way of organizing hospitality space which leads to molar hospitality spaces, dividing the host and guest into separated roles. HRM is purely for the host; marketing attracts the guests, while finance objectifies the relationship between host and guest and also between organization and employees. Furthermore technology optimizes the processes of dividing the host and guest, and operations ensure a smooth separation between host and guest. Hotel Transvaal reinforced its existence by printing its name on the bathroom towels. The model functions to show how a service provider functions and it is useful to see which molar lines are used to construct Hotel Transvaal. However such an analysis would not convey its special features. From a hospitality management standpoint, the unique aspects of the hotel will be hidden underneath the balanced scorecards and income statements.

Apart from the use of Molar lines by the creators/artists of Hotel Transvaal, they also applied lines of flight to organize Hotel Transvaal. The neighbourhood is transformed into a hotel through molar lines which inevitably evokes lines of flight since it transforms residents into a mixture of hosts and guests and pulled streets, together with its cats, dogs, residents and so on, into spaces of hospitality.

By transforming residential spaces into spaces of hospitality, creators/artists applied lines of organization which broke with the tradition of homes and shifted these places into hotel rooms.

3. Becomings & Intensities 'produced' by the Assemblage Hotel Transvaal

Hotel Transvaal is an interesting case since it creates many different spaces of hospitality within one assemblage; with different bodies and other assemblages. It illustrates the different power relationships in spaces of hospitality and the separation of the creator and the creation of the assemblage. The creators/artists, who embody the creative site and even take up the entrepreneurial role of hotel manager at the same time, construct an assemblage which hosts different spaces of hospitality.

The unique aspect of the hotel is that it is created out of fragments. These fragments are 'assembled' into a single context namely - Hotel Transvaal. To illustrate: a blackberry bush, once part of a garden, becomes wild and becomes a part of the landscape of the hotel; a child playing with a bicycle on the street becomes a local attraction. Or, a 'Wham poster', from the eighties pop group, where at one time such a poster was featured in the context of a teen's room within the context of a family life; the artist, who decorated the room, incorporated the poster into the design of the room and this fragment becomes part of the interior design. Local shopkeepers and restaurant owners become 'amenities' in the context of the hotel. The massive revitalizing of the neighbourhood

becomes the ‘theme’ for the hotel, just as the Disney Company applies a ‘Wild west theme’ to Disney’s *Davy Crockett Ranch*. Fragments which formally belonged in other contexts or still form the context in other contexts are forged into a hotel concept.

Hotel Transvaal has several of these spaces, such as the space of the artist, where the artist is invited to design the rooms. These rooms are located in old houses in the Transvaal neighbourhood which are ready for demolition. The houses will only be there for a couple of months before it is finally demolished and rebuilt. Then there is the space where the guest is invited to rest, or a bedroom; and the space where the employee is invited to welcome the guest, which comprises of the reception and the bedrooms. There is also the space where the guest can experience food and entertainment, such as the restaurant and other amenities. In addition, spaces where journalists and social scholars are invited to produce materials regarding spaces of hospitality are created, besides the space where other artists are invited to participate. Spaces all have their nature as to how the encounter between things, people and ideas become organized (Lynch, 2005). These encounters generate effects which in the Deleuzian sense can be linked to embodied sensations. Merleau-Ponty (1964) defined embodiment in a way that reflects how we live in and experience the world through our bodies, especially through perception, emotion, language, movement in space, time, and sexuality. He spoke of existence as known only in and through the body.

One of the authors remembers Hotel Transvaal for the affects that were produced in the silence of the night. The researcher stood in front of the open window on the chilly floor. It was two o’clock and the author looked out at nailed windows illuminated by the moonlight, the long shadows created by the trees, the uncontrolled rose bushes scattered around the window, the sweet smell of wilderness of the garden, the big yellow container to collect wood for recycling, the sight of graffiti and the overwhelming power of the government. The sight of the uncontrolled roses reminded him of the fairy-tale sleeping beauty. She slept a hundred years. If this would have happened in Transvaal, the sleeping beauty would have been awoken by a destruction hammer... or perhaps not... The spindle would have ended up for sure in the yellow container. Moreover, Hotel Transvaal helped the authors to create and sharpen their ideas of spaces of hospitality. The encounter of one of the authors with the hostess Sabrina, who was also a part of the assemblage then, brought him in contact with other scholars, Bollywood DVD’s from the local market and with you, the reader of this entry. The guest of the hotel becomes part of a slice of history of the Netherlands. How the Netherlands copes with urban forces of the twentieth century is made sensible through Hotel Transvaal, which through the concept of a hotel, connected fragments into a Deleuzian assemblage. These fragments which formally belonged in other contexts or still indeed form the context are forged into a hotel concept. The inhabitants of the Transvaal neighbourhood become hosts, the streets become the hallways and the houses are turned into rooms. Connections between former seemingly unconnected entities are made by the designers. Fragments are linked, marked and redefined and put into context. In short Hotel Transvaal connected the unconnected within one context and this assemblage as space of hospitality created more spaces in which the stranger is invited to participate.

4. Hospitality Space within a Larger Context

New space

In many ways, this paper serves as a valuable basis for critiquing the theory on traditional conceptions of tourism space. In the case of Hotel Transvaal, a space of hospitality is assembled, which produces several other spaces of hospitality within the neighbourhood. These are the interactions of the guests of Hotel Transvaal with the different ‘fragments’; these interactions lead to new becomings in the form of spaces of hospitality. The creators/artists of Hotel Transvaal have created a paradox using a rigid (hotel) organization in order to create ‘becomings’. These new becomings are aesthetic and ideological. The ideological part is to show an insight into a ‘deterritorialization’ of the neighbourhood by the government, in the sense that governments at various levels are reallocating inhabitants, and changing social and physical structures. It can be seen through this paper, the significance of an assemblage constituted by molar lines connecting fragments together, and its role in facilitating lines of flight within its produced new spaces of hospitality.

Looking at the nature of the interactions within the new spaces of hospitality produced by Hotel Transvaal, these authors argue for the label ‘smooth space’ This is a Deleuzian post-structuralist notion for open-ended spaces, in other words, spaces which are not defined by a path between fixed and identifiable points (Massumi, 1987, p. xiii). This can be linked to the notion of opening spaces of hospitality proposed by Dikeç (2002) - being hospitable or extending the notion of hospitality does not imply the sovereign power of the host over the guest, but the recognition that we play shifting roles in our engagements, both, as hosts and guests. It is further argued that hospitality is not about rules of stay being implied or predefined through power relations between hosts and guests, but about recognition that we are hosts and guests at the same time in multiple and shifting ways (Lashley, Lynch & Morrison, 2007). In this aspect the roles of the host and the guest, are not to be pre-conceived but are mutually constitutive of each other and are relational in nature (p. 239).

Space of Hospitality as a Cultural Laboratory

Hotel Transvaal challenges the guest’s existing ideas and facilitates cultural laboratories. Löfgren (1999) indicates that “in a cultural laboratory, people are able to experiment with new aspects of their identities, their social relations, or their interaction with nature and also to use the important cultural skills of daydreaming and mind-travelling” (p. 7). Hotel Transvaal has facilitated true cultural laboratories, which are based on hospitality principles. Moreover Hotel Transvaal re-engages and develops hospitality theory, and suggests an alternative way of thinking about the exchange of hospitality, where there is an inviting of the ‘other’ and a diffusion of host and guest roles into one another. Hotel Transvaal clearly involved the shifting of roles; and the production and opening up of spaces of hospitality through gluing different spaces within the neighbourhood together into one assemblage. Hence society and its interactions themselves became more hospitable. Furthermore, this paper endeavours to provide broader implications for the production of new hospitality and tourism space as well; or the development of hospitable socio-organizational space, which includes innovative ideas about the regeneration of urban space for hospitality and tourism. For Deleuze, art has a distinctive role of resisting fixed representations, ‘to create’, is ‘to resist’. In Deleuze’s own typical and recognizable writing style: “Art’s effective, positive; the world would not be what it is if

not for art, people could not hold on any more" (Deleuze, 1988, p. 9). For Deleuze, resistance is possible only through a creative act: "whenever one creates, one resists" (Deleuze, 1988, p. 1). Hotel Transvaal is such a creative act. Hotel Transvaal resists 'problem neighbourhoods' and its molar tendencies of including and excluding. By creating one assemblage which produces many other spaces of hospitality, Hotel Transvaal resists hostility.

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'Sustainable Cultural Tourism Development'

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Abstract

With an increasingly competitive tourism environment, destinations must differentiate themselves by offering a unique travel experience. Remote destinations have an opportunity in gaining access to the global community through the World Wide Web. However, while tourists seek new alternative tourism experiences, the culture and heritage of a region must be effectively promoted to reflect the authenticity of the region. While there are many stakeholder interests in promoting a tourism destination, the indigenous population has a critical role in communicating the authentic and historical ways of life that make their destination unique.

With tourists seeking to experiment with unique cultural experiences through contact with the indigenous population, benefits for both parties can exist. Opportunities such as the diversification of the economic base, income generation, increased standard of living, elimination of poverty, investment in conservational projects that help to preserve the local culture and traditions can exist. However, if not properly managed undesirable consequences may also develop that can lead to a diminishing of the local culture.

This study will demonstrate how tourism activities can be used to include the authentic cultural and heritage attributes that will lead to sustainable tourism management systems. Specifically, this paper examines a number of case studies that demonstrate the success of the Bottom-up Approach for sustainable tourism development and how it can be applied to promote alternative tourism and self-sufficiency. The Bottom-up Approach to tourism development empowers local citizens to become engaged in tourism activities and encourages decision making opportunities in deciding what, where, when, how, and to whom their culture will be exposed.

Key words: Sustainable cultural tourism, indigenous population, development.

Sustainable Cultural Tourism Development**Introduction**

As many tourism destinations face unprecedented growth in the development of their infrastructure, superstructures, and other physical aspects, a region can be rapidly transformed into an unrecognizable destination with the risk of diluting the existing unique heritage and cultural traditions of the past. Investments in physical structure and monuments are an important aspect of any tourism destination, however investment in preserving the cultural and heritage aspects that are unique to the indigenous population are also necessary. As tourist destinations continue to emerge

in an increasingly competitive operating environment, sustainable strategies are a necessity for survival.

With the increasing demand for cultural and sustainable tourism, decision makers and other stakeholders are becoming more aware and acknowledge that cultural tourism as an economic resource deserves management and particularly in light of issues such as environmental quality and cultural opportunities (Madrigal 1995). The trend of cultural and historic travel has been growing; from 1996 to 2002, and there has been an increase by 14% (from 192.5 to 216.8 million person trips), as opposed to the growth of overall travel that has only increased by 5.6% (Goeldner and Ritchie 2009).

While learning various ways of life and becoming more understanding of cultural differences, the tourist can also develop an enriched vision of one's self and the world (Fredline and Faulkner 2000a; Pearce, Moscardo and Ross 1996). For a majority of cultural travelers, a cultural or historic event, or a cultural activity was often the reason for choosing a particular destination; a majority also extended their trip specifically to participate in a cultural or historic activity (TIA 2003). Learning exotic rituals and ways of life through cultural immersion, or participation in traditional activities from the creative minds of an indigenous population are a few ways in which the tourist can benefit (Craik 1997; Inskeep 1991).

With tourists seeking to experiment in unique cultural experiences through contact with the indigenous population, benefits for both parties can exist (Fredline and Faulkner 2000b; McDonnell, Allen and O'Toole 1999). Opportunities such as the diversification of the economic base, income generation, an increased standard of living, investment in conservation of the environment, and projects that help to preserve the local culture and traditions can exist (Dwyer, Mellor, Mistilis and Mules 2000; Getz 1987). However, if not properly managed, undesirable consequences may also develop that can lead to a diminution and dilution of the local culture (Derrett 2000; Davis, Allen and Consenza 1988).

Implementing a Bottom-up Approach for tourism development, empowers local citizens to become engaged in tourism activities and encourages decision making opportunities in deciding what, where, when, how, and to whom their culture will be exposed. When the needs of the community portraying its own cultural heritage come first, Kanahele (1991) explains, cultural tourism management is more sustainable than when it is imposed from above or by outsiders. Seaton and Bennett (1996) support placing the needs of the host population first is an example of responsible tourism and is essential for marketing a cultural and sustainable tourist destination. When the local population of a tourist destination is actively involved in the decision making process and planning for the development of tourism activities a greater sense of ownership exists over their future (Agrusa 2006).

The Bottom-up approach promotes the authentic traditions of a culture and encourages tourists to engage in alternative tourism activities. By establishing the individual and community needs first, the individuals in the community who are in closest contact in interacting with the tourist are in control

while spotlighting the lifestyle of everyday people (Agrusa 2002). In the process, cultural and sustainable tourism also encourages and empowers local residents to be more engaged with tourists because they were involved from the beginning in deciding how their culture will be represented to others and can own the successes because they have met the challenges along the way as well (Fredline and Faulkner 2000b; Davis, Allen and Cosenza 1988). Proponents point out that using the Bottom-up Approach to manage and develop cultural and sustainable tourism diversifies the economic base of a region and provides practical incentives to preserve a region and its people's special characteristics and artifacts (Agrusa 2002).

Cultural tourism, when managed effectively, can create interest in the past, inform the tourist, and lead to the development of the mindful traveler that often leads to an increased appreciation of the many cultural and historic resources of the area (Moscardo 1999). However, tourism development in the absence of the Bottom-up Approach, can reduce a local culture to crass stereotypes, two-dimensional cutouts poorly understood by visitors and producing self-loathing among the local population (Agrusa, Coats and Donlon 2003). Nurturing a Bottom-up Approach to tourism development can allow a tourist to experience and leave the region with a deeper appreciation of the community that has been represented and with many enjoyable memories. This paper intends to highlight the Bottom-up approach in practice through the examination of a number of case studies.

The Bottom-up Approach in Practice

Case of Montserrat

Tourism development through the Bottom-up Approach in Montserrat has been a practical and community based solution for the island and supports the goal of the W.K. Kellogg Foundation to "help communities help themselves" (Barclay, Bishop and Hawes 2005:3). With advances in technology and the internet providing new marketing opportunities the remoteness of a community can be connected and marketed on a global platform and can result in an asset for the island. The island of Montserrat is a British Overseas territory located in the Eastern Caribbean that boasts an active volcano. Nearly destroying two-thirds of the island from pyroclastic volcanic flows, the remaining one-third of the island has tropical beaches, clean drinking water, and lush forests. Since 1995 the tiny island of less than 40 square miles has survived volcanic activity that nearly devastated the island and still remains active today (British Geological Survey 2008).

The Soufriere Hills Volcano has been erupting with lava flowing since 1995 which is similar to the volcano on the Big Island of Hawaii which is the most visited attraction on that Pacific Island destination. According to the Hawaii state Department of Business Economic Development and Tourism (DBEDT), Hawaii's Volcanoes National Park on the Big Island of Hawaii was the second most visited site on all of the Hawaiian Islands with 1,467,779 visitors in 2007, second only to the USS Arizona Memorial with 1.6 million visitors (Dingeman 2009).

With inhabitants living on the remaining one-third of the island, this small population base has dwindled from 12,000 to a low of 3,500 in 1997 when many citizens relocated to neighboring islands in the Caribbean, United Kingdom, and United States (Cassell 2006). Today, Montserrat has a population base of nearly 5079 residents (Central Intelligence Agency 2008). Challenged with high

transportation costs, dependence on exports, and a limited resource base typical of many island economies, the island of Montserrat is developing their tourism industry.

With a number of natural, cultural, and historical attractions opportunities exist to develop Montserrat as an alternative cultural tourism destination. The dynamic cultural and historical background of the island is a tropical retreat that is popularly known as the “Emerald Island of the Caribbean” (Montserrat Tourist Board, 2008). In Montserrat, opportunities are being pursued to develop a niche market in the area of cultural and nature based alternative tourism. The multitude of natural resources from black sand beaches, mountainous landscapes, lush forests, and an active volcano offer a tranquil yet exciting appeal for tourists (Pulsipher 2001). Some examples include the use of such natural phenomena as the active Soufrière Hills Volcano with the development of an observatory to view an active volcano which is taking a negative attribute and using it as a positive tourism attraction. With a newly constructed multipurpose cultural and community center built on Montserrat with multi-media capability is a valuable asset that may provide a focal point for bringing together events with input from the local community.

While Montserrat faces numerous challenges, many opportunities also exist in regard to sustainable cultural tourism development. Infrastructure elements such as a new airport, world-class Montserrat Cultural Center, and the Montserrat Volcano Observatory are assets that are already available. In other respects, the island is left unspoiled by a legacy of mass tourism facilities. Festivals and events identified by the local residents of Montserrat are helping the community to realize their own potential and uniqueness of a culture that can then be communicated to other tourists. Other tourism entities include the development of traditional festivals such as the Montserrat Masquerades at Christmas or the recently developed Calabash Festival that features the best of Montserrat culture and other events that convey the tradition of Montserrat which can also attract former residents to return to the island for heritage tourism. Developing the cultural activities on the island through music, food, and literary festivals, cultural activities may help to stimulate the economy, and if effectively managed, help to restore and retain their rich heritage and traditions. Montserratians have already embraced aspects of the Bottom-up Approach as exemplified by the successful Calabash Festival, just completing its third year.

Case of La Repubblica Del Pesto

Located on the western coast of the Italian Riviera, La Repubblica Del Pesto, adopted the Bottom-up Approach to tourism development. In an area of Spotorno, Italy, tourism activities became oriented towards the development of sustainability and the promotion of cultural, historical and culinary values typical for the Ligurian tourist area. The tourist image of the Spotorno area has been as a sea and sand location, with tourists interested in the summer seasonal marine tourism. The area of Spotorno, went to its traditional roots to develop its culinary tourism or gastronomy tourism and specifically focusing on pesto sauce

Culinary tourism has become a key factor in differentiating the vacation experience, and thus one of the high growth areas of tourism. Pesto from this area is a pure, simple Italian basil sauce that has been exported all over the world. With one of the most important elements of the tourism

experience being food, culinary tourism in Italy has gained increasing attention (Hall and Sharples 2003). A number of research studies have demonstrated that adapting culinary tourism to an area's marketing strategy has diversified and added value to the area's tourism products (Hall, Mitchell and Sharples 2003; Hall, Johnson and Mitchell 2000). Recently, there has been a growing interest in culinary tourism or food tourism from researchers as well as from the tourism industry itself (Kivela and Crotts 2006; Oh, Kim and Shin 2004).

An official inauguration event: "pestata rituale collettiva (common pesto ritual)", as a preparation ceremony for the typical pesto sauce was celebrated by the Spotorno community population and was considered the start up event for this new tourism initiative for the area. The cultivated objective of the event was the "sacrification" of a traditional value (the preparation of Pesto salsa). The result was an event that was adopted as a new reference element of the tourist destination and was chosen as the most important in the annual arc for the strong involvement of the local community. The start up of this event also provided the opportunity to create the Repubblica del Pesto Association with various other project activities that emerged, for example, a culinary festival by the local operators.

The tourism benefits to the Spotorno area by emphasizing their local cuisine as well as having the town and culture filmed and shown to a world-wide audience on BBC television program has increased their destination's image and competitiveness. The outcomes of this project helped develop a new marketing image for the Spotorno region with the addition of culinary tourism. As a result, the British Broadcasting Channel (BBC) in the U.K. travelled to Spotorno and filmed the "common pesto ritual" that was broadcast on British television and later world-wide to validate the concept and brand of the Repubblica Del Pesto.

Case of Prainha do Canto Verde

Located in the northeast of Brazil, Prainha do Canto Verde is a small fishing village with seemingly endless sandy beaches, dune-covered landscape, and pristine lagoons. Prainha is located 125 kilometres southeast of Fortaleza, capital city of the Brazilian federal State of Ceara (Studienkreis 2003). This village is the home for 200 families, totalling 1,200 inhabitants.

The residents of this paradise-like village make their living and subsistence from a craft-type fishing carried out in their traditional rafts named "Jangadas". Fishing is the main source of income, and a large portion of the food that the villagers consume comes from the ocean. The inland population lives out of commercializing cashew products such as nuts and juices, palm wax, and subsistence farming.

Prainha's inhabitants, after their lengthy struggle to preserve their lands, knew that tourist development would eventually arrive and expose the village's environment and culture to tourists. Eventually, a real estate development company would propose the construction of hotels or summer houses. Furthermore, low-end tourists were coming in large numbers to picnic on the beach, leaving garbage behind and putting stress on the local people (SOS Zona Costeira 2003). Rather than trying to prevent all change, the people of Prainha do Canto Verde took a proactive approach and openly

discussed the possibility of development through tourism with a Bottom-up Approach. They posed simple but deep questions: what kind of tourism do we want in our village? What do we not want in our village? If tourists are going to come, what kind of outcome do we want from this tourism?

These questions were discussed in village assemblies and small working groups. Through this inquiry method an in-depth understanding of how local residents in Prainha felt about tourism and how residents in other villages, where tourism was already developed, perceived the effects that tourism had on their community. The rapid emergence of hotels and summer houses built by outsiders brought a considerable change in the architecture and the general look of the village with very few fisherman retaining titles to their lands (SOS Zona Costeira 2003; Studienkreis 2003).

In order to draw a blueprint for tourism development, the Tourism council of Prainha do Canto Verde organized a three day Conference for Sustainable Tourism with the participation of various interest groups within the village such as fisherman, women, men, youth, teachers, and craft-workers. Since the Bottom-up Approach to tourism has been implemented, a positive impact on the social, economic, cultural, and environmental aspects of the village has resulted. With the creation of income generation opportunities, entrepreneurial endeavors (restaurants, sleeping facilities, tourist attractions) are owned and operated by locals along with the village cooperative, ensuring that the profits remain in the village. Tour guides are local youth that have the opportunity to add to their families' income.

The Bottom-up Approach to cultural tourism was instrumental in solidifying the local culture of Prainha do Canto Verde through the preservation and strengthening of communitarian values. The results have been positive with a capital reserves fund that distributes a portion of the profit to the social and education fund. This fund is used to finance small projects or events such as the yearly party for the elderly people of the community, as well as establish donations to the legal defense fund or educational projects. In order to help preserve the culture of the village.

Prainha ensures that the main form of income is fishing with tourism as a secondary source. With the creation of new jobs and opportunities for locals and reinforcement of the local culture, the younger generations are less likely to leave the village to seek better living conditions in large metropolitan cities. The community values that were threatened in the past were restored. Youth at school learn and discuss the real meaning of their culture and the consequences of breaking the cultural values that bond them together (Butler and Hinch 1996; Kirschenblatt-Gimblett 1998).

Prainha implemented an environmental awareness and conservation effort. The community as a whole is engaged in recycling garbage and implementing other measures to create an environmentally sustainable village. Prainha's fishermen are the leaders in the fight against predatory fishing and in favor of sustainability among the fishing villages in the east of the State of Ceara. By limiting the number of visitors to 45 at a time, the carrying capacity of the village is being preserved and minimizing any potential negative impacts from tourism. Available activities take place in a natural setting and considering the nature of the activities, cause very low impact to the ecosystem. The children's choir created the GPT – grupo de Protetores das Tartarugas (Turtle

Protection Group), an initiative to educate their families about the importance of preserving marine turtles and turtle eggs. The GPT also has dolphins and manatees in their care. The annual eco-regatta is a show of creativity where local children paint the sails of the Jangadas (small local fishing boats) with eco-friendly messages. The themes are part of environmental education campaigns including themes such as: "The bottom of the sea", "The ocean, the child and the marine manatee" other themes that are in the eco-regatta are about medicinal plants, the history of the village, the history of the fisheries movement (Studienkreis, 2003).

Discussion

Cultural and historical aspects of a tourism destination can be more easily preserved through an inclusive Bottom-up approach for tourism development. As a number of case studies highlighted in this paper indicated, genuine participation for the indigenous population is essential for the implementation of sustainable tourism development strategies. When active participation among locals and tourists exist, there are opportunities to overcome potential myths and misconceptions that often can distance the relationship between the parties. The Bottom-up Approach however, promotes inclusive practices that can provide a more harmonious tourism environment.

While local residents have the opportunity to realize that this harmony could be easily jeopardized depending on the type and number of incoming tourists, many once isolated residents and cultures will eventually be in contact with modern tourists who are more than willing to experiment with what unique cultures have to offer. With the implementation of the Bottom-up Approach to tourism development in which the priorities of the local community are first taken into consideration and local residents are in control of the development process, a sustainable economic alternative in tourism can emerge with less liability for the local community.

Facilitating sustainable tourism involves community input and decision making as examined in the cases of Montserrat, La Repubblica Del Pesto, and Prainha do Canto Verde. A successful approach to tourism development lies in the recognition of the value of the experiences among the community itself.

With community collaboration and problem-solving processes in place, tourism activities may include strategies that build upon the unique natural, historical, and cultural attributes distinctive to the region. Furthermore, festivals and events identified by the local citizens can help to the community to realize their own potential and uniqueness of a culture that can then be communicated to other tourists. The Bottom-up Approach to tourism development may be a suitable strategy to further develop practical and community based solutions. With technology and the World Wide Web providing new marketing opportunities, the remoteness of a community can be connected and marketed on a global platform.

With a Bottom-up Approach as a blueprint for tourism development, along with the expertise of the local community which can be realized through dialogue, sustainable tourism can be supported. Involving all generations of the community in this approach also provides reciprocal learning opportunities to connect the experience of senior members with younger generations of the

community to promote change in the tourism management system yet remain connected to the foundation of the past.

Future research should focus on identifying the similarities and differences among the perceptions and attitude towards tourism development. With a Bottom-up Approach as a blueprint for tourism development, sustainable tourism can be supported and more easily achieved. By involving local residents and tourists in determining the value beyond the aesthetic physical structures often associated with tourism development, a richer tourism experience may be more easily sustained over the long term.

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'Cultural shows in the opening ceremony of the 2012 London Games: British residents' perspective'

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Abstract:

The opening ceremony of the Olympic Games is watched by an audience of millions worldwide which makes it a good opportunity for each host city and country to promote their images and identities. London, as the host of 2012 Olympic Games, has the opportunity to regenerate the country's image and identity in order to seek new market visitors and to meet the rising demands from the existing visitors (dcm, 2007). This paper focuses on two main aspects which are interrelated: British culture and ceremonial element. The purposes of the study are to understand how British residents reflect their perceptions of British cultural values and identity on the artistic performance of the opening ceremonial presentation. 301 British residents aged over 18 years old were surveyed in January, 2009. A face-to-face structured interview questionnaire survey was adopted to carry out this study. Findings show that three of the ceremonial presentation elements: 'British culture and tradition', 'London's iconic attractions', and 'Modern Britain and Britain's history' are rated as important features by respondents. In their views, these should be used as the main themes in the opening ceremony of the 2012 London. The outcome of this research is expected to assist London Games organisation and image makers to understand local residents' perspectives in terms of the cultural performance on such a mega event. Also, the study seeks to make a significant contribution to academia by developing research interests in the implications of the opening ceremony of the Olympic Games.

Key words: opening ceremony, Olympic Games, London 2012, event, Britain

Introduction

Mega events, like the Olympic Games particularly, have great influences on the host countries and on the visitors to these countries. Depending on the types of the mega-events, they comprise different sets of characteristics. For instance, the modern/non-modern dimension; the national/non-national dimension and the local/non-local dimension (Roche, 2000). A Mega-event such as the Olympics is said to contribute to long-term impact on tourism and business to the host country. The opening ceremony provides the host nation (city) a great opportunity to showcase its cultures at the regional and national level. As indicated by BBC commentator David Coleman for the 1984 opening ceremony, to stage the host nation's culture, history, music and dance during the ceremonial presentation has been one of the Olympic ceremonial traditions (Tomlinson, 1996). The way of conducting images of host nation's (city) culture and history varies from one country (city) to another, which makes each opening ceremony unique. For instance, the Barcelona's (1992) and Athens's (2004) openings displayed the highlights of their regional and national histories, music, dance and cultures, which show the uniqueness of their identities. The study on the culture presentation of Britain during the opening ceremony of the 2012 London Games focuses on two main aspects: Firstly, to incorporate the British culture with the opening ceremony and secondly to investigate the 'Britishness' in modern Britain from the local residents' perspectives. The purpose of having the viewpoints from the local

residents of Britain is mainly to understand how these people perceive their own culture and their expectation on presenting cultural values in mega events, such as the 2012 London Games.

Olympic ceremonies and national identity

Opening and closing ceremonies of the Olympic Games have been commented on as the best opportunities to promote a country's (city) identity and culture (Pruess, 2003 in Sealy and Wickens, 2008). The Olympic Games has a unique potential for the host city or country to re-brand and boost up new tourism economy into the nation. It has been noted by many researchers (Olins, 2003; Faulkner et al, 2000 in Gok and Ozdemir, 2006) that while a nation makes attempts to deliver its own identity, it is important to ensure that a fair and balanced image is delivered. The fair and balanced image should have a close link with the current reality of the country and is not influenced by past events. National branding facilitates a country to publicise its own uniqueness and identity to the world.

Although it has been recognised that Britain already has a strong brand image to global visitors (dcms, 2007), Britain aims to address the rising expectations and needs of visitors and to attract potential new market visitors. Therefore, in order to regenerate Britain and London city's image, it is vital to understand how British citizens identify themselves and the degree of national cultural awareness. It not only assists branding marketers to critically develop an identifiable country image, but also meets expectations of visitors and British local citizens. Nationality and culture encompass various dominant and sub-cultural values and characteristics from different regions within one nation (Knauer, 2000). With regard to culture, place and identity in association with sporting events such as the Olympic Games, this type of event has been categorised as 'fine arts' programme. This 'fine arts' programme generally includes many major components of the nation (host community), such as history, culture, tradition, image and values (Knauer, 2000). Hinch and Higham (2004) indicated that: 'The opening and closing ceremonies of the Olympic Games provide a good example of the conscious mix of sport and culture, as do the separate Olympic cultural programmes organised by host cities.' (Hinch and Higham, 2004: 103)

The performance which showcases the national identity and cultural values often inspires tourists to visit the place (Coshall, 2000; Tapachai and waryszak, 2000 in Morgan and Prithchard, 2004). The department for culture, media and sport of Visit Britain and Visit London (dcms, 2007) stated that the strategic plan for this London Games is not only to show the sporting capabilities of the nation and the regeneration of East London, but also to encourage new market tourists either domestic or international visitors. It is believed that by developing a concise national brand and identity, the targets of hosting the Olympic Games can be achieved (dcm, 2007).

Multiculturalism in Modern Britain

British culture in modern Britain encompasses a range of diverse cultures and subcultures. According to Jacobson (1997), with regard to the British identities, the meaning of Britishness has no definitive criteria. Also, under the multiculturalism, it seems impossible to have one way to define British identities. Being British should involve more than one set of elements and boundaries. According to the same source, there are three main boundaries of Britishness: civic boundary, racial boundary and

cultural boundary. Each of these boundaries defines people from different perspectives of being British. More importantly, it has to be noted that the British cultural identities comprise of more than the four states population (English, Scottish, Welsh and Northern Irish) in addition to immigrants and a new range of ethnic groups. Within the context of contemporary Britain, in spite of the growth of Europeanism, there is a new range of sub-cultural ethnic group of immigrants; Black, Chinese and Indian communities. All of these make the nature of Britishness even more complex (Smyth, 1997 in Storry and Childs, 1997). This applies especially when the exiting cultural diversity entails a considerable influence on the state integrity and socio-cultural intermingling. In short, Britishness in this modern British society is a much more complex subject as it involves many different aspects of studies to form a whole encompassing understanding.

Significance of Britishness image making on 2012 Games

The main focuses of the study are the understanding of British residents' perceptions about their cultural values and identity which can be the important elements showcased in the opening ceremony of the 2012 London Games. Although some elements of 'Britishness' are expected to be presented visually (dcms, 2007), it is important to be noted that local residents' views about this term play a vital part. According to Knauer (2000), the representation of 'Britishness' includes a four national states' culture and history, although the input of English element is more emphasised since it has been primary English dominated country. The presentation of Britishness could differ considerably depending on the demographic characteristics of different regional residents as well as local traditions and personal preferences of each individual. It has been commented by Arts council England (2009) that the 2012 Games offers a unique opportunity for the UK to reinforce the country's reputation as a world leader in culture. The Games will also provide a vibrant environment where individuals and communities can express their creativity and imagination in arts, highlighting the cultural diversity in the UK. In addition, other benefits of showcasing the country's (city) cultural identity successfully during the Games are: enhancing the country's (city) touristic images, and reinforcing economic and business investment (Hall, 1992). The importance of presenting British culture during the opening ceremony of the 2012 Games is supported by dcms (2007). It was stated that through the conduct of the Olympic Games in London, a clearer and more concise image can be delivered to worldwide visitors. The regeneration of Britain and London's images is beneficial as it should to strengthen Britain's position in the tourism industry and provide a clearer welcoming image to the worldwide visitors. During the planning of the Olympic Games in London, the participation of four national states' administration and ethnic communities will enhance the working relationship among each other. The efforts will be made in order to showcase a strong cultural focus (both British culture and the highlight of London's cultural diversity) in the 2012 Olympic Games' main ceremonies (dcm, 2007: 8-9).

Research method

The aims of the study were:

1. To understand what elements should be included in the opening ceremony from British residents' viewpoint.
2. To explore the linkage between British culture and identity, and the opening ceremonial presentation in the 2012 Olympics.

Due to budget and time limitations, a quantitative methodological approach was adopted making use of a questionnaire. The questionnaire comprised both closed and open questions. It consisted of 24 questions and, of those 14, 10 questions contained open space for qualitative responses. This allowed more detailed data to be gathered. As Miles and Huberman (1994: 41) point out, qualitative data can benefit the analysis of quantitative data by 'validating, interpreting, clarifying, and illustrating quantitative findings'. Furthermore, the quantitative data allowed the possibility of 'conceptual mapping' of the issues to be addressed (Bryman, 1988).

Quantitative data was based on 10 dependent variables such as their views of the handover ceremony at the Beijing Olympics and expectations of the opening ceremonial presentations and 5 independent variables such as gender and age. The aim of the study was to understand British residents' expectations of the 2012 Olympics' opening ceremonial presentations and their views on 'Britishness'. The research instrument facilitated the collection of data from a large sample of respondents across different demographic groups. Data was collected from respondents encountered in Greenwich and its surrounding areas. In line with the study's objectives, the sample population was based on British residents who are over 18 years old and have been living in UK for at least 5 years. The survey was limited to British people in order to understand their perceptions of 'what is British culture' and their expectations and opinions of the 2012 Games' opening ceremony. Prior to the actual survey, two pilot studies were undertaken in High Wycombe, UK. This is common in research of this kind. (Robinson, 2002)

Greenwich and the surrounding areas were selected for undertaking fieldwork for the following reasons. Firstly, Greenwich is one of the major host venues for the 2012 Olympics and thus it seems to have a great opportunity to benefit from the development of new tourist facilities and attractions. According to Greenwich council (2009) one of the economic benefits will be an increase in tourism. Secondly, the 2012 London Games offers a great opportunity for Greenwich to generate a positive image and reputation as a high quality visitor destination. It is for these reasons that the Greenwich area was selected for the study.

As indicated in the literature, small scale surveys normally adopt a non probability sampling strategy when the survey has no exact sampling frame (Robson, 2002). Following this methodological advice, it was decided to employ a non probability sampling approach that is a purposive sample. This sampling approach is dependent on the convenience of the available respondents. In total, 301 questionnaires were collected in Greenwich town centre and its surrounding areas and as such the study's findings may not be generalisable to a wider population.

Study findings

The study shows that respondents have different perceptions towards the importance of using various elements to be performed in the opening ceremony of 2012 Games. In this research, 5 ceremonial elements for the 2012 opening ceremony are examined in order to understand the degree of importance in using them in the opening ceremony (1= strongly agree; 5=strongly disagree). Similarly, the perceptions about British culture are tested to see whether the respondents

agree upon the statements. In relation to the British culture reflecting the modern Britain, the study result shows that the majority of the respondents claim that there is such thing as a 'British culture'. With regard to the British culture statement, it is found that over half the sample population perceive British culture to be more about accommodating British and ethnic minorities' cultures, followed by concentrating on British prestige, rich history and traditions.

Views about 2012 Olympics ceremonial presentation elements

The majority of respondents recognised themselves as British (78.4%) and the rest of the respondents identified themselves as others such as English, European, Asian etc. In terms of gender, 57.8% of the sample population are male and 42.2% are female. Respondents who are between 18-35 years old occupy 51.2% of the sample population whereas 48.8% are aged 36 years old and above. With regard to the occupation status, 39.5% are professional and managerial, 31% are non manual and clerical. 15.9% are students, 3.3% are skill/semi-skilled/unskilled workers and 10.3% are either unemployed or retired.

In general terms, with regard to the perceptions about British culture and the elements to be presented in the opening ceremony, respondents have distinctive views about these values. As can be seen from Table 1, respondents illustrate their level of agreement toward 5 different presentation elements which could be important to be included in the opening ceremony of 2012 Games. It seems British culture and traditions are recognised as the most important elements to be included in the opening ceremony (74.5%), followed by London's iconic attractions (74.4%). Puijk (1999 in Klausen, 1999) mentions that for the Olympic opening ceremony, each country wants to create a performance which can identify its own national cultural elements. For instance, in terms of the Lillehammer Olympic opening ceremony, the LOOC (Lillehammer Olympic Organisation Committee) targeted at showcasing Norwegian culture which can reflect Norway's variety of tradition, culture and heritage. The main elements of the opening ceremony are 'simplicity, dignity and popularity' which needs to present the authenticity and unadulterated Norwegianess (Pujik, 1999 in Klausen, 1999: 124). In addition, the Beijing Olympics used its opportunity to promote Chinese culture, showcased the history and development of Beijing as well as displaying a new image of China to the worldwide audience (Weed, 2008). It was expected by the Chinese and Beijing governments that the delivery of traditional Chinese culture, heritage and history, and the new image of China could address the problems caused by the state socialist system and promote tourism (Weed, 2008: 183-185).

For this study, 63.3% of the respondents support the importance of using Modern Britain and Britain's history as the important elements in the opening ceremony of 2012 Games. However, ethnic minorities' culture is perceived as the least important element which should be included in the opening ceremony as there are only 35.2% of the respondents agree on the importance of its use for the 2012 Games.

Table 1 Importance of 5 presentation elements for the opening ceremony of 2012 Games.

	London's iconic attractions	British culture and tradition	Ethnic minorities' culture	Pop culture	Modern Britain and Britain's history
Strongly agree	28.9%	39.9%	8.3%	7%	19%
Agree	45.5%	34.5%	26.9%	31.2%	44.3%
Neutral	13.6%	19.6%	38.5%	28.9%	25.3%
Disagree	8.6%	4%	18.6%	21.3%	7.3%
Strongly disagree	2%	1.3%	6%	10.3%	2.7%
Do not care	1.4%	0.7%	1.7%	1.3%	1%

Table 2 What is British culture?

	There is no such a thing called British culture	Prestige, rich history and traditions	Accommodating British and ethnic minorities' cultures
Strongly agree	2.7%	7.6%	12.3%
Agree	8.3%	31.6%	47.5%
Neutral	13.0%	25.6%	20.9%
Disagree	42.2%	24.3%	14.6%
Strongly disagree	31.2%	9.6%	4.3%
Do not care	0.3%	1.3%	0.3%

According to Table 2, the majority of the respondents think that British culture does exist, as 73.4% of the respondents disagree with the statement 'There is no such a thing called British culture'. However it has to be noted that there are 11% of the British respondents who agree that in the present day, there is actually no such a thing as British culture. After the Second World War (1945), the increasing number of immigrants into Britain has been a concern for the country. In addition to the immigrants, the UK already comprises of four indigenous populations which developed their own identities. With all this, it means the nature of Britishness since 1945 has been a mix between four separate indigenous cultures and a new range of ethnic identities (Storry and Childs, 1997:259-261). It is therefore not surprising to understand that to some extent, the mixture of British and ethnic minorities' culture can lead a percentage of British respondents to question the existence of British culture in the modern Britain.

In terms of the statement 'British culture is about prestige, rich history and traditions', 39.2% agree with this term whereas 33.9% disagree. For the statement 'British culture is about accommodating British and ethnic minorities' cultures', it can be noted that respondents show a quite distinctive perception toward this statement about British culture. As can be seen from Table 2, there are 47.5% of the respondents who agree, 12.3% who strongly agree, whereas 20.9% hold neutral opinion and

18.9% disagree that British culture is about accommodating British and ethnic minorities' cultures. According to Storry and Childs (1997),

'Ethnicity is a highly complex and contentious concept. It can be defined as the patterns of behaviour, cultural values and political affiliations shared by certain individuals who come together to form a group within a larger population.'

Storry and Childs (1997: 243)

The multiculturalism in this regard affects issues such as national and ethnic identities as well as values. Smyth (1997) commented that the national identity of modern Britain is a mix of national identity, ethnic identities and the emergence of new ways of being British. The changing nature of Britain cannot be accounted for without relating them to possible transformations of social identity.

Conclusion

The opening ceremony of the Olympics could serve as a means to publicise the host nation's (city) image and national identity to worldwide audiences. For the most part, discourses of national identity accommodate the flexibility for changes as national character and cultural identity modify according to changing social conditions. The opening ceremony of the Olympics is a special event which introduces the uniqueness of the host nation's (city) culture, tradition and history. With the world media and the global consumer markets, the spectacle of the Olympics opening ceremony is usually witnessed to the increased awareness of national character and a complex contemporary cultural identity.

As the aim of this paper is to make a link between British culture and presentation elements in relation to the opening ceremony of the 2012 Games, the presentation of 'Britishness' on the stage should be carefully designed as it is in response to contemporary British society. From this study, it is evident that cultural diversity and traditional British elements are emphasised by British residents surveyed in the Greenwich area.

In modern Britain, due to the impacts of globalisation and multiculturalism, the representation of British culture is hybrid. As specified previously in 2.2, although the significance of presenting 'Britishness' has been supported by the Department of culture, media and sport, the social representation from the communities should have the opportunity to express their opinion on the agenda. This study attempted to make representativeness from the survey sample to understand public views about cultural performance elements which reflect modern 'Britishness'. This research used a structured, face-to-face interview questionnaire to obtain the social representation from the Greenwich area in response to the presentation elements linking with British culture discourse. The research method applied for this study successfully captured a large number of the sample population (301 respondents) expressing their views on the issues in relation to the British culture and opening ceremony presentation elements. The survey sample was made to form a representativeness of the Greenwich area for this study. The use of open and close ended types of response facilitated the researchers to obtain both quantitative and qualitative data to make a comprehensive study on the subject matter. Analysis of the elements to be used in the opening

ceremony in relation to British culture shows that both 'British culture and tradition' and 'London's iconic attractions' are seen as the important features to be included in the opening ceremony. Having agreed on the existence of British culture in contemporary Britain, the notion of 'Britishness' seems to be complex. It relates more to accommodating both British and ethnic minorities' cultures along with an emphasis on the character of prestige, rich history and traditions of Britain.

This study along with governmental reports (dcms, 2007 and Arts council England, 2009) identifies the importance of involving cultural diversity and the traditional British culture elements for the 2012 Games' opening ceremony. The study's findings reveal that respondents rate the great importance of using three sets of ceremonial elements for the opening ceremony: London's iconic attractions; British culture and tradition; and modern Britain and Britain's history. It is stated by the respondents that these three main elements should be used as the main themes to be performed in the opening ceremony of the 2012 Games. In addition, among the three major elements, the use of British culture and tradition in particular is perceived as the most important presentation element. Corresponding to the respondents' perception about British culture, prestige, rich history and traditions are recognized as the criteria of Britishness. Also, linking the importance of using British culture and tradition as the main theme for the 2012 Games' opening ceremony, it is evident that not only the features of rich history, prestige and traditions should be performed on stage during the opening ceremony, but that both British and ethnic minorities' cultures should be involved as the main elements.

Having said that, to create an appropriate and positive image of the country is not an easy task, especially for a country such as United Kingdom which has many diverse and sub-cultural groups of residents. To position a positive and all encompassing national image of the country needs marketers to work closely with experts and ordinary British residents.

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'Healing 'Hidden Injuries of Class' and Creating Critical Visions: An Academy of Hope for Tourism Studies in Macao'

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Abstract

With about US\$15 billion invested in Macao's gaming industry between 2005 and 2009 for the creation of world-class casinos, theatres, theme-parks and luxury shopping malls, intense casino development had transformed Macao's urban landscape. Much is said about Macao's astonishing rate of tourist arrivals and staggering Gross Domestic Product in the last four years as a combined result of longstanding casino tourism and nascent World Heritage tourism in the 28-sq km post-colonial territory. Less is said about its 500,000 residents and workers. Changes in global economic climate and regional visa policies have resulted in a slowdown in the casino industry and have seen substantial retrenchments of casino-related workers in the latter part of 2008. In this paper, I argue that it is pertinent for tourism scholarship in Macao to shed its *bourgeois* leanings and pay more attention to the sweat, blood, toil and dignity of its *proletariats*. Specifically, drawing upon life- and work-history interviews with former traditional boat builders, I examine pre-casino Macao's class experiences and relations. Following that and using similar interviews with current and retrenched casino workers, I describe and interpret current experiences and exploitations. In doing so, I seek to relate the present with the past and boldly sketch a roadmap/critical vision for a possible healing of Macao's 'hidden injuries of class'.

Keywords: individualised dimensions of class, traditional boat builders, casino dealers, Macao

Introduction

Tourism research in Macao had focused on destination branding and marketing (Tan, 1999, Leong, 2007), casino tourist motivations, behaviours and profiles (Vong, 2007), heritage and conservation (Imon, 2008, Imon et al., 2008b, Imon et al., 2008a, Lam, 2007, Lamarca, 2002, du Cros, 2008) and tourist arrival forecasting (Zhang, 1999). While these researches are important in their respective ways, they have focused mainly on what can be said to be concerns of the bourgeois and capitalist aspirations and have overlooked proletariat and working class ones. In this paper, I argue that it is very important for tourism scholars in Macao to look beyond capitalist issues and concerns and pay more attention to the working class and their injuries of class.

The pioneering work of the Frankfurt School critical theorists (see for example, Horkheimer, 1982, Adorno, 1966) and the later work of Jurgen Habermas (1984, 1987, 1989) have greatly shaped academic and activists' notions of critical theory and vision and are sources of inspiration. These authors have stressed the need to look beyond the Leninist interpretations of Marxism and the obsession with political economy. Instead, they have called for greater attention on alienation, freedom and emancipation of workers and the destruction of their false consciousness (see for example, Horkheimer, 1982). The works of Habermas are inspirational as well. Particularly, Habermas' (1984) emphasis on resolution of organisational/capitalist-induced crises through evolutionary learning is instructive here. To this, Habermas claims two possible pathways: first, an

acquisition of useful technical know-how and second, the internalisation of moral-practical consciousness. In many capitalist societies, Habermas observes a distortion of modernity by capitalists, resulting in the waning of informed democratic debate within societies. Such capitalist distortions occur in Macao as well and warrant greater academic and activist attention.

It is also important to consider how these concerns travel beyond grand narratives and into concepts of space and place (Gregory, 1978, Gregory, 1993) and explore how capital-worker relations project themselves in territories of social struggles and lived and experienced life-worlds. This is an issue to consider for Macao as a place where business and political interests converge and where truly informed and empowered public participation are only just emerging. Furthermore, it is pertinent, as Sennett and Cobb remind us, to cast our analytical lenses on their emotional aspects of their relationship with capital as well to examine how exploitation is experienced. Such 'hidden injuries of class' (Sennett and Cobb, 1972) and 'corrosion of character' (Sennett, 1998), I argue, should be cared for more fundamentally using patient critically-informed policies.

This paper is organized as follows. In the first main section, drawing upon life- and work-history interviews with a former shipyard worker, I examine pre-casino Macao's class experiences and relations and recent proposal at remembering and performing their hidden injuries of class. In the second section, using similar interviews with current and retrenched casino workers, I describe and interpret current experiences and exploitations. In the third section, I consider the implications for tourism education and research in Macao and suggest ways forward for critical scholarship and practices of love. The paper concludes with the main points put forth.

Performing Macao's Past Hidden Injuries of Class: Traditional boat builders

7th April, 2009. Improvement plans for Coloane Village were announced and the Coloane villagers were asked to choose between the two plans put forth by the City Planning Department of the Land and Transport Authority of Macao. Plan A describes a revitalised Coloane Village as a hub for arts and culture while Plan B advances a more commercially lucrative high-end housing and boutique hotel precinct. If Plan A goes ahead, Lai Chi Wan area, housing the most complete set of what remains of Macao's traditional boat building yards and docks, would become Macao's first industrial heritage site.

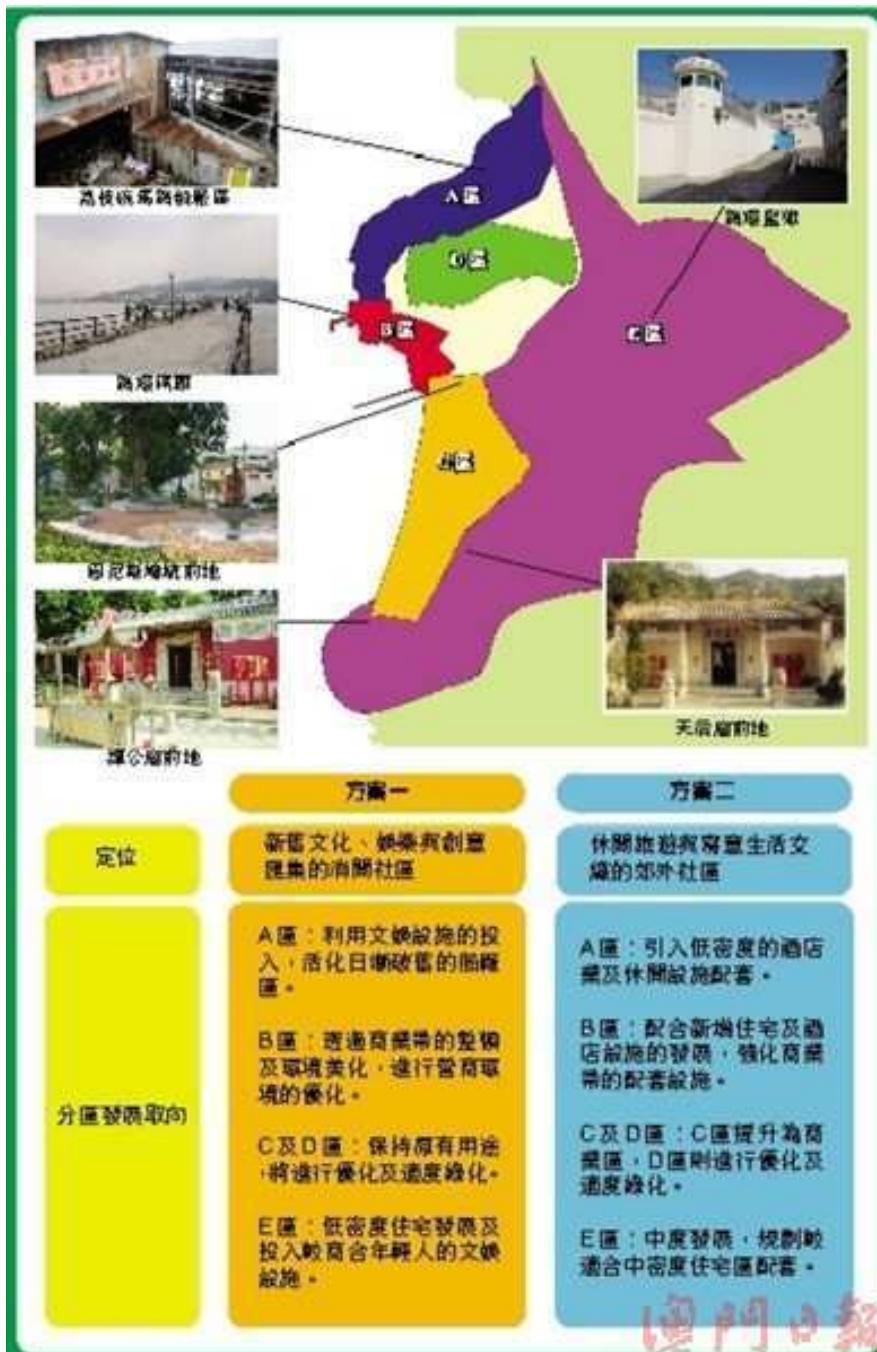


Figure 1: Plan A and B: Concept Plans for Improvement of Coloane Village (Ao Mun Yat Po/Macao Daily, 7 April 2009). Note the development plans for the traditional shipyards on the top left-hand corner as an industrial tourism attraction.

Of particular interest to this paper are the implications for past proletariats who worked and toiled on these harsh landscapes. How would they feel about this? What kinds of stories would be told? Would these be tales of their dignity against hardship or that of their persistent subjugation and subjection to powers of capital? To understand the situation of traditional boat builders, a brief historical overview may be warranted here. Traditional boat building is one of the oldest industries in Macao (Deng 2001). According to the Museum of Taipa and Coloane History, the first of such shipyard in Macao was opened in Qing Dynasty and by 1920s, shipyard numbers more than 30. These

shipyards and their workers are notable for their skills and craftsmanship in building Chinese-styled wooden boats and ships. These are done using very simple hand-tools and using very simple (from a western 'scientific' point of view) construction plans. The industry was still strong in the early 1990s with the Macao Census and Statistics Board (1991) identifying a total of 38 traditional shipyards in Macao. Of these, 22 are on the Macao peninsula and 16 on off-shore island Coloane. At that time, worker numbers are estimated at 500. Like the firecracker factories, many of these shipyards are traditional Chinese family businesses and drew their labour force from family members, relatives and other close associates. A shipyard in Lai Chi Wan, Coloane completed its last assignment in late 2006. Sadly (for this author at least), it was also Macao's last piece of traditional shipbuilding.



Figure 2: Wong narrating boat building toils and shipyard tales (source: author)

Fieldwork at Lai Chi Wan Village in Coloane was first conducted in the summer of 2007. There we met Wong at what was remaining of his shipyard. Wong appeared a little suspicious when we first walked in. He was working on some carpentry when we entered. He became more relaxed after we explained our research intentions and after he knows we are not officers from the Municipal Council. Wong could have been wary as only one of us is and looked local. I am an ethnic Chinese but I do not speak the local dialect. My other friend is a Filipino and although he speaks fluent basic Cantonese, Wong might have felt he looked foreign. Furthermore, as compared to the summer gear for boat builders in summer, we were overdressed. Add to that our bulky and intrusive cameras and we looked like non-labouring tourists. It took my Cantonese-speaking friend some good chat with Wong before rapport is established and before he opened up to us.

According to Wong, life as a traditional boat builder was hard but meaningful. However, class relations within the shipyards are more fluid. Shipyards are usually family owned and run businesses and owners work with their workers and fellow builders. Owner and builders like Wong can be seen

as petty bourgeois whose toil and sweat often reaped rewards that were re-invested into their businesses. Shipyard workers however, aspire to get their children and families out of blue-collared jobs and hard labour by investing on the education of their children. According to Wong, many children of shipyard worker parents do attain social mobility and climbed up the Macao social ladder. Some became lawyers, engineers and doctors. Some joined the tourism industry as managers in hotels, travel agencies and casinos. In spite of this achievement, their shipyard parents' hardship and pain are real. Boat building is a dangerous vocation and the fire god Wong worships on his shipyard is testament to but one of the threats to his livelihood and life while at work.

Deng in his 2001 research of Lai Chi Wan shipyards, documented that many masters, apprentices and craftsmen working on the shipyards have switched to flexible part-time or alternate careers when their steady stream of boat-building jobs declined. Today, the majority of them have retired or switched to alternate careers. For instance, Wong makes his living now as a carpenter. Many of his former employees and peers are taxi-drivers and builders for renovation firms. In 2005, they dreamed of the shipyard grounds to warehouses. They applied formally to the Municipal Council, but were repeatedly rejected. He felt that having the warehouses built would have kept 'everyone' back in Lai Chi Wan and would have provided them with a stable income. According to Wong, shipbuilding is a lucrative vocation in its heydays but was very hard work. He proudly rolled up his sleeves to show us the scars on his arms. These were marks and traces of labouring on the shipyard. We asked if he would be happy to have student workshops conducted on traditional shipbuilding, possibly on-site. He was receptive but warns of difficulties as carpentry skills required for even the simplest part of the shipbuilding process is extremely difficult even for trained carpenters. He was also open and positive about my proposed ideas of shipyard museum and even working as on-site heritage guides. He mentioned he would be very happy to tell students, Macao people and tourists about the past of this place and the 'glory days' of Macao shipbuilding. If former shipyard workers and boat builders are re-employed as heritage guides on site, Dicks (2008) reminded us that these classed individuals would have to negotiate some very difficult questions:

Different struggles for autonomy now arise under altered conditions, but they are still struggles. In fact, the current tour guide finds himself sandwiched between two realities, one past, one present, neither of which were or are conducive to the achievement of personal autonomy or dignity (in spite of the myths of the archetypal proletariat). Though in very different ways and under different conditions, both the mine-worker and the tour guide have to negotiate the hidden injuries of class, and in the person of the ex-miner guide they come together.

Wong's narration of his boat-building life had given us a taste of what Dicks was talking about. For instance, Wong had to champion their craft as boat builders and their contribution to Macao economy between the 1960s and the 1990s but was constantly reminded of the lowly status of the job and the dangers they faced. More importantly, he has to narrate accounts of his subjugation with capitalism while negotiating a present one between himself as an interpreter and his academic-tourists. At the end of our meeting with Wong, we got a taste of what a fragment of their lives were when Wong invited us to have toasted bread and coffee in a well-hidden tea-house at the end of Lai Chi Wan. It was a modest but hearty meal. Indeed, Wong and his fellow boat-builders and shipyard

workers' classed lives are as elusive as their well-hidden tea house. However, unlike the tea in the tea house, serving and presenting their individual, subjective classed lives would be no easy task.

Thus far, Macao has done a relatively good job in recognising their collective contributions to Macao economy, heritage and society. A dedicated oral history project to document their individualised accounts and classed voices may be one way to help capture the subjective dimension of their proletarianism. This could be useful if the villagers of Coloane choose Plan A put forth by The Land and Transport Authority of Macao. Its Plan B would see the shipyard area demolished to make way for boutique hotels. That would erase the material testaments of Wong and his fellow shipyard mates' toil and labour.

Proletariats of Macao's Present: Casino dealers

In this section, I want to draw our attention to the situations of casino dealers and their supervisors in Macao's gaming tourism industry. Gaming is the biggest industry in Macao and is the main draw for its regional and international visitors. Much of the industry has relied on imported or foreign labour from the Philippines, Thailand, Malaysia, Hong Kong and mainland China for operational staff and much wider and further for middle and senior management. One job, however, is protected. Casinos in Macao are only allowed by law to recruit and hire Macao residents as casino dealers. This has led to a generally well-paid vocation where demand often out-strips supply. This is so even before the major expansion of the industry after the liberalisation of gaming and the dissolution of Stanley Ho's casino monopoly. At that time, beginning dealers commonly take home more than what a degree-holding office worker would take home for salary. The situation is exacerbated with the establishment of Las Vegas Sands Corporation in Macao. A US/'western'-styled management is looked upon by job seekers at that time to be attractive on top of the already higher than usual pay package. When Sands first recruited, there were long queues just to get application forms for the job and a subsequent mad rush to submit the hastily completed forms. In this sense, casinos appear to be the ideal employer for residents of Macao and casino dealing the ideal proletariat vocation, particularly in relation to pay. However, beyond the higher than average pay, we know little about their classed experiences as workers in Macao-based casinos. What about the subjective and individualised dimension of such a classed relation? Two casino supervisors and a retrenched former dealer were referred to me by our mutual close associates and interviewed.

Both interviews are casual but tended to start in a more formal way when interviewees appeared more guarded and nervous. The first was Amanda (pseudonym), a 25 year old casino dealer supervisor. Amanda quitted undergraduate studies to pursue her casino dealing career. She appeared more guarded initially and appeared to want to use the interview as a platform to voice her concerns with the recent changes in employment situations. For instance, she lamented that the free and independent traveller scheme is 'not really helping (them)' and that 'it is a surface thing' for 'right now', casinos 'are experiencing labour shortage!' In the past, casino dealers are always deployed in surplus on gaming floors. However, as a result of the downturn, casinos looked to cost-cutting and many have responded by asking dealers to go on week-long no-pay leave and consequently less dealers work the gaming tables at one time now. Amanda lamented at how little free time they have to chit-chat with each other now as compared to the past. Amanda spends her

off days shopping for luxury items or going over to the neighbouring town of Gong Bei, Zhuhai for message and manicure. My first response then was: why were they so lazy and self-indulgent? She is soft and pampered and do not seem to have much ambitions. She also appear to be mercenary having entered the job for the higher pay and apparently spending the money on weekends on luxury items and pleasures. Was she originally a marketing major because of her mum? Or did she choose that on her own accord? What are her interests? What does she want in her life? If she had wanted to get ahead earlier when she opted to become a dealer, or if her mums want her to get ahead when she fought for the application forms at sands, did their dreams come true?

Jose (pseudonym), 22 years old, the second casino dealer friend interviewed, speaks of rather similar sentiments: attracted to the job before completing their undergraduate studies because of the high pay, rather uninspired present and a general lack of fighting spirit. They commonly talk about the joys, perils and pains of emotional labouring at the casino tables. For instance, they like to talk about the joys of meeting people although befriending gamers is taboo. They also talked about being bullied or treated badly by gamers, especially when gamers lose on their tables. A common abuse is blowing cigarette smoke into the faces of dealers. Luis (pseudonym), 24 years old, was retrenched from a major Macao casino last July. However, he is still unemployed as although he does not love casino work, he is unwilling to accept a lower paying job. He used to take close to 17000MOP a month but is now generally offered clerical or front office work that pays about 6000MOP. Meanwhile, he passes time playing mahjong with other retrenched dealers, most from his former company. He has no plans for the future and prefers to 'wait and see'.

It is easy to pass judgement and label these Macao youths as lazy and self-indulgent. A closer look however, revealed signs of hidden injuries of class: a false consciousness, a denial, and an acceptance of their persistent subjugation. These are individualised consequences of a structural problem. Macao has relied too heavily on casino capitalists for employment. As a result, a 'hidden' exploitation can be said to have taken place. Youths are recruited at tender age of 18, many of them middle and high school leavers who might otherwise have gone on to complete their studies. While on the job, these youths are commonly not given much career development and skills upgrading. There is little scope for moving into management or lateral transfers to other departments in the companies as they are not skilled in other technical areas. Slowly, they were made to think that realities facing them are insurmountable and that their subjugation natural. To exacerbate things further, the interviews confirmed something many Macao residents suspected: leading a lifestyle that centres on nightlife and entertainment, many dealers and their supervisors gamble heavily and a significant number of them are problem drinkers, gamblers and shoppers.

In the interviews, it seems Sennett's thesis of a corrosion of character is applicable here as well. Commitment, loyalty and social bonding appear to be weakening as the 'flexible worker' stretches the classed worker. My casino respondents appear to live for the day, demonstrating a short-termism suitable for flexible deployment in an increasingly uncertain economic terrain. In fact, a respondent commented that this is the new 'opium' the west brings to Macao. Addicted to the high pay and lavish style of living and not accustomed to commitment, casino proletariats of Macao do not seem to know of the ways forward.

Healing hidden injuries of class with critical tourism pedagogy and political project of love

Currently, high salaries and continued economic growth have legitimised existing treatments of workers. The casino workers are a privileged group commanding relatively high salaries. However, even for this group, we need to realise that there are more we can do for workers than ensuring their pay-packets are filled. Current tourism education in Macao for casino workers has focused largely on vocational skills. While recognising the virtues of skills-based and vocational training, I argue that these forms of training assume an unchangeable reality and distract workers from seeking ways to transform their lived environments and work situations. As such, the key principles to be adopted for Macao's critical pedagogy should build upon revisions to Paulo Freire's insights (cited in McLaren, 1999) and his political project of love:

Dialogue cannot exist, however, in the absence of a profound love for the world and for people. The naming of the world, which is an act of creation and re-creation, is not possible if it is not infused with love. Love is at the same time the foundation of dialogue and dialogue itself... Because love is an act of courage, not of fear, love is commitment to others. No matter where the oppressed are found, the act of love is commitment to their cause – the cause of liberation. And this commitment, because it is loving, is dialogical...

How then can we embark on such a project of love for Macao casino and tourism workers? First, as Habermas suggests, we should aim to provide useful technical knowledge. Such useful technical knowledge should include skills that would allow them to work in the gaming industry and also outside the gaming industry. As many existing casino workers joined the industry before college and high school education, the role of a pre-industry tourism education could be a most vital point of intervention. They should also be acquainted with concepts of career development and skills upgrading in the gaming industry. Furthermore, post-industry education and continual learning pathways (beyond the immediate refresher or vocational courses) should be kept open and encouraged to help casino workers attain tertiary and higher education and further their careers into management in the industry or employment in another industry. In doing so, casino workers such as Amanda, Jose and Luis may find themselves living and leading more fulfilling and dignified lives and careers in and beyond the casino and gaming industry.

Second, we must help break the false consciousness of these casino workers and help create practical-moral knowledge (Habermas, 1989). This should centre on a critique of the over-reliance on casinos as the main drivers of the Macao economy and the realisation of the ills and dangers of working in and for casino capitalists. The Macao citizenry should also push for better redistribution of incomes and to the improvement of education, medical and social work services and facilities. The key to such pre-industry education is to help equip would-be tourism workers with critical thinking abilities. In particular, and drawing upon approaches in critical pedagogy (McLaren et al., 2004, McLaren, 2001), they should have the ability to keep capital in check by questioning unsustainable and unethical business practices and not to adhere to capital's desires for profitability blindly. They must know they can opt out or walk out from exploitative relations and situations and seek change in their lives.

Macao's experiences with traditional boat building petty bourgeois could point to a viable and more equitable alternative to casino capitalism as the prime driver of the economy. The petty bourgeois model may prove a more sustainable and socially just pathway than the 'lumpen' casino 'capitalists'. A committed strategy to local entrepreneurship by encouraging start-ups by youths and fresh graduates and interest free or cheap loans to small and medium size enterprises could reap better rewards in the long run for the Macao society.

A more socially just society for Macao is possible if we adopt a more caring and critical vision and translate visions into timely interventions. Macao tourism research has to move beyond simply being business relevant. More has to be done to show Macao tourism researchers can be socially relevant and that we can bring about positive social changes and improve people's lives. This includes more research into the lived experiences of tourism workers, peoples and environments affected by tourism and the ways in which tourism, particularly through cultural or heritage tourism can help re-position the status of the proletariat through nuanced and sensitive portrayals of their sweat, blood and toil. This is possible for Macao if residents of Macao's Coloane Village should opt for Plan A and if the industrial tourism designed using the sites of the old traditional shipyards are appropriately done. To this, I believe effort can be made to showcase workers' dignity and individual brilliance while advancing the argument that our collective subjugation should be and can be overcome. Proletariats today can leverage on the spirit of Wong and his fellow proletariats' struggles in today's class struggles.

Conclusion

In this paper, I have described the lives of Macao's past and present proletariats using the case of Macao's traditional boat builders and casino dealers respectively. While some of the concerns raised are boat building and casino work-specific, others are likely to find echoes in other groups of the Macao working class. Here, I have focused on discussing the individualised aspects of their subjugation or what Sennett and Cobb have termed 'hidden injuries of class'. In the case of the traditional boat builders, my interviews with boat builder Wong first conducted in the summer of 2007 helped revealed some of the personalised classed accounts and interpretations of boat building while the recent plans to revitalised the area as Macao's first industrial heritage attraction have thrown open questions of how proletariats' subjugation and dignity are to be interpreted. Here, I have argued that a nuanced interpretation and presentation of their accounts and narratives coupled with a committed call for solidarity of and love for all those marginalised by capital can form an appropriate approach.

My interviews with two working and one retrenched casino dealer revealed subtle but persistent forms of exploitation in that the occupation attracted largely local youths who commonly gave up their education in order to join the industry. In addition to sacrificing their education, many joined the industry at the age of 18 and were exposed to potential pitfalls of gambling addiction and vices that plague some sectors of the industry. Corrosion of character, in the Sennett sense, appears to be happening as casino workers displayed short-termism and fear of commitment. I have also called for an attention to critical pedagogies and to see tourism research and education as embodied and historicised projects and borrowing Freire's concepts, as 'projects of love'.

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'Branding Baltimore: The Symbolic Orchestration of Spectacularised Tourist Space'

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Shorn of its mass industrialist (pre)occupations (whose very operationalizing, yet alone ultimate demise, became redolent of modernity's disingenuous relationship with public culture) the late capitalist American city speaks of a new social, political, and economic urban order in which the American urbanscape (or, more accurately, select parcels thereof) now represents the built instantiation and celebration of the highly commercialized, privatized, and deregulated marketplace that defines the late capitalist American condition in general (cf. Giroux, 2005; Harvey, 2003). Differently put, the exalted (as opposed to the demonized) spaces of urban America, are those commercially reconstituted, multifaceted, and spectacularized urban environments designed and justified for the express purpose of, stimulating tourist generated capital accumulation (e.g. Sheller & Urry, 2003; Zukin, 1991).

Cities have shed their industrial exo and endoskeleton and capitalized upon the cultural landscape of the city. This 'visually seductive' celebration of the commercial monumentalities of late capitalism—which elevates tourism and tourist discourse to new heights—interrupts the perception of the inner city as an unsafe area of unchecked blight, racial strife, criminality and deviance (Judd & Simpson, 2003). Yet, and perhaps as the nefarious counter to neoliberal urban policy regimes (deregulation, privatization, liberalization, enhanced fiscal austerity, symbolically oriented tourist economies), it is important to think of cityspace as polarized or segregated, creating a divided city: a container of multiple narratives within the context of transformation in the predominant mode of social regulation (Walks, 2001). For, as with many expressions of neoliberalism, the new urban glamour zones—upon which many cities have based their economic revival—conceal a brutalizing demarcation between winner and losers, included and excluded, lionized and demonized populations (MacLeod, 2002); crude binary distinctions between those included in social, political and cultural practices and those excluded, and, in which the poor or degenerate are rigidly disciplined through a range of discursive, legal, and, architectural methods (MacLeod, Raco & Ward, 2003; Silk, 2009; Smith, 1998). The careful orchestration of cityspace then brings to the fore concerns surrounding the manipulation of place identity by public/private agencies pursuing strategies promoting the advantages of their cities, in light of the domineering processes and rhetoric of inter-regional, national, and, global competition (Rowe & McGuirk, 1999).

Building upon recent work (see e.g. Brenner & Theodore, 2002; Harvey, 2001; Judd & Simpson, 2003; Peck & Tickell, 2002) which has addressed the careful orchestration of city space as an arena for market oriented growth and elite consumption practices, the current paper is concerned with ongoing process of the symbolic reconstitution of a city that David Harvey (2001) termed as emblematic of the conditions that have molded cities under late capitalism: Baltimore. In particular—and as a city 'begging for interpretation' (Soja, 1989), since it is a capital space imbued with power relations—the paper is concerned with the external and internal 'urban imagineering' (Short et. al., 2000) deployed in 'Branding Baltimore.'

Baltimore: The Discursive Repositioning of Place

As part of the efforts to attract middle class, suburban consumers back into downtown areas and promote (no matter how false) an image of the city as a central cog—a necessary destination if you will—within the ‘global circuits of (tourist) promotion’ (Whitson & Macintosh, 1996), scrubbed and reinvented spaces of consumption are often specially-designed, sanitized, sterile, entertainment districts concentrated in small areas, physically bounded “tourist bubbles,” (Judd, 1999, 53) that cordon off and cosset the desired visitor as they simultaneously ward off the threatening ‘native’ (Fanstein and Gladstone, 1999). Baltimore has been credited with having undergone a ‘model’ urban renaissance, the London *Sunday Times* proclaiming in 1987 that “the decay of old Baltimore slowed, halted, then turned back” (Harvey, 2001). Encouraged by public-private partnerships and federal initiatives (e.g. Empowerment Zone and Renewal Community designation), Baltimore’s resuscitation has been ground in a turn to the cultural economy—leisure, tourism, entertainment and culture (Allon, 2004; Judd & Simpson, 2003)—that has attracted the “creative class” (Florida, 2002), tourists, and international media attention to the city’s once moribund central business district: a reputation bolstered by *Frommers* in 2005 who touted Baltimore as one of the top 10 up and coming tourist destinations in the world.

In an effort to attract mobile global capital, Baltimore’s ‘urban imagineering’ require a redefinition of the place identity of the city in the imaginary of external audiences. Deployed by civic administrations as part of an armory in a symbolic struggle against the amorphous enemy: the material experiences and crushing symbolism of urban decay (Gibson, 2005), Baltimore has a somewhat checkered history with such illusory branding. Predicated by ‘Charm City’ and the ‘The City that Reads’ (which was cynically redubbed the City that Bleeds), former Baltimore Mayor Martin O’Malley branded Baltimore in election sloganeering: ‘The Greatest City in America.’ The ‘Greatest City in America’ was recently supplanted by a campaign directed towards those post-industrial entities and elements deemed important to attract into the city. In recognizing the new global economy centered on the flow of information and an overdetermining logic of accumulation, O’Malley expressed a desire to morph the power of the new economy into an increasingly urban phenomenon (O’Malley, 2000). Thus, in a direct attempt to actuate the city as a competitive location for hi-technology firms, O’Malley (2000) metaphorically converted the mercantile waterways to a series of ‘electronic currents’ under the *Digital Harbor* brand name.

Fully complicit with the *Digital Harbor*, the Baltimore City Planning Commission unveiled its seven-year comprehensive master plan in May 2006. The report, titled, “Live. Earn. Learn. Play: A Business Plan for a World Class City, 2007-2012” was adopted by the Baltimore City Council in September 2006. The master plan is, in many respects, a blueprint for the material imposition of market logics onto the city given its focus on, to offer just a few examples, the safety of neighborhoods, the attraction of desired residents to the city, the encouragement of entrepreneurship, the concentration of earning in health, biosciences, hi-technology industries, hospitality, and tourism, and, the cultural economy of the city. Perhaps not surprisingly, the *Play* section of the report centers on tying together tourism, heritage, nightlife, and sport as the fabric of a healthy “24-hour world-class city” (Baltimore City Planning Commission, 2006: 8). Keen to build upon the 15.7 million visitors and business travelers the city attracted in 2004 and their \$2.9 billion spend, the plan emphasizes

capitalizing upon Baltimore's uniqueness, visual arts, music, histories, theater, nightlife districts, entertainment and sports through major promotional campaigns in target tourist markets. The plan gives elevated responsibility and funding to the Baltimore Area Convention and Visitors Association (BACVA), suggesting the return, increased tourist dollars, would outweigh the costs. Thus, in late 2005 the city paid \$500,000 to Landor Associates—famed for building brands for Madrid, the State of Florida, Hong Kong, Gatorade, Altoids, Fed Ex, and, Kentucky Fried Chicken—to create a slogan for the city (Donovan, 2005). The brand image, "destination re-positioning" as it is labeled by Landor, sets out to draw on the 'critical points of difference', the uniqueness and peculiarities of the city (Landor Associates Report to Baltimore City Council, 2005, in Donovan, 2005). These particularities of place not surprisingly include the epicenter of Baltimore's urban rejuvenation, the Inner Harbor, as well as the "genuine" character of Baltimoreans—a character centered on the 'quirky', 'funky', 'off-kilter', 'hilarious' 'bizarre', 'off-center attitude'—labeled in the report as the 'Hon factor.' The 'Hon factor', rooted in Baltimore's working class white communities—authenticity, masquerading as whiteness, once again, rendered as 'genuine' and 'normal'—is perhaps best captured in the works of off-beat city resident John Waters, perhaps best known for the 1988 movie, *Hairspray*.ⁱ

In May 2006, BACVA unveiled the new slogan: "Get in on it." The brand platform is centered on Baltimore's 'central gathering spot': the Inner Harbor (Landor Associates, 2006), the space (or stage in the promotional vernacular) from which visitors can explore Baltimore's arts, culture, food, history, neighborhoods, and of course, sports (Visit Baltimore, 2006). *Get in on It* is a 'rallying cry' that is said to communicate that there is "something special going on here [Baltimore] and its exciting" (Landor, 2006). The connotative value of the brand is built upon a 'colorful' visual identity [that] communicates a city on water and uses icons to represent the fun, carefree and spontaneous nature of the city. Other neighborhoods that speak to the particularities of the cities cultures and histories are also represented (although the focus is very much centered on the Inner Harbor) in the strategizing (such as Hampden, location of the Café Hon diner), yet, interestingly, the city's own comprehensive master plan suggests that it is difficult to draw tourists away from the Inner Harbor and to other neighborhoods due to the lack of transportation, signage, and, safety concerns outside the cosseted tourist bubble.

Branding Baltimore: Beyond Belief

Get in on It stands in stark contrast to perceptions of the city that offer less friendly, although significantly less expensive, labels—The Heroin Capital, the Murder Capital—that focus on the perception of the city as 'hopeless, depressed, unemployed and crack addicted' (Donovan, 2005).ⁱⁱ Homicide rates in the city average around 300 per year (around seven times higher than the national rate, six times higher than New York city, and three times higher than Los Angeles) in the last decade—the majority of homicides are endemic to drug and gang related violence (Dao, 2005). Large parcels of the city are characterized by block after block of vacant row houses, and, at various points in the last ten years, the city has led the nation in violent crime, juvenile homicide, heroin, cocaine, and syphilis rates, and, a higher percentage of the city's population tested positive for heroin than in any other U.S. city, with some 59,000 addicts in a city of 675,000 (e.g. Cannon, 1999). Put simply, and although there have been recent reductions in murder rates and violent crime, Baltimore is, as with many cities whose civic administration operates less in the interests of citizens, and more in the

interests of bolstering the ‘logics’ of the marketplace (see e.g. Sheller & Urry, 2002), the “home of the comfortable and the prison of the choice-less” (Johns Hopkins Institute for Policy Studies, 2000: 48).

Juxtaposed with the commercial monumentalities of the tourist bubble, and the symbolic and discursive repositioning of the city through the *Get in on It* campaign, these haunting realities are the fodder of popular representations of the city: Baltimore is the location for the television serials *Homicide: Life on the Street*; *The Wire*, and *The Corner* that focus upon the drug- and murder-cultures of the city. Furthermore, performer Jay-Z has rapped about taking cocaine to Baltimore for sale, while 50 Cent’s (himself a former crack dealer who survived nine shootings) latest album, *The Massacre*, contains a drug serenade titled “A Baltimore Love Thing” (Ollison & Kiehl, 2005). Perhaps most disturbing, the city is also the setting for a new action/horror video game titled *The Suffering: Ties that Bind*. The basic narrative follows Torque, a white, tank-top clad anti-hero, from his escaping a Chesapeake Bay prison to Baltimore where he searches for the spot where his wife and children were murdered. Along the way, our ‘hero’ battles monsters that embody drug use (a hunchback with syringes for eyes) and hunger, brutally murders police officers (for additional points), and, encounters an array of other ‘degenerates’ (including half man/beasts and ‘deviants’ with swords for legs, who, while not always depicted as black per se, in comparison to the ‘hero’, stand as the abject, disposable, non-whites and are all based on various forms of human atrocities). The Baltimore depicted in the game includes toppled and burnt out rowhouses, bare light bulbs, burning trash cans, a crack house, sawn off shot-guns, rusty pipes, baseball bats, and, Molotov cocktails: the game offers a digitized version of the Baltimore we will not be seeing in the *Digital Harbor*. Indeed, the game *animates* what Featherstone (1991) referred to as the ‘aestheticization of culture’, in particular drawing upon certain expressions of Blackness/Black cultural practices—late capitalist market-inspired inflections (aesthetics, designs, and styles) of the black street vernacular (manifest for example in the game in speech and clothing; one of the characters is adorned in a retro Baltimore Bullets basketball jersey)—which have been incorporated into the consumer capitalist order. Specifically, coded attributes or accoutrements (such as attire, hair style, forms of address) of ‘the street’ are mobilized in the game and are emblematic of a highly commercialized and highly politicized cultural metaphor framing the manner in which African Americans (and African American males in particular) come to be represented and understood in contemporary “urban” American culture.

With a terrifying and unnerving realism, these representations of blackness are also appropriated by, and mobilized in, an altogether more *real* pejorative Baltimore narrative—the Rodney Bethea & Skinny Suge (2004) produced documentary DVD titled *Stop Snitching*. Bethea promotes, *Stop Snitching* as “a glimpse into a world politicians would rather most Baltimoreans didn’t see. It’s reality” (Davis, 2004). In a starkly divergent narrative to the *official* ‘destination position’, the documentary offers a primer on the contemporary drug scene in Baltimore, and focuses upon the signifiers of ‘success’—diamond encrusted watches, vintage Cadillac convertibles, packets of cash, and, gun paraphernalia. *Stop Snitching* (2004) opens with a shocking and graphic warning for any drug dealer arrested who ‘snitches’:

Rattin', man, is something that is overpopular, overpopulating the city more than AIDS, yo, know what I mean? ... Man, I want a foundation called "Stop Snitching in Our Communities." I need y'all to donate to me about these bitch-ass niggas ... because these rats eat up everything. You feel me? So I need y'all to volunteer your information on who these punk motherfuckers is, man, so I can let the whole motherfuckin' world know. . . I hope you [the snitch] catch AIDS in your mouth, and your lips are the first thing to die.

This is a graphic city narrative that does little to assuage the popular imagination, or indeed the popular perceptions of Baltimore, so fed by reactionary racial fears and anxieties (compounded by a sense of illicit fascination) in which the "ghetto...continues to be the Achilles heel of American society" (Kelley, 1997: 9): a demonic harbinger of social deprivation and disease, economic inertia and indolence, cultural deprivation and resistance."ⁱⁱⁱ

Following Harvey (2001), campaigns such as 'Get in on It' act as sophisticated (discursive) mask that invites us to participate in an illusory spectacle. However, this mask beguiles and distracts in engaging ways—once we peak behind, once we peek with trepidation at the competing (and indeed, somewhat popular), yet, less savoury narratives, the terrible face of Baltimore's impoverishment appears. Like the Harbor itself, that acts as a thoroughfare for the virtual flow of transnational economic transactions (Harvey, 2001), Baltimore's regeneration favours civic image over improved citizen welfare, the city and state governments have absorbed most of the financial risk, yet the private sector reaps the benefits—save for a few low wage, part-time, subcontracted jobs for a cheaper and downgraded labour force in a casual and informal economy (Sassen, 2001). Thus, in a campaign as distinct as possible than that targeted at external audiences, the city administration rolled out its own slogan for internal consumption: *Believe*. As an element in the shift of power from democratic local governing regimes to semi-autonomous, fragmented, public/private authorities that operate largely independently from democracy and with little public accountability (Judd & Simpson, 2003), Baltimore Mayor Martin O'Malley has made no secret of his intentions to assuage corporate support for the continued urban regeneration of Baltimore and to roll out penal and policy incursions that secure the functioning of the market through the governance of abject peoples and places. In true neoliberal fashion, and reminiscent of wider democratic shifts away from the welfare capitalism of a previous generation, O'Malley (2000, emphasis added) clearly outlined the direction of his administration:

Not too long ago, big city mayors had to spend a great deal of time being *social workers*; now mayors also have to be entrepreneurs . . . a mayor's job has changed from generating government-run programs for every problem, to *producing deals* and *partnerships* that deliver measurable improvements.

While the O'Malley leadership was responsible for stabilizing the murder rate^{iv}, it is the *Believe* campaign that has dominated the symbolic efforts to bring about systematic social change in Baltimore. *Believe* is a (mostly symbolic) campaign designed to transform the pessimism and cynicism in a city that had grown accustomed to drugs and tolerance of crime. O'Malley wanted to convince city residents to *Believe* the city could morph from its prevailing and apparently debilitating self-perceptions. In an effort to shock the population into action, and thereby light a fuse of popular will,

and in a scene far more reminiscent of *The Suffering: The Ties that Bind* than the imagery within the *Get in on it* television commercial, the *Believe* campaign rolled out in the spring of 2002 through a controversial television commercial of its own that also utilized local residents: a young girl with braided hair, her eyes open, lying dead in a Baltimore street, a ‘junkie’ shooting heroin in a Baltimore alley, idle ‘gangbangers’, boarded-up row houses, grade schoolers buying cocaine, filthy apartments with no front doors, prostitutes accepting fees. At the end a single word appeared onscreen: *BELIEVE* (Kurson, 2002). O’Malley (in Kurson, 2002, emphasis added) categorically explicated the individual responsibility within such strategizing: “The *Believe* campaign is about getting everyone involved. Homicides, addiction, violence, it’s all much *bigger than just government*. Everyone must act.” O’Malley’s statement is based on a recognition that the city government requires help to transform the city—or more accurately, given the confines of neoliberal market logics, the city no longer has responsibility for such social issues, lest said social issue interferes with the utopia of free market capitalism. Thus, the *Believe* campaign appeals to Baltimore residents to “do their part”, to call “1-866-Believe to find out what you can do.” A subsequent commercial firmly placed the responsibility on the citizens of the city: “To win, everyone has to step up and do at least one thing. Find out what you can do. *Believe in Us. Believe in Yourself. Baltimore.*” The commercials are supplemented by official city rhetoric that has plastered the city, bumper stickers, trash cans, and school facades with a simple, symbolic, display of the *Believe* campaign—the stickers in certain parts of the city have however been sardonically altered by locals to *Behave*, and, incorporating the local working class vernacular, to *B’lieve Hon.*

Believe is another moniker, another slogan, quite starkly divergent from those targeted at tourists, an ideological neoliberal “thought-virus” (Beck, 2000: 422) in which *responsibility* is shifted from those in power to the citizen; responsibility becomes bound in garnering both corporate support and citizen involvement for crime control, for combating drug use—responsibility is less to do with democracy, social provision, or, social welfare, but is levied at public/private institutions that have little public accountability (Judd & Simpson, 2003). The *Believe* campaign is emblematic of the recent shift towards, and indeed transformations in, programs, strategies and techniques for the conduct of conduct within the neoliberal city—“rationalized and calculated interventions that have attempted to govern the existence and experience of contemporary human beings and to *act upon human conduct to direct it to certain ends*” (Rose, 2000, p. 322, emphasis added). Following Rose, *Believe*, as with initiatives in other cities that attempt to *conduct conduct* stresses the problems (people) deemed *appropriate* to be governed, the sites within which these problems come to be defined, the diversity of authorities involved in the attempts to address them, and the technical devices that aspire to produce certain outcomes in the conduct of the governed—devices that are, in many respect, far removed from the political apparatus as traditionally conceived (Rose, 2000; Silk & Andrews, 2008). As Peck & Tickell (2002: 390, emphasis added) might surmise, *Believe* is part of the discursive armory of the new technologies of government that are being rolled out under the rhetoric of ‘reform’ but operate to fashion new social subjectivities: “social and penal policy incursions [that] represent both the advancement of the neoliberal project—of extending and bolstering market logics, *socializing individualized subjects, and disciplining the noncompliant.*” Further, *Believe* focuses both on the normalized and normalizing production of self-governing productive, yet docile, individual bodies. In this sense, through interpellating, and thus making

visible, productive (the creative class, tourists and consumers) citizens, those deemed in need of external governance are identified, named, problematized, and become subject to more oppressive and restrictive forms of discipline and governance. Those who have the desired—read neoliberal, consumerized—values, beliefs, and sentiments deemed to underpin the techniques of responsible self-government and the management of one's obligation to others (Rose, 1999) are called upon to act with an 'ocular authoritarianism' (Silk & Andrews, 2008) that renders the abject citizen visible for governance. *Believe* then, not only defines, and indeed relies upon, self-governance, it allows such strategies to operate at a distance from government—the responsibility to rid the streets of these 'degenerates' increasingly lies with the desired individualized subject who is asked to aid in the moral development, education and (re)attachment of 'degenerates' to a 'virtuous', 'civilized' community (Rose, 1999)⁴. Hiding behind the mask of a supposedly hollowed out, or distant, state, the *Believe* campaign is thus a strategy mobilized and instrumentalized in the name of 'good' citizenship, public order, and the control or elimination of criminality, delinquency, and anti-social conduct (Rose, 2000). In this sense, *Believe* offers a powerful allegory, a neoliberal discourse that levies a mantra of personal responsibility and accountability through individualizing social control and governance and thereby relieving city government from civic obligation—blame is absolved away from the entrepreneurial power bloc whom are free to concentrate on securing, bolstering and extending the principles of the market—in this case, through asking us to "get in on" repositioning Baltimore.

Coda: Who is In on It?

The geographies of fortification that bolster the securitization of degenerate communities and restrict the movement of particular groups to ensure the 'success' and safety of market-oriented, tourist, environments and initiatives (MacLeod et al., 2003), deal out spatial and social injustice that has enormous implications for certain populations: women, minorities, immigrants, contingent workers, welfare recipients, the homeless and the jobless (Peck, 2003)—especially on the urban fringes and the further one ventures from, the phantasmagorical (Benjamin, 2002) zones of commercial investment and tourist revitalization within Baltimore's remodeled cityscape. While the entrepreneurial tourist agenda may well offer inner city spaces a spectacular makeover, it can also deepen, if not positively promote, socioeconomic polarities along multiple and co-articulating social cleavages (MacLeod, 2002). Neoliberalism is not only concerned with the mobilization and extension of markets (and market logics) in sanitized tourist spaces, but, and in an effort to further bolster the market, increasingly with "the political foregrounding of new modes of 'social' and penal policy making, concerned specifically with the aggressive regulation, disciplining, and containment of those marginalized or dispossessed (Peck & Tickell, 2002, p. 389). In this way, imaging becomes powerful and is translated into policy, operationalized and institutionalized through mechanisms of governance centered on neoliberal agendas, and therefore, has very real effects on city residents (Bridge & Watson, 2001; MacLeod et al., 2003; Rose, 2000).

For Baltimore, questions are raised with regard to who actually is invited, or perhaps better put, discursively constituted as having the "right" to "get in on it." Campaigns such as *Get in on it* construct a *sanctioned* public sphere and civic corpus—the *bodies proper* (Butler, 1993) that fulfill the 'obligations' of participatory democratic citizenship (through appropriate rates and acts of consumption). However, the material and discursive visibility of these consuming, experiencing,

tourist bodies serves to preserve, manage and sustain the borderlines to those who clearly *do not matter*: the socially, morally, and economically pathologized '*outsiders*' who threaten the 'normative universality' of the tourist-oriented urban core. In this regard, these non-Believers in Baltimore become subject to 'legitimate' technologies of regulation, increased social surveillance and strategies of *control* (policing, surveillance, and carceralization). These are anti-citizens and marginal spaces managed through measures that seek to neutralize any dangers posed to the extension of the morphology of the neoliberal city (Silk & Andrews, 2006; 2008). In this way, the presence of 'degenerate' communities in neoliberal cityspace is not just challenged; they have become discursively constructed as problems to be addressed by specific policy measures, the technologies of social and moral regulation (such as *Believe*) that will secure the extension, maintenance, reproduction and management of the consequences of market rule (Peck, 2003; see also Devas, 2001; MacLeod et. al., 2003). Who is indeed "in on it" is thus a question that goes beyond some quirky, spurious, and indeed rather expensive identification of Baltimore's brand DNA (to use the accepted marketing-speak); put simply, it speaks to the rather uneasy juxtaposition between those served by the city as "capital space" (Harvey, 2001), and those either servile to, shunned by, or simply excluded, by its overdetermining consumerist logics.

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Notes

- ⁱ The city does have full and rich African American histories. With the exception however of the recently opened Reginald F. Lewis Museum of Maryland African American History and Culture, these histories do not tend to feature heavily in the city's promotional campaigns—although the recent comprehensive master plan does recognize the supposed \$90 billion potential in 'minority tourism'. For a discussion of African American history in Baltimore, see Allman-Baldwin (2003).
- ⁱⁱ These labels draw on stark statistics: 24% of the city's residents live in poverty (compared with 14% nationally) as Baltimore's per capita income level fell to 57% of Maryland's average (Johns Hopkins Institute for Policy Studies, 2000), life expectancies are 14 years under national averages, teen pregnancy was the highest among the nation's 50 largest cities in 1999, and, 34% of children under 18 in the city live below the poverty level (nationally, this figure is 10%) (Hagerty & Dunham, 2005; Harvey, 2000; Silk & Andrews, 2006).
- ⁱⁱⁱ As a direct response, the Baltimore Police Department produced its own 4 minute DVD titled, *Keep Talkin*. Employing the same distinctly black, urban, hip-hop, "street" aesthetic as *Stop Snitching*, *Keep Talkin* encourages residents to keep reporting criminal activities in their neighborhood.
- ^{iv} This was, in part, due to a rigorous 'quality of life' (read zero tolerance) policing policy modeled on New York (literally given that O'Malley appointed Edward Norris from the New York City police Department as Baltimore City Police Chief and utilized the Maple/Linder group who operated under Giuliani in New York) that replaced the 'it's out of control' attitude of the previous administration.
- ^v This distance, the lack of public accountability, has however been challenged in Baltimore as a result of an extremely horrific, high profile, and tragic incident that points to the shortcomings of the shifts away from welfare capitalism. Within the spirit of the *Believe* campaign, Angela Dawson, of Oliver, North East Baltimore, and her husband, Carnell, stepped forward to work with the city of Baltimore against the drug dealers in their neighborhood. From July to October 2002, Angela Dawson called the police more than 50 times. After several incidents in which they were intimidated by local drug dealers in their East Baltimore neighborhood, including an attempted firebombing, the Dawson's house was broken into, accelerant distributed throughout the living rooms, and set on fire on October 16th 2002. Angela, Carnell and their 5 children, 9-year-old twins Keith and Kevin, Carnell Jr., 10, Juan Ortiz, 12, and LaWanda Ortiz, 14, were all killed. Darrel L. Brooks, a known drug dealer, was sentenced to life without parole for the offence. The relatives of the seven members of the Dawson family killed in the arson attack have filed suit against the city, state and various agencies, claiming not enough was done to prevent the tragedy (Hurley, 2005). The suit alleges that the *Believe* campaign, which encourages residents to come forward with information about drug dealers, only served to contribute to the problem because law enforcement did not provide resources to protect witnesses. The suit alleges that the *Believe* campaign was launched at a time when it was known that witness intimidation was commonplace and critiques the administration for a focus on a high-priced symbolic campaign at the expense of witness protection provision (Hurley, 2005).

'Identity of national heritage in function of specialised tourist offer of Croatia'

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Abstract

Every tourist oriented country tries to increase its content on global tourist market. Continuity of diverse tourist offer consolidation on the global market presumes specialized tourist's offer of every small country, like Croatia. For those countries it's the best way of market share protection on global market. Tourist market is dynamic and extremely oriented to contemporary trends. Tourist tends to experience authentical offer, typical for the country that he visits. In that sense, tourist offer adjustment to national identity (based on historic ambience for which the offer is created) presents sustainable competition strategy. Therefore, tourist offer on the Croatian market must include eco tourism, excursion, culture tourism and adventure tourism (with special reference to nautical tourism). Demands for ecological areas and personal safety are criteria that contribute to the choice of tourist destinations. Also the trend of health care is quite obvious (wellness, fitness etc.).

In accordance to changed needs of modern tourist, tourist offer must be diversified. It could be done by applying the specialized form of tourist offer. Accordingly, we have used the market research "what tourist thinks" in order to define the appropriate marketing frame by which Croatia will be positioned as specialized tourist destination in a long term. The identity will be based on authentic tourist product. Also, it would provide the credibility of the new national tourist offer. Tourist will be offered to be the explorer of the historical and cultural heritage as well as the identity of the destination he is visiting. Croatian national cultural heritage has all necessary predispositions (cities, palaces, old castles, churches, museums... etc). Only specialized tourist's offer can provide growing trend for the impendent period.

Introduction

Considering significance and potential of tourism as the generator of national economic progress, its spontaneous development is not and cannot be permissible.¹⁰ Existence of national tourist offer at the global tourist market presumes diversity, specific qualities and controlled valorisation of strategic tourist resources.¹¹ In a search of efficient tourist strategy, tourist countries often accept guidelines of economic integrations to which they aspire. Integrations primarily base the guidelines on interests of their economically most developed members. Therefore, the suggested solutions are often not optimal for a small country in transition like Croatia. Global solutions (within tourist

¹⁰ Croatian tourism development strategy up to 2010, Ministry of Tourism, 2003

¹¹ Same

development guidelines) should be taken into account, but also adapted to the existing tourist resources in terms of defining valuable peculiarities of the offer and the intensity of its valorisation.

Differentiated marketing approach is the potential for market positioning in the „niche“ that can ensure dynamic and sustainable tourist development of a small country in transition like Croatia. Contemporary tourism presumes special qualities, differences and preserved natural resources to be the platform for development of differentiated marketing approach.

Therefore, Croatia has been offered guidelines of European Union from the end of 20th century that partly conflict with the potential of competitor's valorisation of the overall national tourist resources. The cause of that is also conditioning the model of admission to the Union. In comparison with the model from mid '90s of the 20th century (*Model of Mediterranean country Vs Model of central European country*)¹² starting points in deliberations of national tourist development strategies for Republic of Croatia need to be sought in tourist tradition, whose basis are set up at the time when organized tourism still didn't exist in many nowadays developed tourist countries. Spontaneous development of tourism in Republic of Croatia caused imbalance of standards and the quality of offer in terms of excellence with reference to the structure of the national tourist offer. It is the consequence of diverse intensity in valorisation of the overall cultural – historical heritage and natural resources.

Starting from the stated hypothesis, the purpose and the aim of this paper is to indicate the value of the specific national heritage in terms of tourist resource and to offer a general model for managing strategic tourist development of Republic of Croatia based on national heritage – the building block of the specialized forms of tourist offer. The presented model presumes controlled valorisation of the overall national tourist resources as well as tactical approach with the aim of ensuring differentiated tourist offer of Republic of Croatia at the global tourist market. The image and the brand of Croatian tourist offer is more adequately managed with the model. The model removes disadvantages caused by the lack of synergy between different forms of tourism; the authors of the paper mainly hold Croatian Tourist Board responsible for this as it didn't accomplish satisfactory results in the context of tourist season length nor creation of the specific national tourist *brand* despite the independence and *the freedom* to create the national tourist strategy.

National structure of the Croatia's tourist offer

Republic of Croatia is traditionally tourist oriented country. The increase in tourism throughout recent years indicates that the tourism is becoming an active generator of the national economic development. In order to increase economic benefits of tourism, it is indispensable to adopt and implement tourism strategy that is based on sustainable development with the orientation on the competitive forms of tourism at the global tourist market.¹³ Competitive positioning at the global tourist market presumes monitoring and adaptation to contemporary trends through which

¹² Šerić, N., Effects of including countries of different development level in economic integrations, Faculty of Economy Split, 2002 master thesis

¹³ Šamanović J., Luković T., *Management and economy of nautical tourism*, Croatian Hydrographic Institute, Split, 2007

requests, new market opportunities, areas of profitable investments and dependent infrastructural needs are identified.

Tourist request preferences for specific types of tourism are evident throughout recent years.¹⁴ Historical heritage, peculiar landscapes and pleasant climate with improvement of transportation and accommodation standards, broadening of entertainment facilities and excellent service can appropriately position Republic of Croatia among leading incoming tourist countries.

Bathing tourism

Throughout former tourist development, bathing tourism represented the prevailing form of tourist offer of the Republic of Croatia. Pleasant microclimate conditions, clean sea and indentedness of the coast (length 5.835 kilometres out of which 1.777 kilometres onshore and 4.058 kilometres of islands) with numerous sparsely populated areas are comparative advantages of Croatian tourist offer for this type of tourism.

TOMAS research - summer 2007 indicated that the basic motive for coming to Croatia were passive holidays and relaxation (about 62% of guests).¹⁵ It is evident from the research that relatively few tourists were coming for other attractions and facilities (for example, culture or diving) which indicates the need for promotional defining of those facilities. Croatian Tourist Board hasn't yet fulfilled appropriately that task.

The average length of bathing season is three months and it can't be extended due to lack of synergy with other forms of Republic of Croatia tourist offer and inappropriate valorization of cultural and historical heritage. Short season also results with unsatisfactory use of all accommodation capacities that often brings losses on the level of yearly operation for big tourist business subjects.¹⁶

Excursion and transit tourism

In the course of time special parts of Croatia (Pannonian and peri-Pannonian tourist region) developed excursion tourism based on natural and cultural resources. Thanks to this form of tourist offer many transit tourists prolong their planned stay in Croatia. A range of national parks and nature parks are presumption of richer valorisation through this form of tourism. A visit to National Park Brijuni, National Park Plitvice Lakes, National Park Krka, National Park Kornati, National Park Kopački rit (reed-patch), excursions on the river Cetina, river Neretva, Red lake and Blue lake are only a part of peculiar national tourist offer of the preserved landscape. Excursion tourism accomplishes full economic valorisation through synergy with other forms of tourism. This didn't happen because the Croatian Tourist Board used peculiarities that Croatia can offer through this form of tourism primarily as partial elements of national tourist offer. That's why peculiarities Croatia excursion tourism were institutionally used merely for decoration on fairs' performances.

¹⁴ TOMAS research 2007.- *Tourists' viewpoints and tourists' consumption in Croatia*, Tourism Institute, Ministry of Tourism Republic of Croatia, Zagreb, 2008, managers Čorak S. i Marušić Z. page 15

¹⁵ TOMAS research 2007.- *Tourists' viewpoints and tourists' consumption in Croatia*, Tourism Institute, Ministry of Tourism Republic of Croatia, Zagreb, 2008, managers Čorak S. i Marušić Z. page 15

¹⁶ *Croatian tourism development strategy up to 2010*, Ministry of Tourism, 2003

Potential for increase of this form of tourism is also present in the existing private fleet of excursion boats and trains that could be used for these purposes. The promotion of this type of tourism presumes synergy with the promotion of places, small towns and cities in the proximity of these special destinations.

Nautical tourism

Indentedness of Croatian coast (Croatian coast indentedness index is 11) and over 1 000 of islands, islets and cliffs are a presumption for the increase of nautical tourism.¹⁷ Rocky and steep coast with numerous shelters is an attractive nautical destination. In some areas nautical infrastructure is adequate to its needs. From a total of 363 ports, boat docks, anchorages and marinas – maritime zones of Kvarner, Zadar and Dubrovnik comprise 60% of those capacities. Maritime zone of Šibenik has the greatest traffic due to National Park Kornati. By number of visits follows Istrian maritime zone (due to proximity of Italian and Slovenian sailors) and Zadar area due to the sheltered and safe *ship canals*.

Nautical tourist ports in Croatia are organized according to the Law for trade associations and nowadays organizationally they function well. There are three basic models of nautical tourist port organization:¹⁸

1. Model of nautical tourist port as independent trade association with or without business units of the same activity owned privately, by the government or in mixed ownership;
2. Model of nautical tourist port that functions as a business unit within trade association whose basic activities are not nautical tourist services; the association can be owned privately, by the government or in mixed ownership;
3. Model of nautical tourist port as a trade association that is organized like holding of trade associations whose activity is usually complementary to nautical.

Sailors mainly sail along the coastland (71%), only minor number (25%) sojourns on ships in homeports, making daily excursions.¹⁹ Most of the sailors make short stays in one area; therefore synergy with other tourist forms is also important in order to increase the level of spending by sailor. As the factor of season is less stressed in comparison to stationary bathing tourism, it represents a potential for the increase of other forms of tourism through the segment of sailors. That potential hasn't yet been used by the Croatian Tourist Board; therefore, the development of nautical tourism is left to *its own resources* which finally proves the fact that the Croatian government developed The study for development of nautical tourism in Republic of Croatia.²⁰

¹⁷ *Study of nautical tourism development in Croatia* (SRNTH), Croatian Hydrographic Institute, 2006

¹⁸ Dulčić, A., Nautical tourism and management of nautical tourist port, Faculty of Economy, Split, 2002 page 272

¹⁹ TOMAS research 2007.- *Tourists' viewpoints and tourists' consumption in Croatia*, Tourism Institute, Ministry of Tourism Republic of Croatia, Zagreb, 2008, managers Čorak S. i Marušić Z page 15

²⁰ *Study of nautical tourism development in Croatia* (SRNTH), Croatian Hydrographic Institute, 2006

Croatian marinas also lack additional facilities as well as accommodation capacities that could contribute throughout development to the synergy of nautical tourism with other forms of tourist offer.

Cultural tourism

The offer based on cultural tourism is more and more requested at the global tourist market and investments in this form of tourism are highly profitable. Croatian Tourist Board has used cultural resources only for *branding* national tourist offer. National cultural heritage also presents the potential for synergy action of all tourism aspects with the aim to prolong the tourist season. It is necessary to identify market „niches“ with special cultural interests since guests eagerly visit manifestations or cultural – historical monuments.²¹

National tourist cultural offer is insufficiently and inadequately presented on the global level. It also indicates oversights of Croatian Tourist Board. Adequate marking and registration of cultural – historical monuments by placing informative notices, adapting working hours of museums, castles and other sights would significantly increase income, but also the synergy with other forms of tourist offer. On local level, diverse manifestations are frequent, but there is a lack of national interaction and connection²².

Tourist resources are particularly under-utilized in the continental Croatia that stands out for its numerous pre-historical findings of global significance, old towns, fortifications and castles from the late middle ages, cultural monuments and peculiar architecture from Baroque period.

Croatia is an interesting tourist destination for archaeology devotees. However, the adequate support of Croatian Tourist Board lacks once again.

Numerous manifestations that are held in spring and fall in the continental Croatia (*Alternative film festival* in the castle Veliki tabor, *Festival of animated film*, *Baroque evenings* etc.) also represent a valuable potential to prolong the tourist season.

Rural (and ECO) tourism

Nowadays Croatia is mainly focused on *maritime* tourism. Beginnings of tourism on Croatian coast are recorded throughout the last decade of the 19th century. In inlands different forms of tourist offers were gradually developing. In the period up to 50s of the 20th century tourist offer was differentiated. By then, rural spaces were a frequent destination for tourists, recreational and target guests. At that time, mountain hiking, cultural and pilgrimage tourism, visits to native village represented a significant part of tourist traffic. New tourist orientation, throughout 50s of the 20th century is focused exclusively on coastland. Up to 70s within littoralisation all tourist interests were focused on the Adriatic coast. In that period the national tourist offer demonstrates characteristics of

²¹ *Croatian tourism development strategy up to 2010*, Ministry of Tourism, 2003 page 10

²² Mešin, J., Marketing strategies for valorisation of tourist potentials of Drniš city, Faculty of Economy Split, 2008 master paper

*maritime exclusivity.*²³ Fragmented peasant properties, orientation towards *maritime tourism* and massiveness of *bathing tourism*, insufficiently developed consciousness about the value of the environment are only some factors that influenced falling behind of rural tourism development. However, there are exceptions. Peasant properties in the proximity of attractive tourist sites that have always offered overnight stay are still preserved. That indicates the potential for synergy of this offer with other forms of tourist offer.

Ecotourism is tourism of the future. It enables economic growth of less developed and protected areas. There are two important tourist segments that should be aimed: small groups with special interests for ecotourism that spend all holidays in that way; majority that spends holidays at sea, but also wants to visit hinterland. Croatian national parks and nature parks are the potential for ecotourism development, sustainable hunting tourism, relaxation in mountain areas throughout all year and finally excursion tourism. That is the synergy potential of this segment of tourist offer. The presumption is infrastructure, construction and marking of resting points as well as the appropriate means of transport. The preservation of landscape and traffic control through protected areas should be the imperative.

Ecologically produced food is an additional component that nowadays makes this form of tourism competitive. Croatia's presumptions for the production of ecological food and their direct *export* via catering establishments should be systematically developed and used in the promotion of national tourist offer.

Winter tourism

Winter tourism in Croatia is undeveloped in comparison to other forms of tourism. There are presumptions for this form of tourism as well. Three ski resorts with regulated ski infrastructure (*Medvednica* near Zagreb, *Platak* near Rijeke and *Bjelolasica* near Ogulina) are the potential that can also contribute to lengthening of tourist season. Mountain Biokovo also has conditions for the development of winter tourism.

Additional presumptions of the winter tourism development is sporting success of Croatian skiers. Thanks to them, more and more tourists visit mentioned ski resorts. Investments in construction of new hotels and renovation of old hotels as well as construction and organization of ski slopes in Lika and Gorski Kotar, Slavonia and other areas directly influence lengthening of tourist season. Promotion of this form of tourist offer with synergy with other mentioned also minimizes the risk for lack of snow in winter months. In case of such weather conditions, there are many other back-up tourist facilities to be offered.

Adventure tourism

Stress and fast lane created a more emphasized need for modern and active forms of tourist offers. Most of these arrangements are often named *adventure tourism*. This category comprises also

²³ Kušen, E., *Tourism on peasant economy*, Tourism 7-8, Croatian Tourist Board and Tourism Institute, 1995 page 127

"Robinson" tourism as well as any tourist offer that includes possibility for different pleasant and less pleasant surprises. Tourist segment that selects this offer aspires adventure, challenge, climbing, diving, hunting etc. Croatia has diverse natural potentials for development of wide-range offer of the adventure tourism in coastland and hinterland (*war games, rafting, canoeing, kayaking, canyoning, paragliding, balloon and kite flying, free climbing, off-road etc.*).²⁴

Thematic tourism

Nowadays thematic tourism is the catalyst of economic development in tourist developed countries. Very often it's based on 3-E principle: *Entertainment, Excitement, Education* and it includes tourist offer and facilities that combine those three elements. In this domain Croatia offers exceptional potential that can be presented as *tourism at lighthouses* that have become global tourist *brand* throughout several years of valorisation. On that example it's possible to elaborate a whole range of thematic offers that are presumption of a whole-year national tourist offer. Croatian Tourist Board has failed here as well allowing the world to anticipate them in recognizing the potential of lighthouses as a tourist *brand*. Croatian exceptional potential of cultural heritage and natural beauties can be used in different ways in the context of thematic tourism as a presumption of the unique tourist experience.²⁵

Other forms of Republic of Croatia tourist offer

Besides mentioned forms of tourist offer, there are several others that can potentially contribute to the lengthening of tourist season. In Croatia there are eleven specialized hospitals for medical rehabilitation, one sanatorium and one specialized orthopaedic hospital that offers services of physiotherapy with rehabilitation. In the context of *health tourism* there are about ten sanatoriums that operate as independent market subjects (without contract with Croatian Institute for Health Insurance).²⁶ Consistently to the *Law about health protection*, specialized hospitals and sanatoriums are allowed to offer health services in tourism, according to special regulations. Thermal sanatoriums should also be mentioned. Geographical placement of these subjects is a quality presumption for synergy connection of different forms of tourism, mentioned in the previous chapters.

The possibility of *business travel, congress and incentive* tourism must be mentioned as well. That segment of tourist demand is exceptionally lucrative and it takes place *out of* the main tourist season. That is a sufficient reason for intensive stimulation of its development in Croatia. Closely related to congress tourism, yet specific for its dynamic and image, scientific tourism is developing as well. Supporting different national institutions for organization of international scientific conferences and research projects on the territory of Republic of Croatia would significantly influence tourist development and contribute to creation of regional academic and scientific centres. Those centres

²⁴ *Croatian tourism development strategy up to 2010.*, Ministry of Tourism, 2003

²⁵ Šerić, N., *Stone lights, stories and legends of the Adriatic lighthouses, places where they are built and their underwater*, Marjan Tisak Split, 2004

²⁶ www.hgk.hr

attract foreign experts, scientists, professors and researchers especially to the areas of pleasant microclimate conditions.

Potentials for religious tourism should be mentioned, as well as tradition that already exists in some areas (Marija Bistrica, Sinj, Vepric etc.).

Finally, cruise travels presume synergy of all forms of tourist offer and also represent the new quality in national tourist offer directly contributing to the lengthening of tourist season.

Global identity and perception of the national structure of the Croatia's tourist offer (TOMAS research - summer 2007)

Viewpoints and tourist consumption in Croatia – TOMAS is the only continued research that analyses different characteristics of tourist travel and sojourn in Croatia. It is conducted by the Tourism Institute. Research was conducted 7 times, the last one referred to tourist season 2007. TOMAS research aims to perceive the profile of guests that visit Republic of Croatia, changes in their habits and satisfaction of Croatian tourist service.

The main goal of TOMAS –summer 2007 research was to perceive reliable and actual basic quantity and quality information about the actual tourist demand. With the acquisition of specific information regarding tourist problem area, the aim is also the comparability with special research of guests in accommodation units (socio-demographic characteristics, viewpoints of the offer, tourist consumption etc.).

Results of the last research indicate that the average age of tourist is 41. About 60% of tourists have two-year degree or university degree. Family holidays are still dominant (47%). Holidays only with the partner are dominant in Dubrovnik, Neretva county (43%): French guests (47%) and British guests (44%). *Loyal* guests comprise 60%, whereas every fifth guest is *new*. The major share of *new* guests is in Dubrovnik, Neretva county (40%). By the national structure: British (60%), Russian (53%) and French (46%). The increase of *new* guests in 2007 was 19% (compared to 14% in 2004). No less than 81% of tourist arrive to Croatia by car, whereas 9% by plane. This is due to the fact that nowadays the majority of tourists in Croatia are citizens of nearby countries.²⁷

By motives for arrival, passive holidays and leisure take the first place – 62%, entertainment – 43% natural beauties, new experiences – 26% and gastronomy – 20%. The biggest change is noted in motives of visiting cultural sights and events (from position ten - 6% in 2004 to position eight in 2007 – 10%). Visiting cultural sights and events is more important for guests of Dubrovnik, Neretva county (26%), whereas, for example, diving is more important for guests of Zadar county (17%). Gastronomy

²⁷ TOMAS research 2007.- *Tourists' viewpoints and tourists' consumption in Croatia*, Tourism Institute, Ministry of Tourism Republic of Croatia, Zagreb, 2008, managers Čorak S. i Marušić Z. page 15

is more important for British, Russian, Dutch, German and Austrian guests and for guests of Dubrovnik, Neretva county and Istria.²⁸

By information sources, different aspects of media take the first place (34%). That category comprises brochures, ads and posters 25%, articles 11%, radio, TV, film (10%). In comparison of 2004 and 2007 internet as a source of information increased from 23% to 29.9%.²⁹

Nowadays internet is the most common source of information about tourist destination, without use of information technology strategies, there's no perspective for national tourist development.

Share of longer stays of guests (in 2004 - 21% for 15 and more days, whereas that percentage decreases in 2007 to 16%) is decreasing, but the share of shorter stays is increasing (in 2004 - 32% from 4 to 7 days, whereas that percentage in 2007 is 36%).

Guests are exceptionally more satisfied by majority of elements compared to 2004 the number of elements by which guests are satisfied is also increasing in comparison to previous years. The last research indicates that guests were not unsatisfied by any element. The biggest advantage of Croatian tourism are still natural beauties and microclimate favourable conditions as well as safety of spending family holidays. The greatest dissatisfaction remains the offer out of board as well as information in regards to that (entertainment, culture, shopping). Average daily consumption in 2007 increased for 13% compared to 2004 (in current prices). Expenses for catering services increased for 21%. Shopping expenses are reduced for 6%. Expenses for other services increased for 8%.

Competitive advantages of Croatian tourist product are climate, landscape beauties and country safety as well as ecological preservation, hospitality, cleanliness and quality of catering service. Disadvantages in regards to competitive destinations are accompanying facilities and their promotion (entertainment, sport and recreation as well as shopping), information and presentation of national tourism. On basis of these notions, it can be concluded that inefficiency of Croatian Tourist Board is not caused only by lack of synergy among different forms of tourist offers, but also by inappropriate management of Croatian image as a tourist country.

Suggestion of the strategic model for tourist development of national tourist offer of Republic of Croatia based on national heritage

In the context of previous opinions and review of conducted researches, the unacceptable evaluation of the present Croatian Tourist Board activities model is imposed, as well as the need to change the interrealtion with relevant Ministry. In regards to that follows the presentation of perceived model of strategic action and the suggestion of the new model that would ensure synergy of different forms of tourist offer developed on spatial, national, cultural and historical heritage of Republic of Croatia,

²⁸ TOMAS research 2007.- *Tourists' viewpoints and tourists' consumption in Croatia*, Tourism Institute, Ministry of Tourism Republic of Croatia, Zagreb, 2008, managers Čorak S. i Marušić Z. page 15

²⁹ Same, and TOMAS research 2004, *Tourists' viewpoints and tourist's consumption in Croatia*, Tourism Institute, Zagreb, 2005., manager Čorak S.

more appropriate promotion of national tourist offer, better quality of satisfying guests' needs, lengthening of tourist season and finally, the creation of particular national tourist *brand*.

The present condition

The existing model of managing tourist development of Republic of Croatia is currently based on 4 key *levers*. First *lever* is *bathing*, summer tourism as the most representative component of the overall offer. Despite evident efforts and endeavouring of partial tourist subjects to develop specialized forms of tourism, there is very little capital, technical and other support from Croatian Tourist Board on national level.

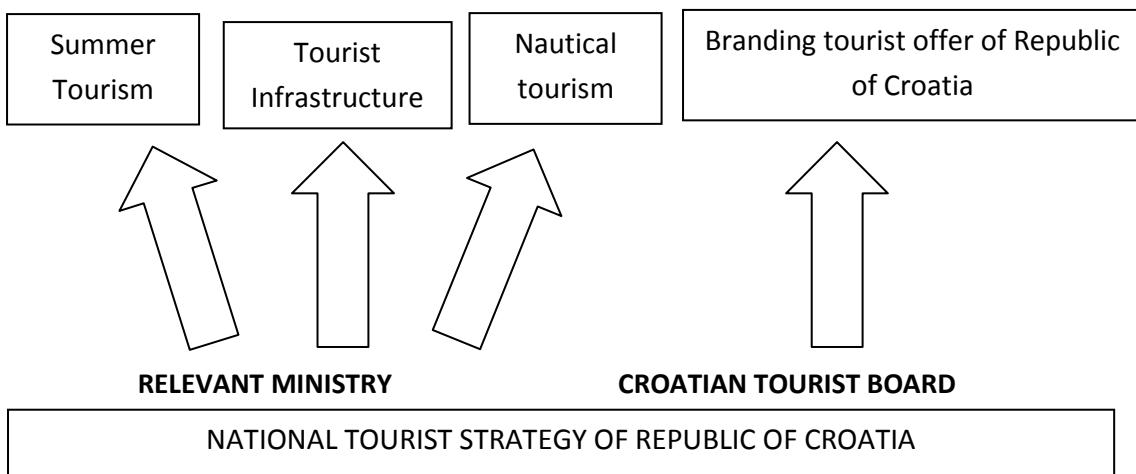
Second *lever* is tourist infrastructure. Its development is unsystematically managed on national level. It is contemplated exclusively through its general receptive function, disregarding potential and needs of different forms of specialized tourist offer.

Thanks to the confirmed potential for overall economic growth of the area where it's developing, nautical tourism is separately treated and it represents third *level*. This is confirmed by the efforts invested in institutionalization of developing of its management (special legal regulations, rules, *Study of Croatian nautical tourism* etc.)

Finally, fourth *lever* of the existing model is evident through efforts of Croatian Tourist Board to contribute with its activities to the creation of a particular national tourist *brand*. Despite expectations, the synergy between the policy of the relevant Ministry and Croatian Tourist Board never existed.

Therefore, the existing model inappropriately manages calculation means intended for promotion of Croatian tourism. Moreover, usually the means at disposal of Croatian Tourist Board are not completely spent and exceptional financial and other efforts of partial tourist subjects are not recognized in timely manner by Croatian Tourist Board. Declarative support of the relevant Ministry is insufficient for those projects. Finally, it is the paradox that Croatian Tourist Board is unsystematically trying to build national Croatian *brand* by the existing model. Results of these endeavours are obvious in collision of the accomplished results and notions from TOMAS research. Besides slowing down the possible development of different forms of specialized tourism, more adequate use of historical, cultural and other national characteristics in *branding* national tourist offer of Republic of Croatia, there are obvious mistakes in managing infrastructural projects in which very often bottlenecks remain unsolved and merely transferred to some other places. Inexistence of [hierarchical guidelines among everything that presents the potential for efficient branding of national tourist offer of Republic of Croatia](#) resulted in numerous collisions of valorisation models *in practice*. The consequence is unsystematic development of individual components and uncontrolled valorisation, speeded up loss of individual areas values and relevant resources on which the existing tourist offer of Republic of Croatia is based.

Photo 1: Existing condition – model of managing tourism development in Republic of Croatia



Source: proper, according to *Tomas researches*, 2009

The suggested model of managing development of national tourist offer of Republic of Croatia

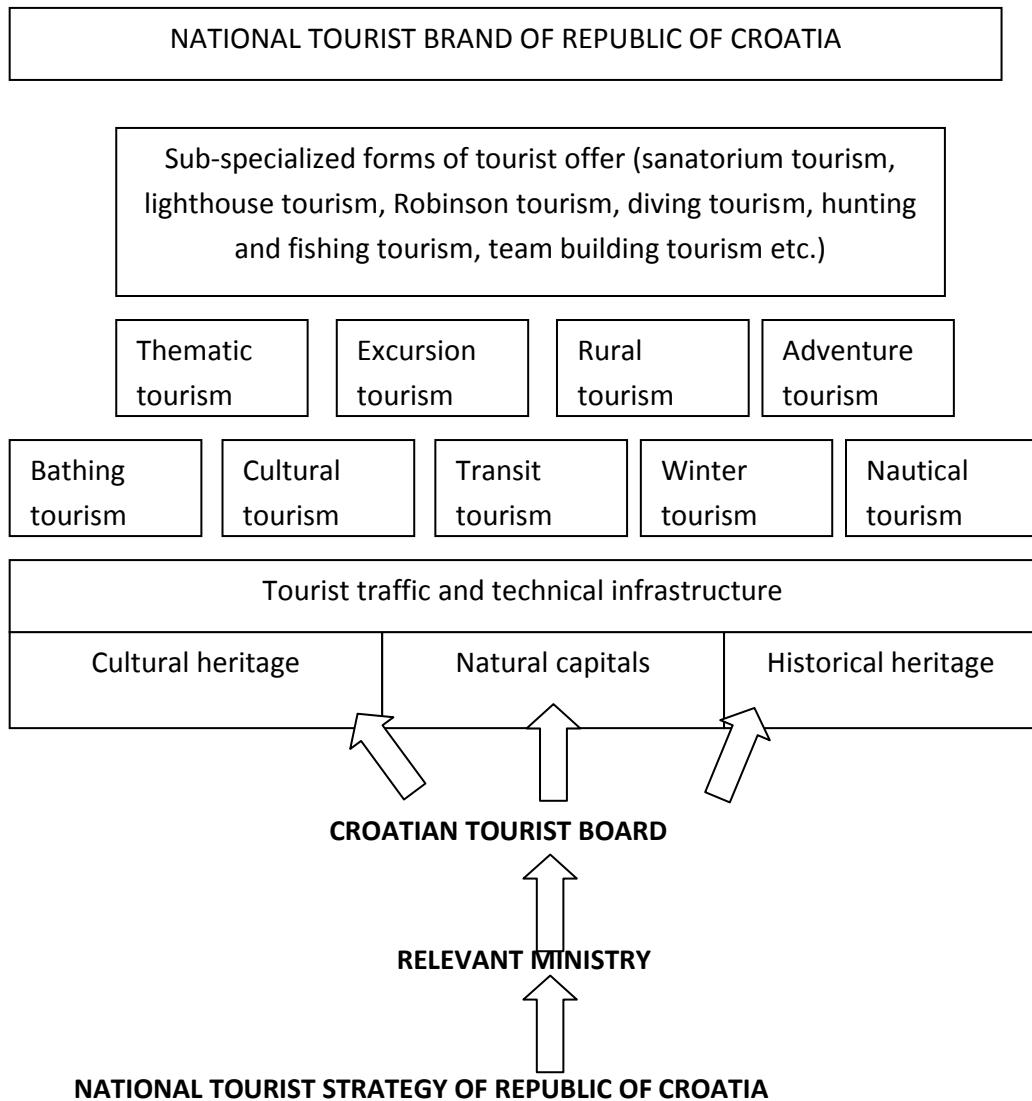
The frame of suggested model is formed on the platform of up to date tourist development, positive experiences in the context of integration of overall national heritage in individual segments of tourist offer and perception of the relevant sample of the visitor from TOMAS research. We took into account the different development level of segments within national tourist offer of Republic of Croatia through the evaluated synergy possibility to balance them. The imperative of the model is preservation and increase of the existing tourist segments of global tourist market that throughout many years chooses Republic of Croatia for a destination. Analysing the available data and the conducted TOMAS researches like a special target group, model of the aim and tourist segments whose formerly emphasized interest in regular visit to Republic of Croatia decreased. Precisely the elements of national heritage represented in the previous years the prevailing attraction factor. The loss of more emphasized recognisability of national tourism heritage resulted in a decrease of tourist interest. Creation of special, new *small tourist brands* (considering accommodation capacities) stimulates additional interest in Croatia as a tourist destination.

In the meantime the increased standards of tourist offer in the global market become higher. Therefore, the continuity of adequate valorisation of currently satisfactorily positioned *small tourist brands* in the national offer of the Republic of Croatia presumes certain tactical and strategic changes. Should that be neglected, the scenario of the loss of market segments that indirectly stimulate global publicity of Republic of Croatia *small tourist brands* is likely to happen. Precisely these *small tourist brands* are based on the national cultural and historical heritage and maintain continuity of the new demand and the tourist visit to the Republic of Croatia.

Model presumes synergy of segments, instead of *push pull* tactics that is practiced by the Croatian Tourist Board in presentation of national tourist offer of Republic of Croatia. Former approach has a consequence of imbalance in valorisation of overall tourist resources in geographical terms. Continuation of that trend threatens by partial degradations of valuable national tourist resources. In a such undesirable scenario, tourist offer of Republic of Croatia would permanently lose its position

at the global tourist market due to lower differentiation level in terms of segments and modest accommodation capacities.

Photo 2: The suggested model of managing development of national tourist offer of Republic of Croatia



Source: proper, Šerić, Talijančić 2008 – 2009

Conclusion

National heritage is the efficient platform for competitiveness of tourist offer on the global market. Implementation of national heritage within national tourist offer ensures recognisability, synergy of actions and differentiation. Theoretical organization of national tourist strategy on national heritage presumes defined guidelines for valorisation dynamic of the overall national resources. That's why sometimes in practice of small transit countries certain structures are responsible for preservation of historical artifacts of national heritage and at the same time they represent the barrier of the very same resources. Partly due to that fact nowadays tourism development in the Republic of Croatia

insufficiently and partially used those especially valuable development platforms in the creation of particular national tourist identity. Problem is partially in the hierarchy that is finally changing. The relevant ministry is finally put in the position of tourist development strategist, as it has been only the long hand of the Croatian Tourist Board. Starting from these new relations, the authors presented in this paper the suggestion of the conceptual model for formation of the national tourist strategy. Model has its origin in various forms of tourist offer that is based on national heritage. The formation of the tourist development model on that platform and finally synergy of overall specialized forms of tourist offer in national offer leads to formation of the recognisable and sustainable Republic of Croatia tourist *brand*. Every tourist oriented country aspires recognisability at global market. Tourist strategy elaborated on basis of national heritage considering the rich historical tradition of Republic of Croatia territory will enable synergy for all forms of the specialized tourist offer in the unique market approach with the aim of a whole-year tourist valorisation.

Today tourist demand shows particular interest towards authentic tourist offer, based on historical, cultural and natural heritage - on national tradition. Besides undoubtable profitability of such tourist approach to the global market, finally the recognisable national identity is also accomplished – *tourist brand*. That's why the strategic model for managing national tourist offer begins and ends with national heritage that is present in tourist framework through different aspects of specialized tourist offer. Nevertheless, global tourist market recognised many small Croatian tourist brands that developed despite the fact that there was little or no support from Croatian Tourist Board. Time has come to unite that potential and use it for a wide-range benefit of the overall tourist economy of Republic of Croatia through the synergy of different tourist offer forms.

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'The levadas of Madeira: from irrigation to a global touristic product'³⁰³¹

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Introduction

The main purpose of this working paper is to analyze some of the uses and consumptions of a heritage element utilized simultaneously by local peasants in their daily irrigation practices and by tourists in gazing landscape and heritage (Crawshaw and Urry 1997, Urry 2002). It aims to contribute for the discussions about the commodification of heritage as a touristic product, especially the emergent touristic product - the levadas of Madeira Island.

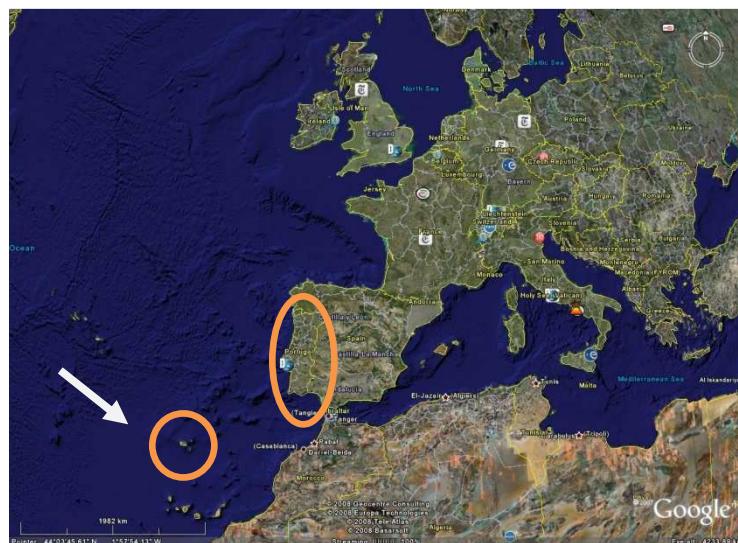


Figure 1: Localization of Madeira Island

In Madeira Island, an Autonomous Region of Portugal, situated in the Atlantic Ocean both past, present and future are greatly connected with tourism. This phenomenon is an important source of income to regional economy, that consequently reflects a positive development index, registered in the 196 hotel units and a total of 1176559³² guests listed in 2008 by the Regional Direction of Statistics, whose main markets are United Kingdom and Germany. With a total of 245806³³ residents, it received in 2008 from the total guests mentioned above, 933011³⁴ foreigners. This ultra-peripheral region of Europe has vast potentialities in terms of culture, heritage and nature that are being

³⁰ This paper has been produced in the course of a PhD project in Tourism, supported by a grant of Foundation of Science and Technology (FCT) (SFRH/BD/46730/2008).

³¹ I would like to thank the reviewer for the comments made on the earlier draft of this paper.

³² See the provisional data for 2008 in <http://estatisticas.gov-madeira.pt>, 25-05-09.

³³ Data collected from the 2006 demographical statistics, in <http://estatisticas.gov-madeira.pt>, 25-05-09

³⁴ See more information in http://estatistica.gov-madeira.pt/DRE_SRPC/IndicadoresEstatisticos/Servicos/Turismo/Turismo2008.pdf?option=com_turismo&x=29&y=7, 25-05-09

developed for tourism by Madeira Tourist Board and Regional Government, as emergent touristic products³⁵.

From heritage to tourism

Heritage understood as the cultural inheritance of the humanity, or what it is transmitted or inherited of a generation for another one (Smith 2003) is a cultural or social construction (Prats 1997). Heritage is associated with the contemporary use of the past, however, and increasingly, this concept is associated with the commercialization or commodification of the past with the growth of the heritage industry (Smith 2003), and consequently, of the tourist systems. It is in these systems, that the social actors produce, reproduce and consume heritage cultural forms (Santana 2006). Heritage has, today, a wide range of meanings, and comprehends "exceptional and ordinary goods, erudite and popular, material and immaterial, natural and cultural" (Silva 2008:10). In rural areas, culture and heritage have also a signifying importance, because they have been used to promote rural and local development, in order to solve in some way the process of deruralization (Silva 2008). The insertion of heritage in the touristic market is a synonym of commodities used to satisfy the contemporary world and as an economic resource. That reflects the variety of the touristic offer in rural areas: nature tourism, ecotourism, cinegetic tourism, active tourism, cultural tourism, enotourism, and so on.

Tourism is a complex phenomenon, visualized at a global scale (Franklin 2003, Smith 2003). It is a cultural practice (Rojek and Urry 1997) and form of consumption of the modern societies and one around mobility's of individuals and masses (Rojek and Urry 1997), of images and ideas, capital, information, objects and of technologies (Appadurai 2004), in which they diversify the cultural flows (Featherstone 2001, Appadurai 2004), meaning that tourism is symptomatic of an increasing mobile society. Here we can also address the fact that, today, travel metaphors are in the centre of mobility's due to the travelling cultures (Clifford 1997), meaning that cultures do travel as people and objects (Lury 1997). Another aspect is that mobility and the movement of peoples to places can be also address in terms of the "individual motives of escapism, the need for adventure, a desire to partake of the tourist gaze, or a socially ordered quest for authenticity" (Lury 1997:75).

Being sufficiently competitive in the European cultural tourism, the strategies of development for the promotion of the cultural heritage are diverse, especially with a considerable increase of the tourist attractions (Richards 1996a). Since the 1990's, new types of tourism appeared as a result of the development of the tourist industry and its matureness, combined with the new requirements of the consumers - the tourists. New products appeared³⁶ associated to cultural tourism: the ecotourism, nature tourism, rural tourism and the tourism of adventure (Craik 1997, Santana 1997, Smith 2003), that disclose the motivations of the tourists and a set of touristic experiences. Nevertheless this cultural component appears as a reply to a series of emergent conditions as there are a bigger sophistication and experience to travel between the tourists, the international competitiveness between similar destinations, the decay of some traditional destinations or tourist attractions, the

³⁵ See information on Regional Plan of Touristic Development available at <http://www.madeiraislands.travel/pls/madeira/docs/F27273/POT.pdf>, 27-05-09.

³⁶ The levadas are one of these products.

international growth and the diversification of markets and places, the globalization of the culture, etc (Craik 1997).

In postmodern society tourism is conceptualized as a series of activities related with the cultural production (Nuryanti 1996). This picture is “characterized by rapid fast movements through areas that are segmented into national and regional cultures and traditions creating an international identity” (Nuryanti 1996:250) in the *global village* (Boniface and Fowler 1993).

The way social actors choose their journey reflects new forms of reproduction of the past and some associated standards of consumption. “A movement towards one’s roots and a growing appreciation of tradition are aspects of relating to one’s total environment. They reflect the interplay between the local and the global” (Nuryanti 1996:250).

Tourism as a temporary trip with the goal of experiencing the change is not new (Gmelch 2004). Throughout some centuries, there were always trips, motivated for the necessity, pleasure, the curiosity or religiosity, which took the individuals to other places, to discover the other, landscapes and new customs and cultures (Hernández 2002).

There was always a close link between tourism and heritage, retracing to the Greek and Roman cultures until the XIX century where this relation was narrowing, culminating with the opening of spaces appointed to the visit and contemplation for the public, as the museums and natural places. The organized trips of Thomas Cook appeared, as an antecedent of the mass tourism, and consequently, the collections of traveler’s guides and bigger amplitude of the heritage notion, that accumulates new ethnographic objects (Hernández 2002). The first touristic package comes out along with the European destinations, as Italy and Greece, whose main attraction was culture (Richards 1996a).

The postwar period had a consume stimulus, that culminated in the international tourist flows of the north to the south, that look for sunny Mediterranean beaches. The mass tourism in the Europe of the 1960’s was based on standard products, offered by the tourist operators in the North of the Europe. Packages were also created whose primordial element was culture, designed to a German niche market (Richards 1996a). The 1970s and 1980s marked the segmentation of tourist niche markets. The touristic products are segmented as, Richards (1996a) affirms, by time, group, destination and reason of the trips. The culture was something inherent to the product, however this segmentation of market lead to the creation of new chances for the tourism operators.

Another aspect is the visual practices associated to tourism; that originates varied speeches organized for professionals of the touristic sector and the social actors. Different contemplations (Urry 2002) allowed by some speeches are created, associated to the nature of the perceptions of the tourists (Crawshaw and Urry 1997). The visual aspects assume special relevance in the construction of the touristic memories. They are the images of the places, of the landscapes that give to form and meaning to the experiences and memories of the trips (Crawshaw and Urry 1997). Those images allow the social actors to an appropriation of space, place and of a touristic product.

Madeira: brief reflections on local tourism

Tourism is the main economic activity in the whole world, and in the Autonomous Region of Madeira, it is not an exception. This Portuguese region, situated in the middle of the Atlantic Ocean, was always considered a tourist destination *par excellence*, thanks to its natural elements, since the time of the English aristocracy, "that traveled in the ships of the Royal Mail Lines, stopping in Funchal on its route to South Africa" (Vieira, 1997:31). Due to the increment of this activity throughout four centuries, Madeira was changed into a privileged destination, either for a leisure stay or for a trip business-oriented.



Figure 2: Postcard of Rabaçal Valley and levada (Source: Regional Archive of Madeira - ARM)

Madeira natural/cultural attractions for tourism

The natural elements represent one of the main attractions of the touristic activity in the region. The value of the natural elements is registered in 19th and 20th century documents (Biddle 1900, Brown 1890, 1927, Harcourt 1851, Sainz-Trueva 1990, White 1851, Taylor 1882) which expresses their first uses, associated to leisure, sightseeing and as a therapeutic form. And today that is not exception. There was a campaign in the beginning of this century called "*Feel the nature all around you*" promoted by Madeira Tourist Board, that drawn attention of potential visitors to the 'spectacular' landscape that could be seen in the island through innumerable walks on the levadas and footpaths³⁷. In this way, landscape, nature and the climate are economic resources with crucial importance, showing that natural resources "are in its origin the attraction factors that promote the movements of people with tourist purposes and rest" (Blasco 1996:112).

Madeira Island included in the bio-geographic region of Macaronesia, preserve a natural heritage of great scientific value, Laurissilva forest³⁸ which has been distinguished by UNESCO as World Natural

³⁷ Source: Madeira Regional Director of Tourism interview in August 2008.

³⁸ Madeira's indigenous Laurissilva forest, occupying an area of 15 thousand hectares, forms part of this vast layer of vegetation that covers the island. This ancient forest dates back to the Tertiary Era and includes very large trees amongst which is the Til (*Ocotea foetens*), the Laurel-Tree (*Laurus azorica*) and the Brazilian Mahogany (*Persea indica*).

heritage since 2nd December of 1999. This situation of Madeira in relation to the rest of the world, allow it to be seen for its true and specific value, as a bio-cultural heritage for all humanity.

The touristic product in analysis are the levadas, a heritage element of the Autonomous Region of Madeira and a touristic product *par excellence*, visualized as one of the Madeira's greatest tourist attractions. This product, associated with the landscape, to the material culture and leisure activities (mostly walking and hiking), is considered by the Regional Plan of Touristic Development (POT) as an emergent product that urges to consolidate and to develop for catchment of new segments of market³⁹, inserted in the cultural tourism, nature tourism and ecotourism that look for the green, the contact with the lost nature in the Atlantic, and the adventure. This emergent product corresponds to a niche of a specific market, and comes to complement in certain way the dominant product (landscape/excursions), for the diversification of other consumptions associated to the nature, landscape and to the cultural heritage.

Beyond its primary function, conduction and water supply for irrigated land (Fernandes 2006), this product was the aim of a heritage activation developed by the tourist/heritage industry assuming, in this way, new functionalities and dynamics.

The levadas are considered as a live monument of the local/regional culture; they are the expression of how the intervention of man was possible without causing serious ruptures in the functioning of ecosystems; and that contributed, together with the *poios*⁴⁰, through five centuries to the originality of regional agriculture. Consequently, it was created a work-group who appraised some levadas, namely, Levada da Serra do Faial, Levada de São Jorge/Caldeirão Verde, and the Levada dos Cedros, as an object of a candidature to World Heritage by UNESCO⁴¹.

Research design

The data presented on this work are inserted on my PhD ongoing research that I have been developing since 2008. The data has been collected through the literature review (from distinct areas such Anthropology, Sociology, Geography and Tourism, as well as methodology and other literature concerning tourism in Madeira), the search and analysis of secondary data (travel narratives, personal documents and online research analyzing Madeira Tourism related websites and travel blogs) and ethnographic research (including observation and interviewing).

The levadas of Madeira Island: primary uses

Since the time of the colonization, the question of water was always essential, since the relation man - nature was characterized by the existence of abundant water that could not be used due to the mountainous terrain (Branco 1987). This circumstance was overcome with the conduction of the water to the needed areas.

³⁹ See the Regional Legislative Decree (Decreto Legislativo Regional nº17/2002/M, 29 Agosto de 2002) which approves the Regional Plan of Touristic Development.

⁴⁰ Small arable ground terraces.

⁴¹ See more information about the process of this candidature in Caires (2000) and Freitas (2000).

The levadas had been always related with the agricultural development; therefore the irrigation water was and is considered a common good⁴². In Madeira the history of the levadas is confused with the settlement in the island. Their origin ascends to the first settlers⁴³, who, moved by agricultural necessity, decided to use the abundant waters. With the increasing need to irrigate the sugar-cane plantations and the wine fields, the net of levadas was multiplying and its construction was being done with safer techniques.

It was the regal warrant of 1493 that granted the name of levadas to the local canals of irrigation. If the older levadas had been constructed by means of the force of human labor, which used for this end rudimentary instruments, the most recent, were constructed with the use of modern machineries that beyond diminishing the human effort, contribute for the acceleration of the workmanships.

Although levadas were constructed by private initiative, only in the 19th century due to economic difficulties, namely in agriculture with the crisis of the vines production, the Portuguese government started to invest in this field, appearing the *levadas do estado* (state levadas) (Neves and Veríssimo 1995), even though their action was reduced (Quintal 2001).

In 1940 appears the Administrative Commission of the Hydraulical Exploitations of Madeira⁴⁴, that it was part of the national plan of reorganization of the Agricultural Hydraulically (CAAHM 1969), which "developed a workmanship without precedents in the water captation and its use for production of electric energy and in agriculture" (Quintal 1995:4).

The basic ideas of this new plan of the hydraulically exploitations of the Madeira Island are based in "leading, for dry lands of the south, lost waters or badly used to advantage in the north of the island, without damage of the widening of the irrigated land in this zone; and use the possibility to conjugate perfectly the production of energy with the imperious necessity of the irrigation of lands" (CAAHM 1969:43). The Plan of the CAAHM had two phases of execution. It was considered the construction of new levadas, now of public domain, the construction of some levadas by private individuals, also pointing the constitution of groups of owners for the construction of canals, with rights to the water for itself and heirs. Due to these new exploitations, the irrigated land area has widened, using the most part of the regional water resources, and to finish with the indiscipline and the continuous 'fights' for the water. The State intervenes by organizing, considering the water resources as a regional good. Parallel to this new plan, a new legal regimen of the water was elaborated⁴⁵ that comes to confirm the basic principle of entailing the water to the land.

⁴²See Fernandes (2006) on a case study about irrigation water as a common good.

⁴³See about this the works of Neves and Veríssimo (1995), Pereira (1989), Quintal (2001), Sacadura (1999), Silva and Menezes (1984).

⁴⁴See the Decree which approves the new plan (**Decreto-Lei nº 33:158, de 21/10/1943**) and that creates the Administrative Commission of Hydraulical Exploitations of Madeira.

⁴⁵The **Decree nº 36:136, of 05/02/1947**, that inserts relative disposals to the legal situation of the heréus and the proprietors of waters in the Madeira Island due to the new exploitations

Throughout some centuries, the state and the heréus⁴⁶ kept the tradition to construct the levadas, but in the last few decades, this task fit exclusively to the State, with the opening of the Levada dos Tornos (106 km), Levada da Calheta (63 km) and Levada do Norte (50,5 km).

Today, in Madeira Island, there are still particular levadas and state levadas, these last ones, characterized by its bigger extension, and with bigger volume. Of a total of 292 levadas⁴⁷, 172 are of the private ownership. The remaining ones are of state domain, more precisely, to the Hydraulic Services (DSH) and to the Institute of Management of water (IGA). The others are common to some heréus, being managed accordingly to local rules (*uses and customs*) and belonging to peasant's associations.

New functionalities: uses and consumption of the levadas

The Madeira Islands are a touristic destination *par excellence* as I appointed earlier, associated to tranquility, new sensations and discovery⁴⁸, to natural beauty and landscapes⁴⁹, where there are records of heritage strategies of induced elements of the local culture for the touristic phenomenon, and that local-global nexus fit in the recent questions in the contemporary anthropology.

Having this product a basic importance for the catchment of new segments of market, a regional diploma was created in 2000⁵⁰ that recommends some walks around the levadas and veredas for tourist enjoyment in contexts of recreation and the leisure. In add to this, the identification of landscapes and places of regional, natural and historical heritage that used in a sustained form, make possible a promotion of the preservation of the natural resources, articulated with job creation, local tourism and local development.

In addition, there is the increase of regional promotional initiatives about this product, such as the investment in one project of recovery of 18 walks aiming at an improvement to the circulation level and security, financed by the POPRAM-FEDER and ADRAM⁵¹; the exponential growth of activities around the levadas, promoted by local companies of touristic animation; as well as the Madeira Islands Walking Festivals⁵².

⁴⁶The heréus are the peasants who possess a part of the water of a levada. They pay the conservation of its property, and choose between itself the association that manages the levada.

⁴⁷Data provided in 2004 by the Hydraulic Services (DSH-SRA).

⁴⁸See the study concerning the "image of Madeira as a touristic destination" in:

http://www.madeiraislands.travel/pls/madeira/docs/F23388/Estudo_Imagen.pdf.

⁴⁹See the data about the study on tourism in Madeira: 2001 and 2002 report in

http://www.madeiraislands.travel/pls/madeira/docs/F23172/1_Relatorio_domp_Pag_1_36.PDF, 03-12-07

⁵⁰See the Regional Legislative Decree (nº7-B/2000/M) that establishes the recommended trails in the Autonomous Region of Madeira.

⁵¹For more information see Freitas (2006).

⁵²See more in www.madeiraislandswalkingfestival.com



Figure 3: walkers in the Levada dos Cedros during the MWF 09

Initiatives

Madeira Islands Walking Festival is a festival promoted by Madeira's Bureau of Tourism and organized by a freelance travel, outdoor writer and photographer Terry Marsh. He organized in 2004-2006 the successful walking festivals in the Isle of Man. To this date there were two editions, both took place in January 2008 and 2009.

The walks were chosen by a set available to tourists (walkers, hikers, etc), and are intended to provide a taste of the islands natural and cultural heritage. All of these walks were also developed and promoted by the Regional Forest Bureau, and they have been recently examined and verified.

In the first edition there were 32 participants, and this year the number has increased to 87 people, from several European nationalities. Both festivals had the duration of five days, and in each day, participants had the possibility to choose one of four walks that covered parts of the islands, given the possibility to gaze landscape, nature and regional/local culture.



Figure 4: walkers in the Levada do Rei at the MWF 09

Another initiative is the TOURMAC⁵³, an international Project that congregates three regions of the Macaronesia (Madeira, Azores and the Canary islands), supported by INTERREG III, and that launches a series of walking/hiking tracks, aiming to develop an integrated offer of "Trekking Tourism" and "seeks to be the way to achieve the protection and diffusion of the natural and cultural heritage linked to the "traditional trails" of Azores, Madeira and the Canary Islands, making the most of their economic potential for the local development of these territories, and making use of the attraction exercised by trekking on present-day society. Likewise, the socio-cultural interchange of the trekkers with the local inhabitants of each region will be promoted"⁵⁴. Basically, the general goal is the development of an integrated offer of "Trekking Tourism and Sustainable Development", possible for local development. In search of their goals there are a set of activities developed by the regions as development of organized routes, conferences, events and so on.

The hiking trails in Macaronesia are very diverse and comprehend several thematic routes such as water ethnography, wine, architecture, cheese, cycling, volcanoes, religious routes, the marine environment, Atlantic peaks, fishing, whales and archeology. For Madeira Island they have available 22 trails, the same as used in Madeira Walking Festival and those that were developed and promoted by the Regional Forest Bureau.

Daily, local companies of touristic animation take tourists to levadas and footpaths in order to gaze regional landscape as I mentioned earlier. In an analysis on the web (namely travel agencies) in the summer of 2008, I verified that there are several touristic packages that are sold with the trip, accommodation, and also one or more levada walks. This is a huge development because until a few years ago, these companies didn't have the chance to do so because levadas weren't examined and verified to daily uses of walkers/hikers.

There are others users⁵⁵, that consume the levadas on their leisure times, the members of local associations, that in organized groups walks on weekends and holidays in search for escapism, to contact with nature and also, to gaze natural and cultural heritage.

Conclusion

The levadas of heréus are, due to their maintenance, spaces of memory by the continuance of their local rules, used by the communities to manage and control of the common property. Also by the presence of memories activated by mnemonic devices associated to daily agricultural practices and of irrigated land (Fernandes 2006).

The regional net of levadas can be inserted in a *glocal* portrait associated to culture, to heritage flow and touristic resources, specific of a niche market who gives importance to cultural tourism, nature tourism and ecotourism as elements of proportioning cultural promotion and local development.

⁵³ See more information in: <http://www.tourmac.info/pt/>, 19-02-2009.

⁵⁴ In: <http://www.tourmac.info/in/tourmac/index.php>, 19-02-2009.

⁵⁵ See for example these websites: www.amigosdalevada.com, <http://bisbis.blogspot.com/>, <http://www.naturemeetings.com/>, <http://www.clubpeslivres.pt/>, among others.

The development of new tourism types, due to the progress of the touristic industry and its matureness originates new touristic products associated to cultural tourism, ecotourism and adventure tourism (Craik 1997, Santana 1997, Smith 2003, Stronza 2001), revealing of the tourists motivations and the variety of touristic experiences. The Madeira Walking Festival and other initiatives promoted in Madeira Island reveals those motivations in search for a varied and rich experience, namely around heritage and nature, putting Madeira island, and in particular, the levadas in a global context associated to walking festivals, leisure, culture and heritage.

The creation and recovery of 18 walks in several rural environments of the island contributes to the development inserted in the set of politics whose measures promote sustainability, among others. In consequence a revitalization of rural areas impelled by the touristic market is notorious.

The levadas, an element of regional/local culture, are inserted in a global context, characterized by a mobile culture, where people and objects are disentailed from specific localities, and where culture is de-territorialized allowing the participation of individuals in new cultural scenarios (Inda and Rosaldo 2002). Belonging to postmodern touristic sceneries and a global context, the levadas have become, through appropriation and the consumption by a third party, simultaneously a global and local product. Their uses and consumption, aiming domestic economy (in the case of the original function), escapism, and gazing nature/culture, allows their exaltation in a standardized world at a global scale.

Another aspect is the visual component of tourism, since sightseeing (MacCannell 1976) is the most important element of touristic consumption (Meethan 2001). This aspect has relevance, because the visual component is associated to levadas and nature, being gazed by tourists during their walking/hiking experience, registered in innumerable forms such as pictures and memories.

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'Is the holiness of Rila monastery contaminated by its mindless visitors?'

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Summary

The current work explores a very sensitive issue – the spiritual relation between a place of supreme religious significance and the visitors to it. The place in question is Rila Monastery located in the forest labyrinths of the Rila Mountains. It has been a sacred site ever since the establishment of the first church and small monastery in the area around 930 AD by the holy guardian of the place Saint Ivan Rilsky. The Monastery has survived very hard times of foreign presence on Bulgarian lands, much destruction and rebuilding and it had been the heart and soul of Bulgaria even at times when Bulgaria was a province of foreign empires. Until the coming of communists into power in 1944 when religion was forbidden, the place was a very popular pilgrimage centre. During communist times, the holy Monastery was declared a national museum and its religious value was downgraded. The types of visitors going there began to change, and included not only people motivated mainly by religion, but also many who saw it as a beautiful tourist attraction to be enjoyed. The flow of tourists increased even further after the official fall of communism in 1989, and later with the annexation of Bulgaria to the European Union. The overall increase of visitors to Bulgaria definitely meant an increase of guests going to Rila Monastery. It opened the question of whether the people going there are aware of the holiness and exceptional importance of the place and whether they knew how to pay proper, mindful respect to it. The research findings revealed a very complex and colourful picture of the visitors to the Monastery and of their relationship with the place. The partnership between Rila Monastery and its visitors proves to be a very dynamic and a fascinating one, affected and nourished by numerous factors and events.

Introduction

Rila Monastery is situated in the South part of Bulgaria (see map, Appendix 1) and represents the focal architectural and functional point of a complex ensemble of religious buildings which includes seven churches and nunneries and a multi-purpose monastic village (Zlatev, 1958, p.78). The Monastery was started about 930 AD by Saint Ivan Rilsky, a hermit canonized by the Orthodox Church, and his followers, who chose to live in seclusion far from the profane world in the deep wilderness of the Rila Mountains (Koeva, 2000, p.9). During the many centuries of foreign presence on Bulgarian lands (Byzantine 11-13 century and Ottoman 14-19 century), Rila Monastery played a vital role in the preservation of the Bulgarian national identity, and has been the key centre of religious, cultural and educational life. The Monastery has grown into one of the major centres of pilgrimage on the Balkans second in importance after the Mount Athos in Greece (Radkova, 2000, p.10-15).

The active religious and educational life in Rila Monastery was abruptly interrupted in 1961 when the Bulgarian Communist Party (B.C.P.) by means of an unpublished law confiscated all the lands belonging to the Monastery and declared it a museum (Archimandrite Rilsky, 1946, p.42) lacking any

spiritual value. The religious brotherhood of Rila Monastery became guests in their own spiritual home and continued to maintain secretly the religious life at the holy cloister⁵⁶. Many of the visitors, especially the generations born after 1944⁵⁷, stopped associating the place with religiousness and spirituality and began perceiving it simply as a tourism attraction.

In 1983, Rila Monastery was enlisted by UNESCO as World Heritage site, a “characteristic example of the 19th century Bulgarian Renaissance symbolizing an awareness of a Slavic cultural identity after centuries of occupation... a masterpiece of the creative genius of the Bulgarian people ...a site of universal significance”⁵⁸. Thus, Rila Monastery was officially declared a tourism attraction. With the opening of Bulgaria to the international tourism market after 1990 (the official fall of communism), a NATO member since 2004, and a European Union member since 2007, the number of international visitors to Bulgaria had almost doubled between 2001 and 2007⁵⁹. With reference to heritage and culture, Bulgaria had been a blank spot on the European and world map⁶⁰, with very few exceptions. Therefore, tourism developers, including the Agency of Tourism, began advertising Bulgarian culture and heritage as significant and memorable components of the tourism experience⁶¹. As a result of the overall increase of foreign visitors to Bulgaria, Rila Monastery also started receiving more visitors than ever, both Bulgarians and foreigners since very often Bulgarians accompany foreign visitors (personal communications).

There are no formal statistics on visitors' numbers either at Rila Monastery or at the Agency of Tourism, but according to the latest available UNESCO statistics, in 2004 there were 165,000 visitors there and the trend was for a future increase in that number⁶². In fact, the real number of visitors to Rila Monastery is far greater than what UNESCO could calculate because the statistics accounted only for the number of tickets sold at the Museum and the official car parks while many visitors park on the road and much fewer visit the Museum than the Monastery itself. Monks living in Rila, as well as Bulgarian citizens, expressed sincere concerns about the quality of visitors (both national and international) to the holy Rila Monastery (personal communications) and whether they contaminated the holiness of the site with their inappropriate behaviour and mindlessness about it. The mindlessness of such visitors is reflected in their perceptions and knowledge about it, and those perceptions are materialised in their behaviour while enjoying (experiencing) the place. A pilot study

⁵⁶ Personal communication with Abbot Evlogii, 15.07.08

⁵⁷ Previous generations were raised in religious values but as the B.C.P. forbade religion after 1945, talking about God and worshiping Him might have had fatal consequences, including death (personal communications with people aged 50+). Therefore, many parents have never talked about religion with their children (personal experience).

⁵⁸ See <http://whc.unesco.org/en/list/216/documents/> (Periodic reporting) (accessed 24.05.08).

⁵⁹ In 2000, the number of international visitors to Bulgaria was 2,354,000, out of which 798,000 were from the European Union, while in 2007 these numbers were 5,151,000 (total number) and 3,732,000 visitors from the EU: <http://www.tourism.govment.bg/bg/stat.php?menuid=3&id=3> (accessed on 20.06. 08)

⁶⁰ Personal observations resulting from numerous conversations with people from all over the world.

⁶¹ Especially after 2006, there were many events dedicated to cultural and heritage tourism in Bulgaria: <http://www.tourism.govment.bg/bg/news.php?page=&id=132> (accessed on 29.03.08)

⁶² Periodic reporting UNESCO: <http://whc.unesco.org/en/list/216/documents/> (accessed 05.02.09)

among 21 Bulgarians which was conducted before the main phase of the current research contradicted the argument that Rila Monastery was visited by mindless visitors (Stoyanova, 2008). It did not automatically mean that all visitors were like that and therefore further research was necessary to explore whether the general visitors to Rila Monastery could be classified as mindless or not and whether, by means of improper behaviour, they were spiritually contaminating the very site they went to contemplate. Rila Monastery has been the only living soul of Bulgaria for more than a thousand years and the picture of the current visitors going there which emerged through the results gathered for the paper is a very interesting one as it gives details on the emotional aspects of their visit and their relationship to the place – aspects of their visit that have never been researched before.

Focus of the research

The focus of the current research is a religious complex of supreme importance in the religious, cultural and educational life of Bulgaria, namely Rila Monastery (see Appendix 2, Pictures of Rila Monastery). The paper is investigating whether the holy spirit of the place is contaminated by some of the visitors going there. In order to assess whether the marriage between the Rila Monastery and its visitors is a happy and successfully balanced one, the visitors there were analysed in detail with reference to their motivations, expectations, satisfaction, actions and experiences. Having analysed who the visitors were, what they did and whether they could be classified as mindless, it was explored whether they contaminated the holiness of the place with their mindlessness, expressed most often in their inappropriate behaviour there. Rila Monastery has maintained ever since its existence a symbolical, almost mythical value for the Bulgarian people and as such, it is a relic of supreme value for them and many of the Slavonic peoples and its unique, inner spirit should be preserved at all cost (Stoyanova, op.cit.). – but was it contaminated and by whom? Since the main aim of the current research was to investigate the relationship between the religious ensemble of Rila Monastery and its visitors, the three dimensions of that relationship to be investigated were: how many visitors classified as mindless, who were least mindful (Bulgarians, foreigners or both), and whether, by means of their mindless behaviour, they contaminated the holiness of the sacred site.

Review of related previous research

As already mentioned, no research dealing with the emotional side of the visit of those going to Rila Monastery has been conducted and it means that no secondary data are available for comparisons. Therefore, materials related to similar religious sites were consulted in order to build up an idea of what the relationship between their visitors and the site was.

A number of authors have recognised the fact that many people visit religious structures of high spirituality such as churches, monasteries, mosques, mountains, caves and so on out of curiosity than because of religion and as part of the travel experience (Vukonić, 1996). Visits to such sites made because of curiosity also occur in cases when the places do not “embody” the religious beliefs of the visitors (Timothy and Boyd, 2003). Therefore, having non-religiously motivated visitors or visitors of other faiths is not unusual and the situation in Rila Monastery just confirms what has been observed elsewhere. Such visitors though should not necessarily be mindless due to their lack of religious motivation and still might show respectful, proper behaviour there.

A useful review on the visitors and their behaviour at a religious site is available in the work of McGettigan and Burns (2001) on Clonmacnoise, Ireland, a monastic site and centre of learning since the middle of VI century (*ibid.* p. 140). One of surprising findings of their research was that for about 22% of the visitors to the site, the visit was perceived as a “chore”, they were neutral to it, and lacked appreciation and understanding of the place – a great paradox considering the great distances they traveled to visit it (75% came from overseas) and the importance they claimed Clonmacnoise had on their destination choice⁶³. The indifference of some visitors was felt by the local staff working there who reported feeling “culturally offended” due to the apathy, impatience and boredom of some visitors (*ibid.* 142). That said, the work suggested that despite having highly educated visitors (about 50% of them had higher degree) who showed cultural and religious interest in the holy site, it did not automatically make them mindful and appreciative of it. It also shows that the uneasy marriage of visitors and places of spirituality might not be unique to Rila Monastery and had been experienced in other religious sites (Stoyanova, *op.cit.*).

The survey by Mourato, Kontoleon and Danchev (2002) is also of great importance as it concentrates on Bulgarian monasteries and the readiness and affordability of Bulgarians to pay for the restoration/maintenance work needed by the majority of them. It is particularly interesting that according to the survey only 12% of the visits to monasteries were religiously motivated, where about 68% visited them out of interests in Bulgarian history and culture (*ibid.* p.75). In combination with the high education levels of about one fifth of the sample, it is reasonable to assume that while visiting monasteries those people would demonstrate mindful behaviour – surprisingly the survey also revealed that the majority of the visitors to monasteries had only superficial knowledge about their role and significance in Bulgarian history and culture (about 70% showed rather poor knowledge about Bulgarian monasteries, p.75), and yet on average they were ready to contribute about 0.1% per capita GNP to the conservation and restoration work of the Christian-Orthodox monasteries (*ibid.* p.83)⁶⁴. The survey demonstrated clearly that for a good number of Bulgarians, Bulgarian monasteries possess an important value to be preserved for the future generations. It also provided a framework on religiousness levels and it was very interesting to compare that with the situation in the most important Bulgarian monastery, Rila Monastery – the focus of the current research.

The management problems observed by UNESCO in Rila Monastery⁶⁵, not only of managing the place but also of managing the tourist flows, were demonstrated similar to the Fortified Church of Biertan, Romania, a UNESCO site itself since 1993⁶⁶. Muresan's research of it (1998) showed that despite its

⁶³ 66% of those interviewed claimed that visiting Clonmacnoise was the main reason for visiting Ireland.

⁶⁴ It is to be reminded that the year when the survey was conducted (1997) was particularly difficult for Bulgaria with a collapse of the dollar exchange rate starting from 1 to 23 (American dollar : Bulgarian lev) and reaching 1 to 3,500 in just over three months (personal experience) which led to the melting of salaries in minutes but despite that Bulgarians were still willing to give for their religious buildings.

⁶⁵ In 2004, UNESCO identified the lack of steer group, monitoring, management plan or manager at the site. Promotion was seen as average, signage was almost missing - Periodic reporting UNESCO: <http://whc.unesco.org/en/list/216/documents/> (accessed 12.06.08)

⁶⁶ For more details, see <http://whc.unesco.org/en/list/596> (accessed on 12.03.09)

unique artistic and religious value and the awareness that the place could generate good income through tourism development, it had experienced numerous management problems, the tourism promotion was insufficient, service poor and the responsible interpretation materialised in printing materials seemed inadequate. The management analogies between Rila Monastery and the Fortified church at Biertan are understandable as both countries (Bulgaria and Romania) have suffered the damaging effects of communism and religious discontinuity⁶⁷ and are currently trying to re-establish their “old-new” identities distorted through times.

Two models were considered when analysing the relationship between the visitors to Rila Monastery and their effects on the spiritual contamination of the holy cloister. The first theory was that of Drezner and Drezner (1996) according to which the proximity of an attraction to large population bases influences its potential visitation, that is, the further the place, the fewer the visitors (*ibid.* p.4). In the case of Rila Monastery which is located 119 km from Sofia (capital city of Bulgaria and a major airport), it means that going there would require efforts that not everybody would be willing to make. The closest town to Rila Monastery is Rila Town, 19 km away, followed by Blagoevgrad city which is 44 km away. Therefore, visitors are unlikely to pass by Rila Monastery as if it were on their way downtown, but should definitely make an extra effort to reach it. The long distance to be traveled (a return journey to Rila Monastery from Sofia takes about 1 day) might affect the types of visitors that go there. Consequently, it would not seem reasonable that people would spend so much effort in order to contaminate the site with improper behaviour or mindlessness about it – but is it valid for Rila Monastery?

The other model, particularly relevant to the concept of mindful/mindless visitors it that proposed by Moscardo (1996) (see Appendix 3). According to that model, there are two sets of factors, visitors' and setting, which determine whether the visitors develop and behave mindlessly or mindfully at a site of visit. The model is exhaustive of all the factors that Moscardo saw as determining the mindful/mindless visitors and it is sensible to assume that not many single sites could display all of them. Three of the eight setting factors seemed inapplicable to Rila Monastery as it has always been a living church and not an attraction created for the sake of tourism⁶⁸. The visitor factors, namely high interest in content, low levels of fatigue and educational motive were to be assessed among the visitors to Rila. Moscardo suggests that ensuring enhanced/rich visitors' experience at the site, proper education and effective interpretation of the place visited are key prerequisites to developing visitors into mindful. Among the setting factors in the model, the author considers educating the visitors about the value and uniqueness of the religious site in question to be a primary prerequisite for transforming them into mindful. The direct application of Moscardo's model to Rila Monastery seemed difficult with the lack of an information centre and guided tours in situ and visitors appeared left to their own inner stimuli to learn more. In fact, as the survey showed (see below), giving the visitors control over what and how much to learn proved to be a very successful strategy in developing them into mindful while contemplating Rila Monastery.

⁶⁷ Romania was luckier in terms of damages to religious beliefs as religion was banished in the late 1970s (Muresan, 1998, p. 28).

⁶⁸ The three setting factors which are not applicable to Rila Monastery are: varied/multisensory media, use of questions, and dynamic exhibits.

Research methods

As a first social research attempted by the author, there were many unexpected turns while conducting the fieldwork and she tried to be as flexible as possible and seize any opportunity to double check anything learned. Both quantitative and qualitative data were collected by means of personal observations, purposive interviews with the Abbot of Rila Monastery and some of the secular staff, interviews with informers having worked in the place for more than 20 years, policemen guarding the Monastery⁶⁹, and questionnaires distributed among the visitors. After the approval of the research by Abbot Evlogii who is currently also a manager of Rila Monastery, the author made personal observations at the holy site and gathered some interesting information about the visitors from the secular staff and the informers, who preferred to stay anonymous. The staff saw in the topic of the research (contaminating of the holiness of place and its connection to visitors) a great chance to say what they thought of some visitors and wanted their voice heard. The semi-formal interviews with the secular staff (more small talks than interviews) revealed some intriguing things about visitors' behaviour which occurrences were later confirmed by the Abbot and the police⁷⁰.

The questionnaires for visitors consisted of 21 questions and they had two sections – general visitor profile (age, education, place of origin, profession) and personal experience (motivation, expectations, satisfaction, overall worthiness of the experience, disappointing things, commercialisation levels, recommendations, etc.). They were designed for self-completion or interviewer completion. The total number of 86 people completed the questionnaires, 55 Bulgarians and 31 foreigners. The numbers do not reflect the real ratio of Bulgarian to foreign guests at the Monastery.

All 31 foreigners were interviewed in Rila Monastery⁷¹ and as much as 29 questionnaires were completed by Bulgarians there. The survey procedure among Bulgarians was ironically, considering the research aim, interrupted due to an incident of mindlessness caused by a Bulgarian journalist. The unscrupulous reporter had filmed a fabricated "documentary" on Rila Monastery and its guardians and having been personally warned by the Abbot, the researcher terminated interviewing Bulgarian visitors not to risk any associations with the media and/or being refused any future cooperation (Stoyanova, op.cit).

Additional questionnaires were completed by randomly selected Bulgarians in Sofia who were visiting another important religious building – the Alexander Nevsky Cathedral. In about three hours, the researcher interviewed 14 people who had visited Rila Monastery at least once in the current (2008) year. Also, a focus group of 12 was gathered in London⁷² among Bulgarians living there and having visited Rila Monastery in the last 2 years. The author reckoned that the more various and

⁶⁹ Rila Monastery is currently guarded by 8 monks, 10 policemen and 4 firemen who are there to ensure the following of Monastery's regulations (e.g. no smoking within its boundaries, no dogs, proper dressing code, etc.)

⁷⁰ The interview with Abbot Evlogii was conducted on 20.07.08 and with the police on 15.07.08 and 03.08.08.

⁷¹ Foreigners were interviewed on two dates: 24.07.08 and 03.08.08.

⁷² The organiser was Malinka Mladenova as the researcher was in Bulgaria at that time.

random the sample, the more genuine the results could be. In fact, the act of mindlessness of the above mentioned journalist led to an unexpected diversification of the Bulgarian sample.

The gathered questionnaires provided enough data to assess the motives, expectations, impressions and disappointments of the visitors despite the limited number of participants. The interviews with Abbot Evlogii, the police and secular staff confirmed many of the things said by respondents and helped to identify cases which the very guardians (both religious and secular) saw as contaminating the spirit of the holy place.

Discussion of findings

Some of the most fascinating results from the research were related to the motivations of visitors in Rila Monastery, their satisfaction with the experience and site interpretation, the most impressive and disappointing things and the recommendations they made.

In summary, the demographic data indicated that the majority of Bulgarians were aged 41-50 (35%), followed by the 31-40 age group (27%). The group aged under 40 accounted for 45% of the Bulgarian visitors – an excellent indicator for continuity of future visits to Rila Monastery. Among the foreigners, the majority were aged 21-30 (42%). Many Bulgarians would travel long distances⁷³ specifically to visit the Monastery - among the group interviewed in Rila Monastery, 55% came from over 100 km away. Most foreigners came from Europe (71%), and originated from 12 countries, some from as far as Australia, Mexico and Japan. There were many more females than males, 78% among the Bulgarian interviewees and 71% among the foreign ones.

In terms of education, for both Bulgarians and foreigners, the number of university graduates (Bachelor, Master's, Ph.D. degrees) and students was substantial (85% from the total number of participants)⁷⁴ (Stoyanova, op.cit.). Interestingly, among the locals, i.e. those coming from less than 40 km away, only 15% had a university degree, 46% - had finished High school or had polytechnic degree, and the rest had completed Secondary School – a sign that for the locals, Rila Monastery is a popular place of visit without any specific relevance to their education levels. Similar results were obtained by a survey of visitors at religious sites in Northern Portugal which suggested that such sites rated among the most popular for people of lower education (Richards, 2007, p.230) showing that education is of not of great relevance when it comes to visiting religious, holy places.

The above summarised characteristics of the visitors to Rila Monastery were good prerequisites for having mindful visitors, and further answers' analysis was used to re-affirm or contradict that. The visitors would make big efforts to visit the place⁷⁵, both the Bulgarians and the foreigners, and it seemed strange to go there and behave mindlessly. Therefore, when applying the Drezner and

⁷³ Bulgaria is not a very big country and distance of more than 30-40 km is considered long distance (personal communications with drivers).

⁷⁴ See Table 7, Chart 15

⁷⁵ Some Japanese take taxis from Sofia in order to pay a visit to the Monastery and taxi drivers patiently wait for them outside until they contemplate the place. Two such Japanese ladies have spoken to the author about half an hour while inside the Monastic cloister and did not even show worries that the taximeter was ticking outside.

Drezner (1996) theory (see above) to Rila Monastery, it showed that due to the great distance to be traveled, the effort to be made played the role of a "sieve" for certain visitors (probably some of which might have been mindless), and a motivator for others.

Intriguing information emerged from the visitors' experience section. It was absolutely fascinating to see that for all the 86 interviewees their experience in the holy cloister as a whole was worth or very much worth the visit there and all claimed it should definitely be preserved for the future generations (93% strongly agreed and 7% agreed with that). As high as 98% would recommend or highly recommend to their friends/relatives to visit the place.

The major motivations for going to Rila Monastery among the Bulgarians were to pray, pointed out by 56% of the interviewees, 42% of which were under 40, followed by "to feel the spirit of place" (38%), "admire the Bulgarian genius and spirit" (35%), appreciate nature (33%), refill my soul batteries (29%), and "because it is a sacred place" (29%) (Stoyanova, op.cit.). Such motivators, especially with reference to religion, are an obvious indication that for many Bulgarians, Rila Monastery is a place of special importance, spirituality and energy. In comparison to the average 12% of religiously motivated visits to Bulgarian monasteries (Mourato et.al., op.cit.), the 56% revealed through the current research prove that this particular Monastic ensemble possesses a pulling power for many more believers than most Bulgarian churches and monasteries.

Understandably, the reasons for foreigners to visit Rila Monastery differed from those of the Bulgarians. For 23% of them it was a guidebooks "must see" in Bulgaria or was recommended by a friend, for 16% it was the "most famous and/or the most beautiful Monastery in Bulgaria" and 13% came to "appreciate nature".

Rila Monastery met the expectations of 88% of both the Bulgarian and foreigner respondents (91% of the Bulgarian and 84% of the foreign). Mere 6% of the foreigners were little disappointed as they were just refused accommodation inside the Monastery which was fully booked at that time of summer (personal communication with a Portuguese-Spanish couple, 24.07.08).

What the Bulgarians found most impressive was the Central church built inside the fortified walls of the Monastery, indicated by 40% of the participants, next came "the atmosphere/ spirit of place" (33%), the "overall beauty of Rila Monastery" (33%), the Museum (31%), "the positive energy of the place" (31%). The foreigners were mainly overwhelmed by the architecture of the Monastery (45%), the mountains around (39%), the Central church (35%), the murals/icons/ woodcarvings (35%), "the morning silence" (23%), and "the harmony between religious buildings and nature" (19%) (Stoyanova, op.cit.).

With reference to disappointing aspects of the visit to Rila Monastery it is worth mentioning that for 20% of both the Bulgarians and the foreigners, there was nothing which they found disappointing. Among the rest of the Bulgarians, the most disappointing aspects were "lack of respect for the place demonstrated by some visitors" (written by 45% of the interviewees), the fact that "some perceived it only as tourism attraction" (34%) and consequently behaved as if were, and "contamination of the

sacredness of the place" (27%). The findings that a significant number of Bulgarian visitors have not only noticed but also commented negatively on the behaviour of others means that first, they differentiated themselves from such people, and second, there were people whose behaviour was seen as mindless by some other visitors. What is more, since they remarked on the improper behaviour of such mindless visitors, it proved that a good number of Bulgarian visitors were aware of the regulations and appropriate behaviour to be abided by at the holy site. Some of the most annoying incidents of inappropriate behaviour observed by visitors, the Abbot and the police included improper dressing, rude language to religious and secular staff (the Abbot as well), smoking inside the Monastic cloister, shouting, talking on mobiles inside the Central church or in front of the Altar. The police and religious guardians are doing their best to prevent those from happening.

The aspects that foreigners found most disappointing were the lack more of information on the history of Rila Monastery (35%) and on Orthodox faith (35%), toilets (30%) and bad transportation to/from Sofia (29%) – actually, there is only one bus every day, travelling about 5 hours return journey, while the visit cannot last more than 90 minutes (personal experience).

Despite the comments that more information was needed in-situ, 73% of those interviewed were satisfied or very satisfied with what was provided there (86% of the Bulgarians and 51% of the foreigners). Many of them (68% in total) also learned or experienced new things while being at the holy cloister. Among the Bulgarians who learned/experienced something new, the majority indicated that they "recharged their souls (soul batteries)" (84%), the visit "provoked thoughts on human spirituality" (40%), they learned new facts about Rila Monastery (32%), and 20% confessed it was too personal to share. Not surprisingly, the foreigners, many of which of other religions, learned mainly about the beauty of Rila Mountains and Rila Monastery (38%), interesting facts about the Orthodox religion (25%), facts on Rila Monastery (19%), and information related to Bulgarian history (13%) (Stoyanova,op.cit.). The question on experiencing/learning something new appeared the most sensitive one as it dealt with the most emotional aspect of the visit to the sacred place and understandably it remained unanswered by 30% of those being talked to.

It is interesting to mention that in terms of commercialisation levels, 49% agreed / strongly agreed that the place was too commercialised (58% of the Bulgarians and 32% of the foreigners). Luckily, it did not affect their perceptions on the preservation of the spirit of place as 78% claimed Rila Monastery managed to preserve its unique spirit and atmosphere.

The above presented data on the visitors to Rila Monastery (both national and international) showed that they were quite well-informed about the place and could be categorised as mindful according to Moscardo's model (see Appendix 3). The visitors showed themselves characterized by all the "mindful visitor factors" - high interest in content, low levels of fatigue (if any), and with educational motives. Three of the five applicable setting factors provoking mindful behaviour were observed at Rila Monastery. The lack of the other two factors – good orientation and presence of guides - is something visitors expressed dissatisfaction with but something the Abbot is aware of and is currently taking the necessary steps to making them available. Despite the poor signage and lack of guides at present, the findings suggested that the interviewed visitors were reasonably mindful

about the supreme importance of the sacred place they were visiting, and it could be assumed that for Rila Monastery the visitors' factors play a major role in provoking proper behaviour. Many of those visiting the holy cloister enjoyed the experience mindfully and showed respect for its spirituality, atmosphere and beauty. It is logical to assume that their rich experience would provoke further learning and understanding of the place and would on its turn, lead to more mindful behaviour. Therefore, there is good evidence that Moscardo's Model has good applicability to Rila Monastery, and based on the research findings, it could be adopted for Rila as shown in Appendix 4.

There is an additional setting factor whose inclusion in the model the author finds extremely important – control over the visitors. The control over the visitors to Rila Monastery is ensured by the presence of the ten policemen and four firemen. Although it is a hospitality paradox to welcome the visitors into the religious site and then monitor and control them (Stoyanova, op.cit.), it is necessitated by the strange fate suffered by Rila Monastery. The prohibition of religion in Bulgaria during communism meant that at least two generations were raised without any official religious education and with the idea that Rila Monastery was an open-air museum. That attitude has affected the behaviour of some of those visiting the Monastery irreversibly and they still behave there without the required respect. As it is too late for many of them to be educated according to Abbot Evlogii's and policemen's observations and numerous encounters⁷⁶, the only thing the Monastery staff can do is to control them in order to ensure they behave respectively at the sacred place and do not spoil the spiritual experience of those who mindfully contemplate the spirit of the Monastery. With reference to those who need not be controlled, the Monastery has provided a great variety of educational materials on religion, Rila Monastery, Saint Ivan, etc. The positive effects of education have been observed especially among younger visitors (under 40-45) since, according to the Abbot and the police, there are a little fewer unpleasant encounters with them.

Although there were no mindless visitors interviewed (or nobody confessed they were), the fact that cases of inappropriate behaviour were noticed and commented on means that there are mindless visitors in Rila Monastery. Fortunately for the Monastery and all those visiting it with hearts full of hope and faith, those unpleasant occurrences were reported a small minority (and therefore distinctly annoying) in comparison to the great number of people who went to holy site with open minds to contemplate it and recharge their souls with its eternal energy.

Conclusion

The findings from the pilot study suggested that Rila Monastery is visited by people who clearly and openly recognised its holiness and energizing atmosphere and that situation was further confirmed during the wider-scaled main research. All the questionnaire respondents were randomly selected and yet they proved themselves reasonably mindful and aware of the appropriate behaviour to be abided by at the holy place. They were cooperative in sharing some of the most personal aspects of their visit there, including their expectations, positive and negative impressions, and even new spiritual experiences. Their genuine concerns for the future developments, also of tourism, were expressed in their comments regarding the availability of proper interpretation, guiding and better signage. Abbot Evlogii and a diligent team of professionals are currently involved exactly in publishing

⁷⁶ Personal communications with Abbot Evlogii and policemen on 20.07.08 and 03.08.08.

relevant materials in 12 languages and some of the newly appointed religious staff is multilingual (personal communications). It is hoped that they could soon play the role of guides within the monastic cloister to both Bulgarians and foreigners and thus enhance greatly their experience and understanding of the unique spirit of the place.

The participants in the research discussed above demonstrated themselves quite mindful and with good notions of appropriate behaviour at the site. Their self-reported mindful behaviour did not seem to contaminate the holiness of the spirit of the place. However, the guardians of Rila Monastery have ensured that less mindful visitors are also appropriately reminded of the respect to be paid there – either by controlling incidents of mindlessness or by educating the visitors. The fewer cases of improper behaviour among younger visitors, some of which well-educated on religious matters, is a great indication for a further growth in the number of mindful visitors who sincerely believe and understand the spiritual significance of Rila Monastery.

In conclusion, the results discussed here suggest that the majority of visitors to Rila Monastery are mindful without reference to their nationality or religious beliefs. Those visitors show respect and reverence for the place and find it enriching and inspiring. Despite the damaging effects of communism and a 45-year official religious discontinuity, Rila Monastery has the resources and energy to reposition itself in the lives and beliefs of the younger generations and the ones who worshiped God in secrecy. The religious ensemble is redeveloping as a centre of pilgrimage and a primary centre of spirituality and faith in Bulgaria. Its holy spirit flourishes uncontaminated today and is lit by all those who contemplate it with faith and hope in their hearts and minds. In return, the place rewards them with positiveness, great spirituality and peacefulness.

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Personal communications

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Personal communications with local staff and informers on 17.06.08, 22.06.08, 20.07.08, 22.07.08, 03.08.08, 12.08.08.

Appendix 1

Map of Bulgaria and Rila Monastery



Appendix 2 Pictures of Rila Monastery



Picture 1: The Western Entrance of Rila Monastery showing the thick outer walls



Picture 2. View of inner yard of Rila Monastery showing the inner sides of the citadel wall



Picture 3. The Central Church (inner yard) built in stone and enlarged after the last fire in 1833 when the Monastery burnt to the ground

Appendix 3

Mindfulness Model of Visitor Behavior and Cognition at Built Heritage Sites (after Moscardo, 1996)

SETTING FACTORS	VISITOR FACTORS	COGNITIVE STATE	CONSEQUENCES
<ul style="list-style-type: none"> 1. Varied/Multisensory Media 2. Novelty/Conflict/Surprise 3. Use of questions 4. Visitor control /Interactive exhibits 5. Dynamic exhibits 6. Physical/Cognitive Orientation 7. Topic/Content Area 8. Presence of guides 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> 1. High interest in Content 2. Low levels of fatigue 3. Educational Motive 	MINDFUL	More learning High satisfaction Greater understanding
<ul style="list-style-type: none"> 1. Repetitive/Unisensory Media 2. Traditional Exhibits 3. No control/Interaction 4. Static Exhibits 5. Poor/No orientation 6. No guides present 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> 1. Low interest in Content 2. High levels of fatigue 3. Entertainment/Social Motive 	MINDLESS	Little learning Low satisfaction Little understanding

Appendix 4

Mindfulness Model of Visitor Behavior and Cognition (after Moscardo, 1996) designed specifically for Rila Monastery

SETTING FACTORS	VISITOR FACTORS	COGNITIVE STATE	CONSEQUENCES
<ul style="list-style-type: none"> 1. Novelty/Conflict/Surprise 2. Visitor control /Interactive exhibits 3. Topic/Content Area 4. Control over mindless visitors * – ensures enjoyable experience of the mindful ones 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> 1. High interest in Content 2. Low levels of fatigue 3. Educational Motive 4. More learning 5. High satisfaction 6. Greater understanding 	MINDFUL	More learning High satisfaction Greater understanding
<ul style="list-style-type: none"> 1. Poor/No orientation – about to be improved 2. No guides present – training of younger monks to do the job 	No such visitors interviewed – it does not mean they do not exist	MINDLESS	Little learning Low satisfaction Little understanding

* Although such a setting factor is missing in the original Model (see Appendix 3), the author reckons it is an important setting factor which proved significant for the situation in Rila Monastery.

'New forms of Cultural Tourism in Italy: The creativity to develop successful tourist experiences'

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Introduction

The growing competition in the field of cultural tourism - and therefore the risk of serial reproduction of culture - depends on the awareness that tourist goods and services are no longer able to satisfy the visitor needs. For these reasons, the destinations are changing their systems of offer using an experiential approach: the culture originally linked to the tangible resources and the heritage of the area is now linked to intangible resources and creativity. The destinations must use their creative capital to transform the culture of the place into satisfactory experiences.

The objective of this paper is to understand how the Italian territories, full of cultural resources, can reshape and redesign themselves as creative spaces, using their tangible and intangible cultural assets and creating experiences.

The paper wants to analyze the importance of creativity in the field of tourism and culture, and how creativity is able to create experiences in which the tourists become *co-producers* of value: through studies on the experience, innovative forms of tourism have emerged, in which the size of the participation and involvement have a dominant role.

The territories, in fact, have realized that to gain competitive advantage must use the creative capital and engage visitors in the process of producing tourist experiences: the creativity allows destinations to achieve a sustainable competitive advantage and attract an increasing number of cultural tourists. The analysis was conducted both from a theoretical point of view and empirical. In the first part, the paper analyzes from a theoretical aspect the transition from cultural tourism to new forms of creative experience: creative spectacles, creative spaces, creative tourism

The distinctive features and the development of tourism based on creative capital are also examined. In the empirical part, the paper examines some examples of creative offers in Italy and highlights how the creative capital can lead to successful experiences. The study of Italian cases allows to analyze:

- The modalities of participation and involvement of tourists;
- The level of interaction between tourists, residents and local cultural resources;

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- The different creative contexts where creativity develops.

To achieve the competitive success, every destination must be able to develop synergies between visitors, creativity and cultural resources.

Creative capital and Tourism

Cultural tourism – “The movement of persons to specific cultural attractions (historical and artistic sites and events) to satisfy the needs of knowledge⁷⁸”, is an important segment of the global tourism and it is in constant evolution. This typology of tourism, in fact, manages to make attractive a lot of destinations previously ignored by the tourists and its growth trend is becoming more and more significant: According to the World Tourism Organization in 2006 the cultural trips constituted about 40% of the total world tourism, and will grow by 40% in 2010⁷⁹. While, however, in the past years the strengths of cultural tourism were the traditional cultural resources such as historical centres, museums and monuments, are now emerging new forms of cultural tourism – entertainment tourism, landscape tourism, training tourism, urban tourism⁸⁰ - and are developing systems of offer based on *experiences* that can satisfy the tourists through the creative capital.

The tourism experience is analyzed through the *Economy Experience*⁸¹. The economy experience starts from the notion that increased competition forces producers to differentiate products and services, turning them into experiences⁸². The symbolic and emotional dimensions become central; experiences are prepared, lived, remembered and shared⁸³.

According to the model developed by Pine and Gilmore⁸⁴, the experience can be analyzed on the basis of the tourists participation and of their involvement (Figure 1).

Fig. 1 The Experience Realms

⁷⁸ Richards G. (1996), *Cultural Tourism in Europe*, Cab International, UK.

⁷⁹ Martelloni R. (2006), “Il turismo culturale: stato dell’arte, vincoli e opportunità”, in *Economia della Cultura*, a. XVI, n. 4, pp. 509-520.

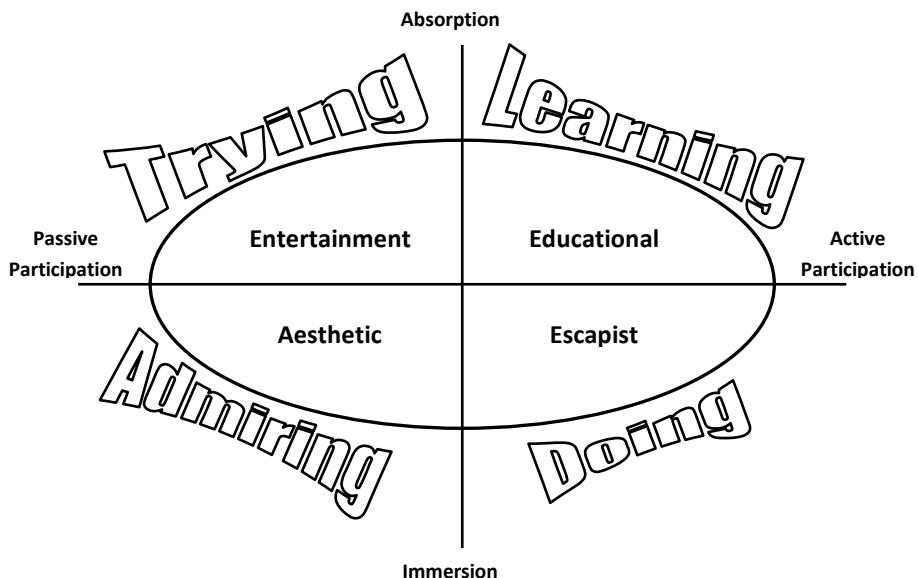
⁸⁰ Entertainment tourists want to participate in festivals or cultural events; in the Training tourism a large number of students and young travel with the goal of having fun and meeting new cultures; the Landscape tourists are looking for less crowded places to learn about the cultural resources of the little towns and to interact with the local communities; in the New Urban tourism the urban spaces that were reserved for the local community are now allocated to the use of cultural tourists. Source: Cusimano G., Giannone M. (2007), “Turismi culturali: Dai macroprodotti ai segmenti di nicchia”, in XV Rapporto sul Turismo Italiano 2006/2007, Rubbettino Editore.

⁸¹ Studies by: Carbone L.P. e Haeckel S.H., “Engineering customer experience”, *Marketing Management*, vol. 3, n. 3, 1994, pp. 9-19; Ferrari S. & Resciniti R. (2007), “La gestione degli eventi turistico-culturali nella prospettiva esperienziale”, *Annali della Facoltà di Economia di Benevento*, n. 12, pp. 257-284; Resciniti R. (2004), *Il marketing orientato all’esperienza L’intrattenimento nella relazione con il consumatore*, Napoli, ESI.

⁸² Amin A., Thrift N. (2002), *Cities: Reimagining the urban*, The Polity Press (2nd reprint), Cambridge; Pine J. B., Gilmore J. H. (2000), “L’economia delle esperienze. Oltre il servizio”, Etas, Milano.

⁸³ Paper on the Cultural Tourism by the IULM University, Milano.

⁸⁴ Pine J. B., Gilmore J. H. (2000), *op. cit.*, p. 35



Source: Pine, B. J., Gilmore, J. H. (2000), *L'economia dell'esperienza*, Etas, Milano, p.35.

The participation (active or passive) and the level of involvement of the tourists (absorption or immersion) - allowing the identification of four areas: entertainment, education, escapism and aesthetic experience⁸⁵.

The entertainment experience is when visitors absorb the experience in a passive mood, through the mind and the senses, but without influence it directly.

The educational experience includes the active participation of visitors and allows to increase their knowledge and skills through an active engagement of the mind and/or the body.

In the escapism experience the visitors participate actively in the event and became *actors* in the *performance*. Finally, in the aesthetic experience the tourists are immersed in the event, but do not affect the performance.

Tourists participating in an entertainment experience want *to try*, that taking part in the education experience wants *to learn*, that taking part in an escapism experience wants *to do*, and consumers of an aesthetic experience want *to admire* a cultural resource or be present when the cultural event is staged⁸⁶.

⁸⁵ The four realms of the experiences are strictly linked between each other and the richest experiences include all the four aspects and are at the centre of the figure; Pine B. J., Gilmore J. H. (2000), *op. cit.*, p. 44.

⁸⁶ Csikszentmihalyi M., Robinson R.E. (1990), "The art of seeing: an interpretation of the aesthetic encounter", J. Paul Getty Museum and Getty Center for Education in the arts, Malibu, California.

In tourism, the experiential approach allows the territorial systems of offer to achieve competitive advantages to prevent phenomenon concerning⁸⁷:

- Cultural homogenization: Many destinations have developed artificial attractions not representative of local identity and therefore not attractive⁸⁸. The main risk relating to the serial reproduction is to make the destinations not distinctive and not competitive;
- Strong competition between destinations, which has led to lower costs and prices, rather than to improve the quality of the system of offer.

In this context, the creative capital has a fundamental value. Studies by Richards and Wilson⁸⁹, Binkhorst⁹⁰, Prentice⁹¹ and Raymond⁹², have analyzed that creativity can strengthen the cultural identity of the destinations, reducing the risk of serial reproduction and defining a deeper relationship between tourists and local community.

The territories *to maintain, develop and use their creativity as a distinctive instrument*, use different strategies of differentiation⁹³:

- *Iconic structures*: construction of important structures which often aim to become a symbolic shorthand for the territory identity. Iconic structures may therefore begin to lose their distinctive quality, because too many destinations are using this strategy to diversify their own identity, and because the signature architects may be better at creating a distinctive image for themselves rather than the places they build for, without consider the local peculiarities.
- *Mega-events*: many cities organize mega-events thanks to their lower cost compared to building physical infrastructures, such as a new museum. The mega-events can also be modified and improved every year. The more known mega-events in the cities are two: The *White Night* and the *Capital of Culture*⁹⁴. Even this strategy is beginning to fail, since it is used by many cities in competition between them: rather than focusing on a single mega-event, destinations should develop more organic policies and distributed throughout the year, with a timetable of events.
- *Thematisation*: Some cities have tried to distinguish themselves by developing a specific cultural theme, strictly linked to the local heritage and to the typical assets of the area.

⁸⁷ Russo A.P. (2008), I nuovi paesaggi del Turismo Creativo. Pianificare le Urban Experiences per superare la crisi del Turismo Culturale, Paper presentato al Ciclo di Seminari Turismi e Turisti, 16 Maggio, Alghero.

⁸⁸ Richards G. (2001), *Cultural Attractions and European Tourism*, CABI.

⁸⁹ Richards G., Wilson J. (2006), "Developing creativity in tourist experiences: A solution to the serial reproduction of culture?", *Tourism Management*, n.27, pp. 1209-1223.

⁹⁰ Binkhorst, E (2005), "Creativity in the experience economy, towards the co-creation tourism experience", *ATLAS annual conference*, Barcelona.

⁹¹ Prentice R. (2003), "Conceptualising Cultural Tourism", Conference on *Developing Cultural Tourism* University of Nottingham, 16 December.

⁹² Raymond C. (2003), "Case study – creative tourism New Zealand", published at www.fuel4arts.com

⁹³ Richards G., Wilson J. (2006), *op. cit.*

⁹⁴ During the White Night the tourists can visit museums and participate in cultural life of the city all the night, and is performed in Paris, Berlino, Amsterdam, Montreal, Roma, Napoli, Bruxelles, Madrid, Riga, and a lot of other cities in the world. The European Capital of Culture is a recognition that allows the European city that has won the title to make known to the world its cultural heritage; Cusimano G., Giannone M. (2007), *op. cit.*

- *Heritage mining*: Many cities and regions have attempted to re-develop themselves through the revalorisation of cultural heritage, usually with an emphasis on the built heritage, such as museums or monuments.

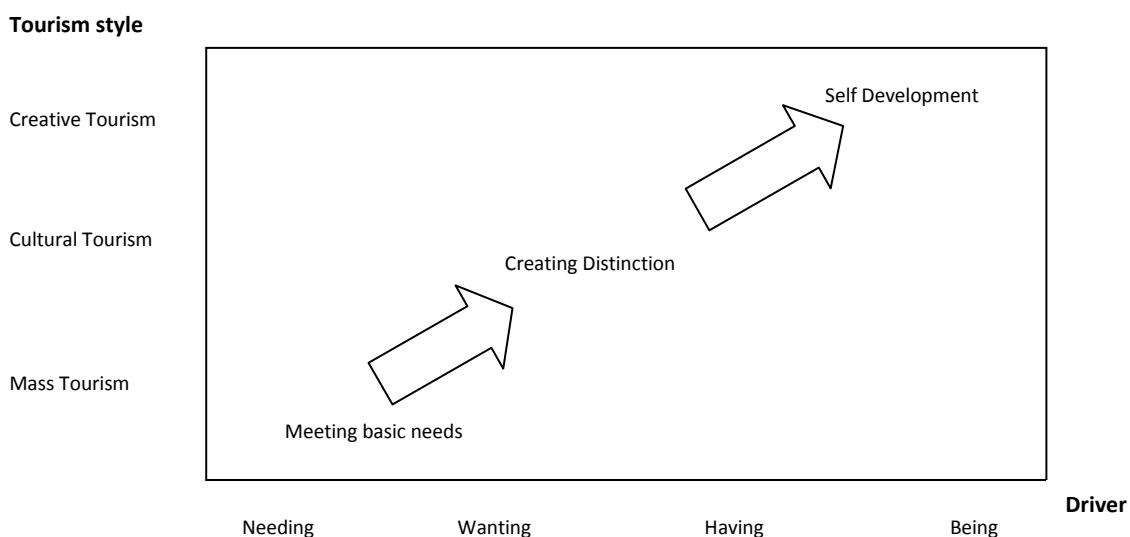
The last two strategies are most successful because strictly associated with the distinctive features of each destination; this means that these strategies are not easily replicated elsewhere.

The growing interest in all forms of culture has led many areas to consider cultural tourism as an important advantage, but those who managed to establish a strong and lasting relationships between tourism and creative sector have a greater chance of success⁹⁵. Through the creativity, the destinations redesign its image and attract tourist flows, financial and human capital⁹⁶.

Features and contexts of tourism forms based on the creative capital

Tourism based on creativity faces everyone's personal need (Figure 2).

Figure 2 Development of tourism and its drivers over time



Source: Richards G., Wilson J. (2006), *Tourism, creativity and Development*, Routledge.

In the past, the mass tourism used to satisfy basic needs, conferring a specific status, and it could be compared to the purchase of luxury or exclusive goods. Later on, tourism was mainly based on cultural aspects; the tourist became more interested in the local art and cultural resources; in this phase, the destinations have to be able to make unique and distinctive systems of offer to reach a competitive advantage. Nowadays, the cultural tourists don't feel satisfaction in observing sites or in consuming similar offers anywhere in the world; they want the destinations pay major attention on what they *are or are becoming*, rather than on what they *have*: the tourism is not more related to the consumption of goods and services, but to the consumption of active and dynamic *experiences*.

⁹⁵ Gemmiti R. (2007), "Turismo, creatività, cultura. Un 'memorandum' geografico-economico per Roma", paper presentato alla Conferenza Internazionale "Tourism and Urban Spaces", Roma 29-30 Novembre.

⁹⁶ Hall P. (2000), "Creative cities and economic development", *Urban Studies*, n.27/4, pp. 639-649.

The territorial systems of offer based on creative capital may neutralize the phenomenon of serial reproduction of culture, involving visitors through an authentic interaction with the local community and with the local distinctive resources, to make them *co-producers* of their own cultural experiences.

The features of creative tourism and the different contexts (rural and urban) are explained as following.

The active and passive participation of tourists in creative activities

One of the most important features of the tourism forms based on the creative capital is the tourists' participation in the process of creating and enjoying tourism experiences. According to the model developed by Pine and Gilmore about the *Experience Economy*, visitors participate in the tourism experiences in two ways: active and passive. We have *passive participation* when the tourists do not influence the destination's culture through an active involvement, but they simply visit museums, galleries and monuments, or attend at artistic and cultural events. Creativity therefore becomes a fundamental instrument to differentiate the local experiences the visitors don't produce directly. Important examples about the passive activities are the *creative spectacles* realized by individuals or creative groups that develop creative activities in the destination. The tourists observe the *creative spectacles* without interfering in the shows. The *creative spectacles* are characteristic of many cultural tourism destinations, and because of their large diffusion, they are losing their competitive strength: Festivals often compete directly with one another and therefore have to introduce innovative elements in order to hold the audience attention.

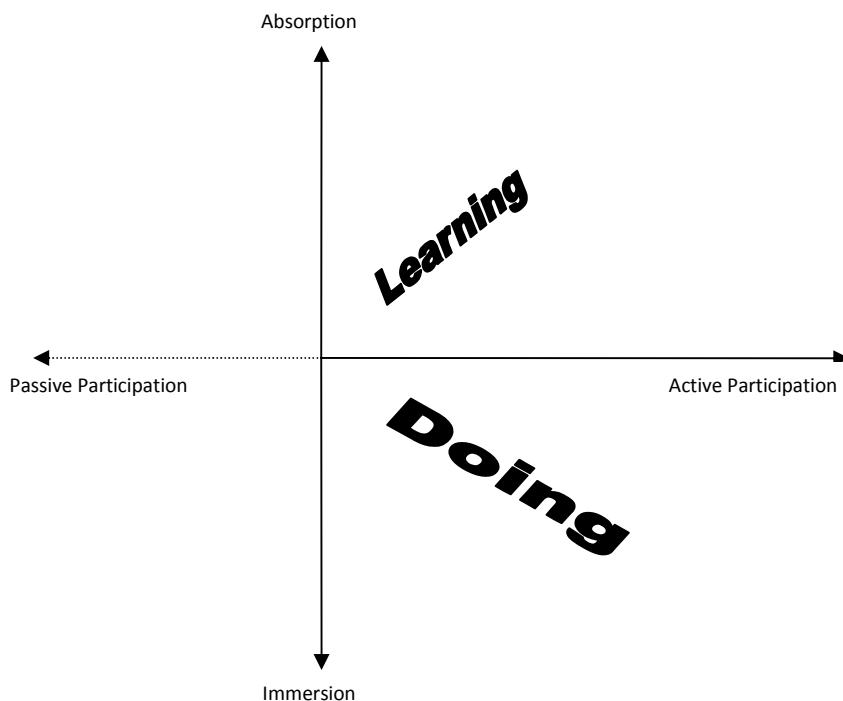
Creative spaces are another example of creative experience whose tourist's participation is not required; for example, many towns are developing creative areas populated by creative artists to attract visitors (often informally at first) thanks to the lively atmosphere that such areas often exude. In the *creative spaces* the material and the symbolic elements generally intersect; they are spaces multifunctional and that can be flexible to any particular representation. This implies adaptability to different needs (resident, visitor). *Creative spaces* can be also designed to house a core of permanent residents, originating formal creative clusters important not only in the local economy, but also as centres of attraction for the endogenous and creative class as a resource for the development of a creative image for tourists.

The *creative spectacles and spaces* are based on the creative capital the destination can offer, and it is interesting to consider that this creativity is increasingly based on intangible resources - local traditions, culture and territorial identity - that are fundamental for a competitive cultural system. The intangible culture, however, presents some problems in terms of protection; the intellectual property of intangible resources must be protected to establish a strong, unique and distinctive connection in visitors' minds between the manifestations of creativity and the single destination.

In addition to the creation of *creative spectacles and spaces*, the destinations are implementing systems of offer in which the tourists must participate actively. These new experiences are based on

the development of skills of tourists, who are actively involved and acquire new competences⁹⁷. Tourists become *co-producers* of the experiences; the systems of offer have to allow visitors to develop their imagination and creativity and create personalized experiences⁹⁸. The areas of the active participation are that of *learning and doing* (Figure 3).

Fig. 3 The dimensions of tourism based on creativity: Education-Learning/Escape-Doing.



Source: Pine, B. J., Gilmore, J. H. (2000), *L'economia dell'esperienza*, Etas, Milano.

The participation of tourists to the implementation of creative activities can take place through participation in courses and workshops that teach skills closely linked to the culture of the destination. This type of experiences may also include the participation in *creative spectacles* and the use of *creative spaces*, where the tourists make the spectacles and realize the activities in the spaces, becoming co-producers of the system of offer.

Table 1 shows the basic elements and the differences between the traditional cultural tourism and the forms of creative tourism. Traditional cultural tourism is especially linked to the past heritage, while the creative production is oriented to the future and new cultural trends.

⁹⁷ Richards G. (1996), *op. cit.*

⁹⁸ Pine, B. J., Gilmore, J. H. (2000), *op. cit.*

Table 1 The relationships between cultural tourism and creative tourism.

	Primary time focus	Primary cultural focus	Primary consumption focus
<i>Cultural tourism</i>	Past and present	High culture, popular culture	Product, process
<i>Creative spectacles</i>	Present	Arts, performance	Performance
<i>Creative spaces</i>	Present and future	Arts, architecture, design	Atmosphere
<i>Creative tourism</i>	Past, present, future	Creative process	Experience, co-makership

Source: Adapted by Richards G., Wilson J. (2006), *op. cit.*, p. 1217

The interaction among tourists, cultural resources and the local community

A second feature of the systems of offer based on creative capital is the interaction among visitors, the cultural resources and the local community.

The visitor wants to be involved in experiences related to the cultural aspects of the sites he visits; wants to enrich his culture acquiring skills, capabilities and information about historical traditions, habits of life and cultural aspects of the destination⁹⁹: the tourist is no longer a simple consumer of goods and services, but he is engaged in a process of learning, observation and experimentation. The emphasis on intangible resources reduces the production costs and increases the flexibility: destinations are focusing their investments on the local creative capital rather than on making rigid structures, encouraging the creation of *creative spectacles and spaces* that allow the tourist to interact with the specific features. This interaction causes both an increased participation of residents - they become producers of tourist experience - and an increase of creative artists who move in the territory permanently or temporarily. A virtuous circle of benefit for the destination is the result.

Tourists who want to live cultural experiences, want also to have a direct contact with those who live on the site: The resident becomes a vital source of expertises.

Residents, through their skills, teach tourists the local culture, teaching how to cook typical products, to use local techniques, or to build instruments related to the history of the territory. The interaction between residents and tourists not only brings benefits to the visitors, but also allows the community to get closer to different cultures and habits, creating an exchange that can enriches either.

The introduction of creativity in tourism changes the role of local people: the residents are no longer considered as mere sellers of handicraft items, but they become teachers of distinctive skills and

⁹⁹ Richards G., Wilson J. (2007), *Tourism, creativity and Development*, Routledge.

abilities, allowing to build a relationship based on exchange of knowledge rather than on economic one.

The growing role of creativity and intangible culture in tourism presents a new challenge for destinations, as the territories have to manage and exploit resources that were previously not considered: to be successful the destinations must invest more in the creative capital of the community¹⁰⁰.

The rural and urban creative contexts

Creativity as a source of competitive advantage is not tied to a specific context, but it can develop in both rural and urban areas. The idea of *adversity*¹⁰¹ joins these territories based on creative capital: to attract creative talent is the starting point for the revitalization of an area and a point of strength for its competitive advantage¹⁰².

Actually, the use of creative factors is being developed especially in the systems of offer of rural or remote areas, where the possibility of boosting the traditional cultural tourism is more limited. The rural areas are able to compete with the urban environment¹⁰³ because they are preferred destinations for a growing number of creative people who want to "escape" from the cities. It has allowed the birth of *creative rural clusters*, in which have been made rural museums, rural craft demonstrations workshops and master classes¹⁰⁴ focused on the development of creative experiences for tourists. The aim is to enhance the cultural and artistic assets of the rural and peripheral areas.

Creativity appears an important critical factor as key for success also in the cities, and the most global interesting centres - Barcelona, New York, Milan - are developing strategic actions to encourage new creativity and to attract artists and creative people.

The term "creative cities" refers to the cities with a high level of creativity, individual, institutional and widespread which are able to use their resources as tools for competition. Besides financial cities, the so-called "buffer areas" are growing increasingly usually located in peri-urban areas but linked to the city centres, which develop and spread the creative class¹⁰⁵. These areas are¹⁰⁶:

¹⁰⁰ Richards G., Wilson J. (2006), *op. cit.*, p. 1216.

¹⁰¹ Richards G., Wilson J. (2007), *op. cit.*, p.28.

¹⁰² Sacco P.L., Tavano Blessi G., Vergani S. (2006), "Il capitale culturale di Venezia: quale risorsa per lo sviluppo della città?", Working papers, Dadi, Venezia.

¹⁰³ Richards G., Wilson J. (2007), *op. cit.*, p.27.

¹⁰⁴ *Ibidem*, p. 28.

¹⁰⁵ In the peripheral areas is becoming increasingly important, especially in economic terms, a part of the population called *creative class*. This definition is because the production of added value is through the use of *creativity*: through the creative advantage they have, the members of the creative class get more significant results than the other segments of the population. The creative class consists of people working in different fields - science, engineering, computer, education, finance, design, advertising, arts and entertainment - with basic characteristics in common: the value of creativity, talent, distinctiveness. This class is highly educated and is increasingly emerging: its power and its importance is growing as the creativity is recognized as fundamental for the social development. Source: Florida R. (2003), *The Rise of the Creative Class: And How It's Transforming Work, Leisure, Community and Everyday Life*, Basic Books, U.S.A.

- Promoting new ideas and economics related to creativity and innovation especially in the cultural field;
- Areas of experimentation and economic, cultural and social contamination, that stimulates the entire urban system;
- Spaces where the process of cultural diversity among residents leads to renewal and construction of social benefit to the entire urban body.

These urban areas are characterized by a high concentration of creative jobs - artists, musicians, architects, researchers etc. The creative cities attract a virtuous circle where the *creative class* is attracted by the cities on the basis of the infrastructure they offer, bringing with them economic development and innovation¹⁰⁷.

Even the cities, therefore, are turning into real *creative workshops* where an increasing number of products and cultural activities are developing. Creative spaces are often the result of contamination between traditions and cultures of different populations who coexist on the same territory; these areas, which were born almost by chance, attract more and more tourists interested in a direct access to culture, and they help to draw a new geography of the city¹⁰⁸.

Some examples of systems of offer based on creativity

Systems of offer are adapting to the growing demand of the new prosumer and try to satisfy needs by offering new and innovative forms of cultural tourism experience based.

Some examples of tourism based on creative capital are analyzed herein. In order to get a competitive advantage through the development and application of creativity it is necessary to redesign and revamp the process by offering new forms of involvement and participation of visitors. Some initiatives in Table 2 are shown, with the description of activities offered, the promoter (public or private), methods of co-production of experiences of the website. As shown in the table there are many proposals offered: these forms of cultural tourism based on the creativity and the enjoyment of experiences, want to involve a more complete participation of visitors, as stated in § 2.1, and at the same time, they encourage new skills and new capabilities.

¹⁰⁶ Sacco P.L., Tavano Blessi G., Vergani S. (2006), *op. cit.*

¹⁰⁷ Florida R., (2003), "L'ascesa della nuova Classe Creativa", Milano, Mondadori.

¹⁰⁸ Cusimano G., Giannone M. (2007), *op. cit.*, p. 367.

Tab 2 Forms of tourism based on creative capital

N.	Name	Place	Description	Experiences Co-Production		Promoter	Web site
				Yes	No		
1	Creativa	<i>Marina di Massa (MS) – Toscana</i>	Summer School of arts, crafts and trades for women: for those who have already chosen the Apuana coast for their holidays but also for those who are usual residents	Sculpture, Action Painting	----	Public organization provincia di Massa Carrara	http://portale.provincia.ms.it
2	Giardini del Casoncello	<i>Loiano (BO) Emilia Romagna</i>	Journey in the garden full of plants and wild flowers: in a hectare more than a thousand species, which freely associate in a "harmonious disorder", tend to create a suggestive atmosphere	----	X	Public organization Provincia di Bologna	http://www.comune.loiano.bologna.it
3	I Moresani	<i>Casal Velino (SA) Campania</i>	Strolling along the sea, walking up to Mount Ruch, there are many interesting things to visit. We change found objects into charming handicraft On request you can take part at the preparation of bread and a	Cooking	----	Private countryhouse Farm holiday	http://www.agriturismomoresani.com

			guided tour will show you the local mill to assist in processing various types of grain into flour.				
4	La Meridiana	<i>Certaldo (FI) Toscana</i>	The annual program is based on a number of initiatives. The most important are: Courses, Clay Groups, Expanding Opportunities, Seminars	Ceramics	----	Private company Associazione culturale	http://www.lameridiana.fi.it/italiano/index.asp
5	Modicarte	<i>Modica (RG) Sicilia</i>	Courses in the graphic of Writers, the recovery of one of the most significant parts of the Sicilian tradition : working with clay	Graphics Ceramics Engraving	----	Private countryhouse Farm holiday	http://www.modicarte.it
6	Notte europea della civetta	<i>Pesaro Marche</i>	Teaching activities with 6 years children. Through tales , educational panels and workshops you will discover the uniqueness of the nocturnal birds: prey and owl. - Meeting for adults with interventions related to the ecology of nocturnal birds the ability to hunt at night and common places on these	Bird-Watching	----	Public organization Natural Park of Monte San Bartolo	http://www.parks.it/eventi/dettaglio.php?id=13625

			animals. Easy hike in search of nocturnal birds through the park playback, and tools to catch owls.				
7	Pandora	<i>Sorano (GR) Toscana</i>	The school has been supporting educational activities since 1986 for applied arts. The workshops are intensive and are based on pupils' experimentation and practice of techniques	Ceramics	----	Private countryhouse Farm holiday	http://www.artandcraft.org/
8	Riconoscere le Erbe di campo	<i>Gabicce Mare (PU) Marche</i>	Course to learn to recognize the "grass of the field," common and delicious plants, but still little known to new generations. This is part of the natural scientific initiative and the preservation of local culinary traditions, and allow participants to appreciate the countryside and its fruits	----	X	Public organization Natural Park of Monte San Bartolo	http://www.parks.it/parco.monte.san.bartolo/nov.html
9	T.C. Lucano	<i>Maratea (PT) Basilicata</i>	Holidays in Maratea are designed for all those who want to find themselves and their creativity through the expressive forms, inspired by	photograph	----	Private countryhouse Farm holiday	http://www.vacanzecreative.it/

			the beauty of Maratea .				
10	Strada della Creatività	<i>Manciano e Castiglion fiorentino Toscana</i>	Tour to spread the local art	----	X	Public organization Municipality	http://www.andrearoggi.it/stradacr.htm
11	Museums Quartier	<i>Vienna (EE) Austria</i>	Strange and unusual visitors prefer those spaces which are becoming more and more attractive under the slogan "See and be seen", but mostly full of ... pleasure.	----	X	Public organization Municipality	http://www.wien.info/article.asp?IDArticle=4112
12	Leggere strutture Factory	<i>Bologna Emilia Romagna</i>	Centre Production for cultural projects, events, shows and cultural performances	----	X	Public organization Centro di ricerca e progettazione culturale	www.leggerestrutture.it
13	Progetto M9	<i>Venezia Veneto</i>	Designed to stimulate critical visitors, and to perform the social, cultural, economic and political history of XX century Venice	----	X	Public organization Fondazione di Venezia	www.fondazionedivenezia.org

Source: Our elaboration

In the following Table 3, for each example, the participation level (active and passive), and the sensory skills that the activity intends to develop.

Tab 3 Forms of creative tourism: participation, incentives, skills development

Name	Participation	Incentives (Senses and inner)	Development Skills
Creativa	Active	n.d.	Construction of Objects
Giardini del Casoncello	Passive	Excursions	Try
I Moresani	Active	Metamorphosis of Objects ⁱ	Cooking Activities
La Meridiana	Active	n.d.	Construction of Objects
Modicarte	Active	n.d.	Construction of Objects
Notte europea della civetta	Active	Excursions	Research and recognize the Raptors
Pandora	Active	n.d.	Photography and painting techniques
Riconoscere le Erbe di campo	Active	Route Olfactory and Taste	Distinguish Herbs
T.C. Lucano	Passive	Excursions	Look
Strada della Creatività	Passive	Atelier visit	Look
Museums Quartier	Passive	Visits	Look
Leggere strutture Factory	Passive	Cultural Events	Taste
Progetto M9	Passive	Social Transformations	Try

Source: Our elaboration

Some of the selected examples tend to stimulate the active participation of tourists giving them the opportunity to acquire knowledge and skills (culinary activities, painting techniques and construction of objects), or they offer evasion experiences where visitors perform directly (e.g. to recognize flora and local fauna). Other examples are in the *creative spectacles and spaces* categories, that request passive participation of tourists¹⁰⁹; they have the opportunity to experience live entertainment rather than mere aesthetic experiences. The tourists can *admire* or *feel experience* based on the identity and culture of the area.

¹⁰⁹ Richards G. (1996), *op. cit.*

The new challenges offered by the growing role of creativity and intangible resources are accepted from the destinations, which are starting to structure the systems of offer with creative and cultural courses to encourage the interaction of the visitors (see § 2.2). In particular, new forms of interaction are developed related with both the cultural resources of the place and the local community. The creative class becomes the primary source of new skills and abilities.

Tab 4 Forms of creative tourism: Visitors interaction and local contexts

Name	Visitors Interaction			Context	
				RURAL	URBAN
Creativa	Items related to local production	YES	X		
Giardini del Casoncello	Local Flora	NO	X		
I Moresani	Typical Products	YES	X		
La Meridiana	Local Ceramics	YES	X		
Modicarte	Clay Processing	YES	X		
Notte europea della civetta	Local Fauna	YES		X	
Pandora	Etrusca Technique	YES	X		
Riconoscere le Erbe di campo	Local culinary tradition	NO	X		
T.C. Lucano	Local Artists	YES		X	
Strada della Creatività	Local Artists	YES	X		
Museums Quartier	Local Architecture	YES		X	
Leggere strutture Factory	Local culture	YES		X	
Progetto M9	Local history	NO		X	

Source: Our elaboration

As seen in the Table 4, almost all the selected examples provide a full involvement of residents and the local creative class. The offers are strongly affected by issues of identity and cultural traditions and local production (local products, local flora and artistic traditions are typical). Furthermore, as pointed out in § 2.3, creativity can be developed in a rural or urban context. Most initiatives are related with rural activities and the urban activities - for example, Venice, Bologna and Maratea – are generally laboratories (M9 Project Read and structures Factory) related with cultural traditions and local history.

Conclusions

The analysis made in the paper show that creativity is a very useful tool for developing innovative products supporting the cultural economy, and facing the risk of serial reproduction of culture. Creativity also helps to satisfy the needs of tourists who want to live more memorable and unique experiences.

Tourism based on creative capital allows the involvement of the visitor with the local community and with the distinctive local resources. It can also determine several advantages compared to the traditional cultural tourism:

- The creative resources are scarce, because creativity is a characteristic possessed by few people. For this reason, the creativity has a very high value added;
- Creativity allows the destinations to create new tourist offers and gain quickly a competitive advantage, as it does not require any special additional infrastructure;
- Creative resources are generally more sustainable than cultural products: while, in fact, the tangible cultural resources may change over time and deteriorate, creativity is likely to be renewed indefinitely.

In tourism based on creativity, then, there is no need to have a significant tangible heritage, or to spend a lot of capital to maintain structures that deteriorate over time; tourists are more satisfied because they are involved in the interaction with the typical local resources.

The creative development of tourism must be supported by a closer relationship between the tourism industry and the cultural sector: Cultural managers often have creative skills that can be used to innovate the tourist experiences, while tourist managers have economic and Marketing skills helpful to make the cultural product more attractive.

In the creative experiences, the success of the system of offer does not only depend on external factors but also, and above all, on the ability of management to stimulate the visitors creativity. For this reason, the territories should be more involved in the creative process, not only in terms of product innovation, but also to recognize, stimulate and maintain over time the creative potential.

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'Living stones and dead children: Palestine and the politics of tourism'

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The politics of tourism has been studied in the tourism discipline for a number of decades. While it is widely acknowledged that tourism deteriorates in the face of hostile and violent political events (riots, coups, crime, terrorism and war), it is also evident that tourism is used as a tool in a variety of political struggles. This paper explores the understandings of the politics of tourism that can be derived from the experiences of Palestine.

Since the war of 1948, Palestinians have struggled to overturn a situation of dispossession, marginalisation and exile which ensued from the creation of the state of Israel. Tourism has come to play a surprising role in the political struggle of Palestinians. This paper explores two contrasting cases in order to investigate how tourism is used as a tool to achieve political ends. Firstly, the Alternative Tourism Group of Palestine has worked to alert Christian pilgrims about the social, political and religious realities of the 'Holy Land' through a code of conduct in an effort to counterbalance the interpretation provided by an Israeli-dominated tourist trade. This can be usefully contrasted with a small niche of solidarity tourists joining the International Solidarity Movement, which provides an example of volunteer tourism for justice. These contrasting examples demonstrate the range of activities Palestinians and their supporters are taking to harness tourism for the political agenda of securing justice and peace for the Palestinian people.

However, another perspective has been added to this academic analysis as a result of the recent Israeli invasion of Gaza and the reality of hundreds of dead Palestinian civilians, many of them children. This paper will therefore move away from the analysis of tourism as a political tool to a wider focus on tourism within a context of human rights and justice. It argues that the parameters of the politics of tourism must be expanded beyond viewing tourism as a casualty of conflict or a tool to achieve political ends; it should be viewed as essentially a justice issue, with truly sustainable tourism attainable only when equity and justice prevail in the 'host' community and beyond.

You Westerners have been coming to the Holy Land for centuries to visit the shrines, the dead stones. But you do not see the living stones – the human beings who live and struggle before your eyes. I say 'Wake up!' What matters are the living stones! (Father Elias Chacour, cited in Bush, 1996)

Introduction

The politics of tourism has been acknowledged as an important topic of study since Linda Richter made her original foray into the field with a case study on the politics of tourism in the Philippines (1980). Today, as globalisation, terrorism and insecurity have come to the fore, the politics of tourism is due for renewed attention. This paper analyses the experiences of the Palestinians who use tourism as a political tool to communicate their perspective on the Palestinian/Israeli conflict in the hopes that this will assist them in attaining justice.

Previously and most frequently, analysts of the politics of tourism have focused on tourism as a casualty of conflict, terrorism and crime. There are numerous works of this type, including: Pizam and Mansfeld's (1996) edited volume on *Tourism, Crime and International Security Issues*; the special edition of the *Journal of Travel Research* on 'War, Terrorism, Tourism: Times of Crisis and Recovery' (Pizam and Tarlow, 1999); and more recently the analysis of how negotiations in the Middle East peace process impact on the tourism industries of the region (Ladki *et al.*, 2002).

Additionally, tourism can be used as a tool in a larger political strategy or, modifying the words of the war strategist Carl von Clausewitz, 'tourism is the continuation of politics by other means'. Mowforth and Munt argued that tourism can be viewed 'as politics' and offered the example of the efforts of Cuba, Jamaica and Grenada in the early 1980s to overturn the imperialistic and even racist nature of conventional tourism in the Caribbean and inaugurate a 'new tourism' that would involve all people and would lead to equitable development (Mowforth and Munt, 2003, pp. 258–60).

This use of tourism as politics is also evident in Palestine and has a long history. Cohen-Hattab (2004) recounts how the Zionists and the Arab populations of Palestine vied for the upper hand in using tourism for the political purpose of asserting their national goals during the British Mandate period between 1922 and 1948. At the beginning of this era, the Arabic population dominated the nascent tourism industry, but the Zionists tried to wrest it from their control in order to use it 'to promote the Jewish national endeavour and influence world opinion in their favor' (Cohen-Hattab, 2004, p. 78). As Cohen-Hattab (2004) noted, this process did not cease after the creation of the state of Israel due to the perpetual state of conflict between the Israelis and the Palestinians that followed. This alerts us to the fact that Palestine/Israel is a valuable site at which to study the politics of tourism and tourism as politics. After a brief discussion of methodology, this paper will outline the way the political conflict has impacted on the development of the Palestinian tourism industry and will offer two case studies demonstrating how Palestinians utilise tourism to tell their narrative and advocate for justice.

Methodology

This paper is a conceptual paper exploring the politics of tourism and issues of justice using empirical case study data. Case study methodology is the most appropriate tool of enquiry for this analysis because the empirical study at the micro-level is meant to shed light on the validity of the theorising of macro-level processes and events. As Yin claims, "a case study is an empirical enquiry that investigates a contemporary phenomenon within its real-life context, especially when the boundaries between phenomenon and context are not clearly evident" (1994, p. 13). Multiple sources of data have been gathered to gain insights into the politics of tourism in Palestine, including participant observation, interviews, primary documents and secondary data sources.

Tourism in Palestine: hostage to the political conflict

As the 'cradle of civilisation' and a place of significance to the three great monotheistic religions, Palestine can claim a long historical engagement with travellers, tourists and pilgrims. However, modern tourism to Palestine is shaped by the political context of the Israel–Palestinian conflict that has existed since 1948 when the state of Israel was declared. Despite the negative environment that this presents for the development of tourism, Palestinians have placed great importance on tourism

for the development of their economy. As Palestinian tourism authority Abu Dayyah said, 'tourism is going to be the locomotive that will carry the rest of the economy forward' (cited in Stein, 1995, p. 18).

Since 1967, when Israel took all of Jerusalem and occupied the West Bank and Gaza, Palestinian entry into the tourism market was quashed by a number of measures which Stein has depicted as 'forced underdevelopment' (1995, p. 17). Such measures included: a refusal to train and license Palestinian tour guides, the imposition of crippling municipal taxes and a refusal to license hotel renovations or new developments in Palestinian areas (Stein, 1995, p. 17). According to Bush, 'control of access to airports and highways has for 28 years given Israel the power to discourage Palestinians from trying to enter this lucrative market' (1996). As a result, 'Israel maintained a virtual monopoly over the tourism industry, exploiting Palestinian resources and heritage while excluding Palestinians from tourism's economic, political, and human benefits' (Kassis, 2006). The majority of tourists who travelled to Palestine went on tours with government-licensed Israeli tour guides, visiting a few set holy sites such as the Church of the Nativity in Bethlehem for only a few hours. Some of these tourists may not have even realised that they had left Israel 'because Palestinian cities and villages – and even the West Bank and Gaza – were not shown on Israeli tourist maps' (Kassis, 2006). Kassis argued that tourism is used as a political tool to tell a Zionist narrative that erases indigenous Palestinian history and renders the people invisible: 'tourism in Israel became a vehicle for historical myth and the continuation of the occupation' (Kassis, 2006). Coupled with the political propaganda painting Palestinians at worst as potential terrorists and at best as dishonest and dirty (Kassis, 2006), the Palestinians had little leverage to attract tourists off the Israeli-controlled itineraries and to represent themselves to tourists.

However, there was one brief period when tourism prospered in Palestine. After the initiation of the Oslo peace process in 1993 when the Palestinian Authority and its Ministry of Tourism and Antiquities were established, the Palestinian tourism industry flourished. As Kassis reported:

Before the outbreak of the second, or al-Aqsa Intifada in September of 2000, the flow of tourists almost doubled to 105,000 per month, hotel capacity rose from 2500 to 6000 rooms, and occupancy rose to 60%. More than a hundred tour operators did business in the country, utilizing 230 modern tour buses and 231 licensed guides. Tourism became one of the critical sectors of the Palestinian economy. It accounted for 7–10% of the country's GNP, and employed 10,000 people. (Kassis, 2006)

Unfortunately, the onset of the second Intifada in 2000 derailed most of this progress. The Arabian Hotel Association (AHA) reported that the hotel sector of Bethlehem (a key tourist site) was almost bankrupted because of barriers to tourism movement resulting in occupancy rates of only 4 per cent in 2005 and 9 per cent in 2006, threatening some 1000 Palestinian jobs (Alcantara, 2006, p. 14).

Additionally, in the effort to create a viable Palestinian state, promotion of tourism is not a top priority for scarce resources under current circumstances. There is currently no Tourist Information

Office nor a Tourism Board; the Ministry of Tourism and Antiquities is currently relying on the efforts of the private sector to market Palestine (Deputy Minister of Tourism Marwan al-Toubasi, pers. comm., 14 November 2007). The ability to foster conventional tourism in these circumstances is limited.

Because of the long duration of the conflict, Israel/Palestine is the site of an unusual phenomenon described by some as 'politically oriented' tourism (Clark, 2000; Brin, 2006). Brin's analysis offers a typology of this tourism market segment which differentiates 'solidarity/activism tourists' from merely 'intrigued tourists'. The former describes those engaging in tourism to express solidarity with one side or the other in the conflict, while the latter describes those who use tourism to satisfy curiosity about the site of such a significant conflict but are not particularly supportive of either side (Brin, 2006). Brin argues that, while there are other sites around the world that attract such politically oriented tourists (e.g. the Koreas, Northern Ireland and Berlin), Israel/Palestine, and particularly Jerusalem, are different because of the unusual strength of the emotional attachment they inspire (Brin, 2006, p. 238). Brin's attempt to remain academically neutral leads him to the view that Israeli and Palestinian authorities and organisations will continue to use such tourism opportunities to 'propagate their political agendas' (2006, p. 238). Clark argues that this political tourism is an indoctrination through practice, allowing tourists to place themselves in the 'reality' of the visited community, whether Israeli or Palestinian (2000, p. 18). These analyses (Brin and Clark) judge politically oriented tourism as a type of propaganda. This paper, employing a new conceptualisation of justice through tourism, finds this explanation insufficient in understanding what is occurring. It therefore offers an analysis of two case studies demonstrating Palestinian efforts to utilise tourism to overturn the dominance of the Israeli narrative and thereby to secure justice for the Palestinian people.

Alternative Tourism Group and the Code of Responsible Tourism to Palestine

The village of Beit Sahour near Bethlehem is significant to the Palestinian resistance. This village was known for its use of nonviolent tax resistance during the first Intifada and it was instrumental in the use of alternative tourism for 'resistance and understanding' (Elias Rishmawi, cited in Stein, 1995, p. 18). In support of the latter effort, the Alternative Tourism Group (ATG) was established in 1995. It is a Palestinian NGO specialising in tours and pilgrimages to Palestine which offers opportunities to engage with the lived experiences of Palestinians. ATG offers 'justice tourism' experiences, which it describes as 'tourism that holds as its central goals the creation of economic opportunities for the local community, positive cultural exchange between host and guest through one-on-one interaction, the protection of the environment and political/historical education' (ATG, no date a). In addition to this focus on the tourist and their experiences, ATG additionally encourages Palestinian tourism operators to avoid exploitative practices and to create an industry that benefits the Palestinian people. ATG's specific objectives include:

- to modify the tendencies of mass tourism in 'the Holy Land' to establish a more human-oriented tourism
- to put foreign tourists in direct contact with the Palestinian population in order to help them develop a better understanding of Arab Palestinian culture and history

- to break down the negative stereotypes of Palestine and its people that predominates in the West
- to achieve more balance between the revenues of the Palestinian and Israeli tourism sectors by using Palestinian infrastructure (hotels, restaurants, transportation, guides, etc.)
- to augment the number of tourists visiting Palestine and increase the length of their stay in Palestinian areas
- to develop amongst tourists a knowledge of Palestinian culture and the socio-political situation in Palestine
- to encourage instructive and authentic meetings with the Palestinian people to develop amongst tourists an objective understanding of everyday realities of the Israeli occupation
- to offer tourists the opportunity to share unique experiences with Palestinians through volunteer work with nongovernmental organisations (olive harvesting, tree planting, etc.) (Rami Kassis, pers. comm., 12 March 2009).

Through these methods, the ATG ‘seeks to promote a positive image of Palestine and its people and to contribute towards establishing a just peace in the area’ (ATG no date a).

To contextualise these efforts, it should be recognised that the Christian pilgrimage tourism niche is very significant to Israel because this niche is less affected by outbreaks of violence. Recently, with the downturn in visitors following the attack on Gaza, the Israeli Ministry of Tourism launched a NIS 26 million (USD \$6.4 million) advertising campaign. Shaul Zemach, Director-General of the Israeli Ministry of Tourism, stated: ‘We truly value and appreciate the faithfulness our Christian friends have shown us through the years, especially with their many visits to Israel’ (Leichman, 2009).

Recognising the significance of this pilgrimage sector, the ATG focused on the promotion of justice tourism (or engagement with the ‘living stones’) to such faith-based groups and social movements. Using a two-pronged strategy, the ATG developed tour offerings called ‘Pilgrimages for Transformation’ (PIFT) and led an effort to develop a code of responsible tourism to the Holy Land. The PIFT’s objective is to bring people to the Holy Land on ‘a spiritual journey seeking to be instruments of transformation in the Holy Land; the power to transform individuals and, through them, the religious, social, and political spheres in ways that will help bring to an end the tragic violence and conflict that defines the Middle East’ (ATG, no date b). In the second effort, the ATG helped form the Palestinian Initiative for Responsible Tourism (PIRT) and focused on the development of a ‘code of conduct for tourism in the Holy Land’. This document was drafted following two meetings in 2007. The first meeting held in Bethlehem in October involved key stakeholders in tourism in Palestine, including the ATG, the AHA, the Palestinian Ministry of Tourism and Antiquities, private operators and civil society organisations; it provided an agenda for a more just tourism in Palestine. These outcomes were fed to the second meeting held in Madaba, Jordan in November 2007 and involving representatives of international organisations focused on responsible tourism and justice and those involved in the pilgrimage tourism sector (Solomon, 2008).¹¹⁰ The document that resulted from these meetings includes a vision statement from the PIRT, a section

¹¹⁰ The author participated in this meeting.

with advice for travellers to the Holy Land and a section with advice for those in the Palestinian tourism sector. The vision statement, in addition to commitments to sustainability and fair trading practices, expresses an aim to change travel patterns so that tourists visit Palestinian locations ‘in order to achieve a more equal distribution of tourism revenues to all people in this land’ (PIRT, 2008). The code of conduct alerts the tourists to ways to engage with the Palestinian people and their lived reality and to commit to sharing what they learn from the Palestinians with their home communities on their return. It additionally asks the operators in the Palestinian tourism sector to commit to a set of practices that engages with the tourists in a fair and responsible manner and to consider the impacts they might have on the visitors’ perceptions of Palestine, its people and their reality.¹¹¹

Since 1995, the ATG has hosted more than 20,000 visitors to Palestine, among them 13,000 Christian pilgrims (Rami Kassis, pers. comm., 21 March 2009). The ATG has focused these efforts on the Christian pilgrimage sector in an effort to transform them into advocates for social justice for the Palestinian people. In the continuum of the possible uses of tourism as politics, this is a moderate strategy aimed at changing the ‘hearts and minds’ of pilgrims by exposing them to a silenced Palestinian narrative and building a tourism sector that can reap more equitable economic rewards for Palestinians from the pilgrimage sector. However, in the context of an ongoing occupation and a violation of human rights, tourism has been put to more extreme ends in the Palestinian cause. This discussion now turns to a more recent initiative to harness the commitment of solidarity tourists to undertake what could be characterised in the tourism lexicon as volunteer tourism for justice.

International Solidarity Movement

The International Solidarity Movement (ISM) is a Palestinian-led movement committed to resisting the Israeli occupation of Palestine through the use of nonviolent, direct-action methods. Founded by a small group of mostly Palestinian activists¹¹² in August 2001, ISM organises for international solidarity volunteers to visit Palestine and through their presence support and strengthen the Palestinian popular resistance by providing the Palestinian people with international protection and a voice with which the Palestinian narrative on the Israeli occupation can reach the world.

International volunteers are the key to the ISM strategy; according to the ISM, they provide:

¹¹¹ The code was released in October 2008. The launch occurred at Bethlehem University in November 2008 in the presence of the Minister of Tourism, representatives of the Palestinian tourism industry and the public. After the code’s launch, many local organisations endorsed it. Internationally, many partner organisations, mainly in Europe, have showed interest in promoting the code and worked on translating and publishing it in German. The code is currently being translated into French. Additionally, a website for the PIRT and the code are under development and will be launched shortly (www.pirt.ps). On this website, organisations and individuals will be able to endorse the code online. As Rami Kassis of ATG states, ‘We hope the website will be also an important tool to promote a responsible tourism to Palestine’ (pers. comm., 21 March 2009).

¹¹² Ghassan Andoni was a director of the ATG and one of its co-founders as well as one of the co-founders of ISM. However, Rami Kassis, Executive Director of the ATG, states ‘there is no direct relation between the ATG and the ISM’.

1. **Protection:** An international presence at Palestinian civilian actions can ensure a degree of protection for Palestinians engaged in nonviolent resistance.
2. **Message to the mainstream media:** The Palestinian struggle is not accurately reported by the mainstream corporate media ... People from all over the world that join us can reach out to their respective media and help dispel this notion.
3. **Personal witness and transmitting information:** International civilians joining Palestinians can bear witness and return home to talk to their communities about what is happening.
4. **Break isolation and provide hope:** The occupation isolates Palestinians and cuts them off from the rest of the world and from each other. International civilians coming in, despite restrictions, send a message to the Palestinian community – ‘we see, we hear and we are with you.’ Hope that people acting together can change things is a cornerstone of our philosophy and message. (ISM, no date)

The ISM is a Palestinian movement that seeks the support of international activists as a strategy to support its resistance to the Israeli occupation. While the international volunteers are integral to the ISM strategy, the ISM makes it clear that Palestinians lead the movement. ‘ISM are not in Palestine to teach nonviolent resistance. Palestinians resist nonviolently every day’ (ISM, no date). ISM volunteers support the Palestinian resistance through:

- **Direct Action** – challenging crippling checkpoints and curfew, confronting tanks and demolition equipment, removing roadblocks, participating in nonviolent demonstrations, accompanying farmers to their fields and protecting families whose homes are threatened with demolition.
- **Emergency Mobilization** - escorting ambulances through checkpoints, delivering food and water to families under curfew or house arrest, assisting the injured or disabled to access medical care and walking children to school.
- **Documentation** - documenting and reporting to local and international media about the daily life under occupation and the countless human rights and international law violations by the Israeli military. (ISM, no date)

In addition to these smaller scale actions, ISM has claimed involvement in two of the biggest confrontations of the second Intifada. ‘In April 2002, with help from Palestinians, international activists were able to outmaneuver the Israeli military during two of its biggest military operations, entering and providing support to those trapped inside the Presidential Compound in Ramallah and the Church of the Nativity in Bethlehem’ (ISM, no date).

George Rishmawi stated:

Our goal is to help Palestinians do nonviolent resistance because when they do it without international accompaniment they are met with terrible violence. The international presence enabled many families, this October, to go to their fields and

harvest their olives, and open roadblocks. When the army sees that they're watched, they are less free-handed in how they treat people.

You are all invited to Palestine. When they see internationals who have come, Palestinians feel hope, that others have come to share their hardship. Hope is very important for a people who feel their pain ignored, their voice unheard, their land taken away every day. (Rishmawi, 2004, p. 7)

That these solidarity volunteers might be critically injured or even killed has been acknowledged at the outset. As co-founder George Rishmawi stated, 'when Palestinians get shot by Israeli soldiers, no one is interested anymore, but if some of these foreign volunteers get shot or even killed, then the international media will sit up and take notice' (cited by Kalman and Castle, 2004).

One of the most well-known ISM activists is Rachel Corrie, because she was a youthful American killed by an Israeli 'Defence' Force bulldozer while trying to prevent it from demolishing a house in Gaza in March 2003. Her diary provides a useful insight into the way ISM activists witness Palestinian experiences and share their insights (Corrie 2006). On 7 February 2003, after just two weeks in Palestine, she wrote:

I still have few words to describe what I see. I don't know if many of the children here have ever existed without tank-shell holes in their walls. I think even the smallest of these children understand that life is not like this everywhere ... Nothing could have prepared me for the reality of the situation here. You just can't imagine it unless you see it. And even your experience is not at all the reality: what with the difficulties the Israeli army would face if they shot an unarmed US citizen, the fact that I have money to buy water when the army destroys wells, and of course, the fact that I have the option of leaving. I am allowed to see the ocean. (Corrie, 2006, p. 29)

Despite the dangers and hardships, thousands of North American, British, European, expatriate Palestinian and even Israeli activists have volunteered to support Palestinians in their nonviolent resistance through ISM. This must represent one of the most extreme forms of volunteer tourism¹¹³ on the planet and demonstrates the ultimate lengths to which committed people will go to turn their travel and tourism choices towards achieving justice for others in the global community.

¹¹³ While many ISM volunteers would not readily identify with the label tourists (or even volunteer tourists), they do exhibit traits similar to other tourists. They utilise travel and tourism infrastructure to arrive in Palestine like tourists. They spend money in the destination earned from outside of the destination. Their stays tend to be greater than one day and less than a year. They also see the sites during their sojourns and purchase souvenirs to remind them of their visit after their return to their home country. While fun and enjoyment might not be the anticipated outcomes of serving as an ISM volunteer in Palestine, like other volunteer tourists, the hardships experienced and the assistance rendered to the host community provides a certain sense of satisfaction which means the ISM volunteer values the experience positively.

These two selected case studies suggest a continuum of strategies in using tourism to effect political change. They are in fact not mutually exclusive and it could be argued that the Palestinians must resort to a variety of such measures in order to ensure their voices are heard. However, with the most recent attack on Gaza, it is clear that our understandings of the politics and indeed ethics of tourism should extend further.

Politics of tourism in the aftermath of the Gaza attack of December 2008¹¹⁴

The 2008 Christmas season was reported as one of the best on record for Bethlehem and Palestinian tourism due to the peace talks that began in 2007. Accommodations reported full occupancy and 250,000 tourists were booked for the week of Christmas (up from 65,000 in 2007) (Tjolle, 2008). The total number of visitors to Palestine in 2008 was estimated at 1.25 million and marked a peak before the devastating downturn that occurred with the second Intifada (Tjolle, 2008). Just as Bethlehem marked its millionth visitor for 2008 and the Palestinian Tourism Minister prepared for press interviews on the 27 December, Israel attacked Gaza (Heyer, 2008). The pretext was the Hamas termination of a ceasefire and continued rocket attacks on bordering Israeli towns, but the impacts were disproportionate, devastating and constituted possible war crimes.

Professor Richard Falk, UN Special Rapporteur on Palestinian human rights argued:

In my view, what made the Gaza attacks launched on 27 December different from the main wars fought by Israel over the years was that the weapons and tactics used devastated an essentially defenceless civilian population. The one-sidedness of the encounter was so stark, as signalled by the relative casualties on both sides (more than 100 to 1; 1300-plus Palestinians killed compared with 13 Israelis, and several of these by friendly fire), that most commentators refrained from attaching the label 'war'. (2009)

Ann Veneman, Unicef's executive director, said children were 'paying the price of Gaza war' and 'the crisis in Gaza is singular in that children and their families have nowhere to escape, no refuge. The very thought of being trapped in a closed area is disturbing for adults in peace times' ('Children "paying price of Gaza war"', 2009.)

Tourists and pilgrims continued their travels in the Holy Land, practising their human rights to travel and tourism and to practice their religion, while Gazans were trapped in a war zone of death and destruction.

These recent events challenge the utility of deploying tourism as a political tool because it wields too little power in the political arena at times of the most vital importance. Political theorists and tourism

¹¹⁴ Close attention to the devastating occupation would demonstrate that the most recent attack on Gaza is not an aberration, but rather a part of a continuous Israeli effort to dispossess and demoralise Palestinians (Halper, 2008). The reasons that this particular attack is a focus of this paper include: its recency, the brutal two-year siege that preceded it, and the nature of the attack of nearly a month's duration where people were prevented from fleeing the war zone and schools, universities, civilian homes and UN facilities were targeted.

analysts alike might claim, as a form of low politics, that tourism cannot be expected to achieve the ambitious aims of high politics worthy of the efforts of diplomats and war strategists. However, closer investigation demonstrates that tourism is in fact quite significant to the dynamics of the conflict. Halper (2008, p. 166) discusses how Israeli settlement blocks around Jerusalem are cutting off Palestinian East Jerusalem from the rest of the Palestinian occupied territories and the impact that will have. He states:

This is significant not only because of its historic, religious, cultural and political importance to them, but also because tourism represents (in potential) the major Palestinian industry. Removing Jerusalem from the Palestinian economy fatally undermines the essential viability of a Palestinian state. (Halper, 2008, p. 166)

Recently, Israeli peace groups Ir Amin and Peace Now reported that the Israeli government was working on a confidential plan to assert Israeli control over all of Jerusalem using tourism development. ‘Israel is quietly extending its control over East Jerusalem in alliance with rightwing Jewish settler groups, by developing parks and tourists sites that would bring a “drastic change of the status quo in the city”’ (McCarthy, 2009). Ir Amin was reported as stating:

Under an eight-year plan, worth 75m shekels a year (£12m), a series of nine national parks, trails and tourist sites based on apparent Jewish historical spots would be established, most under the control of settler groups working together with the Israeli government. The sites would also create a link to Jewish settlements in East Jerusalem and the West Bank. The parks would be a ‘biblical playground’ built on public and private land and would be fenced in (McCarty, 2009).

While obviously both the Palestinians and the Israelis have realised the value of tourism as a political tool, the two sides are not equally capable of utilising it effectively. As the occupying power possessing the fourth strongest military in the world and the largest recipient of American aid, the Israelis can deploy tourism to create facts on the ground that, as Peace Now argues, ‘will prevent the possibility of a two states solution based on compromise in Jerusalem’ (Peace Now, 2009). In the light of such facts, it is apparent that host communities like the Palestinians cannot be abandoned to their own devices to wield tourism as a political tool, because it proves insufficient to secure the human rights and justice that they require for their survival and well-being. It is clear that the tourism industry must also play its part by re-orienting its *modus operandi* in this era of the global village. Currently, tourism analysts and tourism industry professionals practice a studied indifference in the face of such issues as that of the occupation of Palestine based on the practice of separating commerce and politics, but that is not tenable in an industry that touts itself as the ‘world’s peace industry’ and the foremost purveyor of cross-cultural contact in the global community. It is unacceptable that religious pilgrims and secular tourists can continue to enjoy their travels to the Holy Land and the tourism industry thereby profit (facilitated by the Israeli tourism industry), while nearby Palestinians are being slowly, and not so slowly, strangled in economic, political, social, cultural, environmental and even physical terms. As Halper and McCarty demonstrate, tourism in the occupied Palestinian territories is used by the Israelis as a tool for occupation and dispossession and external tourism agents that collaborate in this process are complicit in facilitating gross human

rights violations and injustice; they are in fact supporting the trading in and profiting from stolen goods, stolen lands and broken lives. Palestine possesses (or should possess) some of the most treasured tourism sites in the world and attracts significant numbers of pilgrims and tourists, and yet tourism leaders have said little about this situation of ongoing occupation, dispossession and de-humanisation that has been occurring while the pilgrims and tourists are facilitated in their access to Palestinian places. If the tourism industry does not want to stand accused of supporting and profiting from the trade in stolen goods, it will have to face the question of whether ethical action necessitates a new approach grounded in human rights and justice. Possibilities are apparent, including a redirection of business to Palestinian-owned enterprises and organisations such as the ATG in the occupied Palestinian territories or a joining of the gathering boycott, divestment and economic sanctions campaign targeting Israel's occupation (see Halper, 2008, pp. 289-293). This Palestinian case study suggests that, in this era of growing global interdependency, human rights and justice are no longer marginal to the tourism endeavour but an essential 'license to operate' for the industry.

Conclusion

I can't believe that something like this can happen in the world without a bigger outcry. It hurts me ... to witness how awful we can allow the world to be ... this has to stop. I think it is a good idea for us all to drop everything and devote our lives to making this stop. I don't really think it's an extremist thing to do anymore. (Corrie, 2006, p. 49)

As Martin Luther King declared in his 'Letter from Birmingham Jail' in 1963: 'injustice anywhere is a threat to justice everywhere'. This is even truer in this era of the global village. Palestine has stood as one of the key sites of conflict for sixty years because of the injustice that has gone unaddressed and the world has paid a dear price for allowing this to continue. The Palestinian people themselves have paid an even higher price and continue to do so. Groups such as the ATG and the ISM have harnessed the capacities of tourism and travel to connect the Palestinian people with the outside world and to overturn this situation of injustice. They demonstrate the ultimate capacities of tourism to serve the cause of justice and human rights.

Drawing the lessons from this Palestinian case study, I suggest that for tourism to be truly sustainable and to thrive, justice is imperative. For justice to prevail, we must have a world where all humans are afforded their human rights based on an acceptance of their common humanity. In the era of the global village, demands for justice and human rights can no longer go unheeded as the web of interdependency ties us one to another. Tourism, if it is indeed the world's 'peace industry' and its foremost purveyor of cross-cultural contact, has a significant role to play in the attainment of justice and recognition of human rights. Palestine represents a ripe opportunity for the tourism industry to take up this challenge and thereby earn its self-appointed title as the world's peace industry.

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'Hotel Bauen: An exploratory case study in justice tourism'

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The use of tourism in the pursuit of justice and human rights is a small but increasingly apparent phenomenon. While the alternative tourism movement that sprang from the alternative development project has long agitated for a more equitable, responsible and benign form of tourism that contrasts with the exploitation that can accompany mass and corporatised tourism, the new justice tourism movement is arguably something significantly different.

Higgins-Desbiolles (2008) suggests that justice tourism may be a significant catalyst of a more just and alternative form of globalisation. This paper offers a case study of the Hotel Bauen in Buenos Aires, Argentina in order to test this proposition. The Hotel Bauen was a failed capitalist enterprise that was subject to a workers' takeover or 'recuperation' in 2003. Since that time, the workers have reopened the hotel, run the enterprise as a workers' cooperative and networked with other recuperated businesses to secure support for their efforts to gain legal recognition of their right to run the hotel.

These recuperated businesses in the aftermath of a crisis of capitalism in Argentina have been held up as models that demonstrate that there are workable and meaningful alternatives to the capitalist system. This analysis will examine the case of the Hotel Bauen and assess the implications it presents for the potential of justice through tourism.

Introduction

Recent events including major financial crises are challenging the hegemonic dominance of capitalist globalisation and the ideology of neo-liberalism. Within the domain of tourism, alternative tourism can be viewed in the context of an increasingly vigorous challenge to the impacts of corporatised tourism and spreading capitalist globalisation (Higgins-Desbiolles, 2008). In particular, justice tourism is a new phenomenon that clearly contributes to this agenda. However, to date justice tourism has received little academic attention; there is a clear need to investigate the aims, strategies, outcomes and limitations of this unusual effort to harness tourism in the effort to secure justice. This paper offers a case study analysis of the Hotel Bauen of Argentina in an effort to contribute to this research area.

The discussion of justice tourism must be situated in the context of globalising neo-liberalism. The diminishing of the socialist alternative that occurred when communism was abandoned by the Soviet Union and other nations of the Warsaw Pact has resulted in an extraordinary advance in the spread of the ideology of neo-liberalism. According to Stilwell, neo-liberalism's 'core belief is that giving freer reign [sic] to market forces will produce more efficient economic outcomes' (2002, p. 21).

With the rise of the 'Washington consensus', these neo-liberal policies now have global reach. Developing countries are urged to adopt such policies by international financial institutions such as

the World Bank, the International Monetary Fund and the development banks. McMichael has claimed that the World Trade Organization offers the promise of development to developing countries as the reward for joining the market so that a 'market rule' is installed whereby the markets and resources of the developing world are accessible (1998, pp. 302–303).

Clive Hamilton has described the central tenets of neo-liberalism as beliefs that 'the central objective of government must be the promotion of economic growth and that markets must prevail' (2003, p. ix); the former he calls 'growth fetishism'. He states:

In practice, growth fetishism has been responsible for a historic transfer of political authority from the state to the private market. If growth is the path to greater national and personal wellbeing, should not those responsible for growth be encouraged at every opportunity? Growth fetishism therefore cedes enormous political power to business, and corporations are never reluctant to argue that, since they are creators of wealth, it is their interests that should be paramount to government (2003, pp. 17–18).

The tourism sector is very important in these processes because the consumption of tourism experiences is a key 'growth' sector in many contemporary economies. In his discussion of volunteer tourism, Wearing (2002) was highly critical of tourism operations within the neo-liberalism context. He stated:

Tourism in a free market economy can exploit natural resources as a means of profit accumulation, and consequently has been described as the commercialization of the human need to travel. The notion of unlimited gain has led to the exploitation of host communities, their cultures and environments.

Tourism perpetuates inequality, with the multinational companies of the advanced capitalist countries retaining the economic power and resources to invest in and ultimately control nations of the developing world. In many cases, a developing country's engagement with tourism serves simply to confirm its dependent, subordinate position in relation to the advanced capitalist societies – itself a form of neo-colonialism. (2002, p. 238)

The negative environmental and social consequences of tourism development under such an economic system are catalysts of the alternative tourism movement. Lanfant and Graburn have contended that alternative tourism originated in the visions and critiques of tourism NGOs such as the Ecumenical Coalition on Third World Tourism (ECTWT) and the Tourism European Network (1992, pp. 89–90) which were strongly influenced by the 1960s counterculture movements:

These movements wanted to promote a counterculture by rejecting consumer society. Alternative tourism, in rejecting mass tourism, is a similar radical attempt to transform social relations and is thus part of the larger movement. Is tourism a new kind of development strategy, or more powerfully, a prime force within a new range of international relations? (Lanford & Graburn, 1992, p. 90)

Holden of the ECTWT argued for the latter standpoint when he described alternative tourism as ‘a process which promotes a just form of travel between members of different communities. It seeks to achieve mutual understanding, solidarity and equality amongst participants’ (cited in Pearce, 1992, p. 18). In recognition of such views, Lanfant and Graburn contend that ‘for some, “alternative tourism” is not just another kind of tourism, but aspires to become *the* tourism in the promotion of a new order’ (1992, p. 92).

However, as Higgins-Desbiolles (2008) argued, these radical origins of alternative tourism have been weakened by the co-option and usurpation of the corporatised tourism industry.¹¹⁵ As this alternative tourism movement coincided with the phenomenon of the ‘new tourists’ (Poon, 1993), the industry seized this as a lucrative opportunity to profit from the development of specialised niche tourisms. Justice tourism is perhaps the rare segment where the essence of the original alternative tourism movement remains.

Justice tourism

A useful conceptualisation of justice tourism has emerged from the recent theorisation of the ethics of tourism (e.g. Fennell 2006; Hultsman 1995; Smith & Duffy 2003). In Hultsman’s attempt to develop an ethical framework for tourism he explored what ‘just tourism’ might mean (1995). He advocated developing a ‘principled’ practice and ‘ethicality’ in tourism and ensuring that this imbues tourism curricula (Hultsman, 1995, pp. 559–562). Fennell (2006) and Smith and Duffy (2003) provide invaluable insight into the complexities of applying an ethics of justice to tourism in their brief examinations of Rawls’ ‘theory of justice’ (1971). Using social contract theory, Rawls developed a theory of justice, advocating a ‘fair distribution of power, goods, and so on within and between societies’ (Smith & Duffy, 2003, p. 92). Fennell (2006, p. 102) argued that tourism is inherently a justice issue because of its differential impacts on developing and developed communities.

Scheyvens described justice tourism as ‘both ethical and equitable’ and said it has the following attributes:

- builds solidarity between visitors and those visited;
- promotes mutual understanding and relationships based on equity, sharing and respect;
- supports self-sufficiency and self-determination of local communities;
- maximises local economic, cultural and social benefits (2002, p. 104).

Scheyvens outlined five forms of justice tourism, which include the ‘hosts’ telling their stories of past oppression, tourists learning about poverty issues, tourists undertaking voluntary conservation work,

¹¹⁵ The term corporatised tourism describes the tourism system operating according to the precepts of capitalist globalisation. It includes the power demonstrated by transnational corporations (TNCs) that have achieved “vertical integration” through ownership of diverse sectors of the tourism and travel industry. Under globalising capitalism, these powerful TNCs and the associated transnational capitalist class are able to manipulate tourism to maximise their profits often to the detriment of local communities. The logic of corporatised tourism is based on exploitation and commodification of all factors of production including people, cultures and environments. Both alternative and mass tourism can be corporatised as each sector is a lucrative source of profits in a diversifying market.

tourists undertaking voluntary development work and revolutionary tourism (2002, pp. 105–119).¹¹⁶ From this analysis, we can see justice tourism includes diverse phenomena and in effect describes a continuum of practice. Kassis added that at the global level ‘justice tourism is a social and cultural response to the policy of cultural domination as reflected in the globalization of tourism’ (Kassis, no date).

Higgins-Desbiolles (2008) has provided a preliminary survey of the parameters of justice tourism and suggested it may foster an alternative and more just form of globalisation. This paper offers a case study of a particular facet of justice tourism in an effort to contribute to fleshing out the contours, potentials and limitations of justice tourism. The Hotel Bauen, located in central Buenos Aires in Argentina, was a classic capitalistic hotel until the economic collapse of 2001 in Argentina when it became a ‘recuperated enterprise’. The changes in the running and management of the hotel that these events sparked provide fruitful insights into a justice tourism initiative that emerged from the needs of the hotel workers for employment in the aftermath of a shocking crisis of capitalism.

Case study of the Hotel Bauen

The Hotel BAUEN was an emblematic symbol of neoliberalism in Argentina. (Grupo Alavio, 2004)

The Hotel Bauen opened in 1978 as a showcase of tourism development geared to political ends. Argentina was under a right-wing, military dictatorship which was engaging in a violent campaign of suppression of leftist opponents. In an effort to present a palatable image on the world stage, it hosted the FIFA World Cup Soccer tournament. The government gave loans and subsidies to build hotels to host the visitors this mega-event would attract, including the Hotel Bauen.¹¹⁷ The hotel became a favourite venue for celebrities and politicians thereafter.

Once one of the most prosperous economies in Latin America and a model of neo-liberalism in the 1990s, the Argentine economy went into a meltdown with the debt crisis of 2001. Many factories and businesses shut their doors, leading to widespread unemployment, an increase in poverty and a desperate need to find some way to make a living. Workers at the Hotel Bauen were fired en masse on 28 December 2001, the hotel was abandoned and the owners filed for bankruptcy.¹¹⁸

¹¹⁶ Scheyvens argued some forms of revolutionary tourism qualify as justice tourism when they are focused on “building solidarity or a commitment to justice issues” (2002, p. 117).

¹¹⁷ Trigona cites a report by National Deputy Victoria Donda presented to the National Congress of Argentina, which argued that the former owner of the Hotel, Marcelo Iurcovich, ‘built the hotel with a government loan [of \$5 million] from the Banade Bank, to promote the military dictatorship’s tourism plan for the nation during the 1978 World Cup’ (Trigona, pers. comm. 2009).

¹¹⁸ Trigona (2007) states: ‘Iurcovich [the owner of the hotel], never held the hotel up to safety inspection codes and never paid back state loans. He ran up debts and committed tax evasion while making millions of dollars in profits and acquiring two more hotels. In 1997, Iurcovich sold the hotel to the business group Solari S.A. The Solari group followed in Iurcovich’s footsteps, never paying the Banade debt. With little interest in the profitability and maintenance of the hotel, the installations at the Bauen deteriorated until the Solari group filed for bankruptcy in 2001’.

In these dire economic circumstances, some workers turned to a new tactic called ‘the take’, which involved workers re-occupying their former workplace and re-opening the enterprise on a workers’ cooperative organisational model. These businesses are called ‘recuperated enterprises’ or ‘recovered businesses’. Since 2001, some 180 businesses have been ‘recuperated’ by the workers, providing some 10,000 jobs to unemployed Argentines.

The Hotel Bauen workers received advice from the National Movement of Recuperated Enterprises (MNER) that the hotel was in a perfect situation for a workers’ takeover of the premises (Grupo Alavio, 2004). On 21 March 2003 some forty unemployed workers of the Hotel Bauen re-occupied the hotel.

The workers were given a limited tenancy permit by the bankruptcy court handling the case (Evans, 2007, p. 47). After months of clean-up and renovations, hotel services were offered. Starting with 40 employees, the hotel now employs 150 people (Trigona, 2006a, p. 2). The hotel workers formed the Hotel Bauen Workers’ Cooperative,¹¹⁹ or the BAUEN, and registered it with the State Cooperative Institute. Arguing that the former owner had forfeited his rights of ownership through his failure to pay back loans given by the government, the workers set about making the enterprise a success and promised to repay the previous owner’s debt.

The workers financed the renovations of the hotel; in the first year of operations, the workers eschewed a pay rise so that profits could be ploughed back into building up the hotel. For instance, they provided \$30,000 to develop a new street-front café (Trigona, 2006a, p. 7). A total of nearly \$300,000 has been invested to get the hotel operational.

However, after making steady progress on renovating the hotel and expanding its services, the family of the previous owner has re-asserted ownership and has tried to settle the debts owed to the state.¹²⁰ They have petitioned the Buenos Aires city government to return the enterprise to them. Despite these challenges, the workers of the Hotel Bauen have created a new workplace environment and kept the hotel going. This discussion will now turn to a more in-depth discussion of the internal context of the hotel and the external context in which it operates.

Internal context

The most interesting contribution that the workers of the Hotel Bauen have made in transforming our understanding of how tourism can be re-directed to more just ends is the internal working environment they have established. In an era in which workers’ rights have been rolled back under neo-liberalism, it is important to note that the main motivation for ‘the take’ was to secure employment for dismissed workers from the hotel. As Gladis Alegre stated, ‘workers just want to work’ (Grupo Alavio, 2004).

¹¹⁹ In Spanish, the Socios Cooperativa de Trabajo BAUEN; the acronym stands for Buenos Aires Una Empresa Nacional (Buenos Aires, a nationalised business) (Freeman, 2005). The cooperative is frequently just called the BAUEN.

¹²⁰ Iurcovich died in April 2003 in Canada and he left his business interests to his sons (Freeman, 2005).

In establishing a work environment that respects the rights of workers to work, the BAUEN has implemented a democratic decision-making process and horizontal management structure that stands in stark contrast to the previous management approach. The BAUEN has a Board of Directors but all significant decisions on hiring, re-investment of profits and business strategy are made in a general assembly at which all workers can vote. The general assembly of workers meets every two weeks and votes on all major decisions affecting the enterprise.

Workers' statements indicate a very different working environment than that created under the previous capitalist ownership. For instance, maid Isabel Sequeira claimed that the re-opening of the hotel gave her 'hope for the future' and that the workers now 'work with our conscience, we don't have anyone looking over our shoulders or telling us what to do. We are working so the hotel is clean and beautiful' (Grupo Alavio, 2004). This new workers' approach to management has been called 'sin patron' or 'without bosses' and has created a more egalitarian working environment. As Rita Yaquet stated:

I am now my own boss and I do not have to put up with anyone mistreating me. I look forward to coming to work. I never felt like this before we formed our cooperative. My children benefit because I have an income. I also benefit because I am learning a lot about running a business and am developing strong relationships with the other workers. Although sometimes there is conflict between the men and the women, we are learning to resolve our differences. We can never go back. (cited in Pena & Dudley, 2005, p.156)

Additionally, under the previous ownership, workers were restricted in their movement within the hotel which meant different categories of workers had little interaction with each other, which inhibited the development of bonds of solidarity. Under the workers' cooperative this has changed dramatically:

We were only compañeros, when we took the elevator to go up to eat, or in the lunchroom. Today the difference is marked ... we are always together and not just in the elevators or only during lunch hour. We are together 24 hours. We have long conversations. (Anibal, cited in Evans, 2007, p. 53)

Workers learn to carry out many work roles and in that way the BAUEN cooperative has ensured that workers' skills and capacities are enhanced. Ordinary service workers have taken on managerial roles such as marketing and accounting and visiting activists are given free accommodation in exchange for teaching English classes to the staff (Raimbeau, 2005).

Another characteristic of the Hotel Bauen is the more egalitarian pay scale instituted from the time of the take. Trigona (2006a, p. 6) stated the cooperative pays each worker the same amount (800 pesos per month). This is however disputed by Evans who claims different categories of worker receive different salaries (2007, p. 55).¹²¹ Freeman (2005) explained this discrepancy: all employees receive an equal base salary, with bonuses given to those with seniority and those who made

¹²¹ Evans argues this narrative of equality and democracy is deployed by members of the cooperative and its external supporters (such as journalist Maria Trigona) in order to mobilise support for the hotel and other recuperated enterprises (2007, p. 55).

significant sacrifices during the struggle of the take. Bauen workers certainly now receive more equal and adequate pay than under the previous ownership and their salaries compare well with those of other economic sectors.

However, despite these efforts to create an egalitarian and democratic structure for the new workplace, the Hotel Bauen has its internal tensions. As Evans (2007) demonstrated, the relationships between 'old' workers, or those there from the time of the take and through the hardships that that entailed, and 'new' workers, or those employed in more recent times, creates tensions as exclusions and inequalities creep in. In fact, a key concern for older workers is ensuring that new workers understand the meaning and significance of the hotel and the struggle to keep it. For instance, as the President of the BAUEN cooperative stated: 'We have to bring this worker in and tell him our story. However many days, however much time it takes. We have to find a way to make this worker conscious' (cited in Evans, 2007, p. 49). Evans claimed 'the Bauen's public narrative is used within the hotel to cultivate an awareness and sense of commitment in those workers who had no direct experience of the initial occupation's hardships' (Evans, 2007, p. 49). A key aim of this effort is to foster solidarity internally in the context of a precarious external environment.

External context

Recuperated enterprises such as the Hotel Bauen are at a disadvantage in trying to re-activate derelict enterprises because conventional sources of capital including low-interest loans and subsidies have not been made available to them by the state or private sector. They have to compete in a capitalist economy with few of the supports and subsidies that capitalist enterprises normally receive.

A key tactic is therefore to prioritise developing close ties with other recuperated enterprises and the wider community. One key feature of the new incarnation of the hotel is its use as a site for other workers' organisations, community groups and activists to meet (Trigona, 2006a, p. 7). The Hotel Bauen workers have been key activists in organising and mobilising the larger workers' struggle in Argentina. The Bauen provides conference rooms and accommodation free of charge or at a 'solidarity price' for members of other workers' cooperatives. As Bauen worker Luisa Casanova stated: 'it is more than just a hotel. Political groups and unions meet here during the week; people from the provinces come here to find job opportunities. Bauen influences other social movements in a positive way' (cited in Loren, 2005, p. 22). Recuperated enterprises are forging bartering arrangements and providing mutual economic support to each other.¹²²

One of the most striking achievements of the hotel is the relationships it has developed with its external community. Trigona stated 'one of the keys to recuperated enterprises' success has been the insertion of the workers' struggle into the community' (2006a, p. 7). The Hotel Bauen has supported community and cultural events including holding rock concerts and theatre productions attended by hundreds. It has also hosted political meetings at the hotel for workers and activists, supporting the larger struggle.

¹²² The Hotel Bauen, unlike some recuperated enterprises, has benefited from the devaluation of the Argentine peso, which has made Argentina a less expensive destination for tourists.

Horacio Lalli of the Hotel Bauen Cooperative stated: 'There's over 180 recuperated businesses and factories. But there are 5000 bankrupt businesses in Argentina. Beyond the individual circumstances of each recuperated enterprise, we think there is an alternative for Argentina, we think this is a way to fight against unemployment' (Grupo Alavio, 2004).

While some recuperated enterprises have achieved legal status, the Hotel Bauen is not among them. The government approach has been on a case-by-case basis and it frequently only offers short-term (two to five years) legal mandate for workers to operate the enterprise (Trigona, 2006a, p. 4). In the case of the Hotel Bauen, the problem is with the Buenos Aires city government, which has been sympathetic to an appeal by the sons of the former owner to get the hotel back. On 8 December 2005, despite Bauen worker protests, the municipal legislature decided to create a commission to manage a negotiation process between the workers and the sons of the former owner with the aim of handing back the business. As a result of the Buenos Aires decision in favour of the former owner, the workers at the Hotel Bauen were given an eviction notice in 2007. The workers have resisted the eviction so far and they have been supported by hundreds of people from other recuperated enterprises, activists and the wider community in rallies to protect their occupation of the hotel (Trigona, pers. comm. 2009; 'A ray of hope', 2006).

The workers have had to spend considerable energy mobilising to defend their control of the hotel. In order to address this precarious legal situation, many recuperated enterprises have coalesced to press for the national government to resolve this situation through a national expropriation law. On 27 October 2006, recuperated enterprises including the BAUEN cooperative rallied outside a federal court to push for a national expropriation law (Trigona, 2006b).

The workers of the Hotel Bauen have campaigned also for a specific law of expropriation for the Hotel Bauen based on the argument that the state has the right to take the property as payment of the outstanding debt that the former owner failed to repay. This proposed legislation has been approved in the Cooperative, Mutual and NGO Affairs Commission of the National Congress (Trigona, pers. comm. 2009). Trigona suggests that the National Congress is unlikely to pass the legislation, though, as it will be wary of setting a precedent (pers. comm. 2009).¹²³ Nonetheless, the workers of the hotel refuse to give up the struggle. Gladis Alegre says: 'we have to fight for this for it to be a success, save every penny, for us and our family' (Grupo Alavio, 2004).¹²⁴

In addition to the extensive network of support the Hotel Bauen workers are tapping within Argentina, there is also now a network of workers' cooperatives in South America which forms the basis of a solidarity network. As Trigona reports:

¹²³ Additionally, if the BAUEN won, it would free up their capacities to even more energetically support other recuperated enterprises in the struggle for recognition (Festival frente al Congreso Nacional, 8 July 2008).

¹²⁴ Rallies have been held with music and political speeches in favour of the law of expropriation for the Bauen and are available online at:

http://www.revolutionvideo.org/agoratv/programas/empresas_recuperadas/defensa_bauen_13.html,

http://www.revolutionvideo.org/agoratv/programas/empresas_recuperadas/defensa_bauen_14.html

http://www.revolutionvideo.org/agoratv/programas/empresas_recuperadas/defensa_bauen_15.html

Representatives from worker-controlled factories and businesses from Argentina, Uruguay, Venezuela, and Brazil organized the First Latin American Congress on Recuperated Enterprises October 28 and 29, 2005 in Caracas to build coordinated strategies against government attacks and dog-eat-dog markets. Venezuelan President Hugo Chávez inaugurated the event with more than 1,000 self-managed workers present who are putting into practice the slogan: Occupy, Resist, and Produce. The Congress served as an initiative to build an economic and mutual support network among the some 300 businesses and factories currently run by worker self-management in Latin America. (2006a)

At this event, Marcelo Ruarte, President of the BAUEN cooperative, signed an exchange agreement with Venezuela's Ministry of Tourism and the Hotel Kamaratta ('A multinational without a boss', 2005).

The BAUEN has also been effective at tapping wider international support. In 2005 an online petition was developed petitioning the President of Argentina, Nestor Kirchner, to support the efforts of the workers of the BAUEN by blocking eviction and supporting a national expropriation law; it secured over 7000 signatures ('International support for the Bauen Hotel', no date). Recognised as one site in the global struggle against globalising capitalism, the hotel is also becoming a destination for revolutionary tourists and anti-globalisation activists from around the world who come to see the struggle firsthand.

However, all of these enterprises have had to operate within a capitalist market economy and compete on a very unlevel playing field. Additionally, the hostile political forces aligned against them have meant that security has eluded them and precious energies that could have been dedicated to rebuilding the hotel have been spent on struggle.

Discussion

While the workers at the Hotel Bauen and other recuperated enterprises have secured significant achievements, their efforts by no means sound the death knell for capitalism in Argentina. One economics magazine puts it in perspective: 'Two hundred enterprises, representing a fairly random mix of industries, hardly constitute a parallel economy in a country of 40 million' (Kennedy & Tilly, 2005). Trigona has noted key challenges facing recuperated enterprises such as the Bauen:

- Workers have had to fight against legal attacks and violent eviction attempts.
- Some workers have suffered physical attacks.
- Lack of legal certainty results in the perpetual threat of eviction.
- Lack of credit and low-interest loans to reinvest in the company have made competition difficult.
- Recuperated enterprises struggle with market pressures and lack of infrastructure.
- They need trustworthy professional input.
- They need systematic technical and skills training.
- They need to build an alternative market for their products and services (2006a, p. 2; 2006b).

Certainly in the five years the workers have run the hotel, it has been clear that national and municipal governments are more aligned with the interests of capital than the rights of the workers, as only a handful of enterprises have been expropriated outright and given to the workers to manage. As Raimbeau notes, these enterprises

have never been able to secure either the hoped-for interest-free loans or legislative reforms. Big business has such a hold over the country's political and legal authorities that MPs and judges would rather turn their back on rebel workers than help them – despite the popularity of these salvaged businesses. (2005)

However, the example set by the Bauen does indicate the falsehood that capitalist globalisation has perpetuated that 'there is no alternative'. Trigona (2006a) describes recuperated enterprises as 'reversing the logic of capitalism'. Table 1 contrasts the values and approaches of capitalist enterprises and recuperated enterprises in order to show the ways in which the latter can be argued to reverse the logic of capitalism. At the centre of this divergence between capitalist enterprises and worker-run enterprises is the effort to put 'people before profits'.

As Vivanco (2001) has suggested, we need forms of tourism that foster pluralism and self-determination. The Hotel Bauen shows us one example of how a tourism and hospitality business can serve humanistic ends when redirected from the capitalistic blind pursuit of profits to the building of bonds of solidarity between workers, hotel clients and the community.

The first lesson to be drawn from the Hotel Bauen is the centrality of the right to dignified and secure work. Corporatised tourism is known for its low wage, seasonal and insecure working conditions. The Hotel Bauen has shown how workers can take charge of their working environment and create sustained conditions of adequate, reliable and equitable pay. The dignified nature of employment in the new Bauen cannot be underestimated: workers go where they like on the premises and constantly interact with their compañeros. This stands in stark contrast to the servile employee that corporatised tourism is frequently accused of fostering (McLaren, 2003). Additionally, this case study reminds us that justice tourism must include a clear articulation of the rights to self-determination and freedom from exploitation not only for host communities but also for workers who serve the tourists in tourism destinations.

For its focus on building ties between workers within the hotel, with other recuperated enterprises in Argentina and with Latin American workers' cooperatives, the Bauen has been called 'Hotel Solidarity' (Loren, 2005, p. 22). This focus suggests that the Bauen workers direct their efforts beyond securing just their own individual needs and as a result they play a part in a larger transformation occurring in society. Such efforts challenge us to rethink the role that such enterprises play in our communities and suggest we could redirect some previously private sector businesses to public ends.

Finally the most significant lesson to be drawn from the case of the Hotel Bauen is the fact that human needs should be put before profits. Capitalism and its affiliated corporatised tourism are under fire for the social, cultural and ecological degradation that accompanies their pathological focus on extracting profits to deliver to a small minority of corporate elites. The BAUEN workers' cooperative, with its egalitarian and democratic management regime, fosters the welfare of workers

and, while still operating in the market system, embeds itself in its community and works for equity and justice in the wider Argentine society. It is as much a social justice enterprise as it is an economic enterprise. It suggests a model of how the efforts of enterprise can be freed from the constraints of the narrow, ideological purposes imposed under capitalism. As an alternative model, the hotel is attracting revolutionary tourists and anti-globalisation activists much like Chiapas, Mexico before it (see Scheyvens, 2002).

Kassis (no date) views justice tourism as a social response to the injustices and exploitation of contemporary tourism under globalising capitalism. This Hotel Bauen case study demonstrates that corporatised tourism's relentless pursuit of profits can be resisted by *the workers* and the local community who bear the brunt of the impacts of this damaging system. It also offers us an insight into the creative and humanistic possibilities that can appear when people, like the workers of the Hotel Bauen, see through the falsehood that there is no other alternative to capitalistic globalisation and corporatised tourism and create their own positive futures.

Conclusion

Our idea is to not go back to what the Hotel Bauen was. Bauen was an emblematic symbol of the bourgeoisie here in Buenos Aires ... This story is about demanding our rights and finding our dignity. Although it takes time, we've been here for a year and a half. We're taking home a salary. It's not much but we're all taking home 300 pesos. We're doing things. (President of the BAUEN cooperative Marcelo Ruarte, Grupo Alavio, 2004)

Whether recuperated enterprises are just a short-term reaction to the 2001 economic crisis or a more long-lived assertion of workers' rights remains to be seen. Nonetheless, the Hotel Bauen has presented a rare example of how a formerly capitalistic hotel enterprise can be transformed into a worker-run cooperative that operates according to an entirely new set of values. While this case study analysis has not unequivocally supported Higgins-Desbiolles' (2008) assertion that justice tourism is fostering alternative globalisation, it has shown that it makes a contribution to the pluralism and self-determination championed by Vivanco (2001), which is a precursor to an alternative and more just form of globalisation. Even if the hotel shuts its doors tomorrow, the workers' precedent of creating a hotel built on the principles of the right to dignified work, workers' empowerment and bonds of solidarity stands undiminished and will continue to reverberate. Their efforts stand as testament to the potential for securing justice through tourism and their struggle challenges us to consider further ways in which tourism can be humanised.

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Table 1: Contrasting values and approaches of capitalist enterprises and recuperated enterprises

VALUES AND APPROACHES	CAPITALIST ENTERPRISES UNDER NEO-LIBERALISM	RECUPERATED ENTERPRISES: THE LATIN AMERICAN EXPERIMENT
ORGANISATIONAL RELATIONSHIPS	Employer and workers in a power struggle	Workers share responsibility/ democratic decision making
ORGANISATIONAL STRUCTURE	Hierarchical management structure: owners→managers→ supervisors→workers	Horizontal; all workers as co-owners
ORGANISATIONAL LOGIC	Profits, efficiency and growth are the primary focus of organisational attention	Jobs for the employees, worker well-being and community relations with other cooperatives are the primary focus of organisational attention
VIEW OF WORKERS	Workers are merely one factor of production	All workers are 'companeros'; solidarity amongst workers
VIEW OF THE ENTERPRISE	Enterprise is the private property of the venture capitalist; it is an economic enterprise	The workplace is workers' and community property; the enterprise has significant social obligations to the community
CONCEPTUALISATION OF RIGHTS	Private property rights	Workers' rights
WORKPLACE CULTURE	Competition, insecurity	Solidarity, equality
EXTERNAL CONTEXT	Neo-liberal power structures support the enterprise in a web of political, social and cultural support	Recuperated enterprises form a network of cooperatives with trade agreements between them
CURRENT SITUATION	Such enterprises proliferated between 1990s and 2000s but economic crisis of 2008/09 has undermined the foundations of neo-liberalism as an ideology	A very small minority of businesses but represents one example of alternatives that may become more visible as the economic crisis provides a possible transformational moment

'Addressing social relationships through tourism in a post-conflict setting'

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Studying tourism in the aftermath of political conflict has always been an important part of tourism research scholarship. Through the tourism lens, the study described here addresses the issues of social injustice and inequality, which are the consequence of a war and post-war legislation and regulation. The fieldwork took place in Bosnia and Herzegovina (B&H). The data was collected employing semi-structured interviews with tour guides and tourism decision makers, as well as overt participant observation of the tours occurring in politically contested sites. The data was analysed through the adoption of a critical perspective, which creates an emancipatory knowledge (Habermas 1978), giving voice to those themes and issues usually overlooked and marginalised through mainstream perspectives. Besides using a critical approach, the research adopted Hegelian dialecticism and reflexivity as tools to analyse the data, and to feed into a critical scholarship.

The study finds that tourism is perceived as an alternative approach to the social and political reconciliation which is happening within the post-conflict settings. This study places tourism under a larger political agenda; identifying it as a part of a strategy which transforms places, cultures and societies through social reconciliation and urban regeneration following the political conflict. It reveals the issues and challenges which influence this process, among which the most powerful characteristic appears to be an issue of social and personal catharsis. The study argues that the dominant tourism discourse, i.e. objective ontology and realist epistemology, creates technical knowledge only, and applied to post-conflict tourism development, it cannot grasp the real meaning that tourism brings to a particular society. Consequently this paper argues for a change in approach to tourism research. The study suggests a subjective/relativist ontology would lead to better understanding of the tourism phenomenon and emancipation of the less frequently heard perspectives.

Key words: *post-conflict society, politics, peace and tourism, social catharsis, Bosnia and Herzegovina*

HEGELIAN DIALECTICISM, CRITICAL THEORY, WAR, PEACE AND TOURISM

According to Habermas (1978), there are three types of cognitive interest which guide the creation of three different types of knowledge. The first one is technical interest. It is a determinant of the empirical-analytic sciences giving rise to instrumental and exploitable knowledge of control and prediction. It is based on facts and technical denomination. The second interest is a practical interest knowledge which is determined by historical-hermeneutic sciences leading to discursive knowledge of shared and mutual understanding. The third is emancipatory interest shaped through critically-oriented sciences, for instance, feminist or post-colonial literature. It produces knowledge which is the result of the emancipation of historically oppressed voices, thoughts and positions.

This research aims at the creation of emancipatory knowledge through critical theory as a methodological approach. According to Kincheloe and McLaren (1998), critical theory is defined within the context of the empowerment of individuals through an attempt to confront the injustice of a particular sphere within a society. Although there are many schools of critical theory, all of these streams have one particular characteristic in common, which is liberation of the oppressed through the creation of emancipatory knowledge. Although Kisiel (1974) argues that ontology is anathema of critical theory, the research presented here takes a relativist ontological position, as according to critical theorists, social theory is socially constructed and objective observation is considered to be impossible due to the assumptions held by the researcher. Therefore, it appears that subjective ontology is of the utmost importance for critical research scholarship. Furthermore, it appears that subjectivity, if acknowledged, brings trustworthiness into the research process and a new dimension to the research practice. Out of utmost importance is to position oneself in the relation to the research subject. Butler (1997) argues that self is constructed through the conceptualisation of identity construction through the process of otherness. Further, Alcoff (2006) argues that self is defined through the practices and meanings grounded in wider socio-political and economical settings manifesting itself through the multiplicity of relationships and social power dynamics. This research has used reflexivity/introspection as a tool which has helped in acknowledging subjectivity in the process of creating new knowledge. Besides reflexivity, the tools employed for creating new knowledge included Hegelian dialectical discourse, i.e. a method of presentation of ideas and conclusions. Hegelian dialectical discourse, which is actually a predecessor of critical theory, will now be briefly explained.

In the *Philosophy of History*, Hegel argues that dialectic moment has shaped history since ancient Greece, where a so-called customary morality was a societal base (Singer 1983). Customary morality is identified to be a harmonious society where citizens are identified with the community and have no opposition towards it. This stage is called *the thesis*.

In ancient Greece there was an exercise of independent thought conducted through Socrates reasoning in order to question a customary morality. This step in creating social theory is created in order to show the thesis as inadequate. The questioning resulted in the loss of the harmonious community and the freedom of independent thought which in a dialectical discourse is called *the antithesis*. However, the antithesis is not stable. In order to achieve a sustainable social order, antithesis needs to unify with the thesis in order to produce a balance and a “healthy” base to start moving things forward.

Thesis, antithesis and synthesis will be the postulates of this research which questions the role of tourism in the process of peace and harmony creation in a post-conflict tourism setting. The paper gives a brief insight into the relationship between peace, tourism and politics in the tourism literature, not as a comprehensive review but to provide understanding how the arguments are presented. A mainstream and harmonious review is presented first. The discussion then moves towards the alternative thought, i.e. the antithesis. Finally, the research gives an overview of the synthesis. The alternative views suggest a strategic use of tourism to provide the transition between war and peace and secure time and space for personal and social catharsis. The merger of the thesis

and antithesis results in the creation of synthesis. This process of creating synthesis is will be examined in detail below.

POLITISATION OF TOURISM

Mainstream tourism research has seen the relationship between peace and tourism develop through two dimensions. First, according to Mihalic (1996), tourism can be a vital force for world peace, and second, tourism needs peace for its development and prosperity. However, tourism and peace do not operate in their own bubble. Politics occupies the space in-between.

When politics is introduced, tourism tends to be characterised as a very frivolous activity (Hall 1994). Essentially, it provides a holiday, a time out of work. Keil (2005) explains that the meaning of the word 'holiday' is derived from the term 'holy day' which notes a time which is separate from a person's normal routine. In other words, it is a disconnection from a normal every day life. For Graburn (1989) tourism is a non-ordinary experience, similar to "sacred time", time different from everyday and common life. After conflict, however, people are not inclined to encourage a disconnection from normal everyday life, as all they want is to get back to a 'normal' way of living. Therefore it is not common logic to base any sort of societal development entirely on tourism. Although according to Hall (1994), tourism and politics are greatly interlinked and tourism needs to take into broad consideration the political context. However this is rarely the case. Tourism tends to be positioned extremely low on the political agenda. Sometimes, tourism can be attributed to economic recovery, but this is usually as far as it goes. It is rarely an actual part of the recovery process or on any political agenda.

There are a few instances, nevertheless, where governments have utilised tourism activity in order to stabilise international relations. In many cases, governments encourage tourists to visit the country with which they want to establish a good diplomatic and political relationship (C. M. Hall 1994). This approach is illustrated by the tourism patterns of former European communist countries. Solidarity towards communist regimes encouraged international tourism between communist states (D. Hall 1991). Furthermore, travel advisories also play an important role in mapping the tourist gaze. It has been suggested that travel advisories are not always completely objective. Richter (1983), for instance, suggests that the governments of different countries could use tourism as a diplomatic barometer of their affinity for each other, noting the potentials of tourism after political conflict for repairing a country's international relations. Smith (1999) notes a government's will to improve political relations can be observed through the wording of its travel advisories. Tourism's potential role in political relations between countries is, therefore, evident. Moreover, governments use tourism in order to construct a desirable image of their country abroad. Richter (1999) notes that General Marcos used tourism to repair his country's deteriorated image after he introduced martial law in the Philippines. She argues that the positive image generated by tourism was more useful than the actual tourism revenues. The same applied to Spain during the reign of General Franco (Holguin 2005). Spain was considered stable, and tourism was promoted as the most important foreign exchange earner. These examples show tourism as a political marionette of autocratic regimes. If tourism is successfully implemented by those autocratic regimes, it suggests the possibility of using tourism as a part of the reconstruction and reconciliation process in a post-conflict country.

Although the links between political studies and tourism are evident, political scientists, planners and researchers have been very reluctant to consider tourism as a part of any collaborative research, as it has been seen as being frivolous (Hall 1994). Tourism academia conveys this as pure academic snobbery. However, it is irresponsible to attribute this attitude to academic snobbery, as tourism articles are by their nature very tourismcentric (Franklin 2007). Therefore, it is of little importance to check the societal settings under which tourism takes place. In many tourism journals, politically incorrect expressions and inaccurate facts are published. For example, Stone (2006) notes genocide in Kosovo, even though genocide happened in B & H according to the War Tribunal Court in the Hague. The author probably confused Kosovo with Bosnia, although the genesis of conflict in those two areas was completely different. The author took a very tourism-centric approach (Franklin 2007) and forgot about the socio-cultural and geopolitical settings. Henderson (2000) talks about civil war in former Yugoslavia, although many political scientists (for instance Popovic 2004) and the official UN documents and International Criminal Tribunal for the former Yugoslavia (ICTY) never refer to the atrocities in former Yugoslavia as a civil war. It is not imperative to know this all, but at least some data and facts should be verified before actual submission and during the reviewing process. This is one of the reasons why tourism is labelled as a frivolous area of study, and tourism research is not taken seriously. Any factual mistakes occurring in tourism journals are not easy to tolerate. Tourism is a relatively new field of study and therefore the responsibility is on tourism researchers to earn trust from their colleagues in other social sciences departments, otherwise tourism's role in the peace process and reconciliation is undermined.

SITE INTERPRETATION

Another instance of a direct relationship between politics and tourism is in the interpretation of sites. Ashworth (1994:14) argues that 'history provides the resources not only for cultural or heritage tourism...but more broadly serves as an amenity resource base for a wide range of high-order economic activities'. He argues that heritage is actually a contemporarily created commodity purposefully created to satisfy cotemporal consumption. Similarly, Cheong and Miller (1999) argue that tourism systems are nourished by the individual gaze and by power at the institutional level. However, beside the dominant discourse that guided tours are actually effective instruments used by government (Reisinger and Steiner 2006), in certain cases it appears that the tour guides' interpretations are influenced by the parties holding political power (Dahles 2002). Or, as argued by Ap and Wong (2001), tour guides may also have their own agenda based on their own social contexts. Bowman (1992) demonstrates that in the case of the visitation to the? Holy Land, tour guides shaped tourist experiences, based on their own personal agendas.

TOURISM AND PEACE

Although there is a lack of research indicating the circumstances under which tourism can bring reconciliation among nations, there is a widespread assumption that it does normalise relations and provides an opportunity for building a culture of peace between nations or groups which were in conflict and remain hostile to one another (Hall 1994, Richter 1999, Kim and Crompton 1990).

Many instances show that tourism provides an opportunity for better understanding and contact between nations to occur but does not guarantee a positive outcome. Research usually focuses on

actual travel between the subject countries or territories which used to be in conflict. Anastopoulos (1992) examines the role of tourism in Greek tourists' attitude change towards the Turkish host community. The study shows that travel to Turkey had a negative impact upon Greek travellers especially regarding the perceived quality of life, government institutions and local cultural aspects.

Similarly, Kim and Prideaux (2003), examine South Koreans visiting Mt Gumgang, situated in North Korea and argue that tourism helped in stabilising intergovernmental relationships. Milman et al. (1990) argue that Israeli students, when visiting Egypt, did not improve their opinions of this country. Pizam, Jafari and Milman (1991) note similar results on US students' attitude on USSR. As a result, the findings are, at best, only partial, showing that on certain occasions relations become better, and on others they do not. Although all these studies helped shape scholarship, they were all done through the positivistic scholarship aimed at measuring impact through this research. However, it is important to ask: how is it possible to measure the reactions of individuals when they see a place which has political conflict associations for them? Arguably, research on tourism needs to get a theoretical supplement from other fields of study in order to challenge the harmonious balance of tourism research, and through that process develop tourism scholarship. This is the beginning of antithesis.

ANTITHESIS

The outcome of the contact between countries which were in conflict relies on the conditions under which it takes place, i.e. social and cultural conditions. According to Anson (1999), it is not a trivial process. As discussed in the previous section, there are many cases where tourism could not address change and become a peace catalyst. The main reason for this failure was that it was not placed in a broader economic, social and political prospective (Amir 1969). Progress towards peace through tourism is not an isolated process and should not be taken for granted. It is a part of a larger social change that begins with the recognition that the fundamental social and political order is changing (Kim and Crompton 1990). Amir (1969) argues that the direction of the change of attitudes between members of different ethnic groups depends largely on the conditions under which contact takes place. Favourable conditions tend to reduce prejudices and tensions, unfavourable ones to increase them. Generally considered as favourable are the following conditions: equal status contact between host and guest communities; a favourable social climate; personal instead of superficial contact; pleasant and mutually rewarding interaction, instead of a stressful one.

However, before tourism can start to play an important part in the process of reconciliation, it needs certain preconditions to be satisfied. The most important is to bring trust (Causevic and Lynch, forthcoming) between the communities which used to be engaged in a political conflict. Trust is achieved through the interaction of functionally important activities leading to common goals of higher importance to the group. Cehajic, Brown and Castano (2008) argue the need to focus on common identities, not differences, through establishing a common goal and intragroup identity. Social psychology studies (for instance Gaertner & Dovidio, 2000, Bec-Neumann and Baron 2007, etc) actually dismiss the contacts like these happening through tourism because these contacts are not profound. These contacts are temporary and cannot address societal change. Instead, they argue for

promoting quality and frequent contacts which favour beneficial changes (Gaertner & Dovidio, 2000). These contacts can be achieved through cooperation, i.e. working on the same project and having the same aim.

Tourism is perceived in a very linear manner in political discourse, i.e. whether it brings peace or not. However, many recent studies have included other dimensions, for instance, history, identity, and societal construction which will be further examined in the following section.

RESEARCH SETTINGS

Conflict in B&H started in April 1992 and finished in December 1995 with the Dayton Peace Agreement. One of the most important characteristics of B&H is a complete change of socio-cultural setting compared to the one which existed before the conflict, when Bosnia and Herzegovina was a part of the former Yugoslavia. The difference between B&H and other Yugoslav Republics is that other republics were based on a single nation (Bringa 1993, Hayden 1993). B & H is a country where there are at least three constitutive nations, i.e. Bosnians, Croats and Serbs. There were hardly any ethnically 'clean' territories in B&H before the conflict. In urban areas, one third of marriages were mixed marriages (Malcolm 1994). After the conflict entire territories were ethnically cleansed. According to Bringa (1993) multiculturalism and living together is a part of Bosnian identity, but it seems that the conflict actually erased that part of Bosnian identity. Bosnians were ghettoised into their ethnic enclaves. Bosnian Serbs now live in an entity called 'Republic Srpska'. Bosnian Croats and Bosniaks live in the entity called 'the Federation of Bosnia and Herzegovina'. The Federation is divided into ten cantons, depending whether Bosniaks or Croats hold the majority. Many people in Bosnia and Herzegovina feel lost in that new order and new social settings. B&H, according to Bec-Neumann (2007), has been marginalised for centuries, since the fall of the Bosnian Kingdom in 1463, when the Ottoman Empire occupied the country. B&H was on the periphery of the Ottoman Empire, its most western border until 1878, when the Empire was defeated and the Berlin Congress reshaped the Balkan Peninsula (Malcolm 1994, Mazower 2000). The Austro-Hungarian Empire occupied B&H, which was treated as a separate entity until 1908 when it was annexed by the Austro-Hungarian Empire (Mazower 2000), which became the only colonial territory in Europe. The status of an annexed territory, i.e. a colony in Europe, gave again a status of periphery and marginalisation to Bosnia and Herzegovina. After World War I, a Kingdom of Serbs, Croats and Slovenians, later the Kingdom of Yugoslavia, was formed. Bosnia and Herzegovina was marginalised again, as can be seen from the name of that Kingdom. After World War II, Bosnia and Herzegovina was further marginalised in the Yugoslav federation, whose citizens have never been treated equally as the citizens of other former Yugoslav Republics (Sahovic 2007). Furthermore, former Yugoslavia was a periphery to both communism and capitalism (Bec-Neumann 2007). It was a periphery of the East (communism) and a periphery of the West (capitalism). Nowadays, Bosnia and Herzegovina is also a periphery of the EU.

Bosnia and Herzegovina's ghettoisation is manifest in the Bosnian education system. Bosniaks, Croats and Serbs learn different syllabi in schools. Children in schools learn the language of hate, i.e. that their neighbours are their worst enemies (Brkic 2008, Lavic 2008). Similar to other former Yugoslav countries (Goulding and Domic 2008), nationalist rhetoric holds sway in Bosnia and Herzegovina. The

difference between B&H and other former Yugoslav republics is that there are three constitutive nations in B&H and they all hold power, having very similar rhetoric, values and philosophy. The Croatian nationalists want prosperity for Bosnian Croats, Serbian for Bosnian Serbs, Bosniak for Bosniaks. However, there is another, alternative stream which is led by multiculturalists who want good for all the citizens of B&H. They have less power than nationality based streams. They try to disseminate their message through various sources, for example, tourism and tour guiding.

The following section is the result of fieldwork conducted in Bosnia and Herzegovina in 2006. The research methods employed were overt participant observation of the guided tours in Sarajevo and Mostar. In addition to this, semi-structured and unstructured interviews were carried out with the tour guides, the representatives of education, consultancy, governmental and private sectors who all have their own stake in tourism and have the power to make decisions and in that sense shape the process of tourism development. This paper is a part of larger doctoral study. In total, there were nineteen tours observed, and sixteen tour guides interviewed. As a "sampling" technique, theoretical sampling was employed, i.e. until theoretical saturation was reached (Charmaz 2002). Further to this, guided tours through Sarajevo and Mostar were overtly observed through the participant observation technique which served as a dominant tool in the process of knowledge creation.

ANTITHESIS: FINDINGS

Aristotle wanted to teach that watching tragedy help us to put our own sorrows and worries into perspective. Pity and fear, emotions to be purified, are most easily aroused, he says, if the tragedy exhibits people as the victims of hatred and murder where they could most expect to be loved and cherished. The characters of tragic heroes are neither supremely good or bad, a character is a person who is basically good, but comes to grief through some great error (Humanitia) (Kenny 1979:77)

Catharsis emerged from Greek tragedy, discussed allegedly in Aristotle's *The Poetics* and *The Rhetorics*. Aristotle writes that there are six things necessary for a tragedy: plot; character; direction; thought; spectacle; and melody. In developing post-conflict tourism the interpretation of the post-conflict sites plays an important role. However, the obscure political situation also reflects itself in tourism. In post-conflict societies it is important to have training seminars for the tour guides, but there are very few of these in B&H. The problem is to overcome the biggest challenge in the country and this is that it is learned in school that 'the neighbour is the enemy'. That interpretation holds sway, but does not fit with the philosophy of tourism, which is to promote that it is possible to have a 'language of love' instead of a 'language of hate'. In B&H local enthusiasts organised seminars for the tour guides. One of the informants argued this was problematic:

We organised locally a seminar for the tour guides. We told them, it is up to you what you are going to say. The only thing is that you are not allowed to do is to lie. This is a moral and personal dilemma. This is not their fault that this country has not made this thing clear. On one side the same person is the hero, on the other side he is a war criminal.

I25 269-272 (Academia and consultant)

It is argued that it is down to one individual, i.e. a tour guide to construct the interpretation of the site which has witnessed conflicts. Tour guides are morally obliged to give the official version of what has happened in B&H during the siege. However, there is no official 'truth'. Victims, perpetrators, and by-standers in B&H have different versions. It is challenging for tour guides to talk about the recent past, which may have had an impact on their own personal lives. The informants for this study insist that the golden rule of post-conflict tour guiding is that lying is not allowed. Some respondents argued that it would be better to hide this part of history and as a rule not to talk about war. As one of the respondents argued:

I think that if they are interested in they can read it in every book.

I42 293 (Tourism Association, retired)

However, visitors to Bosnia and Herzegovina would like to learn about what they have already seen in the media. It is usually not the first motive, but people would like to ask directly, and they do ask directly about what has happened. Therefore, these questions deserve to be answered. The danger of an unregulated tourism industry becomes apparent at this point, because in an extreme sense, anyone could become a tour guide and tell their story. The question of social and personal catharsis needs to be addressed first:

Some people think that talk about last conflict should be avoided because in B&H, the question of moral and social catharsis has not been completely addressed yet. Everyone conceals the war crimes by blaming them on others. Only those who are morally and politically mature can be involved. But how do we know who is morally clear? Therefore it is a bit delicate to develop. If you say to the ordinary Croat that Croats destroyed the bridge they would either refute it or try to justify it by talking about the things which were done to them. Those who did not go through the moral and social catharsis should not be tour guides in Bosnia now.

I 25 252-262 (Academic and consultant)

Hiding historical developments, and refusing to talk about what has happened may have detrimental consequences. According to Bec-Neumann (2007), silence grants amnesty to the real perpetrators and grants acceptance of the collective guilt. Silence is detrimental because if people do not talk about what has happened, they will never know about the detrimental consequences and this all may happen again. Therefore, although it is painful to talk, it is usually more painful to remain silent. Tourism comes as a "handy tool" to get people talking. To be able to achieve political correctness the most important aspect to be considered is that of social and moral catharsis. Until the whole society goes through the process of a social and personal catharsis, it is difficult to live a normal life. The tour guide, who has not undergone the process, should not do this job. Thus in this sense tourism is an important factor in this social transformation. Tourism accelerates the process, but the most problematic in achieving social catharsis is the education system.

This city [Mostar] cannot start to live although the war ended 15 years ago. There are very delicate things which need to be addressed. Schools and politics should not teach about the hate, but about the tolerance and which enriches society. But this is all just talk if not backed up through education.

I 25 287-290 (Academic and consultant)

The majority of respondents for this current study argue that the presentation of the sites of conflict in B&H needs to have almost an esoteric character. Political opinion is not important. This can be found in the secondary sources. However, individual feelings are important, especially the anti-war sentiments which are brought to the forefront during the tours. As there is no officially agreed accounts of real events, tour guides are delivering their own subjective version of the truth. This is the version of events undermined through official politics, but this is the only version which has meaning for people currently inhabiting this new and ghettoised Bosnia and Herzegovina.

THESIS – ANTITHESIS - SYNTHESIS

In this case, ghettoisation is the thesis of this social relationship. Although it does not sound harmonious for an ordinary citizen, this a successful method of controlling societies. The informants of this study also reported that the country deliberately allows this kind of behaviour. A short-term social balance, despite being unnatural, has been achieved. Ghettoisation does not allow space for development. However, ordinary citizens intentionally or non intentionally want to change that status. They feel claustrophobic and not protected by their governments, as these do not have power to make decisions. One of the methods to change an artificial social balance is to facilitate talk (Bec-Neumann 2007). For instance;

Look at the statistics; the majority of people in Sarajevo and Bosnia lived better before the war than they live now. These are the facts which are the theme of this tour.

I5 391-393 (Tour guide)

An important part of every Sarajevo tour is the Secret Tunnel. In a way, this illustrates what we, as humans are able to do in order to survive.

I5 368-370 (Tour guide)

Tour guides promote the values of peace within society through their narrative. The interpretation given and the stories told during war-themed tours is that the majority of people in B&H were better off before the war than they are now. Through the tour guiding, marginalised ordinary people of Bosnia and Herzegovina are presented as heroes, and through them, an anti-war message is given. Tour guides give the story of ordinary citizens, as it is an easier way to explain events through ordinary people than through high-level politics. Furthermore, it is easier for tourists to understand. Delivering an anti-war message recounted through ordinary people is the most important part of the tour. It gives a moment of rise and rebirth and brings a cathartic experience to both the tourists and tour guides. For instance;

Bosnia is a fascinating country and people have an interest in visiting simply because they discover themselves here and appreciate their lives a bit more. They go through various cathartic experiences during my tours.

I10 29-33 (Tour guide and historian)

Achieving personal catharsis is the antithesis. Silence is interchanged with talk, as one of the tour guides passionately argued in the interview after the tour:

Everyone is interested in finding out what has happened here. There are only a few things people relate Bosnia to at the moment. First it is the assassination of Franz Ferdinand, which was a reason for the start of World War 1. Second are Olympic Games. And third is this last war. That war is the most recent and this is what people are very interested in.... Sometimes we would not like to talk about it. I think that we should talk about that, but not as it were exclusively our problem, but to talk about it as a global problem. Nobody should go to war. War is the most stupid thing. People die and tragedies are everywhere. I think that the tour which I am doing and some of my colleagues as well, is a kind of educational tour, 100%. It is not that we hate someone and now trying to put that forward. ...This is a kind of a tour which everyone should go on; it should be a part of every school programme. Also another point which we always want to say to our guests, is that we want them to know what happened here, we want them to be able to perceive that this has nothing to do with religion, we do not want people to think that we are some kind of primitives who fought just because of that. We want them to perceive us as normal people who were just a bit unfortunate recently. The main message of my tour is that war is stupid and does not bring anything good to anybody. It is important that those tours exist, but their message should not be directed against anybody, just against the war in general. It is a positive and educational message to the world, some kind of a warning that it should never ever happen again.

I5 382-391 and 395-406 (tour guide)

The main characteristics of the tours in Sarajevo and Mostar are the anti-war messages, a positive attitude, a focus on facts and ordinary people, and showing respect. The tourists themselves can relate to those ordinary and unfortunate people. The tour guide who has not undergone this process, cannot deliver this particular discourse, as argued here:

I do not think that it [talk about last conflict] should be avoided. Some people think that it should be avoided because in B&H, the question of moral and social catharsis has not been completely addressed yet. Everyone conceals the war crimes by blaming them on others. Only those who are morally and politically mature can be involved. But how do we know who is morally clear? Those who are part of that group of people who did not go through the moral and social catharsis should not be tour guides in Bosnia now.

I 25 252-262 (Academia and consultant)

Thus, it appears that tourism is an important factor in this social transformation,. Through the talk, the process of achieving social catharsis is excelerated.

CONCLUSION

This current “social balance” and “harmony” in B&H was achieved through putting Bosnian citizens into “their” ghettos and may be viewed as embodying a Hegelian *thesis*. However, the thesis is not sustainable in the long run. The antithesis is to talk about what happened during the conflict and

what is happening to the citizens now, after the conflict. The locals, i.e. the tour guides, go through a cathartic experience and as a result an alternative social construct is created. This is a synthesis, the voice of the people usually marginalised through powerful nationalistic rhetoric. The voice belongs to the people who do not want to live in the ghetto in which, according to the thesis, i.e. "social balance" agreement, they should belong. The main conclusion for Bosnia is that the country can go no further unless social catharsis is achieved. However, a problem here is that tourism is seen as an economic enhancer in Bosnia and Herzegovina, not as the reconciliatory tool. Thanks to the frivolosity of tourism, this alternative agenda wins and creates a synthesis which represents life and hope.

Although this topic at the first glance appears to be interesting, there is a certain degree of shame in writing about this topic as usually tourism researchers do not take it seriously that their subject can 'make a difference' or perhaps one could argue that tourism scholarship does not want to make a difference. Tourism actually cannot make a difference *per se*. However, it acts as a tool which can be utilised in order to accelerate the process of post-conflict reconciliation which is seen as a stepping stone for any possible socio-economic development. This current research is a microcosm of what is actually happening in global tourism scholarship. In this respect, critical tourism scholarship is the antithesis of mainstream tourism voices which appear to be in harmony with themselves. As awareness that tourism needs to be a part of social studies scholarship has grown (Tribe 2004), critical scholarship has questioned that harmonious order through the emancipation of the less frequently heard inputs. Therefore, critical tourism scholarship acts as the antithesis of mainstream tourism thought and according to Hegel, when society is ready for a change, the change needs to happen and will result in a synthesis.

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'It's not the friendship it was": Relational tensions between returnees from long-term travel and their significant others'

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ABSTRACT:

This paper provides a critical commentary focusing on relational tensions between returnees, who had been back for six to nine months, and their significant others, as identified by the returnee. Congruent with other literature on the effects of long-term travel, returnees reported personal developmental changes through their travel experience and an unexpected traumatic period of return. The key finding discussed here is that many significant others failed to recognise these changes and the distressing period of return, and instead expected the returnee to remain the same as before they left. It was perceived by returnees that these expectations exemplify a disinterest by significant others in their travel and return experiences. Findings of the study show this incongruence between the returnee and significant others led to misunderstandings, as a discrepancy in values, life experiences and worldviews of returnees and their significant others became evident. 'Distancing behaviour' between individuals resulted in some cases where worldviews could not be reconciled. As such, this paper argues that personal relationships must potentially be renegotiated on return from long-term travel. As such the paper argues that a more diverse perspective of travel and return is required; one that views the tourist across dynamic and interconnected social identity constructions, rather than as a mutually exclusive entity.

KEYWORDS

Inter-personal relations, identity, return, significant other

INTRODUCTION

Emerging discourses that critique underlying conventional assumptions of tourism studies are beginning to recognise the importance of moving "beyond narrow and limiting frameworks" (Harris and McIntosh, 2006) to develop broader theories of tourism within the life-course of individual travellers. For example, White and White's (2007) notions of co-presence, virtual co-presence and absent presence challenge traditional notions of tourism, as both proximate and distant social obligations are considered important within the broader context of tourists' relationships (see also, Larsen et al., 2007). Similarly, di Domenico and Lynch's (2007) critical examination of the social constructs that set boundaries and control social settings in host-guests relationships suggest that wider dimensions of everyday life impact upon the tourist experience. This paper contributes to this discourse by incorporating not only the traveller's perspective, but also the rarely captured voice of 'significant others', like influential friends and family, to whom a traveller returns. Such diverse perspectives of travel and return within the context of an individual traveller's experience makes an important contribution to tourism theory, as the tourist is viewed across dynamic and interconnected social constructions, rather than as a mutually exclusive entity.

Perspectives that consider the tourist in a holistic way and as individuals that are in a constant dynamic dialogue between themselves and broader discourses are still relatively new to the tourism area. Much of the tourism scholarship often examines the traveller as a centralised, rational self in isolation to others and wider social influences. In contrast, this paper moves towards a construction of many selves, as influenced by a combination of personal identity, influential others and wider social constructions (Pullen and Linstead, 2005; Hermans, 2001; Wearing and Wearing, 2001). In particular, the individual tourist's perceptions are understood to be influenced by significant relationships with others. Thus, an approach highlighting the importance of interpersonal relationships furthers our understanding of the constructed tourist experience (Wearing and Wearing, 2001; Morgan and Pritchard, 2005).

INTERPERSONAL RELATIONS IN THE CONTEXT OF THE RETURN FROM TRAVEL

Overall, scholars have largely equated the interpersonal difficulties that travellers face, both within the travel experience and on return, to expectation discrepancies between travellers and others regarding appropriate role behaviour (Rogers and Ward, 1993; Sussman, 2001; Hottola, 2004; Paik et al., 2002). As early as 1963, Gullahorn and Gullahorn suggested that cognitive dissonance may arise as the traveller finds that "in response to the expectations of significant others in his (*sic*) environment and their manipulation of sanctions he may engage in role behaviour that is at variance with his values" (Gullahorn and Gullahorn, 1963, p.44). As a result, the traveller may choose to disassociate with the incongruent culture by returning home or by reverting to a sojourning lifestyle, in the case where 'home' represents the incompatible environment.

The intercultural literature for example, analyses issues of cross-cultural transition, whereby the traveller's identity is questioned in light of diverse 'cultural' environments (Sussman, 2002; Hottola, 2004; Tannenbaum, 2007; Sussman, 2000). Such literature argues that the personal identity of the traveller changes as a result of the travel experience and exposure to new social environments and relationships. On return, this personal identity is no longer congruent with the social identity of the group of pre-sojourn significant others. Thus, the traveller is arguably challenged by the transitional nature of travel and return, and encounters with others lead to questions of identity (Bauman, 1996; Lanfant et al., 1995; Rapport and Dawson, 1998; Sussman, 2000; Sussman, 2001; Sussman, 2002; White and White, 2004).

On the other hand, identity has been questioned in many of life's transitions (Pullen and Linstead, 2005; Adams, 2008). Indeed, as Bauman (1996) notes:

One thinks of identity whenever one is not sure of where one belongs; that is, one is not sure how to place oneself among the evident variety of behavioural styles and patterns, and how to make sure that people around would accept this placement as right and proper, so that both sides would know how to go on in each other's presence. 'Identity' is a name given to the escape sought from that uncertainty (p.19).

Considering identity as a "process rather than a product" (Pullen and Linstead, 2005, p.6) and examining how the influence of interpersonal relationships shape the returnee's ease back into their

home context are therefore important for analysing tourist experiences (Roy, 2006; White and Booth, 1991; McCaig, 1996). Such an approach may question, for example, how travellers' personal or cultural history influences interpersonal encounters during the sojourn, how these interpersonal encounters then shape the traveller, how the traveller's changed constructions, worldviews and values are influenced by others, and what impact these changes have on relationships with others in the context of return from travel. Thus, the identity confrontations both explicit and implicit, presented here illustrate the reflexive practise of returnees as they struggle to understand their tourism experiences and perceived altered identity through the 'other'.

The objective of this study was to understand the perspectives of returned travellers and their significant others, rather than to examine the behaviour between relational parties *per se*. This objective differs from much psychologically based interpersonal relationship scholarship which seeks to understand through empirical testing the distinct nature of interpersonal relations (for example, Mullis et al., 2003). In contrast, this study sought the in-depth, personal perspectives of each individual, independent of the power play that can occur in interviews attended by multiple respondents. Thus, this paper is not concerned with the interactional encounter, but rather with the broader circumstances that impact interpersonal relationships over one's life course (Orellana et al., 2001) and specifically, upon the return home.

Study Methods

The method comprised in-depth conversational interviews with five returned travellers, to encourage respondents to share their in-depth and personal perspectives and experiences over a series of one-to-one interviews. Returned travellers were interviewed initially to examine their experiences of return within the wider context of their life-course. At the end of each interview, travellers were asked to identify people who had significantly influenced their repatriation experience.

In-depth, semi-structured interviews were used to uncover insights into these significant others' perspectives of the travel and return phenomenon. The objective of these interviews was not to corroborate the traveller's story (Handmaker et al., 1999), but to find new ways of understanding the repatriation experience. Up to four significant others were independently interviewed for each returnee. Key themes focused on what it had been like for significant others to have the traveller return back into their life, whether the significant others had noticed any changes in the traveller and what they thought about these changes.

The travellers who contributed to this study were all New Zealanders of varying ethnicities, who had lived and worked abroad for between nine months and five years, had therefore made a life for themselves overseas, but had also always intended to return to their country of origin at some stage. Travellers ranged in age between 26 and 69 years of age, with the median age being 31, all had siblings, and comprised a mixture of single, married without children, and divorced with children. A parameter was set in the study to capture the immediacy of the repatriation experience, therefore, all travellers had been back for nine months or less.

Nineteen people were identified by the travellers as being 'significant' in their experiences of return, or in their wider life, and were thus interviewed for this research. Eleven of these 'significant others' were friends of the traveller, two were spouses, four were parents and two were siblings. Five significant others had known the traveller for his/her whole life. The shortest relationship between a significant other and traveller was 2.5 years, with the average relationship being 18.5 years. Significant others ranged from 21 to 73 years of age, with the median age being 43. Eight significant others had been overseas for six months or more and had lived and worked abroad, seven had been overseas on short-term trips and four had never travelled abroad.

This study was informed by philosophical hermeneutics to illustrate the nature of understanding and interpretation between travellers and their significant others. Alternative philosophies could have been applied to the research design, including critical theory to discuss notions such as power and agency. However, while such considerations are incorporated within the discussion of the findings, they did not form the philosophical basis of the research methodology and are therefore touched upon rather than examined in depth. Moreover, respondents were interviewed individually, meaning a fuller relational analysis of interacting participants' power structures was not possible. Rather, this study sought each respondent's perspective, without interruption of a dominating other, to gain a fuller and more personal interpretation of the interpersonal relationship.

Shaping identity: Interpersonal misunderstandings in return travel

Compelling discrepancies in the value of the travel experience arose in conversations with travellers compared with their significant others who had not lived and worked abroad themselves. From the travellers' perspective, the travel experience was valued very highly, as travellers reflected on the opportunities for personal growth and new horizons that travel offered. Some stated that "everyone should travel", while others noted that "looking back on *travel* stuff makes you feel quite different from other stuff that you have achieved in life." Travellers noted that their new frames of reference challenged formerly held worldviews, for example, "You go from thinking that you have to have this path and you have to do it, to there are just so many opportunities and things can happen and you can go in any which way." Travellers also mentioned seeing things from a different perspective as a result of the travel experience, which resulted in reflections on culture, societal norms and expectations.

This perspective of valuing travel experiences so highly builds on Conradson and Latham's (2007) work examining the affective nature of cosmopolitan life for antipodeans, who develop a new sense of selfhood by living in London. However, while Conradson and Latham's study indicates that a reappraisal of their own culture did not lead traveller's to disenchantment with 'home' but rather a "renewed appreciation of their place(s) of origin" (Conradson and Latham, 2007, p.250), the present study belies this view as returned travellers explicitly criticised their originating society. In the context of the above quotes suggesting new frames of reference from travel, their experiences in the foreign country led travellers to develop unrealistic expectations of their originating society, which they saw primarily as being frustratingly sedentary and parochial, for example:

You come back to New Zealand and we really are like sheep. We all do tend to follow the crowd. We have very fixed ideas, like getting married and having 2.5

children and a mortgage. But I think there is a lot more to life than settling down so young.

Such observations may not be limited to the New Zealand way of life, but rather may reflect the discrepancy between their identity constructions and assumptions of being cosmopolitan or local. Indeed, the more cosmopolitan nature of the returnee's life while abroad potentially challenges traditional academic assumptions of the life-cycle. Levinson's work for example, implies a metaphorical underlying order; namely, that everyone goes through the same basic sequence of life, albeit with qualitatively different phases (Levinson, 1986; Levinson, 1996; Levinson et al., 1978). Certainly, tensions arose in the present study between mobile travellers and their more geographically stable, or sedentary significant others.

Travellers also mentioned an increased confidence as a result of the travel experience, for example, "You always have it in you. If you have gone traveling, you always have that feeling, 'I can do bigger and better things if I want to because I am capable of doing it, as I have done it before'." Such findings are similar to other studies reporting personal growth through travel, whereby exposure to new environments and relationships reportedly fosters a broader, more global outlook, intercultural sensitivity, increased confidence and independence and greater self awareness (for example, Inkson et al., 1999; Noy, 2004; Wearing, 2001).

Yet, this personal growth was rarely acknowledged by travellers' significant others. For example, the following contrasting perspectives of a returned traveller and his best friend illustrate the way two people can hold distinctly different views regarding one individual. In this example, the returned traveller reflects on the personal growth that has occurred through his travel experience, and in contrast, the traveller's best friend assumes he has returned with the same prejudices and worldviews that he left with. In both accounts, indications of racial prejudice are evident, but the traveller does feel that he has changed through exposure to an intercultural relationship, whereas the significant other does not see this change:

Traveller: I think the experience has made me a lot more open-minded. I think if I see someone who is a bit different, and if they came up and spoke to me, I would talk to them. Probably before, I wouldn't have given them the time of the day, because they weren't really the kind of person who I would usually associate with in New Zealand... When I was in the U.K, I worked with a Nigerian guy and he was so black. I had seen black people like that on T.V., but not in New Zealand. We ended up becoming really good mates, and I said to him, 'If I saw you in New Zealand I would probably hop on the next carriage'. And he was like 'Why's that'? And I said 'Because we just don't get people like you in New Zealand.' *Laughing* And he just thought it was so funny. And what I found really weird was that, here he was being this Nigerian, and he had this booming English accent, and I thought

laughing ‘That’s not right.’ So now I think if a Nigerian person came up and started talking to me, I would just talk to them like they were just another person.

Significant Other: He hasn’t changed towards people from other cultures in my perception, he has just stayed the same. I think you stick with your own kind, but then you can have people from the other cultures that look the same as you. It’s not like we have got women in burka living next door to us that are Islamic and all that. And the people that are from India over here, they are westernised, they are just like us. And I am sure if we did have burka people around here, we would both be taking the piss. *Laughs...* We sit at the beach and comment on what people are wearing and who’s ugly, we are actually quite horrible together. But it’s an easy way to kill a few hours... No, I don’t think he has changed.

These differing perspectives regarding the traveller’s racial prejudices illustrate the extent of identity constructions that can occur as assumptions are made regarding the other’s worldview. The traveller did admit through questioning that he was like this friend prior to his sojourn, but was adamant that he had changed as a result of his travel experience. Interestingly, although the traveller felt he had changed, his friend had commented that he still spoke ‘horribly’ with his friend about people who were different and had not developed any culturally diverse friendships since his return. Thus, questions arise regarding the relationship between self and significant other. The returnees would place emphasis on their ‘radically’ changed identity and outlook not only from their friends who had not travelled but from their post travelled self.

On their return, travellers compared their new perspectives, experiences and values with those of their significant others who had not lived and worked abroad. This led them to be quite disparaging of the significant others. For example, one traveller reflected on the life choices he had made compared to his friends and commented: “I look at some of my friends and I think, ‘You are so old! *Laughing*. But you are only 28!’ *Laughing*. It just drives me insane.” The alignment with a more cosmopolitan identity here for this traveller was reflected as frustration with his friends did not concur with his new found self perceived identity, perspectives and values (Bhatia, 2001). Another traveller reflected on this and realised that she had changed, in her perception “for the better”, while her friends had remained primarily ‘stagnant’.

This, incorporation of “social actors draw[ing] on cultural materials available to them ... to create new identities” (Castells, 1997, p.8) and constantly legitimatising these new identity perspectives occurred frequently in the study as differing interests and values became apparent, for example:

We had some friends come over and all they wanted to talk about was their new coffee table, because they’d paid three thousand dollars for it. It was like, ‘Sorry we don’t understand you’.

I always say to my friends, ‘Go and travel’ and if any of the good deals come up, I email it to them. But they are like, ‘We are going to a concert’ or ‘We went out and spent \$200 on alcohol’. Whereas, I get back from one trip and I am planning my next trip.

In the first case, the friends with the coffee table assume that the returned traveller will share their materialistic values, whereas the returned traveller is “frustrated” by such values. In the second case, the traveller mistakenly assumes his friends will share his interest in cheap flights. In both cases, misunderstanding occurs as one party makes inaccurate assumptions regarding the interests of the other, and continues the ‘conversation’ oblivious to the dialogical discrepancy that arises.

In contrast to the travellers' perspectives, significant others who had not lived and worked abroad themselves indicated little desire in pursuing a travelling lifestyle, for example, “It doesn't excite me at all to go over there and do that”, “I would rather just stay at home” and “I'm comfortable without travel, I never feel like there's any gap in my knowledge or experience of things.” Some significant others were interested in travel, but lacked the motivation or resources to undertake a trip, for example, “I would like to go and see the world, but I don't love it enough to actually save money and go and do it, so I'd much rather just be here hanging out doing my own thing.” Many of these untravelled significant others were equally disparaging of the life choices the traveller had made. While the traveller valued highly their travel experience, these significant others held little appreciation for travel, for example:

Travelling is not the be all and end all, you're not a more intelligent person, you've just experienced more geographical locations... I don't feel any less intelligent or less academic because I haven't travelled.

Questions arise here regarding the differing identity constructions and legitimization between the returnee and significant others. For the returnees they felt the significant others had reduced their perceived changes to merely travel experiences to geographic locations. While the returnees felt that the emotive, cultural and personal growth aspects of their travel was not understood or acknowledged. This aptly illustrates the two identity constructions regarding the travel experience. These differing values and worldviews illustrate the tensions that can emerge in interpersonal relations within the context of travel and return. Such tensions could be exacerbated as neither could bridge the identity that they had constructed and legitimated for themselves. The travellers' high value placed on the overseas experience and environment abroad could be quite insulting and challenging for some significant others, for example:

Initially it was like, 'Oh over in London and when I was in London' and it was kind of like, 'Oh whatever, but you're not in London, if it was that good, why don't you just go back?'

These perspectives illustrate that while the traveller may have been frustrated with significant others' perceived sedentarism, these others were equally frustrated by the traveller's constant referencing of the other. Thus, the interpersonal relationship could be threatened by travellers' perceived criticisms and difficulty in engaging with the identity of home. Significant others took personally the differences in value systems and challenges to their own social capital (Pullen and Linstead, 2005). While in these cases, coercive behaviour and direct interpersonal conflict were not evident, negative affect was felt by some significant others, leading them to defend their own identity (Andersson and Pearson, 1999), for example:

They actually belittle the place that you're at. They come back and they don't want to be here, they want to be away again and it makes you feel pretty crappy about where you are, and the fact that you've chosen to stay here. And it's just like, 'Well piss off then.' If you don't want to be here and you obviously don't value what's here, including me, then just leave.

Direct conflict was rarely evident in the relationships examined in this study. Rather, the impact of these discrepancies in values, worldviews and experiences caused distancing or silencing within some interpersonal relationships, as travellers were more drawn to 'like-minded' people they felt understood them through the shared experience of travel. Travellers noted that with untravelled friends they "don't feel like we understand each other like we did before I left", "I don't feel the same bond" and "it's just it's not the friendship it was", whereas they "definitely feel more of a connection with friends that have travelled" as "we've all been away and we've just come back, and suddenly, we've got that common bond". Thus, significant others who challenged the traveller's personal identity were less attractive than those who reinforced the traveller's new self-view. As Banaji and Prentice (1994) note, "people tend to choose interaction partners who see them as they see themselves" (p.302). The following perspectives illustrate this distancing in relationships as a result of disparate worldviews:

I found it quite interesting to see the friends of mine who haven't gone and travelled. They are just kind of like 'Oh, you're back', and they don't seem to really ask a lot. And then my friends that have gone overseas and travelled were very interested in what my experiences were like and I have probably found since being home, that I'm more drawn to that group of friends than my friends who haven't been away.

As travellers recognised these discrepancies in values and worldviews, they often questioned their identity and their way of being in the context of their wider life course.

It's weird, unsettling really, because so many people around me are settling down and you do feel a little bit like the odd one out. It's like, everyone's buying houses and really putting down their roots and I'm thinking, 'Will I stay here longer than a year'?... Maybe I'm just not the kind of person that's going to settle down easily. I guess I've got to get a few more things out of my system before I can really make that decision.

On the other hand, many significant others assigned the tensions of the traveller's life choices to geographical conditions of return, rather than to the deeper personal negotiation of multiple selves, for example:

She likes Auckland but she misses London a lot. She likes the activities in London but everyone has their ups and downs. Here it's quiet and tranquil but there's nothing happening. She misses the London nightlife and has mixed feelings.

Thus, if the significant others had not experienced the transitional nature of return from travel, they may have struggled to understand the multiple selves with which the traveller was grappling.

As a result of the challenge of identities, silencing can also occur as travellers “don’t express opinions” to untravelled friends, “lost contact with distant friends” who are “ignorant”, or “bite [their] tongue” with some people and “step back” from others. Particularly as they realised that the differing perspectives were not worth challenging, travellers fell silent regarding their differing worldviews, for example:

I probably wouldn't say much to be honest, unless I feel something strongly about it. What is the point of having confrontation about something that isn't hugely important at the end of the day. You know, they're just closed minded really. It's like banging your head against a brick wall.

This silencing may reflect the power struggle that eventuates between travellers and significant others as they renegotiate their identities within the context of these interpersonal relationship. In many cases, both parties refrained from expressing their perspectives to the other party, in order to avoid conflict, which is reportedly one of the least developmentally complex ways friends deal with dialogical discrepancies (Weinstock and Bond, 2000). However, this silencing meant that in many cases, travellers' significant others were simply unaware of the changes that had occurred, highlighting the need for constructive dialogue as a precedent to understanding (Schwandt, 2003).

Importantly, both travellers and their significant others failed to anticipate the relational negotiations that would have to take place on the return from travel. As Sussman (2002) notes, “the unexpected nature of repatriation difficulties appears to exacerbate re-entry outcomes” (p.392). Indeed, the transitional nature of return was unexpected by both travellers and significant others, further impacting on their interpersonal misunderstanding. For example, travellers anticipated and planned for logistical issues that would arise, rather than emotional issues regarding interpersonal relationships:

It's definitely interesting when you come home because you have to think, 'What next'? You don't really have a plan, I mean, I had a plan a little bit about getting a job and all of those types of things. But the whole feelings around family and friends and that kind of thing, you don't really plan for that, and how that is going to work.

By comparison, significant others tended to misremember aspects of the traveller's personality, which exacerbated the interpersonal misunderstanding, for example:

Its funny, when someone is over the other side of the world, you miss them more, because you miss the good things and you only communicate about the good things and say, 'I wish you were hear to see this'. But you never say, 'Oh I don't wish you are here, because I just know you would explode'. Those things just don't become apparent until they get back and then it's a bit of a shock. Maybe I should have been more prepared for that sort of thing, it's like I had forgotten what she can actually be like.

The physical distance through travel, despite the sense of co-presence achieved through media and communication technologies, indeed seems to impact on interpersonal relationships (Urry, 2002), although a more longitudinal study would be needed to examine the extent of such an impact.

Interestingly, within the immediacy of return, travellers rarely explicitly acknowledged the influence of significant others in shaping their sense of self. Returnees were reportedly liberated from the influences of pre-sojourn significant others and were able to develop new worldviews and negotiate a new way of being through this independence from significant others. They were potentially used to constructing their own social reality during the extended hedonistic and self-directed sojourn. Although they reportedly faced external influences of relationships with significant others and wider social assumptions on their return, few returnees actually acknowledged any influence of pre-sojourn significant others on the creation of their post-sojourn self, despite academic literature purporting a significant influence of others on the shaping of self (Andersen and Chen, 2002; Hermans, 2001; Andersen and Baum, 1994; Andersen and Cole, 1990). Hence, questions arise as to the extent to which relationships may lose their significance in the context of travel and return. Perhaps in the longer term, significant others may have an effect on returnee's outlook; however, within the immediacy of return, for these respondents, the influence of significant others on the shaping of self seemed to be elusive and unnoticed.

CONCLUSION

Tourism does not occur in isolation. Rather, the wider lifecourse of the individual traveller, including relationships with significant others, impacts on the travel and return experiences. In researching these interpersonal relationships a number of considerations emerge. Firstly, the unique and deeply personal nature of each relationship highlights the diversity and complexity of situated research, as the personal historicity of each respondent is considered. For example, in the present study, where one traveller returned to "reengage" with her family only to find that encounters often ended in "bickering", another traveller appreciated the support of her family as paramount to her wellbeing. Equally, the depth and importance of friendships differed among respondents, especially if traumatic life circumstances arose. Thus, scholars purporting interpersonal relationship theory may consider the wider implications of the life of each interacting party, to add context in understanding the interactional encounter.

Secondly, the relationship between the researcher and respondents may be ethically challenged by the respondents' relationships with each other in interpersonal research. Respondents in the present study discussed other respondents with the researcher, sometimes in a negative manner, so that the researcher sometimes felt 'caught in the middle'. As the researcher was the only party cognizant to the perspectives of both travellers and significant others, she had to remain vigilant in her contribution to interview conversations, being careful not to implicate either significant others or travellers in discussions pertaining to specific interpersonal relations. As the researcher's role was to illicit deeply personal perspectives rather than to counsel respondents on their interpersonal relationships, active listening techniques were applied to overcome this predicament (Brownell, 1986). Moreover, in some cases, respondents asked what others had said of them; however, the

researcher's ethics, supported by the confidentiality clause in the information sheet, precluded sharing of specific perspectives.

The present study focused on the interpersonal relationships of travellers with their significant others. To move this research forward, scholars may not only examine what impact the travel experience has on relationships, but also how relationships shape the travel experience. Future studies may further examine who is significant to the traveller's shaping of self, including not only relationships with hosts (di Domenico and Lynch, 2007; McIntosh et al., 2007; Tucker and Lynch, 2004), but also relationships with other travellers. What is the nature of these relationships with others? How do they influence the traveller's being? Are relationships maintained when the traveller returns, and how? What impact do during-sojourn relationships have on pre- and post-sojourn relationships and vice versa? More specifically, a noticeable lack of interpersonal theory is evident within visiting friends and relatives (VFR) literature, despite the obvious interpersonal nature of this type of travel.

Thus, despite the interpersonal nature of the travel experience, very little travel and tourism research examines the co-constructed identity formation within personal relationships. Perhaps similar identity challenges occur following shorter term travel experiences, as the traveller's perceived mobile mindset impacts on significant other's own self-concepts. Perhaps the nature of the place visited (culturally familiar / unfamiliar, relatively rich / poor) impacts on interpersonal perceptions as the traveller's frame of reference changes. Certainly, given the interpersonal nature of travel, this paper makes the critical suggestion that a social, and in particular an identity lens contributes a new and important dimension to tourism scholarship.

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'Young New Zealanders Visiting Gallipoli: Partygoers, and Pacifism?'

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'Yep, war's a bitch!'

In the Antipodes ANZAC Day¹²⁵ has been an annual commemoration since 1916, to honour the soldiers who died in war. The battlefield at Gallipoli in Northern Turkey has particular resonance. There, thousands of Antipodeans died through disastrous leadership by the British.¹²⁶

'Yep, war's a bitch. There's a lot of unthinking adulation and talk of 'heroism' on ANZAC Day. For me, war is too obscene for misty-eyed odes. ANZAC Day does nothing to catch the wild-eyed terror of being attacked, the smell of shit as your mates loses his bowels as he dies, and the dehumanizing rage that makes you bayonet the enemy (himself, a man) again and again and again.'¹²⁷

'Days like ANZAC Day serve to remind us how truly horrible war is'.¹²⁸

'We visited The Nek, where the final scene of the movie Gallipoli is set...'¹²⁹

Blog by Jason. (Jason, this was the actual battle site).

These are blogs by tourists¹³⁰ to those war sites at Gallipoli. I was seeking blog evidence of touristic experiences that inspired a summons for global peace. Were the bloggers roused to 'a new level of consciousness, to reach a higher moral ground' (Ateljevic, Morgan and Pritchard, 2007;3)¹³¹? Or are the distances between the current stories and history, between representation and reality, too vast to make the touristic experience much more than entertainment?

Resilient history, enduring heritage

¹²⁵ As one blogger noted, 'ANZAC is a *catchy acronym* that stands for Australian and New Zealand Army Corps.' www.janep.org/category/day-to-day/page/4/-47k

¹²⁶ This has been well documented by numerous historians, including detailed accounts in *Gallipoli : The New Zealand Story* by C. Pugsley; New Zealand, Reed, 1998; and *An Anzac's Story* by R. Kyle, Australia, Penguin, 2004.

¹²⁷ blogs.brisbanetimes.com.au/bluntinstrument/archives/2008/04/the_smell_of_th.html

¹²⁸ blogs.brisbanetimes.com.au/bluntinstrument/archives/2008/04/the_smell_of_th.html

¹²⁹ realtravel.com/e-205748-gallipoli_entry-anzac_day_the_dawn_service - 63k -

¹³⁰ Most bloggers do not state their ages. However accompanying photographs and the style of commentary indicate that most blogs I have used here are by young adults on their O.E.

¹³¹ These authors were quoting a speech by Wangari Maathai, 2004 Nobel Peace Prize winner.

'Frikken military propaganda... it shits me big time.. absolute muddaferkers commemorating the spoils and horrors of war... shame on the lot of ya, it is nothing to celebrate or be proud of.'¹³²

Gallipoli is powerful in collective memory and nationalist history; it links the present, even prosaic, activities of tourism, with the glorified past. My focus is Gallipoli's attraction to young New Zealand tourists, and whether their experiences as visitors might impel antiwar commentaries on their blogs. Gallipoli is a place for 'international secular pilgrimage' – to a site of national importance, but located outside of the nation itself (Bell, 2002). At Gallipoli patriotic emotions are deeply stirred.

'The trip has become something of a pilgrimage for the Antipodean 20-somethings and by all accounts a bloody good time was had by all.'¹³³

Must go!

Gallipoli is listed on the must-do side trips for young New Zealanders in Britain.¹³⁴ Gallipoli has a long-established connection with home; indeed, almost a little piece of home, in that 'corner of a foreign field' kind of way. As Meuller writes, 'The ANZACs got no further (up the cliff face at Ari Burnu) than they had on the first day, but they dug themselves immovably into the cherished memories of three nations: Australia, New Zealand, and Turkey...' (Meuller, 1998; xxx). This site features strongly in the nationalist mythologies of Australia and New Zealand.

As exotic as Turkey may seem to New Zealanders, the very name ANZAC Cove – landing site of the Antipodean soldiers in 1915 - provides specific association. Local ANZAC and Southern Cross hostels, ANZAC bars, and ANZAC grocery shops are further connections. In ANZAC hostel lounges, on the evening before the battle site visit, gathered tourists watch the Australian movie *Gallipoli*.¹³⁵ If they have scant knowledge of the actual history, the movie will certainly suffice. As Meuller explains, 'what 'Gallipoli' the film does depict accurately is Gallipoli the popular legend' (Meuller, 1998; 2).

Visiting Gallipoli is an occasion in which to participate with fellow nationals. Holiday-makers may not be overtly patriotic while at home, but when away, nationalistic symbols seem to provoke greater emotions. The pilgrims move into a space or state of heightened spiritual awareness, uniting those present in a common purpose. This, Scates suggests, 'points to positive unintended

¹³²blogs.brisbanetimes.com.au/bluntinstrument/archives/2008/04/the_smell_of_th.htm

¹³³www.masey.com.au/tag/travel/

¹³⁴The 'O.E.' ('overseas experience') is a long established cultural practice of young New Zealand adults, visiting their ancestral homeland as a prolonged working holiday. See Bell, C. (2002) 'The Big OE: Young New Zealand Travelers as Secular Pilgrims.' *Tourist Studies* Vol 2 No 2 Sage U.K. Pp 143-158. See also J. Wilson's PhD thesis *Unpacking the O.E.: an exploration of the New Zealand Overseas Experience*. New Zealand, Lincoln University, 2006.

¹³⁵*Gallipoli*, Australian Film, 1981, directed by Peter Weir, starring Mel Gibson. It is about young men from rural Australia, sent to Turkey in WW1. The climax takes place on the battlefield at Gallipoli, ending with the futile, savage attack at The Nek.

consequences of postmodernity and the resilience of modern forms of identity in a global world' (Scates, 2006;14).

A gathering of the expat diaspora is also an opportunity to party.¹³⁶ There are no other sites where so many young kiwis and Australians gather annually on a particular date, outside of their home countries.

'It's a party day. There's a lot of beer drinking, to remember the beer drinking of the soldiers, I like to think.'¹³⁷

The youthful tourists have no memory of WW1, or of the soldiers who fought. Even if they never attended an ANZAC service, they grew up with ANZAC Day a holiday, people wearing red poppies,¹³⁸ and seeing those parades on television.

Attending ANZAC Day at Gallipoli is now on the inventory of things to do while on OE - along with the running of the bulls at Pamplona, or attending the German Oktoberfest.

Blogs:

From Anzac day in Gallipoli, through drinking in Belfast, climbing in France, backpacking in Northern and Eastern Europe, travelling and hiking in Peru, skiing and working in Canada.... All the funny, happy, sad, crazy and sometimes downright weird – It's all there to be had and I'm going to try my best to find it.¹³⁹

Wakelpa's life list (things he's just gotta do!):

- Visit Gallipoli on Anzac Day
- Do Stand-up Comedy in front of an audience
- Do New Year's Eve in Times Square
- Visit my friend in Kentucky.¹⁴⁰

Scates explains that 'Gallipoli was another experience, another adventure. The Dawn Service was really only a small part of it. Aside from the ceremony on 25th April, package tours offer a visit to Troy, a boat cruise along the coast and plenty of free time in the bars of Cannakale. Tour operators invite the young to join the Anzac experience then wind down back in Istanbul where the fleshpots of Turkish baths and belly dancers eagerly await them' (Scates, 2006;8).

¹³⁶ Numerous travel websites advertising tours to this site offer partying as part of the package.

¹³⁷ stuartwright.wordpress.com/2007/04/¹³⁷

¹³⁸ In New Zealand red poppies are purchased from RSA (Returned Services Association) street vendors on ANZAC day. In Australia they are worn on Armistice Day, November 11th.

¹³⁹ <http://www.travelpod.com/travel-blog/tommy/world-adventure/tpod.html>

¹⁴⁰ <http://www.43things.com/persomn/wakelpa>

The ceremonies at the site are arranged co-operatively by the governments of New Zealand, Australia and Turkey. In 2008 an estimated 18,000 people attended. Many camp overnight, temperatures 3°, waiting for the dawn service. At this event, there are more Australians and Kiwis on that beach than there were in 1915.

One Australian who attended the service in 1998 observed, 'I still don't know what any of us are doing here now. Sometimes, as I wander over the overgrown trenches and across the immaculate graveyards, I think, on the whole, that the veneration of Gallipoli is a good thing, that the demonstrated sense of history and the concurrent lack of any kind of nationalistic bitterness is admirable. Then I notice that the Australians represented here are not the Australians I recognize: there is barely a trace, among the pilgrims, of Asian, or Mediterranean, or Baltic, of Middle Eastern ancestry. And I wonder if there isn't somewhere at the depth of the Gallipoli myth, which inspires more and more people to come here each year- something unhealthy, reactionary and frightened' (Meuller, 1998;5).

Blogs: so you want the world to read your diary?

The rapid uptake of blogging has been an unprecedented personal, active relationship between humans and technology (Barlow, 2008; x). Blogs provide a venue to create and maintain standing and identity, for the surveillance of both familiars and strangers. Nevertheless, any form of diary-keeping is a minority habit. Blogs are used as research documents cautiously; the behavior and attitudes of diary and blog writers cannot be proven to be either typical or unusual (Alaszewski, 2006;117).

The blogs replicated here are from online personal travel journals: 'an amalgam between a diary, a web site and an online community' (Jones and Alony, 2008; 438). 'Blogs may certainly look like dairies and personal journals' but a significant difference is their addresses to the reader. (Readers include) people in the bloggers own known social network, and the larger blogosphere of unknown readers' (Nardi, Schiano and Gumbrecht, 2004; 223). By personalizing content, blogs go beyond an informative role and provide a platform for ... the expression of personal identity. With no (internet) access hurdles...bloggers can present their ideas as they wish' (Bruns and Jacobs, 2006;4-5). Barlow's research shows that the imagined expansionism of bloggers 'is little more than a new way to talk to the same type of people they would be talking to anyway' (*ibid*, 2008; xi).

About every six months, blog numbers double. There are now hundreds of millions of blogs. For qualitative researchers, blogs provide convenient primary data, without need for synchronization between the researcher and the subjects. Purportedly factual material cannot be relied on; the public nature of this story-telling makes its content selective (true also in face-to-face interviews). However for the researcher requiring individual unsolicited personal accounts, blogs are something of a goldmine.

Numerous blogs describe visits to Gallipoli, particularly on ANZAC Day. The temporary sense of almost-euphoric nationalistic togetherness matches Billig's concept, banal nationalism (Billig, 1995).

'Tears were almost obligatory...',¹⁴¹

'There does seem to be something in people that requires ritual, doesn't there? Something in our would that makes us create and cling to ceremony? Could this very simple human need explain ANZAC Day's resurgence of the past ten years?'¹⁴²

For the blog writers, anything even vaguely sacred about Gallipoli is expressed in curious juxtapositions: remembrance and entertainment; profound grief and celebratory fun; commemoration and holiday; sacred ceremony and a party. After the service one blogger reported

'catching up with friends from London on other tours that I bumped into while there, signing the visitors' registry, and generally soaking in the sun in an attempt to lessen my London 'moon tan.' He also bought an ANZAC Day T shirt.

(ANZAC Day at Gallipoli) 'reminds me a bit of Diana-hysteria in 1997. You felt like a major social transgressor if you didn't throw your own... offerings on the communal heap of rotting flowers...' It does point, though, to the need to be part of something big and symbolic, whether it's a nation, a footie team, or 'tradition'.¹⁴³

Changing attitudes

The post-World War 11 generation barely honoured ANZAC Day. Historian Philips explains that there was resistance to 'anything that elevated the importance of war to the New Zealand identity. We wanted no nukes and to establish our country's identity in Pacifist terms... (but) as people read soldiers' diaries and looked at the human costs of war rather than seeing an interest in war as meaning that you are pro war, attitudes changed. People went to the services (to) honour soldiers who'd gone through awful and horrific experiences... the worst experiences that Pakeha New Zealanders have ever gone through... When they came back there was an extraordinary amnesia, a real repression about what the reality of war was like in human terms... The returning soldiers could not openly discuss powerful emotions' (Barry, 2007;22).

Maybe, as that generation has died, more of the tucked-away diaries and letters have been found, opened, read, and generally made available as important social documents? Perhaps more of these stories have become known? That greater information, alongside the accessibility of travel, must have contributed to the growing interest in Gallipoli.

¹⁴¹ [Blogs/nzherald.co.nz/blog/escpaism/2008/6/26/emotional-jounrey-gallipoli](http://blogs.nzherald.co.nz/blog/escpaism/2008/6/26/emotional-jounrey-gallipoli)

¹⁴² inastrangeland.wordpress.com/2008/04/24/anzac-day-atheist

¹⁴³ inastrangeland.wordpress.com/2008/04/24/anzac-day-atheist/

Conclusion: 'Peace rocks!' (blog)

Is ANZAC Day tourism at Gallipoli akin to a theme park experience? Actual historic events are safely sanitized by time and distance. One can explore trenches, look at named battle sites: it's like visiting a commercial entertainment venue. That familiar mythology is transposed to activity, the passivity of merely *looking* ameliorated. As Lennon and Foley point out, the past has become the province of tourism as much as history (Lennon, 2000;162).

'A confrontation with one's own emotions may transform the very structures of thinking,' writes Askjellerud, perhaps over-optimistically (2006; 9). One observer described the ANZAC tourism experience as a 'blubfest', a 'sobfest'¹⁴⁴. Hundreds of blogs present momentary 'shock horror' responses to historical events at Gallipoli. Many bloggers referred to their own raised consciousnesses about the futility of war. As Kelly reminds us, 'it is difficult to find anyone who is opposed to peace' (Kelly, 2006;3). But I did not find blogs in which the writer expressed any developed sense of Pacifism, as a consequence of their touristic experience. Perhaps blogs are not the site for such pronouncements?

I suggest that tourism itself is a conservative activity. It is not one that fosters radical activism. Traditional tourism has no solid history of equating *seeing* with *thinking, politicizing or taking action*.¹⁴⁵ The tourist experience at Gallipoli, like anywhere else, is ephemeral: just a glimpse or gaze. Touristic practices encourage tourists to be rapid, passive consumers, not active cultural critics. The inherently conventional character of tourism itself could be a fertile focal point for the liberal scholars at the Academy of Hope.

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¹⁴⁴ Personal communication, Auckland, March 2009.

¹⁴⁵ Some recent advances on this include opportunities for volunteerism through tourism. However, this may not be the most effective way to deliver aid, and might also be 'fraught with potential inequalities and challenges,' as explained by K.D. Lyon and S. Wearing in *Journey of Discovery in Voluntary Tourism*, 2008; U.S.A; CABI.

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'Humanising 'contact zones' - The 'faces' and stories of cross-cultural dialogue'

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Abstract

We live in a radically 'cosmopolitanised' world, facing a plethora of mostly unwanted or unforeseen cross-cultural encounters as side effects of global trade and global threats (Beck, 2006). The potentially positive role of both cultural tourism and museums in this context has been widely recognised and theorised. But what does cross-cultural dialogue *mean* for the person experiencing it, and how is it negotiated within time and space? Drawing on a long-term narrative study of global visitors to the Museum of New Zealand Te Papa Tongarewa (Te Papa), I explore cross-cultural meanings empirically through a hermeneutic interpretation embedded in Beck's 'cosmopolitan critical theory'. The evidence presented in this research suggests that the individual is the point of departure from which cross-cultural dialogue is humanised by giving it 'faces' and stories. I argue that the impact of any travel experience is best understood via the meanings tourists make and negotiate in the long-term.

Introduction

Global phenomena such as trade and threats have shaped the inevitable 'cosmopolitan outlook' of the 21st century (Beck, 2006). 'Cross-cultural dialogue' has been politically conceptualised and intellectually scrutinised in this context and both cultural tourism and museums are claimed to play a central role. But what does cross-cultural dialogue *mean* for the individual experiencing it, and how is it negotiated within time and space?

'Museums' and 'tourism' are both relatively new and burgeoning objects of academic analysis. Their interconnectedness and mutual dependence has been recognised and extensively theorised. Although both fields are constantly diversifying due to their appropriation of a myriad of related disciplines, research tends to operate in discursive cycles producing such totalities as *the museum*, *the culture*, *the state* or *the tourist*. Laclau (2005: 71) warns against the definition and use of any such reductionist category, which he calls an 'empty signifier' with 'its own particularity embodying an unachievable fullness.'

Another prevalent facet both fields have in common is the dichotomy between 'production' and 'consumption'. Kratz and Karp (2006: 19) readily admit in their latest seminal volume that 'more analytical emphasis is devoted to production than to consumption' and highlight that this limitation is shared by most other literature in museum studies. Likewise with tourism studies, Ateljevic (2000) proposes to move beyond a binary opposition towards the 'circuits of tourism'. Nevertheless, the economically determined terminology of 'production' and 'consumption' inevitably renders the 'most ineffable of cultural phenomenon - experience' (Healy and Witcomb, 2006: 1.4) as purely economic and thus forecloses a more nuanced understanding.

It would be naive to deny the centrality of economic processes in contemporary life in general and in museums and tourism in particular. However, the problem starts when we translate ‘‘the economy’’ into a self-defined homogenous instance operating as the ground of society...a single, self-defining mechanism’, as Laclau (2005: 237) argues. Laclau (2005: 230) stresses the need to understand capitalism as an essentially heterogeneous ‘complex’ rather than a ‘self-enclosed totality’. In line with this convincing argument he equally refuses to understand ‘discourse’ as a totalizing concept restricted to linguistic expressions, but rather as ‘any complex of elements in which *relations* play the constitutive role’ (Laclau, 2005: 68). To overcome these reductionist tendencies in social analysis, Laclau (2005) splits the ‘group’ as a social unit into *demands*, which in his view are articulated and lead to any group unity.

In a similar vein, Hall (1996: 14) theorizes contemporary notions of the concept of ‘identity’ as the intersection of agency and discourse, concluding that ‘what remains is the requirement to think this relation of subject to discursive formations *as an articulation*.’ These analytical units of *demands* and *articulations* are the point of departure for this study. In the following section I outline the framework for the research which explores theoretical notions *through* an empirical understanding of the individual experience. This enables me to dissect and humanize the totality of ‘cross-cultural dialogue’ by giving it ‘faces’ and stories.

Humanizing ‘contact zones’

The conceptual understanding of museums as ‘contact zones’, initially advocated by Clifford (1997) as places of contentious and collaborative relations and interactions, is the most appropriate starting point for such an endeavor. Unsurprisingly, this conceptual vision has been critiqued as being merely a reconstruction of the reformist agenda and citizenry technology of *the state* (Bennett, 1998). However, in a remarkable shift in thinking, from museums as totalitarian state expressions and powerhouses to ‘differencing machines’, Bennett (2006) himself later admitted that museums might indeed be associated with ‘contact zones’. More contextualised and historicised research shows that a museum indeed can function as a site where a complex web of *demands* and *articulations* is expressed, negotiated and contested (MacDonald, 2002; McCarthy, 2007). It is now my task to further humanize such a ‘contact zone’ and shed light on the *meanings* made by the visitors who are mostly overlooked in studies of both museums and tourism.

Theoretical framework

According to Bruner (1995), there are three fundamentally human frameworks through which people make sense of the world - the intersubjective, the instrumental and the normative. Any individual meaning is thus a human action embedded in a cultural value system as well as the social structure through which such a system is organised and lived. Consequently, Bruner (1995:27-28) argues that the ‘Self is the centre of gravity of all systems of meaning making’ and ‘the intersection of culture and individual identity’. The dissection of this ‘balancing act’ (Bruner, 2002:78) between autonomy and commitment and between agency and discourse is the heart of this critically and theoretically informed empirical study of the human experience.

Habermas' (1987) groundbreaking 'theory of communicative action', which shifted the focus from economic determination to communicative agency within the realm of the social sciences, is also useful in achieving the above proposed synthesis. However, his clear distinction between system and lifeworld and Bruner's monocultural outlook do not sufficiently account for the contingency, fluidity and hybridity of the human experience in the 21st century, which necessitates a further refinement of the theoretical framework for this study.

Latour's (2005) 'actor-network theory' challenges the predominant sociological notion of the social domain or society as a discrete and intangible totality which determines all observable human phenomena through its inherent power structures. Unlike Habermas, Latour refuses any clear distinction and division and argues that contemporary societies, at least in the Western world, are made up of collectives, of actor-networks of human and non-human agents engaged in actions, processes, relations, and associations. Such theoretical understanding facilitates the dissection of supposedly homogenous discourses to the level of the individual. In other words, discourses can only be traced and ultimately opened for scrutiny *through* the agent, *through* whom any discourse is originated, enacted and ultimately changed.

But how do people give *meanings* to their experiences and how can we detect their *demands* and *articulations*? To answer this important question I return to Bruner (1990: 56) who concludes that 'the typical form of framing experience (and our memory of it) is in narrative form'. According to Bruner (1995), narrative combines the three frameworks of meaning-making into a temporally extended story with translocal meanings, leading to the 'narrative creation of self' (Bruner, 2002). This reasoning, like the vast majority of Western academic knowledge production, can rightfully be critiqued for its purely Western focus. However, Maori scholars such as Royal (2004) equally stress the central role of narrative in constructing reality and transmitting meaning, especially in oral cultures.

Methodological approach

The biographical narrative approach therefore represents the most appropriate methodology to understand meaning-making processes among humans. It seeks an understanding of individuals in relation to their socio-cultural environment and thus of society within a socio-political and historical context. Sartre called for an appropriate method to study humans as 'universal singulars' (Denzin, 1989:9) and the literature provides several examples of how the biographical narrative approach can shed light on the particular and universal dimensions of human experiences (Davidson, 2006; Denzin, 1989; Elliott, 2005; Roberts, 2002; Wengraf, 2001).

Semi-structured and in-depth narrative interviews were chosen as the primary method for this study. The main advantage of this method is that it avoids the findings, or knowledge claims, being 'artificialised' (Bruner, 1990) by the researcher's 'system of relevancy' (Wengraf, 2001). Other available methods, even qualitative ones, are organised by the researcher and thus are more likely to lead to consciously constructed and, in the case of a controversial topic, socially desired responses (Davidson, 2006; Elliot, 2005). A narrative description instead leaves it up to the interviewee to

retrospectively construct meanings. Wengraf (2001) proposes a three-stage analytical structure of biographical narrative interviews:

Stage one: the researcher asks a single question to initialise the interview and elicit the interviewee's narrative. It must be made clear that the interviewer will not interrupt or prompt and any intervention must be of non-directional nature.

Stage two: following the narrative-eliciting question in stage one, in stage two 'narrative-pointed questions' will be asked, which are restricted to the topics and themes brought up by the interviewee and the order in which these were raised in stage one. This limited intervention and guidance by the researcher in stage one and two facilitates the 'system of relevancy' of the interviewee to reveal itself.

Stage three: the third and final stage is organised by the researcher's 'system of relevancy' and asks 'narrative-pointed' or non-narrative questions to harmonise the narrative material of the first two stages with the research question.

I conducted narrative interviews with visitors to Te Papa from Australia, Canada and the USA. Follow up interviews will be carried out six months after the original interviews with participants in their respective home environments. This paper discusses the analysis of the initial interviews while the longitudinal design of the research as well as its ongoing nature will be re-emphasised in the conclusion. Clearly the short length of this paper will not enable the argument to be fully developed. It should, however, provide a useful glimpse into an inevitably complex phenomenon.

Bicultural meanings

Surveying Aotearoa New Zealand's bicultural journey in detail is beyond the scope of this paper. It is worth highlighting that in line with the theoretical framework used here, 'biculturalism' has never been a linear, one-dimensional and superimposed ideology by *the state*, but a dynamic, organic and contentious process fuelled by coercion, resistance and negotiation. McCarthy (2007) shows how the remarkable encounter of Māori and Europeans unfolded throughout the colonial cultures of display in museums, ultimately leading to Māori control and ownership of Māori collections and exhibitions. Te Papa is committed to developing as a bicultural organisation based on the partnership principle of the Treaty of Waitangi, signed in 1840 between the British Crown and Māori. The Treaty is widely regarded as the founding document of Aotearoa New Zealand and after decades of negligence it has gained constitution-like status in recent years. Concrete policies and practices such as Mana Taonga and Mātauranga Māori ensure Māori participation and involvement in the museum (Hakiwai, 2006).

The bicultural concept is a heavily contested work in progress. Various scholars have questioned its contemporary socio-cultural (O'Sullivan, 2007; Royal, 2008) and museological relevance (Henare, 2005; Message, 2006; Thomas, 1994). It is my intention, however, to 'withdraw from the objectifications and explanations of historical science and sociology to the artistic, historical and lingual experience which precedes and supports these objectifications' (Ricoeur, 1981: 119). This is what hermeneutics promises, as Ricoeur (1981: 119) argues. It enables us to 'return to the *Lebenswelt*...construed as designating the reservoir of meaning, the surplus of sense in living

experience, which renders the objectifying and explanatory attitude possible.' In other words, the individual experience is the point of departure from which to understand, explain and theorise.

My exploration of the bicultural experience of global visitors to Te Papa through an in-depth analysis of narrative interviews quickly highlighted the 'intrinsic variability of possible meanings and their interpretations' (Bauman, 1978: 230). It further revealed the 'intimate bond between the meaning and the reader's world' (Bauman, 1978: 230). Although we are not dealing with a text as such, it becomes clear that museological representation also 'is a dumb object which only the act of interpretation-by-placement can force to speak', as Bauman (1978: 230) puts it.

But let us turn to some stories which support such a claim. The italicised sections of the quotes represent the empirical evidence for my theoretical conclusions. Here Jack, a Canadian pensioner travelling on a cruise through the Pacific, describes parts of his Te Papa experience:

The other thing that strikes me is of course the - I don't see a predominance - the respect for Māori culture is very evident. You know the space, the design afforded to everything like Waitangi, the presence of Māori *blended, it is a blending* of Māori artefacts with Western art, you know, *the two together*...One has a real sense of a country that sees itself as, I hate the world 'melting pot' because it's so much linked with the United States and I come from a country where it's different cultures living together in harmony. And I sense I shouldn't say the Canadianism of that in this exhibit, but many have come from many different backgrounds but have formed the country together. So in that regard *it felt Canadian* to me I suppose. In fact *it felt very Canadian* in many ways except it was New Zealand and I haven't seen it done that well in Canada at all.

Similar to Jack's *Canadian feel* of Te Papa and its *blending* of Māori and Non-Māori *together*, we see in the story of Charlotte, a New Zealand born Australian, how inextricably linked her background and constructed meanings are:

I think it was just the whole *inclusion of it together*. It's so *different to the Australian perspective*. So if you go to, not that I really go to a lot of Australian museums myself, but if you go and look at displays or tourist and culture things in Australia you have either got the Aboriginal cultural experience or you have got the European cultural experience. There is not really a lot of that cross-cultural stuff... like the Golden Days display they had half a dozen shots of cute little white kids and all that sort of stuff and then there was some Māori cultural shots. So it didn't seem to matter what display you went into there was a part of you know Māori culture in that display. *It wasn't as separate you know.*

Other terms the interviewees used to articulate their bicultural interpretations or meanings, apart from the above 'blending' and 'inclusive', were 'merging', 'interlinked' and 'marriage'. However, in the case of Mike, an Australian student, the perceived lack of such relationship is critiqued within a particular context. This reminds us of Bauman's (1978: 230) claim that 'the fullest understanding one can think of is still context-dependant and context-confined.'

It didn't really, from what I could see *it didn't delve too much into like how much they fought with each other*. I am still quite unsure on that like that first meeting. Like obviously some

tribes would have been friendly towards the Europeans, whether the Europeans were friendly back though!? I am trying to think, whereabouts is there a section that's specifically on that?!

Mike's assessment gives weight to several studies in the literature critiquing Te Papa's partially dichotomous approach to biculturalism separating the various ethnic groups into distinct categories at the expense of their interaction and exchange (Henare, 2005; Message, 2006; Williams, 2003). That the encounter between cultural display and visitor can be affected, limited or even prevented by the latter's interpretive community, the 'reader's world', becomes apparent in the following story of Bruce, an American finance attorney:

When we were sort of booking out our tour around New Zealand, one of the things they did ask us was whether we wanted to do a lot of Māori culture things. Originally our reaction was sort of like *no* because *I think it's based on our experience with native culture in the United States*. That sort of indigenous culture stuff you get in the United States is very contrived and kind of hokey. And there is a little bit of *feel of imperialism* to it that you sort of...*you are looking at this culture not as being immersed in it or really trying to understand it, but you are looking at it as being the outsider* and 'look isn't that cute'. You are not; it makes you *feel bad* about it is the easy way of saying it.

Remarkably, the above interviewee did not relate to any cultural aspect in the initial narrative of his Te Papa visit. It was only after I asked him how he experienced New Zealand's cultures at Te Papa that he started elaborating on this point in a deeper way.

The next section outlines museum practices which help visitors to overcome this *feel of imperialism* entrenched in their own discursive community, by facilitating the movement beyond the 'outsider's' or 'reader's world' towards an 'immersed understanding' of another world. Visitors' stories provide insights into the journey from bicultural meanings to cross-cultural dialogue.

From bicultural meanings to cross-cultural dialogue

Pieterse (1997: 133) argues that self-representation is the 'general guiding principle' that realises the shift from a 'colonial' to a 'cooperative' museology. In Te Papa's case Māori are seen to speak for themselves. The following story emphasizes the impact the perceived self-representation had on Bruce's experience:

One of the cool things was that according to the tour guide it was basically *presented by the Māori* not by, you know, a bunch of white guys saying what we present of the Māori, which *made a lot more tellable and believable* and *didn't have this sort of stench of imperialism* on it. So it made it a lot easier to sort of, because it's, you know, if somebody is telling about themselves rather than somebody telling about somebody else, we call that hear-say in the law. So yeah that was pretty cool. You know I didn't feel like there were a lot of people walking around in hokey costumes and what-not, which was good. It was nice to see what the tribal buildings looked like and, you know, at least some level of what the cultural artefacts kind of piece together to some extent. I guess based on the stories that the Māori put together for you.

Mediated by the tour host, Bruce dares to engage with another world after his initial refusal. He appreciates the self-representation of the Other which helps him overcoming the 'feel of imperialism'. Now he is not looking at the Other but is 'immersed' in dialogue facilitating 'understanding' and erasing the 'bad feeling' of being an 'outsider'. His position is reduced to the natural sense of Self in any inter-human encounter. Bruce continues:

There is some sort of indefinable hokeyness that in my experience tends to find its way or can find its way into presentations of non-dominant cultures or any culture really, I mean a non-present culture I guess is what I am talking about. I didn't get the same idea or the same response here. And I don't know whether that is just because the Māori culture is more alive right now than say the Native American cultures in the United States and still practicing Māori are still involved in it whereas in the United States there is not really, and I may be completely incorrect on this, but the sort of cultural understanding, the conventional wisdom is there is no real Native American culture left, it's more or less been subsumed into the American culture.

It is obvious that the 'reader's world', in this case the indigenous - non-indigenous discourses in the USA, frame Bruce's bicultural meanings. However, far from being automatically determined he engages reflectively and critically with the Self *through* the Other. Strikingly, he departs from the specificity of the situation to assume a wider moral stance. He talks about 'non-present cultures' in general and links their alien representation to the 'hear-say' concept in the law, his own professional field. The multifacetedness of the stories show, in Davidson's (2006: 165) words, how 'narrative, identity and morality are irretrievably intertwined: without one another, they wither and die'.

We have seen in Bruce's story that the tour host made Bruce realise the self-representation of Māori at Te Papa. The important function of human narrative intervention in the form of a guided tour to facilitate cross-cultural translation, dialogue and understanding is further supported by the following story of Michelle, a pensioner from the USA. Here she describes her experience of Te Papa's contemporary Marae (communal meeting place):

My breath was taken away when I first saw it. I thought that was so beautiful. And then *the docent told us an interesting use of it*, that it actually is used when someone really important dies and the body is exhibited in there. I guess it was a director of the museum that died not long ago and his body was placed there as an honour. And I, I just thought that was really a wonderful way to honour the dead, to do it in that manner. So *those stories were very interesting that the docent told us* and, you know, *she also told us all the symbolism* in the actual structure of the ancient buildings.

Neither the 'use' nor the 'symbolism' of the Marae are yet cross-culturally translatable and thus understandable within the exhibition setting. This fact was addressed by incorporating such intangible concepts in tour programmes, especially when dealing with non-New Zealand audiences. It is remarkable that none of the interviewees referred to 'taonga', a treasure with living human links and integral part of Māori identity, when describing Māori objects, but instead used typical terms

associated with their interpretive communities such as 'artefacts' and 'art'. At this point cross-cultural dialogue breaks down.

Michelle continues and shows us by referring to other museum experiences in New Zealand and the USA how a cross-cultural philosophy can be lived to its full potential - through the personalisation and humanisation of culture:

So when we can talk to, you know, *a real person who was part of that culture*, that was very significant to us, because *they weren't performing they were just being themselves*, and being very straightforward and honest about all the things that were really significant in their lives. And you don't get that kind of an opportunity very often...that was really quite memorable and I think it would be nice if they could do that in all museums, if they have a cultural exhibit, if they could have some people there who represented that culture and who would just talk with anyone who wanted to ask questions. But that very seldom happens I think in a museum. The only other way or the only other time I have done it is in Washington DC, there is a brand new museum called the Museum of the American Indian. I was there just after it opened, which was just a few years ago. And there were *American Indian people* who were leading the tours. And so *they really personalised it*, told you about *their own family and their history* as well as what was happening in the museum, and just made it so significantly, you know, more interesting I thought. Because *they weren't just talking about something that they have learned about, they were talking about something they lived*. And I just, you know, felt that was very valuable.

I personally witnessed the most remarkable museum interaction at the Australian Museum when the Aboriginal artist Richard Campbell created contemporary art in the exhibition setting while actively engaging diverse audiences. But despite scholarly attention to embodied experiences (Cameron, 2006; Gregory and Witcomb, 2007), exhibitions mainly communicate in a detached and impersonal mode, failing to give 'faces' to the people involved. They continue to reify culture and difference, Self and Other.

Cross-cultural hermeneutics: the shifting Self

Ricoeur (1992) convincingly argues that otherness is not confined to another person, but instead reveals the various ways of 'oneself as another'. To him, the 'great kinds' of Self and Other are 'enjoined'. Combining Ricoeur's argument informed by phenomenological hermeneutics with Bruner's (1995:28) notion of the 'Self' as 'the intersection of culture and individual identity', we are able to establish a cross-cultural hermeneutics. In other words, cross-cultural dialogue is the ontological endeavour of what I call the *shifting Self*. To reinforce such an assertion we should follow the story of Andrew, a Canadian farmer and business man:

I think it was a significant part of the museum to me. I guess I have the Canadian definition of the Māori house, the greeting house, the house with all the hand-carved work around it. That was very, very impressive. I sort of equated it to the long house of the Iroquois in Canada. So I make the comparison between the two indigenous cultures.

As he proceeds we see how his Canadian Self shifts from the Indigenous to the Scottish inclusion through the experience of the New Zealand Other.

We were also very interested however in the section about the Scottish settlers right now. Again I can draw the connection because my family being from Scotland coming to Canada in the early 1800s. And stories were quite similar to what was recounted there.

Andrew continues his self-ethnography or 'reflexive exoticism' (Boomers, 2004) by shifting the cultural Self and Other to a personal and professional level.

I am a former politician so I am really interested in anything political. And gatherings of people from different places with tribal structures is a very political meeting. So I just found that fascinating and the fact that it's still used for greeting visitors and used for important ceremonies, like the tour guide had mentioned funerals and weddings had been held there, and that's very sentimental and meant a lot just to see that.

While describing his experience of a traditional Marae he now shifts his Self back to the cultural and equates himself with the Aboriginal Other within the Canadian 'we'.

And I guess I am fairly interested in our own Aboriginal culture at home. And we, the Aboriginals in Canada would carve in cedar and we've got very few examples that have survived as well as that one.

This sense of the Canadian 'we' is realigned through contrasting himself with the Aboriginal Other within the Canadian Self. This again happens through the experience of the New Zealand Other leading to a cosmopolitan conclusion.

I noticed you have a similar problem here that we have at home, and that's the number of Aboriginal land claims. A lot of Aboriginals here are claiming they were taken advantage of during the Treaty process and we have still got legal challenges going on. And I am not sure if the tour guide carries a prejudice into it, I don't know, but it would have appeared to me from his explanations to us is that New Zealand is somewhat ahead of Canada in resolving these issues. *And I just found it very interesting to know there was a similar concern going on in both parts of the world.*

This 'relativity of otherness' (Dworschak, 1994), or the shifting sense of Self, is best summarised by Julia, a New Zealand born Australian, who started her interview by saying '*it is interesting seeing it and being here through Australian eyes I think now instead of Kiwi eyes.*' But the artificial dichotomy of Self and Other is not only 'destabilised by accelerated globalisation', as Pieterse (1997: 125) argues. Careful analysis makes it clear that the historical Self is nothing other than the 'generational figure of the Other' (Ricoeur, 1992: 354). It is again Julia, who provides further evidence of this:

I am staying with mom and dad, so I am staying with a, you know, people in their seventies, and seeing people of the similar age group sort of thing. So you've still got the, *their views and opinions* and things which are, that came from *my childhood*, you know where *my childhood views* came from sort of thing. So I don't know if that's the same as what young people feel now?! I haven't had a chance to see people, you know, under forty, I don't know if they feel, or maybe under thirty, a more inclusive or more acceptance of each other?!

We must accept that such cross-cultural dialogue, or the shifting nature of Self, will never operate without conflicts and controversy, as Sandahl (2008) reminds us. Embracing an agonistic sense of empathy would be a first step, but such discussion would go beyond the scope of this paper. For now I will conclude with a comment by Richard Campbell, the Aboriginal artist I referred to above, which highlights the crucial challenge ahead:

Well, you get them all the time, they say 'our', you know, 'our Indians in America' or 'our African-Americans', as if they own them, they are still a slave. That's what I hate about people when they say things like that.

Conclusion

The research informing this paper is ongoing and long-term, which is a crucial requirement for understanding the context-dependent 'endemic fluidity of meaning' (Bauman, 1978: 229). At this stage of the research, the evolving suggestion is that cross-cultural encounter and dialogue are characterised by a shifting sense of Self *through* the Other, as opposed to a projection of Self *on* the Other exclusively determined by *the discourse* as claimed in much of the tourism literature (Bruner, 1991; Galani-Moutafi, 2000; Suvantola, 2002).

The study of human agency presented here via the narrative negotiation of Self-Other relationships, as demanded by Kraus (2006), emphasises the need to understand contemporary identity formations as never ending *processes*, what I call the *shifting Self*. Museological representation and praxis need to reflect such realities by regarding cross-cultural dialogue as a *process* instead of a goal (MAP for ID, 2009). This would enable the shift from a closed, reformist tolerance to an open, critical engagement. The above stories indeed reflect the critical nature of cross-cultural experiences and have facilitated the *humanising 'contact zones'*, the exploration of theoretical notions *through* an empirical understanding of the individual. Potentially, a museum as a 'contact zone' might prove postmodern scepticism futile by creating a 'third space', which openly invites visitors to 'cross the boundaries of belonging', as Bodo (2007: 6) correctly argues, and treats individuals as they already are: 'creators rather than consumers of identity'.

It has never been my intention to prove that *all* museum visitors would engage in such an endeavour. In fact, I have argued all along that any definition of *the traveller* or *the museum visitor*, even if backed up by empirical data, represents nothing more than what Laclau (2005: 71) aptly called an 'empty signifier' with 'its own particularity embodying an unachievable fullness.' Instead, I followed Beck and Bonss' (2001) call to explore new phenomena, such as cross-cultural encounters in a global context, through theoretically informed qualitative approaches leading towards a new cosmopolitan sociology. By shedding light on the narrative negotiation of *articulations* and *demands* as the proposed units of analysis, this research revealed the 'faces' and stories of cross-cultural dialogue.

Unsurprisingly, the cosmopolitan nature of the human experience has been branded as an elitist refashioning of cultural capital (Bennett, 2006). If all travellers are considered elitist, then it would be hard for me to disagree. In any case, I think such reductionist claims do great injustice to the individuals I interviewed by denying their critical agency beyond economic determinism. Habermas

(2006: 76) reminds us that the category ‘national’ represents ‘an abstract form of solidarity among strangers through a combination of the cultural symbolism of “the people” and the republican status of citizens.’ Citing Habermas’ (2006:87) cosmopolitan vision is the perfect way to conclude:

If this artificial form of ‘solidarity among strangers’ owes its existence to a historically momentous advance in abstraction from local to dynastic consciousness to national and democratic consciousness, why then should it not be possible for this learning process to continue beyond national borders?

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'Features of Southern-Western European tourism in the context of UNWTO prognosis for 2020'

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Abstract

The paper lays out on the economic and tourism evolution in the countries of the South-Western Europe, and analyzes the impact of the global financial crisis in that regard. The aim is to assess what has been achieved so far and what is expected to happen in the horizon of 2020.

The paper analyses the European touristic level according to the tourist arrivals in the South-Western Europe, as well as to the economic results. Given the nature of this paper, the methodology used was based largely on quantitative data and complemented by some qualitative analysis. The quantitative data is statistical in nature, based on an extensive research of the international statistics and uses of the statistic variables for trends analyze. The empirical results of the research will demonstrate the critical issues, evolutions and tendencies of South-Western European tourism.

Key words: Balkans, Europe, Tourism, Economic crisis

Introduction

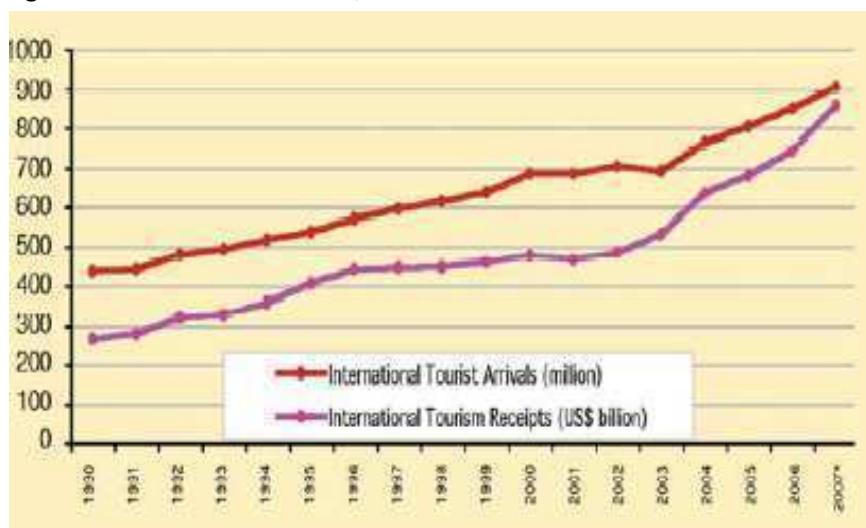
Tourism, broadly defined, is regarded as the world's largest and fastest-growing industry, accounting for over one-third of the value of total world-wide services trade. Highly labour-intensive, it is a major source of employment generation, especially in remote and rural areas. Tourism demand, both domestic and international, is directly related to income levels, and therefore has prospered as global wealth has increased. The arrival of low-cost air travel has radically transformed tourism as a whole, but the industry has expressed serious concern over the current system of bilateral aviation agreements, arguing that protectionism severely limits tourism potential.

With 903 million international tourist arrivals, corresponding to an increase of 6.6% over the previous year, 2007 exceeded expectations. The tourism sector continued to enjoy above average results and recorded a third year of sustained growth. One notable feature of 2007 was the continuing healthy performance of emerging destinations, backed up by one of the longest periods of sustained economic expansion. All regions and sub regions succeeded in achieving positive growth, although the regional averages mask some fairly mixed performances across different sub regions and countries. In 2008, international tourist arrivals reached 924 million, up 16 million over 2007, representing a growth of 2%. Tourism demand slowed significantly through the year under the influence of an extremely volatile world economy (financial crisis, commodity and oil price rises, sharp exchange rate fluctuations), undermining both consumer and business confidence and resulting in the current global economic recession. The second half of 2008 saw growth come to a standstill with the number of international arrivals declining slightly - a trend which is expected to continue in 2009.

Europe, a world touristic destination

The 903 million international arrivals currently estimated represent an additional 56 million over 2006's level – marking a new record year for the industry. Out of these 56 million, 22 million were for Europe, 17 million for Asia and the Pacific, and 6 million for each of the remaining regions – the Americas, Africa and the Middle East. Africa (+9%) was again the star performer in 2007, continuing to record growth at almost twice the global rate. Sub-Saharan Africa (+10%) was the major contributor to this rise, while North Africa (+7%) also ended the year above the world average.

Figure no. 1 Inbound Tourism, 1990-2007



Source: UNWTO Tourism Highlights, 2008

Compared to exotic regions, Europe remains a safe value, the favourite destination of Europeans. Along the time, Spain imposed itself as the main European destination of both inside and outside European Union tourists. Thus, it is to be mentioned that Europe is the most touristic integrated region, concerning both the request and the offer. 85% from the journeys in Europe come also from the European countries. As major flows, there are: the North to South oriented flow in search of seaside holidays; the West to East oriented flow, i.e. from the developed countries towards the developing countries; and, more recently, from Eastern Europe to the Western ones.

Analysing the statistical information regarding European touristic flows shown in table no. 1, we can say that emitting tourism is concentrated in a relatively small number of countries, situated on a higher development level, while the spreading area of receiving tourism is much bigger, including both developed and developing countries.

Table no. 1 Arrivals and receipts from tourism in the most important European touristic destinations , 2007

Country	International arrivals (thousands of tourists)	Share (%)	Receipts from tourism (million \$)	Share (%)
Austria	20,766	4.3	18,887	11.5
Belgium	7,045	1.5	10,662	2.5
France	81,900	16.9	54,228	12.5
Germany	24,420	5.0	36,029	8.3
Netherlands	11,008	2.3	13,428	3.1
Switzerland	8,448	1.7	11,818	2.7
Croatia	9,307	1.9	9,254	2.1
Spain	59,193	12.2	57,795	13.3
Italy	43,654	9.0	42,651	9.8
Greece	17.518	3.6	15,513	3.6
Portugal	12,321	2.5	10,132	2.3

Source: Tourism Highlights, 2008 Edition

The optimistic growth forecasts of tourism associations such as the WTTC, UNWTO and PASTA will almost certainly require some revision but tourism will survive this challenge as it has overcome a wide range of challenges since this crazy 21st century began. The tourism industry will have a rough ride over the months ahead but those who think and act strategically and have to ability to adapt their business model quickly to the new realities will overcome this challenge¹⁴⁶. The global economic downturn showed a negative impact on international tourist arrivals. Already in the second half of 2008 there was a decrease of 1% in international tourist arrivals when compared to the previous year. Europe and Asia performed worst in the second half of 2008 with a drop of -3% respectively. When looking at the year 2008 as a whole only Europe showed a decline. All other regions had a positive performance due to the first half of the year. The forecast for 2009 is not very promising and international tourist arrivals are expected to stagnate or to develop slightly negative. The "traditional" touristic destinations, France, Spain, Italy or Austria, Greece, all constantly present in the most popular touristic destinations' top made up annually by the World Tourism Organization, indicates a concentration towards Southern and Western of the most wanted touristic areas.

Balkan's, an European economic partner

The Balkans is a historical and geographical name used for Eastern and Southern Europe. The region has 550.000 km² and a population of 138 million people (including the whole population of Turkey). The region's name comes from the Balkan Mountains, which lie from the centre of Bulgaria to the East of Serbia.

The Balkans' main characteristic belongs to its eventful and often violent history, as well as its mountainous relief. During the centuries the region has been at the cross roads of the big empires,

¹⁴⁶ www.eturbonews.com/5604/tourism-and-global-economic-crisis-2008

being the scene of numerous wars, invasions, conquests and revolts between them, since the Roman empire until the latest wars from Yugoslavia. The trends of dividing the region into political and military rival entities have created the term ‘balkanization’[1]. The Balkans are often related with violence, religious rivalry, ethnic confrontations and the feeling of hinterland.

Because of the above connotations of the term “Balkans”, many people prefer instead the name of South-Eastern Europe or/and South-Western Europe. This term is increasingly used: in 1999, a European Union initiative was named The Agreement of Steadiness for South- Eastern Europe, and in 2003, the online edition of the Balkan Times newspaper was renamed the Southeast European Times.

The European Union has both an economic and political interest in preventing failure of governance in the region of western Balkans: an economic interest in becoming the region’s main trading and investment partner; a political interest in successfully rounding up the map of future of the Union together with countries of the western Balkans. Currently, there are strengthened relationships between the western Balkan countries and the EU. EU’s summit in Thessaloniki in June 2003 reaffirmed the concrete terms and partnerships for the EU membership perspective of the Balkan countries.

Since 2007, the West Balkan countries have been part of the **Central European Free Trade Agreement**, a commercial agreement of free exchange of merchandises which was established on 21st of December 1992 at Krakow, its founder members being Poland, the Czech Republic and Hungary. The purpose of this union was to adapt the economies of the Member States to a community market free of customs duties and an exercise of pre accession to the European Union. However, all these states already have an economic development level lower than the neighbouring European Union states.

The modernization process and the geostrategic value turned the transition Balkan states into a target for trade and investments. The liberalization of production and distribution, and mainly the privatization of the main economic objectives first in Croatia, then in Serbia, Montenegro and Macedonia, led to a massive increase of trade exchanges and of the Gross Domestic product (GDP) in all countries in The region. Reaching 7.86 billion EUR, the direct foreign investments in 2006 in the West Balkans is more than double the level in 2005 (3.81 billion EUR). The increase was more visible in the two large countries from the region, Croatia and Serbia. The amount is equivalent to 58% from the growth of direct foreign investments in the two countries that adhered to the EU in 2007, Romania and Bulgaria, which benefited from foreign investments in amount of 13.2 billion EUR in 2006. There is an increasing economic relation between Germany and the countries from the former Yugoslavia, but it has not yet reached the level of the more mature economies from Central Europe. The tax regimes with unique quota in West Balkan countries show that their economies are still weak and that their development could be under the estimated parameters due to the small margin of fiscal manoeuvres.

Croatia is considered as one of the most dynamic countries in this region regarding the economic development. The GDP increased by 6% during 2000-2006. The Croatian currency, Kuna (HRK), remained stable, but the unemployment rate is high. The structural reforms are hold up due to reticence of population and to the lack of support of politicians. The sectors mainly contributing to the Croatian economy are the industrial one and the service sector where tourism plays an important part since the Croatian economy has become stable.

Table no. 2 The main economic indicators for 2008 Croatia

	2008
GDP (mil. dollars)	63,95
GDP (%)	4.6%
GDP/inhabitant (mil. \$)	16,900
Average rate of inflation (%)	6,3%
Current reserves (mil. \$)	11,61
Unemployment rate (%)	13,9%
Import (mil. \$)	32,48
Export (mil. \$)	15,33
Foreign debt (% of GDP)	60,11%

Source: Adaptation after www.wttc.org, www.cia.gov, www.unwto.org

Agriculture and fishing contribute by 7.9% to GDP, the industry contributes by 30%, transport, construction and tourism representing the other very important fields contributing to the Croatian GDP. The commercial activities represent an important economic field, as there are almost 45% of registered economic operators involved, the annual value added to GDP being 10%. 15% of the work force is involved in commerce activities. But this sector is also important due to the social aspects generated.

The private sector in **Bosnia-Herzegovina** increases, and also the foreign investments increase, still unemployment remains the most serious economic problem. The implementation of privatization is a slow process, especially within the Federation, where political division among the political parties of different ethnic origin make very difficult to reach an agreement regarding the economic policy. However, since 2006 the economy of Bosnia-Herzegovina has passed through some events that led to maintaining a pronounced GDP increase: introduction of VAT, reduction of current account deficit, price rise – especially for utilities – and more important activity rises in some economic sectors: constructions (especially the infrastructure – almost exclusive foreign financing – and residential areas, the industrial construction sector being small), financial intermediaries and industrial production.

Table no. 3 The main economic indicators for 2008 Bosnia-Herzegovina

	2008
GDP (mil. dollars)	30,49
GDP (%)	5,5%
GDP/inhabitant (mil. \$)	6,600
Average rate of inflation (%)	8%
Current reserves (mil. \$)	5,13
Unemployment rate (%)	29%
Import (mil. \$)	11,9
Export (mil. \$)	5,1
Foreign debt (% of GDP)	8,353

Source: Adaptation after www.wttc.org, www.cia.gov, www.unwto.org

The developing sectors are the industrial, service and trade ones. Although agriculture is almost entirely private - since the Yugoslavia period – the farms are small, are not efficient, Bosnia – Herzegovina traditionally being an important importer of agricultural and food products. As for big activity sectors in Bosnia and Herzegovina, agriculture contributed by 10.2% to GDP, industry by 23.9% and services by 66%.

The small and open economy of **Macedonia** makes it vulnerable to the economic development in Europe and dependent on the regional integration and on the progress concerning the accession to EU. When independence was proclaimed in 1991, Macedonia was the lowest developed former Yugoslavian countries, producing only 5% from the Federation's total goods and services. The collapse of Yugoslavia led to the end of payments coming from the central government and to the elimination of advantages arising due to its inclusion within a "de facto" free exchange area. The GDP increased by 4% per year during 2003-2006 and by 5% during 2007-2008. Macedonia maintained the macroeconomic stability with a low inflation rate, but it has not succeeded in attracting foreign investors or in creating jobs so far, although it achieved some reforms both in fiscal and in business sector.

Table no. 4 The main economic indicators for 2008 Macedonia

	2008
GDP (mil. dollars)	18,97
GDP (%)	4,8%
GDP/inhabitant (mil. \$)	9,200
Average rate of inflation (%)	8,4%
Current reserves (mil. \$)	1.173
Unemployment rate (%)	34,5%
Import (mil. \$)	6,663
Export (mil. \$)	4,397
Foreign debt (% of GDP)	4,624

Source: Adaptation after www.wttc.org, www.cia.gov, www.unwto.org

The textile industry owns about 11.3% of GDP in industry and mining and it contributes the most, about 30%, to Macedonian export. The contribution of the agricultural sector and of the agricultural and industrial sector to GDP is about 20%. The primary agricultural production represents about 12%, and the agricultural and food industry about 8%.

Being behind its Balkan neighbours, **Albania** has a difficult transition to a more modern and open economy. The macroeconomic growth was an average of 5% during the last 5 years and the inflation rate was low and stable. The government took measures to diminish the criminal rate and has recently adopted a fiscal reform in order to attract foreign investors. Agriculture, where there are more than half of state jobs, contributes only by 1/5 of GDP and it is limited to simple farming operations due to lack of modern equipment, unclear ownership rights, and most of the land plots are small and inefficient. The energy deficit, coming only from hydroelectric power plants and old and improper infrastructure, contributes to the poor Albanian business environment to the lack of success in attracting new foreign investors. Also, with EU funds, the government gradually improves the deficient national roads and the railway network which represent an obstacle in the economic growth.

Table no. 5 The main economic indicators for 2008 Albania

	2008
GDP (mil. dollars)	23,07
GDP (%)	6%
GDP/inhabitant (mil. \$)	6,400
Average rate of inflation (%)	4%
Current reserves (mil. \$)	2,707
Unemployment rate (%)	12,5%
Import (mil. \$)	4,844
Export (mil. \$)	1.416
Foreign debt (% of GDP)	1,55

Source: Adaptation after www.wttc.org, www.cia.gov, www.unwto.org

After renewing its statute as a member of the International Monetary Fund in December 2000, a weaken Yugoslavia continued to reintegrate in the international community, becoming again a member of the International Bank and of the European Bank for Reconstruction and Development (EBRD). Also, Serbia wants to obtain the membership to the World Trade Organization. Unemployment and current account deficit are two of the most serious political and economic problems.

Table no. 6 The main economic indicators for 2007 Serbia

	2007
GDP (mil. dollars)	83,14
GDP (%)	5,6%
GDP/inhabitant (mil. \$)	8,200
Average rate of inflation (%)	6,8%
Current reserves (mil. \$)	4,632
Unemployment rate (%)	18,8%
Import (mil. \$)	18,35
Export (mil. \$)	8,824
Foreign debt (% of GDP)	26,24

Source: Adaptation after www.wttc.org, www.cia.gov, www.unwto.org

Montenegro separated its economy from the federal control and from Serbia during the Milosevic period, maintained its own central bank, used EUR as currency instead of the Yugoslavian dinar, requested customs taxes and administrated its own budget. The tourism development awards Montenegro the first place in the world, considering the dynamics of the last ten years. Although it has an old infrastructure, Montenegro was visited only this year by a number of tourists equal to its own population. The government plans of accession to EU, of bringing into service a new airport

terminal at Podgorica, of modernizing the telecommunication and transport infrastructure increase the chances of Montenegro to become an Adriatic star.

Table no. 7 The main economic indicators for 2008 Montenegro

	2008
GDP (mil. dollars)	7,16
GDP (%)	7,5%
GDP/inhabitant (mil. \$)	10,600
Average rate of inflation (%)	3,4%
Current reserves (mil. \$)	1,172
Unemployment rate (%)	14,7%
Import (mil. \$)	0,601
Export (mil. \$)	0,171

Source: Adaptation after www.wttc.org, www.cia.gov, www.unwto.org

During the last couple of years, the economy of the **Kosovo** province made significant progresses in passing to a market-based system and it also succeeded in maintaining the macroeconomic stability, but it still very much depends on the international community and on the Diaspora for technical and financial assistance. The income brought by the Diaspora inhabitants, who live or work mainly in Germany and Switzerland, contributes by 15% to GDP, and the activities financed by benefactors and the support received by Kosovo bring another 15% to GDP.

Greece benefits from all aces in order to be an important European tourist attraction. Behind the sunny seaside and the places left unchanged in time there is a recently turned stable infrastructure and an attitude powerfully oriented towards the development of the touristic sector.

The landscape diversity, both marine and mountainous, is sustained also by the cultural diversity present in Athens and in other big cities. This alternance is kept on cultural level, too, Greece trying to seem cosmopolitan without losing its cultural inheritance. Maybe that is why Greece seems to decrease in the most globalized countries' top – while in 2005 it was the last in the most globalized 30 countries' top, the next year it lost two places, and in 2007 it lost another 13 places, situating only on the 45th. Nevertheless, the tourism industry is increasing, not seeming to be correlated to the globalization indicator. In 2006, the last year for which the Statistical Institute from Greece offered data, the foreign tourist arrivals increased by 8.44% compared to the year before, reaching to 17,283,910 persons.

Features of South-Western European tourism in 2020

European tourism industry will face increasing competition both inside and outside the region. A multitude of factors contribute to this situation (financial and economic competition, political factors, social and demographic changes, technological innovation, etc.).

Meanwhile, a number of goods and services will come into competition with tourism to occupy the leisure tourist potential which creates another form of competitive pressure. Extension offers leisure in residential areas (parks and themed entertainment, health clubs, cultural and sporting events) will lead to shorter holidays and spending them as close to home. It expects this trend to be marked for a more moderate growth.

In 2008 there have been 488.5 million tourist arrivals in Europe, and in 2020 provided an increase up to 717 million. The market share of Europe is expected to decline from 52.9% as it was in 2008 to 46% in 2020. This decrease is the consequence of increasing the market share of the regions of East Asia and Pacific, Middle East, Africa and South Asia.

Western Europe as this is the most visited region in Europe, attracting 117 million visitors in 1995 and 153.1 million in 2008. However the rate of growth for Western Europe will be the lowest during future consideration of only 1.9% per year. As a result, Western Europe will lose market share to other sub-regions in Europe. UNWTO's Tourism 2020 Vision forecasts that international arrivals are expected to reach nearly 1.6 billion by the year 2020. Of these worldwide arrivals in 2020, 1.2 billion will be intraregional and 378 million will be long-haul travelers.

Arrivals from Central and Eastern Europe is expected to grow most rapidly. By the end of 2020 the region is projected to attract 40 million visitors more than Western Europe. In addition to sub regions of Central and Eastern Europe, traveling the Eastern Mediterranean and Northern Europe will grow faster than the European average. Arrivals from Western Europe and Southern Europe will be lower, with growth rates below the European average.

The highest rates of growth for the period 1995-2020 are projected to Croatia (8.4% per year on average), Russian Federation (6.8% per year), Slovenia (6.0% per year), Turkey (5.5% per year), Bulgaria and Romania (both 4.6% per year). Regarding the European countries in the Mediterranean area, growth will continue to focus on countries in particular in eastern Turkey, Croatia and Slovenia. They are expected to register growth rates above the European average. Many destinations in the Mediterranean which have already reached maturity they will lose market share because they are expected to record growth rates below the European average. The lowest growth rates are projected for the countries of Central and Western Europe (Germany, Switzerland, Austria and Hungary). Situation of the estimate of the arrival of tourists on sub-regions for 2020 is presented in table no. 8.

Table no. 8 Forecasts of arrivals of tourists on sub-regions and countries, for 2020

	1995 (million)	2020 (million)	Share (%)		Average annual growth rate 1995-2020 (%)
			1995	2020	
Western Europe	116.7	185.2	34.5	25.8	1.9
France	60.0	106.1	17.7	14.8	2.1
Austria	17.2	23.1	5.1	3.2	1.2
Germany	14.8	20.0	4.4	2.8	1.2
Switzerland	11.5	17.4	3.4	2.4	1.7
South Europe	93.7	177.0	27.7	24.7	2.6
Spain	38.8	73.9	11.5	10.3	2.6
Italy	31.1	52.5	9.2	7.3	2.1
Greece	10.1	17.1	3.0	2.4	2.1
Portugal	9.5	16.0	2.8	2.2	2.1
Croatia	1.3	10.0	0.4	1.4	8.4
Slovenia	0.7	3.1	0.2	0.4	6.0
Malta	1.1	1.8	0.3	0.3	2.0

Source: World Tourism Organization, Tourism 2020 Vision, Volume 7: Global Forecasts and Profiles of Market Segments

Interregional flows to Europe will increase by 4% per year during 1995-2020 compared with growth of 2.9% of intraregional travel. Intraregional travel will however, continue to dominate tourism in Europe and 2020 in a report of almost 6 to 1 if unspecified countries are included in intraregional flows. 2020, 564 million (almost 80%) of tourist arrivals in Europe will all point to a country of "old continent". Speaking about interregional flows, it is generally considered that the countries in Balkans are: Albania, Bosnia and Herzegovina, Bulgaria, Croatia, Greece, Montenegro, the Republic of Macedonia, the Republic of Moldavia, Romania, Serbia (the Kosovo province included), Slovenia, Turkey (the European part), sometimes called Rumelia or Eastern Thrace.

According to the data offered by the World Tourism Organization, four of the Balkan countries are in the most wanted 50 world touristic destination top. Turkey is still among the most wanted European holiday places, on the 11th place in this classification of number of arrivals, Greece having a very good 17th place. Croatia and Bulgaria are among those 50 countries, on the 23rd and the 36th place, respectively. Tourism in the Balkans has an important potential for economic growth and environmental protection. The countries from the area can offer a large variety of touristic products, including sunbathing and seaside, health care and mineral waters, ski, golf and others sports and activities such as fishing, sight-seeing, mountaineering and speology, special concerns for studying the bird's behavior, cultural activities, gastronomy and folklore. These products are related to the actual demographic trends from the main developed countries, where the elderly people travel for relaxation and health care. Although it is necessary a long and considerable effort, countries from Balkan region can use their touristic potential for create activities for the entire year, preserving the environment and the biosphere.

Box no. 1

Critical issues in Balkan's tourism	Efforts to be made
Transport relations improvement	Common projects implementation for general and tourism understructure development
Reducing frontier's formalities;	Political and civil stability; constant efforts for joining the European Union
Managerial preparation for tourism workers	Organization of common projects with the help of countries with experience and tradition in tourism;
Information exchange and destinations management improvement	Regional marketing development
Harmonization of the national laws, rules and standards which will be used in the tourism facilities evaluation in order to establish common quality standards;	Setting up a data base for the South-Western countries tourism;
Intensifying the collaboration in the environmental protection;	Adopting touristic strategies which combine the touristic development with the careful use of the non regenerable resources; using the standards definition for keeping the balance of the ecotourism development;
Sustaining rural and ecological projects in order to use the rural natural potential;	Stimulative measures, preparation programs and marketing strategies for the different categories of potential clients;
Obtaining some foreign investments and implementation of public privat partnerships;	Local measurements' control improvement in the tourism sector and the involvement of the local communities in the touristic planning.;
Legislation's improvement	Establishing rules which facilitate the tourism development.

Source: Established by the authors, based on the National Strategies of the concerned countries and Stanciulescu, Gabriela – Management of sustainable tourism, in the Black Sea reparian countries, Ed. All Beck, Bucuresti 2000, p.68,69

As the current troubled economic scenario is expected to continue well into 2009 and probably beyond, UNWTO's initial forecast for this year is for an even more modest performance¹⁴⁷. According to the January 2009 issue of the UNWTO World Tourism Barometer, international tourism is expected to stagnate or even decline slightly during the year¹⁴⁸. But, there is still a high degree of

¹⁴⁷ http://ehotelier.com/hospitality-news/item.php?id=15487_0_11_0_C (viewed 29.05.2009)

¹⁴⁸ http://ehotelier.com/hospitality-news/item.php?id=15487_0_11_0_C (viewed 29.05.2009)

uncertainty and much will depend on the evolving economic conditions. If the economy starts to show signs of an earlier recovery, international tourism might grow slightly in 2009 but, if the economy deteriorates further, then the current forecast might be revised downwards.

In the short to medium term there is almost certain to be a trend of travelers spending less on travel. Those tourism and hospitality businesses which can adapt to service travelers on a tighter budget will do well. The demand for the luxury end of the market is likely to decrease while demand for either low cost or perceived good value products and services is likely to grow. Airlines and hotels especially need to rapidly adapt to this trend. In the currency shakeout which has occurred in recent weeks, destinations (like Balkan's countries) with "favorable" exchange rates may benefit.

Conclusions

Tourism is a global-scale industry with growing impacts on the environment, as well as profound implications for regional and local development. In South-Western European countries, as in other developing countries tourism features are:

- increasingly provides new opportunities, employment and economic benefits to local communities;
- these countries are seeing tourism promotion as an expedient and relatively inexpensive strategy to attract foreign direct investment by, for example, showcasing natural areas and local indigenous cultures;
- growing tourism activity in Balkan's is increasingly tying them to the industry and related cultural, social, economic and political networks;
- tourism in Balkan's is deeply influenced by its changing physical and social environments and larger processes such as global climate change;
- tourism has become an important policy tool for community and regional development in many developing countries, not least of which in Balkan's countries;
- tourism also has significant potential to influence and change the use of natural and cultural resources in region.
- at policy level, tourism is more and more being viewed as an essential sector of regional and national reconstruction and development; in this sense the rationale for tourism development has evolved towards the idea of tourism as a tool for regional and sustainable development and, recently, to a relatively new idea of tourism as an instrument of social and economic empowerment and poverty reduction;
- there are many regional and local development programmes giving prominence to the role of tourism in regional and sustainable development and empowerment;
- every country from the Balkans has to individualize her own approach according to the tourism stage development; although, in a regional project with limited budget, it is necessary to exist equal opportunities that each country should benefit from, according to the development stage reached and their potential.

The decline in global economic output and growth has drawn attention to the potential vulnerability of various regions' tourism systems to economic shocks; this has challenged the general conviction that tourism-led development is a sustainable and necessarily solid platform from which to develop local, national and regional economies, as is the case in South-Western countries. Tourism is especially vulnerable to economic uncertainty and volatility for a simple reason. Most travel and tourism involves discretionary expense. During tough economic times people conserve their cash to cover the essentials of life, food, shelter and family necessities. However, this does not mean that tourism stops. The trend that we have learned from past crises whether we refer to past economic crises or the global tourism scare resulting from the events of 9/11 is that people continue to travel but they will travel differently from the way they do during times of economic buoyancy. Those tourism and hospitality businesses which will survive and indeed thrive in the months ahead are those which can adapt because there are always winners and losers in any outbreak of economic volatility.

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'European natural areas and the prognosis in the dynamics and structure of the types of tourism associated to the preservation of environment'

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Abstract: The protected natural areas, by their aesthetic, recreational, educational and scientific valences, represent extremely attractive tourist destinations, some of them unique at international level. Their touristic exploitation has different forms from a country to another, from a type of protected area to another. In this paper, the analyses performed point out that the exploitation of natural areas by tourism has different forms, according to their extension, their landscape complexity, their structure and dynamics of the environment components. The main forms of tourism associated to the environment preservation, are: tourism in natural areas, ecotourism, adventure tourism, tourism in wilderness, camping. As a conclusion, we can say that the protected areas have become more and more a part of tourism, being appreciated as they represent an environment less affected by the human pressure. Presently, they generate a new form of tourism called tourism in protected areas, requiring special care on behalf of the governments in order not to aggravate the impact of tourism on the local environment and cultures.

Key words: the protected areas, tourism in natural areas, ecotourism, national park.

Introduction

The preservation of biodiversity should be approached as a new pluridisciplinary research field, developed as an answer to the today's crisis of the living world. The protected area is a conservative term used for what is known as natural reservation, national park, natural park, biosphere reservation.

Only isolated fragments of the real natural forests survive in the entire Europe. Almost all forests have been modified by human intervention during hundreds or thousands of years. Such alterations can reduce or increase the biodiversity but they always change the structure of the forest. Where there are prime forests, they should be urgently preserved, mostly by protected areas. Therefore, the preservation of forests in Europe generally refers less to the preservation of prime forests and more to the fact that the administration of all forests should be sustainable.

Tourism in natural areas

National parks and other protected areas in Europe are remarkable natural areas and offer a huge tourist potential. The promoters of the tourism in nature acknowledge that the promotion of the sustainable tourism will accomplish the visitors' satisfaction and will bring benefits for the local community, which is reflected in the adequate integration of tourism and environment preservation policies.

The tourism sustainable development allow the generation of necessary incomes for the preservation of important natural areas, fauna and flora. Tourism contributes to improving the environment quality because tourists want to visit non polluted areas and attractive landscapes, thus determining that the factors involved in tourist activities and in tourist development decision taking give special importance to environment preservation.

Protected areas

An important step in the sustainable tourism planning is represented by the legislative creation of protected areas. The most frequent way of creating them is the governmental action at national, regional or local level by land demarcation and by enacting laws allowing certain degrees of resource use and of tourist intrusion. Many protected areas were created by partnership between certain private organizations, governments of some developing countries, multinational banks and governments of some developed countries. Until 1998, 4500 strictly protected areas were declared worldwide, covering 500 million hectares, and 5899 partially protected areas covering 348 million hectares, all these representing only 6% of the continents (Primack, 2002). As an expression of world concerns in this field, in 2003, the protected areas world network had 30,361 protected areas covering 13 245 528 km² representing 8.84% of the earth surface (Nistoreanu, 2003).

To guarantee the social economic sustainable development, it is absolutely necessary that a diverse and balanced structure of the Natural Capital should be preserved and that its resources and services should be used within the bearable capacity of its components. Thus, the Natural Capital preservation supposes mainly the maintenance of an acceptable rapport between the natural ecosystems, semi-natural and human made, by maintaining the heterogeneity within each type of ecosystem and assuring the connectivity of these ecosystems. The Natural Capital of a geographic or political-administrative region consists of ecological systems that operate in the natural or semi-natural and anthropological network systems that result from the transformation and simplification of the category above. The hierarchical components of the natural capital are the genetic diversity, the specific diversity and the ecosystem diversity. The biodiversity includes the natural capital which is added to ethnic diversity.

The protected area is terrestrial and/or marine area specially dedicated to the protection and preservation of biological biodiversity, with natural and cultural resources, duly administrated (Tigu et al., 2003).

The specialists consider that the recreation activities which can be developed inside the protected areas are (Istrate et al., 1996):

- study of nature, flora and fauna;
- photograph taking, landscape painting;
- mountainous camping;
- mountaineering;
- speleology;
- diving;
- walking on foot or ski going, in winter;

-
- cycling and canoeing;
 - visits to cultural, historical and ethnographical objectives;
 - get acquainted and learn some traditional crafts;
 - visit of ecomuseums within the protected areas;
 - film watching, accession of scientific documents regarding the protected areas within the tourist reception centre.

Protected areas were established firstly because they satisfy people's needs. Out of this necessity, a variety of types of protected areas resulted, mainly differentiated by their degree of protection (or the allowed degree of human intervention) and according to the purpose of the protected area. Thus, they established protected areas which protect the natural diversity on the earth where the human intervention is barely present and where human intervention is present, such as modified landscapes with a particular landscape and cultural importance.

Typology of protected areas

The World Conservation Union (IUCN) is trying to influence, to encourage and to assist the societies worldwide in order to preserve the nature diversity and to ensure that each natural resource use is reasonable and sustainable.

A system of defining and classification of protected areas resulted following the almost 25 year activity deployed by IUCN in this field. This system was adopted by governments and explained by guiding lines. At present, the IUCN categories are spread worldwide and are reference points in any debate regarding protected areas. The purpose of this defining and classification system is to contribute to the increase of the level of understanding of all concerned regarding the different categories of protected areas. The relationship between the objectives of management and the typology of protected areas is shown in the table below:

Table no. 1. Classification of protection areas

Name	Management objective
I.a. Strict natural reservation; I.b. Wild natural area	Strict protection
II. National park	Ecosystem preservation and recreation
III. Monument of nature	Preservation of natural features
IV. Areas of habitats and species management	Preservation by active management
V. Protected terrestrial and marine landscapes	Preservation and recreation
VI. Protected area with managed resources	Sustainable use of resources

Source: www.pronatura.ro

According to the World Conservation Union (IUCN)), the protected areas have many features.

- *The strict natural reservation* is a terrestrial and/or aquatic area with ecosystems, geological or physiological characteristics and/or particular or representative species, area available primarily for scientific research and/or monitoring.
- *The wild natural area* is a non modified or slightly affected terrestrial and/or aquatic big area, which maintains its natural character and influence, without a significant or permanent habitation, protected and managed to maintain its natural conditions.

• *The natural park* is a natural terrestrial and/or aquatic area meant to protect the environmental integrity of one or more ecosystems for the present and future generations, the exclusion of exploitation or inhabiting against its designated purpose, and the provision of a basis able to ensure spiritual, scientific, educational, recreational and visiting possibilities, all compatible with the principles of environment protection and cultural diversity (the National Park of Retezat in Romania, the National Park of Plitvice in Croatia).

• *The natural monument* is the area containing one or more specific natural/cultural features, with a particular or unique value due to its own rarity, its representative or aesthetic quality or to its cultural meaning (Piatra Teiului, Râpa Roșie in Romania).

• *The area of habitat and species management* is a terrestrial and/or aquatic area which is the object of an active intervention for management purposes in order to ensure the maintenance of habitats and/or to accomplish the needs of some species (the Sfânta Ana Lake in Romania).

• *The protected terrestrial and marine landscape* is a terrestrial area, with coast and marine area, if any, where the interaction of humans with nature generated along the time a surface with distinctive features, with significant aesthetic, environmental and/or cultural values, and often with a great biologic diversity. The protection of the integrity of such a traditional interaction is vital for the protection, the maintenance and the evolution of the area (the Portile de Fier Natural Park in Romania).

• *The protected area with managed resources* is an area containing mostly non modified natural systems, managed to ensure a long term protection and maintenance of biological diversity and at the same time to ensure goods and services to satisfy the consumers' needs.

The evolution in the dynamics and structure of European natural areas

In the European Community, the various types of protected areas currently in existence (e.g. national parks, nature conservations areas, nature parks, landscape protection areas) have been enriched with one further concept, the NATURA 2000 sites. The legal foundations for this concept are the directive for the conservation of natural habitats and of wild fauna and flora (European Council Directive 92/43 EEC from 1992, "Habitat-Directive") and the directive on the conservation of wild birds (European Council directive 79/409 EEC from 1979, "Bird-directive"). The European Community has designed these directives for the purpose of conserving, and even improving, biodiversity and habitats of endangered species (Ulrike Pröbstl, 2004).

The protected area data base made by the World Conservation Monitoring Centre includes 30,350 registrations of protected areas recognized by The World Conservation Union (IUCN), 13,915 registrations of some areas not recognized by IUCN and other 16, 288 protected areas with an uncertain statute. The data base updates periodically, approximately every three years, to ensure the production of a new edition of a Protected Area List of United Nations.

The world network of protected areas contains 30,350 protected areas spread on a 13,232.275 km² surface representing 8.83% of the earth surface. However, this percentage has to be warily considered as it can be a percent higher due to the great number of marine protected areas or to the

areas containing marine territories. This protected area network can be very spread in a global perspective but with many empty spaces at national level.

The protected areas are often considered natural islands within a development ocean, and the greater their surface is, the more they are protected against external pressures. The current situation shows that 17,892 (59%) protected areas have a surface smaller than 1,000 ha, with a total of 28,713 km² representing only 0.2% from the total surface of protected areas. In exchange, only 1,673 (6%) of the protected areas exceed 1,000 km², with a total of 11.56 mil. km², representing 87% from the total surface of protected areas.

The distribution of protected areas according to their management objectives, based on IUCN categories, shows the concerns at world level for the different purposes of protected areas.

Table no. 2. Distribution of protection areas

Protected area category IUCN	No.	Percen tage (%)	Surface (km²)	Percen tage (%)	Average surface (km²)	Percentage in earth surface (%)
Strict natural reservation	4,389	14	978,698	7	223	0.65
Wild natural area	809	3	940,360	7	1162	0.63
National park	3,384	11	4,001,605	30	1183	2.67
Monument of nature	2,122	7	193,021	1	91	0.13
Areas of habitat and species management	11,171	37	2,459,703	19	220	1.64
Protected terrestrial and marine landscapes	5,578	18	1,057,448	8	190	0.71
Protected area with managed resources	2,897	10	3,601,440	27	1243	2.40
Total	30,350	100	13,232,275	100	436	8.83

Source: adaptation after UNO statistic reports

It is shown that the entire services spectrum offered by protected areas is very well represented at the level of the protected area world network, except though for the Monument of Nature category that is less applied which invites us to reflect upon the limited role given to the preservation of specific natural features. The category of Areas of habitat and species management is the most numerous of the applied categories, including over a third from the total of protected area which indicates the importance of the active management and of interventions in maintaining the biodiversity, although this category represents the smallest areas in surface. Another frequent category is the Protected terrestrial and marine landscapes which, in spite of the important role played by the "protected landscapes" for the preservation of biodiversity especially in Europe and North America, are among the smallest surfaces. The biggest areas in surface are Category II – National Park and Category VI – Protected areas with managed resources, playing an important role in the protection of some entire natural ecosystems. There are just a small number of these, with a total of 57% from the protected area world network due to their very large surface which is often a size order higher than the other types of protected areas. There are many strictly protected areas

and they tend to have a small surface. Parts of them are central areas within the functional surfaces of some larger protected areas, such as national parks, but many of them are isolated areas. The wild natural areas are less numerous but they have, by definition, a very large surface contributing significantly to the total surface of protected area world network. This type of protected areas is mostly seen on the vast territories of North America and Eastern Asia and less in the other areas of the globe.

In Europe, there are 9325 protected areas registered on a 603.601. km² surface. Among the most visited national parks in Europe, there are the Tatra and Niede Tatra National Parks in Slovakia, the Plitvice National Park in Croatia, with lakes, waterfalls, many caves and good touristic equipment, the Hohe Tauern National Park in the Austrian Tirol, the Abruzzo and Gran Paradiso National Parks in the mountain Italian area, the Ordesa National Park in Pyrenees.

At European level, Romania own the most diversified and valuable natural patrimony which led to more 950 protected natural areas along the time, their total surface being about 7% of the terrestrial area of the country, thus making Romania be placed below the level of European countries as their average surface is 14,24%, and below the level of the states that acceded to the European Union in May 2004, whose protected natural area surface is 23,04% in Estonia, 22,37% in Slovakia, 21,98% in Poland, 19,78% in Malta, 18,27% in the Czech Republic, 15,24% in Latvia, 9,92% in Lithuania, 8,92% in Hungary, 8,52% in Cyprus and 7,40% in Slovenia. Besides these, in the process of accession to the European Union, 273 sites of community importance were selected and approved and 110 special protected avifaunistic areas are waiting for approval, as part of the Natura 2000 network in Romania, covering about 15% of the terrestrial surface of the country.

Analysis of the effects generated by the use of tourism forms associated to environment preservation

The involvement of tourism in the protected areas is headed two ways: on the one hand, the tourism benefits from the protection of these areas against other forms of development and on the other hand a well-planned, organized and conducted tourism can have a positive economic contribution to the environment protection in these areas.

The Action Plan provides for safeguarding the Europe Union's [most important habitats and species](#). Achieving this objective involves stepping up the Natura 2000 network by re-establishing the most endangered species and by conservation measures in the outermost regions.

The Action Plan emphasises the potential of biodiversity to limit atmospheric concentrations of greenhouse gases, thanks to carbon capture mechanisms. The impact of climate change on biodiversity is also highlighted; this is why the Action Plan insists on the need to cut greenhouse gas emissions in order to reduce future pressure on biodiversity. It also envisages [supporting biodiversity adaptation](#) to climate change by securing coherence of the Natura 2000 network and minimising potential damage to biodiversity arising from climate change adaptation and mitigation measures.

Forms of tourism associated to environment preservation

In this paper, the analyses performed show that the capitalization by means of tourism of the natural areas has different forms, according to their extension, the structure and dynamics of environment components.

The number of people taking part in many outdoor activities is growing, especially in hiking, cycling and water-based activities such as sea kayaking or scuba diving. There has also been a huge growth in 'soft' adventure and ecotourism or nature-tourism types of trips. 'Soft' activities are those where a more casual, less dedicated approach is taken to the activity or natural attraction, and a desire to experience it with some basic degree of comfort; whereas 'hard' adventure or ecotourism involves specialist interest or dedicated activity, and a willingness to experience the outdoors or wilderness with few comforts. The tourism industry has responded to this range of interests by developing many types of niche market packages (Eagles, McCool and Haynes, 2002).

The tourism in natural areas is that form of tourism in which the activities performed depend on the features of the natural framework. It has two basic components: a high quality level of the environment and the offer of some specific services.

The ecotourism differs from the tourism in nature by its focus on preservation, education, responsibility and active involvement of local communities. A tourist in natural areas can go bird watching, but an ecotourist will watch the birds accompanied by a local guide and will stay in a native's chalet, thus contributing to the prosperity of the local economy.

As an organized form of public use of the protected area territory, the ecotourism does not exclude the existence of an infrastructure and of some flows of persons with different culture, values and needs. Unlike classical tourism, the ecotourism tends to minimize the negative impact on the natural ecosystems and to have a socially positive impact on the local economy, too.

The adventure tourism (the least environment principle – oriented) is the travel in new and exciting places in search of adventure. The tourists practicing this form of tourism don't have a fixed programme, they prefer spontaneity and incertitude. The adventure tourism often includes activities such as: mountaineering, diving, extreme cycling, kayak-canoe, etc., which require resistance and physical skills. Although this type of tourism is carried usually out in the middle of the nature, it implies a little or no environment preservation and protection.

The tourism in wilderness means the travel in places not touched by man, non polluted, in order to get to know and enjoy the nature, to watch the birds and the fish in their natural environment. These travels imply the use of some non polluting means of locomotion: going by bicycle, by boat, using traction animals or on foot. This type of travel raises interest for the beauty of nature, but contributes only a little to the preservation of the fragile balance of nature.

Camping supposes travelling to a space somewhere between civilization and wilderness, often accompanied by family and friends and sometimes using the automobile as means of transport

(carcamping). The main motivation is the relaxation amidst the nature, but the use of the automobile indicates a lack of concern for the environment protection (Nistoreanu, 2003).

The protected areas acquire real value in tourism only if they are organized for visits, thus being able to contribute to the making of a competitive tourist offer. The international practice showed that a deficient organization of the protected areas or the lack of it expose them to degradation, caused by natural and economic factors and by tourist pressure, thus causing damages to nature, sometimes irreversible.

The tourism in nature, and the protected areas in particular, has many motivations quite different from those of the other category of tourists. As a result, the industry of the travels in nature should be organized according to these motivations. In time, we noticed the existence of four categories of tourists whose motivation is spending a vacation in nature (Tigă et al., 2003):

- Hard core nature tourists represented by scientists or members of some special organizations with educational or preservation purposes.
- Dedicated nature tourists represented by persons who make specific travels to see the protected areas and who wish to understand the local nature and cultural history.
- Mainstream nature tourists represented by the population visiting the wild destinations first of all in order to make a common travel.
- Casual nature tourists represented by persons participating accidentally to programmes in nature as part of their travel in general.

The arrangements meant for practicing tourism in protected areas and especially in national parks should be preceded by strict studies regarding the tourist bearing capacity or the tourist loading capacity of the landscape. Generally, by tourist bearing capacity we understand the maximum number of visitors that a certain ecosystem can receive without large degradations.

Increased urbanisation and the spread of human infrastructures, over-exploitation of natural resources, pollution in all its forms, the introduction of exotic species into our ecosystems – these factors are all highly damaging for biodiversity. As a result, 42% of mammals, 15% of birds and 52% of freshwater fish across Europe are under threat. In addition, nearly 1000 plant species are at serious risk or on the verge of disappearing completely. In order to safeguard biodiversity and combat the extinction of animal and plant species, the European Union has set up a vast network of protected sites (the Natura 2000 network) and made the protection of biodiversity one of the key objectives of the Sixth Environment Action Programme.

Identification of threatening factors on natural areas

It is known that there are very few sectors which do not influence the protected areas in a way or another, but the main domains mostly threatening the protected areas are: agriculture, silviculture, tourism, transport and industry.

Tourism can help to justify the establishment of protected areas in marginal regions and can lead to an economically reinvigoration of local communities and of traditional cultures. National

governments should involve the administrators of the protected areas and the tourism industry in the development and implementation of sustainable tourism plans. These should be part of the sustainable development national strategies and should be included into the management individual plans of the protected areas. The protected areas benefit from measures including:

- ▲ change of the existing non sustainable development into a sustainable one;
- ▲ set out the sustainable standards for the new development, especially in the sensitive environments;
- ▲ designate some areas for different degrees of tourism based on the bearing capacity of the protected areas, including sanctuaries and quiet areas, as well as areas adequate for different levels of touristic use and development;
- ▲ reduce pollution and ease the holiday traffic;
- ▲ avoid excessive tourism and recreation in the protected areas;
- ▲ assure that the local communities benefit from tourism, too;
- ▲ ensure subsidies and resources for the application of plans on time;
- ▲ prepare the protected area managers in sustainable tourism.

Also, the tourism legislation should be revised and, if necessary, improved, and especially:

- to grant the protected area managers the power to control the tourism development;
- to require the complete environmental assessment of the proposals regarding the protected areas;
- to work together with the tourism industry, to require that the environmental damages created by the past tourism be repaired and to adopt management techniques to make the future use be sustainable.

The pioneering schemes in the sustainable tourism should be encouraged, for example by:

- loans, subsidies, concession fees for farmers and local communities in order to establish small enterprises to use the protected areas correspondingly;
- administrative projects adequate to the local economies, to show the innovative approach of tourism.

We can also say that, regarding protected area tourism, their visitation should basically be achieved so that any use of resources be made under the conditions of a higher capitalization in which, without destroying the resource or its possibilities to regenerate, what is capitalized should be exploited at the highest possible level, thus accomplishing a maximum cultural, educational, social and economic efficiency.

Conclusions

In this paper, the analyses performed show that the capitalization of natural areas by means of tourism has different forms, such as: tourism in protected areas, ecotourism, tourism in wilderness, camping, and sustainable tourism. As a conclusion, we can say that the protected areas have become more and more a part of tourism, being appreciated because they represent an environment less affected by anthropic pressure. At present, they generate a new form of tourism called tourism in protected areas which require special care from the governments in order not to worsen the impact on environment and on local cultures.

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'Climate change and tourism: when tourism stakeholders become climate refugees'

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Abstract

Climate change plays an obvious role in tourist destination choice. The "amenity of climate" is recognised as one of the major determinants of tourism flows. Also, climate change is likely to become the most significant cause of population displacement within the next years. This paper will examine the disastrous effects that tourism faces from negative publicity when beautiful areas of the world due to climate change suffer and the end result is environmental refugees. This paper suggests that Environmental Communication applies particularly to fragile tourist destinations to ensure understanding of sustainability among the potential environmental refugees: local decision-makers, tourism stakeholders and host population.

Introduction

Although the tourism sector is highly influenced by climate, our understanding of how climate variability affects the sector and its potential vulnerability to climate change remains limited. Until recently, climate change had not garnered substantive attention from the tourism industry or the tourism and recreation research communities (Wall and Badke 1994, Scott et al. 2005a, Gossling and Hall 2006). Adaptation by tourists and tourism operators has had even less prominence in the developing literature on climate change and tourism-recreation, and remains an important research gap (Scott et al. 2003, 2005a, Hamilton et al. 2005a).

Also, climate change is likely to become the most significant cause of population displacement within the next years. Long-term regional climate change is closely linked to conflict in Darfur, where more than 200,000 people are estimated to have been killed and at least 2 million displaced from their homes since fighting broke out in 2003 (United Nations, 2007). In addition, there are limits to host countries' capacity to take in outsiders and as a result, in the wake of perceived threats to social cohesion and national identity, refugees can become an excuse for political disorder.

Sustainability represents a sound way to deal with climate change and the environmental refugee issue. Sustainable development is a policy option with the aim of reducing the motivation to migrate by ensuring an acceptable livelihood in established homelands. Also, the theory of sustainable tourism emphasizes the critical importance of environmental stewardship. Environmental Communication should play a more active role in order to encourage visitors and local population to alter their inappropriate behavior and to assist the management of environmentally sound tourism development.

This paper will examine the disastrous effects that tourism faces from negative publicity when beautiful areas of the world due to climate change suffer and the end result is environmental refugees. The role of Environmental Communication as a response to all of these impacts is examined.

Climate change: impacts on tourism

Tourism and recreation sector is highly influenced by climate (Wall 1992, de Freitas 2003, Gomez-Martin 2005). Climate is an important factor in the destination choice of tourists (Maddison 2001, Lise and Tol 2002, Bigano et al., 2007, Bigano et al. 2008). The Mediterranean in particular benefits from this determinant, being close to the main holidaymakers of wealthy, but cool and rainy, Northwest Europe, and tropical islands are another example of “perfect” climate destination for a dream holiday (Bigano et al., 2008). Climate change shifts international tourism flows towards higher altitudes and latitudes (Hamilton et al. 2005a,b). The currently popular holiday destinations may become too hot, and destinations that are currently too cool would see a surge in their popularity (Hamilton et al. 2005a, b, Hamilton and Tol 2007, Amelung et al. 2007). Low ski resorts and winter tourism may be particularly vulnerable (Elsasser and Bürki 2002, Scott et al. 2004, Scott and McBoyle 2007). The redistribution of tourism flows could negatively affect countries and regions that depend heavily on income from tourism and could bring benefits to places that are currently not popular with tourists (Bigano et al., 2007).

A number of studies have begun to explore the potential adaptation of tourists to a changed climate (Maddison 2001, Lise and Tol 2002, Hamilton et al. 2005a, b, Jones and Scott 2006a, b, Scott and Jones 2006) and climate-induced environmental change (Braun et al. 1999, Richardson and Loomis 2004, Scott and Jones 2005, Uyarra et al. 2005, Scott et al. 2006). Research on tourism operators' climate adaptation in the tourism-recreation sector remains even more limited (Scott et al. 2002, 2003, 2005b, Raksakulthai 2003, Becken 2005). One exception is the winter sports tourism segment, where studies from different nations have documented existing climate adaptation practices (Elsasser and Burki 2002, Scott et al. 2003, Scott and McBoyle, 2007) and in some cases analysed the effectiveness of specific adaptations (Scott et al. 2003, 2006, Hennessy et al. 2003, Scott and Jones 2005).

Bigano et al., (2007b) presented an extended version of the Hamburg Tourism Model, including substitution between domestic and international tourism, in order to study the impact of climate change on domestic and international tourism. According to their findings:

1. Climate change would shift patterns of tourism towards higher altitudes and latitudes, same as in earlier papers (Hamilton et al., 2005a,b),
2. Domestic tourism may double in colder countries and fall by 20% in warmer countries (relative to the baseline without climate change).
3. For some countries international tourism may treble whereas for others it may cut in half.
4. International tourism is more important than is domestic tourism in colder places. International tourism is less important than is domestic tourism in warmer places. Therefore, climate change may double tourist expenditures in colder countries, and halve them in warmer countries.

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5. However, in most places, the impact of climate change is small compared to the impact of population and economic growth.
 6. Climate change has a greater impact on tourism than sea level rise does, because the latter heavily affects only a few places.

On the other hand, tourism today is deeply embedded in processes of global environmental change which natural scale and rate has dramatically increased because of human impact (Gossling and Hall, 2006). Tourism, redefining the land as a resource for leisure and recreation, has become one of the most important ways in which relations between humans and nature are today organised (Lash and Urry, 1994). Seaside and mountain business tourism destinations will face a loss of demand due to climate change and this may well lead to increases in demand for alternative destinations and increased demand could bring further negative environmental consequences. Major changes in the pattern of demand will lead to wider impacts on many areas of economic and social policy such as, for example, in employment and labour demand and in regional policy issues such as housing, transport and social infrastructure.

Climate Refugees

Climate change is likely to become the most significant cause of population displacement within the next years (Myers 1997, 2001, Bell 2004). However, although developed countries have been almost entirely responsible for greenhouse gas emission, most likely to suffer the worst consequences of climate change is any poor country lacking the economic capacity and infrastructure to cope with any increase in extreme weather events (Bell 2004, Byravan and Chella Rajan 2006). Due to irreversible climate change, by the end of the century there will be millions of 'boat people' from developing countries looking for safer ground (Byravan and Chella Rajan 2006). In, 2001, New Zealand agreed to formally admit 75 Tuvaluans a year as environmental refugees due to impacts of climate change and the threat of sea level rise (Berzon 2006).

In addition, there are limits to host countries' capacity to take in outsiders and as a result, in the wake of perceived threats to social relationship and national identity, refugees can become an excuse for political disorder (Myers 1997, 2001). Analysis of how a social relation between the host and newly settled populations influence resource use is lacking (Charnley 1997). The impact of displaced persons on host regions is typically viewed in terms of the burden they place on local infrastructures and economic development (McGregor 1993). Furthermore, the ecological impact of migrants and refugees is rarely distinguished from ongoing processes of environmental change taking place in the receiving areas for other reasons (Ghimire 1994).

Charnley, (1997) presents a case study from the Usangu Plains of southwestern Tanzania. The Usangu Plains constitute a receiving area various different rural ethnic groups of environmentally-displaced peoples from other parts of Tanzania. New migrants and long-term residents conflict over resource access, use, and control issues, together with the absence of local-level social institutions for regulating resource use and management has led to environmental decline. Charnley, (1997) shows that not only has rural capitalism had negative ecological effects in the source areas, but it has also produced negative "downstream" effects.

Climate refugees can cause negative impacts on tourism development of host countries, especially on those countries that attract tourists because of their natural heritage. The eastern region, Kivu, of the Democratic Republic of the Congo (former Zaire) holds two national parks which are listed on the UNESCO World Heritage List as being of outstanding natural value: Virunga National Park and Kahuzi-Biega National Park (Sato et al., 2000). Tourism exploitation of the parks is very significant for North Kivu and during more stable periods, the annual income of the Virunga National Park has reached \$1 million dollars (Biswas and Quiroz, 1996). At the same time, the region is characterized by a high human population density which threatens the natural environment because of the growing hunting, logging, and cultivation activities (IUCN, 1990). In addition, environmental degradation has been accelerated by the inflow of refugees resulting from the Rwandan civil war in 1994, an ethnic conflict triggered in part at least by the country's poverty, water scarcity and declining soil fertility. As a result, Virunga National Park and Kahuzi-Biega National Park management has completely broken down since 1996 and no tourist has visited the park (Sato et al., 2000).

The best way to deal with the environmental refugees' problem is to pre-empt it, rather than reacting to its symptoms (Myers 1997). Potential and actual environmental refugees should be entitled not only to equal rights to natural resources but also they should be entitled to some control over what happens to their homes (Bell 2004). Sustainable development is a policy option with the aim of reducing the motivation to migrate by ensuring an acceptable livelihood in established homelands (Myers 1997, 2001). Brundtland Report (1987) defined sustainable development as '*development that meets the needs of the present generation without compromising the ability of future generations to meet theirs,*' (World Commission on Environment and Development Report 1987: 8). Society, environment and economy are the three key areas of sustainable development (UNESCO 2005).

Development is achieved by the development of communication strategies and principles in the developing world. Communication has become an important aspect of development initiatives in health, nutrition, agriculture, family planning, education and community economics (Servaes and Malikha 2004). The principle of sustainable development is a response to perceived deficiencies of earlier models of development (Funtowicz, O'Connor, Ravetz, 1999). McDonagh (1998) characterized sustainable communication as working towards a world where humankind can preserve rather than dominate nature.

The need for Environmental Communication

Kesavan and Swaminathan (2006) present a M.S. Swaminathan Research Foundation project where rural knowledge centres are developed for ecotechnological and knowledge empowerment of the coastal communities at risk of India and they conclude that sustainable development along with the international instruments aiming at poverty reduction and environment protection, cannot be accomplished without taking into account the risk of natural hazards and their impacts, such as environmental refugees.

Abdul-Jalil (2006) reviews the situation of land tenure in Darfur and suggests that community participation should be encouraged in decision-making on issues that directly affect people's lives,

such as development, natural resource management and conflict resolution in order to deal with the current problems regarding access to land.

People's substantive rights to have their homes protected should be supported by procedural rights to effective participation in decisions that may significantly affect the conditions of their homes (Bell, 2004). Recently, United Nations High Commission for Refugees (UNHCR) has commissioned the development of methods for participatory environmental management involving both refugee and host communities (Biswas et al. 2002). Participatory resource management may enable communities to construct resource use conflicts in ways that help to prevent unproductive conflict and such forms of governance can potentially be initiated in places where the state is failing to mitigate conflict between refugee and host communities (Martin 2005). Experience has consistently shown that sustainable environmental management practices are best achieved with the full and meaningful participation of the affected communities (UNHCR 2001).

According to Beierle (1998, 1999) the outcome of citizen participation is reported in the final main decisions that have been taken and evaluated based on how citizen's participation has achieved the social goals, which surpass the immediate interests of the groups that are involved in the process of decision-making (Beirle 1999, 1998, Beierle and Cayford 1999, 2001, 2002, Davies 1998). Social goals (Beirle 1999, 1998) as education and information of public, incorporation of values of citizens in the process of decision-making, improvement of essential quality of decisions, strengthening confidence in the institutions, alleviation of conflicts and cost-effectiveness, can lead to the improvement of public programs of participation, support the evaluation of innovative methods, and promote the theoretical comprehension of citizen participation.

The dissemination of information facilitates the collective knowledge thus; the local societies comprehend better controversial issues and are able to resolve the problems that they face (Comfort 1999). When all the members of a local society are allocated the essential tools and skills so that they can collect the information that they need in order to work towards their preferred change, their role in the decision-making process is strengthened (Chopyak 2001).

Environmental Communication (EC) scholars recognize the importance of dialogue, deliberation, and learning as important features of public participation (Walker, 2007). The role of EC should be to increase the quality of enlightened decision-making, so that societies can be more fully functional in their identification, assessment, and management of risks (Heath et al., 2007).

EC is an open, give-and-take between interested parts about an environmental issue, the dissemination and exchange of environmental information, a strategic use of communication processes and media aiming at the effective support of environmental policy formation, citizen participation and application of sustainable development programs (Harrison, 1993, Bolli, 1999, OECD, 1999). It is two-way social interaction process enabling the people concerned to understand key environmental factors and their interdependencies and to respond to problems in a competent way. EC influences the sentimental and spiritual aspects of human behaviour, resulting to a positive feeling towards the environment. All these lead to the Environmental Sensitivity, an important factor

for the shaping of a responsible environmental behaviour. Sensitivity to environmental issues is one of the key aspects for triggering the society's response to pressures on the environment (Marletta et al., 2004).

Today, access to information and information services, accumulated knowledge and learning opportunities is fast, cheap and efficient and can be done without any significant spatial and temporal constraints (Marletta et al, 2004). This modification is having a strong influence on human behaviour and the changes induced can have a significant effect on the environment (Greiner et al., 1996, Jokinen et al., 1998). Environmental information now, more than ever, can have strong influence in human behaviour towards the environment. For Heath et al., (2007) EC is a tool for communicating values and identities as much as being about the awareness, attitudes, and behaviours related to the risk itself.

Conclusion

This study contributes to an understanding of the potential of Environmental Communication as a primary measure to pre-empt environmental refugee's movements and to promote sound environmental management in touristic areas, where serious problems are emerged due to climate change. Future research is important to look more closely at how communication activities have to be adapted to cultural contexts of each population at risk, at gender differences as they interact with other demographic factors as age and education level, in order to develop successful sustainability communication strategies for potential and actual environmental refugees and host communities and promote their participation in environmental decision making process, in order to promote sound tourism development.

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'An examination of the marine tourism business operators in the West of Ireland'

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Keywords: Marine Tourism, Water Based Tourism, West of Ireland, Atlantic Seaboard.

This paper examines the marine tourism business operators in the West of Ireland. The findings presented in this paper form part of a PhD study titled 'An Examination of the Marine Tourism Sector in the West of Ireland: Capabilities, Performance and Contribution to the Regional Economy'. The main findings in this paper include marine tourism products available in the West region, operators marketing management techniques, customer profiles, financial performance and the business challenges.

Background to PhD Research Study

The primary aim of the research study is to examine the marine tourism business sector in the West of Ireland and assess its contribution to the regional economy. According to the Irish Regions Office (www.iro.ie), the West Region of Ireland comprises the counties of Galway, Mayo and Roscommon. The thesis examines the marine tourism sector, firstly from a global perspective, then a national view, followed by a regional examination. It explores three main themes including the product, the person and related policy. The product theme includes the marine tourism product capabilities, and marine tourism business performance and challenges. The person theme includes marine tourist motivations, characteristics, participation levels and a visitor profile. The policy theme includes marine tourism development agents, strategic plan assessments, and funding of the marine tourism sector.

Research Methodology

The methods and procedures used in gathering data for this research study involved firstly an extensive literature review that examined the historical development of the tourism industry and the marine tourism sector, the range of water-based products and infrastructure available, marine tourism sector performance, marine tourism legislation and environmental issues, and a selection of tourism economic evaluation techniques. Secondly, a primary research programme, targeting marine tourism businesses in the West Region of Ireland was undertaken. An appropriate West Region sampling frame was established consisting of 61 marine tourism operators (i.e. operators are defined as businesses selling marine tourism activities or adventure packages to domestic and international marine tourists) and 23 marine tourism associates (i.e. associates are defined as businesses selling marine equipment such as; fishing rods, tackle, chandlery, surfing boards, sailing equipment, marine electronics or other marine maintenance services to operators, boat owners, locals, fishermen, state agents and tourists). The primary research methods used in this regional study included questionnaires and one to one interviews. In addition a case study was developed on the performance of a typical Irish seaside resort town, Roundstone in Co. Galway, in the West of Ireland.

Marine Tourism Defined

Marine tourism shares a number of similarities with the wider tourism industry, however an important distinction of marine tourism is that it is a leisure experience, which occurs in a natural water-based location. There are a number of definitions available in the literature, which describes this niche tourism market. Hall and Page (2006) describe the concept of coastal tourism, as a full range of tourism leisure and recreationally orientated activities that takes place in the coastal zone and the offshore coastal waters. Marine tourism is closely related to this concept of coastal tourism but also includes ocean-based tourism such as deep sea fishing and yacht cruising, and inland water-based activities such as fresh water angling and other water based pursuits. Orams (1999) defines marine tourism as recreational activities that involve travel away from one's place of residence and which have as their host or focus the marine environment (where the marine environment is defined as those waters which are saline and tide-affected). This definition attempts to acknowledge the term 'marine' in its biological sense – it does, however, exclude freshwater aquatic environments. On the other hand, Jennings (2003) describes water based tourism relating to any marine tourism activity undertaken in or in relation to water resources, such as lakes, dams, canals, creeks, streams, rivers, waterways, marine coastal zones, seas, oceans and ice-associated areas. This definition attempts to address the complete set of offerings available to marine tourists and offered by marine tourism businesses.

In summary, this research study defines marine tourism, marine leisure tourism or water-based tourism as recreational activities associated with the natural water-based surroundings that can be saline, tide affected and/or inland fresh water recreational and aquatic environments. Marine tourism activities may be formally organised through operators or undertaken independently. They may form the basis of a specialist holiday or simply be an element of a conventional holiday.

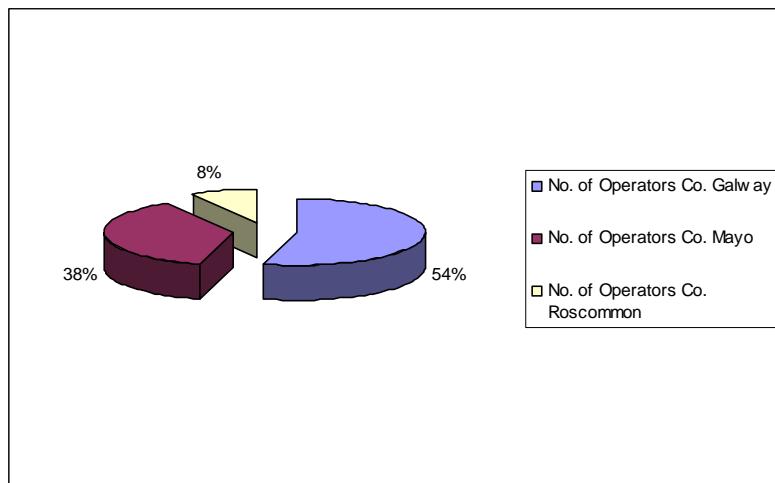
About Marine Tourism Business Operators in the West of Ireland

Marine tourism businesses in the West of Ireland are typically family owner operated, generally small scale, highly seasonal and undercapitalised. The Scottish marine tourism operators share many similarities with the Irish Marine tourism operators. They are both challenged with seasonality issues and a lack of capital investment. A recent motivational and behavioural survey of seasonally trading tourism business proprietors in Scotland reveals a complex mix of factors influencing or determining the temporal pattern of trading, far wider than the dictates of consumer demand. Goulding (2006), presents a motivational paradigm for seasonal trading in the context that supply-side focused approaches to examining seasonality are as valid as conventional demand-side approaches to gain a real understanding of the total dynamic of a seasonal tourism economy.

A West region marine tourism operator and associate business database was developed in 2005 and updated in 2008 to reflect changes in the business environment. This database of businesses represents the entire marine tourism business sector in the West of Ireland in 2008. The operator interviews took place from 2005-2007, and the findings are presented in this paper in part 1-4, including; marketing, customers and a financial analysis, and the business challenges of the marine tourism sector in the West of Ireland.

Table 1 and figure 1 illustrates the mix of marine tourism operators in Galway, Mayo and Roscommon. In 2006 there were 61 marine tourism operators in the region, with 54% in Galway, 38% in Mayo and 8% in Roscommon. In 2008, 67 businesses were recorded, representing a 10% increase in new marine tourism operators in less than two years. This demonstrates growth in the region and demand for water-based activities.

Figure 1: Marine Tourism Operators Split – Galway V's Mayo V's Roscommon



Source: Ginty, 2006, *Marine Tourism Operator Audit*

Mayo comes out top in the breadth and quantity of water based activities available in the region. For example 50% of the operators providing a complete suite of water based activities including accommodation facilities are located in Mayo. Similarly boat charter and diving businesses equate to 60% each, and surfing operators at 66% approximately. Boat charter businesses are also strong in Mayo standing at a 60% share.

Table 1

MARINE TOURISM ACTIVITY	NO. OF REGIONAL BUSINESSES (RB)	NO. OF OPERATORS CO. GALWAY	%	NO. OF OPERATORS CO. MAYO	%	NO. OF OPERATORS CO. ROSCOMMON	%
All*	10	3	30	5	50	2	20
Boat Charter	5	2	40	3	60	0	0
Canoeing/Kayaking	4	3	75	1	25	0	0
Cruising	4	3	75	1	25	0	0
Diving	5	2	40	3	60	0	0
Fresh Water Angling	8	3	37.5	3	37.5	2	25
Sea Angling	5	3	60	2	40	0	0
Island Ferries	5	4	80	1	20	0	0
Jet Ski Charter	1	1	100	0	0	0	0
Marina - Fresh Water	1	1	100	0	0	0	0
Marina - Sea Base	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
Mammal Watching	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
Safari	2	2	100	0	0	0	0
Sailing	4	3	75	1	25	0	0
Surfing	3	1	33.333	2	66.667	0	0
Windsurfing	1	1	100	0	0	0	0
Water Theme Visitor Centre	3	1	33.333	1	33.333	1	33.333
TOTAL OPERATORS BY CO.	61	33	54%	23	38%	5	8%

Note: All* = Marine tourism operators providing a 'full suite' of water-based activities from canoeing, surfing, sailing, nature appreciation, instruction, accommodation etc.

Source: Ginty, 2006, *Marine Tourism Operator Audit*

County Galway's operator strength lies in island ferry services at 80%, sea angling at 60% and inland cruising at 75%. Galway and Mayo are equally strong in the provision of fresh water angling activities. Roscommon marine tourism operators mainly include fresh water angling businesses at 25%, a water theme visitor centre and a very successful 'full suite' marine tourism operator, 'The Hudson Bay Group', who provides a range of activities on fresh water lakes and rivers.

From the business audit analysis, the regions' operator weaknesses lies in a lack of mammal watching tours and marinas available inland and coastal. It is also clear from the business audit and the product locations evaluation that the West of Ireland does not have the infrastructure to provide services for visiting cruise ships and various sailing vessels.

Part 1 Marketing Profile

The marketing findings of the operator study include a product analysis, activity pricing, popular promotional tools and distribution methods, time management and regional communications.

o Product Analysis

Table 2 and figure 2 illustrates the key marine tourism activity product categories provided by operators in the region. Twenty six marine related activities were identified in the analysis. The most popular water based activities offered by operators include surfing, canoeing/ kayaking, sailing, windsurfing and nature appreciation. This equates to 40% of businesses in the region marketing and selling these range of activities.

Table 2 Marine Tourism Activities Provided by Operators in the West of Ireland

MARINE TOURISM ACTIVITY	NO. of REGIONAL BUSINESSES (RB)	% of RB
All*	10	16%
Boat Charter	5	8%
Canoeing/Kayaking	4	7%
Cruising	4	7%
Diving	5	8%
Fresh Water Angling	8	13%
Sea Angling	5	8%
Island Ferries	5	8%
Jet Ski Charter	1	2%
Marina - Fresh Water	1	2%
Marina - Sea Base	0	0%
Mammal Watching	0	0%
Safari	2	3%
Sailing	4	7%
Surfing	3	5%
Windsurfing	1	2%
Water Theme Visitor Centre	3	5%
TOTAL Operators	61	100%
Marine Festival Events	30	

Source: Ginty, 2006, *Marine Tourism Operator Audit*

Approximately 16% of marine tourism business operators interviewed in the region provide a full suite of the water-based adventure activities. These operators also offer accommodation as a core element of the main attraction or as an add-on to the business. This result could reflect attempts to enhance business viability and/or increase profitability by offering a range of product lines to achieve wider market appeal. These avenues of development may also be aimed at mitigating extreme patterns of business seasonality (Baum, 1999, Warren and Taylor, 1994). Operators providing a full suite of services believed the accommodation offering was essential to their business in order to cater for a wide range of customer groups throughout the year including school tours in the autumn and spring and also international summer camps and adventure tour groups.

At 21%, fresh water and sea angling is the second highest activity available by operators in the region. This is followed by island ferry businesses and diving operators, both at 8%. One operator provides the visitor with a 'Safari' experience in the west coast of Ireland including a nature tour, heritage, guided walks, island trips and workshops.

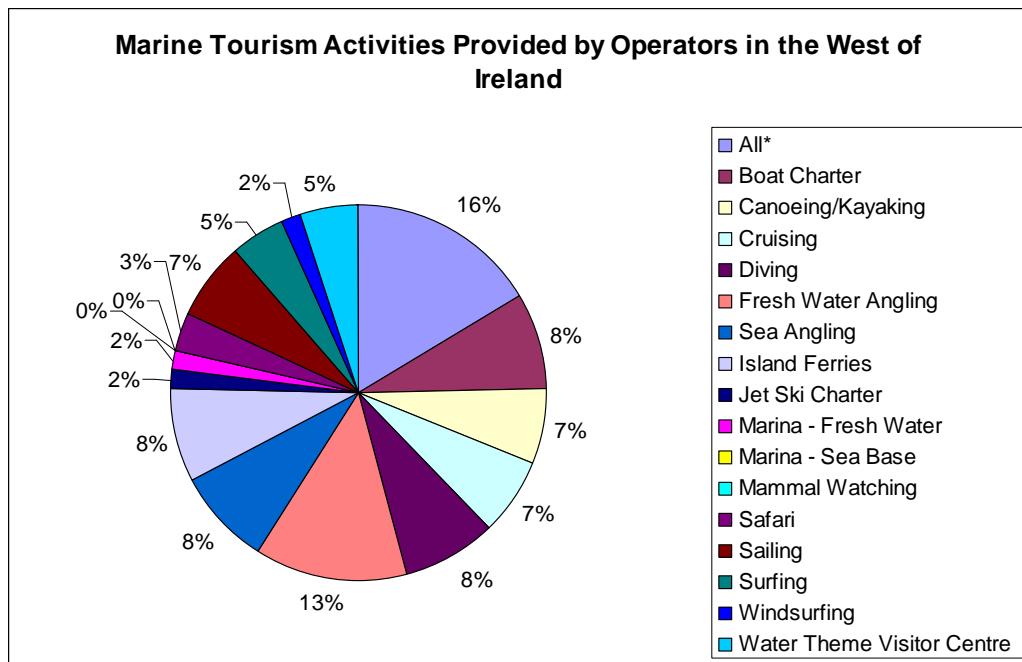


Figure 2:

Note: All* = Marine tourism operators providing a suite of water-based activities from canoeing, surfing, sailing, nature appreciation, instruction, accommodation etc.

Source: Ginty, 2006, *Marine Tourism Operator Audit*

These findings can be compared with a research study undertaken in New Zealand in 1999 (see Higham and Dickey 1999, Analysis of Activities offered and resources utilised by Ecotourism Businesses in New Zealand). Where the key marine related activities offered by ecotourism operators in New Zealand were scenic tours 29%, marine mammals 22%, sea kayaking and canoeing 25%, fishing 8%, diving 7% and sailing and skiing between 2-2.5% each.

This West Region marine tourism business study asked operators what are the most popular water-based activities they market and sell. The results varied for each operator, however a common listing

emerged which represents the most popular water based activities undertaken by visitors in the region, includes;

- 1) Kayaking/Canoeing
- 2) Surfing
- 3) Sailing/ Boat Trips/ Island Visits by Ferry
- 4) Sea Angling
- 5) Coastal Walks/Hillwalking
- 6) Marine Educational Tours

Operators were also asked what type of 'new' water based activities are emerging. Again there was quite a range of activities suggested and the following list represents a summary of the most popular activities put forward;

- 1) Kite Surfing
- 2) Hobie Cat Sailing
- 3) Ringo Rides
- 4) Wake Boarding
- 5) Coastal Camping Experiences
- 6) Raft Building
- 7) Dive Safari
- 8) Powerboating
- 9) Wave Boarding

In contrast the findings from a West of Ireland Inishbofin Island visitor survey (Ginty, 2007) conducted in May 2007 are outlined in table 3 below. Trips to the islands are a passive 'paid' marine tourism activity, however, once visitors are on the island many engage in other water based activities including 'free' and 'paid' for marine tourism products. 47% take trips to the beaches on the island, with 25% swimming in the sea and a massive 89% enjoy walking around the island. Two thirds of the activities available to visitors on Inishbofin island can be classified as marine tourism activities.

Table 3: Activities engaged in by Visitors to Inishbofin Island

Activities	%	Activities	%
Guided Tour	7	Scuba Diving	8
Walking	89	Wind Surfing	3
Eating & Drinking	73	Sea Angling	7
Arts/Crafts	4	Trips to the Beaches	47
Listening to Irish Music	52	Ferry Trip	28
Swimming in Sea	25	A Picnic	23
Canoeing	3	Cycling	29
Sailing	4	An Island Event	21
Other	15		

Source: Ginty and Murphy 2007, Inishbofin Island Tourism Development Plan07-10.

Note – multiple options chosen by respondents.

- **Activity Pricing**

A summary of the operators activity pricing is presented in table 4. A typical daytripper spending time at a West of Ireland ‘Adventure Centre’ spends approximately €40 - €70 and an anglers average costs incurred in one day (not including accommodation) is €90. Marine tourists on average spend 3-4 days on a ‘package experience’ this can cost over €325 for a diving experience.

Table 4: Average Price of Water-based Activity by Operators in the West of Ireland

Operator Category	Most Popular Packages Sold	Average Price of Water Based Activity Package
Adventure Centre*	½ Day- 1 Day	€40 - €70
	3 Days	€180
Fresh Water Angling	1 Day	€90
Sea Angling		
Scuba Diving	3 Days	€325
Sea Kaking	1 Day	€90
Island Ferries	1 Day	€70 - €100
Water Theme Visitor Centre	1 Day Access	€5.50 - €9.
Power Boating Course	1 Day	€395
Mammal Watching Tour	1 Day	€60-90
Inland Cruising	7 Days	€895

Source: Ginty, 2006, Marine Tourism Operator Study

*(Note * An Adventure Centre – Typically Provides All Major Marine Tourism Activities i.e. surfing, wind surfing, canoeing, etc.)*

- **Promotional Tools & Distribution Methods**

77% of marine tourism operators have a website and 33% have an online booking system in place. However, there is little cross referencing of these sites. The most effective marketing tools used by operators in the region include;

- 1) Networking – Personal Contacts – Word of Mouth
- 2) Website/ Internet Marketing
- 3) Van/Vehicle Branding
- 4) School Briefings
- 5) Public Relations – Articles /Journalist Visits/ Site Reviews
- 6) Inhouse Database Management – Telemarketing
- 7) Placement of adverts in speciality magazines – national and international
- 8) Mailshots

Interestingly for some adventure centre operators in the West advertising or placing articles in 'Education Magazines' and 'Scouting or Girl Guide Associations' have become an effective source generating leads. Also targeting HR managers in organisations to book 'corporate team building packages' has proved effective. The successful multinational 'Google' regularly books 'corporate marine based adventure packages' with an operator in the West to help motivate employees and also to work on innovation and creative techniques.

Over 61% of marine tourism operators in the region contribute funds to a group 'marketing fund', i.e., an association, an affiliation or state tourism agency. Typical funds range from the Fáilte Ireland West marketing fund to the Irish Sailing Association or PADI group. Marketing association contributions ranges from €150-€600 p/a depending on the business. The main benefits operators derive from such associations is a raised profile, marketing communication support, business ideas, trade show support and sales/lead generation.

- **Sales and Marketing Time Management**

Over 80% of businesses surveyed take responsibility for selling and marketing their business in addition to managing other roles within the business. On average two days per week are dedicated to selling and marketing management.

- **Regional Communications**

Marine tourism operators in the West of Ireland generally do not share information or network with each other on a regular basis. Approximately 50% of businesses surveyed don't share information with other operators. The 50% of businesses that do communicate, they refer customers to each other, share information on marine regulations or technical training tips or meet up to discuss developing the West into 'an adventure capital'.

From discussions with the operators there are generally two or three people who are the main driving forces behind the marine tourism development goals for the region. Some operators expressed a view that "*if there was a 'a marine tourism regional forum' in place perhaps networking would improve*". Fáilte Ireland have made efforts in 2008 to establish an 'adventure businesses network' in the West as a result of a strategic goal set for the region. However, there has been no announcements or updates to date on progress with meetings and agreed deliverables.

Only 50% of operators receive regular communications from state agencies and 16% have never received any information from a state tourism body. Agents who keep regular contact with 50% of the operators in the region include;

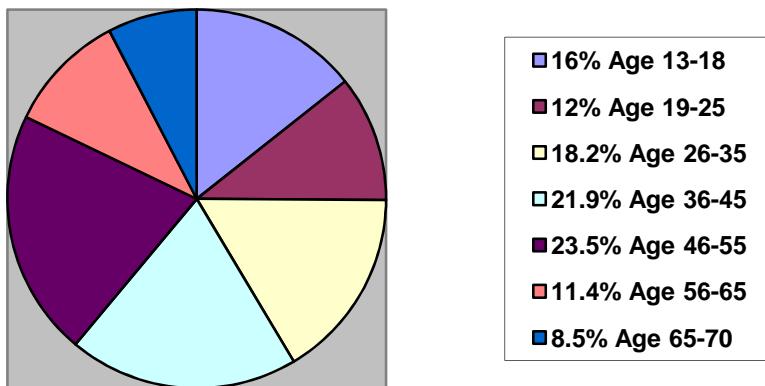
- ISA, (Irish Sailing Association)
- Irish Surfing Association
- Marine Department – mainly marine regulation notices for boats
- VEC and FAS
- Fáilte Ireland

Part 2 Customer Profile

The operators' customer analysis findings include the age groups engaging in water based activities, their country of residence and product package preferences.

- **Customer Age Group**

Figure 3: Marine Tourism Operator's Customer Age Groups:



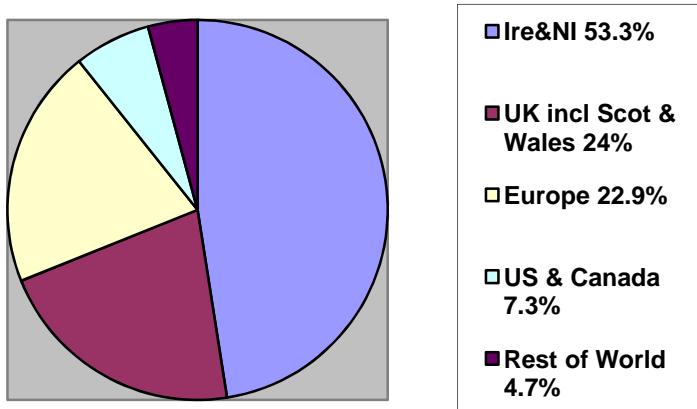
Source: Ginty, 2006.

Over 45% of operators customers range from 36-55 years of age. Teenagers have a 16% share and the 19-25 age bracket is lower at just 12%. The 13-25 age groups represent major opportunities for growing the West marine tourism participation levels. The operators believe in order to encourage increased participation among these user groups, future investment is required in the coastal and inland waterways supporting infrastructure and facilities. In addition, marine appreciation and water-based activity education modules should be introduced at first and second level school. Improving access to the water can also encourage increased participation among this youth market.

In addition future sector research could investigate the needs, perceptions, buying behaviour and water based activity participation patterns of these age groups in the West of Ireland. This research would form a valuable source of knowledge in developing a sustainable sector going forward.

- **Customer Country of Origin**

Over half of the operators customer base are domestic visitors (53.3%), this signifies its importance in terms of a target market and presents many opportunities for extending the tourist season in the off peak months with 'school and education packages'. As illustrated in figure 4, 24% of international visitors are coming from the UK and only 7.3% from the US and Canada, Ireland's two main markets.

Figure 4: Marine Tourism Operator's Customer Country of Residence:

Source: Ginty, 2006.

These findings can be contrasted with table 5 which highlights the visitors to the Island of Inishbofin on the West coast of Ireland in May 2007. 'Trips to the islands' is a passive marine tourism activity and the findings from the Inishbofin study in 2007 illustrate the typical customer profile of the 'ferry operator' in the west region of Ireland. In contrast, almost three quarter of respondents to the Inishbofin visitor survey (74%) were domestic visitors.

Table 5: Inishbofin Island Visitors Country of Residence

Domestic Visitors	%	Overseas Visitors	%
Clare	5%	Alaska	5%
Cork	2%	France	16%
Dublin	20%	Germany	10%
Dundalk	2%	Switzerland	5%
Galway	36%	UK	11%
Kildare	2%	USA	32%
Laois	9%	Northern Ireland	21%
Limerick	4%		
Mayo	5%		
Meath	2%		
Sligo	2%		
Tipperary	2%		
Westmeath	4%		
Wicklow	5%		

Source: Ginty & Murphy 2007, Inishbofin Island Tourism Development Plan 07-10.

- **Walk in Day Trade V's Tour Packages**

Over 43% of marine tourism operators business is coming from 'day trade'/'walk in trade'. Operators believe the most profitable business comes from the tour packages which can range from 2-10 days

depending on the product offering. For example 'a marine tourism package' geared at overseas teenagers during the summer months typically lasts 10 days and includes a coastal camping experience. This type of package ranges from €650-€1000. Table 6 below highlights the walk in trade as compared to the tour package customer profile.

It is also important to note the 'opportunistic' market that water-based tourism attracts. Typically a family on holiday for a week in the West of Ireland mid summer will avail of 'free' marine tourism activities such as trips to the beach plus one day 'paid' marine tourism activity offerings such as canoeing/sea kayaking or surfing in the form of lessons or equipment hire (WITHRC, 2004). This highlights the potential to expand the range of 'day trip' offerings available by operators.

Table 6: Walk in Trade V's Tour Pacakage Customer Profile

Customer Type	Customer % split	Average Days	Average € Spend
Walk in trade	43.7%	1 day	€83.58
Tour Package Trade	61.3%	4 days	€346.67

Source: Ginty, 2006.

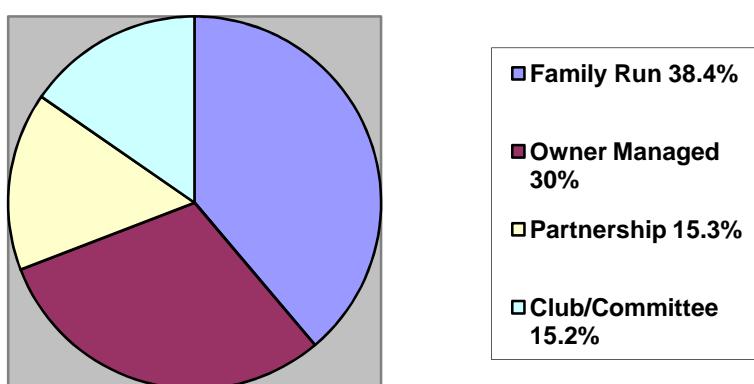
Part 3 Financial Profile

The operators financial profile is examined under four key headings including; business ownership, business operational months, state support, business performance and expenses, and employment figures.

- **Business Ownership**

Over 68% of marine tourism operators in the region are family run or owner managed. A small percentage of businesses are managed through sailing or sea angling committees or clubs.

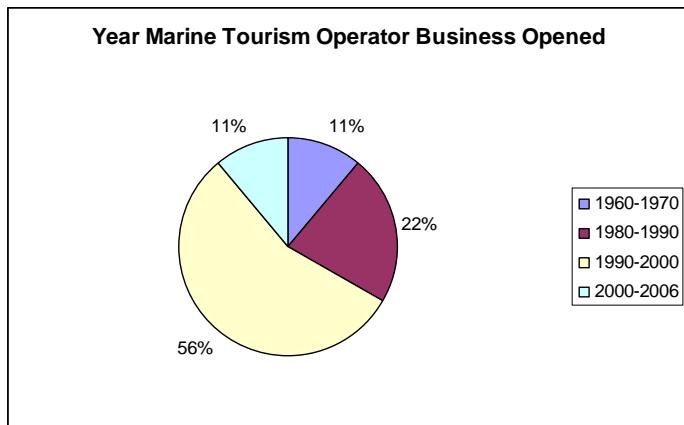
Figure 5: Marine Tourism Operators Category of Ownership



Source: Ginty, 2006.

Approximately 61.5% of marine tourism operators surveyed have other businesses. The other businesses include; other tourism businesses such as www.budgetski.ie, marine consulting, food businesses - a salmon 'smokehouse', insurance provider, boat mechanics or working for a county council part-time. Over 62% of these businesses rely on their second business to support their marine tourism business operations throughout the year.

Figure 6:



Source: Ginty, 2006.

According to the operator findings 56% of businesses were established in the 1990's and a further 22% in the 1980's. Finally the remaining marine tourism operators (22%) were set up between 1960-1980. This is reflective on Ireland's economic history and business development during these time periods. Growth in this sector can be attributed to factors such as membership of the EU, changing lifestyles and increase in incomes, government injections and investment, and the celtic tiger boom of the 1990's, which saw the marine tourism operator businesses double in size.

- **Business Operational Months**

Marine tourism operators in the West of Ireland open for business on average 9.75 months of the year. The busiest season is summer time followed by Autumn. Some businesses have been innovative in developing new products for the 'off-season' months, such as 'school tours' targeting the regional educational establishments.

As an endemic market phenomenon in many tourism destinations (Allcock, 1995; Butler, 2001), seasonality is commonly held to characterise sub-optimal utilisation of economic resources over a part of the year, to discourage inward investment in an area's tourism superstructures, to limit operators' propensity to upgrade their facilities and in certain cases can act as an impediment to labour force recruitment, retention and development (Krakover, 2000; Lundtorp, 2001) either in tourism or in other economic sectors competing with tourism (Bull, 1995) such as agriculture (D'Amore, 1976).

- **State Support**

Grants received by operators consisted of subsidies for educational programmes and funding towards the purchase of equipment or a boat. Feedback from the marine tourism operators indicates

that there is no clear knowledge of what funding is available to the industry. Many operators expressed the view that "*the grant support system in Fáilte Ireland is time consuming and bureaucratic*". Table 7 represents an example of funding received by marine tourism operators in the West since 2003.

Table 7: Examples of State Support Grants Received by Regional Marine Tourism Operators 2003-2006

2006	2005	2004	2003
Grant Agency € Value	Grant Agency € Value	Grant Agency € Value	Grant Agency € Value
Fáilte Ireland 75,000	Galway Rural Development 14190	Leader 11000	Leader 40000
Dept. of 125,000	Galway Rural Development 22900	FAS 100000	Dept. of Marine 6200
Education	Dept. of Education 125,000	Dept. of Education 125,000	Dept. of Education 125,000
	Leader 13000		FAS 100000
	Leader 25000		
	Forfas 10000		
Total 200,000	Total 85,090	Total 111,000	Total 146,200

Source: Ginty, 2006.

Businesses believe there is a lack of knowledge in relation to funding support and product development this is due to the fact there is no state support 'one stop shop' specifically catering for the marine tourism sector in Ireland. This in turn inhibits growth and will effect the long term development of the industry.

According to a Fitzpatricks Associates economic report in 2008, the total investment in tourism in the West of Ireland in 2006 was €163.5m, this represents 9% of the national capital investment in tourism (€1,798.1m). It is estimated only €1.124m (.7%) was invested in water based tourism enterprises or activities, where Mayo received 81% share of the funds, Galway 15% and Roscommon just 4%.

○ Business Performance and Expenses

Turnover & Employment

The West Region survey findings estimated total combined turnover in 2006 for 61 marine tourism operators to be €24,270,000. It is estimated that 82% of marine tourism operators in the West of Ireland achieve a turnover under €500K with 7% of this group earning less than €5K. Approximately 394 people are employed full-time by marine tourism operators in the region and a further 295 people are employed part-time.

Table 8: Marine Tourism Operators (MTO) Turnover Analysis 2006

MTO Business Type Category	% Split	Average Turnover Range €	Average Number of Businesses	Average MTO's Total Turnover Share
Small	7%	> 5,000	4	20,000
Small	57%	100,000 - 150,000	35	5,250,000
Medium	18%	350,000 - 500,000	11	5,500,000
Medium	10%	750,000 - 1,000,000	6	6,000,000
Large	8%	1m - 1.5m	5	7,500,000.00

Source: Ginty, Operator Analysis, 2008.

Turnover & Employees Correlation: There is a high correlation coefficient between turnover and full time employees at **.944**. For example;

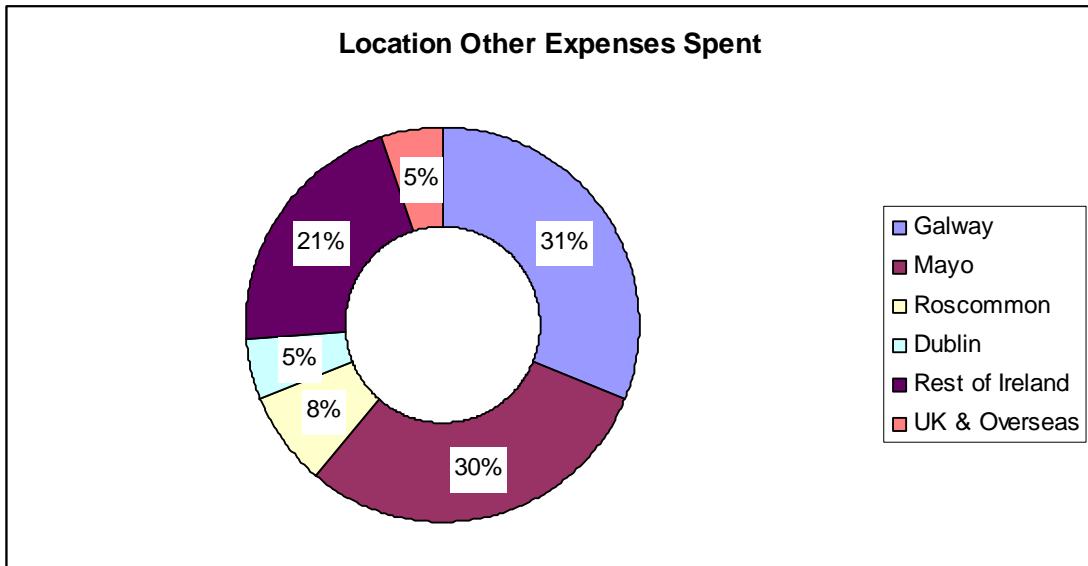
- An 'Adventure Centre' with a turnover of €1.2m employs 12 people full-time.
- A 'Diving Centre' with a turnover of €280,000 employs 4 people full-time.
- An 'Angling Business' with a turnover of €66k employs 2 people full-time.
- A 'Ferry Business' with a turnover of €2m employs 20 people full-time.

Expenses

From the West region survey an average of 41% of turnover (€9,950,700.) is allocated to paying wages and approximately 58% (€14,076,600.) of turnover is allocated to other business expenditures such as goods and services which includes 'high rated' expenses ranked by operators such as;

- 1) Insurance
- 2) Fuel
- 3) Equipment
- 4) Transport

It is estimated that €14,076,600. was spent on other business expenditures such as goods and services and figure 7 highlights where this income was spent. In 2006, approximately 69% of marine tourism operator expenditure on 'other items such as goods and services' were spent in the region (Galway, Mayo and Roscommon) this equates to €9,712,854.

Figure 7:

Source: Ginty, Operator Analysis, 2008.

Part 4 Challenges Facing the Regional Operator and the Marine Tourism Sector

Over 53% of operators interviewed in 2006 would like to expand their business. However, there are a number of challenges the businesses face in order to achieve their business goals. A range of challenges have been recorded in the data findings. After close analysis a common set of categories have emerged that link to specific problems or issues the businesses face.

The main operational problems/issues facing Marine Tourism Businesses in the West of Ireland are as follows:

Category	Problems / Issues
Suppliers	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - High cost of Fuel - High cost of equipment - High SME Insurance Costs – unfair system for tourism enterprises - High cost of utilities
Marketing	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Limited time to focus on business planning - Limited marketing/promotion spend, - Slower growth in domestic demand
Labour	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - High Cost of Labour - Cannot get adequately trained people - Staff retention problems.
Technology	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - No broadband in the area.
Regulations	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Gill Netting - Dept. of Marine Regulations

In order of priority, the main challenges confronting the Marine Tourism Sector in the West of Ireland are as follows:

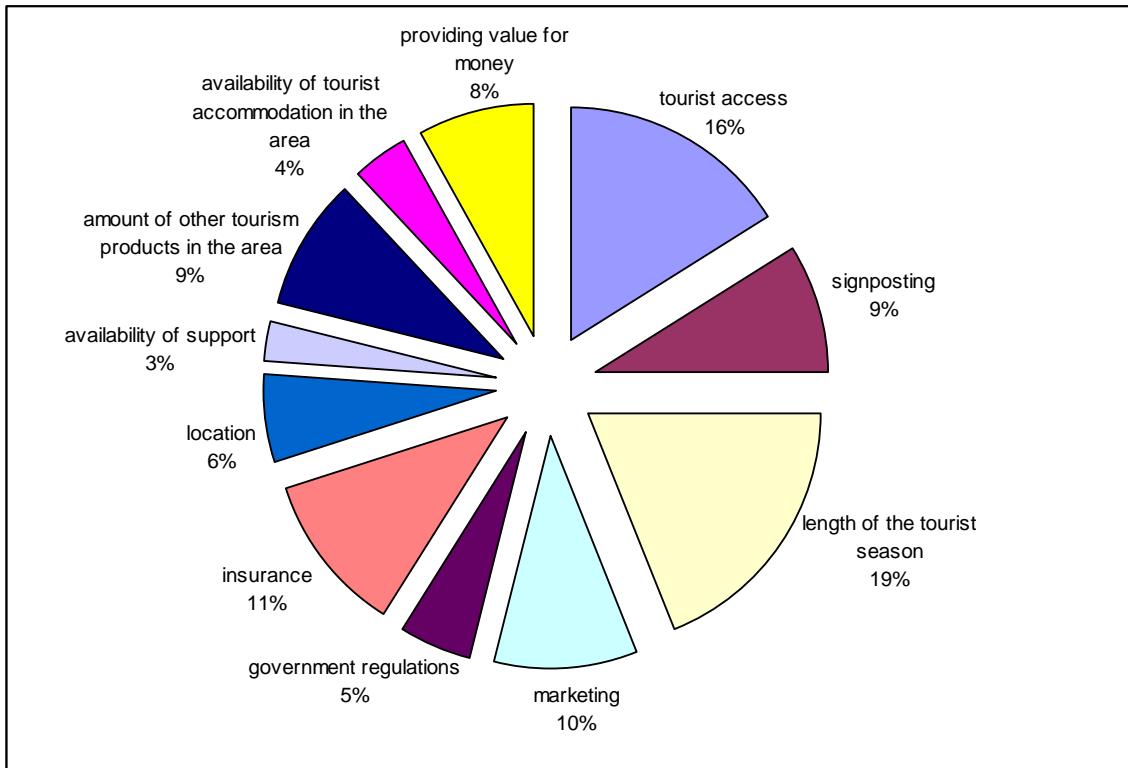
Category	Problems / Issues
1. Marketing	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Marketing the West as a 'Marine Tourism/Adventure Destination of Excellance' - High price levels in Ireland - Poor state support communication
2. Access	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Access to development support grants and the lack of Marina's and a network - Access to the water - Access – poor road network - Angling product supply - Signage
3. Competition	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Gaps in the provision - Climate - Overseas marine tourism destinations
4. Legislation	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Bureaucracy in state tourism agencies - Signage - Labour cost inflationary pressures. - Licensing
5. Perceptions	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Atlantic Ocean perception 'Cold and Dark' - Tourist perceptions

The top three support services Marine Tourism Businesses are interested in receiving on a regular basis include:

1. A 'one stop shop' – a product manager/dedicated business unit group for marine tourism in Ireland to receive marketing advice, co-ordination of promotional opportunities, development and investment in products and marine infrastructure in the area, research and government regulations.
2. Networking Opportunities.
3. Business Review/Planning Advice.

The business challenge findings from this study can be contrasted with a study undertaken by Price in 2007, which examined out of a list of eleven options, the greatest barriers to the successful development of tourism businesses in the West and North West of Ireland. Figure 8 illustrates the results, indicating the percentage of entrepreneurs ranking each variable as the greatest constraint to the development of their business.

Figure 8: Greatest constraints to the successful development of tourism enterprises



Source: Price, 2007.

The interview process and surveys with various marine tourism operators in 2006 also provided an opportunity for businesses to provide further comments on their 'business needs'.

A sample of comments are categorised and outlined in table 9 below.

Table 9: Marine Tourism Operator Business Issues - Needs

Business Issues Needs Category	Comments
Marketing	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <i>"Position the 'West' as the adventure capital of the Northern Hemisphere just as Queenstown in New Zealand is known as the adventure capital of the southern hemisphere"</i> <i>"Lots of state agents writing reports and no one is taking the lead with Marine Tourism. Worst offenders Galway Co. Co. in relation to 'access to the water'. We need to show the benefits of clustering - marketing area as a whole e.g. Dingle, Queenstown."</i> <i>"There is an element of 'fleecing' tourists - no pricing regulations in place for the island".</i> <i>"Market facts - UK divers undertake 100,000 dives per year and 75,000 take place outside Britain. Ireland receives only a small percentage of the 75,000 dives".</i>

	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • “One state agent/body needs to take the lead on marine tourism including marketing, product development and investment”. • Fàilte Ireland need to classify marine tourism into one product grouping... currently only a product group for angling and marketing linked to this. This needs to be addressed and incorporate the complete marine tourism portfolio”. • “Ireland West not delivering on marine tourism value to the media... it's not just about alcohol related festivals that promotional messages need to be geared around but take into message 'Active West' marine brand encompassing a whole range of activities that position it strongly against the New Zealand 'natural' and Australian 'outdoor' brand personality”. • “In future the Ireland West message at shows overseas should incorporate an 'Active West Water' brand. There is no formal regular communication from Ireland west, marine institute or an event for marine tourism business providers - there is no knowledge sharing or forum to communicate details - we have not been informed or invited to participate in the national marine strategy plan been released in 2006”. • “Quality product is what we win out on with the overseas competition”.
Licensing/Regulations	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • “Tropical dive locations are cheaper than Ireland and licensing regulations are too tough on pax - in '05 Diving operator forced to sell a boat due to this”. • “Gill netting of Pike is a major problem in West of Ireland and will impact the industry. EU anglers are boycotting Ireland and countries that are gill netting for Pike. A few years ago a Pike Review Group was set up, a report commissioned by Central Fisheries Board – it's sitting on a desk in Government and no action has been taken to date”. • “Traditionally sea angling has been the domain of the average earner. Due to the unwarranted stringency of the 2002 passenger boat regulations it can now only be enjoyed by the elite and higher earner”. • “In the 90's £3m spent on tourism angling measure on the Corrib this type of initiative needs to be happening regularly. Actions needed: 1) I would like the government to buy out drift-netting 2) Market Research - there is a lack of primary data from fisheries”.
Environmental Protection	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • “There are only two sites left in Europe for Wild Brown Trout (sporting fish) fishing in the West of Ireland in Lough Corrib

	<p><i>and Lough Mass. Protection needs to be a priority".</i></p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • <i>"Environmental issues with the water - tourists were poisoned on the island last year.</i>
Product Development/ Infrastructure Development	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • <i>"Fáilte Ireland's (FI) grant procedures are too bureaucratic and time consuming. Fáilte Ireland are not getting constructive criticism because people/businesses are afraid they wont get a grant".</i> • <i>"Fáilte Ireland is responsible for promoting the angling product. If you are responsible for promoting a product you should also take responsibility for the protection and development of the product."</i> • <i>Some islands need marine tourism support facilities... they have poor shelter/no safety signs/ public toilets, changing or no information centres".</i> • <i>"Government agents recognise the importance of the inland waterways. State ownership of tourism slows down entrepreneurship and development".</i> • <i>"Waterways Ireland are impossible to deal with".</i>
Competition	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • <i>"In 2000, we were making €100K a year and running an all year business. Now we operate from May to September only, due to VEC centre competition (Westport Area)".</i>
Education	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • <i>"The students graduates from Sligo IT in outdoor tourism courses are not equipped practically to work in an activity centre - too academic focused and not enough practical experience e.g. can't judge the weather conditions etc."</i> • <i>"Issues with the islands include the need for an education programme for service providers on island re. tourism management".</i>
Health & Safety	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • <i>"There are lots of barriers to running a business on Islands - Infrastructure and funding. The pier at Inis Mann was upgraded in 1995 but we can't leave our dive boat unattended for more than 1 hour - as it's very dangerous. There has been a drowning incident. It's classed now as an exposed off shore pier and rated high risk. As a result our boat is only insured from May 1st to Sept 30th "</i> • <i>"Access to the water is a major problem in the region".</i>

Source: Ginty, 2006 & 2007 Operator Interviews

Product Recommendations to Support the Marine Tourism Sector in the West of Ireland

Even though the coastal and marine resources of the West of Ireland are of great importance to a multiplicity of marine specific tourism businesses and other tourism enterprises, no one body or agency holds authority or responsibility for the development of marine tourism products.

This study has identified a number of marine tourism product gaps in the West of Ireland that need to be addressed by a leading marine tourism development authority. For example there is a need to invest in beach resort facilities and coastal walking/cycling routes right around the coastline. Other gaps include redevelopment of small ports and harbours, as most small ports were originally developed to serve the fishing industry, to facilitate local trade or as a landing place for sea farers. Today, leisure and recreational uses play a critical role and are driving change in small ports and harbours. The factors which are driving this change include the EU fisheries policy and quotas and the need for alternative marine leisure enterprises which can replace fishing businesses and avoid unemployment or displacement. A project financed by INTERREG called SEAWO-MEN in Galicia in Northern Spain has succeeded in redeploying fishermen/women through re-training and re-developing harbours and coastal amenities to focus on marine leisure enterprises. There are lessons to be learnt from these projects that could work in the West of Ireland or other regions in Ireland.

There is also an absence of visitor marinas along the West Coast. The literature has reported that a typical small/medium sized marina (50-80 berths) in a regional location can generate from €380,000 to €800,000 per annum and can support 20-30 full time equivalent jobs. The development of a slipway or pontoon alongside an existing quay in a small port or harbour can transform its usefulness in terms of marine recreation. Land based facilities such as a sailing or a marine leisure club house, toilet and shower facilities are equally in demand. Furthermore, there are a number of benefits to be derived from rejuvenation projects based on marine recreation including more efficient use of redundant state assets, generation of revenue for small ports and harbours and the catchment area, attraction of additional visitors and investment in the areas and employment creation.

Other much needed product developments include ‘themed routes’ for the Inland waterways, inland angling reorganisation around stocks and tourism access, building on Ireland’s distinctive location as Europe’s most westerly island, the ‘wet and wild’, ‘adventure’, ‘escapism’ and ‘passive’ marine based activities. Sea angling access via small piers and harbours on the coastal area is also required and an increase in sea trips/small tourism vessels for marine nature tours. Water themed visitor centres in Mayo and Galway also need new product ideas to attract visitors. The islands need the development of tour packages linked to Irish marine culture. Finally, viewing points and signage or vessels for whale and dolphin watching are poorly provided in the West of Ireland compared to our neighbouring Atlantic competitors, and this needs to be addressed.

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'Holiday Home, Sweet Home from Home: A Phenomenology of the Second Home Living Experience'

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Introduction

This paper discusses the overall findings of an important study of the second, or holiday, home living experience; it aims to foreground the most significant insights obtained during the course of the study. The paper will discuss each of these themes, and will move on to confirm the contribution of the study to the literature and then finally the paper will clarify areas for further research that arise directly from this study.

Background to the Study and Aim of the Research

The current importance of second home living within tourism is highlighted by Müller's (2004) contention that 'Second home tourism goes beyond tourism' because it contemporaneously represents the global and the mobile, and the maintenance of tradition; it is 'a way of tourism' that requires mobility and involves recurrence. It requires the second home tourist to behave in a seemingly complex way: to contemporaneously practice mobility and the desire to return to the second home. The holiday home provides links between home and away, between 'the ordinary and the extraordinary' (Aronsson, 2004, p.76), between the touristic and the non-touristic.

The overall aim of this study was to capture the essence of the experience of the holiday home owner within the current philosophical and cultural context. The study commenced with the very clear vision of what it wanted to achieve for the reader: an accessible and engaging account of the lived tourism experience of the second home owner. I feel it was essential to bring the reader into the experience with me and the participant so that they would come away feeling that they have an enlightened insight into the experience, second home living, under discussion. This has been achieved, several readers remarking that they had a much richer understanding of the phenomenon having read the holiday home owner's accounts.

This study, a phenomenology of the second home living experience, articulates the essence of the experience of the holiday home owner within the current philosophical and cultural context. A brief account of the approach to the research and the methods used is provided in the next section and then the most significant insights of the study will be discussed.

Research Approach

The experience of second home-owning is very personal, very individual to the home owners involved. In terms, of this study, reality is seen to be 'subjective, multiple, holistic, dynamic and socially constructed' (cf. Westwood, 2004; Cockburn-Wootton, 2002). There was clearly a necessity to be as flexible as possible in the approach to the collection and synthesis of knowledge about this phenomenon, in order 'to capture the essence' of the experience, to understand the 'how' of the experience. From an epistemological perspective, this study is primarily understood by reference to

the phenomenological approach which is concerned with understanding social phenomena from the participant's own perspective (Creswell, 1998); it is the experience that is examined.

The fieldwork for this study took place in two distinct phases; Phase One consisted of 15 individual depth interviews and Phase Two involved seven participants or couples, whom I interviewed extensively and who completed diaries and photographic studies for me. All participants in both phases of the study had their holiday homes in Ireland, generally not more than three hours drive from their primary home. The output of Phase One was a collection of ten composite themes which encapsulated the experience of second home living.

The desire to 'dig deeper', to capture more of the 'essence' of the experience led to Phase Two of the study. During this phase the use of audio diaries and photography enabled collaborators to tell their own story. While in a general research sense diaries have been found to be an excellent means of gathering data on what might not be forthcoming in face-to-face interviews, or of gathering information on what is done rather than what is said (Bytheway & Johnson, 2002; Hammersley & Atkinson, 1995), they have been little used in tourism research. The most recently published tourism study involving the use of diaries is Bente Heimtun's (2007) study of Norwegian midlife single women's holidaymaking and identity related issues; she concludes that diary writing is 'empowering, reflexive, inclusive and potentially an instrument for change' (p.255). From an epistemological stance with regard to this study, having collaborators complete the diary put them in the driving seat of the production of insight into their second home living experience, they rather than myself as researcher, took charge of the articulation of the experience. The themes they produced are not neat and singular but rather messy and multi-faceted and aim to be part of a much needed broader conceptualisation of the holiday home as part of tourism (Müller, 2004). The following sections of this paper discuss the most insightful findings of the study.

The Current Cultural Context

The essence of the experience of second home living is in the freedom to move easily from one home to another, from the world of the everyday to the world of the tourist; there is almost an integration of everyday life and tourist life so seamless is the movement from home to holiday home. Yet the holiday home owner can describe an experience that is different to the everyday, that is an alternative to it, that complements it. The second home becomes the desired alterity to the primary home. The second home has provided people with the ability to experience something that was no longer present in their 'normal' lives (Hall & Müller, 2004). A central element is the ease of the transition between primary home and secondary home which is reliant on the practised air of the holiday home owner. Two lives, or two parts of a life, are accommodated with consummate ease in the arrangement between primary home and holiday home.

Within the current post-modern cultural context second home living allows for a flitting between worlds; it permits a constant sampling of what is on offer in each home. It is this variety, this inherent novelty, that marks out the second home living experience as touristic.

From another perspective, the certain level of de-differentiation between the primary and holiday worlds facilitates the movement between them; there is enough similarity to allow for an easy transition. Rojek's (1997) contention that 'Tourism is not an escape from everyday life, it is a plane of cultural difference in which everyday life routines are contrasted and developed' (p.70) is accommodated very neatly in the discussion of second home living.

The cosmopolitan approach is 'to search for contrast rather than uniformity' (Hannerz, 1996, p.1); second homeowners are looking for varying degrees of contrast. Thompson & Tambyah (1999) have written of 'the unique set of cultural dynamics that lie at the intersection of postmodernism and the increasingly ambiguous distinction between touristic experiences and the practices of everyday life' (p.236). This home away from home provides just enough difference to provide contrast to the primary home. Considering particularly urban post modern life, the second homeowner is very often in search of what they feel is missing from the primary home, following Theroux (1986), I have found second home dwelling may be a search for 'the home plus home'. The cosmopolitan holiday home owner 'is often constructed as one who possesses the distinct competence and knowledge to handle cultural diversity and who draws unique strength from being at home in a variety of contexts' (Williams and Van Patten, 2006, p.41); the second home owner has the capability to transcend the boundaries of the primary home, to enter the holiday home and be at home and away at the same time, and then to return to the primary home.

Several of the participants in this study say they '...are looking for something that is just a little bit different'; MacCannell (2001) opines that 'they are looking for the unexpected, not the extraordinary'. The holiday home provides just the right amount of contrast to everyday life in the primary home and this makes it easy to traverse the physical and psychological distances between primary home and holiday home, between the touristic and the non-touristic. Everyday lives blur into non-everyday lives in the holiday home.

Mobility may be considered a defining characteristic of current times. Personal mobility, as well as the mobility of society as a whole, has facilitated the accessing of touristic experience by many more people. Second home owners are mobile people; they are mobile between homes, within each home location and to other tourist and non-tourist locations. It is this inherent ease with being mobile that allows the holiday home owner to move with apparent effortlessness from everyday life home to holiday life home; the transcendence from one world to the next, while having markers, is seemingly painless.

Second home owners are enabled in their mobility because they ensure that their second home life fits in with the obligations of their everyday lives. Several participants in this study remarked that they then fit in holidays abroad around their commitment to their holidays in their second homes. Ability to be mobile between homes and other holiday locations was found to vary according to position on the family life cycle. Involvement in 'other holidays' was regarded as being essential to provide novelty.

The post-modern, cosmopolitan holiday home owner is mobile and finds this mobility convenient and easy; their attachment to several places requires mobility (Gustafson, 2006), the ability to flit without effort among these places. The second home is a home and as such the tourist becomes significantly attached to it, over time it becomes their alternative reality. Second home owners are well practised in what Cohen & Taylor (1992) describe as 'total dissociation from paramount reality and the construction of another reality'; they exhibit Urry's (2001) 'compulsion to mobility', and although second home owners were not his intended direct focus, they clearly exhibit the characteristics of what Urry (1995) refers to as the aesthetic cosmopolitanism of the present day tourist.

In considering tourism in the broadest sense, this study has found truth in Ryan's (2002) proclamation that 'the harder we look at the nature of tourism, the more it slides into ambiguity'. In the holiday home we find elements of both the home experience and tourism experience.

Everyday Home Life and Holiday Home Life

This study has presented a multi-faceted phenomenological insight into the second home living experience; the focus is on what Husserl terms the 'lived'. The study has explored the interaction of the Everyday Home Life and the Holiday Home Life of the second home owner; the lived-in second home owning experience.

Jaakson (1986) asserts that 'the second home owner is a sort of permanent tourist', this ambiguity between everyday home life and the holiday home life of the second home owner (Ryan, 2002) is what allows the second home to be so easily accessed and enjoyed. The participants in this study were not at all concerned with any difficulty surrounding their transit from one world to the next; it is accomplished with ease. They are cosmopolitan in their orientation towards novelty and diversity, their second home living is part of the rich variety of their post-modern tourism and everyday living experience. In fact, very often it is life at the holiday home that becomes 'the ordinary' existence that provides meaning and identity in life, while the modern urban home comes to represent the extraordinary existence (Kaltenborn, 1998). The post-modern also allows for the 'fragmentation' of people's lives between everyday home and holiday home; they live their lives in enjoyable parts or fragments. There is a de-differentiation between the parts of their lives, their lived experience; there is a practised ease in their cosmopolitan mobility. The fragmented, rootless nature of the post-modern encourages the tourist in a search for home away from home. The informality of the post-modern parallels the informality of the second home; there is a strolling, a flâneuring, through life in the second home. The bringing of home into the touristic, the melding of the everyday and the non-everyday, point to the transferability of the concept of home. Following Theroux's (1986) line of thought and considering the contributions of the participants in this study, it can be surmised that the second home owner is looking for home plus home in the second home.

Another objective of the study was to give prominence to the minutiae of the Everyday Second Home living experience. The participants described, in substantial detail, the everyday aspects of their second home living experience. The first phase of the study generated ten broad themes of meaning in relation to the second home living experience: Everyday life; Family life; Friends and

neighbours; Frequency of use, Access, Mobility and Transcendence; Other holidays; Activities in the second home; Acquisition of home; Primary home; Attachment and Ritual. All of these themes contain rich detail of the living experience of the second home owner in the holiday home. The issues were explained in the voice of the second home owner. The second phase of the study produced knowledge of the everyday living experience of second homeowners in the holiday home through the production of seven individual, highly personalised, stories. The collaborators in this part of the study used photographs and audio diaries to bring the minutiae of their everyday lives to life for the reader, to bring the reader into their holiday home lives. The study has succeeded in giving prominence to the minutiae of the Everyday Second Home living experience.

There is a clear overlap in the everyday primary home lives and the second or holiday home lives of the participants in this study; many of the activities and functions of the primary home are undertaken in the holiday home. However, it is apparent that the holiday home adds something significant to 'the quotidian existence' of everyday life. Second home owners in this study, and throughout the extant literature, talk of the recreation of self, the finding of more home than is available in the primary home and the transport to a world that is different; all of these are functions of the touristic.

The two lives are well integrated, the holiday home owner works out a way of living both lives, that of the primary home and that of the holiday home. The concept of home is central to both lives. Home is the place from which we engage in tourism, and to which we then return. In the case of second home living, home remains an integral part of the tourism experience, and is in fact sought after. The holiday home is viewed as somewhere to 'live more', and yet 'more simply', than is possible in the first home; several home owners speak in comparatively negative terms about aspects of life in their primary home.

This study has brought focus to the macro issues of everyday life in both homes (e.g. different locations, work/non-work time) and micro issues of everyday life (e.g. different eating and reading habits). It is the break from routine that is experienced in the holiday home that is most remarked upon. However, great enjoyment is gleaned from routine activities, such as laundry and cooking, that are undertaken in the holiday home, 'they feel different'. The holiday home allows the holiday maker to be 'wilder and freer' than is possible in the primary home; second home living allows the home owner the opportunity to access parts of their personality that are neglected, either because of lack of time or of emphasis, in the primary home. Time in the primary home is more structured, in the holiday home it is 'the lack of a plan' that is enjoyed, the 'time to reflect'. It is notable that priorities are often different in the second home, for instance there is more of an emphasis on relaxation, on family and on casual entertaining. There is a particular focus on children's needs in the holiday home and it has been found that use of the second home by the family differs over the family life cycle.

Overall, it can be concluded that while there are differences between everyday home life and everyday holiday home life, the everyday and the touristic, there is some ambiguity. The second home owner does not find this ambiguity uncomfortable but rather embraces it as part of the

experience; they want difference but not so much difference. In the post-modern tradition of de-differentiation, the post-modern, cosmopolitan holiday home owner becomes attached to their second home while remaining mobile between homes and out in the world in general.

Contribution of This Study to the Tourism Literature

Tribe & Airey (2006) in reviewing the general state of tourism research wrote, 'Despite our interesting conference titles and research papers – many significant truths remain under-and untold' (p.13); the area of interest for this study has uncovered an untold truth about tourism. It has provided a detailed self generated insight into the lived experience of the holiday home owner. This is where the value of its contribution to the study of tourism lies.

This study grew out of an initial desire to understand how we move from everyday life to tourist life and back again. It was difficult to find descriptions of the experience told from the perspective of the tourist, 'existing accounts tell us very little about the meanings attached to a holiday by the key participants, i.e. the tourists' (Wickens, 1999). This view is supported by Ryan's (1997) statement that 'emotional discourse is almost entirely missing from the tourism literature on behaviour'. The discourse presented in this study is that of the person of interest, the second home owner. Their story is told by them in their own language and using their own audio diary and photographic ideas to illustrate their experience and behaviour. Undertaking this study has provided an opportunity to examine not only why the tourist behaves and experiences as they do, but more importantly from an experience perspective, how they behave and experience as they do. This study contributes significantly to our knowledge of how the tourist experiences tourism because it enables the second home owner, in their own words, to tell the story of how they experience tourism. The study positions the practice of holiday home living within the practice of tourism. It places the practice of holiday home living within the context of post-modernism and in particular cosmopolitanism. It juxtaposes the experiences of the primary home with those of the holiday home.

The literatures on home and holiday home have been augmented through the innovative interpretive approach used to uncover the truths at the heart of this research story. The holiday home consumer is the beginning and end of the story, the richness of their narrative pervades the telling of this story. Most of the extant literature, emanating primarily from Australia, the US, Canada and Scandinavia, results from numerically significant positivist approach studies. There has been a need for studies such as this one which come from the interpretivist tradition. This study further develops interpretivist practise in tourism research; it makes a visible contribution to interpretive practice. Specifically, the positions of home and tourism, and the lived experience of the second home have been furthered in this discussion.

Final Thoughts

The study on which this paper is based has presented a phenomenology of holiday home living. The homeowners who collaborated in this project have enjoyed a variety of experiences of second home holiday, and while no deliberate attempt has been made to construct a consensus among them, the study has produced 'an essence' of the experience of second home living. Determinant of this experience is the contrast of Everyday Home Life and Holiday Home Life, and Mobility. These

themes, along with consideration of the philosophical and cultural contexts of the study, act as a foundation for the articulation of the essence of the experience of second home living.

Bauman (1993) tells us that 'Inhabitants of post modernity live in horror of being fixed and bound'; the contemplation of a lack of contrast between, and in some cases, among homes, is horrifying to the second home owner. Their well practiced cosmopolitan alterity between homes and other tourist locations is symbolic of tourism as we live it today; it is at once part of our lives and apart from our everyday lives. The original interest of this study in transcendence between everyday life and tourist life, while now appearing somewhat simplistic, does still resonate in that it implies freely returning 'to the world of their elective centre', that the everyday exists only because the non-everyday does. It is the cosmopolitan reflexivity of the second home owner that allows them to negotiate the transcendence from the everyday to the non-everyday, from the home to the holiday home, from the non-touristic to the touristic.

The contribution of this study to the tourism literature lies in its furtherance of the exploration of the interaction of the Everyday Home Life and the Holiday Home Life of the Second Home Owner. The phenomenology created by the collaborators in the study gives prominence to the minutiae of the everyday Second Home living experience; it captures its essence. In doing this it increases our knowledge of tourism.

Future research

It is clear that a number of opportunities exist for further study of the issues which this study has examined.

A continual source of frustration during the conduct of the study was that I felt there was more to learn, more of a story to be told, if I could only 'dig deeper'. I was excited by reading the work of authors such as Jack Douglas (1980, *Sociologies of Everyday life*), Howard Garfinkel (*Studies in Ethnomethodology*, 1967), and more currently the work of Russell Belk (2000, 1997, 1996, 1995, 1989, 1979), Maurice Holbrook (1991) and Arnould (1994, 1993). A full ethnography of second home living would provide further understanding of the phenomenon.

A number of subgroups within the second home owner grouping would be very interesting to engage with further, two groups worthy of particular attention are children and mobile home owners. Children, apart from simply the richness of their experiences, would be of interest because of the implications of holiday home experience on later involvement in second home and other tourism pursuits. A number of my Phase One participants were mobile home owners. Each of these locations that I visited resembled a mini society with intricate rules and regulations for the conduct of life in the mobile home. Especially interesting was the limited insight into the lives of the women left alone with children during the week while partners returned to the city to work. It would be worthwhile to give them a forum in which to tell their story.

As discussed previously, most of the work completed elsewhere on holiday home living has been of a quantitative design. I think it would be fruitful to take more of an interpretivist approach to some of the issues this work has examined.

Closing Reflections

When I commenced this study most Western economies were firmly positioned in the boom part of the economic cycle. Emerging touristic behaviours mirrored the confidence of the economic markets: more luxury, more exotic and longer haul, further away locations, more experience heightened encounters seemed to be the order to the day. Many colleagues and friends were unsure as to what domestic second home owners could tell us about tourism; I was not at all clear myself.

Very recent economic developments, globally and nationally, have significantly impacted the usual beginning of year holiday planning habits of tourists. There is substantial insecurity among many millions of people regarding their likely near future employment and the financial well being of their families.

Whether it is a lakeside cottage in Finland, a fishing shack in Michigan's Upper Peninsula, a seaside cottage in Co. Wexford, Ireland, we cannot help but envy those who will be able to enjoy, that safe home from home, that familiar vacation retreat from the cares of the world while continuing to enjoy the security of home, the holiday home.

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'Worldmaking' through food tourism: Spatial, social and cultural resistance'

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INTRODUCTION

Food tourism can be harnessed as a conceptual lens to challenge prevailing theoretical positions by combining material and non-material analyses; linking the spatial with the social and cultural. Moreover, this paper demonstrates the 'worldmaking' potential of tourism by exploring the employment and nature of resistant practices that characterise the development of food tourism. Building on work that urges the academy to regard tourism as 'a lead vehicle in the valuation/revaluation of local places' (Hollinshead 2007), I suggest that the concept of 'resistance' demonstrates this agency and can explain how place is presented, performed and promoted through food. It is suggested that there is a spatial, social and cultural nexus of resistance within which lies a 'third space' and the food (tourism) producer and consumer operate in these blurred spheres of resistance in order to sustain a sense of place and identity. This paper therefore engages with discourses of tourism that encourage us to move beyond material/symbolic and social/cultural binary conceptualisations and problematise the rigid dualisms that unhelpfully limit the boundaries and direction of our thinking and analyses.

Food tourism

Food and beverage constitute up to one-third of total tourist expenditure (Meler and Cerović 2003), and is worth nearly \$8 billion each year in the United Kingdom (ICTA 2007). As part of a rise in new consumption patterns, food-motivated travel is becoming a significant 'pull' factor in marketing strategies (Okumus *et al.* 2007). Moreover, food tourism is a way of exploring 'undigested' areas of tourism studies research, providing a powerful conceptual vehicle to embrace interpretative and critical modes of thinking (Ateljevic *et al.* 2007). It is presented here as an illuminating cultural phenomenon saturated with discursive potential to produce new knowledge about tourism experiences, identity development, societal relationships and 'world making' possibilities. It is a subject ripe for scholars to undertake a more critical and culturally-informed interrogation (Everett and Aitchison 2008), and by embracing different disciplinary theoretical and empirical 'ingredients' it provides a new dimension with which to re-visit dominant discourses and examine social relationships and interactions.

The recent wave of farming crises and animal diseases, in combination with concerns surrounding genetically-modified foodstuffs, food mileage, homogenising global food powers and perceived loss of distinguishable food identities, has resulted in widespread disillusionment with the food chain (Goodman and Puis 2002). In this climate, not only are consumers turning to regionally-identified foods, but local food producers are rapidly becoming a significant industry group (Tregear 2003). As concern mounts over the rapidly increasing multiplicity of global powers controlling food, worries arise over the rationalisation of the system and questions are raised over its general production and delivery (Feagan 2007). Consequently, the practices and discourses by which locally-delivered food

tourism offers are developed, managed and mediated can be critically evaluated in order to contribute to wider disciplinary debates and conceptualisations.

THEORETICAL APPROACH: 'THIRD SPACE' THINKING

Historically, tourism research has been characterised by a legacy of management anchored in epistemological and methodological positivism before the turn towards more cultural (and latterly more critical) discourses and interpretations. In line with Aitchison (2005), I argue the spheres of the structural (material) and poststructural (cultural/non-material) should communicate with each other to avoid the 'dematerialisation' of tourism studies. By recognising the value of more structural and material geographical contributions whilst engaging in a cautious adoption of poststructural theorising enables concepts such as resistance, identity and power to be theorised without neglecting the structural and material contexts in which they are embedded. Philo (2000:9) suggests that a revival of a 'material culture' perspective may build bridges within the discipline and reverse the process that had been evacuating 'the social'. However, in addition to the social and cultural, tourism is essentially a spatial phenomenon and the subject may also need a 'respatialisation' in conjunction with its 'rematerialisation', therefore I suggest there is value in empirical work that rematerialises the way place identities are constructed by interrogating and negotiating relationships across the spatial, social and cultural.

In considering 'in-betweeness', cultural analyses can be placed within the wider context of institutional structures and forces. In seeking to retain spatial analyses and the positive contribution of the cultural turn, perspectives of resistance can straddle material and non-material dimensions; forging an 'in-between' path between real and imagined geographies (Keith and Pile 1993). This allows a different sense of space to be invoked that approaches space as active, culturally-informed and fluid whilst not being emptied of politics and lived spatialisations (Massey 1993). Thus, there is a complex traffic in-between the discursive sites of theory and the lived experiences of people and it is in this so called 'third space' (Soja 19996) where it may be possible to mediate and problematise binary oppositions. 'Third space' represents a point from which to 'engage contemporary accounts of power and resistance in cultural studies' (Moore 1997:102), occupying an intellectual position structured by intersecting geometries of power, identity and meaning.

As Soja (1996) claims, 'third space' helps conceptualise a sphere where centres and margins are blurred and where material and metaphorical spaces overlap. It is purposefully tentative and flexible in order to transcend artificial dualisms such as modernism/postmodernism and reality/representation; building on the concept of 'first space' as the 'real' and material world and 'second space' as an interpreted and cultural reality based on the imagination. Likewise, as Bhabha (1994:38) asserts, 'to that end we should remember that it is the 'inter'- the cutting edge of translation and negotiation, the in-between space - that carries the burden of the meaning of culture'. Thus, there is value in using a theoretical framework that attempts to rebalance the relationship across the spatial (local/global, core/margin), the social (production/consumption, domination/resistance) and cultural (tactics/strategies, non-material/material). Where binaries have been formulated, a more holistic perspective is required in order to critique and encourage scholars to consider 'third space' thinking that utilises theories of resistance.

Worldmaking and resistant practices

Hollinshead's (2007:166) concept of 'worldmaking' describes the 'creative and collaborative essentialising/ normalising/ naturalising imperatives which ordinarily and routinely run through the representational repertoire of tourism in each place', and has put issues of cultural production firmly on the tourism studies agenda. However, its value as a concept can be enhanced by looking at the practical implications of tourism agency, thereby generating empirical evidence to contextualise the 'great and grand clichés'. There is a need to place flesh on these theoretical 'bones' by examining people and places engaged in a complex web of resistance and agency/structure tension, otherwise it will remain under-researched with little to support Hollinshead's claims that tourism is a realm of representation; agent of signification; active discourse; interpreted narrative; mediating vision; and maker of locality, especially in examining the co-productive role of tourism 'as a global but differential change agent' (2007:188). Consequently, by employing resistance discourses and identifying tangible and everyday acts of resistance in food tourism, this paper demonstrates one dimension of the '*worldmaking* agency of tourism'.

Although 'resistance' is a problematic and contested concept (Pile and Keith 1997), it can help inform a theory of touristic practice, highlighting the ways that producer and consumer are integrated in complex 'worldmaking' processes of resistance and regulation. In 'rematerialising' tourism to develop new knowledges, we must recognise the value of poststructural ideas whilst not neglecting the influence and presence of wider global structures. Specifically, there is value in exploring the cultural manifestation of resistance (Sharp *et al.* 2000); the more subtle practices that work to challenge the products of global rationalisation such as economic liberalism, the science of prediction and control, institutional rationalism of regulation and government legislation. Drawing on Lefebvre's (1991) concept of 'alienation' to describe everyday life in capitalist society, food tourism is presented as an attempt to escape and recover something of a free human being through action and resistant behaviour. Tourists are not just passive consumers, but are active in sense making where they become co-producers and co-performers in a process of 'productive consumption' (de Certeau 1988).

METHODOLOGY

An interpretative approach was undertaken to fully interrogate complex issues such as liminality, resistance, place, worldmaking, identity, performativity and embodiment. In advocating the rematerialisation of geography, Valentine (2001:169) argued that 'the methodology must follow suit' and fieldwork must be undertaken in order to uncover the structures and realities that many advocates of the cultural turn merely theorised. With this in mind, a hybrid of grounded theory was deemed appropriate and a multi-phased case study strategy was pursued. The methodology was in line with Charmaz's (2004) recast critical revision of Glaser and Strauss's (1967) original approach. A constructivist form of grounded theory ensured that theory and empirical research were intrinsically tied together in an iterative and reciprocal cyclical process of flexible yet systematic theory-building and theory-testing. In line with this epistemological and methodological rationale, a qualitative approach was adopted in order to capture the rich and complex nature of the food tourism phenomenon within the 'Celtic' periphery.

Research has suggested that food tourism is now being used to regenerate and revitalise rural areas and 'Celtic' places are fast becoming gastronomic 'tastescapes' that draw on concepts of rurality, naturalness, purity, escape and a history of political 'resistance' (Kneafsey and Ilbery 2001). Consequently, the first phase comprised participant observation and 34 topic-led interviews with tourists (consumers) in six food tourism areas around the 'Celtic' periphery: West Cork and County Galway in Ireland; the Isle of Arran and the Outer Hebrides in Scotland; and two districts in Cornwall. These findings subsequently informed 32 in-depth interviews with food producers and food tourism intermediaries in four locations in Ireland and Scotland.

FINDINGS AND DISCUSSION

Spatial Resistance

Physical detachment from an everyday environment may not always be an act of resistance but temporary relocation of the body was perhaps the most tangible dimension of how peripherality was experienced by tourists. However, findings indicated that rather than complete physical dislocation, producers and consumers constructed and developed liminal spaces characterised by imagined geographies, resistance and momentary suspension of the 'everyday'. The search for ways to gaze beyond the familiar ultimately began with the initial journey (Urry 1990), before tourists then engaged in touristic experiences that enhanced feelings of individual exclusivity and promoted a sense of escape. In Scotland, Ed expressed feelings that physical escape was an antidote to city living; a form of resistance to urbanisation via physical detachment, "It feels different from back home, we live and work in London. It's about as far as we can get from that, it's remote, it's much quieter, the pace of life is different, it's much prettier, the scenery is lovely and the wildlife is great".

It was interesting that physical escape was not always accompanied with a desire to travel too far, the perception of peripherality was often more important; with many seeking a sense of escape through their activities as opposed to their geographical coordinates. Several tourists placed locations on an imaginary scale of 'acceptable' remoteness and peripherality, with many apparently searching for something "wild but not too wild" (Alex), "not too remote" (Claire), "it feels far away but isn't really" (John), thus trying to ensure that they were not exposed to excessive 'remoteness' but wanting to feel they had escaped to a certain degree. Undertaking food tourism was less about attaining geographical peripherality and more about pursuing an imagined and temporary suspension from everyday life, momentarily traversing an imagined threshold (material and symbolic) through action and emotion.

Although tourists invert normal spatiality, behaviour in the tourism environment remains partially rooted in the 'back home' setting (Currie 1997). Using Lefebvre's (1991) 'spaces of representation' of active and 'lived' spaces of the real and imagined, the concept of 'liminal space' is a way of understanding the nature and character of spaces of resistance and producer/consumer interaction (Keith and Pile 1993). This 'third space' becomes a 'terrain for the generation of counter-spaces' and resistance (Soja 1996). For instance, Sally (fish smoker) told me how the Skibbereen food festival space was appropriated by the local producers, "there were 6 of us who started the market in Skibbereen; it was a grey area, not sure if we would get arrested! Even though the land we were on had been covenanted to the town twice before 1900, it was what was traded there before cattle,

sheep, food....It was all tied up in legal red tape". However, it was inadvertently given to developers to build a supermarket who attempted to erect an illegal steel fence which triggered regular skirmishes between food traders and developers. The space became highly symbolic, illustrating the tension between local and corporate interests. Certainly, many food tourism sites have become spaces of conflict and political struggle, (Sage 2003) - 'active' spaces that form when real and imagined spaces combine (Lefebvre 1991; Said 1994).

Spaces of resistance form in these contact zones of tourism, characterised by 'cultural coexistence, cultural negotiation and cultural transformation' in-between the global and the local (Lei 2002:11). Moreover, sites such as the Fairfield demonstrate the interaction of economic and cultural practices, local empowerment and knowledge exchange. The concept of 'liminality' is useful in explaining the apparent paradoxical findings relating to peripherality and producer/consumer motivations and behaviour; characterising the spatiality of food tourism development in the case study areas - spaces of distinction 'between' core/margin rather than 'beyond' the margins were being developed where escape was temporary and often illusionary. Certainly numerous instances of producer and consumer negotiation and interaction highlight the ways in which liminal spaces of food tourism (markets, farms, festivals) were experienced, promoted and saturated in discourses and practices of resistance. Many tourists recognised these dynamic spaces as somewhere to engage in acts of 'political' consumption to support local foods, "we have to support them as best as we can when we are here" (Bobbie), "these producers are doing a great job, I'd rather pay a little bit more" (Moira) and "tourists should buy food from here, support them" (Mandy). Although there is growing work on reconnecting producer and consumer, festival and food sites have remained under-explored as spaces of liminality even though they are characterised by the 'carnivalesque' and temporary suspension of everyday consumption patterns (Shields 1991). Nadine in Galway believed:

...but it's the way that farmers and tourists can do something together and it's an important part of why tourists are first attracted as they work the land and if they also show what they are producing, it can only be positive for tourism.

Food tourism spaces have become political projects; arenas where concerns are actioned and displayed. Such space is central to the interaction of producer/consumer; it is not devoid of politics (Massey 1993) but develops 'communities of resistance' (Soja and Hooper 1993). They are 'active' places where producers and consumers interact and the consumption of food products becomes symbolic of the conscious break from urbanised homogeneity. Once across the threshold of the dairy or smokehouse doorway, tourist actions fuel the evolution of products and producers bestow new knowledges upon interested consumers before they re-enter their normal lives and daily consumptive patterns. These (liminal) spaces are culturally produced, where there is a temporary crossing into something different from everyday life; marked out by distinct spatial arenas or through unusual consumptive activity and escape from an 'ordered' world, even if it is not geographically removed.

Perceptions of peripherality are also fuelled through imagery, where 'representations of space' nurture a sense of escape and distance. It was found that understandings of peripherality were

blurred across the material and non-material; it was not just physical distance, but concepts and perceptions of rurality and purity become part of the construction of liminal spaces or ‘lived/third spaces’ (Soja 1996). Moreover, iconography and historic interpretation foster a ‘Celtic’ sense of place which has an enduring totemic symbol of resistance and difference. ‘Celtic’ branding seemed to feed concepts of distinctiveness, ‘otherness’ and rurality, and these are felt to be embedded in the food offer. For example, West Cork and its food offer are placed within the context of ‘stunning scenery, unspoiled environment, a warm welcome as well as culture and history rich in diversity’ (Fuchsia Brands 2007). A sense of searching for something unique beyond the boundaries of the well-trodden tourist path is powerful as the ‘Celtic’ periphery is presented as a mysterious repository of romance and resistance where an imagined past is inscribed onto the place. Robin claimed, “we are selling the island, the people, history, and we are selling the landscape, selling the eagles. It is the combined context, there is no one thing, it is everything together...well, it captures people’s imagination doesn’t it?”. The historical mysticism and concepts of the Celtic people as a subaltern culture that emerged out of domination and resistance remains pervasive. Tourism experiences are often bound up in geographical tapestries of resistance, not necessarily between host and guest, but ‘worldmaking’ geographies and socialities are formed when producers and consumers unite under a common purpose and engage in spatialised projects in multidimensional locations of political interaction.

Social Resistance

Within the spatial context of the Celtic periphery, attitudes towards restrictive controls on local food development dominated concerns about the economic and political power exerted through government legislation, regulation and large commercial economic interests. The research found that many interviewees employ tactics of creativity, pursue alternative value systems and engage in knowledge exchange as a means of ‘social resistance’. Seamus (Galway) was particularly keen to emphasise the tension between developing the region’s food heritage and the modern day food offer, “we are trying to live in a country that is trying to reinvent its food culture. But, if we are looking at modern legislation, we cannot get any derogation from modern legislation”. His comments highlighted the paradoxical situation of trying to retain an identity that draws on historical food production methods and the natural landscape, yet modern-day regulatory procedures are contributing to the destruction of traditional methods and the environment. The draconian nature of regulation dominated conversations with Giana (owner of Gubbeen Farm) who claimed the government is obsessed with hygiene, so much so that “regulations are squeezing out uniqueness”. With comments indicative of the close hybridity of nature and social discourses in food tourism, she believed her role was to “teach tourists that ‘bugs’ are good for you” which she openly admitted may require challenging discourses currently informing government policy.

Many producers felt rising modern regulation strangles their potential to produce unique culinary products and restrictions directly impinge on the very delivery of the experience that tourists seek. Giana was extremely keen to debate the relationship between the identity of the local food and its production alongside ‘regulation’, believing the growing body of regulation directly challenged the role of artisans in West Cork and the region’s identity, “What we have is a regulatory body which seeks to suppress any irregularity...this is why the creative artisan, far from being an irresponsible

tortured soul is often led by a creative understanding by the creativity of micro organism". In particular, producers felt there was tangible tension in the co-construction of the touristic landscape between legislative power sources and local people that needed addressing. Rigid regulatory structures affect the delivery of the experience, sitting awkwardly alongside producers' more fluid cultural aspirations, independence and creativity. It was felt that centralised bodies were working in direct opposition to the creativity and individualism of producers, so much so that Avril exclaimed "we are going to have problems because somewhere along the way there is going to have to be a collision". Such comments suggest that despite high levels of frustration, producers have found ways to assert their identity within the constraints of such hegemonic power structures.

In addition to official legislation, many tourists felt producers needed their support when battling against powerful international commercial entities. John (tourist) exclaimed, "that's what peeves me off about the supermarkets, the brain that is behind it only works on a big picture, a mass produced picture and doesn't work at any local levels like Arran". Eric commented "that's the point of going to the islands isn't it, as much as anything, to get away from mass produced things", and Marijke claimed "it's mass production which I don't want to support with my money". However, rather than adhere to the Frankfurt School approach that overlooked the possibility of consumer resistance where such societal pressure will reduce individuals into an amorphous and malleable mass (Adorno and Horkheimer 1999), interviewees felt they could openly challenge power structures and develop social spaces and mechanisms that resisted the negative impact of mass production. Tourists are encouraged to engage with local food as a micro political act and tactical manoeuvre that works beyond centralised powers. Dairy owner, Alistair (Arran) believed tourists wanted to see "transparent production...you are not hiding behind closed doors, there is nothing to hide. There are no worries of food scares or anything like that, this is not mass production".

Echoing Castell's (1997) work, many interviewees believed that food can be used to resist the centrifugal force of capitalist globalisation. Tourist respondent, Sigrun, was adamant that, "you kind of feel that the local people put their energy into their foods, it's the process, they put their energy into what they do and they just, well you support them, the local people, much better than support the fast food chains, Burger King or whatever". Purchasing locally-identifiable foods on holiday have become political acts inspired by spatial dislocation from the familiar; instigating fleeting moments of defiance that define who we are at that place in time and our involvement in the world. For example, Tim suggested, "Tescos monopolise the food supply in some areas and I think it's time they were curtailed and people started to buy more local produce", and Jill, "then you feel that the butcher is going to benefit and also the farmers are going to benefit because they are not being screwed by the supermarkets, you know, they are probably getting the better deal from the butcher than they would from a supermarket." Despite losing lucrative contracts, producers felt open resistance to supermarket businesses reflected a sense of social responsibility which was important to relay to incoming food tourists.

The findings suggest that food tourism is partially driven by a desire to challenge the perceived impacts of draconian regulation, standardisation, mass production and identity loss. Specifically, a

plethora of ‘tactics of resistance’ (Round *et al.* 2008) have been developed to counteract concerns over the perceived power of commercial bodies and strategies of government that strangle artisanal food development. They represent ‘an art of manipulating and enjoying’ within a spectrum of innumerable ways of playing and foiling (de Certeau 1988:18). However, the findings problematise de Certeau’s rather dichotomous characterisation of tactics of the powerless against strategies of powerful entities. Producers have been found to exert power when they occupy a place of liminality in-between the domain of the powerful (so they have an official voice) and the mystical peripheral location ascribed to them by tourist expectations. One producer highlighted the tension between the creative desire to develop new food products and draconian regulation, admitting “new ways of doing things” usually emerged from “bending the rules”. He explained, “we had it in pillow cases, it came out like milk. So I said, ‘if we are not allowed to do this anymore, the country would not come up with a new product’, so it’s only hit and miss”. ‘Administered lives’ could be temporarily escaped by resisting regulation in the early creative stages of production. There is a deep-rooted belief they have the capacity to influence ‘strategies of power’ through quotidian practices that don’t necessarily oppose, but work towards negotiating and working within, the interventions of government and the EU.

Producers attempted to strike a balance between “resisting the economic mindset” (Giana) and surviving, thereby avoiding being pulled into “capitalist world”; creating alternative economic spaces where hegemonic neo-liberal global capitalism is actively opposed to retain local social links. As Holloway *et al.* (2007) propound, there is a proliferation of economic practices in local food production that constitute a wider social movement that represents more than mere market success. Sally implied that there was a significant social benefit to those around her in the area, “so I will be doing better, my neighbours do better and it makes a cohesion in the community that isolated, inward looking mass food production does not and it does not enhance the fabric of a community.” Producers were purposely embracing value systems that differentiated them from hegemonic economic mainstream expectations, suggesting that a specific tactic employed to achieve this was the development of an informal bartering system that is perceived to be something that both resists capitalist economy and builds social networks. Although economic prosperity and profit was necessary, producers believed their work was symbolic of a wider tactical struggle against the hegemony of capital, where non-economic factors such as ‘integrity’ should be prioritised above economic rationalism. Despite economic restrictions and expectations, many producers claimed they were openly resisting wider global and economic processes in order to retain the product’s qualities. Sally purposely went out of her way to ensure she “wouldn’t entertain mass outlets” and later linked this to a view on the need to resist capitalistic tendencies, “that’s capitalism’s problem, not caring who you push out and if I try and instil some trust in other people, for a split second in a day it may make the world a slightly better place”.

There are clear moments of defiance against perceived commercial powers, regulation and market dominance, where ‘resistance comes from a place outside the practices of domination’ (Pile and Keith 1997:15). One Scottish producer exclaimed, “tourists want to seek out a special place with food and people are beginning to get fed up of packaged food, it’s a backlash against that...so it’s not just the bigger businesses in Stornoway, it’s the smaller people around the islands that are growing”

(Euan). Through a number of means, food tourism indeed offers moments of liberation from a modern and stressed society (Van Westering 1999) and many tourists admitted they consciously consumed certain foods as an act of defiance in order to distance themselves from an industrialised world. In discussing producers, one said it was “a struggle but the consumer has a role in assisting with this process” (Joan), and “it is possible to have a good life and survive, and step outside the system”. (Moira). Indicative tourist responses included, “We support lots of little family firms and family shops, they have not been multi-nationalised yet!” (Linda), “supporting the smaller industry, business rather than the big conglomerates” (Tim). These choices did not only seek to strengthen and sustain the local offer, but worked to retain a certain ‘sense of place’ as a result of ‘mediated resistance’ (Joseph and Kavoori 2001:999).

Urry (2000:43) suggested that ‘identities of resistance are often mediated through consumer purchases’. The research found that the consumer not only seeks to resist central structures of power by sustaining local food identities, but the structures of food delivery and production can be subsequently altered through their active engagement in a process of ‘productive consumption’ (de Certeau 1988). Tourists have a co-productive role in developing a food identity and the identity of place; consumer and producer agency represented a kind of mutually constructed social resistance. Giana explained that this “interactive tissue” is formulated through local food tourism activity, adding that “it’s marvellous what a smart, interesting tourist can do for you”. In particular, there was a sense that tourists could actively contribute to the conservation of jobs and skills, highlighted by Nadine, “there aren’t so many people like me who do this, but there are some and for me it’s important to be able to choose and to know it. I would like to be able to support the farmers with my choices”.

Cultural resistance

To complete the proposed ‘triad’, there is immense value in recognising culture as the ‘third kind of knowledge’ (Shotter 1993) that considers bodily apprehensions and everyday intangible practices whilst retaining the spatial and social dimensions that challenge hegemonic processes and structures. Practices of cultural resistance work alongside spatial and social mechanisms to challenge a system that is perceived to be devoid of character and ‘flavour’ (in the widest sense of the word). Rather than the body being regarded as a site open to cultural inscription from powerful outside influences, the body operates as a medium of cultural transmission and a site of contestation and resistance. In line with Philo (2000) who calls for geographical studies to retain a feel for the place of the cultural within social shapes, forces and structures, I suggest ‘worldmaking’ occurs at the intersection of spatial, social and cultural influences.

In moving beyond ocular-centric approaches, food tourism encourages the construction of ‘tastescapes’, highlighting the shift from dominant discourses of visualism (Urry 1990), to non-representable forms of embodied knowledge. In privileging the ‘eye’, other senses have often been overlooked in a distinctive visual environment and interviewees questioned the reliability of the purely observable; there is often a disparity between the visual (which looks perfect) and the taste. Tourists suspected that producing a visually flawless raw product often meant the taste, smell and texture of the product would be disappointing as its natural development was subject to human

interference through chemical fertilizers, mass factory production or genetic modification. Tourists were keen to move beyond food that symbolised modern day industrial manipulation, suggesting their experience of food tourism had to go beyond the visual and openly resisted anything that looked "too sanitised and too clean" (Bobbie).

A sense of place was developed through taste and aromatic engagement (Everett 2009), partly constructed to resist aromas associated with modern day city living which is characterised by a lack of natural smells. Moreover, food tourism may provide a panacea to Lefebvre's (1991) lament about the modern world being devoid of natural smells and whether there is any point in dwelling in space that is fast disappearing under the current onslaught of antisepticism. Interviewees particularly commented on the importance of smell in their engagement with place, for example "sometimes you can walk into a shop and walk past fruit, and you won't smell fruit, it's like, next! I think everything here is local produce, you can smell everything, you know" (Lindsay).

Place-making can emerge from spatially-dependant resistant practices, but it was also found to be characterised by psychological aspatial resistance, "it is in essence a psychological experience isn't it?" (Andrew). In addition to the physical landscape constructing place identities, new types of knowledge can be constructed through bodily engagement that is non-representable and non-linguistic, yet informs the emergence of embodied practices of resistance. In seeking to eat only foods produced through passion, time and quality ingredients, some tourists were taking an active stance against global rationalisation (Ritzer 1993). Food is approached as an embedded cultural artefact saturated with intangible values such as 'personality' that are perceived to be absent from more regulated and industrialised mass produced commodities. Through intimate engagement with food, somatic forms of knowledge emerge that inform the way a place is conceived and there are intangible ways in which resistance is manifested in the food tourism experience; facilitating momentary escape from the sanitised and hegemonic control over the modern day foodscapes by commercial institutions. Resistance is not always an active and visible struggle, but often merely a subtle change of opinion, a temporary occupation of a liminal space or a way of behaving that subverts something normative.

Intangible personal elements are embedded in food and local foodstuffs have become 'emblems of culture' (Zukin 1991) as opposed to symbols of generic mass production. Massey (2000:281) asked 'every attempt at radical otherness being so quickly commercialised and sold or used to sell...one might as well ask what are, and where are, the possibilities for doing things differently?'. One possibility may lie in food tourism and is achieved by encoding and decoding foodstuffs at the personal level. For example, Giana suggested that through internalised experiences, food tourists decode personal investments through direct personal engagement, "that's the input maybe, it's not just the locality but it's the identity". The body can be an active site of resistance against regimes of regulated control - used to disrupt space and the structures imposed to regulate that space. Individuals gain control by constructing a romantic concept of place and by passing over the physical thresholds set out by regulatory bodies, tourists sought escape from the everyday by entering a world of production normally denied to them. Alistair suggested, "They like to see where it has come from and most modern smokehouses are contemporary stainless steel disinfected establishments

and this isn't, you can see the process. People like to see and smell the tar on the walls of the smokehouse". In providing an 'umbilical cord from the past to the present' (du Gay *et al.* 1997:71), food holds time in an era of hyper mobility and rising concern about loss of local identities. Memories evoke feelings of the past to bring back a nostalgic experience which alludes to de Certeau's (1988:107) comment on how structured spaces produce anti-texts and escape, "well again, it was all home made, all home grown, that I had anyway. It was like stepping back in time... escape from it all, how food should be! I don't like the way we live now" (Sheena).

CONCLUSION

I contend that food tourism development can be partly theorised and understood as a triple nexus of spatial, social and cultural resistance. It offers an effective vehicle with which to simultaneously consider the spatial, social and the cultural in tourism and how this particular touristic activity is 'worldmaking' in its ability to create and sustain place, people and cultures. Being situated at the forefront of critical tourism knowledge, it has a clear place in current debates that look to examine how tourism can not only 'mark' a difference, but also 'make' a difference (Aitchison 2007). By theorising escape, liminality and peripherality as active forms and processes of spatial escape, it is claimed that experiences are characterised by resistance not between the producer and tourist, but through close collaboration and engagement with subversive tactics which form new socialites and geographies. Within the spatial context, lies the social and the empirics highlight the development of alternative value systems where the hegemonic economic mindset is openly challenged and the creation of alternative economic spaces and networks offer the freedom to develop a self-identity. Finally, in arguing that places are only fully activated through bodily immersion, the paper also suggests the employment of embodied tactics and non-representative cultural engagement can often represent articulations of cultural resistance.

There is a place for food tourism within a critical tourism studies research agenda as it can be utilised to interrogate and understand the complex and paradoxical nature of postmodern production and consumption. Moreover, the paper has attempted to reintroduce social analyses into tourism discourses, focusing particularly on ideas of struggle, processes, interactions and networks that offer seemingly liberating moments of freedom from global processes whilst simultaneously placing new person-centred cultural discourses and modes of engagement within this wider context. It has been suggested that consumers are not dupes, but active in sense making, being co-producers and co-performers in a complex process of productive consumption.

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'Alternative Tourism in Disadvantaged Social Spaces: Reflections on the Downtown Eastside in Vancouver, Canada and South African Townships'

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Introduction

Nearly a decade ago, an exhibition in Vancouver, Canada called "Heart of Darkness" was constructed around the idea of transporting 18 valuable paintings by iconic local artists Emily Carr and Jack Shadbolt from the University of British Columbia to a gallery located in the centre of the city's infamous Downtown Eastside. This is one of the oldest areas of Vancouver (Canada's third largest city), which includes a Chinatown, a historic city centre called Gastown, and lower and middle class residential and industrial zones (see map 1). But in the popular imagination and in the mainstream media, the Downtown Eastside is pictured as a narrow corridor that sits between the tourist attractions of Chinatown and Gastown. This small part of the Downtown Eastside is represented by journalists as an inner city ghetto, an outpost of poverty, homelessness, filth, and drug addiction, a foreign land, and as a threatening war zone (Sommers and Blomley, 2002; Shier, 2002; Woolford, 2001). Such descriptors are offered by empathetic and condemning journalists alike (Woolford, 2001:35). In this context, the "Heart of Darkness" exhibition was an ironic intervention that derived its power from the juxtaposition of treasured paintings with debased surrounds. Visitors were meant to come to the gallery (which has since moved to better real estate) to reflect on everyday inequalities and perhaps also on Canada's status as a settler colony. (There is a disproportionately high aboriginal presence in the Downtown Eastside (Culhane, 2003)). As one of the curators stated: "I hope the public will come to the gallery in the Downtown Eastside and also observe the dark part of the city instead of turning a blind eye."^{vi} The "Heart of Darkness" exhibition was touristic in so far as it asked visitors to travel, to cross boundaries of class and culture, as a way of provoking reflections on power and social space. However, the exhibition's ironic and ambiguous title risked re-inscribing the Downtown Eastside as a dark, dangerous space.^{vii} The exhibition's poster intensified this association, with its reproduction of a graphite sketch by Shadbolt of an emaciated dog sniffing a severed human leg that is abandoned on the edge of a lot behind a simple building that looks vaguely residential, with its clothesline from which a light dress or nightgown waves.

This exhibition evokes some of the dilemmas related to educational travel, critical pedagogy, and disadvantaged social spaces. Can touristic interventions in such spaces create productive and positive "contact zones" (Pratt, 1993) between residents and outsiders? ^{viii}Or, does such tourism promote voyeurism and confirm negative stereotypes? These questions inform my ethnographic research in Vancouver and South Africa. My research in South Africa focuses on tours to townships such as Langa and Khayelitsha outside of Cape Town, and Soweto and Alexandra, outside of Johannesburg. There are no comparable tours (thankfully) of the Downtown Eastside. But there are educational and cultural projects that use touristic tropes in compelling ways. In this paper, I will refer to some of these: a heritage walking tour, an orientation walk for university students who are preparing to do community service, and a Downtown Eastside community arts festival. In the spirit of this conference's vision of "producing and promoting social change in and through tourism

practice, research and education," this paper identifies best practices associated with tourism projects in disadvantaged spaces. I will begin by introducing my sites and highlighting how tourism in each case is debated in the public domain. I argue that such debates present a double-edged sword, in which problems associated with viewing and ignoring disadvantaged spaces are linked to images of citizenship and social space. Following this, I will discuss best practices that occur in both my Vancouver and South African sites, which I define as those that contribute to open and reflexive interactions between residents and visitors. I will highlight three practices undertaken by educators, guides, and hosts in both the Canadian and South African contexts. These are: discursive strategies of demystification and valorization, de-centring the visitor, and emphasizing citizenship values over consumption.

The Sites and Public Debates

The townships and the Downtown Eastside are geographically and culturally worlds apart. But they have a common characteristic of being both over- and mis-represented in their local contexts. In Vancouver, the Downtown Eastside is geographically central, so much so that it is subject to the pressures of gentrification, and it abuts mainstream tourist routes through Chinatown and Gastown. It is economically marginal (it is often referred to as the poorest postal code in Canada), symbolically central (judging by the amount of media attention it attracts), and it is highly visible. Activists and community leaders regularly take visiting dignitaries and politicians to the area to witness conditions and to meet local residents and community leaders (Ley, 1994:184; Hutchinson, 2004:A5). But there is no consensus regarding the politics of such witnessing. Consider these contrasting opinions voiced by two local academics, both of whom are deeply involved with the community. Both refer to a busy, central hub, the Carnegie Community. One writes: "A favorite focus of the cameras and interviewers is ... the entranceway to Carnegie Community Centre. Television and video crews offer the virtual voyeur disturbing – or titillating – images of emaciated heroin, crack cocaine, and prescription drug users buying, selling, injecting and smoking (Culhane, 2003:594). In contrast, the other academic suggests more hopefully: "The work of the Carnegie Community Centre is an outstanding example of the kinds of strengths that exist in the community. For example, the Carnegie has worked with residents for many years to create theatre, writing, and other artistic productions. If you live in Vancouver, or are here visiting, I encourage you to visit the Carnegie, which is at the corner of Main and Hastings, for many years the epicentre of the open drug scene. A visit to the Carnegie demonstrates the incredible paradoxes that abound in the Downtown Eastside." ^{ix}

In South Africa too, there is a history of touring politicians and activists through disadvantaged spaces to witness conditions and meet community leaders (Bickford et al., 1999:100; Rassool and Witz, 1996). During the colonial and apartheid eras, racially segregated townships were created outside cities to house millions of migrant labourers. Townships were economically marginal, but also symbolically central and visible as sites of resistance to apartheid. In anti-apartheid struggle art, and in much contemporary cinema and media, townships are associated with racialized crime, poverty and disorder (Ellapen, 2007:127). Domestic tourism historically avoided townships and squatter settlements, as white South Africans sought out comforting encounters with nature and Africans who appeared as timeless, untouched by modernity (Bunn, 1996). These same images also please international tourists, but in the post-apartheid era, township tours have emerged as an

alternative, niche market. A typical tour involves traveling by micro-bus to the townships, while listening to a guide speak about aspects of apartheid, such as forced removals, pass laws, and everyday indignities suffered under racial segregation. In the last few years, tours increasingly also incorporate walkabouts, in which tourists visit various development projects, restaurants, *shebeens* (pubs), craft and food markets, and sometimes residents' homes.

Public debate about township tours, and about visiting townships more generally, reveal conflicting opinions on the politics of travel. Guidebooks and brochures often suggest that visiting a township is a moral imperative, which contrasts with the superficiality of mainstream tourism. This rhetoric is strengthened by the tacit acknowledgement that white South Africans rarely venture into townships (McEachern, 2002: 03). Yet, critics from both within and beyond the tourism industry, as well as tourists and residents, raise concerns about voyeurism by comparing township tours to safaris (Stucky, 2003; Witz et al., 2001). The metaphor is powerful, since it implies a dehumanized encounter between tourists and township residents. These concerns render the project of touring townships politically ambiguous.

Debates over the ethics of tourism in disadvantaged spaces are familiar to the tourism industry, which recognizes (and capitalizes upon) the complicated desires of tourists to witness poverty. This commoditization of poverty is a recent global phenomenon; points of reference include *favela* tours to shanty towns Rio de Janeiro (Freire-Medeiros, in press) and the lure of Calcutta to budget travellers (Hutnyck, 1996). I turn now to consider practices by guides and educators that are effective in making politically ambiguous travel engaging and reflexive.

Demystification and Valorization

For guides and educators who take visitors to disadvantaged spaces, a key representational strategy is that of demystifying monolithic negative stereotypes. An example of this occurs in the Downtown Eastside when students from the University of British Columbia (UBC) are given orientation tours of the area before they embark on community service projects. The students depart from the "Learning Exchange," a storefront office run by the university that is located in the heart of the Downtown Eastside. To put this in perspective, the main UBC campus is located in a spectacular peninsula setting, overlooking the ocean, with views of the mountains, the harbour, and the city centre. The residential area surrounding UBC is some of the priciest real estate in the city. The idyllic campus is worlds apart, yet less than an hour away, from the Downtown Eastside. UBC is a commuter campus, so students live throughout the city, but few have direct experience with the Downtown Eastside. The words of a student volunteer who teaches a creative writing course at the Learning Exchange for the community are typical:

"My experience with the Downtown Eastside before this was driving through that part of the town and never getting out of my car" (in Walker, 2008). The students' walking tour has the effect of humanizing the neighbourhood by highlighting its normalcy. The tour stops at a Housing Co-op for instance, to make the point that families live here, with children attending the nearby public elementary school. The tour also highlights the presence of non-profit organizations and social service agencies, some of which are sites where the students will carry out service projects.

Other walking tours that take place in residential areas of the Downtown Eastside also contribute to a process of demystification. For instance, in the neighbourhood of Strathcona (see map 1), a guide, who happens to live in the neighbourhood, conducts Heritage walking tours. While the tours do not cut through the heart of the Downtown Eastside, they nevertheless offer a counter-narrative in relation to popular images of transience and poverty. The tour's focus is architectural heritage, but it indirectly demonstrates the lower and middle class stability of the neighbourhood. The irony here is that these heritage homes are now desirable and the tours attract real estate agents and hopeful buyers. The guide worries that his tours may contribute to the gentrification and displacement that is increasing in the area with the approach of the 2010 Winter Olympics.

Guides in the townships outside of Cape Town and Johannesburg also highlight middle class and nouveau riche neighbourhoods, which have the effect of surprising visitors and perhaps also render the landscape less "other." To varying degrees, guides also outline colonial and apartheid era policies that created the townships, so that current challenges are understood in relation to the past, as a legacy of racism, civic abuse and neglect. Some tours also stress histories or resistance and activism in townships, thus valorizing the efforts and abilities of residents and community groups in leading the fight against apartheid, and in continuing to address its legacies. Within the context of these grand narratives, visitors meet township residents and community leaders. Visitors are invariably impressed by the hospitality and spirit of resilience that they encounter. A process of demystification and valorization occurs during the tours, which is linked to emerging trends in South African public culture. Particularly in Soweto, townships are beginning to be celebrated for their communitarian and cosmopolitan atmosphere, as well as for their aesthetic creativity (Fraser, 2003). In Soweto, local and national politicians visit restaurants and entire corporations take township tours. As well, the new black middle class is expressing nostalgia for their roots. Increasingly, it is understood that one can live in a posh new suburb, but go back to the townships on weekends to relax with friends and family (Khunou in Mbembe et al., 2004:506, Molele and Mona, 1998). That said, popular and touristic discourses continue to stereotype Cape Town and its surrounds as a study in juxtapositions, between the centre and periphery, wealthy and poor, European and African, and beautiful and windblown landscapes. As tourists (and locals) drive from the airport to the city centre along the N2 highway that passes by the Cape Flats (a major area of the townships), negative stereotypes are easily confirmed. Township tours work both within and against stereotypes of townships and the fascination that they provoke.

De-centring the Tourist

Guides who take visitors through disadvantaged spaces become curators of sorts. They frame the landscape as a series of panoptic and panoramic views (Kirshenblatt-Gimblett, 1988) creating the potential problem of a terrible loss of privacy for residents. This is all the more heightened in disadvantaged spaces where much of life takes place out in the streets, rather than in the cramped confines of home (Bremner, 2004). A hopeful sign in the case of township tours is the emerging practice of insisting that tourists only take photos after asking for permission.

This potentially creates a different contact zone than the classic one enacted in colonial encounters, in which the photographer “shoots” his or her subjects with impunity (Little, 1996). In a similar vein, walking tours by the Learning Exchange are conducted in small, unobtrusive groups, without cameras.

A challenge in these cases is to prevent the visit to the Downtown Eastside from becoming a heroic ego-centric travel narrative. Rather, visitors need to look and listen, without necessarily “getting the picture” of the complexities that they encounter. In recent years, an annual “Heart of the City” community arts festival in the Downtown Eastside has offered a good model for this. The event is open to outsiders, yet it does not cater first and foremost to their needs. The festival offers a wide range of events including cabarets and dances, aboriginal cultural sharing circles, forums on drug addiction and public space, and workshops on yoga, acrylic painting, and effective use of the internet, to name a few. The eclecticism is a strength, for it includes a huge variety of community participants, responds to different needs, and refuses any narrow representation of the community.

Citizens, not Consumers

In the context of township tours and in this era of rising awareness about ethical consumption, tourists and guides agree that it is useful to spend money in the townships in order to support the local, often informal, economy. A decade ago, it was common to see tourists hand out candy and money to children and leave donations for schools and daycares in collection boxes. But in the last few years, this image of charity has been critiqued and reformed by some tour guides, who see it as exploitative and paternalistic. In the words of one guide: “It’s not about giving them a bribe. That’s so superficial. That’s so colonial. Give the poor blacks a little shiny bead and they will like you. Our idea is about creating a sustainable relationship.” This guide, along with others, created in 2004 a Tourism Community Development (TCD) Trust to raise funds for community self-help projects that their tours visit.^x Companies conducting township tours contribute 10% of their township tour fees to the fund, and tourists also make direct contributions to it. This has the potential to create a social and moral involvement between tourists and particular projects that is forward-looking. It contrasts, for instance, with the act of purchasing souvenirs in the townships, which become metonymic signs of the tourists’ experience (Stewart, 2001). Tourists continue to purchase crafts and other souvenirs in the townships, and the artisans involved benefit. But this added dimension of supporting ongoing community projects positions tourists as global citizens rather than as consumers.

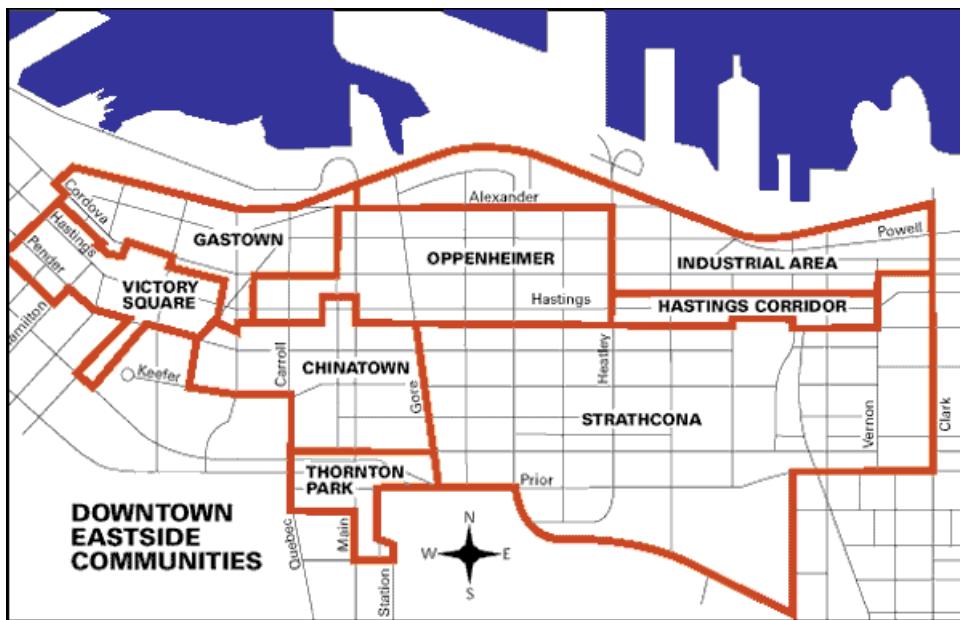
In Vancouver, the Learning Exchange also critically addresses postures associated with charity. An article entitled “From Charity to Justice: The Potential of University-Community Collaboration for Social Change” (Marullo and Edwards, 2000) is given to the students to serve as a discussion document to encourage reflexive engagement on issues such as structural and institutional causes of poverty, homelessness and addiction, and the importance of evaluating service work first and foremost in relation to community needs. Contrast this ethos informing community service with another way of encountering the Downtown Eastside, which is by purchasing a condominium in the former, iconic Woodward’s Department store, which sits at the edge of the “worst” blocks of the neighbourhood. The redevelopment of the Woodward’s building has been guided by three central themes: inclusion of the community, urban revitalization, and environmental sustainability (Haggis,

2007). To this end, the project involves both market and subsidized housing. Touristic discourses that highlight the area's frontier status have been used to entice new wealth to the area: "You will recognize the incredible potential – this is an emerging area. Not a sanitized environment. Neighbourhoods like this are rare and offer an authentic mix of cutting-edge culture, heritage, and character" (Rennie Marketing Systems, 2006). But the successful marketing campaign also created a map that showed the Woodward's project in relation to services that would appeal to affluent buyers, while erasing the presence of many organizations and services that exist for the poor and homeless. Undoubtedly, the Woodward's development will revitalize parts of the Downtown Eastside by bringing in new wealth, but as this new community is equated with consumption, "those individuals who do not consume certain goods may then be considered 'out of place' with the Woodward's District" (Haggis, 2007:15). These contrasting examples of ways of visiting and being in the Downtown Eastside point to a tension in contemporary life, between living as a consumer and as a citizen. For some, like Zygmunt Bauman (1996), tourism is an apt metaphor for describing morally and politically disengaged consumers in the context of the rise of individualism and neo-liberalism. However, the Learning Exchange and some aspects of township tours, consciously transform this model, asserting the need for citizenship, with its sense of social solidarity and empathy for others.

Conclusion

I have pointed to educational tourism practices that counter dominant ways of viewing disadvantaged spaces in negative and monolithic terms. I have also highlighted strategies that serve to de-centre the tourist, so that visits to disadvantaged spaces can create more sensitive contact zones between residents and visitors. Power asymmetries in such encounters cannot be erased, but they can be addressed with analytic rigour and personal sensitivity. This may be especially challenging in the context of profit-driven tourism, but the example of the TCD Trust in South Africa reveals that opportunities can be found, where values of citizenship at least momentarily supplant those of consumerism. While I want to neither romanticize nor promote tourism to disadvantaged spaces, there is, I have argued, good reason to counter touristic and media stereotypes of these spaces, with better ways of looking and interacting.

Appendix 1: Map of the Downtown Eastside, Vancouver



Source: www.city.vancouver.bc.ca/commsvcs/planning/dtes/images/dtesmap.gif

Notes

Scott Watson quoted in www.publicaffairs.ubc.ca/mr/mr99/mr-99-03. (accessed Dec.6, 2000)

² The exhibition quotes Joseph Conrad's novel *Heart of Darkness*, which was first published in 1902. Many critics consider Conrad's novel to both critique colonialism and reiterate primitivist stereotypes (see Butler, 2008:66-68).

³ The notion of contact zones is used by Mary Louise Pratt in relation to travel writing and imperialism, but it is evocative for examining tourism in disadvantaged spaces. The contact zone describes the "copresence of subjects previously separated by geographic and historical disjunction," who typically interact in contexts of "radically asymmetrical relations of power" (Pratt 1993:7)

⁴ Margo Fryer: The education solution. March 10, 2009 online discussion available at:

http://v1.theglobeandmail.com/servlet/story/RTGAM.20090210.wdtes_discussFryer/BNStory/thefix/?pageRequested=2 (accessed April 10, 2009). See also Stueck 2009.

⁵ See: <http://tcdtrust.org.za/>

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'The competition between tourist attractions in Macau: the influence of the governmental tourism information center'

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Many papers have examined how strong the power of the tourism information providers is in influencing an individual's selection of tourism destination. Yet little attention is paid to their role in the competition between tourist attractions within a single destination. This article investigates the influence of local tourism information providers upon tourists' visits to competing tourism attractions of Macau. Our observations suggest that some attractions are overwhelmed by tourists while others, seemingly very similar, are scantily visited. The case chosen for this paper is the one of two similar temples of Macau, the A-Ma Temple and the Lin-Fong Temple. Both were Chinese official temples in the Ming and Qing Dynasties. Both are equally important in terms of their historical and cultural significance. They are the two major local temples, of approximately the same size and they are dedicated to the same divinities. However, today, the A-Ma Temple is a "must-see" attraction of Macau while the Lin-Fong Temple is rarely visited by tourists and is a quiet place of worship for the locals. This paper reports on a social experiment of having volunteers/tourists go to the Macau Government Tourist Information Welcome Center and ask for recommendations on where they should head for. The findings indicate that the information providers have considerable influence over the tourists' decisions about what sites to visit within a destination, resulting in the overcrowding of some sites while others are seldom visited. This paper suggests that recommending some cultural sites that are presently neglected by tourists may reduce the congestion at the other sites and at the same time lengthen the duration of tourists' stay and generate a better appreciation and tourism experience in Macau.

Key Words: tourist information welcome centre, A-Ma Temple, Lin-Fong Temple, Macau

Introduction

The aim of this paper is to re-examine, through a case in Macau, the role of public welcome centres, from the perspective of how such a tourist information provider influences unprepared tourists who have reached a given destination in their choice of sites to visit during the limited time that they spend at this destination.

The paper first briefly reviews the scholarly works related to the sources and channels available to tourists in their search for information, as well as, more specifically, the role and functions of a welcome centre. It then gives a short description of Macau as a tourism destination and of its cultural heritage. In this research, a comparison of two very similar Macau Chinese temples, the A-Ma Temple and the Lin Fung Temple is performed to illustrate that at a given destination, some

heritage sites are overcrowded while other, which objectively seem to be equally interesting, are almost completely neglected by tourists. We enquire into the role of the welcome centre at a main entry point in Macau (the Macau-Hong Kong Ferry Terminal) in creating or reinforcing what is seemingly herd behaviour.

The next section describes our methodology. This research adopts the qualitative approach and uses in-situ observations and social experiments. The findings suggest that the present role of the Macau governmental welcome centre is not impartial in delivering information about the touristic value and cultural significance of the different attractions of Macau. Information providers tend to recommend attractions that they are familiar with; they also tend to reinforce the conventional wisdom about a few attraction sites that are perceived as the must-see ones in Macau.

Finally by revealing the important role and potential power of a welcome centre in affecting visitors' impulse decisions of which attractions of Macau they should head for, it suggests that the role of the welcome centre should be re-examined. In addition to the fact it is traditionally where tourists can get free maps and other conventional touristic information material about the destination, the welcome centre should be re-positioned as a cultural educational centre. It should actively play a role in preserving the heritage sites. Recommending some cultural sites that are presently neglected by tourists may reduce the congestion at the other cultural heritage sites which are today the only ones visited; it may at the same time lengthen the duration of tourists' stay and it may generate a richer tourism experience in Macau.

Tourism Information sources

The definition of tourist information *source* in this research is any individual or entity that offers tourism information to potential visitors and travellers; in contrast, any printed material such as brochures, guide books and maps, internet and TV are regarded as tourist information *channels* which are communication media linking an information source, such as a travel agent, and an information seeker, a tourist. This research aims at re-examining the role of governmental welcome centres as sources of tourism information; according to McKercher and du Cros (2002), they are among the gatekeepers who advise tourists in the making of their travel plans. Accordingly, the first part of the literature review focuses on the topic of tourist information sources which illustrate the different sources where potential tourists seek for touristic information about their travel plans. The second part of the literature review is about the role and functions of a welcome center and how important it can be in influencing visitors' impulse decisions in making their travel plan at the destination.

Tourist information source is a research topic that has been widely investigated from several perspectives.

One perspective is the nature of information search in relation to the purpose of the trip (Moutinho, 1987). Another perspective is to enquire about what kind of information is looked for at different stages in the process of information search; such a perspective is taken in studies about pre-trip and in-trip searching. Such works illuminate the complexity of travel behaviours, visit motivation and

decision making from the point of view of information gathering (Fodness and Murray, 1999, Fodness and Murray, 1997, Jun *et al.*, 2007, Lo *et al.*, 2004).

The role and functions of different information sources and their degree of helpfulness (Fesenmaier and Vogt, 1993) as well as their importance in influencing the decisions made by potential visitors about their travel plans, which in turn directly or indirectly affect the competitiveness of different destinations, have been carefully studied (Fodness and Murray, 1997, Lo *et al.*, 2004, Josiam *et al.*, 1999, Faulkner *et al.*, 1999, Gitelson and Crompton, 1983, Klenosky and Gitelson, 1998).

One line of research investigates the selective recommendations given by tourist information sources. Klenosy and Gitelson (1998) comment that travel agent's personal preferences, level of familiarity with the destination and tourism product knowledge exercise a significant influence in determining what recommendations are given to their clients. In the study of Faulkner, Oppermann and Fredline (1999), it is revealed that due to limited product knowledge about South Australia's attractions, only two sites of the entire region are usually recommended by travel agents in Australia. McKercher *et al.* (2003) comment that many travel agents prefer to recommend and promote tourism products that are conventional and easy to sell, "... most travel agents are encouraged to sell preferred products... include those that offer higher commissions or bonuses to agents, familiarization tours" (2003, p. 466).

Some scholarly studies focus on the comparisons between different sources as regards their use by different groups of consumers requiring different services (Capella and Greco, 1987, Gitelson and Crompton, 1983). Their findings contribute to the understanding of the generic characteristics of different types of visitors who are likely to use a certain type or a bundle of sources under certain circumstances. For example, Woodside and Ronkainen report among their findings that users of travel agency services are more upscale travellers while blue collar segments with relatively many household members tend to plan their own vacation (1980, p. 390). Another study conducted by Capella and Greco reports that in the elderly market, families and friends play the most important information roles in determining the vacation destination while travel agents do not have much influence on their decision making (1987, p. 149). However, Gitelson and Crompton (1983) find instead that people over 50 are more likely to use travel agents than other segments of population. Nevertheless, this type of research indicates to whom a particular kind of information source is the most important. Such results of academic research are used by travel promoters and others to better allocate their resources and to design more specific promotion, communication and marketing strategies. Studies of tourist information sources are thus potentially useful as a marketing instrument to segment the tourist market and select the most effective information sources and channels to contrive an effective promotional mix.

The role of a governmental welcome centre

A local welcome centre is traditionally a place where tourists can stop to take some rest and obtain free public touristic information and printed material about the location that they have reached. This printed material is issued by governmental destination marketing departments, including leaflets about local attractions, guide books, tourist maps, lists of accommodation and transportation

alternatives. The information provided in a welcome centre, including the personal advises given verbally by its staff, are in principle non-commercial (McKercher and du Cros, 2002, Fodness and Murray, 1997).

The existing research on welcome centre mainly focuses on evaluating the effectiveness of a welcome centre as a marketing effort, identifying the population segment that uses welcome centres as well as determining how influential a welcome centre is in affecting the travel plans of visitors (Gitelson and Perdue, 1987, Capella and Greco, 1987, Fesenmaier and Vogt, 1993). Fesenmaier and Vogt find out that the highway welcome centres are particularly appealing to respondents who are between 51 and 64 years of age, while travellers who are 20-34 years old or older than 65 are less likely to use welcome centres as a source of visitor information (1993, p. 6). Fodness and Murray (1999) report that couples without children tend to be frequent users of governmental tourist bureaus. Many comparison studies about the effectiveness of different tourist information sources give a relatively low importance to the governmental welcome centres. Only a few studies attribute them importance as regards their influence on tourist behaviours and consumption decisions at the destination. In their study about the nature of independent travel, Hyde and Lawson (2003) report that, by nature, independent travellers are willing to take risk and want to have a supple itinerary rather than a rigidly planned one. These travellers thus leave room for flexibility in their itinerary and retain freedom in choosing what to do and how to do when they are in a destination. In other words, they do not make their choice of attractions and activities before arriving at their destination.

It appears on the other hand that a welcome centre and its officially produced printed material about the destination play a very important role for some groups of travellers. Both in the study of Fesenmaier, Vogt and Stewart (1993) and in the study of Tierney (1993), it is reported that local public welcome centres have a significant influence on individual visitors' decisions about the choice of attractions and activities, their consumption decisions as well as their length of stay at the destination. Gitelson and Perdue (1987) say, "Critics of welcome centre programs frequently claim that the centres serve as nothing more than free restrooms. The result of this study indicates that a substantial percentage of welcome centre visitors do stop for information and an even large percentage picks up trip-related information while at the centres. Consequently, it does appear that welcome centres do serve an important information distribution role... the centre also appear to substantially influence impulse decisions made during visits to North Carolina" (1987, p. 18). Such papers contribute to repositioning the role of a local welcome centres from being to merely disseminate simple practical touristic information to being a cultural educational centre that influences the frequencies of visits to different attraction sites. By directing visitors to see more than the obviously popular tourist attractions, a welcome centre should take initiative to recommend visitors to see other attractions that are equally interesting, historically and culturally significant, but they are simply forgotten and neglected.

The present paper suggests that the functions of the welcome centre should go beyond supplying practical information, but also encompass an educational and cultural role. By appropriately positioning the role of a welcome centre as a heritage educational centre and utilizing its power of influence over tourists' choice, it is possible to reduce the congestion at the sites which are well-

known and over-crowded, which in turn it helps preserve the tangible fabric as well as the intangible amenities of those sites. At the same time, it may result in lengthening the duration of the tourists' stay and improve the quality of their experience by allowing them to visit more of the cultural sites of their destination.

Tourism situation of Macau and its world cultural heritage

Macau is a small city in the Pearl Delta River Region of China with an area of 29.3 square kilometres. The gaming and tourism industries are the two major economic pillars of Macau (DSEC, 2009). According to the statistics of the Census department of Macau, the number of tourist arrivals in 2008 exceeded 22 million (22,907,724) tourists. The major source of tourists is from Mainland China, Hong Kong and Taiwan and the average length of stay in 2008 is a modest 1.5 days (MGTO, 2008). In July 2005, the Historic Centre of Macau has been successfully inscribed into the UNESCO World Heritage List. The Macau world heritage is perceived as a valuable asset that the local government tries to utilize to avoid an excessive reliance on the gambling industry. Relevant governmental departments have launched a series of campaigns to promote the Historic Centre of Macau. For example the Macau Cultural Bureau together with the Macau Government Tourist Office co-produced "The Description of the Historic Centre of Macau", which is a 4 page newspaper-sized pamphlet, as well as other promotional leaflets on the same subject. This material is made available at the five ports of entry into Macau. The free tourist maps of Macau have also been redesigned with more descriptive details about the Macau world cultural heritage. Each heritage site is identified on the map to enable tourists to create their own walking trails. The Macau Government Tourist Office produced new series of promotional films and videos about the Historic Centre of Macau which have been broadcasted on local and overseas mass media. Many celebrations activities, press release and overseas promotional campaigns focusing on Macau's cultural heritage have been organized by the local government. This shows that substantial effort has recently been expended by the local government to promote the Historic Centre of Macau as a tourism attraction.

In 1553, after obtaining the consent of the Ming government of China, Portuguese merchants were allowed to settle in Macau. Macau was the very first and the only out port of China during the Ming and Qing dynasties. The Historic Centre of Macau is where the Portuguese merchants and their families settled; its colonial Portuguese architecture makes it unique in this part of the world. The Historic Centre of Macau is composed of 22 sites and eight plazas that are all found in an area which stretches from the South West part to the middle part (Rua do Campo) of the Macau peninsula and comprises about 20% of the peninsula. Detailed overviews of each heritage site are today readily available in the printed material produced by the government. However two major issues have emerged in relation with the promotion of the Historic Centre of Macau. First, while much emphasis is given to the Historic Centre of Macau, other attractions that are not located within the geographical boundaries of the Historic Centre but that are equally significant from a social, historical, cultural or architectural point of view are neglected. Second, the tourists' awareness of each heritage site is very variable; a few heritage sites are very popular and over-crowded while others are hardly visited. Lam (2009) for example argues that the exceptional value of the Historic Centre of Macau has not been optimally presented to the public.

This paper considers the case of two very similar temples in Macau as an illustration. The A-Ma Temple, located in the Southern part of Macau peninsula, is inscribed as a world heritage site, is renowned as a must-see tourist attraction and is widely visited by tourists. On the other hand, the Lin Fung Temple, located at the Northern part of Macau peninsula, is not on the list of heritage sites and is not located within the Historic Centre of Macau as the latter is defined. It is today hardly visited by any tourist. Those two temples are very similar in every way. In the Ming and Qing dynasty, both temples used to be the points of entry into Macau. The A-Ma Temple was facing the inner harbour of Macau while the Lin Fung Temple was built near the Porta de Limite, the first Barrier Gate of Macau that was built in 1574. The two temples are dedicated to the same divinities. For example, they both worship the Goddess of A-Ma and Bodhisattva of Compassion, which are two popular divinities not only in Macau, but also in China. They had comparable social significance for the locals during the Ming and Qing dynasty and they became the only official temples of Macau (Lamas, 1998). They are of comparable size and architectural value. Whenever Mandarin officials came from China to carry out missions or to convey messages in Macau, they chose to stay and inaugurate their meetings inside either the A-Ma Temple or the Lin Fung Temple. The Lin Fung Temple, for example was the venue of the historical meeting that took place when the Imperial Commissioner Lin Zexu came to Macau to implement the banishment of opium trade in China. He met the Portuguese officials of Macau on the 3rd of September 1839 in the Lin Fung Temple and instructed them to discontinue sheltering the British who were in the business of opium smuggling in Macau. Lin Zexu's visit is perceived as the watershed that led to the opium war in 1840 (Wong, 2008b). In addition to its historical and political significance, the Lin Fung Temple always has had a significant religious and social significance, as it was one of the main temples where the locals worshiped their gods.

However, from the observation of the first author of this paper and her years of experience in coaching and teaching students learning the history and attractions of Macau, today the situation of these two former official temples as tourist attractions could not be more different. While many tourists visit the A-Ma Temple which is perceived as a must-see tourist attraction on par with the Ruins of St. Paul and is permanently crowded with tourists, the latter ignore Lin Fung Temple almost completely and typically leave Macau without having even heard of its existence.

Methodology

As pointed out above, the number of tourist arrivals in 2008 was 22,907,724. Among those, there were 4,902,029 visitors who joined organized tours to visit Macau (DSEC, 2008). In other words, there were 18,005,695 visitors who visited Macau on their own. As mentioned earlier, the nature of package tourists and independent travellers is very different in terms of their decisions making regarding their travel plans. According to Hyde and Lawson (2003), as regards what attractions tourists visit at a destination, it is very likely that independent travellers will only make such decisions when they arrive at their destination. Their findings suggest that the public welcome centre plays a substantial role in affecting the decisions of where to head for. This paper tries to find out if there is a relation between the recommendations that are given to the tourists at the Macau governmental tourist information centre and the simultaneous overcrowding at some attraction sites and absence of tourists at others.

It seems that nothing has been written about the interactions between the governmental information providers and independent travellers in Macau. This paper adopts a naturalistic inquiry to investigate this issue. Qualitative approaches including social experiment and on-site observations were adopted in this research. On-site observations of tourists and information providers at the welcome centre were made by the first author over the period covering 2008 Christmas, 2009 Chinese Lunar New Year and on every weekend in February and March 2009. The social experiment was done by inviting 30 volunteers to go to the Macau Tourist Information Welcome Centre located at the Macau-Hong Kong Ferry Terminal, to pose as arriving tourists and ask for recommendations about what attractions to visit in Macau. A standard script containing four questions was distributed to the 30 volunteers. The volunteers had been briefed about the purpose of the study and given the relevant instructions before they went to consult the information counter. The volunteers adopted the role of a first time tourist in Macau who intends to stay in the city for 1.5 days, the average duration of a visitor's stay in 2008. The first question was: "What site should I visit in Macau in general?" The second question was: "If I want to visit some historical and cultural places in Macau, where should I go?" The third question they asked was: "If I want to visit some not so hectic touristy places but other places that are historically, culturally or religiously important to local people, where should I go? The last and most focused question was: "I would like to see some unusual or not so touristy temples. Where should I go?"

Volunteers were recruited through the authors' personal networks and friends' referrals. The experiment was conducted over five months, ranging from November 2008 to March 2009. After volunteers' consultations at the Welcome Center, each volunteer was invited to participate in the interview sessions in order to record his/her interactions with the governmental information providers. On average, each interview with a volunteer lasted for 30 minutes. Volunteers also handed over the maps and other material given to them in the course of their consultations at the Center. The group of volunteers included both male and female; their age ranged from 19 to late 60s. The nationalities of volunteers include French, Australian, Danish, Dutch, Portuguese, Korean, Japanese, Singaporean, Bangladeshi, Thailand, Philippino, Russian and Chinese. Almost all the consultations at the Centre were conducted in English and thus the interview notes were written in English; however, the medium of consultations was Mandarin for the Chinese volunteers and the original notes were recorded in Chinese. Those notes written in Chinese were then translated twice into English by the first author and by a personal friend of the first author who is an English teacher. The two versions of translation were then compared and thus it helps verify the accuracy of the translation.

Discussion of results

Through the interview notes and feedbacks provided by the 30 volunteers, the authors discovered great variability in the consultation services provided by the information providers at the Macau Governmental Tourist Welcome Centre. The duration of the consultations given varied from 3 minutes to 20 minutes. The usefulness, level of details and the depth of information also varied a lot. The volunteers generally commented that the information given at the welcome centre did not really correspond to the wishes they had expressed nor to the questions (the pre-defined questions) asked

by the volunteers. In many cases, the information providers started to recommend places to visit without asking if the tourist had any special interest, not even if they were more interested in seeing cultural sites or casinos. Even though some volunteers had pushed hard to obtain answers to their questions, the information providers seemed to offer advices according to their own belief and judgment that some attractions are suitable for tourists while others are not, without taking into account what the tourist wants. As a result, the attraction sites that were recommended were mainly the very famous and crowded attractions of Macau and they were all situated inside the Historic Centre of Macau. The A-Ma Temple was mentioned 26 times, the Ruins of St. Paul 28 times, the city centre - Leal Senado Square - 25 times. The area of the Historic Centre of Macau, not including the Guia Hill, was circled on the map 30 times and it was described by tourist information providers as "the centre of Macau", "where all the attractions are located"; "it is where the world heritage sites are located". At the same time, those seldom-visited heritage sites such as St. Augustine Square, the Protestant Cemetery as well as attractions that are not located inside the Historic Centre were only scantily mentioned in passing without any detail being given. The Lin Fung Temple was mentioned by name only once, and it was when the information provider tried to give information on the nearby greyhound dog racing track. Several volunteers commented that the information given was not very informative; they did not comprehend at all the significance of those recommended attractions nor the reasons why such recommendations were made; they were essentially told that "those places are very famous". A frequent comment of the volunteers is that no explanation was given of why they are famous or of the significance of those attractions. Some volunteers even said that the advices given basically was no more informative than what can be gathered by simply looking at the standard tourist map oneself. Only a small minority of volunteers reported a positive experience and three volunteered that they were impressed by the fact that their information providers actually paid attention to their wishes. The following gives details of the above reports, with the headings giving the nature of the perceived shortcomings.

(1) Not having sufficient product knowledge *and* Not conveying the significance of the attraction sites

The notes summarizing the volunteers' experience suggest that there is not enough product knowledge on the part of the tourist information providers as regards basic information about the significance of the attractions in Macau. Reports show that providers are mainly familiar with the main tourist attractions of Macau but that they know very little about less obvious attractions. In addition, even though some providers could name some neglected and little-visited attractions, they could not provide any detail on those sites, nor their social, historical and cultural significance. The knowledge of the information providers was perceived by the volunteers as very superficial and narrow. There were some cases where they even failed to provide accurate information in response to special requests the tourists formulated (McKercher *et al*, 2003). This is probably one of the reasons why information providers only recommend popular attractions; they might simply be the attractions that he or she is familiar with. The following is a case of inaccurate information was given to visitors due to insufficient product knowledge.

A female Australia volunteer went together with her young daughter to consult at the tourist information counter in February 2009. The consultation lasted for 5 minutes. There were five other

persons at the time in the counter picking up maps and looking at the print material. The volunteer was advised to visit the Ruins of St. Paul for the reason that "it is very famous in Macau". The female information provider subsequently circled the area of the Historic Centre of Macau on the map, but she did not explain that the area was the World Cultural Heritage area. Instead she said that "This is the city centre where lots of shops are located". The exceptional value and significance of the Historic Centre of Macau was obviously not conveyed to the two visitors. Without being asked if they were interested in seeing casinos, they were told to take a bus to go and visit the Lisboa, Wynn or Venetian casinos (major gambling venues in Macau). There was no advice given regarding which specific temple the volunteer should go to, even though the questions given above were asked. After having asked whether there were some local temples that were worth visiting, they were told to go and visit some temples on Taipa and Coloane islands. However, not a single name or location of a temple was given. More interestingly, they were advised to go to the Guia Hill and when the volunteer asked about the significance of visiting this site, the information provider did not mention that it is part of the historic centre of Macau nor that it was a closed military base documenting the military history of Macau. Instead, the volunteer was told to go there because of the scenic view and because there was a playground for her child. While the view is indeed scenic, there is in fact no playground on the hill.

(2) Not paying attention to what the tourist wants to visit *and* Not having enough awareness in preserving world heritage sites

The most frequent comments from volunteers were about their feelings that the tourist information providers were not taking into account what the visitors wanted to visit. In addition to the problem of insufficient product knowledge mentioned above, it seems that the provider's personal belief and judgments play a significant role in their recommendations. They tend to tell tourists to go to places that they consider suitable for tourists, in spite of the repeatedly expressed wishes of the volunteers (visitors) that they want to see something different, such as more locally significant and non-conventional sites. Many volunteers reported that they were told to visit the A-Ma Temple even when they had actually enquired about other temples that are not so touristic but historically and culturally important to the locals. They were still given the same recommendation, which is to go to the A-Ma Temple. A female Danish volunteer went to the Macau Tourist Information Centre in March 2009. The consultation lasted for 3 minutes; at the time there were 4 couples by the counter asking for information and another 5 individuals who were collecting and reading maps at the counter. A male information provider told her to go to the historical centre; he said, "all the descriptive details are on this page and you can refer to these numbers on the maps; those are the core attractions of Macau". Again, she was told to visit the A-Ma Temple. When the volunteer asked if there would be many tourists inside the A-Ma Temple and she emphasized that she would rather see something different, something local; the male information provider said, "No, I think you should go there (the A-Ma Temple) because it is the oldest temple in Macau and it is a world cultural heritage site". Such kind of answer obviously indicates that the information provider was making recommendations based on his own judgment regardless of what visitors told him about what he wanted to see and experience. During the interview, this volunteer expressed how she felt about the consultation experience: "he did not make any particular exciting or unusual recommendations even after I had pushed him to give me alternatives. He kept telling me to go to the A-Ma Temple and he

was in a hurry to finish the consultation probably because there were many people at the counter". When she was asked if she would follow the suggestion and visit the A-Ma Temple? She said, "I think that if I were a tourist and knew nothing much about Macau, I would probably go to the A-Ma Temple. However, I have been here (Macau) for a while and I know that A-Ma Temple is constantly crowded, I do not think that I will enjoy very much visiting it".

Discussions and conclusions

The last case reported by the Danish volunteer, is very different from the experience of the Australia volunteer. The Danish volunteer probably encountered someone who knew something about the world heritage sites because, at least, he gave reasons for going to the A-Ma Temple. However, even after his visitor had told him that she did not want to go to a place which would be too crowded and touristy, he did not change his suggestion. Such answer points to two issues: that this tourist information provider is not taking visitors' wants into account when he makes his recommendations and that he is not actively involved in preserving the heritage sites. Pushing more tourists to go to heritage sites that are already renowned and probably much over-crowded will only intensify and accelerate the deterioration of the tangible fabric and the amenities of these heritage sites. At the same time, whether tourists will enjoy their visits in such hectic condition is very questionable. The few privileged sites such as A-Ma Temple and Ruins of St. Paul will continue to be over-crowded while the many other attractions will continue to be forgotten and neglected. According to the 30 volunteers, none was told to visit the Lin-Fung Temple, which was also an official temple of Macau in the past. Though Lin-Fung Temple does not appear on the World Heritage List, it has had the same historical, social and cultural significance as the A-Ma Temple since the Ming dynasty. The only one time that the Lin-Fung Temple was mentioned was when a female Dutch volunteer was given an overview about Macau. The name of Lin-Fung Temple was mentioned in their conversation but still, the information provider did not recommend the volunteer to visit the temple. Other non-conventional heritage sites were also neglected and not much promoted. Examples are the St. Augustine Square which is a tranquil plaza where four heritage buildings are located and the Protestant Cemetery where George Chinnery and Robert Morrison are buried (Wong, 2008a). They were mentioned only twice in the 30 reports.

For some tourists who do not know much about Macau, the recommendations given by the welcome centre can be of substantial importance in influencing their decisions about where to head for at their destination. Thus, as far as the awareness of preserving the tangible fabric of some overly crowded attractions is concerned, the welcome centre could contribute to optimally promote the exceptional value of the Macau world heritage and, at the same time, balance the frequency of visitations to each attraction sites. As a result it may enable visitors to reach a better understanding of the place and may even lengthen their stay in Macau if they know that there are more than a few hot tourists spots in Macau that are worth visiting. In other words, the role of a governmental welcome centre should be more than simply being a centre providing tourist information; it should also be positioned as an educational centre that can increase the visitors' understanding of the destination, balance the visitations of different attractions of Macau and thus produce a better tourist experience. Finally, this exploratory study assumes that tourists, particularly independent travellers, are very likely to adopt the recommendations given by the welcome centre, yet a follow

up research investigating the actual behaviours of real tourists could be of interest. What is the actual influence of the welcome centre on the tourists' actual itinerary? This paper also confirms that the influence of a welcome centre is substantial and could be used to help preserve the exceptional value of the Macau World Heritage.

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'Tourist Communication versus Risk Communication: the two sides of the same coin. A case study'

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Introduction

Tourist communication has been accused of creating a destination image (of cities, regions or countries) that does not belong to the reality or it even contradicts with it (Palou, 2006: 15). Marketing and branding logics (Morgan & Pritchard, 1998: 146) firstly applied on tourism and secondly on the territories have converted travellers' demands and expectations into the exclusive guide that heads destination management, and consequently, destination brands. For this reason, nowadays, most cities of the world bear a strong resemblance because they answer to similar demands and expectations. Hugues (1995: 783) introduces the concept "commodification" of the destinations to describe that diverse region offers end up with similar characteristics that can be interchangeable.

However, Morgan and Pritchard (1998: 147) remind that: "It is more difficult to brand a destination as it is not a single product but a composite one, consisting of a bundle of different components". Territories, or urban areas, as our case study, are complex realities subjected to diverse and contrasted logics (Edwards *et al.*, 2008: 1033), and into a permanent changeable process. A good example of those diverse logics is the case that we will present, where tourism and chemistry industries interests are contrasted on the board game of Tarragona (Spain) urban area.

On the leisure and holiday place selection purchase process, and especially on international contexts, communication, and specifically Web communication, develops a basic role. Tourists search for information before purchasing. This information is especially important for tourists that want to travel, and consequently, spend their money before consuming or acquire a service that they do not know or they have not used before (Nicolau, 2008: 995). Tourists base their decisions on expectations, and expectations are held on information.

Therefore, it is comprehensible that tourist information is centred on positive aspects of the destination and it tends to shade the negative or potential negative aspects. Moreover, if it is borne in mind, international tourists are quite sensitive to the exposition of diverse risks depending on if they are seeking novelty or familiarity (Lepp & Gibson, 2003: 606). These authors identified seven risk factors perceived by international tourists: health and well being, war and political instability, terrorism, strange food, political and religious dogma, cross cultural differences, and petty crime. And they also mentioned some research findings from Sönmez and Graefe, who found perceived risk, was a stronger predictor of avoiding a particular region.

Other authors (Peattie *et al.*, 2005: 400) have underlined related risks with safety, security and health. As it can be seen, health is one of the most important travellers' concerns, especially for the familiarity tourism of sun and beach.

Risk communication studies have been developed since the 80s, due to this social pressure and citizen unease against companies and risky activities. These studies say that in order to decrease fear and irrational behaviour to risky activities, people should be well informed. Therefore, this contributes to increase citizen trust (Espluga i Farré, 2007). According to International Standardisation Organisation, risk communication "must keep relation with the existence, nature, form, probability, severity, acceptability, treatment or other risk aspects". (ISO, 2002).

In fact, risk communication is a right that all individuals, citizens or tourists, must have access because it affects personal security. The forth basic functions of risk communication identified by l'OECD (2002) are: public education about risks, instruction of potential disasters, trust ties establishment with responsible institutions on risk management and the implication of its interlocutors on risk related decisions and the conflict resolution that is led to.

Institutional risk communicators know that all risk information alter social perception and may create unexpected consequences. They can amplify or moderate risk social perception among individuals (Farré, 2007). Although the logics and risk communication studies state that it is fundamental and essential for individual welfare and security, the truth is that risk communication is intended to be minimised or even to be deleted.

On the one hand, tourism communication tries to spread and boost the most attractive and positive aspects of a region appealing to visitors' emotions. Tourism communication will always be positive, even it can be exaggerated or fictitious.

On the other hand, crisis communication is exactly the opposite of tourism communication. Even when the communication tries to be positive, its consequences are unpredictable and they can result very negative. For this reason, it tries to go unnoticed and its communicated aspects are minimised because they may alter the social risk perception and may create fear among individuals. Therefore, it is avoided by risk companies, institutions or the sectors that can be affected, such as tourism.

Methodology

The aim of this study is to analyse and compare risk communication with tourist communication that is already promoted by tourist and institutional websites of the analysed territory.

This case study places in the city of Tarragona (Spain), in the North-Eastern coast of the Iberian Peninsula, a 100 Km away from Barcelona. The special feature of the region is exceptional for the mentioned study because this medium-size city bases its economy in two important economic sectors: the tourism and the petrochemical industry. Both industries have historically confronted for their conflicting interests.

Tarragona is the capital of Costa Daurada. It is the third tourist area in Catalonia for the number of its visitors, after Barcelona and Costa Brava. Apart from the beaches and the nice weather, Tarragona has an important Roman heritage which has given the status of World Heritage Site. Moreover, Tarragona has another important tourist attraction, the theme park PortAventura. On the other hand, Tarragona has the most important petrochemical industry area in the South of Europe with 27 companies.

In order to understand the situation and confrontation of the tourist and chemical sectors in Tarragona, it's considered appropriate to include the parallel history of their development.

In 1961, IQA (Associated Chemical Industries) was established and an industrial was created in a period of 10 years. In parallel, it started to develop the other economic sector in the area: tourism. In 1965 it was inaugurated the Residential City in Tarragona and urban development and substructure plans and were approved to equip the beaches of Torredembarra and Salou region (Rodríguez Perea, 2007).

The chemical industry growth in Tarragona received another boost in 1976 with the opening of oil refinery in the region. This was the origin of the second industrial zone in the area. This was hardly criticised and was opposed by the tourism businessman that were expanding the tourist model of sun and beach (Rodríguez Perea, 2007). In the tourism field, after having passed for a stagnation period caused by the environmental deterioration, received a new boost in 1995 with the opening of PortAventura theme park. This park receives around four million visitors per year.

Therefore, the present reality is that the tourist and petrochemical sources are concentrated in a not very big city. This is an exceptional case to study because even PortAventura, the main tourist symbol in the area, is settled next to the petrochemical area, into the direct affectation radius of chemical risk. According to Rodríguez Perea (2007), this territorial distribution is quite surprising due to the challenge for living together the tourist and chemical industries.

The qualitative methodology applied in this study is based on an in-depth analysis of the tourist and institutional websites of Tarragona. Firstly, it was decided to analyse the PortAventura theme park website and the two official tourism websites of the area: the one of the Tourism Council of Tarragona (Patronat de Turisme) and the Deputation of Tarragona (Diputació de Tarragona). Afterwards, it was also considered to look up other tourist and institutional websites of the area.

The following list shows the analysed websites:

- www.catalunyaturisme.com
- www.costadaurada.org
- www.gencat.cat/interior/emergencies/plans/quimic/industria/index.htm
- www.lapinedaplatja.info
- www.portaventura.co.uk
- www.tarragonaturisme.cat
- www.tarragona.cat

-
- www.tarragona2016.org
 - www.tarragona2017.org
 - www.vila-seca.cat

The research aims to analyse whether the petrochemical truth and the risk aspects that citizens and tourists should know are communicated in the Tarragona tourist websites. This will be analysed by setting content categories of the major topics that the websites deal with.

Results

The study was begun with the analysis of the two official tourism websites of the area: the Tourism Council of Tarragona, which promotes Tarragona, and the Deputation of Tarragona, which promotes Costa Daurada.

The official tourism website of the city (Tourism Council) virtually mentions the chemical industry. The poor reference to it is available in a .pdf downloadable leaflet which is located in the media press room. It is a document of difficult access for tourists or potential tourists.

This media file, entitled *Tarragona. A city to discover. A discovery that will get you to fall in love*, says literally in the *Economy* chapter:

Tarragona leads an area of optimum industrial and technological progress: it has an excellent location in terms of communications, one of the most important petrochemical industrial estates in Spain, some outstanding university research... In short, it capitalizes on a zone considered to be the second most important metropolitan area in Catalonia.

The city unites numerous chemical industries. The materials they produce are used to produce products such as engine fuel, paint, medicine, textile fibres and many others. (Patronat Municipal de Turisme de Tarragona, 2008: 8).

As it can be seen, the Tourism Council of Tarragona mentions the petrochemical industry as the pillar and engine of Tarragona's society and it justifies its stay referring the benefits and contributions of these industries. However, it avoids mentioning the other side of the same coin, the information related with the petrochemical risk and the actions to be followed in a crisis situation.

In the same website, there is a section named *Publications* that gives you the possibility to download several tourism leaflets and catalogues. There is one titled *Travel to the centre of your emotions* which has been published by the Tourism Council of Tarragona and PortAventura. This leaflet presents the several leisure offers of PortAventura Resort as an alternative to the attractions and cultural activities offered by Tarragona city. As it can be assumed, this promotional leaflet totally obviates the existence of the chemical industries or the chemical risk.

In the Deputy Tourism website, which promotes Costa Daurada, it informs about specific topics of the area such as: the climate, localisation, communications, demography, geography and economy.

In the website section that talks about the Tarragonès region (where the chemical industry is located), it is mentioned when these industries were established, but it does not say a word whether these companies are still there, if there is chemical risk or whether is located near the other economic driving force: tourist areas. As well as the Tourism Council of Tarragona, Deputy's website does not justify or condemn the stay of the chemical industry. It only mentions it slightly, in a positive way and avoids the risk communication.

The county was first industrialised in the 1960s and 70s, when a major petrochemical complex was installed. Tourism is another mainstay of the local economy: Salou has emerged as the main hub and is home to a large share of the hotel establishments. Mention must also be made of other resort towns, such as La Pineda (Vila-seca), Torredembarra, Altafulla, Creixell or Roda de Barà. Since 1995, traditional tourism has received a tremendous boost from the opening of the PortAventura theme park in the towns of Vila-seca and Salou, which offers visitors replicas of far-off countries and cultures. (Patronat de Turisme de la Diputació de Tarragona, 2009).

Once the two official tourism websites in the region have been analysed, and seeing the inexistence information about the chemical risk, it was decided to analyse the official tourism websites of the Catalonia Government. This website, addressed to tourists of all over the world, it contributes with all kind of tourism information such as accommodation, gastronomy, culture or leisure activities. But even the contents that talk about Catalonia, they do not treat neither the Catalan economy, nor the chemical industry or even less the chemical risk.

Subsequently, an analysis to the PortAventura website and other Tourism Councils of the closer cities of the chemical industry were carried out.

PortAventura opened its doors in 1995 with a theme park and it soon has become into a great Costa Daurada tourism revitalizing. Since its opening, the theme park has gradually grown up and now it is a leisure resort with activities for all the ages, with an aquatic park, four hotels of four stars and a private beach club.

It is needed to point out that the lands of PortAventura are settled into the direct incidence risk radius of the chemical industry. It means, in case of chemical accident, the resort would be directly affected. The results of the analysis of the organisation website show that PortAventura does not mention anything about the resort is located next to the chemical industry or its existence.

Recently, PortAventura has started two new product lines. One is addressed to a customer with a high economic level and they offer three golf links and the other one is addressed to the business sector. They will open in short a conference centre. As it has been mentioned before, the business field that is stressed in the area is the chemical industry. Therefore, a part of the web information is addressed to the chemical sector, but there isn't any reference to the chemical information or the risk that it may cause. It is a contradiction that the enterprise offers a product and services line

addressed to the employees of a sector that they try to get around, even when their existence can be denied.

In Vila-seca and La Pineda websites, where PortAventura and one chemical industry area are located, the industrial activity is slightly mentioned and the risk communication is avoided.

Vila-seca municipality is divided into three centres of population: Vila-seca, La Pineda and La Plana. This village basically lives from the tourism and chemical industry. In fact, La Pineda is the centre of population that is most addressed to the tourism because it is in the coastline. The chemical industry in Vila-seca is known as “South Tarragona chemical industry area” and it is settled between the centres of population of Vila-seca and La Pineda.

Referring to the website, the mayor of Vila-seca recognises in his welcome letter that the economy of this village is based on the tourism and the chemistry, but he refers to the second one with the euphemism “strong industrial element”.

We live in a prosperous Vila-seca which has managed to combine different areas of economic activity: The beautiful countryside and a strong cultural heritage; world class tourist and leisure installations; commerce and services, a large and kind land which comes from an important agricultural tradition and a strong industrial element which adds to our riches. (Poblet, 2009).

In the history part it is said that the agriculture oriented economy of Vila-seca changed into tourism and industrial oriented economy during the 50s and the 60s. The information available only mentions the historical facts, it does not add any assessment.

It was developed a dense chemical industrial fabric in the area of Tarragona, la Canonja, Vila-seca and the south of Reus municipal area. The overall area took 545 hectares, in narrow proximity and coexistence with the tourist development that grew hard in the littoral region, especially in la Pineda, Salou Cape in Salou and Cambrils. Due to this growth, the expression Costa Daurada [Golden Coast] came into prominence. (Ajuntament de Vila-seca, 2009)

There is also a part on this website called “economic promotion”. It mentions the different economic driving forces of the city: tourism, communications, public equipment, trade and services, technological park, the harbour logistic activities area, agriculture and the strong industrial element. Inside “tourism”, it can be found a list of several city accommodations and the different tourist charms of the village (the width beaches, the protected Natural Area of Sèquia Major, the different parks and its artistic heritage). The poor information available in the “strong industrial element” only mentions the extension of the chemical industrial area and that it is divided into two zones, its situation, the date of its building and the name of the companies that compound it.

In short, the website of Vila-seca city council accepts that it has a chemical industry in their lands and that it coexists with another important driving force: the tourism. However, it does not mention a

word about the chemical risk nor the security measures that should be taken in case of a risk situation.

Referring to La Pineda website, the welcome letter of the president of the tourism council, Xavier Grasset, says that the village bets for the sustainability, the tourism and the environment preservation:

In summary, Vila-seca is a municipality that combines its undeniable touristic attractions with a sustainable development programme that emphasises quality of life and preservation of the environment as building blocks for the future of this typical southern European and Mediterranean area. (Grasset, 2009)

Although the village has ecological objectives according to the sustainable ideas of our times, it must be criticised that in the discourse of Grasset, it does not mention anything about the chemical industry, which is located next to the centre of population.

It were also analysed the institutional websites of Tarragona City Council and the websites for the candidatures of Tarragona of the European Capital of Culture (2016) and the Mediterranean Games (2017).

The Tarragona City Council website is addressed to the citizens. For this reason, there is not any tourist information available. The interest of this website is a subsection dedicated to the economy which is located inside the "City" section. As it has been seen before in other websites, it refers to the chemical industry as an economic driving force of the city and it praises its products, as well as the number of vacancies that it brings to the area. It literally says:

Tarragona is located in an area where there is the most important petrochemical complex in Spain and the most important transformation industries. Tarragona regions have several chemical industries. The materials that they produce are used to obtain several items such as fuel, paint, medicines, textile fibres and others things. These industries directly employ more 5.000 people, another 3.000 people in an indirect way, and 30.000 people in an induced way. (Ajuntament de Tarragona, 2009).

But apart from the tourism websites, it does not inform about the chemical risk or the security advices that should be followed in case of a chemical crisis develops.

The candidature of Tarragona for the European Capital of Culture has two clear objectives. On the one hand, it tries to capture sponsors and adhesions that support Tarragona as a candidate. On the other hand, it informs the population about how the project is being developed. In the section "City" where is assumed to promote the city of Tarragona, it readdresses the website to the section "City" of the Tarragona City Council web (analysed before).

The candidature of Tarragona for the Mediterranean Games not only looks for the approval and the support of the candidature among the citizens, it also promotes the city externally. In other words, it tries to attract tourists. In spite of this, it mixes the Tarragona city promotion with other tourist brands such as Costa Daurada, Catalonia or even Spain because there are images such as the Velázquez's painting of *Las Meninas* (which is in El Prado Museum), la Mancha's mills, or flamenco. The chemical topic is not mentioned, even when it talks about the economic driving forces of the city.

Finally, the Department of Interior of the Government of Catalonia was analysed because this department is obliged by law to facilitate all the information available about the chemical risk to the citizens and tourists. On this website, there is information about the PLASEQTA (The External Emergency Plan of the Chemical Sector of Tarragona), the chemical industry areas and the chemical risk. It contains information about how to act in case of an accident, the list of chemical products and the consequences of a chemical accident and the actions that are being taken from the Administrations and the companies to reduce the chemical accidents.

It must be stressed that in a section of this website, there are some advices to the population to prevent from the chemical risk, which literally says:

If you live in a risky industrial area, ask for some information to your town council.
(Generalitat de Catalunya, 2009).

This can sound quite ironic after having analysed the institutional and tourist websites of the area which do not provide any information about the chemical risk. This is not only a serious misdemeanour to the possible visitors, it also attempts to the security of the citizens and the current tourists. The fact of visiting areas and parks which are located in the direct affection radius of chemical risk and it is not informed about this risk violates the right of security that everybody must have.

Despite the lack of interactivity, the analysed tourist websites offer complete information to tourists about: accommodation, shopping, gastronomy, museums, routes, etc.

The Tarragona Tourism Council also offers on its website its star product: the TarraGO!na card. It is a voucher to access to museums, to have discounts in restaurants, shops and public transport. There is also a section addressed to the business tourism website and conference information. However, this website does not have any welcome section or a section that informs about the city. Therefore, it is necessary to investigate deeper on the website to find how the city is promoted. The same occurs with the Deputy website, the one of Costa Daurada.

Referring to the language used, in general, all the tourist websites are quite poetic as it can be seen in the section *Culture and leisure* of the Tarragona Council website. This language pretends to appeal the emotions, but it would be greater if there were better images or a creative way to communicate

the information. Moreover, the originality or the exclusivity of this kind of language is reprehensible because, as it can be read, what is said about Tarragona could be found in any other coastal village:

Tarragona is a city awash in light and colour. The mild climate and Mediterranean character, the charm of the streets and the warmth of the people make it an ideal spot for outdoor leisure and cultural pursuits. Tarragona is also synonymous with festivities, and here the festivities take to the streets. (Patronat Municipal de Tarragona, 2009).

Another example of this poetic language is the following downloaded leaflet wrote by the Tourism Council and PortAventura, *Travel to the centre of your emotions*.

Presenting a place where every street corner is steeped in culture and history, where adventure plays a starring role and the sea is your travelling companion. Discover a place by the sea and give free rein to your excitement. Welcome to Tarragona! Welcome to PortAventura! (Patronat Municipal de Turisme de Tarragona and PortAventura, 2009).

Conclusions

The place branding concept has recently been developed in contrast to destination branding. It bases on the idea that two territories do not only have to be communicated as tourism destinations; they also have to be communicated as business centres and residence places in a global and integrated form. Therefore, tourism websites should communicate the economic development aspects of a territory, its resources and the main economic sectors.

In Tarragona's case, where tourism and petrochemical sector have coexisted with contrasted interests historically, economic and business information is avoided on the tourism websites of the region. The reason for this is to avoid spreading the reality of the area in order to avoid fears to chemical or territorial contamination crisis.

Bearing in mind the reality of the territory, where some of the most visited beaches and even PortAventura theme park are in the chemical risk affection radius, the lack of information on chemical risk directly attempts to the information rights and the security of individuals. Tourists, who decide to spend their spare time in any tourist destination, must know that they are in a risk area and must be informed about what they have to do in case that a crisis develops.

Due tourists are quite sensitive to risks exposition, risk information is avoided to not create social alarm or fear among them. It is clear that with the numerous existing tourism destinations, visitors would choose safer places to go without risks of petrochemical crisis.

Therefore, in occasions tourism information does not show the reality of the territory when this can be counterproductive for the attraction of tourists. In the analysed case, tourist websites slightly mention the existence of the petrochemical industry in the area, but they do not inform about the chemical risk at all. They do not mention anything in a serious case of these characteristics where citizen security is in danger and the human right of being informed in risk case is violated.

To sum up, tourism communication is partial and only communicates the positive and attractive aspects of the territory. Furthermore, it uses a poetic language which appeals to emotions. In several occasions, this language is not distinctive, and what it communicates about a destination could be found in any other territory. The result is an artificial, general and not very transparent communication. With “commodification”, images and destinations positioning resemble even more now, because, in general, they answer similar tourist demands.

In order to obtain a more transparent and distinctive tourism communication, the strong and differential points should be stressed in each territory and brand. At the same time, this communication should show the reality of the territory, without avoiding necessary and important information for individual's security.

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'Professional-Development Needs in Croatia's Marine Tourism Industry: Harbormasters Identify the Management Skills that Require Improvement'

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While skills and knowledge of harbormasters are critical drivers of sustainable development and management of marine tourism, very little scholarly research has been done to assess the professional-development needs of harbormasters. This study addresses this gap by empirically investigating the perceived importance of the professional needs of harbormasters in the Croatian marine tourism industry. Specifically, the goals of this research are to determine what marine-tourism-management skills need improvement, what skills can be improved through training, and which training courses might fulfill managerial expectations. A two-page self-completed questionnaire written in Croatian is adapted from previous research and administered to a population of Croatian harbormasters. Professional-development needs among Croatian harbormasters are identified to provide guidance for future harbormaster development planning. Implications and limitations are presented in the subsequent sections of the study.

1. INTRODUCTION

The marine tourism industry undoubtedly is a significant business sector with substantial annual turnover, widespread economic influence, and considerable negative environmental impacts (Orams, 1998). For many island and coastal communities, marine tourism can form the single most important economic activity (Miller, 1990; Miller & Auyong, 1991). For instance, by 1998, Australian coastal and marine tourism generated an estimated AUD \$36 billion per year (Flaherty & Sampson, 2005). As a result of this importance, marine tourism has been a topic of interest in a multitude of texts, publications, and conferences since the early 1990s, most notably the first international conference on the subject, held in Hawaii in 1990 (Dinesen, 1995; Dowling, 2006; Garrod & Wilson, 2003; Horak et al., 2006; Kenchington, 1991; Kim & Kim, 1996; Miller, 1993; Miller & Auyong, 1991; Orams, 1998). Moreover, the growing focus on marine tourism within the scientific community has resulted in the creation of the *Tourism in Marine Environments* scholarly journal in 2004.

The marine tourism industry includes all activities associated with the coast and adjacent waters (Collins, 2008), encompassing a diverse range of profit and non-profit organizations that are directly and/or indirectly associated with it (Orams, 1998). Profit organizations associated with marine tourism range from small local operations (e.g., charter fishing-boat operators, scuba-diving instructors, boat maintenance shops, coastal resorts, windsurfer rental agencies, fishing equipment suppliers, etc.) to large multinational corporations, such as cruise-ship companies. Examples of non-profit organizations are harbormasters' offices, port authorities, various environmental groups, etc. In addition to marine tourism, other similar keywords exist in the literature, such as water-based tourism (Jennings, 2006) and sea-based tourism (Basiron, 1997).

In Croatia, marine tourism is the most vital, the most distinguishing, and the most competitive aspect of the national economy (Hydrographic Institute of Croatia [HIC], 2006). Croatia's jagged, indented coastline with many archipelagos represents a unique tourism symbol that makes Croatia stand out on the world tourism map. While there is no disaggregation of marine tourism statistics from Croatia's general or common statistical data set, in 2008, there were over 217,000 vessels in transit in Croatia's marine ports, and the total profit realized amounted to over 491 million Kuna (\approx € 65 million; Croatian Bureau of Statistics, 2009).

These notions put forward the need to improve on all of the activities aimed at developing marine tourism. In such context, harbormasters' offices and their harbor branch offices are particularly important entities. The satisfaction of marine tourists is either directly or indirectly associated with the performance of the employees of the harbormasters' offices and their branch harbor offices (Marušić & Horak, 2008). Moreover, marine tourism also directly contributes to the employment growth, as well as to the increase of social and other standards which determine the quality of life in a particular area (Šerić, 2006). Marine tourism often also becomes a corrective variable, related to the model and the intensity of utilization of natural resources which are the prerequisite for its development. Accordingly, the marine tourism has an active role in preservation and appropriate usage of the natural resources of a country, while creating an attractive business environment for *greenfield* investments. Therefore, the control function carried out by the harbormasters' offices and their branch offices implies interdisciplinary knowledge, as well as improving the existent knowledge and skills of the employees of that sector.

When harbormasters' offices were established, they primarily performed the control function, which was simpler than their current function which involves the role of support to the development of the marine tourism in Croatia. There is a great discrepancy between the contemporary requirements imposed on the harbormasters' offices and their branch offices by the rapid development of the marine tourism on the one hand and the ability of harbormasters' employees to meet these requirements on the other. Pursuing further education and training is therefore both an imperative and a necessity (Šamanović & Luković, 2007).

Evidently, skills and knowledge of harbormasters are critical drivers of sustainable development and management of marine tourism. Yet, despite the costs and benefits associated with the management of marine tourism, very little scholarly research has been done to assess the professional-development needs of harbormasters. This study addresses this gap by empirically investigating the perceived importance of the professional needs of harbormasters in the Croatian marine tourism industry. Specifically, the goals of this research are to determine (1) what marine-tourism-management skills need improvement, (2) what skills can be improved through training, and (3) which training courses might fulfill managerial expectations.

2. CURRENT CONDITIONS

The analysis of the current conditions and the experience of the employees of the harbormasters' offices and their branch offices in catering for the needs of marine tourism clearly indicates that the past, in the market sense, unsystematic approach of these entities has to be changed (Šerić, 2007).

From the aspect of the marine tourists, we notice frequent complaints about the performance of the employees of harbormasters' offices and their branches (Marušić & Horak, 2008). We expect there would be even more complaints if the marine tourists didn't refrain from making complaints because they still perceive these entities as repressive authority (an inherited behavior in the former socialist countries). The development of the marine tourism, based on the satisfaction of the marine guest/clients contributes to the economic development of the country but also to the employment growth on the local levels. Therefore, changes in behavior but also an increased expertise of the employees of the Harbormasters' offices and their branches are a necessity.

The geographical layout of harbormasters' offices and their branch offices in Croatia is adapted to the current level of development and the needs of the marine tourists. There are areas which require establishing seasonal harbormasters' branch offices and this does not present any organizational problems. However, it does require further training and education of the employees of these harbormasters' offices and their branch offices. Namely, the knowledge they gained in course of their formal education meets the standards of the contemporary marine profession, but not the needs of the tourist marine profession. Tourist marine profession requires market behavior and efficiency in implementing the set operational and tactical tasks (HIC, 2006). Apart from a general change in the behavior of the employees of the harbormasters' offices and their branch offices, more expert knowledge and skills thus appear needed for employees to perform more efficiently.

The criteria of the sustainable development of the marine tourism in Croatia require coordination among all variables. We would particularly like to emphasize the importance of alignment of developmental determinants of the marine tourism program with the positive legal regulations, which are to a great extent under the jurisdiction of the harbormasters' offices and their branches. A successful planning of the future development of marine tourism requires continuous improvements in the efficiency of the employees of Harbormasters' offices and their branch offices, which could otherwise become a *bottleneck*.

Platform for the development of Croatia's marine tourism is not to be based only on the natural resources and the level of coastal development, but also on the service industry, which also includes the activities of the harbormasters' offices and their branch offices.

3. PROSPECTS

Further increase of the marine tourism results in the increase of the demand for ancillary services. Some of the new services, but also the existent ones can be realized by an updated system of performance of harbormasters' offices and their branch offices. Such an approach can create new job opportunities, and turn the *control function* of these entities into a typically *service function*. The control function provides a certain income, but its transformation into a *service function* enables a completely different market evaluation of the activities performed by the harbormasters' offices and their branch offices. This is also a prerequisite for significant commercial benefits that may be obtained through these entities. From this point of view investment further education is fully justified.

Expanding capacity for marine tourism encourages employment of local population with the following foreseeable economic and social results:

- The number of people *directly employed* in this sector will increase (marinas, moorings, anchorages, small ports);
- There will be an increase in the number of people *indirectly employed* – encouraged by the development of marine tourism; they will be able to find employment in some of the activities and services that are either directly or indirectly related to the marine tourism;
- A *change in the motivational aspect of employment* – permanent or temporary – in other family members who will be better motivated to seek employment in various services and activities that are *directly or indirectly related to the marine tourism* (providing services for sailors/yachtsmen in marinas – laundry service, selling souvenirs, guided tours of islands and/or town/villages, involving the sailors in the components of the typical activities performed in the coastal area or on the islands (agriculture, grape growing, olive growing /grape and olive harvesting/, organizing cycling routes, fishing and mariculture, etc.);
- An increase in the employment of local population can have a positive impact on the *decrease in emigration* from the islands because the local island population would have a source of income;
- A general increase in the standard of living in the coastal areas, in particular on the islands;
- An increase in education levels of the local population of the coastal areas and islands;
- Improved public utilities and other elements of infrastructure in the coastal area and islands.

The prerequisite for all the above mentioned is a higher efficiency and effectiveness of the employees of the harbormasters' offices and their branch offices. Unfortunately, we have already witnessed that even nowadays marine tourists often spend several hours at these offices, sometimes even the whole morning, dealing with paperwork (Marušić & Horak, 2008). The conducted research showed that the employees of the harbormasters' offices and their branch offices are aware of the lack of required IT knowledge. Increasing the standard on that level only would enable the employees to handle a part of the communication via the Internet, which would ensure a higher quality of the services offered. Sustainable development of the marine tourism in Croatia will encourage development of other business activities common for the coastal zone and which are directly or indirectly connected to the employees of the harbormasters' offices and their branch offices.

Business activities common for the coastal zone would include the following:

- Small shipbuilding
- Repair shipyards
- Vessel and engine services, sail and other gear/equipment services
- Different types of tourist services offered on marine properties

The presented current situation proves that development of marine tourism can be seen as a social change and not only a change of the standard of living in the marine destinations. Marine tourism is an encouraging process as well. It can have a positive impact on the social and business activities on the islands as well as in the coastal zone. In order to achieve this, the higher efficiency and

effectiveness of the employees of the harbormasters' offices and their branch offices must be a prerequisite.

Based on the aspect of evaluation of the harbormasters' offices and their branch offices regarding development of marine tourism in Croatia, these subjects can be observed through two basic operational modules:

1. The IT systems module required for the field.
2. The control support module for the marine tourists, which includes knowledge and skills based on which all necessary operational duties of the harbormasters' offices and their branch offices are performed in a faster and more efficient way.

Implementation of the proactive activities performed through the above mentioned modules requires additional training in the fields which have been suggested by the employees of the harbormasters' offices and their branch offices themselves. Therefore, it is possible to talk about a new vision and mission of the activities of the harbormasters' offices and their branch offices as a support to development of marine tourism. Without clear guidelines set out for gaining additional knowledge and skills for their employees, the further development of this branch of the economy would be illusory. Taking into consideration the specific features of market changes and trends, the new mission of the harbormasters' offices and their branch offices should be analyzed through three platforms: short-term, mid-term and long-term. Differences in approach to these platforms for development determine their limitations. Partial aims of single platforms do not necessarily need to be identical. However, it is important that they are adjusted to the context of new education as well as to acquiring new skills and knowledge.

Croatian marine tourism finds itself at the turning point (HIC, 2006). Attitudes and ideas within this profession and field as well as among relevant members of the government departments related to this branch of the economy are different. Some are of the opinion that further increase in the number of vessels, noticed through the increase of the number of berths and marines, leads to the less attractive sailing and causes more pollution of the sea and coast. Others are of the opinion that further development of the infrastructure relevant for marine tourism represents the necessity and that the increase in the number of vessels in the Adriatic sea represents one of the most important levers of economic growth in Croatia. The ones that represent the more conservative opinion of reducing the number of vessels in the marine tourism support their opinion by theses of the indirect influence on the exclusivity of the offer, which consequently offers the possibility of segmented approach to the marine market enabling certainly better financial results. On the other hand, opposed opinions support the idea that from the spatio-geographical aspect marine infrastructure on the Adriatic is unbalanced. Those who support such an opinion emphasize the fact that in the Eastern area of the Adriatic demand exceeds the receptive capacity of marines which represents a threat because of the potential risk of the ecological incidents. It can also cause the unacceptable devastation of the untouched secluded bays. Furthermore, heavy marine traffic during the high season ruins the competitiveness of Croatian offer to the marine tourists. However, all of them agree upon one thing: it is necessary to increase the effectiveness of the employees in the harbormasters' offices and their branch offices because within the context of development of marine tourism they

not only represent the control and legislative function on the sea but a key information and service point to the marine tourists as well.

New vision for the harbormasters' offices and their branch offices within the context of marine tourism of Croatia includes the constant monitoring of maritime infrastructure, as one of the functions of marine tourism, as well as the proactive activities necessary for reducing the number of activities and projects with permanent consequences on the environment, which is after all the fundamental resource for development of the marine tourism. New vision for the harbormasters' offices and their branch offices implies the estimate of the optimal number of employees required during the high season and during the off-season. The optimal number of employees of the harbormasters' offices and their branch offices ensures the profitability by using the minimum resources. The increase in a number of branch offices is an imperative in order to be able to ensure the legislative and informative support to every potential marine corridor in the Eastern area of the Adriatic. This would also reduce the pressure on certain corridors that is caused, in part, by the limited infrastructure and the overwhelming demand on the selected harbormasters' offices and their branch offices.

New mission of the harbormasters' offices and their branch offices implies a different organizational system which would primarily operate based on the services offered. The increase in number of branch offices to its optimal number is also an imperative due to two reasons. The first one relates to the need of restructuring of the overall business activities within marine tourism on the Adriatic. The second one is determined by the continuous increase in the number of vessels belonging to the marine fleet on the Adriatic. While considering the optimal approach, it is necessary to have on mind not only the relevant micro-location but other factors as well. For instance: to what extent is the broader micro-location of a branch office urbanized, hydro-meteorological features of the micro-location where the new branch office would be located, its distance from the nearest marine corridors, connection with other branch offices in the region etc. By taking into consideration the required additional training of the employees of harbormasters' offices and their branch offices and everything else above mentioned, Croatia would certainly be much closer to the contemporary standards set in the marine tourism nowadays.

4. METHODOLOGY

The population of 75 harbormasters' offices (8 main harbormasters' offices and 67 harbor branch offices) in Croatia in 2009 were surveyed in this study. The list containing the mailing addresses and contact information of harbormaster's offices in Croatia was provided courtesy of the Croatia's Ministry of the Sea, Transport, and Infrastructure. The study was carried out during February and March of 2009.

Overall, this study featured a primary data collection, whereby a 2-page anonymous self-administered questionnaire written in Croatian was mailed to the main harbormaster's offices and harbor branch offices that make up the population. The questionnaire comprised 7 multiple-choice questions, 4 fill-in-the-blank questions, 3 open-ended questions, and a Likert-type question - developed through a review of related literature and evaluated by three social science research

experts. The subsequent pre-test of the survey on two harbormaster's offices revealed only a few typos that were easily corrected. Questionnaire design followed the established guidelines for mail and Internet surveys (Dillman, 2000). Thus, prior to mailing out the final version of the survey, an email informing the respondents about source, scope, nature, and date of the approaching survey was sent in an attempt to improve the survey response rate. The email correspondence was conducted using the Mail Merge Wizard, so as to assure respondent privacy and to avoid appearance of mass emailing.

The first part of the survey aimed to identify some of the features of the harbormaster's offices by using 2 multiple-choice questions and a fill-in-the-blank question. This included position (captain or other staff), harbor type (main harbormaster's office or harbor branch office), and length of employment. The second section of the questionnaire related to the respondents' opinions regarding management skills and areas of major concern (using multiple-choice and open-ended questions).

The third section of the questionnaire examined respondents' interest in specific training courses. This section comprised a list of 16 hypothetical training courses (Table 1). Most of the course names were adapted from previous related research (Formica & McCleary, 2000). Some marine-tourism-related courses, such as "the impacts of marine tourism," "the impacts of cruise tourism," were added, however, due to Croatian harbormasters' specific interest and accountability in marine tourism development. All statements were rated on a 5-point Likert scale, ranging from 1 (*not interested at all*) to 5 (*very interested*). The fourth and final part of the survey included questions about respondents' gender, age, and education level.

5. RESULTS

Of the 75 questionnaires mailed, 21 usable surveys were returned, representing an overall response rate of 28%. Data analysis consisted of two steps. First, a frequency analysis was performed to identify descriptive statistics. Second, the nonparametric Mann-Whitney U (M-W U) tests were performed to highlight the differences in respondents' interest across 13 training courses listed in the questionnaire. Usually, when we have two samples that we want to compare concerning their mean value for some variable of interest, we would use the parametric *t*-test for independent samples. Before using the *t*-test, however, one needs to check for violations of its two major assumptions - normal distribution of data and equality of variances. The inspection of data via the Kolmogorov-Smirnov test and histogram revealed that data follows the Gaussian distribution, that is, it is normally distributed. The equality of variances assumption was assessed through Levene's test. The resulting *p*-values of Levene's test indicated that the population variances are not equal. Thus, the equality of variances assumption was violated. Since data were not fit for the parametric *t*-test, the nonparametric M-W U test was selected instead. Data were analyzed using the Statistical Program for Social Sciences (SPSS).

Harbormasters' Characteristics

A typical respondent in this study (Table 1) can best be described as a male (95%), between the ages of 35 and 65 (95%), and having an associate's degree (62%). Because of the insufficient number of respondents with either high school or college degrees (4 in each category), these were merged into

one category in the later analysis. Thus, this gave two groups in terms of education level, ASSOCIATE'S DEGREE, representing 13 respondents (62%), and NON-ASSOCIATE'S DEGREE with 8 respondents (38%).

In respect to length of employment in a particular harbormaster's office, there was a broad distribution in respondents' years in employment, ranging from 1 to 38. The median number of years in employment was 16. Based on the median number of years in employment, survey participants were divided into two groups for further analysis – 9 respondents with 15 or less years in employment (43%) and 13 respondents with 16 or more years in employment (57%).

Table 1. Respondent Characteristics ($n = 21$)

Variable	Count	Percent	Valid Percent
<i>Gender</i>			
Male	20	95.2	95.2
Female	1	4.8	4.8
<i>Age</i>			
35 to 49	10	47.6	47.6
≥ 50	11	52.4	52.4
<i>Education</i>			
High school	4	19.0	19.0
Associate's degree	13	61.9	61.9
College graduate	4	19.0	19.0
<i>Position</i>			
Captain	18	85.7	85.7
Other staff	3	14.3	14.3
<i>Harbor type</i>			
Main harbormaster's office	5	23.8	23.8
Harbor branch office	16	76.2	76.2
<i>Length of employment</i>			
≤ 15 years	9	42.9	42.9
≥ 16 years	12	57.1	57.1

Management Issues and Training

Survey participants were asked to identify their major managerial issues. A series of open-ended questions revealed these participants' concerns – in particular, not enough staff (especially during the peak tourism season), low level of employee empowerment, and the general lack of adequate facilities and equipment (e.g., vehicles, slow computers). In addition, respondents were concerned about the inadequate legal framework, particularly the ill-defined laws and regulations surrounding

the harbormasters' operational rights and responsibilities. When asked which of their professional skills needed the most improvement, respondents cited administration/organization (less unnecessary 'paperwork'), system-wide communication, and enforcement of laws and regulations. They also placed a heavy emphasis on IT knowledge, foreign languages, and human resource management.

Survey participants were also asked to select the functional areas that could be improved by training activities. Table 2 shows their responses. Overall, more than 60 percent of respondents considered new information technologies and operations the most useful skill areas that could be taught in professional-development courses. These results strongly suggest that survey participants believe that their knowledge and professional skills in the areas of operations management and new information technologies could be substantially improved by attending training courses focusing on those two areas. Courses geared toward human resources management generated only modest interest from survey participants. Courses spanning the areas of management, finance, and marketing received very little, if any, interest by the respondents.

Table 2. Functional Areas Where Managerial Training is Perceived as Most Useful

Area	Percentage
New IT	71.4
Operations	61.9
Human resources	47.6
Other	28.6
Management	9.5
Finance	4.8
Marketing	0

Respondents were next asked to rate their actual interest in taking various skills-training courses. The survey used a Likert-type scale in which 1 = not interested at all and 5 = very interested. The results, shown in Table 3, are ranked according to the mean scores. Effective communication (3.90), human resources management (3.52), and the impacts of marine tourism (3.48) received the highest average rating. Accounting/financial management (1.95), internal control (2.57), and publicity/promotion (2.76) were the lowest rated training courses.

To determine whether there were significant differences in interests by age, length in employment, and education level, M-W U tests were performed on the importance ratings given to each training course (Table 3). In terms of age, 35 to 49 year-olds' showed significantly more interest than those 50 years of age and older in these courses: publicity/promotion, accounting/financial management, appraising employee performance, professional skills for managers, operations planning, and managing IT. Concerning length of employment, respondents that have been employed in harbormasters' offices for 15 years or less exhibited significantly more interest (as compared to those employed for 16 years or more) in the following courses: managing IT, behavior/segmentation of

marine tourists, forecasting marine-tourism demand, and internal control. Moreover, survey participants with non-associate's degrees (i.e., either high-school or college graduates) significantly more favored courses in accounting/financial management, appraising employee performance, internal control, and leadership/motivation.

6. CONCLUSIONS AND IMPLICATIONS

This study empirically examined the professional-development needs of Croatia's harbormasters that require improvement. Specifically, it identified which marine-tourism-management skills need the most improvement, which skills can be improved through training, and which training courses might fulfill harbormasters' managerial expectations. This study also investigated the effects of age, education, and length of employment on harbormasters' interest in taking various skills-training courses.

The skill areas that need the most improvement are administration/organization, communication, enforcement of laws/regulations, IT knowledge, foreign languages, and human resource management. Training in the areas of new information technologies and operations is likely

**Table 3. Harbormaster's Actual Interest in Attending Training Courses
by Age, Length in Employment, and Education Level**

Course	Mean ¹	Rank	Mean for	Mean for	M-W U	<i>p</i>
			35-49 year olds' (n=10)	≥ 50 year olds' (n=11)		
Effective communication	3.90	1	4.40	3.45	43.500	.426
Human resources management	3.52	2	3.90	3.18	43.500	.426
The impacts of marine tourism	3.48	3	3.80	3.18	50.000	.756
Appraising employee performance	3.38	4	4.10	2.73	23.500	.024**
Behavior and segmentation of marine tourists	3.33	5	3.70	3.00	41.500	.349
Operations planning	3.24	6	3.80	2.73	30.000	.085*
Leadership and motivation	3.19	7	3.80	2.64	33.000	.132
Forecasting marine-tourism demand	3.19	8	3.60	2.82	37.000	.223
Managing IT	3.14	9	3.80	2.55	31.500	.099*
Professional skills for managers	3.00	10	3.60	2.45	29.000	.072*
Publicity and promotion	2.76	11	3.70	1.91	15.500	.004**
Internal control	2.57	12	3.00	2.18	34.500	.152
Accounting and financial management	1.95	13	2.60	1.36	16.500	.005**
Course			Mean for	Mean for	M-W U	<i>p</i>
			employment	employment		
Effective communication			≤ 15 years (n=9)	≥ 16 years (n=12)	value	
Human resources management			4.00	3.83	47.500	.651
The impacts of marine tourism			3.89	3.25	44.000	.508
Appraising employee performance			4.11	3.00	33.500	.148
Behavior and segmentation of marine tourists			3.89	3.00	34.000	.169
Operations planning			4.11	2.75	22.000	.023**
Leadership and motivation			3.44	3.08	53.500	.972
Forecasting marine-tourism demand			3.22	3.17	51.000	.862
Managing IT			3.89	2.67	25.000	.041**
Professional skills for managers			4.00	2.50	21.500	.018**
Publicity and promotion			2.89	3.08	49.000	.754
Internal control			2.89	2.67	48.500	.702
Accounting and financial management			3.11	2.17	28.000	.069*
			2.22	1.75	37.500	.247
Course			Mean for	Mean for	M-W U	<i>p</i>
			associate's degree (n=13)	non-associate's degree (n=8)		
Effective communication			3.54	4.50	40.000	.414
Human resources management			3.15	4.13	29.500	.104
The impacts of marine tourism			3.54	3.38	43.500	.547
Appraising employee performance			2.92	4.13	25.500	.053*
Behavior and segmentation of marine tourists			3.38	3.25	44.500	.595
Operations planning			2.92	3.75	36.000	.268
Leadership and motivation			2.69	4.00	28.000	.089*
Forecasting marine-tourism demand			3.00	3.50	40.000	.414
Managing IT			3.00	3.38	46.000	.697
Professional skills for managers			2.69	3.50	34.500	.210
Publicity and promotion			2.38	3.38	32.500	.161
Internal control			2.15	3.25	25.500	.053*
Accounting and financial management			1.54	2.63	21.500	.025**

¹Based on a 5-point Likert scale where 1 = *not interested at all* and 5 = *very interested*

** Significant at .05 level

* Significant at .10 level

to improve harbormasters' skills better than training in other areas (Table 2). The top five specific training courses that harbormasters would be interested in attending are: effective communication,

human resources management, the impacts of marine tourism, appraising employee performance, and behavior/segmentation of marine tourists (Table 3).

Statistically significant differences were identified regarding the effects of age, education, and length of employment on harbormasters' interest in taking various skills-training courses. 35 to 49 year-olds' placed significantly more importance on publicity/promotion, accounting/financial management, and appraising employee performance. Additionally, those that have been employed in harbormasters' offices for 15 years or less showed significantly greater interest in managing IT, behavior/segmentation of marine tourists, and forecasting marine-tourism demand. Also, college and high-school graduates put significantly more value on accounting and financial management. While statistically significant, some of the identified differences likely have few practical implications. For instance, although age is a statistically significant predictor of harbormasters' interest for a course in accounting/financial management, the observed means for the two age groups (2.60 for 35-49 year-olds' and 1.36 for those 50 years of age and up) suggest that neither group is interested in that course. Bearing in mind both statistical and practical significance of this study's results, the findings herein should encourage training professionals to offer such courses directly to harbormasters.

Overall, this study found that professional training is perceived by Croatian harbormasters as an important way to improve several skill areas. The study also revealed many similarities and some differences among harbormasters regarding their interests in management-training courses. The rankings of harbormasters in the 13 courses listed in Table 3 highlights their interest in aspects dealing with human resource management and marine tourism. Conversely, relatively little importance was placed on publicity/promotion and internal control, and the lowest interest was shown for accounting and financial management.

The implications of this study are two-fold. First, the parallel between the skills which respondents admit need improvement and those same respondents' interest in actually taking training courses to enhance those skills emphasize the Croatian harbormaster community's recognition of its weaknesses and willingness to change and improve its managerial abilities. Second, this study suggests that funds allocated for harbormasters' training should be geared to those courses related to human resources and marine tourism issues. Effective training courses in human resources and marine tourism, as well as other topics, should positively influence harbormasters' knowledge and management skills, thereby leading to improved sustainable development practices in Croatia's marine tourism.

In terms of this study's limitations, response rate (28%) and sample size ($n = 21$) limit the generalizability of findings. Although steps were taken to increase respondent participation (i.e., initial email informing the respondents about the approaching mail survey), slow computers and inadequate IT skills may explain the low response rate. Moreover, given that there are only a total of 75 harbormasters' offices and harbor branch offices, it appears that these findings apply at least to some harbormasters'. Thus, future studies need a more representative sample and somewhat different methodology (i.e., communication via mail only). Nevertheless, this research should be

viewed as a first step towards understanding the professional-development needs in Croatia's marine tourism industry.

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'Have you been away?': Holiday talk in ordinary and institutional interaction'

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(50 words)

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ABSTRACT: Whilst it is well known that experiences of tourism continue into everyday life through retelling and reminiscence, there is little research examining this activity or analyzing the functions 'holiday talk' serve within different interactional contexts. This paper investigates how talk about holidays and travel is occasioned in ordinary and institutional settings, and examines the social actions accomplished in and by it. The analysis reveals how holiday talk becomes a topic as people organize their lives, activities and social relationships. The paper concludes that holiday talk, as a cultural resource, has a 'mundane centrality' in social interaction and is steeped in moral obligations. We call for further research within tourism social science on the relationship between tourism and everyday social life. (120 words)

KEYWORDS: holiday talk, conversation analysis, everyday life, institutional talk

INTRODUCTION

In recent years, it has become a truism that tourism and holiday experiences are not just important but a 'necessary' part of people's lives (Gibson and Yiannakis 2002 p. 358). Tourism forms an intrinsic part of the culture of many modern, developed economies of the world. It is also commonly accepted that the holiday experience is not limited to the holiday event itself, but starts prior to and in anticipation of a trip, and continues beyond the return via the telling, retelling and reminiscing among family and friends (Parinello 1993). Holidays have the potential to add lasting memories, contributing to and shaping the narratives of people's lives. Tourist experiences change over the life-course, as people adopt different roles and make different choices according to their particular needs (Pearce 1993; Gibson and Yiannakis 2002). The literature on tourist experience recognizes the pivotal role that holiday experiences have for changing lives, attitudes and personal and social growth (Nyaupane *et al* 2008; Desforges 2000). Across tourism studies, a consensus has emerged that *the*

discourse of and talk about tourism, like narrative tellings more generally, are resources for identity work (McCabe and Stokoe 2004; Noy 2004; Elsud 2004), and the mediator of culture (Bhattacharyya 1997).

This focus on the discursive *construction* of tourist experience represents a more general shift in focus in tourism studies, towards qualitative methodologies and a focus on understanding people's endogenous experiences of tourism and holidays. As Brown (2007: 365) argues, there is a need to "follow what specific tourists do in specific settings [and] to focus on the views and approach of tourists themselves". One dominant strand of work collects and analyses people's *accounts of* their holidays in social sciences interviews, often working within a phenomenological perspective (e.g., Hayllar and Griffin 2005). A second strand examines people's interactions and experiential accounts produced *in situ* in touristic settings. For example, McCabe and Stokoe (2004) analysed people's accounts of their visits to national parks in the UK, elicited as they walked with the researcher across the park's landscape. A third strand of work, based on observation methods, examines what constitutes people's performances in famous touristic sites, and how people may behave in ways that socially exclude particular others from such sites (e.g., Edensor 1998; Mordue 2005).

In contrast to interview studies, and focusing more directly on how people engage with each other as tourists outside the research interview, Murphy (2001) conducted a 'social-situation' analysis of the development of informal networks between backpackers', and how their interactions led to the word-of-mouth promotion of destinations (see also Pearce, 1984). Murphy argued that social interaction was the driver of backpacker activity, facilitated by the particular material environments, including hostels, which they occupied. In another study, Thurlow *et al* (2005) investigated communication between tourists via their postcards. Using a sociolinguistic approach, they demonstrated how "it is in communication with each other in every particular instant of contact that hosts and tourists also negotiate the nature of the tourist experience, their relationship to each other, and their own identities" (*ibid.*: 2). Similarly, Jaworski and Thurlow (2004) and Jaworski *et al* (2003a, 2003b) analysed the various positions adopted by hosts and tourists in British holiday television shows. Taken together, these kinds of semiotic and discourse analytic studies, which examine naturally-occurring contexts for studying tourism phenomena, have been pivotal in advancing theory about the importance of touristic interactions to understanding social transformations (e.g., MacCannell 1976; Culler 1981; Dann 1996; Morgan and Pritchard 1998).

In their classic paper on language and tourism, Cohen and Cooper (1986) mapped the extent of sociological and anthropological research on interactions between host and guests, foreigners and tourists, identifying asymmetry and power differentials as fundamental characteristics (after Nunez 1977; see Huisman and Moore 1999; Nash and Smith 1991; Uriely and Reichel 2000). However, their theoretical paper focused on the issue of language difference and the implications for meaningful interactions between cultures, rather than on the specifics of interactions between hosts and guests themselves. The specifics of interaction have rarely been studied, but there are a few notable exceptions. First, in Mazeland *et al*'s (1995) research on telephone calls between members of the public and travel agents, they examine the way callers and call-takers invoke their own and each others' identity category memberships as they accomplish the task of booking travel arrangements.

They show how, by also categorizing the places and activities that are the subject of arrangements, clients' needs are identified and fulfilled. In another study, Psathas (1999) focused more particularly on the construction of potentially asymmetrical identities between call-takers and callers to a skiing school. Psathas shows how the rights and obligations of call-takers and callers are realized and how these different identities structure and order the interaction. Finally, Chevalier (2008) has studied the strategies employed by French tourist helpline workers to manage the institutional requirement to avoid recommending or evaluating accommodation or places, whilst providing information about such topics in their calls with tourists.

Across much of this research, it is clear that while researchers are getting ever-closer to studying tourist encounters as they happen, no one has asked questions about how people, beyond the context of their doing being 'tourists', or outside talking to researchers about such experiences, actually make meaningful 'holiday talk' in their everyday lives. Therefore, remarkably little is known about the salience and meanings of 'holidays' in settings that are not ostensibly about them. While it may be argued that holidays and tourism play a critical role in people's social lives, and are deeply embedded within the cultural imagination, there is very little empirical evidence on which to base such claims.

The 'mundane centrality' of holidays in everyday life

Holidays have traditionally been conceptualized as specific and limited breaks from regular routines, or 'ordinary life', and are times when new challenges may be undertaken (Richards 1999). Tourist experiences are therefore categorized in terms of their distinctiveness from everyday life, comprising 'peak' experiences or special moments in which ordinary social roles can be reversed, inverted or challenged. In contrast, however, recent theorizing has emphasized the repetitive, ritualized or routinized aspects of tourist behavior (Seaton 2002), the quotidian reality of tourist experience (McCabe 2002): what Uriely (2005) calls the 'de-differentiation' between tourist and everyday life experience (2005). However, much of this work has remained at the conceptual rather than empirical level, with descriptions of holiday encounters in everyday life remaining firmly located in an analytic 'black box'.

In contrast, this paper examines precisely how holidays and tourism figure in repeated, routinized ways within the contexts of their everyday lives. The paper asks: how, where and just *which aspects* of tourism and holiday experience are occasioned in everyday conversation by ordinary members of a culture? In what kinds of interactional context do holiday and tourist experiences become topics of conversation? What *actions* (e.g., blaming, affiliating, justifying, accounting) are accomplished in sequences of talk in which holidays crop up? We examine these questions by analyzing audio-recorded and transcribed conversations across a range of ordinary (e.g., domestic telephone calls, dating interaction) and institutional (e.g., weight management groups, calls to the local authority) settings. These sorts of empirical materials have not been mined for their relevance to tourism, so the paper also provides an example of an innovative type of qualitative analysis for tourism research. The following analysis demonstrates how talk about tourism and holiday experiences, as shared cultural resources, creeps into the social interaction that comprises everyday life. Holiday talk is not,

as one might intuit, littered randomly across different conversational settings but is occasioned in patterned ways, accomplishing routine social interactional contingencies.

DATA AND METHOD

The dataset comprises over 200 hours of audio-recorded British and American conversations in a variety of everyday and institutional settings, including telephone and face-to-face conversations between friends, speed-dating encounters, telephone calls to neighbor mediation services and local council antisocial behavior and environmental health services, and interactions between members of a weight management class and their group leader. All names and other identifying features were anonymized, and the recordings were transcribed using Jefferson's (2004) system for conversation analysis.

Conversation analysis is used commonly across the social sciences, but has rarely been employed within tourism studies. Thus a further aim of this paper is to demonstrate its application. Conversation analysis emerged from work of the American sociologist, Sacks, and his colleagues Schegloff and Jefferson. It developed out of ethnomethodology, which focuses on "the massively prevalent, yet intricately varied structures of how the world is arranged" (Brown, 2007: 367). Sacks's aim was to develop an observational science of society and social action that could be grounded in the "details of actual events" (Sacks, 1984: 26). Conversation analysis focuses on the turn-by-turn organization of talk, examining how turns are designed and allocated, how the resources of language are formulated into actions, how sequences of talk cohere, and how people deal with trouble in speaking, hearing and understanding (Schegloff, 2007). For Schegloff (1996a: 4), talk is "the primordial scene of social life ... through which the work of the constitutive institutions of societies gets done". It is through talking that we live our lives, build and maintain relationships, and establish "who we are to one another" (Drew, 2005: 74).

Therefore, the starting point for this analysis was to trawl the data for all instances of 'holiday talk', including mentions of the word 'holiday', stories about holidays, and sequences of talk in which holiday talk cropped up in the midst of other conversational business. The search was not confined to mentions of 'holidays' but included associated terms such as trip, vacation, travel and other referents such as 'going away' (see extract four for example) to ensure that all sequences of related talk were captured in the analysis. Each instance was examined for the constituent features and *design* of the turn in which the holiday talk appeared, the placement of the turn in its wider sequence, and the *action* accomplished by the turn in which the holiday talk appeared. In this way, the analysis demonstrates the 'mundane centrality of holiday-talk' to the patterns in, and different social arenas of, everyday shared social reality.

HOLIDAY TALK AS A TOPIC AND RESOURCE

A basic observation about the materials is that talk about holidays, trips, and travel was littered abundantly throughout. For the purposes of this paper, the analysis was divided into four related sections, each focusing on a particular interactional environment for holiday talk. The first section examines holiday talk at its most mundane, as it crops up in talk that is not focally about holiday experiences and stories. Rather, the examples are instances of the ordinary way talk about holidays

comes momentarily into focus as people discuss the cycle of their lives, their families and relationships, or as a general inquiry about life, or as a topic initiator. This section represents the most common type of 'mundane holiday talk'. The second section examines the way people's talk about holiday experiences is occasioned, and the social actions (such as assessment, affiliation and disaffiliation) that are accomplished in the telling of these narratives. The third section shows how holiday talk can be put to use in accounts of various kinds, and the final section investigates the function of holiday talk in formulating complaints.

Mundane holiday talk

The first three extracts are instances of the way holiday talk crops up in mundane ways rather than as part of holiday narratives *per se*. Extract one comes from a telephone conversation between two adults, Deena and Mark. Deena is Mark's cousin and they have been talking about arrangements for a family wedding. We join the conversation as Deena asks after Katherine and Gordon, Mark's children.

1. Holt M88:2:4: 27

- 1 Dee: [So ↑anyway how a::re uh
 2 Katherine an:d um[:]
 3 Mar: [Oh Katherine's very well thank you?=]
 4 Dee: =[()
 5 Mar: → =[uh she wz: down at- uh Easter,[m-w: s h e] t- .hhhhhhh
 6 Dee: [Yeh b't wuh] ↑where is she
 7 Dee: now[Mark?↑
 8 Mar: [She's still at Yo:rk she's: she's: gone back to
 9 York University to do 'er Ph.D:, whi[ch is another (.)
 10 Dee: [Yes,
 11 Mar: three years well (.) bit'll be another two years,=
 12 Dee: =[Ye:h?
 13 Mar: =[.hhhhhhh uh:: before she gets tha:t?h .hhhhh hUh:::m
 14 (0.2) .p.hhhh ↑hAnd she's: uh::: sh' seems pretty
 15 happy up the:re (0.2) fact very happy..h[hhh
 16 Dee: [Oh goo:[d.
 17 Mar: [Uh:::m
 18 → (.) .gn dYeah she she came home at Easter for uh::::w:-
 19 (.) uh::: a week or so: (0.5) well 'n fact more th'n a
 20 week it's ub (.) she b- came home: one the longer
 21 → holidays that she's been since she's been awa:y .hh.hhhh
 22 hUh:m Gordon's: jus::t (.) eh-sittin' (y'know) eez
 23 eightee:n.=
 24 Dee: =([)
 25 Mar: [He's jus' sittin' iz: final: uhb A Levels no:w?
 26 Dee: Ye[h?

At line one Deena begins a new sequence with a question about Mark's children, beginning with "Katherine". She is searching for the name of Mark's son as Mark begins his answer at line three. Mark treats Deena's question about how the children are as an opportunity to talk not just about them being "very well" but also about what they are doing. He tells Deena about Katherine's recent visit "down" over "Easter," and that she is happy doing her doctorate at York. The target lines in this extract are five and 17-21, in which Mark's description of Katherine's activities unfolds around holiday talk. The normative and unremarkable backdrop to his description is that students return 'home' to their parents during 'holidays'. In this way, holidays are temporal devices that structure activities and descriptions thereof. Although there is no extended account of a 'holiday' here, holiday talk has nevertheless been occasioned by a polite question about how people are. Such polite inquiries accomplish affiliation between the speakers. Mark moves on to discuss how Gordon is, and what he is doing, once he has discussed Katherine. Extract two comes from the same corpus of telephone conversations, and here, Mark is talking to Deena's husband, Dwayne about the pending wedding of his daughter, Deirdre. Near the start of the call, Deirdre calls from the background "You coming to my weddi::n?" (line one) and Mark responds that this was his reason for telephoning (line five). At line nine, Mark's wife Lesley asks in the background to establish whether the wedding is "on or NOT" (lines 9-11).

2. Holt M88: 2:1:3-7

- 1 Dei: [Y o u coming to my w]eddi::n?
2 Mark: hhhh
3 (0.6)
4 Dwa: Dihyuh hear that,
5 Mark: gihYeah I heard that that's why I rang up really
6 .h[hh
7 Dwa: [(Oh(h)o right.)
[...]
8 Mark: Ehm- (0.3) gnk (0.2) give us the date again.
[...]
9 Les: ((deeply irritated)) ↑Din' ↓sa[y is it on. Is it on=
10 Mark: [Yes.
11 Les: =or NO[T.
12 Mark: [Yes it i[s.
13 Dwa: [What's the prob[lem.
[...]
14 Mark: [A h that wle:ll: that's ri- I
15 mean we've: we've had: one'r two invitations rollin' in:
16 about:t things about that time 'n we (.) an:d-u
17 → holiday:s 'n that sorta thing 'n we wanted to make sure
18 th't we didn't go 'n get double booked.
19 Dwa: Ri::ght. Lovely. We'll you musn' get double booked f'r

-
- 20 ↓that cuz Deedee's really looking forward to ↓seeing
 21 yo[u.]↓
 22 Mark: [hO::ka:y.
 23 (.)
 24 Dwa: O:[kay Mark?
 25 Mark: [.hhhh
 26 (0.4)
 27 Dwa: u-How is everybody in ↓general [...]

The overall activities in this extract are the management of accountability and moral obligation, and possible disaffiliation between the speakers. While Deirdre, via Dwayne, is accountable for telling other people whether and when her wedding will take place, so that they can get on with making other plans in their social calendar, Mark is accountable for Lesley's irritability about fixing the date and confirming that the wedding will in fact take place. Between lines 13 and 14, some lines have been omitted in which Mark has recounted a story about another wedding his family was invited to which was cancelled at the last minute.

Between lines 14-18, then, Mark produces an account for why he needs to know the date and for Lesley's hearably irritable inquiry about it. He constructs a list in his account of other social demands that need a response. The first item is that Mark and Lesley have "one'r two invitations rollin' in:". Invitations, as initiating actions, require a response from the invitee. Mark is unable to respond because Deirdre has not been clear about the date of her wedding. This can be heard as a possible criticism of Deirdre, and, by extension, Dwayne, that by delaying or being unclear about the date of the wedding affects other people's abilities to plan. The second item is inserted, under 'repair', after Mark has continued past "invitations rollin' in:" with the words "about:t things about that time 'n we (.)". We can see that he stops, inserts items two and three to produce a list ("an:d-u holiday:s 'n that sorta thing") before picking up the thread of his turn by recycling the words uttered before the inserted repair segment ("'n we wanted to make sure th't we didn't go 'n get double booked.").

This level of detail is not trivial. It shows that Mark is monitoring how his account may be being received by Dwayne. By reporting that one has other invitations to respond to and ones that are "rollin' in:" beyond his control, Mark (and Lesley) may be heard to be self-important or self-centered. Mark therefore halts the progress of his turn and inserts that they also have "holiday:s 'n that sorta thing" to plan for. In contrast to 'other invitations' and the possibly negative inferences one might make about someone who prioritizes them, 'holidays' are the 'sorts of things' people are normatively entitled to. The insertion of 'holidays' at *just this point* manages Mark's accountability for asking someone else to confirm their wedding date, when that asking may be construed as pushiness, and disaffiliative. By inserting 'holidays' into his turn, Mark manages the 'subject-side' of his account; that is, how what he says may be used to imply things about his character (Edwards, 2007). This extract demonstrates how in mundane conversation, holidays may be mentioned in ways that do not develop into stories about vacations, but as a resource to manage accountability in what are potentially 'sticky' moments in the interaction. Extract three comes from institutional rather than domestic talk, and is part of a conversation between a mediator at a neighborhood mediation centre

and a member of the public. The caller (C) has phoned to complain about her neighbor. Here, the mediator (M) is trying to arrange a time to come and visit the caller to discuss the dispute.

3. EC-14

- | | |
|---|---|
| 1 | M: Ye:ah, okay↓. |
| 2 | C: Cos ↑Monday: I have to stay i:n, >anyway< cos |
| 3 | Monday's the <u>first</u> of Ju:[ne] isn't it, |
| 4 | M: [Yes] |
| 5 | M: Oh- oh Mo:nday's a- yes cos it's the ban- it's >th'thirty- |
| 6 | first of May isn't it<, it's the bank holiday.=so we can't, |
| 7 | (.) that wouldn't really work. |

Like Extract two, the notion of ‘holidays’ crops up in talk about planning one’s life and activities. C initially proposes “↑Monday:” as a date for her to meet with M, and provides an account for why this day is free for her “I have to stay i:n, >anyway< cos Monday's the first of Ju:ne isn't it,” (lines two-three). After initially confirming C’s account (line four), M corrects C about the date in a turn that starts with “Oh”. Here, “Oh-” is a ‘change of state token’ (Heritage, 1984), displaying that M has ‘noticed’ something inapposite about the prior turn, and somewhat modifies his disagreement so maintaining an affiliative stance with C. M’s turn between lines five-seven is littered with repair initiators and other signs of perturbation. He initially repeats C’s word ‘Monday’, making his turn relevant to and contiguous with hers, and begins to say that “Mo:nday's a- [bank holiday]”. He cuts off and restarts with “cos it's the ban-”, before cutting off again to insert the corrected date “it's >th'thirty-first of May isn't it<”. He then completes his turn constructional unit “it's the bank holiday.”. After much trouble, then, M has produced the statement that Monday is a ‘bank holiday’. No further repair or correction occurs: M provides the upshot of his statement, turning it into an account for why they cannot meet on Monday: “so we can't, (.) that wouldn't really work.” This account turns on the fact that both parties understand that ‘bank holidays’ occasions when many people legitimately do not go to work.

This section has shown, through three examples, how ‘holidays’ crop up as people ask and answer routine questions about their lives and organize their work and social commitments. Holidays constitute an *institutional frame* through which people organize their lives, and are invoked in everyday conversations as legitimate organizational, and *unaccountable*, events used to manage accountability and (dis)affiliation between the speakers. The issue of accountability will be revisited later in the paper. In the next section, the task is to examine the way *questions about* holidays themselves, and the actions they achieve, are asked and answered.

Questions, assessments, and topical talk about holidays

Extract four comes from another domestic telephone call. Lesley and Foster have been discussing mutual acquaintances and their telephone numbers, and have closed the call when Lesley reopens it with the target question at line six.

4. Holt Jul86 2:1:2

- 1 Les: =Ri:ght. Fi:ne.[Thank you[very much.]
 2 Fos: [(hhh) [O:k a:y,]
 3 (0.3)
 4 Fos: Bye,
 5 (.)
 6 Les: → Have you bin awa:y?
 7 (0.4)
 8 Fos: No no we don't go t'l the twenty seventh'v August.
 9 Les: Oh:.°Goo[d.]°
 10 Fos: [No: we're going away'n coming back on the
 tenth. of September.=
 12 Les: =D'you fly: (.) °o:[r (.) g[o (.) °with°
 13 Fos: [.hhh [We go by helicopter
 14 Les: fr'm Penzanc[e to: to Tresco: yes.=
 15 Les: [Yes.
 [40 lines omitted discussion of cost]
 16 Fos: So: we hope (.) the weather might have improved by then.
 17 (0.4)
 18 Fos: hheh!=
 19 Les: =Indih- We were lucky actually: yes.
 20 Fos: When did you[go: ()-
 21 Les: [Week before last w'went to Saint Ives 'n: we
 had quite good wea[ther.
 23 Fos: [Oh that wz jus' before it really
 24 Les: turned in was[n't it]yes.
 25 Les: [That's]ri:ght, yes.:

Having reached a terminal turn in the call (Foster's "Bye," at line 4), in addition to other pre-closing turns at the start of the extract, Lesley re-opens the call with a question, "Have you bin awa:y?". This question is so familiar it is almost idiomatic, and, as such, can be reliably used to oil the wheels of social interaction (much like "How is everybody in ↓general" in Extract two). It is particularly useful for establishing small talk between people who do not know each other well. Here, Lesley's question initiates an extended sequence about Foster's holiday plans. His narrative ends with a turn about the weather that is a similar culturally familiar resource: "So: we hope (.) the weather might have improved by then.". Lesley's response, that they were "lucky actually:" works as a pre-sequence to

talk about her own holiday; Foster topicalizes her turn in his response ("When did you go:") and the conversation continues.

The point here is that reciprocal questions and stories about holidays (and the weather!) are used to keep a conversation going, when it is possibly over. Asking this particular question, “have you been away”, at this sequential position, shows how it functions to produce topical talk between acquainted (but not close) persons. As ‘easy’ topics of conversation (Foster does not, at line seven, ask “What do you mean?”) holidays are a resource for managing the flow of conversation. The next extract demonstrates this question’s function even more sharply. It comes from a ‘speed-date’ in which a woman (F) and a man (M) are approximately five minutes into a fifteen minute date. They have discussed their occupations and family situations; both have children. We join their conversation as F is discussing her son and whether or not he looks like her.

5. SD-8

- 1 F: ... although 'e- (0.5) 'e does look a bit like me
2 when I was younger but I don't recognise him
3 (1.3)

4 M: [() really you're a bit-] you're a bit=

5 F: [(He's absolutely) ()]
6 M: =brown anyway.=have you bin awa:y?
7 F: I've just got back from Teneri:fe.
8 M: Have yu:h,
9 F: Last Fri:day.
10 M: Oh ri:g ht. heh=

11 F: =Yeh,
12 M: Yeh >y'look a bit< healthy? h [heh heh heh]=
13 F: [Wh- hh huh]=
14 M: =[heh heh] heh heh heh [heh heh heh heh]=
15 F: =[↑ha ↑ha] [Got on the sunbed]=
16 M: =[heh heh heh heh]
17 F: =[No I w's quite] glad to get back actually,
18 (0.4)
19 M: Ye:ah?
20 (0.2)
21 F: Ye:[ah.
22 M: [Who did you go there with your fri:ends.

Although this extract comes from a different context, there are similarities in the sequential position of M's question "have you bin awa:y?" with Lesley's in Extract four. Both come at a *junction* in the talk; Extract four at the end of the call, and here, after a lapse in the speakers' conversation about their children. At line three, a long gap develops, and at lines four-five, both speakers start talking again, each attempting to restart the conversation. F continues talking about her son, whereas M

starts a new topic, with an observation about F's appearance which occasions the target question about holidays (line six). Like Extract four, then, questions about holidays are a way of initiating and sustaining topical talk even in contexts where speakers are not previously acquainted. M's question initiates a new sequence in which further, follow-up questions are asked and responded to (lines 8-11, 19-22), and the conversation continues. Questions about holidays then, as both Extracts four and five demonstrate, can be used to launch sequences in which alignment and affiliation between speakers is readily maintainable. By contrast, there is some misalignment in Extract six, which comes from a conversation between Emma and Nancy, two middle-aged women who are discussing Emma's recent holiday in Palm Springs.

6. NB:II:4:R:4-6

- 1 E: =en I went tuh Pa:lm Springs las:'wee:k
 2 ih wz [a hundred] 'n fiftee:n [DOWN THE:RE,]
 3 N: [°Ya:h?°] [.ughhhahhhhh]hh
 4 (.)
 5 E: [Jesus.]
 6 N: [°Ghod.]°(I g'ss)° that uh bake anything out'v yi[h].
 7 E: [.hhh Oh:
 8 [G*od th*at wz h*o]:t.
 9 N: [Y'd thi:nk]
 10 E: I: wz glad that week[end's o]ver,
 11 N: [°Ye:h,°]
 12 N: → Ye:ah. Chu'av [a go[od ti:me?]
 13 E: [.t [Fellas pla]:yed go::lf, hh
 14 (.)
 15 N: → ↑Dinchu'av a good ti↑:me?
 16 (0.2)
 17 E: WE::LL; ↓YE::AH bud ih wz so da:mn ho:t'n our [air c'ndish]ner=
 18 N: [°Ye:ah,°]
 19 E: =went o::t in [the ca:r,]
 20 N: [°Oh-ho-ho-ho G](h)o(h)ot°
 [6 lines about the heat omitted]
 26 E: =B't outside that ih wz oka:y so [↑we came o:n ho:me=
- 27 N: [°↓Goo:d.°]

At lines one-two, Emma is describing one aspect of her holiday – the intense heat, and both she and Nancy take a similar stance towards it ("ughhhahhhhh", "Jesus.", "Ghod."). Emma formulates the upshot of her description as an assessment of the holiday at line 10 ("I: wz glad that weekend's over,"). It is in response to this assessment that Nancy asks the target question "Chu'av a good ti:me?" (line 12). Asking someone how their holidays went is routine, yet here it appears *after* Emma has said she was glad that the weekend was over. The question is sequentially misplaced, as it might more appropriately occasion stories about holidays, rather than appear after such stories.

Furthermore, although it is a routine question – again, almost idiomatic and therefore perhaps asked ‘automatically’ – it displays a lack of attention to what Emma has just said. However, and perhaps luckily for Nancy, Emma has begun talking in overlap with Nancy’s question (line 13). So when Nancy gets the opportunity to next take a turn, she asks the question again, but reformulates it “↑Dinchu’av a good ti↑:me?”. Changing the grammar and reversing the polarity of the question, from one type of ‘yes-no interrogative’ to another, also changes what would count as a preferred response in the next turn. While asking the question in a positive way (‘Did you have a good time?’) might prefer a positive answer, asking grammatically negative questions (‘Didn’t you have a good time?’) seems to expect a negative answer (Koshik, 2002; Raymond, 2003).

So we can see how Nancy subtly adjusts her question such that Emma’s predictably negative response, in which she reiterates the problem of the hot weather, maintains alignment between the speakers more readily than if Nancy had simply repeated the first version of the question. As the conversation proceeds, Nancy produces aligned, affiliating responses (lines 20 and 27) and the earlier glitch is fixed. The analysis has demonstrated how questions about another person’s holiday experiences may oil the wheels of potentially awkward conversations, and be a resource for establishing topical talk. However, their very familiarity as easy questions to ask means that using them carelessly risks displaying inattentiveness to the other speaker, risking disaffiliation. In the next section, the analysis focuses particularly on how holiday talk manages accountability.

Managing accountability with holiday talk

Extract seven comes from a call between Hyla and her boyfriend Richard. They are discussing plans for Richard to visit Hyla.

7. Hyla & Richard p6-7

- 1 HYL: How long were you planning tuh sta::y?=
- 2 RIC: =I don know, couple minute[s(hh)] two days,
- 3 HYL: [ch hehe]
- 4 HYL: .hh
- 5 RIC: a wee[k.]
- 6 HYL: [Cuz I’m saying tha- m- I have that whole week off=
- 7 RIC: I need a vacation(h).
- 8 (.)
- 9 HYL: Well taka a vacation.=

Here, Richard seems reluctant to make firm plans with Hyla. His initial response to her question about “how long” he is “planning tuh sta::y?” is ironic, and his laughter is reciprocated by Hyla (lines two-three). Although he suggests “a week” (line five), when Hyla suggests that she has the “whole week off” to accommodate his visit, his response is that he “need[s] a vacation(h).” (line seven). ‘Needing a vacation’ is used here as an account for planning something *other* than just using the week to visit Hyla. Furthermore, because, as noted in earlier extracts, holidays are routine entitlements, a claim that a person ‘needs’ a holiday is difficult to challenge. Here, Richard’s

expressed need for a holiday both delays the activity of making plans with Hyla and accounts for that delay. That ‘needing a holiday’ is a non-negotiable thing is displayed in Hyla’s response, “taka a vacation” (line nine), although note that this comes after a short gap (line eight) and is prefaced with “Well”, signalling possible misalignment between the speakers even though Hyla ratifies Richard’s ‘need’. This non-negotiable ‘need for a holiday’ is a *moral* entitlement, and is demonstrated further in the next extract from a call to a mediation centre. The client has reported longstanding problems of racial abuse from her neighbor and has told the mediator that her family has struggled since her partner died of cancer two years ago.

8. EC-6

- 1 C: Ri:ght, it's bin hard on the kids.
- 2 M: Ye:ah.=
- 3 C: =They need [a good bloody holiday an' whatever.
- 4 M: [Yeh.
- 5 C: .hh [y'know whadda I'mean ye:h?
- 6 M: [Ye:ah.

At line three the addition of “an’ whatever.” to the caller’s description of ‘good bloody holiday’ to produce it as a cultural object, something readily recognisable that needs no further elaboration. Even more compelling, at line five C asks M, “y’know whadda I’mean” which upgrades recognisability of ‘needing’ a holiday by *proposing it* as shared knowledge. Thus people can readily call on recipients to recognize the need for (and entitlement to) a holiday as a shared cultural concept. Here, it does the work of pursuing sympathy from M about C’s situation, and the trouble caused by her neighbor. The next extract is from a speed-date. The participants have discussed where they come from and their occupations. Just prior to the start of this sequence, F has revealed to M that she is a divorced single mother.

9. SD-1

- 1 F: Have y'got children as we:ll or[:
- 2 M: [No: no k-=
- 3 F: =Not bin- [not bin married befo:re,]
- 4 M: [I've got no children] no:= I've no-
- 5 I've n- I've always >said th't I like< children, bu'
- 6 I've jus' never bin in the right relationship at the
- 7 right time really.
- 8 F: Right yeah.
- 9 ?: ()
- 10 M: Um: I'm forty.

- 11 (0.7)
- 12 M: So sorta getting' to the age now where it's not
 13 likely to happen, an' I don't mind because (0.7) it's
 14 one thing maybe if: (0.7) bin happy relationship an'
 15 thought no we won't have kids we'll have the bee em
 16 double-you an' the foreign holiday but y'vever had
 17 the opportunity really.
- 18 (1.3)
- 19 M: I'm amazed you're nervous [...]

The interest here is in the kind of account M produces for his unmarried state. F asks the question of M, having revealed her own relationship history, "Have y'got children as we:ll". Stokoe (2009) has discussed the design of such 'relationship history eliciting questions', and how indexical items (e.g., "as we:ll") and trail-off "or:" manage and somewhat delete the preference for a particular answer. Here, F displays sensitivity towards M, as her recipient, as someone who may not be in a position to give the preferred response that he, like her, children. As it turns out, M responds in the negative (line two) and F formulates a possible upshot of his answer in her follow-up question "not bin married befo:re,".

After answering F's question about children, M begins to account for his answer, starting with a dispositional claim about his attitude towards them ("I've always >said th't I like< children,"). However, the primary interest here is in his construction of a hypothetical scenario in which particular lifestyle choices include holidays as a key element: "if: (0.7) bin happy relationship an' thought no we won't have kids we'll have the bee em double-you an' the foreign holiday"(lines 15-16). Note that, like in Extract eight, the design of the talk at this point is generalized via the definite article 'the', ("the foreign holiday") so again the formulation is somewhat idiomatic, a culturally familiar storyline that M has not been a part of. Note also that there is little uptake from F at places where she might produce a continuer token or affiliative response (e.g, at line 18), and M changes the topic at line 19. Here, then, a particular category of holiday is used (alongside other items such as an expensive car) to construct a lifestyle-based account for why M is not married nor has children. A similar pattern can be observed in the following extract, from another speed date.

10. SD-5

- 1 F: I'dun- are you divor:ced?=ve you got
 2 chil[dre:n?]
- 3 M: [I'm no ma-] never been marri:ed?
- 4 (0.3)
- 5 F: No:?
- 6 M: N:o children,
- 7 (1.0)
- 8 M: I've no attachments:
- 9 (0.9)

-
- 10 M: Um:[:
 11 F: [Why:
 13 (0.5)
 14 M: Becau::[se I-
 15 F: [Not at the right place at the fright t:j:me.f
 16 (1.0)
 17 M: Because I've travelled arou:nd a bit, [...]

Like Extract nine, it is F who asks M a 'relationship history' question having previously disclosed her own status. M's response is similar to M's in the previous example, that reveals his never-married status which, as indicated by the long gaps that develop and F's pursuit of an account (lines five, seven, nine, eleven), is problematic. Here, F supplies, as a candidate, the same 'wrong place wrong time' account we saw M supply in Extract nine (line 15). However, M's account in this extract invokes the notion of travel and 'lifestyle', but takes up a different stance toward, and experience of, 'travelling around' to M in Extract nine's stance toward 'the foreign holiday'. However, categories of travel or holiday experiences are used in both instances to accomplish the same action of accounting. Extract 11 comes from a 'weight management club' in which (mostly) women attend weekly exercise sessions organized by a group leader, who also weighs each woman each week to see how much weight she has lost.

11. RC-JS-School Hall 05-04-04 (from Mycroft, 2007)

- 1 L: Hello::, are you we:ll?
 2 (0.3)
 3 M: I am: but [I've hadda wo:nderful weekend 'cos I've bin=
 4 L: [Go:od.
 5 M: =t'Scotland,
 6 (0.4)
 7 L: () (that's wh[oooooh]
 8 M: [For five days so it's] not going to be
 9 M: good,
 10 (1.7)
 11 ((scales bleep))
 12 M: Very bad.
 13 (0.7)
 14 L: S'up two and a ha:lf.
 15 (1.1)
 16 M: °°That's bad°°

As Mycroft (2007) observed, opening sequences in the 'weigh-in' part of the group's meeting often contained accounts that anticipated a negative outcome; that is, a weight *gain* rather than loss. Such accounts often took the form seen above, that going on holiday constituted a period of time in which sticking to a diet would be difficult. These accounts were located just before the actual weight

measurement. In Extract 11, the account works prospectively for M's gain of two and a half pounds – there is no need to account *after* because both parties know the reason. But, for this paper, the interest is in *that* 'holidays' are a sayable, normative account that does not get challenged – so again holidays are such an embedded part of the culture they can be recruited when accounts are needed in all sorts of settings. Here is another example, this time from a call between a worker from a council ('Kentown') Child Safety team and an antisocial behaviour officer. The Child Safety officer is calling about a forthcoming Child Safety campaign.

12. AC-5

- 1 C: Uh: it's >jus'a qui:ck ↓call as I'say Lin,-<
2 to: y'know thē (.) Ke:ntown (.) <Child Safety
3 Campaign> which starts next month.
4 (0.2)

5 A: Ye:s,=

6 C: ='Ve y'bin rea:din' about it at all.

7 A: .hhh I ha:ven't.

8 C: Ha:ve y'not.=

9 A: No:.

10 C: Oh: 've y'bin on [holiday or [↓somethin'=

11 A: [hh [..pt

12 C: =[°like that°.]

13 A: [.Hhhh] uh- we::ll I think under worked
14 over [pai:d.=No sorry I had that round the]=

15 C: [Heh heh heh .hhhhhhhhhh]=

16 A: =[wrong way didn'I.]

17 C: =[£All right£ ().]= .hh w'll basic'ly it
18 starts next month.[=uh:

19 A: [Right.]

Note that, in response to her admission that she has not read about C's campaign, it is C, rather than A, who proffers a candidate account “ve y'bin on holiday or ↓somethin’ “like that” (lines 10-12). As demonstrated in previous extracts, the notion of a holiday can go unchallenged as a normative, acceptable account for why people do or do not do particular things. Note also that ‘holiday’ is formulated as one element in a more general category of things “°like that°”, similar to Mark’s discussion of “holiday:s ‘n that sorta thing” in Extract two. These sorts of formulations produce holidays as culturally familiar objects that need no further explanation or unpacking, they do not become objects of repair (“eh?”), and are readily understandable as events that can legitimately hold up someone’s work. Interestingly A responds to one ‘culturally familiar’ account with another “under worked over pai:d.”, immediately correcting herself and C laughs in response to her mistake. While this section has shown how the category of activity ‘holiday’ may be deployed by speakers to manage their accountability for some *missing* action – failing to make plans, lose weight, carry out some

work, and so on – the final section of analysis focuses on such categorizations function in the formulation of an altogether different social action: complaining.

Holidays and complainability

Extract 13 comes from a neighborhood mediation meeting between a mediator and four aggrieved parties who have been complaining about a woman and her family in their street. The parties have claimed that the woman leaves her children unattended, during which time they make noise and vandalize property.

13. DM-C02-1

- 1 L: But some days she jus' seems to be there: (.)
2 away for a week, t a time you don't see her [at all].

3 G: [You don't
4 see her at [all you know.]

5 E: [Yeh she ↑did go on ↓holiday din't she in:
6 (0.5)]

7 B: [(Was it she) left the ki:ds]

8 E: [I was told she went on holi]da:y.

9 G: What an' left them 'ere?

10 E: An' left them he[re yeh.

11 G: [I wouldn't be a bit surpris[ed],
12 E: [I don't know
13 about the little ↓lad but the other two[:.]

14 G: [(Eyeh.)
15 (0.3)]

16 G: Yeh.=

17 E: =Of course all hell breaks ↓loose when that happens, n'
18 we: cop it.

The participants' grievance is further enhanced by the fact that their neighbor goes "away for a week," t a time". After L has reported this observation, G affiliates with it and, at lines five-eight, E builds collaboratively on L's initial observation, stating that "she ↑did go on ↓holiday" (line five). So here, the vague formulation 'being away' is specified as a 'holiday', during which the woman "left the ki:ds" (line seven). The upshot of the woman's actions is spelt out by E at the end of the extract: "Of course all hell breaks ↓loose when that happens, n'we: cop it." In this extract, then, going 'on holiday' is understood as something normative yet, because the woman leaves her children behind, is selfish and decadent. The participants construct her moral character as a 'bad mother', and, in the context of a neighbor complaint, push her further into the category 'bad and culpable neighbor'. The next extract comes from a call to a neighborhood mediation centre. The mediator has phoned a client to discuss progress and here she is reporting recent events.

14. EC-50

- 1 C: Everything i- y'know it's not been too ba:d,=it's
 2 not been .hh we did 'ave a little um: (0.5) .pt .hh
 3 (0.2) uh little n- n- no:thing (.) u- th:at y'know
 4 that hhhh ↓ba::d or anything,=but .hhh sh- ↑um she
 5 wen'away on 'oliday for two we:eks,
 6 M: ↑Oh rj:ght,
 7 (0.2)
 8 C: [And um: (0.2) 'e was left there on 'is o:wn an 'e=
 9 M: [Yeh
 10 C: ='e left the ↑dog ↓outside for two whole weeks.=an'
 11 it jus' ba:rked, (.) da[y an' ni:ght, an' never=
 12 M: [Oh:::
 13 C: =[never stopped.hh
 14 M: =[Oh I se:e.

Again, like Extract 13, going on holiday is invoked as a complainable matter. Also like Extract 13, the neighbor has left her son "on 'is o:wn", constructing her as a 'bad mother'. Again, the unattended child creates problems for the neighbors, this time because the unattended son leaves the "↑dog ↓outside for two whole weeks.=an' it jus' ba:rked, (.) day an' ni:ght, an' never never stopped.hh" (lines 11-13). Note the responses from the mediator at lines six and 12, both news receipts ("Oh": Heritage, 1984) but the first has a 'positive', 'news-to-me' intonation and is placed after the news of the neighbour's holiday has been reported. M therefore treats the first item of news as a 'happy' event for the neighbor. However, after the upshot of the holiday has been spelt out the second "Oh:::" displays M's fresh understanding of, and sympathy with, C's situation. The participants in this extract, like Extract 13, have a dilemma to manage. 'Going on holiday' is not in itself a problematic thing – as seen across the paper it is a routine part of people's lives. The callers and clients therefore have to spell out the negative consequence of a normative activity, here done by describing the problematic barking as a repetitive, extreme, unreasonable ("day an' ni:ght", "two whole weeks.", "never stopped.") and so complainable thing. The final extract is from another mediation centre call. The caller is complaining about bright lights on a neighbor's property.

15. HC-4

- 1 C: We've had twenty years here: (0.6) >without any
 2 problem whatsoever< an' no:w this (0.8) this chap
 3 puts 'is light on an' then it's (0.3) jus'
 4 murderous.
 5 (0.4)
 6 M: Ri:ght.=right.
 7 C: <I mean: when you're getting (0.3) much shorter-
 8 (0.4) short nights (0.6) every night it's (0.2)

- 9 it's mu:rder.
10 (0.3)

11 M: Yehha[h.

12 C: [<In fact we're going away on holiday (.)
13 just ter: geddawa:y from it.
14 (0.2)

15 M: Right:
16 (0.3)

17 M: Ri:ght.

Here, ‘holiday’ is invoked again to shore up the complainable issue but this time as resource for telling the mediator how bad C’s situation is. As in earlier extracts, people talk in terms of ‘needing a holiday’, or ‘deserving a holiday’, but here a different meaning is invoked, that of ‘getting away from it all’ to escape a problematic situation at home. The use of the term is immediately familiar and yet its use in this context is specific. In this section, holidays, which were in other extracts seen as unobjectionable, normative activities, become complainable matters. Going on holiday can create problems for those who are left behind and can signify a dereliction of duty or social obligation.

CONCLUSION

This paper draws three main conclusions. First, it has demonstrated how holiday talk occupies a mundane centrality in people's lives, cropping up regularly as they go about organizing their lives, activities and social relationships. It is clear that talk about holidays is not confined to the immediate environments of the experiences themselves but serves much wider interactional goals and resources. The paper has provided empirical examples of some of the ways matters of tourism get embedded within the quotidian reality of a culture (see McCabe 2002; Uriely 2005). Holiday talk figures as a mundane topic of conversation, used to initiate and shift between topics, its universality and very mundanity helps to manage the smooth flow of an interaction in which everyone can readily participate. Specific types of holiday talk such as questions about trips helps speakers to manage conversations, extending them or averting potentially difficult or socially awkward points in conversations, allowing protagonists to affiliate or disaffiliate themselves and/or their actions according to the particular circumstances of the interaction. It is in this sense that holiday talk is *unaccountable*.

Secondly, the paper argued that holiday talk also has a routine function in accomplishing the social actions of accounting, affiliation, and complaining. Accounts of holidays and holiday behavior are inextricably bound up with the institutions of social life: work, family life and leisure. Holidays thus constitute an *institutional frame* alongside other spheres of social life through which people organize their lives. Holidays are legitimate and organizational aspects of life. In this sense, the right to holidays as expressed in these conversations are un-challengeable, inalienable (Richards 1999), and at the same time are steeped with moral obligations. Some behavior is undoubtedly negative, leaving children and dogs at home whilst going on holiday, and yet other behaviors are indicative of a good character or aspirational lifestyle. It is clear that whilst the analysis this paper presents is specific to the interaction environments from which the data is drawn, there are broader resonances with wider

cultural discourses on the morality of free time or ‘time off’. This is exemplified by the recent moral panic in the UK media brought about by the ‘worst winter weather for two decades’, necessitating large-scale school closures and time off work for parents to look after their children. While some sections of the media wrote about people making ‘excuses’ for unnecessary ‘snow days’ off work, (Brown & Hamilton, 2009), others wrote about a nostalgic return to innocence as cityscapes became ‘magical’ and ‘hushed’ places that lifted people’s spirits during an otherwise gloomy winter of economic crisis (Jeffries, 2009). This paper has shone a unique empirical torch onto some of the contexts and occasions where such moral discourse about holidays are managed and sustained in naturally occurring interactions.

Finally, the paper makes a contribution in highlighting the special qualities this approach to data collection and analysis can bring to tourism studies, paying forensic attention to how and what people say in the situated contexts of their talk, adds a nuanced understanding of how particular tropes, or formulations of tourism may be used to achieve different goals. If, as Hepburn (2002) has argued, the meanings of holidays and tourism are constructed in culturally specific ways, then this paper has demonstrated a possible method for explicating those cultural specificities. For instance, in ‘western’ culture, it seems that holiday talk occupies a central, yet subsidiary, function in people’s lives, structuring the timetable of everyday life and maintaining social relationships. As the first paper to examine holiday talk in this way, however, it is clear that more research is needed to further unpack people’s relationship to, understandings, and practical use of, their holiday and tourist experiences in their social lives.

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'Here, there, everywhere': The extensive influence of entrepreneurs on tourism development'

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Introduction

There can be no denying that tourism as an industry has become increasingly dominant in strategic economic plans for countries and regions. There is almost no country now which is not a sender and receiver of significant numbers of visitors (Urry, 2003) and there is no doubt that tourism is emerging as a leading economic driver for the 21st century. The extent of the growth of tourism is particularly evident in the World Tourism Organisations statistics, which show that international tourist arrivals in 2007 numbered 900 million (WTO, 2008) compared to 592 million in 1996 (WTO, 1997) and 25.2 million in 1950. Within an Irish context, tourism has been one of Ireland's greatest economic success stories. Its unprecedented growth, which began in the 1980s, has had an impact on many aspects of the economy and society, assuming a greatly enhanced profile in Irish affairs (Gorokhovsky, 2003: 97). European Union funds and public and private sector investments since the late 1980s have helped to improve and develop infrastructure, accommodation and visitor attractions (Hurley et al., 1994), while liberalisation of the airline industry has dramatically improved access (Gillmor, 1994). Tourism is now a significant sector of the Irish economy, a major source of foreign earnings, and a powerful instrument of national and regional development (Travers, 2003). Despite its obvious importance, the academic literature on the development of tourist areas in Ireland is extremely weakly developed. In particular, little research has been undertaken to understand the role that local entrepreneurs have played in tourism development. As a result, a comprehensive understanding of the degree to which entrepreneurs influence tourism development in local places has not been addressed. In the current environment of continual increases in international competition and a downturn in the global economy the subject of how entrepreneurs can stimulate and influence tourism development takes on a new level of importance. This paper highlights the key role that local entrepreneurs have played in Killarney, Co. Kerry, a developed tourism area in Ireland. Set in the context of globalisation, the paper explains the way in which local entrepreneurs have been critical to the initial and continued development of the industry. The paper also views the role of entrepreneurs within the context of tourism models of development, recognising that in general these models have underplayed the role of local entrepreneurs in tourism development. In particular, Butler's (1980) much cited Tourism Area Life Cycle only hints at the role of local entrepreneurs in the early stages of development (Shaw & Williams, 1998), yet there is evidence to suggest that local entrepreneurs in Killarney have actively influenced tourism development at all stages of development. Their influence is identified as long lasting and dynamic, in many cases spanning generations of involvement. The more intangible influence of entrepreneurs is also recognised in their ability to create a strong vision and culture for tourism that may have such a pervasive influence as to form part of the fabric of tourism development in an area.

Local tourism places in a global world

The globalisation of tourism has engendered concerns over its effects on destination areas (Chang, 1999). In particular, the impact that global tourism has on the heterogeneity and autonomy of local places is a widely contested and debated subject. The question of whether globalisation results in tourism development being determined by external factors over which places have no control or influence, or if local factors play a role in shaping tourism development is central to these debates. Globalisation is often associated with a transformation and erosion of the power of nations, regions and localities; as a result their development is determined by factors outside of their control. Many authors portray local people and places as passive, lacking any control over their own destiny viewing them as submissive recipients of global forces (Relph, 1976; Castells, 1993; Barnet & Cavanagh, 1995; Dunning & Hamdani, 1997). The main thrust of these arguments posits the loss of power and identity at a local and national level resulting from globalisation. The central premise is that globalisation results in an increasing homogeneity between landscapes and societies (Featherstone, 1993) and an adverse effect on the local by the global (Chang, 1999). These arguments privilege the global, and reflect a failure to appreciate the ability of humans 'to initiate development, mediate and harness external tourism forces and capitalise on place-specific characteristics and resources to influence the shape of local tourism places' (Quinn, 2003:62). In particular, they fail to consider the key role of entrepreneurs in initiating and underpinning tourism development. More recently the literature has begun to address this omission by asserting that local places are not mere recipients of fortune or fate from above but rather are actively involved in their own transformation (Quinn, 2003; Chang, 1999, 1998; Cooke, 1989; Murphy, 1985). The contention is that local agents are not passive recipients of the impacts of global tourism but actively engage them in dynamic processes (Chang, 1998). The argument, it would appear, is not as simple as local versus global, as 'although there are clearly large-scale processes at work ... tourism is also about the local, the specific nature of places, people and culture'. The process of globalisation always takes place in some locality, while at the same time the local is (re)produced in discourses of globalisation (Salazar, 2005). These contemporary debates move away from the polar view of global vs. local and present a more nuanced alternative that uncovers a dynamic interplay between global and local processes. Milne & Ateljevic (2001: 174) contend that 'the complexity of the global-local nexus – and how its economic, cultural and environmental elements interact to create local development outcomes – is breathtaking'. An appropriate focus for the debate on the global local relationship therefore may be to identify the ways in which local places influence tourism development within a global order. In traditional literature on models of tourism development, however, the focus in terms of firms is on multinationals and the role they play in tourism development, while the role of local entrepreneurs and small firms is largely underplayed. More recent models such as Ritchie & Crouch's (2003) begin to identify the critical role that local entrepreneurs and small firms play in tourism development; however, the topic remains largely unexplored. It is within this context that this paper addresses the issue of entrepreneurs, and the way in which they influence tourism development at a local level. It argues that local entrepreneurs play a pivotal role in tourism development through the provision of vital infrastructure, their ability to stimulate development and their approach to development. It recognises that the influence of entrepreneurs may not be confined to the creation of their own businesses but may impact on development of the broader tourism area. It views this influence as

dynamic and pervasive with the ability to continue long after the involvement of the original entrepreneur.

Entrepreneurs and tourism development

Koh & Hatten, (2002: 21) explain that 'a community's quantity and quality of supply of entrepreneurs significantly determines the magnitude and form of its touristscape because the tourism entrepreneur is the persona causa of tourism development'. They claim that 'it is only when tourism entrepreneurs are present, do a community's climate, landforms, flora and fauna, historic vestiges, and ethno-cultural enclaves become tourism resources that may be transformed into tourist attractions' (Koh & Hatten, 2002:27). Without the influence of entrepreneurs it is doubtful that a tourism industry would evolve, even in areas that are favourably endowed with resources (Koh and Hatten, 2002). Russell & Faulkner (1999, 2004) and McKercher (1999) clarify the integral part that entrepreneurs play in developing tourist destinations, recognising them as 'rogues or chaos makers' (McKercher, 1998:432). Despite this recognition that the 'innovation, flair and vision of entrepreneurs ... shaped modern tourism' (Russell, 2006: 105), little has been done to provide a comprehensive understanding of the way in which entrepreneurs influence tourism development. Models of tourism development, for example, in general pay only scant attention to entrepreneurs. Early models such as Christaller's (1963) identify their role in developing infrastructure while other such as Miossec's (1976) and Lundgren's (1982) are largely concerned with the role of access and transport, geographic location and physical attributes. A much cited model by Butler (1980), the Tourism Area Life Cycle (TALC), identifies the role of local entrepreneurs in developing tourist services, facilities and promotional activities at the involvement and development stages of tourism development, but sees their role decreasing in later stages. According to Shaw & Williams (1998: 237), their role is only 'touched upon' and Butler does not elaborate on entrepreneurial activity, in fact they claim, much of Butler's discussion was 'vague and implicitly relied on unresearched ideas'. Other models such as Gormsen's (1981) and Keller's (1987) primarily stress the importance of local control and benefits for tourism communities. Two models that provide some insight into the way in which local entrepreneurs influence development are Lewis's (1998) and Ritchie & Crouch's (2003). Lewis identifies the role of local entrepreneurs as triggers of change, highlighting the dynamic power relations that can underpin tourism development. Ritchie & Crouch provide a more dynamic understanding of the part that small businesses and entrepreneurs play in creating competitive advantage explaining that '... the small tourism business in particular – is of fundamental importance to the development of tourism as an industry'. They acknowledge the role of entrepreneurs and small firms in the creation of advanced factors, such as skilled resources and a technological base, which they claim are necessary to achieve higher-order competitive advantages such as differentiated products and proprietary production technology. Small firms, they contend, contribute to destination development and competitiveness through their strategy, structure and rivalry, in particular, through inter-firm competition and co-operation. According to Ritchie and Crouch the competition generated between small firms in a destination 'creates an environment for excellence', while the interdependence between firms encourages inter-firm co-operation (Ritchie and Crouch, 2003: 141).

In the broader tourism literature an indication of the pervasive influence of entrepreneurs is apparent. Authors such as Pearce (1995) suggest that entrepreneurship provides communities with the diversity and dynamism that assures continuous development and its influence may extend beyond individual development projects to stimulate others to undertake development. Britton (1991) clarifies how the building of just one hotel in an area can trigger further development because it provides a base from which further construction can proceed and signals a confidence in the location. The idea of entrepreneurs influencing development beyond their own individual contribution may be fundamental to understanding the extent of their influence on tourism development, yet this has not been explored to any great extent within the tourism literature. More recently authors have begun to provide insight into the way in which tourism entrepreneurs achieve their entrepreneurial objectives. Johns and Mattson (2005: 606) for example, in their study of two destinations clearly identify how the entrepreneurial objectives of two businessmen were achieved through the use of formal and informal networks at the destination. Hall (2004) similarly acknowledges that innovation in New Zealand has occurred primarily because of champions and individual innovators who have been able to generate local interest and involvement. Hall moves away from focusing on the influence of the individual entrepreneur by drawing attention to the impact of networks and cluster relationships between firms which, he explains, are the primary 'drivers' of a region's economy. This idea of small firms as 'driver's' of development is also addressed by Tinsley & Lynch (2007: 162) who explain that 'much of the generic tourism literature suffers from a lack of understanding of small businesses' and address this omission by highlighting that community embedded business networks can demonstrate successful control over the destination's tourism development (Tinsley & Lynch, 2007: 175).

It is evident that the tourism literature is beginning to explore the influence of entrepreneurs on development and that entrepreneurship study is beginning to gather some momentum in recent years (Li, 2008). This paper adds to the literature by identifying the dynamic role of entrepreneurs within the context of Killarney an established tourism area in Ireland. It explains the way in which entrepreneurs have underpinned tourism development not only through the provision of infrastructure, services and marketing support but also through their ability to stimulate others to become involved in development. It identifies this influence as dynamic with an ability to continue long after the original entrepreneur has ceased to exist. It also shows how the vision of entrepreneurs can support a culture for tourism resulting in the creation of an environment where the focus for development is on the area in general and not just individual businesses.

Methodology

This research is part of a larger project that examines the factors underpinning tourism development. Using a case study approach it examines entrepreneurial activity in Killarney, Co. Kerry, a developed tourism area in Ireland. The use of case study methodology allowed the research to capture the dynamics of tourism development in its context, providing a flexible framework that favoured the use of both quantitative and qualitative data. The case area was chosen using purposive sampling; Killarney was chosen on the basis of its classification in Ireland's National Tourism Authority's (Fáilte Ireland) Tourism Development Plan 1994-1999, as a major tourism centre. Killarney is the only rural town to achieve this classification all other major tourism centres are cities. In addition, there is a

well established acknowledgement both nationally and internationally, among suppliers, consumers and tourism commentators more generally, that Killarney is a leading tourism destination and this was a key reason for choosing it.

The research is underpinned by a pragmatic approach that involves mixed-method research and involved the use of: archival research, surveys, interviews, observations and field notes. A detailed analysis of archived sources of information provided extensive background knowledge of the areas being studied this included: official and government statistics, historical documents, industry reports, administrative records and documents etc. A survey in the form of a questionnaire was administered to local tourism suppliers by the researcher. Eighty-one firms were surveyed, representing approximately one third of tourism firms in the area. Each survey took between 20 minutes and 1 hour to administer and while random sampling was used, care was taken to ensure that different sub-sectors of the market was represented. The survey supported the research by guiding the researcher in determining potential subjects for interview as well as highlighting key themes. In addition thirteen in-depth interviews were undertaken in Killarney. The use of snowball sampling as an approach that supports the identification of information rich key informants was used to identify relevant individuals (Patton, 2002). The interviews were structured as 'guided conversations' in which the researcher could steer the respondents around specific topic areas and provided a high level of contextual understanding. Reflections and introspection were also important parts of the research and observations and field notes taken during the research period informed the research and formed an integral part in the interpretation of the findings. These multiple sources of information were used in a converging fashion enabling the researcher to obtain a better, more substantive picture of the influence of entrepreneurs on tourism development.

Killarney, Co. Kerry: an established tourism area in Ireland.

Killarney town is situated in the county of Kerry, in the South West of Ireland (figure 1.1). Although traditionally a market town, Killarney owes its growth primarily to the successful development of tourism. It is recognised both nationally and internationally as a significant tourism area and is the only town in Ireland that has achieved the classification of an 'established tourism centre' by Fáilte Ireland (The Irish Tourist Board). It is one of Ireland's premier tourist destinations and, while no official statistics exist, unofficial estimates suggest that up to 1.5 million people visit the town each year (RPS Cairns, 1999). Tourism is a major component of the local economy, providing both direct and indirect employment (*ibid*). Killarney is removed from centres of high population density, the nearest major city Cork is 86kms in distance, while Dublin, the capital of Ireland, is 345kms. It is the home of Ireland's first national park which covers an area of approximately 10,236 hectares of mountain, moorland, woodland, waterways, parks and gardens (Killarney national Park, 2008). The town of Killarney nestles at the foot of Ireland's highest mountain range; the MacGillycuddy Reeks. Behind the town are the three famous Lakes of Killarney; the Upper Lake, Muckross Lake (the Middle Lake) and Lough Leane (the Lower Lake) which occupy a broad valley stretching south between the mountains. The area is most notable for these world-famous lakes, combined with its rugged beauty of valleys, mountains and an extraordinary wealth of trees and rare flowering plants (Flynn, 1993). The scenic splendours of the area are without doubt its principal tourist attraction (Larner, 2005) providing it with formidable advantages as a tourist centre (Barrington, 1976), however the natural

landscape alone does not account for the industry that has developed. Tourism development can be largely attributed to the influence and efforts of local entrepreneurs. From as early as the 1700s, long before Ireland as a nation had recognised the importance of tourism, local individuals in Killarney had recognised the opportunity that the surrounding landscape afforded for attracting visitors to the area. Throughout its history, tourism development has been underpinned by the vision and commitment of entrepreneurs whose influence has extended beyond their individual development projects to stimulate others to become involved in the industry and in many cases their impact has lasted long after the original entrepreneurs has ceased to exist. An overview of some of these key entrepreneurs explains the way in which they influenced tourism development and the extent of this influence.



Figure 1.1 Killarney town located on the southwest coast of Ireland

Entrepreneurial influence on tourism development in Killarney

Thomas Browne, the Fourth Viscount of Kenmare, landlord of the Kenmare estate between 1747 and 1795, was a hugely influential character in the development of tourism in Killarney. Reflecting Koh & Hattens (2002) finding, Thomas was responsible for initiating development and his entrepreneurial ideas can be seen to have transformed Killarney into a tourism destination in the first instance. Through his actions in developing tourism infrastructure and services he facilitated visitors to the town and demonstrated the opportunity that existed for a tourism industry. Most significant was his encouragement of tenants involvement in the industry, 'a most considerate and enlightened landlord at a period when Irish landlords and their agents were a byword for harshness', he granted his tenants 'a lease forever' for a trivial rent, providing they would make improvements to their landholding (MacLysaght, 1970: 141). Barrington (1976) explains that Thomas influenced the establishment of inns, the provision of boating facilities and guides while also encouraging the local gentry to apply for a turnpike road to improve access to Killarney (O'Hare, 2005). Thomas was a progressive landlord (O'Hare, 2005) and through his vision and willingness to encourage others to become involved he stimulated the beginning of the industry and an entrepreneurial dynamism that exists right up to the present day. His vision for tourism and efforts to highlight the opportunities afforded by the natural beauty of the area helped initiate a sense of place and a self reliance that continues to form part of the fabric of Killarney's tourism industry. During his time in Killarney he helped develop a keen awareness of the potential for tourism and a desire to encourage and cater for visitors developed in the town (Smith, 1756). His influence was of paramount importance and transcended the tangible elements of tourism development to include the beginnings of a culture of tourism, which remains an integral part of the industry today. As explained by one respondent 'Thomas ... had a great vision for the town and encouraged tenants to develop their holdings and to provide services to tourists such as guided tours and boating trips, because of all of this, tourism is ingrained in Killarney people' it is according to other respondents 'a way of life' and there is 'oneness in the town' with regard to tourism. The story of Killarney tourism began with Thomas Browne, and has continued through the involvement and vision of other entrepreneurs through the years.

Maurice O'Donoghue, for example is another local entrepreneur that has had an extensive influence on tourism development through developing the family's core business of accommodation and entertainment. This has not only meant the success of the family business but has also provided critical infrastructure and attractions for Killarney town. While there is no question but that the work of Maurice was undertaken primarily for the benefit of the family businesses, there is no doubt but it also had an extensive influence on the area in general, as well as other businesses in the town. Maurice was acknowledged by 47% of survey respondents as having contributed most to tourism development in Killarney. The opening of the Glen Eagles hotel by Maurice in 1957 for example, was a vital move in signalling a renewed confidence in the area after a period of relative inactivity due to the war of Independence, the Civil war, the Second World War and the political environment in Ireland at the time. In addition, his continued development provided critical infrastructure and influenced the success of smaller operators in the area through the resulting increase in visitors as well as his policy of utilising the services of smaller businesses such as local tour operators and bicycle rental shops. This was by no means a charitable undertaking as it allowed his businesses to offer a seamless product to their customers; while also creating important business for smaller

businesses, allowing them to flourish. This tendency for Maurice to stick to his core business (accommodation and entertainment) enabled other operators to successfully develop complimentary services which together provide a comprehensive tourism product.

Maurice's extensive influence on tourism development included his involvement in developing domestic tourism in Killarney. In the 1980s he teamed up with Iarnród Éireann (Irish Rail) and developed an initiative that included an all-in package of rail trip, entertainment and accommodation in Killarney. This helped changed the perception in Killarney of the Irish domestic market and led the way for further development and 'while his own hotel' undoubtedly benefited, 'the entire town ... enjoyed the spin-off from this activity' (Cork Examiner, 1979). Maurice was also a very active member of the local community and his role in Killarney extended beyond his own business enterprises to include membership of, amongst other things, the board of Fáilte Ireland (the Irish tourist board). The degree to which this role impacted directly on Killarney tourism is difficult to quantify however, a position such as this would have helped keep Killarney to the forefront of Irish tourism and involved in policy making discussions. After his sudden death in 2001 tributes were paid to Maurice by the then Tourism Minister, Dr. James McDaid and Justice Minister John O'Donoghue. Dr. McDaid acknowledged that 'he had been a dynamic figure in the growth and development of tourism in Killarney' and Mr. John O'Donoghue referred to Maurice as the 'King of Killarney'. Maurice's influence continues through the work of his family, and in particular through his son Patrick who has completed many of Maurice's plans. Patrick is currently the mayor of Killarney as well as a member of Killarney Urban District Council, the National Tourism Review group, and a director of Fáilte Ireland and Tourism Ireland, and so follows in his father's footsteps in terms of his involvement in the local community and tourism industry as well as the broader national tourism industry. The family continues to influence a great deal of tourism development in the town.

Tourism in Killarney has also been influenced by the long-term vision of a number of additional strong entrepreneurs many of whose involvement has been passed on over generations. In addition to the O'Donoghue family, families such as the Hilliards, the Treacy's, the O'Donoghue/Ring's, the Buckley's and the Randles amongst others, have all played a significant role in tourism development in Killarney. Dr. Frank Hilliard, a local entrepreneur, was for example, instrumental in the development of Muckross House and gardens into a folk park and tourist attraction. Today Muckross House is one of Ireland's premier tourist attractions and receives an average of 200,000 visitors annually (O'Hare, 2005). Many of these entrepreneurs have become serial entrepreneurs with deep roots in the community and their continued development has instilled a confidence in the local industry and influenced the involvement of others. Their vision for tourism, passed on, in many instances, over generations has created a dynamic environment that stimulates and enhances tourism development. As one respondent remarked; 'there is a very strong tradition of tourism in Killarney ... passed through generations - it's in the blood'. This tendency for entrepreneurs to pass on their businesses over generations can be seen across a range of businesses; jaunting car drivers, known locally as Jarvey's, spoke of grandfathers, fathers and uncles starting the business and passing it on to family members over generations while tour companies and hotel owners spoke of tracing their businesses back to the 1800s. This tendency to pass businesses on over generations has resulted in a familiarity among tourism operators and has influenced their willingness to co-operate

with each other for mutual benefit. What is particularly apparent is a tendency for these entrepreneurs to take a collective, long-term vision to tourism development this is reflected in one respondents comment that 'with family owned businesses the long-term view is looked at rather than the short-term economic rewards'. Their actions are, according to one respondent, underpinned by a 'common history and belief in tourism', and they have provided critical infrastructure and marketing support that has developed their own businesses and supported the success of Killarney tourism. Their tendency to develop through sticking to their core business of, for example accommodation, provides an opportunity for others to involve themselves in the provision of complimentary add-on services and products and ensures the success of individuals businesses and of Killarney tourism. Tourism is characterised in the area by the existence of many small businesses each providing essential components of the overall tourism product, this has created an interdependence between the businesses and as a result tourism firms have been able to survive and the local area able to thrive. The interdependence between firms, as suggested by Ritchie & Crouch (2003) encourages inter-firm co-operation which is evident in for example the forming of marketing alliances, sectoral associations and management structures. Local entrepreneurs in Killarney exert a strong influence on tourism through a history of involvement in local marketing and business organisations such as: Killarney Development Company, Killarney Chamber and Commerce, Killarney of the Welcomes, Killarney Tourism, Killarney Incentive and Conference Group. In addition, their active involvement in regional and national lobbying groups such as the IHF (Irish Hotel Federation) ensures that local businesses and the commercial interests of Killarney are represented in dealings with local government and state agencies. This also provides an opportunity for members to network with each other as well as with members of other similar organisations at a regional and national level.

Discussion

Butler's (1980) contention that local control on tourism decreases overtime is not evident in Killarney and his suggestion that local entrepreneurs may influence local tourism development only in the early stages of development is similarly unfounded. In fact, by capitalising on 'placed-specific characteristics' local entrepreneurs have influenced 'the shape of local tourism' (Quinn, 2003: 62) in Killarney right up to the present day and this extensive influence is seen to exist through all stages of development (figure 1.2)

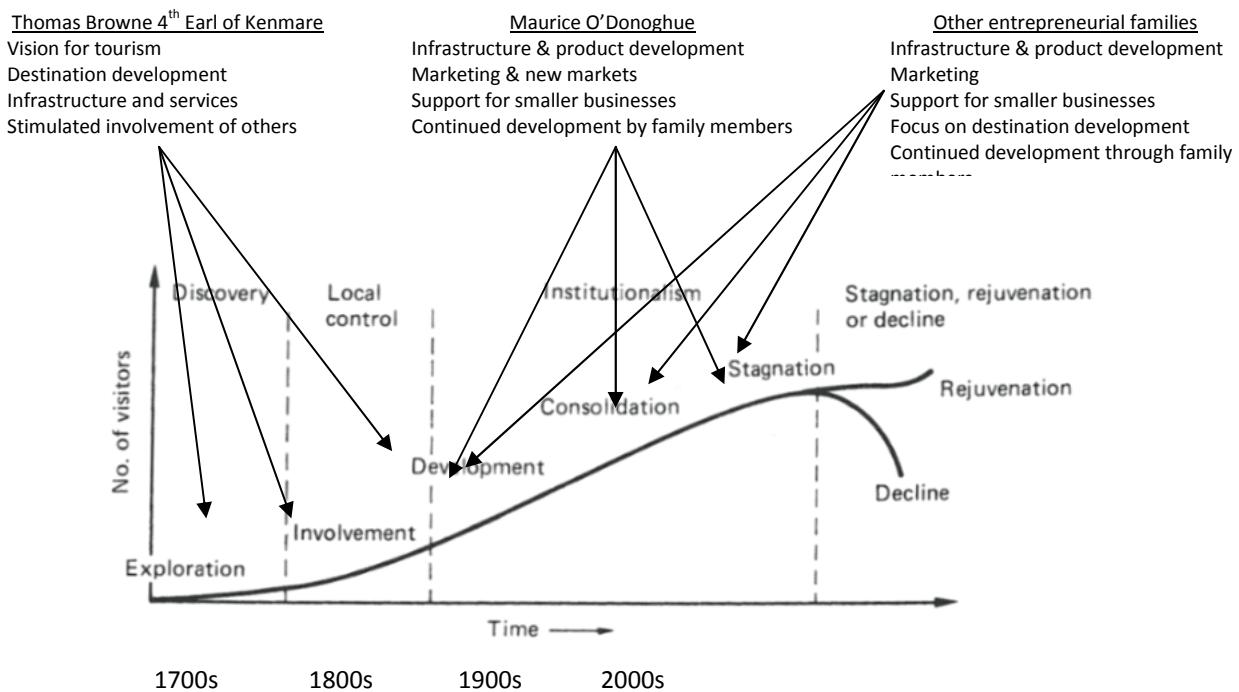


Figure 1.2: An adaptation of Butler's (1980) TALC: the influence of local entrepreneurs on tourism development.

The power of local entrepreneurs has helped to shape Killarney tourism and the industry is characterised by an entrepreneurial pervasiveness that has played a pivotal role in tourism development. Far from lacking any control over their own destiny (Relph, 1976; Castells, 1993; Barnet & Cavanagh, 1995; Dunning & Hamdani, 1997), entrepreneurs have acted as triggers of change and development and have encouraged and facilitated the involvement and success of others in the industry. Their influence is not static but has continued to influence development long after the individual entrepreneur has ceased to exist. In the case of Thomas Browne, his legacy has been the initiation of the industry and a culture for tourism, and each entrepreneur has helped to sustain this culture over the years, what may have started in Killarney as one person's vision has become the collective vision of many. While the work that Maurice O'Donoghue accomplished and his broader connections in both the local and national business community impacted on the development, not just of his own businesses, but also on the development of Killarney tourism as a whole. Local entrepreneurs can be seen to have acted as 'champions' and 'individual innovators' (Hall, 2004), providing critical infrastructure and marketing for the area but more importantly, supporting an environment where complementary businesses can flourish. Their approach to development has involved a collective, long term vision that has helped to shape a dynamic environment where tourism thrives, and their involvement in key business groups at a local and national level has ensured that Killarney's voice is at the forefront of Irish tourism. In Killarney, the influence of local entrepreneurs goes beyond provision of infrastructure and marketing, their approach to development has stimulated the actions of others, their strong lobbying, and the deliberate dependence of the larger businesses on smaller businesses for aspects of the tourism product allows Killarney tourism to thrive.

Conclusions

This research has made a number of significant contributions to the existing body of knowledge. It has identified the way in which local entrepreneurs can influence tourism development, therefore negating any claim that local areas are submissive to global forces, unable to influence their own development. The research has shown that rather being passive and submissive recipients of global forces (Relph, 1976; Castells, 1993; Barnet & Cavanagh, 1995; Dunning & Hamdani, 1997) local places are actively involved in tourism development, and are informed and shaped by many factors, not least of which is the influence of local entrepreneurs. This study is an important addition to the research on the role of entrepreneurs in tourism development and reflects Hall (2004) and Tinsley & Lynch's (2007) claim that entrepreneurs are drivers of development. Their ability to provide infrastructure and services as well as marketing support has underpinned development and supported the growth of tourism. This influence can be seen to transform the areas into tourism destinations in the first instance (Koh & Hatten, 2002) and has, as suggested Pearce (1992) extended to stimulate the involvement of others in tourism development. Their influence is long lasting and dynamic, in many cases spanning generations of involvement. Some entrepreneurs leave behind a legacy of development that is passed on for family members to continue. Others leave less tangible evidence of their influence, in these cases factors such as a strong vision and culture for tourism may influence tourism development for many, many years even after the entrepreneur has ceased to exist, and may have such a pervasive influence as to form part of the fabric of tourism development in the area. The research identifies how entrepreneurs who share a vision for tourism may influence development reflects Ritchie & Crouch's (2003) claim that through a willingness for co-operation and the creation of interdependencies between businesses, these entrepreneurs may impact on the success of the area in general. What is clear therefore is that entrepreneurs play a pivotal role in tourism, and while the influence of the individual entrepreneur can be extensive and long lasting, a shared culture for tourism amongst entrepreneurs can result in a more pervasive influence on tourism development leading to the success of the area. This paper has provided a broad perspective on the influence of local entrepreneurs identifying their role as fundamental to tourism development, however this area requires further investigation if a comprehensive understanding of entrepreneurial influence is to be achieved. In particular, research into the patterns of entrepreneurial activity and how these might differ between tourism places would add further insight to the literature on entrepreneurs.

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'Tourism product development – A State-of-the-Art Literature Review'

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ABSTRACT

Tourism product development is recognised by both scholars and practitioners as being of increasing importance in the tourism sector. Yet the topic has gained scarce attention in academic literature. The body of literature dealing with product development is highly fragmented, taking a narrow approach to this complex and thorough activity. From the perspective of critical tourism studies, product development, however, demands special consideration since it plays a key role in the production, reproduction and reflection of tourism spaces and places. Our intention here is to pave the way for critical tourism studies on product development by inquiring into what is known to date about this topic in the literature.

In this paper we investigate the state of tourism product development research in the academic literature. Our aim is, firstly, to get a grasp of how the area has been covered in academic literature. In particular, we examine the focus and nature of product development discussion by conducting a systematic literature review over multiple database sources. The papers found are analyzed on the basis of the structure and content of the articles, for instance, according to how tourism products are conceptualized and understood. The results present not only the most popular issues addressed but also possible research gaps. Secondly, we will discuss and suggest some directions for future research. Our review should encourage the constantly growing number of critical tourism scholars to turn their attention more extensively and explicitly to product development. This would inspire more reflexive research practices and poly-vocality, and ultimately, open up fresh avenues.

KEY WORDS: Tourism, Product Development, Literature Review

Introduction

Despite the growing interest for tourism product development (TPD) visible among both scholars and practitioners, it is surprising to observe the scarcity of academic research on the topic. The body of literature on TPD is highly fragmented and scattered across a variety of different journals that approach this complex and comprehensive activity from a narrow perspective. Moreover, within

critical tourism studies (e.g. Rojek & Urry 1997; Ateljevic, Pritchard & Morgan 2007; Veijola & Valtonen 2008) the topic has not attracted a great deal of interest. While discussions have revolved around existing tourism products, their consumption (Urry 1990b) and consequences (see Saarinen 2006), relatively little critical attention has been given to the development of (new) tourism products (García-Rosell, Haanpää, Kylänen & Markuksela 2007). A critical perspective to tourism studies, however, requires the consideration of product development as it plays a key role in the production, reproduction and reflection of tourism spaces and places (see García-Rosell et al. 2007).

Tourism is seen in this paper as an enormously powerful social force (Higgins-Desbiolles 2006), extensively based on inter-actor business and non-business relationships (Michael 2007) that are built across interconnected production cultures, consumption cultures and local cultures (García-Rosell et al., 2007). Tourism is nevertheless acknowledged as an innovative industry, and hence, even the role of product development in tourism has been questioned (see Hjalager 2002). We, however, state that tourism appears to offer an excellent arena for studying product development.

Inspired by Johne and Storey (1998), who have conducted a multi-faceted literature review on new service development (NSD), we attempt to gain a better understanding of product development by approaching it from a tourism perspective. As most empirical NSD research has focused on production-intensive services (e.g. financial services sector, transport and telecommunications), it is worth promoting the debate by bringing in new uncovered service business fields (Johne & Storey 1998, p. 219; De Jong & Vermeulen 2003, p. 844). Tourism as a research field has been almost omitted in the overall debate on product and service development. We wish to help to fill in this gap.

In this paper we investigate the state of TPD in the academic literature. Our aim is, firstly, to gain a comprehensive overview of TPD by exploring and analysing the academic work done on the topic. In particular, we examine the focus and nature of the TPD discussion by conducting a systematic literature review over multiple electronic database sources. The papers found are analyzed based on structure and content by considering the following criteria: research perspective, thematic focus and methodological approach. While the results point to the most popular issues covered in the literature, they also reveal research gaps in the field of TPD. Thus, secondly, we intend to discuss and suggest research directions that can contribute to further developing TPD both in theory and practice.

Ultimately our review should encourage the constantly growing number of critical tourism scholars (e.g. Urry 1990a; Ateljevic & Doorne 2003; Pritchard & Morgan 2006; Tribe 2008; Veijola & Valtonen 2008) to turn their attention more extensively and explicitly to the topic of product development. This systematic review of existing TPD studies should contribute to assessing research findings and synthesizing them in such a coherent way that is more accessible to researchers and practitioners. Hence, our intention is to pave the way for critical tourism studies on product development by inquiring into what is known to date about this topic in the literature.

Our full paper is structured as follows: first we take a glance on the history of product development, in general, and discuss the importance of product development in tourism, in particular. Secondly,

we illustrate the methodological contents. That is, the process of data collection and the entire systematic procedure of the literature review. Thirdly, we present the results of the multi-faceted literature analysis. In the final section, we provide some implications for future research and tourism policy.

Importance of Product Development

The value of superior and differentiated products is rarely questioned. However, in spite of the connection between differentiation and success, and a myriad of process models suggested (e.g. Booz, Allen & Hamilton 1982; Scheuing & Johnson 1989), companies all around the world end up tinkering with “me-too” products, which make them look reactive or even passive. When it comes to tourism product development, destinations, for instance, seem to have forgotten how to differentiate. An explanation to this flaw can be drawn by problematising the tradition of importing strange and incompatible models, theories and frameworks to the field of tourism, which is an acknowledged problem in the development of tourism studies (see Franklin & Crang 2001). Through this paper we wish to encourage tourism studies to create more *tourism-driven* theories from the premises of tourism phenomena, which can even be found useful beyond the boundaries of tourism.

Drawing the History of Product Development

History of product development as a pervasive world-wide phenomenon dates back to post World War II. Years of wartime and quick reconstruction of the peacetime had created significant shortages everywhere. This was good news for manufacturing companies, since citizens were eager to buy almost everything they produced. Then in the mid-1950s the concept and idea of image gained more strength (Schmitt & Simonson 1997), which got companies to think over the specificity of their products compared to ones of the neighbouring companies. Quickly after the 1950s Western societies put their faith greatly on neo-liberalist economic policies where the growth, profitability and prosperity is to be gained with breaking of anti-competitive forces and creation of free markets led by expansionist growth-fetish enterprises (Harvey 1989; Hamilton 2002; Higgins-Desbiolles 2006; Harvey 2008). Product development was given an important role in this idealism, and innovativeness as its pre-principle was seen as a natural virtue of the entrepreneurs, who, in turn, were given a responsible role of bringing about economic prosperity (Harvey 2008, p. 31, 150). These were the instruments to secure their survival, to remain competitive, to renew themselves and to gain growth in the fierce competition.

In terms of key principles, after the WWII a technology-push strategy was found most compelling. This period can be described as an era of engineers who were to deliver the strong faith in objective science as the source of innovation. Then after a short period of co-existence, a market-pull philosophy broke through with higher emphasis on the markets and consumers. At this point the sceptre of authority was dragged from the product development and production engineering department to the marketers. More recently, we can witness a certain 3rd era of product development where both engineers and marketers (along with consumers) search for ways to manage.

Rothwell (1994) identifies important factors in today's innovation activity: content orientation, customer involvement, intra-network partnerships, and cross-sector work to mention but a few. He describes the development of innovation ideology as five interconnected and somewhat sequential eras. Now we have entered the fifth generation, which takes advantage of the fourth one with its strategic innovation, technology and network management, but with a higher emphasis on physical surroundings and its sustainable future. (Rothwell 1994, pp. 7-13.)

Virtually, product development literature has until the 1980s and even the 1990s concentrated heavily on traditional industries comprised mainly of large manufacturing companies producing goods on conveyor belts. This has led to the introduction of two new principles that nowadays seem to be carrying the torch of the product development and innovation debate. First, the intensification of service industries and the ever-growing volume of literature on service marketing which have been challenging the traditional principles and frameworks of product development. Second, while much research on product development still focuses on large companies, the role of product development in small- and medium-sized enterprises (SMEs) has recently received increasing attention among different business disciplines (e.g. Carson, Cromie, McGowan & Hill 1995; Hörite et al. 2008). Product development in SMEs is discussed thoroughly by Sven Hörite and his Swedish colleagues (2008). They find it paradoxical that despite 99 per cent of all European companies belonging to the category of SMEs which is widely regarded as an important source of innovation in society (EC 2003), the literature on product development is heavily biased towards large enterprises. Consequently, product development in SMEs is also characterised as a heterogeneous and immature research field with a notable lack of cumulative knowledge creation and academic consensus.

From Service Industries to Inclusion of Tourism

Johne and Storey (1998) have suggested a revolution where NPD has been put on the back in favour of NSD. Simultaneously a special emphasis is given to the whole offer, a holistic product where many elements of services and goods seem to connect. As the recent discussions on the service logic have suggested (e.g. Vargo & Lusch 2004; Grönroos 2006), the peculiarity of service industries plays a key role in the transformation of the dominant market-logic. Whereas the goods-dominant logic is limited to the perspective of the marketer who does things to consumers, segments them, distributes and promotes to them, the service-dominant logic leans heavily on the idea of "market with" (Vargo & Lusch 2004). The market with -ideology has been critically reflected by Peñaloza and Venkatesh (2006) who have brought forth the idea of meaning co-production as a prominent issue of contemporary markets based on sign-value to the service-dominant logic.

In terms of product development within the service industries, or service development, so to speak, the book *New Service Development; Creating Memorable Experiences* edited by Fitzsimmons and Fitzsimmons (2000) can be regarded as a groundbreaking work. While it presents NSD as a powerful counterforce to more traditional new product development (NPD), it also discusses the challenges of service development in the experience economy (e.g. Pine & Gilmore 1999). Indeed, the validity of NPD models for understanding the NSD process has been called into question by many scholars (e.g. Martin & Horne 1993; Menor et al. 2002). According to Callon, Laredo and Rabeharisoa (1996; cf. Lovelock & Gummesson 2004), there are three fundamental service characteristics that might

invalidate the application of NPD models to services. First, development takes place simultaneously in the product and the procedure. Second, product development cannot be detached from organizational development. And third, there is no separation between production and consumption activities.

However, most empirical research into new service development has concentrated on services other than tourism. In particular financial sector, due to its size, significance, and its notable market changes has adopted marketing principles and become active in product development. (De Jong & Vermeulen 2003.) Finance and banking, insurance services, transport, telecommunications, wholesale and public healthcare – all popular within the NSD debate – mostly represent production-intensive services where considerable effort is put in simplifying the process by standardisation. Tourism products appear as complex knowledge-intensive and consumer-intensive experiences. Before reducing them and the entire tourism industry as less innovative, it would be worthwhile to reconsider the captive methods of measuring innovativeness (see Hjalager 1997; 2002).

About the Relationships of the Key Concepts

We use the concept of product development as a gathering force that covers development of goods, services, radical innovations as well as slight and incremental improvements. In addition, we understand product development as the process through which a product is created, evaluated, purchased and consumed, which other scholars may call offer development (see e.g. Hjalager 1997; 2002; Johne & Storey 1998). Instead of a reactive and defensive strategy launched by the tourism industry (Hjalager 1997), we consider product development as a kind of continuous sustainable development that, at its best, invites people and institutions to take part in a proactive never-ending process. Consequently, by development we wish to go beyond the predominant economic growth ideology by including premises of community development and social innovation (e.g. Everett & Jamal 2004; Moscardo 2008). Eventually this calls for a both/and perspective, where socio-cultural analysis and business studies are not set against each other (cf. Franklin & Crang 2001; Framke 2002).

Previously, three literature reviews have been done within the field of TPD, but they are not as systematic and extensive as the work at hand. The three previous review-type articles provide an overview of hospitality operations management as discussed in a few journals in 1989-1994 (Teare 1996), cover R&D and innovation within the French accommodation sector (Vicéariat, Préel & Delaunay 1998), or take a marketing approach to tourist experiences in the context of creative industries (Mossberg 2007).

Methodology

In this section, we illustrate the approach that we adopted to review the literature on TPD. Drawing on Tranfield, Denyer and Smart (2003), we designed and conducted the review process in a systematic, transparent and reproducible manner. We first explain the selection of the databases to identify references concerned with the development of products and services in the tourism sector. Then, we describe the keyword criteria and the scanning process used to come up with a sample of papers strictly related to the dominion of TPD.

Searching Databases

The first step of the review process focused on the selection of the databases. We initially chose 13 popular databases¹⁴⁹ on the basis of their scope, depth of coverage and functionality (see e.g. Kyrrä 2007a; 2007b; Hörte et al. 2008). This ensured that the literature search was expanded beyond the field of tourism studies, and to include business studies and social sciences.

The identification of keywords and search strings was done in a team of three researchers. We started our search in these databases by using two groups of keywords:

- Group A: “Product development” / “service development” / produc* / service / concept* / experience / innovat* / reproduc* / represent* / crea* / design* / stag* / commodi* / commerc* / custom* / consum* / process* / “blue-print*” / “blue print*”
- Group B: touris* / travel* / leisure / “free-time” / “free time” / recreation* / holiday / vacation* / hospitality / hotel / restaurant / catering / adventure / event / airline / destination / accommodation.

These keywords were chosen as they are closely related to the TPD concept. While quotation marks were used to search for an exact phrase, the asterisk was used to create searches with various endings. For example, we typed touris* to find the words tourism, tourist(s), or touristic. The Search strings were built by combining keywords from group A and B. An example of a search string is: [“product development” AND touris*]. We scanned the titles, abstracts and keywords of the publications. However, in databases lacking these search options, we scanned the full text. It should also be noted that the keywords of group B, which were aimed to keep the search within the limits of the tourism field, were not employed when searching in Leisure Tourism. Indeed, the Leisure Tourism database includes only references that are related to leisure, recreation, tourism, and hospitality research. As most of the keywords in group A were producing a high amount of irrelevant hits, we decided to use only three keywords: “product development”, “service development” and innovat*. Indeed, most of the hits produced by the rest of the keywords were whether not related to tourism or product development. As a result, we chose to further refine our search by introducing the third group below:

- Group C: touris* product* / touris* service* / touris* experience* / destination product* / develop* touris* product* / develop* touris* service* / touris* event*

Similarly we combined the keywords of group C with those of group B. Again, keywords from group B were not used when searching in the Leisure Tourism database, and the keyword “touris*” from group B was not used if it was included in one of the keywords of group C.

¹⁴⁹ The following databases were used in the study: Linda (Union Catalogue of Finnish University Libraries), Leisure Tourism, DOAJ (Directory of Open Access Journals), EBSCO Host (Academic Search Elite/Business Source Elite), Emerald, Sage, Science Direct (Elsevier), ABI/inform (ProQuest), Sociological Abstracts (CSA), Wiley InterScience, Helecon MIX (Finnish database for economics and business science), SpringerLink and JSTOR Arts & Sciences.

In these 13 databases, we found a total amount of 2273 references that meet the search criteria. All these references were imported into an electronic reference database (Refworks). After identifying and removing all duplicates, the database consisted of 1873 references. The surveying of the databases was conducted by three researchers. Each researcher searched a group of databases (4 or 5) according to the keyword criteria described above. However, all three researchers took part in the removal of duplicates.

Selecting References

From all the identified references, we selected only those that refer to the TPD concept in the title, abstract or keywords. The following terms were used as selection criteria: (new) product development, (new) service development, developing tourism products (services), development of travel products (tourism attractions), service improvement, improvement of services, product (service) innovation, product planning, tourism design process, product renewal, co-production of tourism products and creating tourism products. This selection process generated a list of 231 references deemed closely related to the domain of product development in tourism. Although "tourism innovation" seems to be strongly associated with the TPD topic, discussions in this field tend to focus merely on innovations, technology, innovation systems, or industry-level innovativeness rather than on the development of tourism products. As a result, we decided to exclude papers dealing with innovations from the TPD literature analysis. Only those tourism innovation papers which included a discussion on product development were included in the sample. On the other hand, papers concerned with service design, branding, experience management and design were not included in the sample, as these concepts constitute discussions in their own rights (e.g. Shostack 1982; Ek, Larsen, Hornskov & Mansfeldt 2008; Tussyadiah & Fesenmaier 2009).

In order to secure the scientific quality of the studies included in the review, we selected only papers that were published in journals using a double-blind review process. After removing references of editorials, books, book chapters, book reviews, conference reports, policy reports, industry magazines and conference proceedings we ended up with a final sample of 112 papers published in 63 different journals between the years 1978 and 2009. Figure 1 indicates that the total number of TPD papers increased considerably from 1978 to a high of 12 in 2005. However, the number of TPD papers has since been in decline from the 2005 peak to 11 in 2006, 10 in 2007 and further to 6 in 2008. On the other hand, whilst academic interest on TPD has grown since the late 1970s, our analysis also reveals that this field has lacked a common discussion forum. Indeed, 59 per cent of TPD papers were published in 18 different journals. These 18 journals all included two or more papers. The remaining 45 journals had only one publication on tourism product development.

It is noteworthy that TPD papers were not only published in journals from the discipline of tourism studies (70%) but also business studies (21%), agriculture (3%), food studies (3%), development studies (2%) and operational research (1%). A small number of papers (9%) were published in a language other than English, although the abstracts had been available in English.

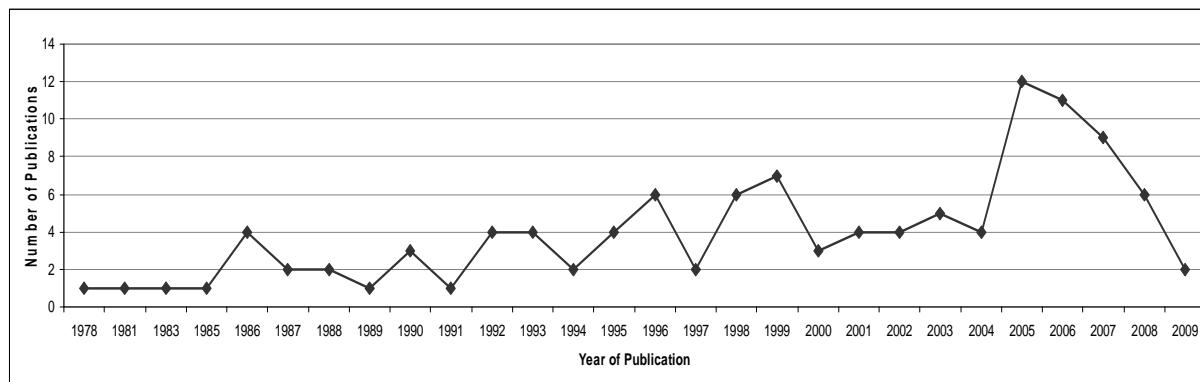


Figure 1. Papers on tourism product development published between 1978 and 2009

Nine journals, in particular, comprise 44% of all publications (see Figure 2). These journals are *Tourism Management* (TM), *International Journal of Contemporary Hospitality Management* (IJCHM), *Managing Service Quality* (MSQ), *Cornell Hotel and Restaurant Administration Quarterly* (CHRAQ), *International Journal of Hospitality & Tourism Administration* (IJHTA), *Tourism Review* (TR), *Tourism Recreation Research* (TRR), *Journal of Vacation Marketing* (JVM) and *Journal of Quality Assurance in Hospitality & Tourism* (JQAHT).

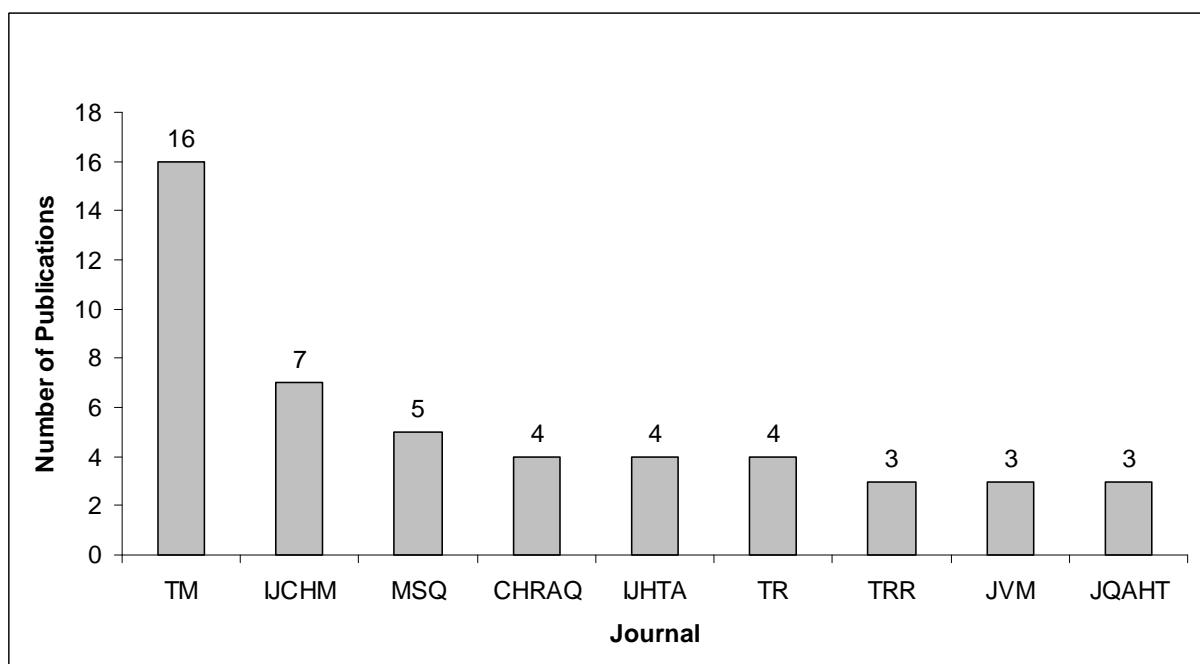


Figure 2. The nine most important journals in which TPD papers have been published

Of the nine journals, only TM seems to be the journal where TPD papers have been regularly published since 1983. Further, our study shows that TPD papers were published in IJCHM, first in 1992-1996 (three papers) and then in 2006-2008 (four papers). While publications in MSQ, CHRAQ, IJHTA, TR and TRR are distributed over the period 1981-2007, TPD papers were published in JVM and JQAHT between the years 2003 and 2009.

All the abstracts of the 112 papers were further checked by a team of three researchers to ensure that they were about TPD. The selection process used to come up with the final sample of papers for the literature review on tourism product development is summarized in Figure 3.

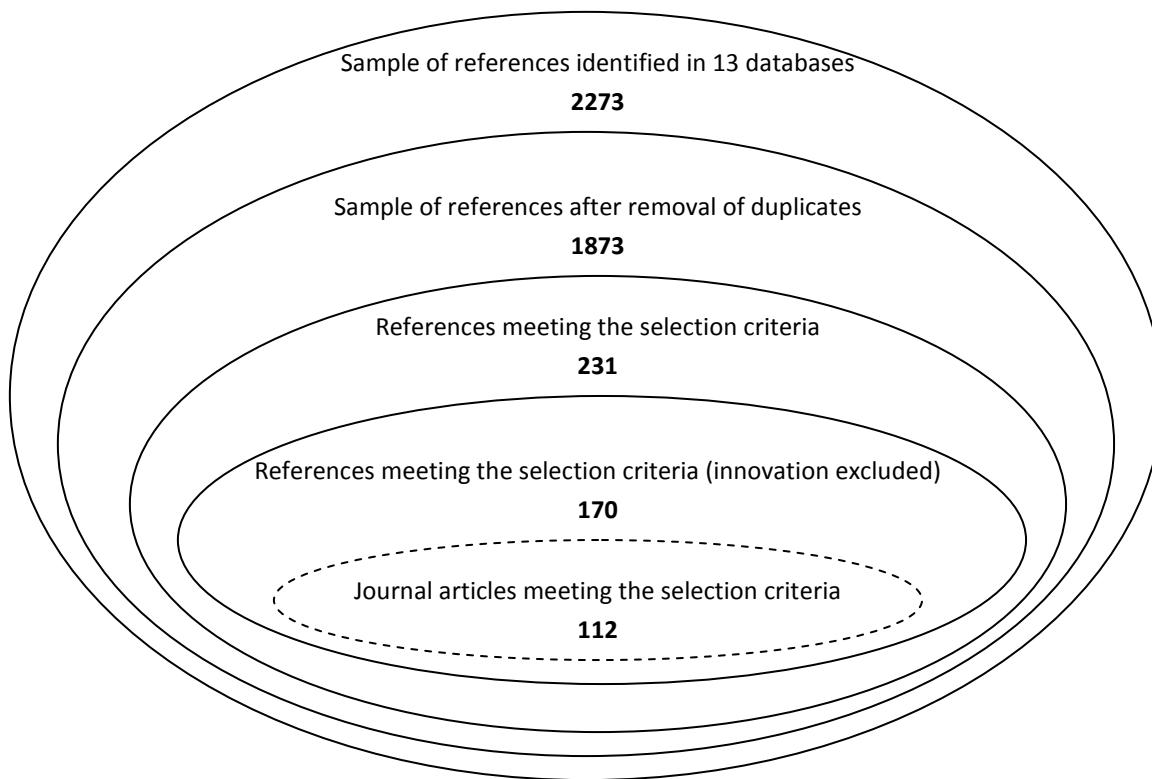


Figure 3. Selection of sample of papers for TPD literature analysis

Literature Analysis

The analysis of the literature began with the classification of the 112 selected publications. To facilitate the analysis of the papers, we sorted them according to a scheme based on three main criteria: research perspective, thematic focus and methodological approach (see Figure 4). All classifications were done in a group of three researchers. The categorization of the papers was based on the individual judgement of the researchers who separately classified each publication. Particularly, papers not classified in the same way were subjected to a joint review in order to determine their most suitable category. This process contributes to the reliability and transparency of the procedure. As some papers discuss TPD from more than one perspective and rely on more than one methodology, we allowed multi-classifications when categorizing the papers according to the research perspective and methodological approach. However, in the terms of the thematic focus, we chose the dominant theme of each paper. Next, we introduce the categories used to classify the articles in the final sample.

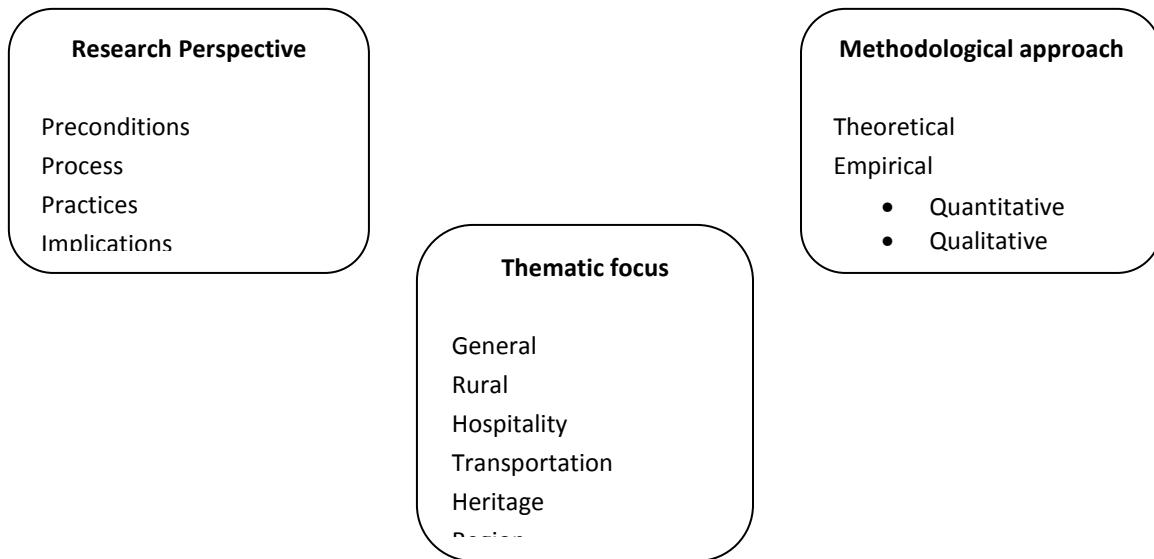


Figure 4. Categories for classifying TPD papers

After all 112 papers were classified; we proceeded to read and analyse the papers in a group of five researchers. Each researcher was responsible for obtaining the articles assigned to her/him, reading and analysing thoroughly each of them. Papers were distributed among the researchers based on the thematic focus. Whilst only 77 per cent of the paper could be found in full-text format in time, the literature analysis is based on the 112 papers. The analysis of the 23 per cent of missing papers is grounded in the information available through the abstracts and extracts. To assure the systematic analysis of the selected papers, we employed a data-extraction form (see Tranfield et al. 2003). The form included general information (title, author and publication details), study features (theme, perspective, TPD drivers, key statement, findings, etc.), methodological information (methodological approach, method and empirical approach) and a final synthesis of the paper. Next, we analyse the papers according to the criteria mentioned above.

Research Perspective

The research perspective of each paper was determined by examining how tourism product development was approached in the text. In order to organize the papers according to their dominant TPD perspective, we use the categories: preconditions, practices, process and implications. The category "preconditions" includes TPD papers which focus on discussing the conditions that must exist to allow the development of tourism products. The second category, "practices", refers to a group of papers which provide managerial guidelines, institutional principles and settings, and procedures for developing tourism products. "Process", on the other hand, includes TPD papers which describe more or less the actual process of product development. Finally, the category "implications" consists of publications simply emphasizing the relevance of TPD.

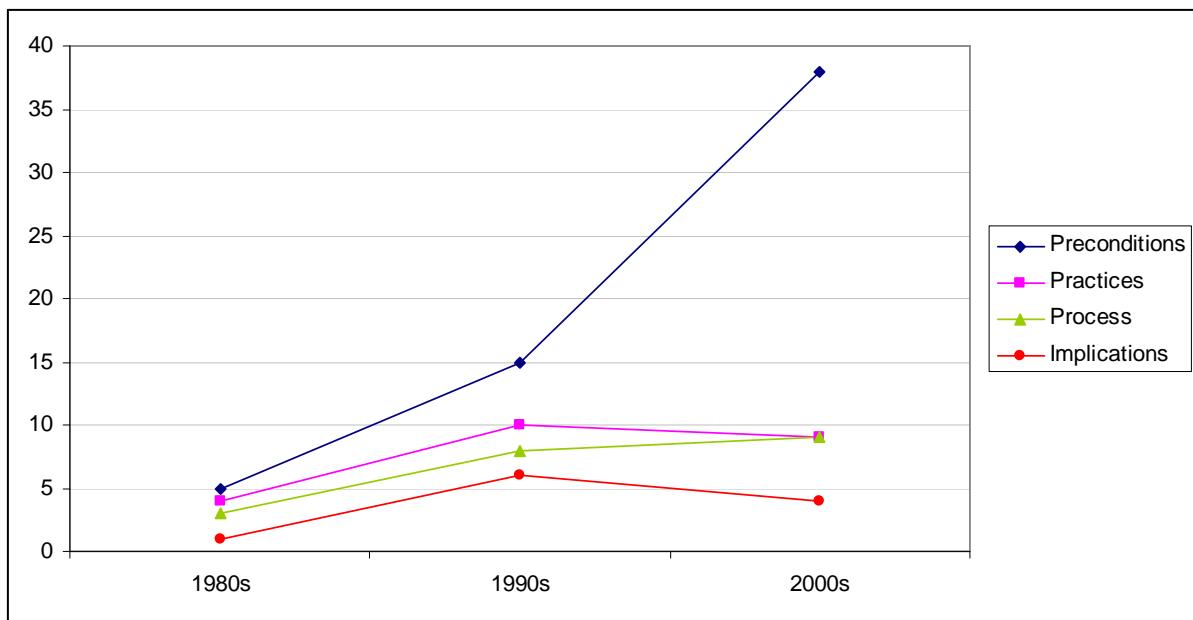


Figure 5. Dominant research perspective in TPD research

According to our analysis more than half of TPD papers found in the literature focus on studying the preconditions for product development (see Figure 5). This can be explained by the increasing allocation of funding for tourism innovation research and development projects within the European Union (and elsewhere). This also reflects the role of the public sector in tourism which has gradually changed from an implementer to a facilitator (Grängsjö 2004). Additionally, the tendency to implement best practice programmes in quality management, which prevailed in the 1990s, might have lead to a retrospective approach in the academy. In terms of promoting TPD, such a significant lack of process and practice oriented examples in the body of literature is alarming.

Thematic Focus

Based on the thematic focus, TPD papers were classified according to seven categories: general, rural, hospitality, transportation, heritage, region and others. The seven thematic focuses were identified and refined during the selection process. While “transportation” comprises papers dealing with TPD within the airplane and railway sector, hospitality includes papers with a focus on hotels, restaurants and pubs. “Rural” refers to publications discussing farm tourism, nature-based recreation and wine tourism among other things. In a similar way, “region” contains papers with a focus on destinations, cities and regional attractions. “Heritage”, on the other hand, consists of papers dealing with cultural and heritage tourism. In the category “general” we included papers that address TPD from a general point of view. Finally, the category “others” was reserved for a reduced number of papers on events and information technology.

Figure 6 shows clearly that since the 1990s hospitality, region and rural have been the prevailing thematic focus in TPD research. Together they make 69 per cent of all TPD papers. Overall changes in the traditional livelihoods and the diversification of farms have possibly contributed to an increase in TPD research with a focus on rural areas. Likewise the global socio-political changes, particularly within the European Union, have called for TPD at the regional and destination level. The interest in

hospitality among TPD researchers, on the other hand, could be grounded in the overall history of the theory and practice of product development. As discussed earlier, the discussion has been guided by large companies that operate in urban areas or in global networks (e.g. international chain hotels and airlines). Equally, in tourism destinations accommodation has a powerful role in destination development. Altogether, small or micro-sized companies and programme services as a business branch have to a great extent been neglected in the literature. This is interesting, as the field is characterised by small companies, and the tourism industry deals with experiential activities. On the other hand, tourism development strategies have only recently started to pay attention to these.

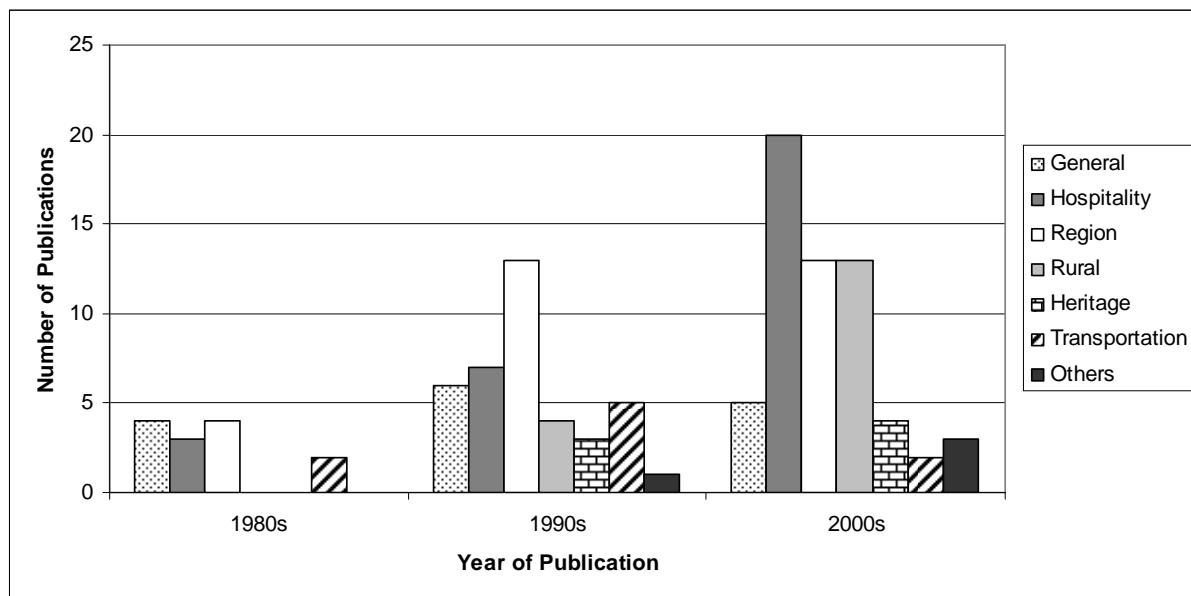


Figure 6. Thematic focus in TPD research

Methodological Approach

Another way of looking at the papers is to examine the methodological approach used to study TPD. For this purpose, each paper was oriented as either empirical or theoretical. Papers included in the theoretical category do not use empirical data. Rather they focus on the discussion of theories, concepts, approaches, models and methods. As empirical data can be either quantitative or qualitative, empirical papers were further sub-divided into those categories. This methodological classification of the literature seems to be necessary to understand the development of the TPD domain. By taking a closer look at the relation between theoretical and empirical studies, it is possible to determine the maturity of a research field. For instance, Kuhn's (1970) idea of normal science suggests that, as a field of study develops and matures, it undergoes a transition from theory generation to theory testing. An increase of empirical studies should then indicate that researchers are working towards a consensus on the boundaries of the field and its relevance (Pfeffer 1993).

Our study indicates that publication of empirical work has continuously been increasing, while theoretical work has remained at a considerably low level (see Figure 7). 75 per cent of the papers are empirical and 25 per cent theoretical. In the empirical papers the findings have not been reflected back on theory development theory but appear as distinct, ahistorical cases. In relation to the type of empirical research conducted, the data indicates that there has been an equal emphasis

on quantitative and qualitative research. While 44 per cent of the empirical papers rely on quantitative data, 45 per cent use qualitative data. There are also a small number of studies (11%) that draw on both qualitative and quantified data (mixed).

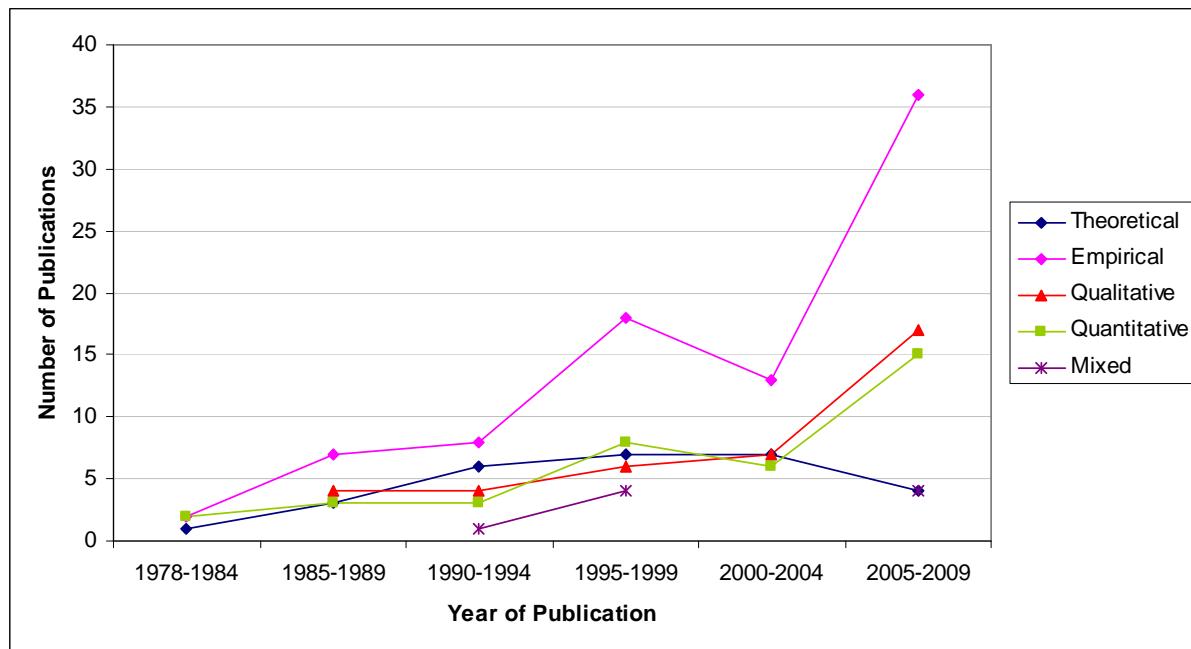


Figure 7. Methodological approaches used to study TPD

In relation to research method used to study TPD, we see a clear preference for case study and survey (see Figure 8). While case study makes 39 per cent of all empirical papers, survey is used in 38 per cent of the cases. Interviews are used in only nine per cent of the empirical studies, but still most of the case studies are listed as qualitative. Less representative research methods are ethnography, narrative analysis and multivariate techniques among others. Within the business studies case studies and surveys are rather popular methods, and this has a direct consequence to tourism studies as these disciplines have dominated the field (Franklin & Crang 2001; Xiao & Smith 2006).

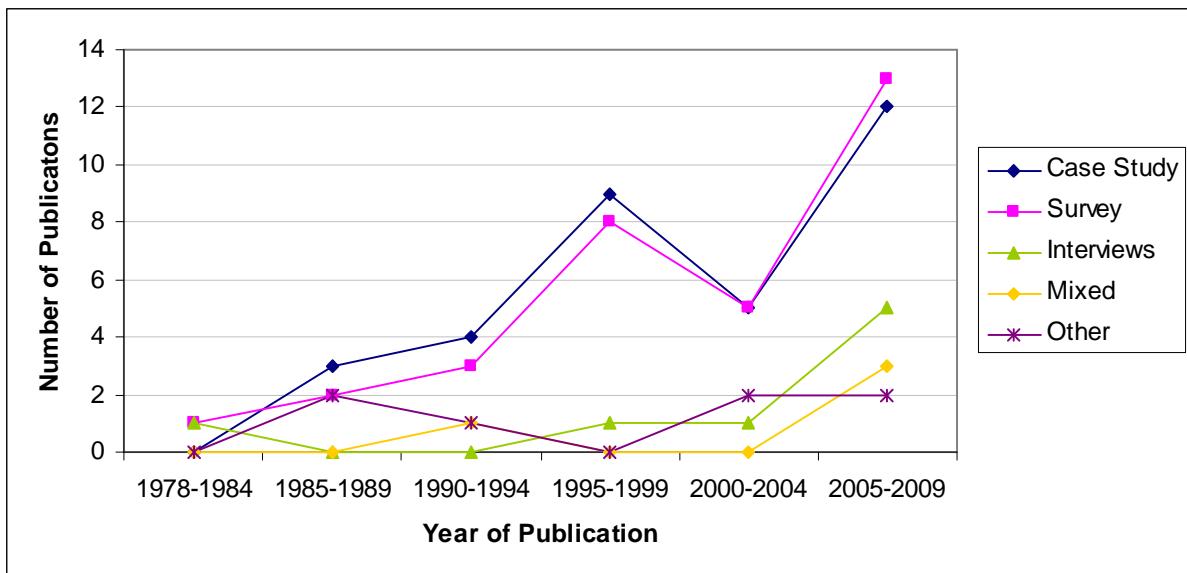


Figure 8. Research methods used to study TPD

Drawing on the Kuhnian normal science paradigm, we can conclude that TPD is a research field lacking consensus and maturity. It is interesting that empirical studies have expanded without being preceded by a discussion on TPD theoretical underpinnings. An explanation to this phenomenon can be found in the tendency to study TPD by borrowing theories from other disciplines.

In addition to the three criteria used to analyse the literature, it seems worthy to draw attention to the drivers behind and the factors supporting TPD. According to our analysis, the key drivers that encourage or simply push tourism companies and destinations to develop their products are competition, market change, profitability, business development, standards, programmes, regional development and policies. These are not surprising when looking back at the history of product development discussed above. Altogether, TPD is seen in the literature as an instrument to foster economic value.

Also the success factors identified in the papers indicate a prevailing idealism of managerial practices and ideology of growth, sensitiveness to the ongoing debates on and off the field, but also to some extent creativity and innovativeness within the tourism industry. Knowledge about the market (especially the customer), cooperation, and a clear as well as thorough systematic approach are seen in the literature as the key factors to successful product development. But also the involvement of collaborators, employees and surrounding communities is considered in some papers as the cornerstone of product development. Lastly, the development of a new mindset in TPD can be perceived in the literature. Although heterogeneous, the success factors are considered as interconnected and synergetic. The success factors and drivers identified in this study seem to be connected to strong focus on preconditions as research perspective.

Identification of Research Gaps and Suggestions

The literature analysis shows that the field of tourism product development is highly fragmented, interdisciplinary, and thus, highly dependent from advancements in the disciplines of management and marketing. A significant shortfall of critical reflection in both empirical research and theoretical debate can be considered a major problem within the field. The ongoing discussion is rich of managerial ideas, and respectively, lacks of a cultural approach (see García-Rosell et al. 2007). Another significant dilemma in the TPD debate is that it fails to discuss product development in relation to small companies. Although interdisciplinary, the debate fails to integrate and benefit from different disciplines. It is, indeed, the inflexible nature of the presented models and approaches that fail to convince the industry. This produces a substantial gap between TPD theory and practice. We believe that the adoption of a cultural approach would make symbolic values and meanings more visible (see e.g. Ottenbacher & Harrington 2007; Pryor & Grossbart 2007).

We point out the possibility of taking TPD beyond the narrow economic ideas related to profitability, competitiveness and growth. Currently, TPD has been monopolised by the ideology of neoliberalism, and this may be the major reason why the tourism industry has not been fully included. Development is widely acknowledged only as economic growth, but within the tourism sector community development, lifestyle entrepreneurship and the nature of products call for an extended idea of the features, value and challenges of product development.

The lack of reflexive research practices (see Ateljevic et al. 2007) can also be perceived in the ways product, process, drivers and success factors are understood in the TPD sample. The nature of the product is taken for granted. On the other hand, this has produced a miscellaneous repertoire of destinations, resorts, attractions, services and products to mention but a few. Consequently, the TPD process is understood diversely. In some papers there is a strong belief in scientific schemes, which relies on the simple adaptation of NPD and NSD models to a tourism context. However, some papers present applications of one's own, or suggest contingent, *ad hoc* processes, while some do not stress the issue at all.

It is also worthwhile to ponder what kind of drivers there *could* be. Schoenberger (1999) has described competition as a socio-cultural construction and practice of capitalism, and this perspective is useful in analyzing the rather instrumental values associated to product development. Also, sensitivity towards the so-called tacit and silent signals of the future may not have enough of creative space to become noticed if an inspiration to product development is guided by a given ideology.

Furthermore, promotion of a common vocabulary, encouragement to a more tourism-driven theoretical debate and creation of a comprehensive approach that goes beyond economy should also be discussed within the tourism education. While product development is a popular topic within the tourism industry, the theoretical and practical evolution of product development in tourism studies remains in the early stages. TPD should develop its own theoretical premises to claim a respected position within tourism studies, which can have an influence on other service industries.

To close, the full potential and importance of product development in tourism has not been understood, yet. In addition to meeting the challenges of market changes and to survive in competition, TPD could be given a role in sustainable tourism development. It can re-emerge as a tool for social and cultural premises. For instance, family-run small businesses or lifestyle entrepreneurs, who may ground their work on anti-growth principles, can find TPD useful in storytelling, maintaining their work and facilities for future generations, and keeping local heritage and traditions alive. In the long-run this can help to bring poly-vocality into the debate. However, as Moscardo (2008) points out, a creation of a new mindset begins from challenging the current assumptions – and in this challenging task critical tourism studies play a crucial role.

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'Co-creation in Event Tourism: Engaging Voluntary workers'

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1 Introduction

In many tourism destinations events are acting as attractions for tourists. They also affect the destination competitiveness and tourism policy. Often events, such as festivals, are not planned or organized according to tourists' needs, yet they are still being used as promotion devices and marketing offers by the destination marketing offices. (Andersson & Getz 2009.) This is also the reason why the research of events is taking place inside the field of tourism: events are powerful image makers for destinations, but they can carry strong meanings for the local people as builders of place identity.

In the realm of event tourism and event management research voluntary work is a widely studied topic (Getz 2008). In many events volunteers are an important group in creating the event. In this paper I construct voluntary workers as knowers in the co-creation process, which invites their knowledge into the event organization (see e.g. Peñaloza & Venkatesh 2006). The event tourism and management research has covered such topics as volunteers' motives, volunteering as leisure and the management and leadership issues concerning the voluntary work force (e.g. Smith 2003; Stebbins 2004; Ralston, Downward & Lumsdon 2004; McGehee & Santos, 2005). Even though the voluntary sector is seen as an important social and economical stakeholder in the realm of tourism, research has not truly concentrated in the engagement and encouragement of this sector. In particular, the role of voluntary workers' commitment in the achievement of tourism goals, which could also enhance the sustainability of event tourism, is not discussed in the literature. (Ralston, Lumsdon & Downward 2005, pp. 504-505.)

The productization of spaces and places, taking place in the event development, is always done leaning on someone's knowledge (e.g. Tribe 2008; Pritchard & Morgan 2006). In this conceptual paper I examine the possibilities of engaging the volunteers into the tourism product development, specifically in the case of event tourism. The research question reads: how could the understanding of event tourism as co-creation engage voluntary workers' knowledge into the event development process?

By this phrasing, I introduce a complementing way of theorizing voluntary workers and their knowledge in event production and by so doing review critically the ways of understanding knowledge in the field of event management as well as tourism management research. The paper is written from a cultural marketing standpoint (see Moisander & Valtonen 2006). I argue that the conceptualising of voluntary workers as co-creators and allowing their knowledge to be deployed in

the product development process could open up possibilities for creating more socially and economically sustainable events.

2 The role of voluntary work in event tourism

Many events rely heavily to the voluntary work in their production or are completely voluntarily organized. Voluntary work is work done with no or at most token pay for the benefit of both other people and the volunteer (Stebbins 2004, pp. 5). Voluntary work is an important economical source to many tourist products. In addition to the economical side, the extent of the phenomenon makes volunteerism an important issue to focus on research.

In the context of event tourism and event management voluntary work has received research attention from different standpoints, as stated in the introduction. The stakeholder theory, and more specifically, management of different event stakeholders is a solid approach in event management research. Voluntary workers are often times conceptualized as one stakeholder group, but their role seems to be either objects to be managed or rather statistical. (e.g. Getz, Andersson & Larson 2007; Hede 2007; Mossberg & Getz 2006.) The other predominant approach in event management research is the investigation of volunteers' motives and expectations. The research relating to this approach aspires to understand the motives in order to reduce the turnover of the volunteers and improve the events' service quality by motivated personnel. (e.g. Allen & Shaw, forthcoming; Downward & Ralston 2005; Ralston, Lumsdon & Downward 2005; Ralston, Downward & Lumsdon 2004.) The network theoretical standpoints to events also address the role of the voluntary workers in the event management literature. In this stream of research the different roles of event producers are identified to some extent, but volunteers' role is not discussed more thoroughly (e.g. Larson 2009; Baerenhold & Haldrup 2006; Erikson & Kuschner 1999.)

The role of volunteers in regional development has been acknowledged. Events are constructed as builders of social capital. However, the way of development is seen from the event organization to the volunteer as earning of skills and competencies from the participation in the event production. Gianna Moscardo (2007) suggests though that more research would be needed in the on the benefits of the events to the regional development and the understanding of local and tourism goals. (e.g. Moscardo 2007.) I argue, that by understanding the volunteers as co-creators in the event product development process, also possibly the former issues can be approached.

3 The concept of co-creation

The tourism marketing research has received critique lately on adhering to the ideas of provider-based, goods-centered, and transaction-oriented approach. The more recent research paradigms in marketing do not subscribe to these logics, but they place importance on the knowledge building and exchange in the industry as well as active role of tourists as co-creators in building the tourist experience. As Xiang Li and James Petrick (2008, pp. 240-241) point out, more holistic and dynamic views are needed from both tourism practitioners and researchers in the future. This article by its part hopes to cast aforementioned vistas in the field of tourism marketing research by considering the event production process as cultural co-creation, where volunteers practice their knowledge to

create the event product. The concept of co-creation is used here to describe the relations and roles of event organization and the voluntary workers in the production process.

In the field of marketing research the concept of co-creation has been discussed in different streams of thought. Here I identify the three different streams as management-oriented (Prahalad & Ramaswamy 2004, Vargo & Lusch 2004), critical (Zwick, Bonsu & Darmody 2008), and cultural (Peñaloza & Venkatesh 2006; Venkatesh, Peñaloza & Firat 2006) and review their contribution to the development of the concept. Each of these streams takes a different approach on understanding the positions and roles of the companies and consumers in the co-creation process. The purpose of this review is to understand the different viewpoints to the concept and argue how the cultural understanding of the concept and its use in the event tourism and event management research create valuable understandings to the field.

The *management-oriented* co-creation discussion has emerged during the last five years. It relates to the marketing paradigm shift discussion from goods to services, where also the role of the consumer in the production process is widened. Knowledge and its use are the company's key resources on creating value to the offerings. The value is negotiated between the firm and the customers in the market in collaboration and mutual learning. However, the management oriented approach still looks at the phenomenon from the firm's standpoint. It is almost taken for granted that customers want to interact with the firms. Even though the customer groups and communities are discussed, in the end the value creation is always viewed from the standpoint of the individual. The ultimate goal of the co-creation process is to satisfy the customer and by this create value to the company by the products purchased. (e.g. Prahalad & Ramaswamy 2004; Vargo & Lusch 2004.)

The *critical stream* of thinking examines the management oriented stream of research and takes rather negative perspective to the co-creation concept. The process is understood as political form of power generating control techniques over consumer life as forms of Foucauldian government acts. The co-creation turns the customers to be in charge of the process, even though they do not get monetary compensation from when handing their resources over to the corporations. This practice constructs marketing discursively as a technology of consumer exploitation and control in the global information capitalism. The companies are consciously reducing the distance between production and consumption. The techniques of co-creation are used for reducing the risk of consumers performing in a company-non-wanted ways and even resistance acts are turned into innovation. (e.g. Zwick, Bonsu & Darmody 2008.) The critique presented must be carefully considered. However, the picture of the consumer drawn in this stream of thinking seems rather thoughtless of the consequences or the choices of their own acts. As well the emphasis given on the monetary value in the consumer life seems rather overstated (see Arnould, 2007).

The *cultural marketing* approach has emerged as a critical stream of research to the mainstream marketing research. It has worked on for example experiential, feminist, interpretive, and postpositivist perspectives to marketing. The research done in the field has typically been qualitative. (Moisander & Valtonen 2006.) The cultural stream has produced critique to the service dominant logic of marketing and simultaneously examined more responsible theorizations and practices for the

value co-creation (e.g. Peñaloza & Venkatesh 2006; Venkatesh, Peñaloza & Firat 2006). They call for paradigmatic shift to markets as a social construction, which means more radically transformative marketing practice than what Stephen Vargo and Robert Lusch (2004) suggest. In this process the examination of the philosophical and epistemological premises of marketing research are called fore. The political and economic aspects of consumer labor in co-creation must be addressed in order to create more just practices. Also the perspective should be shifted in research from the marketer to the social construction of markets. This understanding would allow the researcher to direct attention towards the power relations of the co-creation process. As Lisa Peñaloza and Alladi Venkatesh (2006, pp. 312) argue, keeping the critical distance in studying markets produces more self-reflexive marketing research and “practice that is more organic, socially responsible and better suited to particular societies”.

I adopt the cultural approach to co-creation in order to examine the possibilities to take into account volunteers' knowledge to the event product development process. The idea of making the knowledge visible and bringing fore the epistemic agency of the voluntary workers represents one way of empowering the volunteers in the development process.

4 Volunteers' knowledge in event development

The process of co-creation examined takes place between the event organization and the volunteer(s) (some times both can be voluntarily organized. Volunteers posses intermediary role between the event organization and the surrounding cultural and social worlds. The knowledge of the volunteers can manifest itself and be employed in the different domains of the event. Also the forms of knowledge differ depending on the roles and practices of the volunteers. (Knorr-Cetina 1999.)

In the event volunteers employ different working posts. Depending on the nature of the event these can range from PR to cleaning and sales to site building. These posts of the volunteers posit different domains in the event for knowers. The knowledge of volunteers can offer different resources to the process of event co-creation, such as social, cultural or physical (Arnould, Price & Malshe 2006, 92). These can manifest for example as customer knowledge gained from the hobby of the volunteer, such as a fan culture. Or they can appear on the other areas of event production such as work-related competencies of for example accounting, cooking or construction. As well a voluntary worker might be a local, whose knowledge on the surrounding community and conditions is worthy to the event development. When volunteers are constructed as cultural co-creators this knowledge is invited to the development process of the event (Peñaloza & Venkatesh 2006).

The forms of knowledge of the volunteers can also vary. Knowing can be for example tacit or explicit, as widely discussed in the knowledge literature (e.g. Nonaka & Takeuchi 1995). Tacit knowledge is practice-based and can be for example knowledge on the event production practices gained in volunteering for several times in the event. The volunteers' explicit knowledge relate to the content of the task performed, for example . Constructing the event development process as cultural co-creation calls for considering on how the encouraging environments for knowledge sharing could be established (see Peñaloza & Venkatesh 2006).

5 Conclusion

As stated, the knowledge of volunteers can offer different resources (Arnould, Price & Malshe 2006, 92) to the development of the event. When the event is viewed as cultural co-creation (Peñaloza & Venkatesh 2006), the roles of different knowledge and knowers are to be addressed. The paper presents a complementing way of theorizing voluntary workers and their knowledge to be fed in event production and by so doing wishes to unsettle the dominant ways of understanding knowers in the field of event management as well as tourism management research.

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'Castro, Communism, Dictatorship, Beaches, and Old Cars: American Tourists' Political Frame of Cuba's Destination Image'

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ABSTRACT

Tourism in Cuba is thriving and along with it has come a surge in tourism research on the island. However, a great deal of this contemporary research has neglected to adequately address the elephant in the room that relates to Cuba, namely what are the impacts of the United States government's blockade of the island on the American tourist. Answering this question gets to the heart of how politics impacts the discursive practices around destination image and more broadly, place image. Unfortunately, contemporary approaches for exploring tourism destination image (TDI) are inadequate for studying how American tourists' image of Cuba has been impacted by the blockade because, in there ever increasing quest for greater performative truths, they neglect the exploration of the salient political and cultural context within which we form our images of place. As a means of eschewing a positivistic single truth and seeking a provisional ontology relating to the question, I interviewed 23 American tourists to the Caribbean using a semi-structured interview designed to elicit their images of Cuba. I then used a qualitative frame analysis approach that incorporated Creed, Langstraat, and Scully's (2002) signature matrix in order to scrutinize the interviews for organizing narratives that would suggest a unified frame. While several frames emerged from the interview texts, the most salient one was the *political frame* of Cuba. I will present a critical exploration of this frame by examining its unifying logics, the implicit assumptions made by those who proffer it, the contradictions both within the frame and between the frame and the discourse that nurtures it, and reflect on the significance of my embeddedness within the culture I am investigating.

INTRODUCTION

Recently there has been flurry of tourism research pertaining to tourism in Cuba (Kirk, 2007; Padilla, 2007; Sanchez & Adams, 2007; Bailey, 2008; Wilkinson, 2008), however aside from a couple of longitudinal analyses of opinion polls (Fisk, 1999; Mayer, 2001), and a rather insightful, yet brief, conference presentation about university students' pre and post trip perceptions of Cuba (Chomsky, 1998), there is no research that examines the elephant in the room; what has been the impact of the blockade on United States residents' image of Cuba? Many of the above mentioned studies take for granted that Americans will flock to Cuba if the US eases its five decade blockade of the island (Kirk, 2007; Padilla, 2007; Sanchez & Adams, 2007). While this may be the case, this potential American tourist gaze onto Cuba will surely be influenced by their current image of the island (Morgan & Pritchard, 1998; Urry, 1995, 2002). Therefore it is important to explore the image that potential American tourists have of Cuba.

It was clear from the start of this research project that the current, widely used, methods for examining tourist destination image (TDI) (Baloglu & Brinberg, 1997; Baloglu & Mangaloglu, 2001;

Baloglu & McCleary, 1999; Echtner & Ritchie, 1991; Echtner & Ritchie, 1993) would be inadequate for answering my question because they leave no room for the examination of the historical, political, economic, social machinations that make Cuba an intriguing case study. Instead I will employ a frame analysis approach, commonly employed in policy, social movement, and media research, to explore how Americans frame Cuba.

LITERATURE REVIEW

Tourism in Cuba

Cuba is a thriving international tourist destination (Gutierrez Castillo & Gancedo Gaspar, 2002; Jayawardena, 2003). As a consequence of the collapse of the Soviet Union (Cuba's largest trading partner) and the continued economic blockade by the US, in 1991 the Cuban government declared a "special period during peacetime" that opened the doors for a moderate shift toward a market socialist economy (McLaren & Pinkney-Pastrana, 2001). As a result of this shift, by the late 1990s Cuba had attracted 25 joint ventures with large hotel and resort corporations resulting in over 13,100 rooms on the island (Jayawardena, 2003). Though only a fraction of a percent of tourists to Cuba are from the US (0.4%), the island is now the third-largest tourism destination in the Caribbean in terms of visitor expenditure and visitor arrivals with the majority of tourists coming from Canada, Mexico, Europe, and South America (Caribbean Tourism Organization, 2004). In 2004 Cuba hosted over 2 million tourists; over six times as many as it did in its 'heyday' prior to the US government's 1961 blockade that curbed American travel to the island (Jayawardena, 2003; Caribbean Tourism Organization, 2004).

Political Context: US-Cuba Relationship

Formal and informal diplomatic relations between Cuba and the US have had a tendency to ebb and flow since 1896. The frequency of these shifts became more rapid after the 1959 Cuban Revolution due, in large part, to the new Cuban government's policies on sovereignty and nationalization of resources.

The blockade placed on Cuba by President Kennedy, and maintained continuously by every US president since, has been formalized into an act of congress. The Torricelli Bill of 1992, and later The Cuban Liberty and Democratic Solidarity (Libertad) Act of 1996 (commonly known as the Helms-Burton Act) was meant to choke off the flow of U.S. dollars to the Castro government, thereby weakening it and setting the stage for a counter-revolution (Helms-Burton, 1996). The Helms – Burton Act formalized many of the blockade practices already in place along with increasing the civil penalties for individuals who travel to Cuba 'illegally' (Nichols, 1998).¹⁵⁰ Recently the Helms-Burton Act has been taken one step further with the *Commission for Assistance to a Free Cuba* report (Powell Report) commissioned by then Secretary of State Colin Powell in May 2004 and later revised by Secretary of State Condoleezza Rice. The recommendations from the report were quickly implemented and include; limiting the number of times Cuban-Americans can visit family members from once a year to once every three years, stricter regulations on family visitation, limiting the types

¹⁵⁰ Quotation added to note the argument of Nichols (1998) that travel to Cuba is legal and permitted by the US Constitution.

of educational travel, and the elimination of fully hosted travel to Cuba (Office of Foreign Assets Control, 2004; Powell, 2004).

Aside from the stated goal of strengthening the already draconian economic blockade these sanctions are, in effect an information prohibition on the American public. By restricting travel, commerce, and other forms of social interaction with residents of Cuba the US government has created policies that have hampered many of the information sources that would otherwise inform US residents about Cuba. The diplomatic position taken by the US presents an interesting opportunity to investigate a destination that, by nature of its isolation, presents a unique case for exploring how information framed in the formation of TDI.

Cuba has been isolated from the largest economy in the world and one of its closest neighbors for over 40 years. Americans have been deprived of many of the information sources about Cuba that are available to their closest international neighbors (Mexico and Canada) as well as many other nations (England, Germany, Spain, and Brazil to name a few). As a result of its economic and diplomatic ties with these large developed and developing economies Cuba has become a thriving tourist destination for people around the world. This leads to the question of 'how has the isolation from Cuba with all its political machinations impacted Americans' TDI of Cuba?'

Image Formation Process

The conventional way of understanding TDI formation is that of an exchange between a cognitive component ("facts" or material place attributes) and an affective component (feelings and motivations) (Baloglu & Brinberg, 1997; Baloglu & McCleary (a), 1999; Baloglu & McCleary (b), 1999; Dann, 1996; Echtner & Ritchie, 1991; White, 2004, 2005). Past and contemporary analyses of this process have emanated mostly from a post-positivist epistemic community that attempts to reduce image formation to its most salient variables and then measure the relationships between these variables using a host of qualitative and quantitative techniques (Baloglu & Brinberg, 1997; Baloglu & Mangaloglu, 2001; S. Baloglu & McCleary, 1999; Echtner & Ritchie, 1991; Echtner & Ritchie, 1993).

Research on TDI of this nature, while useful in achieving "performative" (Tribe, 2004, p. 57) results for the commercial practice of tourism, is often inadequate at explaining the broader political and societal influences on the formation of TDI. To address this shortcoming, a small but growing number of tourism scholars are employing various interpretivist and constructivist qualitative approaches to explore the meaning making of place (Cornelissen, 2005; Gotham, 2002, 2007; Morgan & Pritchard, 1998; Santos, 2004). I hope to add to this growing corpus of literature by using a frame analysis approach to investigate Americans' TDI of Cuba.

METHODOLOGY

Interview Process

The interview was designed to elicit information regarding participant's TDI of Cuba and other Caribbean destinations, how that image was formed, information sources used to form it, as well as questions relating to travel motivations. In an effort to accurately portray a diverse range of frames relating to the TDI of Cuba, I developed an interview technique which initially allowed study

participants to assign their own labels to places in the Caribbean and not have them predesignated as destinations. The interview process that resulted was made up of three discrete sections; an initial triad elicitation section (loosely based on the technique of Kelly's (1955) personal construct theory), a scenario section where participants were asked to respond to a scenario based around what their experience would be if they were to visit Cuba, and finally a follow-up section that primarily focused on open-ended questions regarding their knowledge and opinion of the US blockade of Cuba as well as the sources of information they use to inform themselves about places. Throughout the interview probing questions were used to encourage participants to elaborate on their statements. These interviews became the text which was analyzed using an open coding. The coded interviews were then scrutinized for salient themes that exemplified the interviewees' frames of Cuba.

For this study residents of the Untied States of America (for brevity sake this paper will refer to them as Americans) that have visited the Caribbean in the past 5 years were asked to participate in semi-structured interviews that averaged roughly 30 minutes in length. The interviews of 23 Americans (12 women and 11 men) were conducted in person and analyzed for this paper [these interviews are part of my doctoral research that also includes interviews with Canadian tourist to the Caribbean]. I used a combination of a snowball technique and direct solicitation to solicit participants for this study. Care was taken to interview a range of participants with varying gender, age, race, occupations, and income levels. Study participants resided in the Northern suburban area of Philadelphia, Pennsylvania close to my childhood home and the current residence of my parents. The interviews were digitally recorded and I took field observation notes on a pad of paper during the interviews. The use of a digital voice recorder proved invaluable in deciphering the linguistic intentions of the study participants both during the interview and the transcription process which followed. Recording the participants left my hands free to record notes during the interview while the transcription process allowed me to conjure the setting and reanalyze the tone of voice and delivery of the statement.

Methodological Approach

Frame analysis has been employed as a analytical tool for academic research since the 1970's. In his book Frame Analysis Erving Goffman (1974) set the groundwork for a methodology that allows for an investigation of the ways in which people make meaning of their world through variable use of information. By examining issues through a frame analysis, as Goffman demonstrates, we are able to examine not only how meaning is made of salient events, but also the discursive practices that reinforce dominant discourses and produce significant silences (Creed, Langstraat, & Scully, 2002).

Perhaps the best way to illustrate what a frame *is*, is to explain what a good frame analysis should accomplish. To this end I refer you to the work of Creed, Langstraat, & Scully (2002) who concisely articulate the virtues of a righteous frame analysis. They stress that a proper frame analysis articulates the frame, or frames, in a way that would be recognizable to the sponsor of the frame (the person or entity that proffers it), exposes the underlying logic and/or contradictions within the frame, incorporates discussion on the frame sponsors and the larger societal context within which the frame is situated, and does so in a manner that is reflexive and clearly expressive of the authors

ideological situatedness so as to assure the reader that the analysis presents no covert ideological agenda (Creed, Langstraat, & Scully, 2002). It is with these goals in mind that I present the following frame analysis of the political framing of Cuba.

ANALYSIS & DISCUSSION

The Political Frame

One of the more salient frames to arise from my research was, not surprisingly, a *political frame*. A detailed analysis of the transcribed interviews resulted in a significant amount of explicit and implicit references to the politics of Cuba. I will illustrate the organizing narratives that underlie the political frame and scrutinize the contradictions and silences that it produces. To this end I will utilize Creed, Langstraat, and Scully's (2002) systematic approach to conducting a critical frame analysis. As a technique for systematic evaluation of "idea elements", or as Santos (2004, p. 126) terms them "organizing narratives", they recommend employing Gamson and Lasch's (1983) signature matrix (Tables 1 & 7). They argue that the signature matrices serve a dual function. First it facilitates the identification of a unifying structure of the frame allowing the researcher to identify and scrutinize core assumptions and contradictions within the frame. Its second function is to serve as a check against the researcher losing sight of the participant's voice and turning the research into a polemic. By providing the researcher with a matrix as a reflexive tool, it assures that she/he maintains narrative fidelity or the reiteration of the frame that would be recognizable and agreed upon by the interviewee. They stress that the process of creating narrative fidelity through a signature matrix is not a relativist endorsement of the participant's existing frame but instead a clarification of the unifying structure of the frame that creates an entry point for further critical evaluation of the frame.

These interviews resulted in the identification of frames other than the political frame. While some of these frames such as the *uncivilized frame*, and *US government frame*, overlap with the political frame Creed, Langstraat, and Scully (2002) attribute this to the unavoidable circumstance when discrete frames are rendered from complex social constructs. Santos (2004) notes however that these overlapping frames can be used in an effort to illustrate organizing narratives. This paper will focus solely on the political frame interviewees had of Cuba. I will demonstrate in the following sections how this frame manifests in Americans' image of Cuba. I must first reiterate that the political frame is not the only frame through which the Americans in this study viewed Cuba; however, it is the most prevalent.

Creed, Langstraat, and Scully (2002) recommend dividing the signature matrix into two parts. The first part, or primary matrix, provides a clear depiction of the frame through articulation of its explicit characteristics. Table 1 is the primary signature matrix for the political frame through which American study participants mediated their image of Cuba. Table 1 helps organize a future discussion on the "motivations, interests, and perspectives" of those who proffer this frame (2002, p. 42).

Table 1: Primary Signature Matrix for Political Frame

	<i>Primary Signature Matrix for Political Frame</i>
Metaphors	communist, dictator[ship], militaristic
Exemplars	Cuban government that limits the individual freedoms of the Cuban people and visitors to the island
Catchphrases	Castro, Cold War, communism
Depictions	A draconian force imposed on a helpless Cuban populous
Visual Images	Soldiers, Castro
Roots	All people should be allowed basic human rights and the ability to choose their leaders through democratic processes
Consequences	Poverty, censorship, repression of human rights in Cuba as a result of not being able to have a succession of government through democratic means
Appeals to Principal	American people should encourage/allow the US government to advocate for a regime change that brings about a democratic government in Cuba

Metaphors and catchphrases such as dictator, communist, Castro, and militant were present throughout the interviews – all of which alluded to the draconian situation surrounding Cuba as a result of its illegitimate political regime (Table 2). The delivery of these metaphors and catchphrases with a matter-of-fact, or common sense, tone indicates their normative role in the contemporary discourse on Cuba. These statements were often expressed as if to suggest that I am supposed to know the taken-for-granted evils of communism or accept uncritically that the Cuban government is indeed a dictatorship and that Castro is a mad tyrant so hungry for absolute power that he perpetrates unspeakable violations of human rights on the Cuban people. This illustrates how “frame analysis [are] enhanced by an in-depth knowledge of the actors and social arenas involved” (Creed, Langstraat, & Scully 2002, p. 49). It also did not hurt that, for the most part, I was vetted as “one of us”; a local college student from Northeastern Pennsylvania trying to graduate. However, while this embeddedness allows for greater insight into the discursive nature of these statements it also poses the risk of overlooking some “taken-for-granted” meanings that might need to be critically examined. I hope that my presentation of the data and my reflexive practices will allow the readers to judge for themselves whether this is the case.

Table 2: Explicit Comments Regarding Cuban Government

"You would probably be very limited as far as where you have access to go in Cuba. I don't think you'd be able to go walk freely off on your own. I mean, as freely as you could in Jamaica. You could probably go walking freely in the Dominican Republic as well. But I don't see it happening in Cuba. Just because the military has a larger presence there as far as their government being a little bit more repressive and individual freedoms not being allowed. You would probably have a more difficult time getting to know the locals in Cuba because of that. Especially as an American..." (Rose 54, Travel Agent)
"I guess images of Cuba and what comes to my mind is communism... images of poverty... you know, people driving around in old Soviet busses." (Joan 45, Ethics Consultant)
"You know, the dictatorship I don't know if I'd want to go there. Is Castro still in power? It wouldn't be a place that I would want to visit." (Vicki 50, Waitress)
"I mean guarding the airport, guarding the location. I feel a very military presence in and around Cuba. And that of course again is the American media portraying Cuba in that light. You always saw Castro with his guardsman around him. So of course that's the image I come up with when we talk about Cuba." (Dan 40, Manager)

Explicit remarks about the Cuban government by interviewees often referred to the plight of the Cuban people. Statements like "some very very wealthy homes of people who belong to the Revolutionary Party (Michael 50, Psychologist)" frame Cuban society as a division between a few autocratic communist party members and the mass of "warm and welcoming (Rose 54, Travel Agent)" but desperately poor Cuban people. Study participants' image of the Cuban people and Cuban society framed by the political frame reflected an emphasis on the consequences of the repressive Cuban government. Statements about censorship and poverty in Cuba were often explicitly or implicitly attributed to the Cuban government (Table 3).

Often, issues of poverty that study participants envisioned in Cuba were a result of the corrupt or ideologically driven Cuban governments' adherence to a failed economic system. Also, governmental repression and censorship were assumed attributes of Cuban society.

Table 3: Comments Regarding Cuban Society

"I think I would be nervous. I think more so because of the negative connotations that I hear on the news about Cuba. Their leader, and that whole... I guess it's so anti-... their government seems to me to be so anti-American. So that in itself would just get me upset. Like that... I would be concerned." (Lyn 48, Teacher's Aide)
"In Cuba, I would feel like I wasn't very welcome. Like it was like "alright, we'll let you in". I would rather have them open the doors and say "come on in, everybody." (Peggy 65, Farmer)
"I think of Cuba as you know, you find the drug lords... and these criminals... I know I shouldn't have these images... I think I get these images from the magazines in the news shows... they never portray nice things about Cuba... it's always the negative." (Cindy 30, Administrative Assistant)
"Whereas to me Cuba and Haiti would probably be more similar, because in my mind there just poor. And their people are just not doing that well. As far as having a say. It's more of a political thing. By political and mean repressive governments, not having a lot of freedoms, and therefore adjusted to feel that that's why people are really poor... I mean definitely Third World. " (Rose 54, Travel Agent)
"I think Castro has just impoverished the country, as far as I know. I feel some anger towards him and his regime. You know, his brother, who is now the acting president or what ever is -- even though he had some type of significant role before becoming acting president -- is supposedly just a dolt, he's not very bright. Hopefully that will allow people who want Cuba to the open, even if it's still communist, to kind of influence him in that direction." (Michael 50, Psychologist)

The Political Frame and Destination Cuba

The political frame shaped study participants tourist destination image as well. Many American interviewees envisioned Cuba as possessing tourist attributes such as resorts (albeit government run), white sand beaches, and cultural attractions (based around the revolution as well its colonial past) similar to other Caribbean tourist destinations. In fact, while US domestic and international policy effectively renders Cuba a non-destination for most American tourists, when the layers are peeled away, and participants elaborate on the place attributes of Cuba, they reveal elements of what Echtner and Prasad (2003), in their analysis of third world tourism marketing, coin an "Unrestrained" destination. Comments by interviewees suggest that, while marketing of Cuba is non-existent in the US, post-colonial imagery from other Caribbean destinations is used to fill the void. The following quotes, while not indicative of a broader image of Cuba as a destination, they exemplify this phenomenon (Table 4).

Table 4: Cuba's Politically Framed TDI

Culum: "You say you travel for the beaches, do you expect to see that in Cuba?" Ted: "Oh yes I am sure... I mean, it's the same area [The Caribbean]." Culum: "Do you think the beaches would be different from other places that you been?" Ted: "No, I'm sure you got nice ones you got rich ones. You get dirty ones you get trashy ones. You probably have some that the dirty Cubans are at and some the nice Cubans are at. I mean it's just like this country." (Ted 50, Contractor)
"I would think it would be very similar to your typical Caribbean country... great Sand... great beaches... and my thoughts are that they would probably cater to tourism. And again -- this is probably naïveness on my part -- but I think the tourist areas would be done up real nice and then you'd have your troubled areas like they do in most of the Third World countries." (Joan 45, Ethics Consultant)
"I also think once they actually open Cuba all the way up for tourism, I think South Florida will be in big trouble. They [South Florida] are so overly congested. The prices are absolutely outrageous, and most of the beaches I've seen in Florida extend from here to that wall [indicates a short distance], and they are getting smaller." (Ed, Age 65 Retired)

Echtner and Prasad (2003) also demonstrate how the Unrestrained image perpetuates the former master/slave or colonizer/colonized relationship by portraying the people in these host countries as "smiling, serving and submissive" (2003, p. 674). This appeared to be a latent image amongst the interviewees:

"Cuba... I think if you had the chance to get to know somebody they would be warm and welcoming. But I'm not sure how much access you would have to the people. But I have a feeling they may be very warm welcoming people." (Rose 54, Travel Agent)

Notice Rose's comment about not having much access to the Cuban people. This presents a poignant example of how the political frame impacts American study participants' tourist destination image of Cuba (See Table 5 for further examples). It illustrates how politics frames almost every aspect of the interviewees' image of Cuba, both cognitive and affective, from the people, to the resorts, to the society, to the politics.

Table 5: Comments Regarding Destination Cuba

"I would've loved to have gone to Cuba a long time ago, but not right now." (Astrid, 39 Barista)
"When I say "Old Cuba", I juxtapose that with Fidel Castro's takeover in 59, 60, 61...you know there are these images in my head of... I read this book called the Mambo Kings...and a lot of it took place in Cuba prior to the revolution...I read this book 15 years ago and I really enjoyed it and it just gave this picture of Cuba as somewhat of a Las Vegas or a Reno, Nevada quality to Havana..." (Michael 50, Psychologist)
"I don't think it's anywhere I'd want to go... I guess just because I've heard bad things about it. You know the dictatorship I don't know if I'd want to go there. Is Castro still in power? It wouldn't be a place that I would want to visit. I don't know if Cuba is tropical... I mean, I guess it's like a warm weather place... I just think it would be somewhere where I would not want to go. I would not compare it to either a Mexico or Jamaica, because I don't think it [Cuba] would be a vacation resort place." (Vicki 50, Waitress)
Culum: "Do you think it would take a while for Cuba to build up tourism?" Ted: "No, no. I am sure there is a lot of countries that are going there now. Russia probably goes there." (Ted 50, Contractor)

Many of the interviewees noted the barriers presented by the US government's blockade of Cuba. Some participants thought that an easing or lifting of the blockade would increase their likelihood of visiting Cuba, while others participants were unaware of the blockade, however when informed about it they felt it was a justifiable policy and its removal would not compel them to travel there. Surprisingly, some interviewees (mostly male) acknowledged the blockade, though presenting a significant barrier, did not prevent them from going to Cuba, bringing up the possibility of violating US law if the opportunity presented itself (Table 6).

Table 6: Comments Regarding Blockade of Destination Cuba

"I suppose I could travel there now, but the hurdles for me to get there would not be worth it for me..." (Michael 50, Psychologist)
"Let me put it this way, what prevents me from going to Cuba -- I really don't care about the government restrictions, okay. Never did. -- I would love to go there. (Ed, Age 65 Retired)
"So I would be more likely to go... I feel the embargo for me right now it's just extra hoops to jump through that I don't really need to be bothered... if you remove those hurdles. Then yeah, I would probably walk down that path." (Ryan 32, Market Research Coordinator)

Situating Political Frame in Context

The second part of Creed, Langstraat, and Scully's (2002) signature matrix was inspired by the social movement and mobilization literature by Snow and Benford (1992). They use the second signature matrix to explore the motivations behind a particular frame. Table 7 illustrates the implicit problem

that undergirds the political frame of Cuba and at the same time draws our attention to the motivations of the frame sponsors. Questions of punctuation, elaboration, and motivation guide the researcher beyond the boundaries that often confine and tame traditional empirical research on politically relevant and contentious topics. These questions allow the researcher to examine not only the contradictions within a frame or a frame sponsor but also silences and issues of power that allow the frame to manifest in broader social discourse.

Table 7: Secondary Matrix for Political Frame of Cuba

	<i>Punctuating, Elaborating, and Motivating Functions of Political Frame of Cuba</i>
Punctuation: What is the problem?	Illegitimate Cuban government opposes western style concepts of freedom and democracy. Tourists suspects
Elaboration: Who is responsible? What outcomes can be projected with or without intervention?	The Cuban government's adherence to the failed economic system of communism coupled with its brutal repression of internal decent is responsible for the situation of the Cuban people. Inefficient use of tourism attributes
Motivation: What action should be taken?	Empathy for the Cuban people and scorn, condemnation, and regime change for the Cuban government – No support for the communist government through tourist dollars

Frame Contradictions

The discursive practices that have gone into the social construction of Castro (from my interviews I have learned that it does not matter which one) could be the subject of volumes of books. There were study participants who challenged the notion of Castro being the embodiment of evil, however those whose image of Cuba were dominated by the political frame, as Vicki's was, would use the construct "Castro" as if possessed an internal logic that called for no further justification for excluding Cuba as a destination:

"You know the dictatorship I don't know if I'd want to go there. Is Castro still in power? It wouldn't be a place that I would want to visit. I don't know if Cuba is tropical... I mean, I guess it's like a warm weather place... I just think it would be somewhere where I would not want to go." (Vicki 50, Waitress)

Generally, study participants had an image of Cuba as a poor, third world country. As evidenced in some of the above excerpts from the interviews, the poverty of Cuba was attributed to Castro's obstinate adherence to the failed communistic mode of resource distribution. This poses two fundamental contradictions with the broader political context of Cuba. First it completely ignores the role that the 50 year US economic blockade has had on the Cuban economy. While the scale and scope of the negative impacts of the blockade are an area of scholarly and journalistic debate, the fact that it had had a significant deleterious effect on the economy of Cuba is widely agreed upon

(Barry, 2000; Morgan & Bapat, 2003). The omission of this widely held belief from participants' political frame indicates that the US government discourse on Cuba has a significant influence on the creation of the political frame. In the conference proceedings for the 2007 2nd International Critical Tourism Studies Conference my advisor and I detail these silences in the US government's discourse regarding Cuba (Canally & Carmichael, 2007). Instead of acknowledging the effectiveness of its own blockade the US instead relies on an organizing narrative that blames the Cuban government for forcing them to impose the economic sanctions while they simultaneously blame communism for the poverty on the island.

This fits into another part of the political framing of Cuba which is the belief amongst American study participants that the onus is on Cuba to open up and accept American tourists. While most of the participants knew that the US blockade is a law imposed by the US government that makes it virtually illegal to travel to Cuba, language that was common in the interviews like "I want it to open up. I can't wait for Cuba open up (Michael 50, Psychologist)" ignores the US government role in restricting the access of Americans to Cuba.

As for the second contradiction of the economic aspect of the political frame, American study participants often attributed the poverty within Cuba to communism, however were at a loss to attribute the poverty in destinations they had visited such the Dominican Republic or Jamaica to a capitalist economic system. When poverty was spoken of in these countries the implicit, often racist notion of a backwards, unindustrious third world were invoked. The colonial past was often mentioned as a virtue warranting the tourist gaze and not a historical regime of domination (Schwartz, 1997). Industriousness, or lack thereof, was not the cause of Cuban misfortune though. This is the direct result of a political leader whose nationalist agenda challenges the Monroe Doctrine and US hegemony.

Finally, the contradiction within the political frame that is most striking, but least acknowledged, amongst interview participants was the concept of political repression and censorship. This concept is pervasive in the American interviewees' framing of Cuba yet it is never acknowledged that their own government is possibly violating their constitutional right to travel (Nichols, 1998) and, as a corollary, significantly censoring the amount and types of information that they have access to (Canally & Carmichael, 2007; Morgan, 1994). Again, this is not to say that people were not skeptical or cynical about the US government, they were, but in the unifying logic of the political frame of Cuba, criticism or reflection on US government practices was negligible.

CONCLUSION

Paraphrasing Michel Foucault on his work *Madness and Civilisation*: if, one poses a question about how politics frames a destination like Canada, isn't one posing an excessively complicated question? But if one takes a destination like Cuba, won't that question be much easier to resolve since the political history between the US and Cuba is more striking (Foucault, p. 109)? As this paper demonstrates, politics plays a significant role in how people frame a destination. Cuba is not the only destination that has a history steeped in political narratives, however it is one of the most obvious from a North American perspective. Frame analysis is a valuable approach to examining tourist

destination image because it allows researchers to explore not just a destination's attributes and how people feel about them, but also the politics that fosters silences, contradictions, and domination within the frame sponsors and the culture which they are embedded. Finally, it is important to keep in mind that this frame analysis is only a claim to a provisional and provincial truth and an "innovation to dialog and continued unpeeling of layers (Creed, Langstraat, & Scully 2002, p. 49)"

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'Obesity and Tourism: A Critical Vision'

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ABSTRACT

The tourism industry in its product/service and promotion has neglected certain groups of tourists, but so too have tourism scholars and researchers. This paper focuses on tourism transportation and obesity. A study of websites and blogsites on the subject reveals that while the industry has been silent, passengers are loud and indignant. The research identifies that the topic is a broad social issue affecting passengers of all sizes. This paper explores issues of discrimination, stigmatisation and 'othering' of travellers who are overweight/ obese. A review of weight stigma theory introduces important frameworks within which we can consider the experience of travellers who are obese. By calling attention to the experiences of travellers who are obese and those who are not, we ask: whose bodies are privileged in the provision of the tourist experience? This study leads the authors to question why tourism scholars have not researched the issue of obesity as this is a 'growing' tourism market. Such an omission also raises important questions about ethics and 'Othering' and how we conceptualise and research 'Tourism'.

Keywords: Obesity, tourism, airline, weight stigma, discrimination

INTRODUCTION

In the past twenty years, tourism scholars and, to some extent, the tourism industry have shifted certain marginalised bodies from the periphery in the direction of the centre: women tourists, gay tourists, senior tourists, tourists with a mobility disability. Nonetheless, Small, Harris and McIntosh (2008) have argued that the rhetoric which sees tourism as symbolic of the modern condition ignores the many people who continue to be marginalised and even excluded from the tourist experience. One such group is the tourist who is overweight/obese. This paper looks at issues of obesity for their implications for the fields of tourism and hospitality.

Internationally the number of people classified as obese has increased sharply in recent years, a pattern described by the media and medical community as an "obesity crisis" (Brownell & Battle Horgen 2003). It is a "problem" in both developed and less developed countries and is rising. According to the World Health Organization (WHO), "globally in 2005 approximately 1.6 billion adults (age 15+) were overweight and at least 400 million adults were obese". The organization further claims that "At least 20 million children under the age of 5 years are overweight globally" and projects that "by 2015, approximately 2.3 billion adults will be overweight and more than 700 million will be obese" (World Health Organization 2006). Obesity rates have risen three-fold or more since 1980 in some areas of North America, the United Kingdom, Eastern Europe, the Middle East, the Pacific Islands, Australasia and China. Obesity causes devastating and costly health problems, reduces life expectancy, and is associated with stigma and discrimination. A thorough understanding

of weight stigma may be important to document the social and psychological consequences of obesity, and may be central to revealing the totality of effects of excess weight on health and well-being (Puhl & Brownell, 2003).

The terms 'obesity' and 'overweight' are frequently used interchangeably to describe the condition of excess weight, but in a health context they are distinguished using body mass index (BMI) definitions. In this paper we refer to overweight and obese, as degrees of excess weight rather than representing a specific BMI cut off.

ISSUES FOR TOURISM SCHOLARS AND THE TOURISM INDUSTRY

To make sense of tourism's apparent silence on the issue, it is important to examine the discourses on obesity. The dominant discourse is a bio-medical discourse based on 'scientific evidence' relating to incidence (as above), urgency for action, causes, risks (to the person and society) and prevention. It considers obesity an "epidemic" or a "crisis" (Rich & Evans 2005), "a disease". The association of overweightness and obesity with being unhealthy carries moral 'weight'. There is very little information about the lived experience of being overweight/obese. A possible explanation for the lack of behavioural study is that, in the West, being large/fat/overweight/obese is considered wrong and, as such, the voices of this group should not be encouraged. In the West being 'fat' has many underlining meanings, particularly being associated with gluttony. In a recent survey of staff in the School of Leisure Sport and Tourism at the University of Technology, Sydney, (n=31), participants were asked to rank the Seven Deadly Sins in order of 'sinfulness'. Gluttony was ranked the most sinful.

Moral issues underlie the debate as to whether being overweight/obese constitutes an impairment/disability alongside other recognised impairments/disabilities (physical, sensory, cognitive, mental health). The relationship between obesity and disability is recognised (Ells, Lang, Shield, Wilkinson, Lidstone, Coulton, & Summerbell 2006). However, there are questions as to the worthiness of overweightness/obesity to be considered a disability. Those arguing that it is not a disability are unsympathetic seeing overweightness/obesity as a person's choice.

Catering for the Tourist who is Overweight/Obese?

Much of tourism is about the 'beautiful people' (Morgan & Pritchard, 2004; Small, Harris & Wilson, 2008) and those who do not fit this image are not "welcome in Paradise" (Small, Harris & McIntosh, 2008). Health farms/spas might welcome people who are overweight but the purpose is to treat the 'problem' and bring this group in line with slim, 'healthy' people. Obesity Surgery, also known as Bariatric Surgery, Lap Banding, Gastric Banding or Gastric Bypass Surgery is emerging as a form of medical tourism. As one medical website advertises: "Traveling abroad for Obesity surgery can give you access to top quality health care quickly and cheaply. Our mission is to make your journey absolutely successful - in terms of treatment, in terms of outcomes and in terms of experience" (Baltic MedTour, 2009). Another organisation states that:

A number of people from UK go abroad for weight loss surgery... It is mainly because of the long waiting time for obesity surgery at NHS that more people from the UK are now going

abroad for the surgery. It's not just the quick treatment that medical tourism promises, but also quality treatment at very affordable prices" (Medical-Trip.com, 2009).

The site notes that there are obesity centres in destinations such as Belgium, India and Mexico which can offer UK residents the weight loss surgery. India, according to one website, is "the 'IT' destination for obesity cure", with numerous foreigners flying to India "and desperate to do so". The website explains: "It is not to see the backwaters of Kerala or the beautiful beaches of Goa, but to rid themselves of the extra flab" (Bio-Medicine, 2009).

Few within the tourism industry cater for people who are obese without the intention of changing them. One resort – Maya Tankah (previously known as Freedom Paradise) in Mexico advertises itself as "size-friendly". Here the facilities are designed to cater for bodies which are larger with larger and reinforced furniture and wider walkways. Resort staff are trained to be sensitive to the guests of larger size and to ensure that the guests do not experience the embarrassment to which they have been accustomed in other resorts.

The one tourism sector which has recently had to address the issue of obesity is the airline sector, or more accurately, specific airlines. With the increase in numbers of people who are overweight or obese, an issue that is coming to the fore is the comfort of passengers when travelling by air. Airline seats are not expanding in size with the expanding size of passengers. The issue involves the comfort of passengers of all sizes. A survey of websites and blog sites (www.news.com.au, www.tripadvisor.com, www.femail.com.au, www.kiwiblog.co.nz, www.bigfatblog.com, www.nosweatpants.com, www.losingweightdaily.com) related to obesity and travel exposes thoughts, beliefs and feelings from both passengers who are overweight/obese and those who are not.

From passengers who are overweight/obese:

I love to travel. I love to get on a plane and go places. But being obese does rob me of some of that joy. Take the airplane, for example. Airplane seats are notoriously narrow. Flying Delta is downright painful. And even if I do get my giant ass wedged in between the armrests, there's the matter of the seat belt. Older planes were clearly designed before the age of American obesity - where the seat belts are a good 6-10 inches shorter than more modern planes. Virgin Atlantic I thought I would pop trying to strap myself in.

But one of the things [about air travel] I hate the most is... The Walk of Shame! – It's exactly like it sounds. When I get on the plane (especially being one of the last to board) I have to make the walk to my seat in complete shame. Everyone is already seated and watching as I maneuver my way past every seat while carrying my bag.

Those complaining the most about travel and overweightness/obesity appear to be the passengers who are not overweight/obese. Emotions run high and in many incidences it is clearly a battleground

between "us versus "them". A number of themes surround the issue. The first relates to rights (and, generally, the rights of self rather than other).

From a passenger who is not overweight/obese:

I think my rights were violated. I had to fly in the middle seat next to someone who was probably 500 lbs (and I'm not exaggerating) on a recent flight... the woman could not put the armrest down, she took up a good portion of my seat, her leg was under the seat in front of me, she was touching me (from shoulder to toe), but worst of all her arm and shoulder were resting on me. I couldn't get out of the seat because she couldn't get up without help. I pay for a whole seat and I don't think it's fair that a large person beside me pays the same amount but uses a bit of my seat as well when the fat spills over ...I'm not against large people but I don't sit in their seat. Why should they sit in mine.

The length of the flight and the price paid for the ticket could exacerbate bloggers' feelings. Having to pay for excess weight of luggage seemed unfair to passengers who were not overweight/obese when passengers who were overweight were not charged extra for bodily weight.

How bloggers viewed the situation had a lot to do with whether they considered that being overweight or obese was a matter of choice.

If you choose to be that way (and in most cases it is a choice) then sorry, but you should not get special treatment. It is not an illness, it is a lifestyle choice.

....all these people going on about genes and thyroids being the attribute to obesity don't know what they're talking about...it's simple...excess and non healthy food + no exercise = obesity (someone who "used to be size 26")

Safety issues were raised by some in relation to both emergency evacuation and the raising of armrests to accommodate a passenger's size.

I would like to know if the airlines have run simulations with obese people. Does it affect my survival chances if I'm blocked in, are there more legal considerations than equality [?]

There were a number of bloggers who considered that large body size (and inability to fit comfortably in an airline seat) was not always related to obesity. People who were tall or broad-shouldered could also impinge on others' space.

There was some debate as to who was responsible for the problem: the passenger who is not overweight/obese, the passenger who is overweight/obese or the airline? Solutions to the issue were various and related to where blame was attributed. Some considered that 'thin' passengers should 'get over it' and be more tolerant. Others stated that passengers who are overweight should be respectful of others and travel business or first class or buy two economy seats. Some saw it as the

airline's problem. Airlines should force passengers who are overweight to purchase two seats or all passengers should be weighed with their luggage and pay accordingly.

If I can't use my lack of body weight to off set some Luggage weight then yes I am all for "pay by the pound" travellers. Carry on luggage should include yourself an all up weight. Maybe increments of say 20kg... Now this is not discrimination it is simply hauling cargo in the form of Humans. Letter from the Doctor to say it is a Medical condition would preclude "Pay [by] the pound Fares.

Others considered that airlines should modify their planes: a section of the aircraft with wider seats or an increase in size of all seats.

Perhaps the Airlines should stop being so bloody greedy and modify the planes existing seating to accommodate larger passengers

From a passenger who is overweight/obese:

I believe that we can encourage positive experiences as well as negative through our pocketbook. I also think that if we can start a dialogue with the industry as consumers, we can find airlines that would see catering us as a way to find a niche in the market. I really believe that there are going to be airlines in the future that will understand the profit potential for making comfortable flights for all people.

Not all were bloggers were happy with the idea of airline modifications or seating policies which would benefit passengers who are larger-sized as the cost would be passed on to all passengers. In other words, those who were not overweight/obese would be subsidizing those who were.

A web-based study of the policies/ guidelines of One World and Star Alliance member airlines relating to passengers who are overweight and obese (Harris & Small, 2009) found that a number of airlines, unlike their passengers, are silent on the issue of passenger size. Others 'coyly' suggest that the passenger, for comfort, purchase a first class/business class seat or two seats in economy class. Airlines which have received media attention over their actions regarding passengers who are obese are Southwest Airlines, Air Canada and Westjet. Southwest Airlines has recently announced that it will begin enforcing its 22-year-old policy requiring passengers who are overweight or obese who take up all or part of two aeroplane seats to purchase two tickets. Canadian domestic airlines, on the other hand, are required by legislation, "One-Person-One-Fare", to provide two seats to a person who is "functionally disabled by obesity" (Little, 2008, p.1). Ryanair ([Ryanair](#) News, 2009) is currently considering various means of implementing a "fat tax" in response to an online competition finding that 29% of 100,000 passengers suggested charging "excess weight fees for very large passengers" as a way for the airline to reduce costs. Other airlines may need to consider their position following the Virgin Atlantic case where the airline was forced to pay damages to a passenger who was injured while squeezed next to a passenger who was obese (CNN, 2002).

Whether or not the cruise industry has considered the needs of passengers who are 'fat' in its development of product has been questioned by Morgan (2009):

It is interesting to see whether the new innovative cruise products are indeed the right ones for FAT cruise tourists. It will also be remarkable to see whether the cruise industry really expect an obese person to 'climb the wall', go surfing or take part in circus training. Have they taken FAT cruise tourism seriously or are they merely paying lip service by bringing FAT cruise tourism under the general umbrella of cruise tourism? (Morgan 2009).

DISCUSSION

Different bodies have different social images, meanings, value and worth. In Western society at the present time, bodies which are overweight/obese are viewed by many as unworthy. While there can be some serious medical consequences of obesity, the medical discourse is sometimes used to cloud the clear bias and discrimination against people who are obese. "Obese people are not discriminated against because they are medically compromised. They are stigmatised because their obesity is viewed as a reflection of poor character" (Schwartz & Puhl, 2003, p.64). Individuals who are obese still are regarded as one of the last acceptable targets of denigration (Puhl & Brownell, 2001). The most commonly reported stereotypes reflect poor personal control (lack of willpower, laziness, poor self-discipline, and self-indulgence) (Puhl & Brownell, 2001; Paul & Townsend, 1995). The discourse on obesity tells us as much about those who are not obese as it does about the person who is.

Puhl and Brownell (2003) draw attention to Social Identity Theory as a model in which weight stigma could be examined. This theory suggests that stereotypes arise from a self-categorisation process, in which we place ourselves into groups belonging to particular social categories, and develop our social identity by making comparisons between group memberships (Tajfel & Turner, 1979; 1986). The desire to maintain a positive social identity is at the core of prejudice, and is achieved by stereotyping other groups as inferior on attributes that are valued by the in-group. "With weight stigma, normal weight individuals may believe that normal body weight is necessary for group membership, which would lead to downward comparisons to obese individuals as being inferior" (Puhl & Brownell, 2003, p.219).

The body is socially constructed but it is also experienced. The tourist experiences of people who are overweight/obese need further investigation. What is the corporeal sensation of travel activities and travel products, for example, having to walk distances or sit cramped in an economy class airline seat for an extended period of time? And how does the person experience the stigma of obesity especially in the tourism field which stresses a very narrow definition of the body? The issue of privilege is also raised: whose bodies are privileged? In terms of air travel, passengers of all sizes may feel excluded from the provision of a safe, healthy and comfortable trip. Nonetheless, passengers who are of a 'socially acceptable' size are immune from walking (as described by one passenger who was overweight/obese) the "Walk of Shame".

CONCLUDING COMMENTS

This paper suggests that tourism studies and the industry are potentially excluding a growing percentage of the global population and it is necessary to interrogate the discourses to suggest the reasons for what could be considered treatment akin to embarrassment and discrimination. Academe and the industry are not immune to the moral attitudes outlined above. If tourism sectors have a ‘one size fits all’ approach, then travellers who are overweight/obese may be seen as facing either direct or indirect discrimination. Researchers, policy makers and managers in the tourism industry should respond to the call for the development of training interventions and other means to temper society’s negative attitudes about those who are overweight or obese (Puhl & Brownell, 2001, 2003). This paper also highlights that tourism and obesity is an issue for all tourists, in terms of attitudes to fellow travellers and the corporeal experience of travel. A developing interest in tourism studies on “wellness and tourism” should include as a focus the issue of overweightness/obesity as there can be, in relation to air travel, associated physical health risks (and not only for the overweight/obese passenger). Certainly, the mental health experience of stigma does not equate with the experience of wellness.

An alternative discourse questions “the very public degradation of fatness” (Monaghan, 2005; Rich & Evans, 2005). While the authors of this paper do not dispute some of the health consequences of being overweight/obese, there is also another message. As Monaghan says,

... I would suggest a more rounded and fitting take on the obesity ‘debate’ would read like this: the highly publicized war against fat is about moral judgments and panic (manufactured fear and loathing). It is about social inequality (class, gender, generational and racial bias), political expediency and organizational and economic interests..... ‘obesity epidemic talk’ is inseparable from social, cultural, political and economic concerns and therefore the exercise of power” (Monaghan, 2005, p.309).

Tourism studies and the tourism industry cannot ignore this critical and ‘growing’ social issue. The issue goes beyond industry policies and the experiences of tourists who are overweight/obese (and those who are excluded from becoming tourists in the first place). It is an issue which needs to interrogate embodiment and attitudes of all sized members of society to understand the stigma directed to the group who is overweight/obese.

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'They're not interested in you as a person: Insights into visually impaired people's tourism experiences from South Wales, U.K.'

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Abstract

There remains a dearth of research focusing on the specific benefits of tourism for blind and partially sighted people, with some notable exceptions (see Small, Darcy and Packer 2007). When you consider that there are over 2 million blind and partially sighted people in the UK alone (a figure which is set to increase as the population ages), a moral imperative exists to explore the barriers to non-participation in tourism and to understand the impact tourism experiences can have on an individual's emotional and physical well-being, self-esteem, self-confidence, quality of life, identity and social inclusion. This paper presents the findings from phase one of a wider doctoral study which explores the embodied tourism experiences of visually impaired individuals in order to gain insights into the significance and meaning of tourism in their lives. Like the larger study from which it is derived, the paper is imbued with an emancipatory philosophy whereby the key driver is the 'voice' of disabled people (Douglas, Corcoran, and Pavey 2007) and my approach has been to work with visually impaired people as co-researchers throughout the research project (Duckett and Pratt 2001).

Phase one of my study involved focus group research conducted with several visually impaired people's groups located at the Cardiff Institute for the Blind (CIB). This phase of the research identified the following barriers to participation in tourism: individual (emotional; psychological; (in)dependence), social (awareness, staff and decision makers) practical (physical access, accessible information, transport). In addition, I will also discuss the findings of the research conducted with the pilot family for the second phase of the research study (which will eventually involve six families). In this part of the paper I focus on the visually impaired individuals' experiences in the context of the body, and highlight issues of self-identity and inter- relationships with sighted family. The paper concludes by challenging those stereotypes which characterise visually impaired people as a homogenous group with the same needs and aspirations as others.

Introduction

The UK Government's Tomorrow's Tourism Strategy is committed to help "the elderly, people with disabilities, single parent families, families with young children, carers and people on low incomes who find difficulty in taking holidays or leisure breaks" (DCMS 1999: 79) One of the key objectives is to widen access to tourism opportunities for these disadvantaged groups, whilst local authorities are also seeking to use tourism to combat social exclusion (www.lga.gov.uk/lga/tourism). The Disability Discrimination Act 1995 has brought increased political and economic attention to the tourism sector (Shaw & Cole 2002) as it requires all service providers to plan access for disabled people. Initiatives from the European Union aimed at widening participation in tourism have also raised the profile of social tourism and the need to widen access to tourism opportunities. Yet despite this recognition of

tourism as a tool for tackling social exclusion, little research exists in this area and even more elusive is the recognition of the value of holidays and breaks for visually impaired people and their families.

This paper begins by highlighting the research context and the research approach before providing an insight into disabled people and tourism. A visual impairment focus provides a context for examining a visually impaired person's life journey and in so doing attempts to raise awareness of the needs and citizenship rights of visually impaired people. In addition, I also attempt to demonstrate how the choice of research approach and research methods have been heavily influenced by my previous work as a Rehabilitation Officer (vision impairment) in social care and the third sector where my professional practice was led and informed by emancipatory, enabling and creative approaches. The second half of the paper is more empirical in nature in that it concerns Phase I, the focus group fieldwork followed by Phase II, a pilot study with a family and how together we used the experience to shape the wider study of six families which is to be completed later in the study.

Finally, it should be noted that I have used a variety of terminology including blind; partially sighted; vision impairment, people with sight problems (uncorrectable vision) as these terms can and are used interchangeably by statutory and voluntary sectors. The emphasis is more on the people as individuals rather than as a homogeneous phenomenon determined by negative terms "the blind" and "the visually impaired". Importantly, this is not "political correctness" but a practical issue of etiquette and one I would encourage academics and industry to confidently embrace (refer to Talking Point, What's in a Word NB RNIB 2009).

Context

To provide a context for the reader this section briefly discusses the disability framework, explains who visually impaired people are, followed by a focus on present tourism participation and an introduction to the "visually impaired body" in terms of the potential to maximise experiences in a non-visual way.

In the UK 20% of adults have some form of disability, half of whom are over state pension age. By 2030, Europeans aged over 65 yrs are expected to represent a third of the population. In the UK alone 2 million people have a sight problem, there are 8.7 million people with hearing difficulties and half a million are wheelchair users (Department for Work and Pensions 2006 and The European Commission 2003).

The challenge to disability, oppression and exclusion has produced the politics of disablement (Oliver 1990) which includes as its intellectual expression, the social model of disability. The Social Model is an alternate way of understanding access issues and social exclusion and sees the problem as a "disabling world" (Disability Wales). However over the last two decades, there has been a contentious debate on absent bodies in sociology and the social model, where relationships between bodies, selves and environment are not as neat and unambiguous as the social model suggests, hence critiques argue for a sociology of impairment that would have a phenomenological perspective as its outcome (Freund:2001:690). This debate is also raging within disability studies

itself (Thomas 2002) drawing attention to bodies where experiences involve struggling with both social barriers and the effects of the features of an impairment, noting that some of the restrictions are directly attributable to the body and would not disappear with the removal of all disabled social barriers (Morris cited in Thomas 2002:69). The World Health Organisation International Classification of Functioning, Disability and Health (ICF) provides a useful framework as it conceptualises disability as the interaction of physical restrictions and social barriers. In this way it avoids polarising the medical and social models whilst still capturing the essence of both, through its language of impairment (body and function), activity (individual performance) and participation (involvement at societal level) (Douglas, Corcoran, & Charles, 2007). My research is placed within this framework and in that recognises the fluidity of roles, whereby action is not the sole responsibility of one section but a collection of actions by tourism providers, policy-makers and visually impaired people themselves.

People with sight problems come from differing backgrounds and varying lifestyles. Each person is affected by sight problems in a way that is individual to him or her – it is not the same experience for everyone. In essence there exists a vision loss continuum, where full sight and no sight are the extremes. The majority of people with visual impairments have some useful vision, (only around 140,000 people have no useful vision, of whom 3,000 were born blind) either caused by disease, as a result of an accident, deterioration due to age or congenital. Partial sight can be confusing and frustrating at the same time, because a partially sighted person often frequently misinterprets what he or she sees (Taylor 1993:13) and a sighted person processes mixed messages about how much someone can or cannot see often resulting in misplaced judgements. Likewise, vision is also affected by other factors including lighting levels, tiredness, lack of colour contrast and the eye condition itself. The most severe sight problems can lead to someone being certified by an ophthalmologist as "severely visually impaired" or "sight impaired". At this stage, the individual can then register with their local social services department. Every day 100 more people start to lose their sight and one in twelve of us will become blind or partially sighted by the time we are 60, rising to one in six by the time we reach 75, (RNIB 2003). Therefore, loss of sight is associated with old age more than any other disability

Within the vision impairment network of voluntary organisations, there are guidelines and mechanisms which allow holiday participation to exist. For example several organisations such as Action for Blind People, The Royal Blind Society, and Torch Trust have hotels specifically catering for visually impaired people. Vitalise is a charity that provides holidays for disabled people, in particular visually impaired people who benefit from the assistance of sighted guides. A commercial company Traveleyes has become very successful in offering holidays further afield, again with sighted guides allowing single people the opportunity to travel. Trips are also organised by social groups, staying in mainstream or specialist accommodation, and also with friends and family. Disability organisations such as the Royal National Institute of the Blind and Tourism for All, campaign at a policy level, but they also produce guides and information for providers and potential tourists.

Tourism is important to our lives, giving us something to look forward to, time to enjoy our families, a chance for adventure, or perhaps some time to ourselves, to recover, and acquire memories of happy times. In the past, some of us have encountered barriers to our

participation in tourism - those with disabilities, older people, carers of young people or disabled or older relatives - Tourism for All works to overcome these.

Tourism for All UK, 2009

This may present a comprehensive picture for tourism opportunities, where segregated and integrated options exist. However these options are not always desired and with difficulty accessing mainstream tourism providers, this potentially leaves little choice with the result of low participation.

The tourism industry and academy has as yet failed to address the needs of visually impaired people. Indeed the only significant piece of research associated with tourism and visually impaired people is by Small, Darcy and Parker (2007), "Beyond a visual gaze" which investigated the tourist experience of those who are blind or vision impaired in Western Australia. The study explored types of holidays, positive and negative experiences which included an investigation into awareness and attitudes of other people. These tourist experiences related to accessing information, navigating the physical environment, knowledge and attitudes of others and managing the tourist experience (preparation and organisation). The findings also "de-centred the visual gaze" in the tourist experience which lends itself to further exploration in Phase II of my research with the investigation of embodied experiences.

One explanation that may be difficult to grasp is "*Why travel anywhere if you can't see?*" (Kuusisto 2006:preface x). Soodik (2006) in his review of Kuusisto's recent memoir "*Eavesdropping*" discusses how the author, a blind professor and poet was asked this question by a newly blind woman, and how in the book he attempts to answer it. He suggests that Kuusisto "makes clear how colourful, even visionary, the sensory field of the blind can be". He sees slivered fragments and patterns but "in his lyrical memoirs, he adds volumes to the experience of being human and enriches the reader's appreciation for the manifold aspects of sensory life". This was echoed by a question put to me, "What do people want from a holiday if it isn't visual?" Visual appreciation is undoubtedly part of the experience, but it is just one element of that experience, impacted upon by access to embodied experiences from the other senses, including auditory and tactile (Small, Darcy & Packer 2007). Olfactory and kinaesthetic sensations (fish and chips by the sea, the feel of an historic building) should also be taken into account when considering this view. The Welsh Assembly Government (WAG) has a series of guidelines for the industry with regard to marketing destinations. One such guideline focuses on creating a sense of place, recognising the other senses as a focus for creating a meaningful space for tourism interaction.

Sense of place, sensation you get, first impression, the look, the feel, the atmosphere, the people. Sense of place embraces the distinctive sights, sounds and experiences rooted in that country, memorable qualities that resonate with local people and visitors alike.

(www.new.wales.gov.uk)

Although I doubt this was written specifically with visually impaired people in mind it provides an example of how such guidelines can be inclusive be it in this instance "by chance".

Research Approach

It is widely recognised that seeking meaning and significance is best approached by means other than that of a structured survey (Smith & Hughes 1999: 127). My research is firmly located within emancipatory disability research (a phrase coined by Mike Oliver in 1992) and is associated with qualitative rather than quantitative methodologies (Barnes 2004:50). I have employed a multi-method approach utilising focus groups, semi-structured interviews and conversations (Dunkley 2007), also case studies, with the intention of including narrative inquiry.

Before detailing the methods employed I would like to place myself in the process in terms of my journey from rehabilitation officer to researcher. As a rehabilitation officer and development officer working in the community, I belonged to a professional discipline aiming to: maximise independence; enable and empower visually impaired individuals; thereby diminishing the oppression of minority groups in our society. The experiences, challenges and knowledge derived from this background, inform my research and raise issues of reflexivity and embodiment of the researcher. A rehabilitation worker visiting visually impaired people, has a complex role within which a range of goals and skills are involved in the rehabilitation process, having the ability to switch from assessor, negotiator, technician, advocate, trainer and counsellor (Dodds 1993). Significantly, these roles are transferable to a researcher within a tourism framework, adapting varying roles (participants, academic) and speaking with different voices (Ryan 2005:9; Jennings, 2005).

Although I have not experienced sight loss personally, my research is informed by assuring an empathetic and respectful approach based on 15 years of working for and with visually impaired people. Communication skills are particularly important in my research when trying to relate to people experiencing low vision. These skills include the appropriate positioning of bodies, for example, it is more likely that the visually impaired person can see you better if their back is to the light. It is also good practice to verbalise visual gestures, use names more often and provide regular but appropriate auditory sounds.

Research Outline

Holbrook and Jackson (1996) discovered that a greater success rate is likely if focus group participants are recruited from places where people meet routinely to talk and socialise. Drawing on my professional and social networks (CIB), I contacted four existing groups who after discussing the research with them were positive about providing their assistance. These were the macular degeneration group (mg); the dual sensory loss group (ds); the gardening club (gc); and the Pioneers, (p) a younger group. With the exception of the Pioneers (social event venue), the focus group discussions took place at the CIB. My co-researchers were all visually impaired people of varying ages who in some cases had additional disabilities such as hearing loss. In total 30 people shared their views and experiences with me. Informal questions were used addressing: the benefits of holidays; reasons for non-participation and occasional participation. According to Gibb (1997) the degree of control and direction imposed by moderators will depend upon the goals of the research. As I considered the group members to be my co-researchers I facilitated the group by introducing the topic, facilitating the interaction and using open questions to probe further (Gibbs 1997). Members interacted well with each other and only occasionally did I need to bring the conversation back to the

topic. As this research is based upon an emancipatory approach I felt it also appropriate at times to place myself within the group and contribute some personal knowledge about visual impairment.

The whole process of contacting the groups, setting up the sessions and feedback was informed by ethical considerations, in particular with regard to mutual agreement, accessible communication and information and of course anonymity. To enable analysis each session was taped with the permission of the groups. After the initial transcript analysis, I returned to the groups to feedback the findings, seek their validation and gather any further observations. This was met positively and strengthened my resolve to continue reciprocation of information and to disseminate it in an accessible way. Real names are not used as anonymity was guaranteed, however after reviewing Grinyer's (2002) conclusion that there is an apparently underestimated likelihood of research participants wishing to be acknowledged in published research and therefore enabling them to retain ownership of their stories, I considered this an additional option for Phase II of the study, still maintaining a duty to respect individuals and their privacy, yet remaining mindful of the importance of legal implications, (Grinyer 2002). The options I considered were being identified by a letter only; personal choice of a pseudonym; and of their actual names. Although the latter was plausible it was not appropriate for the pilot family as they would have been clearly identifiable in the disability networks of the area.

The Findings; Phase I. Barriers to Participation

Participants clearly acknowledged the benefits of holidays and breaks away from home such as social interaction, climate, relaxation, experience of another country and a change from routine environments confirming the similarity to the experiences of sighted people, (Small, Darcy & Packer 2007; McCabe 2007). It was also evident within the groups that the majority of the participants had taken some form of holiday, short break or day trip, although it is significant to note that members of the two support groups, macular degeneration and dual sensory loss, had done so on a lesser basis compared to the social groups where mechanisms existed to arrange tourism activities as part of the social role. Although not a barrier to participation, the groups discussed specialist and integrated provision, which provided an opportunity to address people's preferences and why particular routes suited some and not others.

The focus groups were united in their strong opinion that experience differed according to individual circumstances thus directly challenging current discourses of homogeneity and uniformity. There was a deep concern that research should capture the individuality of visually impaired people, and should recognise that visually impaired people are first and foremost people, who are as idiosyncratic as anyone else (Duckett & Pratt 2001:830). This concern is central to the approach entwined in this doctoral study.

Many of the themes overlapped and were inextricably linked which made it difficult to contain them into succinct headings. For instance, the components within the societal and environmental themes affected the person and issues of identity as listed in figure 1.

PERSON-CENTRED IDENTITY	Isolation, Mobility & Orientation, Confidence, Self-esteem, Eye Conditions, Visual Functioning, Onset, Psychological, Stress & Anxiety, Emotional well-being, Communication, Stereotyping, (In)dependence. Individual profiles/"Life World", Feeling a fraud. Low Income.
SOCIETAL	Staff Awareness, Willingness, Knowledge Application, Policies (disability, transport, health & safety), Training, Communication, Values, Motivation, Homogeneousness, Stereotyping, Family and Friends
ENVIRONMENTAL	Physical access, Accessible information, Décor, Lighting, Travel & Transport, Companionship, Finances, Cultural differences, Mobility & Orientation.

Figure 1. Phase I Emergent Themes

Identity

Group members persistently spoke of being disregarded, ignored and treated as one homogeneous group of people rather than as individuals, with their own personalities and backgrounds where their visual impairment was only part of their identity and not representative of their whole self.

When I go out with my friends it's "let's put her over there". Sometimes I keep my mouth shut but I haven't lately. I don't want to be bumbled about, I'm a person first. (gc)

They're so intent on selling the seat on the aircraft that I don't think they pay enough attention to the person. (p)

The experience of individual ways of seeing and functioning was a prevalent theme. Individuals on the whole create their own coping strategies to enable them to function or to disguise the fact that they have a visual difficulty. There was a lengthy discussion in the gardening club. "*not everyone has got a sight loss, [total]different levels of sight*"; "*my side vision has gone*"; "*my central vision has gone*"; "*On my left very little but I get by and my left central vision has gone*"; "*mines a mish mash of everything and just fading*".



Figure 2. An impression of types of eye conditions, courtesy of Wales Council for the Blind 2008

These descriptions highlight the fact that sight loss is more complex than people realise and that individuals have individual experiences of “seeing” (see figure 2.) providing more evidence against a one solution suits all approach.

Psychological effects and issues of emotional well being were apparent. Hinds et al. (2003:1391) cited in Stephens (2007) state that sight loss can lead to depression, loneliness and anxiety. Its impact on people’s emotional well-being and mental health will vary with numerous factors (Stephens 2007:5). A key element of sight loss is that it is not a linear process. It can involve periods of deterioration, improvement and daily variations. Consequently there is the danger that individuals may disengage from the possibilities and potential benefits of life themselves.

One member of the macular degeneration group described her day trip out with Help the Aged and her friends as:- *“I couldn’t see anything – it was a horrendous day”*. Her experience was hampered by the fact that her friends assumed she would not benefit from going in the shops as she couldn’t see and hence left her outside. She, herself did not seem to object to this as *“there was no point as I can’t see anyway”*.

Participants in addition spoke of feeling a fraud due to the fact that sighted people can only relate to stereotypical visual confirmations of being vision impaired. A guide dog owner and accompanied by her husband on holidays commented:-

If you’ve a cane or a dog, people are more open to you, otherwise they don’t always understand you’ve got something wrong. (ds)

Reactions can have repercussions on self-efficacy, that is self worth and value, potentially leading to withdrawal:-

Because my eyes look perfect in front they don’t believe that I’m blind so I’m getting that I don’t want to go out sometimes. (gc)

Societal

All the individuals in the groups consistently spoke of the need for awareness training of staff, family, friends and the population as a whole. Awareness training focuses on how visual impairment affects aspects of people’s lives rather than the medical condition and it is based on gaining an understanding of how a person experiences the world by provoking thoughts and ideas amongst participants as well as learning practical skills, (Wales Council for the Blind 2008). Participants also highlighted issues of non-disclosure of a disability, “not looking blind” and the fact that some staff may never have come across a visually impaired person in their personal and professional life. A group member stated:

“I mean it’s not their fault [the staff], none of us know until we actually start working; we are not aware of the problems if we don’t have them ourselves”. (sighted helper, ds)

In contrast, there emerged a distinction between staff willingness, attitude and staff awareness (RNIB 1998) when another member of the same group described her experience at a public exhibition.

...she tried to explain the exhibition to me but she wasn't doing a particularly good job at it and it wasn't her fault she's not used to that sort of thing so the receptionist said to me, "it's not worth us employing somebody to do something like that for your sort of people..." Then she went and got the manager and he took me round and I made him work for his money [laughing].

Group co-ordinator (ds)

All the groups recognised lack of awareness, which usually resulted in actions and non-action being based on well known myths and stereotypes. Some blind and partially sighted people will use symbols to identify to others that they are visually impaired but not all. There were several discussions about misunderstandings around the white stick, its meaning and purpose, different usage in other countries, and stereotypically that Braille is regarded as the "proverbial response" to the needs of a visually impaired person.

...it's like all these Braille signs they say "oo we've got all our signs in Braille" which is all very well, unless you know where to look for the sign how are you going to read the Braille! (p)

This is not meant to detract from staff willingness and the desire to learn more, however, the groups provided examples where awareness did not extend to the application of that knowledge. A member of the Macular degeneration group provided a succinct example in that a particular restaurant knew how to provide a menu in Braille but had failed to understand how a person actually used it and what care is required in maintaining its usability.

"Training the staff is a big part of it...they had a Braille menu but he'd put it in his pocket and sat on it, it was no use to me then!" (md)

Braille is a combination of raised dots and therefore if they are flattened as in the example or stored underneath other heavy items, the dots will be compressed thus rendering it useless.

Real concern was expressed particularly by the Pioneer Group regarding transport policies where two people described how their subjection to the unnecessary use of a wheelchair had caused a multitude of reactions including temporary deterioration of remaining sight, lack of independence and dignity and of feeling a fraud.

..."at the airport one person had to go in a wheelchair or else they wouldn't take you. It was a nightmare, a horrible feeling. I was in the dark and I couldn't see. And of course when I got on the plane they thought I couldn't walk."

Environmental

There was a general sense that issues of physical access were important but not to the same extent as staff awareness. The major aspects for visually impaired people are clear edging of steps, good colour contrast, suitable lighting, contrasting handrails and clear signage. Taking lighting as an example, this was linked with a common activity on holiday of eating out at a restaurant. A member of the dual sensory group had a particular problem with lighting levels as her sight is worse at night and her overall experience is compounded by her partial hearing loss. The physical nature of the lighting caused her to feel anxious and afraid, uncertain of what to expect and how she would cope, all this in spite of being accompanied by her husband.

“We say to the person leading us if they can give us a table where there is some light...Going in I get quite nervous, it's no good, I'm not going to see, that is what my mind is saying inside...I just force myself to do something but the fear is in the throat.”

Access to information was a topic of great discussion and consternation. Approximately four percent of blind people read Braille while others can use large print, audio formats, mobile phones, email and accessible WebPages including a combination of all of these formats. For participants in the groups there was a mixture of information formats as well as the reliance on another person to read for them. Difficulties were cited as reading travel information signs, screens and reading holiday publicity.

Members of the Pioneer group were very vocal about negotiating environments. Small, Darcy and Packer (2007), note navigating the physical environment becomes an essential element whether travelling alone or with others. The group pointed out that mobility with familiar and unfamiliar environments also included memory, mind mapping, using environmental clues and dealing with obstacles and hazards along the way. One individual described how unfamiliar terrain affected her and her partner, comments that were also indicative of communication and signage issues.

“We'd love to go on coach trips but when we get off the coach we don't know where to go and I can't read signs and if people give me directions I can't follow them “just go down there and turn right”, I don't find it a lot of fun really.”

Phase II, Pilot Study - The meaning and significance of tourism

The aim of Phase II is to explore the embodied experiences of visually impaired people in an attempt to discover the meaning and importance of tourism in their lives and how their “bodies” interact on a sensory level within tourism spaces and environments. The in-depth interview was piloted in March 2009, with a family comprising of a mother (Lisa), partner (Geraint), son (Jack) and daughter (Carys) (not their real names). The first pilot interview was to identify key themes of family holiday experiences, learning about their life stories followed by a focus on a recent holiday experience. The second interview unlike the first was conducted with Lisa and Geraint individually because more personal and in-depth aspects were discussed. I felt it was appropriate to begin with a pilot study due to the personal and interventionist nature of the research, to test the individual structure of each interview, the multiple schedule of interviews and the checklist guiding the conversation. Some have

argued that qualitative pilot studies are not necessary (e.g. Holloway 1997:121) while others like Frankland and Bloor (1999:154) argue that “piloting provides the researcher with a clear definition of the focus of the study”. Undertaking the pilot was significant because co-researcher feedback highlighted the sensitivity of others in the family at the first interview in that some of the themes, particularly surrounding Lisa’s partner’s feelings about her visual impairment, and disclosure of her needs in front of the children may have been uncomfortable, *“some people may feel uncomfortable about what they should and shouldn’t say because of people expectations”* (Lisa by email). As a result, I altered the next meeting to individual conversations.

Lisa has been visually impaired since birth, attending a school for the blind and a specialist college in England. She is a full-time working mother. Her son Jack is 10 years old and has cerebral palsy affecting his mobility, occasionally requiring the use of a wheelchair. Her daughter Carys, almost 3 years old, is also visually impaired. Lisa and Carys have some useful vision, which is affected by the nature of their own eye condition(s) combined with environmental factors. Geraint is retired and very active in volunteering for a society for the blind. They believe in working hard to be financially comfortable, maintain a roof over their heads and have enough finances to have a holiday. The meaning of a holiday for them is to come away from their busy life of work and voluntary work so that they can relax, spend time with the children, experience new places and focus on themselves.

Planning their holiday takes more time and consideration as pinpointed by Small, Darcy and Packer (2007). Lisa and Geraint agreed that holidays in this country are easier to research as a result of the impact of the Disability Discrimination Act 1995, 2003, as opposed to some destinations abroad where access design is different. However, in this country they felt that travel agents held no information as to whether accommodation was vision impairment or disability friendly, meaning more in-depth research would have to be completed. The priority for Lisa was that accommodation had to be physically accessible for Jack, as few obstacles as possible for herself, family rooms and places of interest located close by. Geraint noted that they are unable to take up last minute holiday deals and felt that specialist holidays have a “disabled” price on them. Overall holidays are more expensive for people needing additional requirements.

Initial analysis which is on-going at the time of writing, indicates that each member of the family operate as a family unit where each person’s needs, disability related or otherwise, are taken into account. Themes from Phase I emerged again (Figure 1.) such as awareness, stereotyping and lack of information. However, additional themes have emerged in terms of perceptual barriers (self, appearance and by others), the visually impaired person’s “body” experiences and generic issues of family life and relationships regardless of disability. The additional themes are discussed as follows.

The desire to strike a balance between being treated as a “normal” family and advertising the fact that they do have additional requirements was discussed, all of which can be compounded by other people’s perceptions and judgements. Geraint remarked :-

Lisa doesn’t carry a cane, if she did people would think “oh right that person doesn’t see very well and make allowances for it but you’ve got to balance that [with]being

treated as a normal family you know ...having something like that, a cane, people will have their expectations of what your capabilities are. [They]automatically think oh there's something wrong with you therefore everything needs to be done for you."

Similarly, Lisa needs to be guided in unfamiliar places and Geraint usually guides her to the entrance of a building for a meeting or when on holiday to the hotel entrance. He perceives his role as being practical and helpful but at the same time he is aware of how it might be perceived by others and is concerned for her. Geraint acknowledged his own pre-conceptions before working with blind and partially sighted people, echoing similar sentiments of the focus groups.

"It doesn't bother me where we are, don't think too much about it, [but] having said that I don't want to make it that obvious, I don't want to draw attention. I'm more concerned about their impression than she is. "

From Lisa's point of view she is comfortable with how she perceives herself but not with how other people perceive her. This was more an issue in terms of her appearance, in particular her eyes.

"I am very conscious about the way my eyes are because my eyes move around so when I meet somebody new I don't know if I make eye contact or not but I'm nervous about looking at somebody directly because my first thought will be are they looking at my eyes, do they know I can't see very well."

Lisa provided insights into the discourse of being identified as a blind person and the desire to not disclose her disability. For example she is more likely to carry a white stick at the airport so that they can "*fish you out of all the people*" but at the same time "*[they] insist you sit in a wheelchair and language barrier as well...just sit in the wheelchair and go with the flow*". This is not what she wants as then "*people see you walk out of the chair, it's all about other people's perceptions*".

Self-identifying by carrying a white stick is often for the benefit of others as sighted people can misjudge situations. At tourist attractions Lisa felt that people are empathetic "*but it is easier to carry a cane so that other people understand why you have jumped the queue and have a concession*".

Factors around family roles were prevalent in terms of the father being perceived as the head of the family and Lisa's priorities as a mother. There are times when Lisa would like a small amount of time on her own "*but I don't because I put pressure on myself as a mother and there would be some anxiety, will I be ok to find my way around.....I shouldn't just go off and leave the kids*" Visually impaired people and other people with disabilities are often perceived as the passive person. Geraint however did not feel that attention was directed at him merely as "the carer" but also because of his status as the man, husband, father role. However, "*in our relationship it doesn't work that way*" as Lisa usually carries the money and passports whereas he does more of the organising and asking.

Differences of opinion centred on perceptions of normality and the balance between independence and asking for help. She felt it was difficult for the sighted person because of being under pressure to manage everyone and "*of course they don't want you asking because they got this determination of*

doing it on their own which I find really frustrating". On holiday she explained that she is more likely to ask for help than Geraint and she would ask "*until I'm blue in the face*" causing her to wonder if it is a male or visual impairment issue.

Lisa and Geraint were also able to provide further insights into facility provision at tourist attractions. They have to consider what provision is made for disabled people in terms of concessions, accessible information and ease of physical access. When visiting an historic abbey "*we had our own expectations and we just asked*". They enquired if an audio-tour was available with the response that nobody had asked for one before although they did have one. Geraint felt that "*they don't know they've got some of these things...fall down by not telling anybody*". This is connected with the argument that providers "*think in their own cognitive terms*" as Geraint put it and lack in the application of that knowledge.

Most insight gained at this phase were discussions around the use of remaining vision supplemented by Lisa's other senses, particularly touch, sound and kinaesthetic skills (being able to sense, feel something) whilst on holiday in the mountains, and visiting historic sites, by shuffling her feet to feel the different textures on the ground, tilting her head to maximise the vision in her left eye, reaching out to find handrails and door knobs and by scanning her surroundings. While she presents herself this way as part of getting around, at the same time she is interacting with her surroundings and gleaning information from such clues. On holiday her appreciation of indoor attractions is limited, particularly where objects are cut off, for example behind glass "*I just switch off, it doesn't do anything for me*" She is dependent upon tactile and auditory information, including her imagination. Outside the experience is very different:

"I can't see the detail outside but it's not just a building, it's the history. A church, it's old, this place has a lot of energy...you just get the sense that something lived there, things actually happened here. Also the environment, heat of the sun, other noises, the quiet...it's really being able to appreciate what you can pick up around you. Sighted just see or is that a generalisation?"

This aspect will be further developed with the other study families.

Final thoughts

This paper presents a complex and diverse picture of the needs and aspirations of visually impaired people when engaging with tourism experiences. Focusing on individual and collective pathologies allows for a broader conception of people's experiences and life stories (e.g. growing up with vision impairment, a life before sight loss) within the context of the co-researchers' "life world" (Smith & Hughes 1999). Visually impaired people are first and foremost individuals and members, of the community and their impairment should be accommodated in every policy area (WCB, 2003). As a qualitative study it does not claim to provide any right or wrong answers but it does draw attention to crucial themes in assisting the dissecting of pre-conceptions. These arguments are encompassed within a social model of disability, interpretive and phenomenological paradigms within an emancipatory working framework.

People are disabled more by poor design, inaccessible services and other people's attitudes than by their impairment, however personal issues of identity and self-perception also play a vital part. In understanding people's experiences "the visually impaired body" provides us with an alternative way of addressing the holiday experience for people with low vision that is inclusive rather than exclusive and reactive. The challenge for the tourism industry is to identify these customers, analyse their service in more depth, learn new skills, be creative and truly apply that knowledge holistically. Case law as a result of the DDA 1995 may "force" providers to act in certain situations.

The pilot family are now in the process of planning their next holiday and have agreed to include this in the research process by discussing planning arrangements, undertaking a diary and a debriefing after the holiday. At the time of writing five other families have been recruited, producing five unique situations with a different mix of people and family roles, including differing vision impairments. One individual has a dual sensory loss (hearing and vision), and although considered to be a distinct disability in itself her inclusion could provide us with additional insights and raise more areas for discussion. Participants have willingly shared their experiences and shown a great deal of interest in the research. On my part I have found it extremely valuable to engage with the participants as their experiences have reminded me that some of the basic aspects of general awareness are still not recognised in our society in every aspect of our daily lives. I am also aware that my intervention has included aspects of rehabilitation advice where I have for example provided information about tourism opportunities and advice about organising holiday clothes (research family, teenage girl, totally blind). This will be an area for ongoing reflection.

From the outset, this doctoral research, with still a year until completion, has proved and continues to be a conduit for raising awareness and challenging people's preconceived beliefs and attitudes. It has presented an opportunity to contribute to the literature on qualitative methods, critical tourism and disability studies in a tourism context.

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'New facets of management considerations for hospitality industry in a gaming city – a longitudinal study on Macau hotel industry'

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ABSTRACT

The gaming industry liberalisation of Macau has attracted massive foreign direct investment in the hotel sector since 2002. With the aim to understand the industrial condition of the Macau hotel industry, a longitudinal study of 48 months (2004-2007) was conducted. Time series data of 31 three to five star rating hotels were analysed. Six hypotheses were formed to examine the significance level of seasonality, casino facility, tourist arrival, total availability of hotel room to hotel occupancy rate. Four hypotheses were supported and reveal appealing marketing information. This comprises the inclusion of casino as a hotel facility has a negative correlation with hotels' occupancy rate. In addition, descriptive statistics are discussed to provide a generic picture of the Macau hotel industry between 2004 and 2007. Business implications, in particular to hotel managers are discussed.

INTRODUCTION

Foreign Direct Investment (FDI) surge has significantly impacted Macau hotel industry. Empirical researches revealed that competition effects are generated from firms interacting with Multinational Corporations' (MNC) subsidiaries (Blomstrom, 1986). Entries of multinational corporations stir up market competition. MNCs entries often disturb market equilibrium and force indigenous firms to defend themselves against a potential loss of market share. With the massive FDI on Macau hotel industry, competition effect is almost inevitable. This study attempts to apprehend the Macau hotel industry and provides industrial insights to hoteliers. The study is organised in four sections. Relevant literature is first reviewed and this is followed by a discussion of research method employed. The background statistics of the Macau hotel industry, occupancy, average room rate, total rooms, beds available, tourist arrival number and seasonality are reported in the findings section. This is followed by the analytical findings on the six hypotheses. Discussions are made with considerations of economic situation and industrial practices, interacting statistical and practical information to strengthen the applicability of this research.

LITERATURE REVIEW*Occupancy Rate*

Average daily rate (ADR), revenue per available room (RevPAR), average room rate (ARR) and occupancy rate are important indicators to assess a hotel's business performance. Previous studies employed different factors (Singh & Schmidgall, 2002; Jeffery, Barden, Buckley & Hubbard, 2002; Jeffrey & Barden, 2001) to evaluate hotel business performance. In fact, financial information of a

hotel is the most straight forward performance indicator (Morrison, 1998); however, it is always unavailable and inconsistent for any comparison (Jang & Yu, 2002). As revealed by Jeffrey et. al. (2002), occupancy rate is the only data which is widely available, consistent and temporally disaggregated means of monitoring hotel performance at the individual hotel level across the industry. It also enables the identification of trends and fluctuations within the industry. Because of the data availability of occupancy rate and its significance in studying hotel industry, data of occupancy rate from the sample hotels was used in this research.

Average Room Rate

In addition to occupancy rate, average room rate (ARR) is another important indicator. Chan & Wong (2006) reviewed that many hotels in Hong Kong have reduced their room rate to maintain their desired room occupancy rate due to keen market competition. Hotel managers treat occupancy rate and ARR as the two major indicators of a hotel performance. ARR is calculated as total hotel revenue divided by the number of rooms sold. It is possibly to report on a daily and a monthly basis. Despite the importance of ARR used in the industry, Slattery (2002) revealed the different practices employed by hoteliers in calculating RevPAR, which is tight up with the ARR figure. For example, common practice among hotels in seasonal resorts is to exclude from the calculation those nights during the low season or many hotel chains exclude from their total room stock-rooms which have been under refurbishment (Slattery, 2002). RevPAR was concluded as an unreliable indicator to explain the supply and demand of a hotel's performance due to the calculation is based on unrealistic supply and demand data (Slattery, 2002). Though remedial calculation principles are suggested by Slattery (2002), an accurate or uniformed ARR is still far to be obtained because of varies industrial practices. As a result, the current available ARR data is believed as the best data to use for the study.

Casino Facilities

Casino hotels and commercial hotels are found to have many different aspects in terms of business profitability, marketing strategies, main revenue stream and services provided (Trowbridge, 1996). The most distinct feature of casino hotels is the provision of casino facilities. In addition, casino hotels offer top-name entertainment, excessive shows, distinctive restaurants, comprehensive retail shops and charter transportation for high rollers. Meanwhile, commercial hotels cater mostly individual tourist, tour group, business travellers and small conference groups. The linkages between casino and tourism development have been studied in the previous decade (Eadington, 1999; Smith & Hinch, 1996; Hall & Hamon, 1996). It is commonly-believed that casinos attract tourists. However, casino as a typical tourist attraction was questioned in one of the studies. Smith and Hinch (1996) reached a conclusion that the Windsor venue, Canadian casinos are not major tourist attractions. Based on the recent development of Macau casino hotels and the previous research studies, the authors question whether casino is a real influential factor to attract tourists and has impact on hotels businesses in this research.

According to the British Gaming Board (Gaming Board of Britain, 1997,2005), gambling is identified into two types, namely 'hard' gambling and 'soft' gambling, whereas the former is typified by casinos and the later is typified by slot machines. In Macau, most of the hotels offer both hard and soft

gambling facilities in one complex; therefore, casino facility is the term used to incorporate hotels providing either hard gambling facilities, soft gambling facilities or both facilities in this research.

Seasonality

Seasonality as an influential factor on tourism demand and hotel business is commonly recognized by not only the academic literature but hotel industry practitioners (Butler, 1994; Frechtling, 1996). The perishable characteristic of a hotel room makes practitioners highly aware of seasonality – shoulder and peak seasons – and its impact on occupancy rate and average room rate. Since unsold rooms are considered as a perishable product, selling those unsold rooms at a reasonable market price would be preferable to facilitate to sell them out. Studies on seasonality and tourist arrival patterns at different destinations are found (Lim & McAleer, 2001; Sutcliffe & Sinclair, 1980; Yan & Wall, 2003). Seasonality differs from country to country. In this research, holiday and non-holiday seasons are identified in accordance to Macau, Hong Kong and People Republic's of China (PRC) holiday calendars. In view of the importance of seasonality as a factor on the tourism and hospitality industry, the paper investigates its influence on occupancy rate and average room rate as well. After reviewing the literatures of factors concerned in this study, the authors present the research method used and the six hypotheses formulated in the following section.

METHODS

This is a longitudinal study, applying the time series data on 31 three to five-star rating hotels in Macau, covering over 77% of the respective rating sector and 100% of all hotels with casino facilities, throughout a period of 48 months. The monthly data on the occupancy rate, total number of hotel rooms and average room rate has been recorded, while the hotels have been categorized based on two sets of filters, namely star rating and casino facilities element. In addition, seasonality, expressed in terms of calendar months has been split into holiday and non-holiday seasons, while the number of monthly tourist arrival to Macau has also been applied. The filters, which have been identified as the influential factors to occupancy and average room rate through an empirical study (Lam, Lei, & Sousa, 2009), have been introduced to study their affect on these factors of three to five-star hotels in Macau; while seasonality filter has been included to track on potential differences and trend between holiday versus non-holiday seasons. Holiday months have been identified based on the holiday seasons of Macau, Hong Kong and the People's Republic of China (PRC) , from where the number of tourists makes up more than 80% of the total touristic incomers (Statistics and Census Service of Macau SAR, 2008). The substantial change in the number of tourist arrival to Macau from an increase of more than 40% in Year 2004, through a straight increase during years 2005 & 2006, until an increase of around 23% in Year 2007, reaching a total number of 27 million tourist, has made Macau one of the 20th richest economies in the world (Anon., 2008). Therefore, this has been included to study the interaction and correlation with the other influential factors on occupancy rate.

Based on empirical research, the number of tourist arrival and hotel rooms available affect the balance on the demand and supply of the hospitality market (Hiemstra & Ismail, 1994) and assuming all other factors remain unchanged, an increase in the former will increase demand, while an increase in the latter will increase supply. In addition, according to Lam and Vong (2007), though casino is rated as one of the top five attractions by tourist visiting Macau, however, it has been

looked upon as a sight-seeing spot rather than a major activity. Moreover, according to Lam, Lei & Sousa (2009), star rating is found to have significant difference on the occupancy rate of hotels. Therefore, based on the captioned, six hypotheses have been structured:

Hypothesis 1 (null): Seasonality and inclusion of Casino Facility has no significant difference on hotels' occupancy rate.

Hypothesis 2 (null): Seasonality and inclusion of Casino Facility has no significant difference on the average rate of hotel rooms.

Hypothesis 3: Number of tourist arrival has a positive correlation with the hotels' occupancy rate.

Hypothesis 4: Total number of hotel rooms available has a negative correlation with on hotels' occupancy rate.

Hypothesis 5: Average room rate (ARR) has a negative correlation with hotels' occupancy rate.

Hypothesis 6: The inclusion of casino as a hotel facility has a negative correlation with on hotels' occupancy rate.

Quantitative analysis of descriptive and explorative studies have been applied to study the trend on the occupancy rate, the average room rate, the total hotel rooms and beds available throughout the 48 months, based on the star-rating basket and inclusion or exclusion of a casino facility, together with the influence on seasonality and the number of incoming tourists.

This was followed by the test of homogeneity to investigate the suitability to run for the one-way Analysis of Variance (ANOVA), which followed the next stage of analysis on correlation through the use of Pearson correlation. For ANOVA, the null hypothesis has assumed that there was no significant difference between the means of the identified factors (Keppel & Zedeck, 1989). A correlation reflects the degree to which two variables are related. The Pearson's correlation (also named as the Pearson Product Moment Correlation), denoted by the symbol r , is the most widely used correlation that reflects the degree of linear relationship between two variables. It ranges from +1 to -1, where the former reflects a perfect positive linear relationship between variables and the latter a perfect negative correlation. The strength of the correlation depends on its distance from 0 while the + and - signs have no affect (Craver & Nash, 2000). The investigation of the correlation between different dimensions and categories has been checked, while one-way ANOVA have been applied to study the relationship and difference within and between different identified categories with the variables.

FINDINGS

Background Statistical Data of Researched Hotels and Macau

Table 1 shows the characteristic distribution of the sampling hotels, categorized by star-ratings and the existence of casino facility.

Table 1: Characteristics of the Sampling Hotels in Macau

Number of hotels	Star-rating	Gaming element
5	3	Yes
7	4	
10	5	
4	3	No
2	4	
3	5	

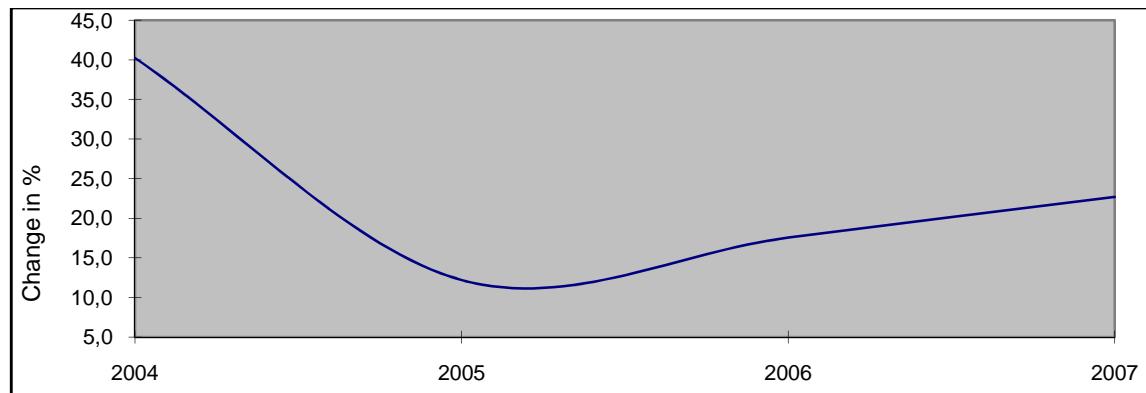
Source: Macau Hotel Association (Year 2004 -2007)

During the period Year 2004 – 2007, within the 31 hotels being analyzed, there has been a 33% variance in the actual number of hotels that are in operation. The main reasons are many hotels undergo renovation during these four years and some international or incoming hotels have only built their foothold since Year 2005. The total number of available rooms from each hotel ranged from a minimum of 12 to a maximum of 949, while the occupancy rate spreads from the floor of lower than 13% to full house.

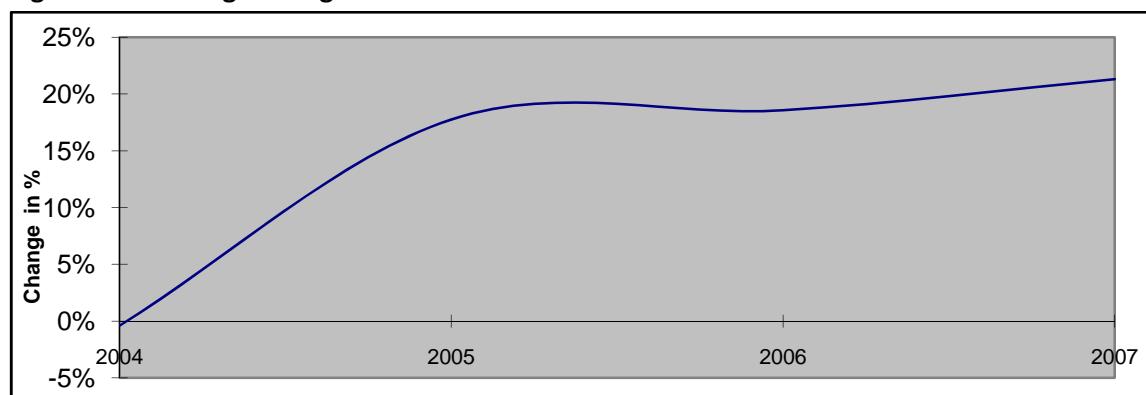
The Occupancy Rate Trend

During Year 2004, more than 95% of the hotels achieved more than 50% of occupancy for all months within the calendar year, though there has been a minor decrease in Year 2005 & 2006 to 91% and 85% of hotels respectively that can secured this brilliant performance. While for Year 2007, situation has improved and more than 92% of the hotels reached back more than 50% of occupancy throughout the whole year.

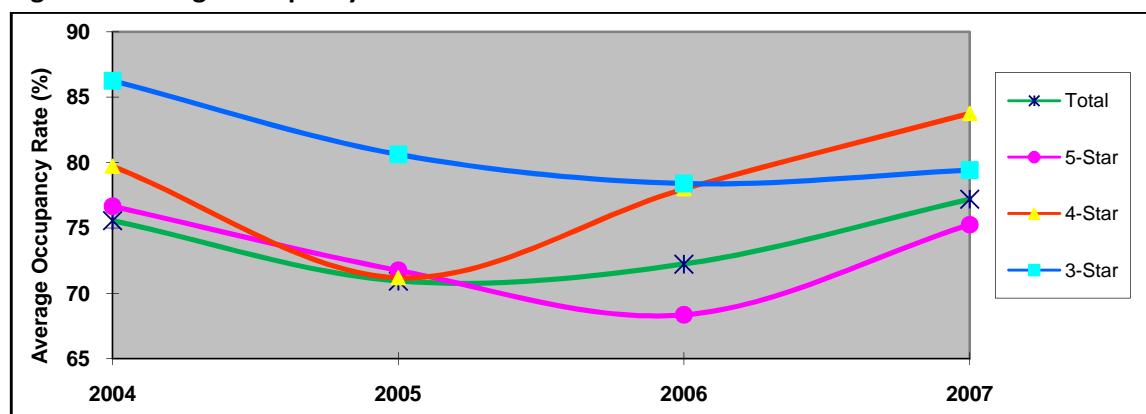
From Figures 2 and 3, it is found that the change in the number of tourists visiting Macau and the number of beds available have a straight increase throughout years 2005 – 2007, when they go in opposite tracks during Year 2004. However, from Figure 4, the increase in both the tourist arrival and beds available has been accompanied by differentiate changes in occupancy rate for three to five-star rating hotels. For the overall average occupancy rate, aside from Year 2005, when this indication reflected a negative change during the increase in both tourist arrival and beds available, all other years showed similar trend within these three variables of occupancy rate, tourist arrival and beds available. Though, when investigate in details, it is shown that only four-star hotels copied the same trend in average occupancy rate as that of the overall industry. Three-star hotels have reflected a straight decrease in occupancy throughout Year 2005 – 2007, while five-star hotels also have a decrease in the occupancy rate by Year 2006, despite the increase of around 18% for both tourist arrival and beds available.

Figure 2. Percentage Change in Number of Tourists Arrival in Macau for Years 2004 – 2007

Source: Statistics and Census Service of Macau SAR, 2008

Figure 3. Percentage Change in Number of Available Beds in Macau for Years 2004 – 2007

Source: Statistics and Census Service of Macau SAR, 2008

Figure 4. Average Occupancy Rate of Hotels in Macau for Years 2004 – 2007

Source: Statistics and Census Service of Macau SAR, 2008

Throughout the whole calendar year during years 2004 – 2007, it is found that five-star hotels have the widest comparative spread in terms of occupancy, while three-star hotels have the most consistent occupancy during each of the calendar months. During these four years, aside from five-star hotels, nearly all three and four-star hotels achieved an occupancy rate of over 50% throughout all months for each of the calendar year. Moreover, aside from Year 2004, hotels without any casino facility showed a comparatively wider spread in occupancy rate than hotels with casino facility.

Moreover, hotels with casino facility do show to have a higher occupancy rate than those that have none especially during the shoulder seasons; though for peak seasons, the difference is not obvious.

The Average Room Rate Trend

The average rate of three to five-star rating hotels, subdivided in terms of having and not having casino facility, throughout Year 2004 – 2007, has a tremendous increase in the spread of average price with the passage of time, especially during Year 2004 – 2006, aside from those without the casino facility, which in turn showed only a small spread in change of average price. The increase in spread is most obvious for hotels within the three-star basket. For five-star hotels, the wide spread in price is mainly due to the opening of new international hotels, with comparatively much higher investment than existing local ones, occupying larger space and in turn charging higher prices. For hotels with casinos, when the minimum room rate has kept quite constant throughout the four years, the maximum rate has risen substantially; leading to the obvious increase in spread of average room rate and this is largely an effect from the opening of new casino and commercial hotels within the category. On the other hand, though new players have enlarged the pool of hotels without casinos, the average rate of this category has not changed much. The floor line has been kept quite constant during years 2004 – 2007 and the ceiling has also only increased slightly.

Tracking the trend on different category of hotels within the same calendar year, it is found that five-star hotels take the lead on the spread of average rate, while three-star ones have comparatively less difference. Within the same year, hotels without any casino facility show the highest consistency in the average rate. Though, it is interesting to notice that throughout all years from 2004 – 2007, three-star hotels show to be charging an even higher average rate than ones within the four-star basket.

The Availability of Hotel Rooms Trend

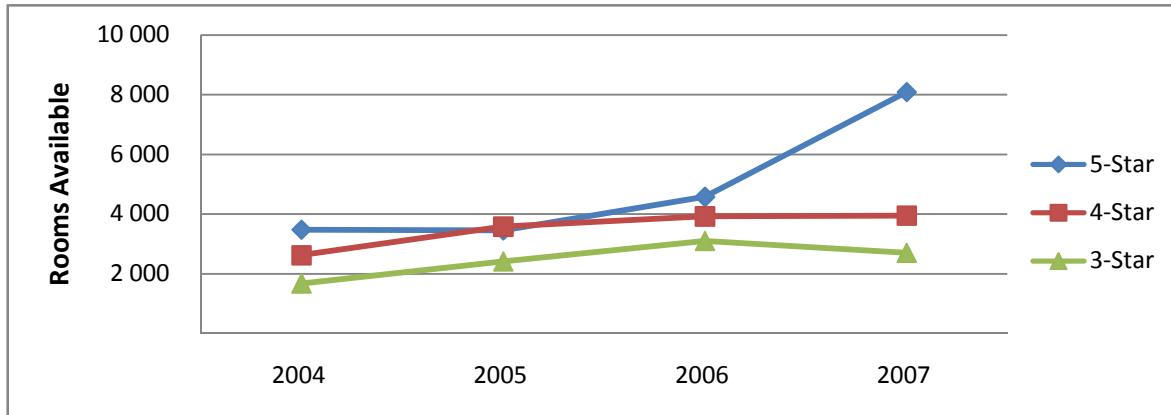
From Figure 5, it is found that throughout Year 2004 – 2007, there is consistent trend on the change of total rooms available for three and four-star rating hotels. This number has kept comparatively constant for four-star hotels, though accompanied by a minor decrease in the number for three-star rating hotels in Year 2007. This is mainly the result of the renovation on one of the major three-star rating hotel that makes up around 20% of the available rooms of this star rating basket, though this influence has been diluted through the opening of new hotels and addition of new rooms for some existing ones.

Five-star hotels have their specific trend throughout the 48 months of study. During years 2004 and 2005, the total rooms available has shown to be relatively stable, however, there has been a straight increase since mid of Year 2005. This is mainly the effect on the opening of international resorts and hotel chains that has led to the substantial increase in the availability of rooms. Most of these incoming players have emphasized their magnificent size as one of the major selling attraction.

For the total number of beds available, it follows a very similar trend to that of the availability of hotel rooms for each of the star rating baskets (Figure 6). This reflects that though the different new

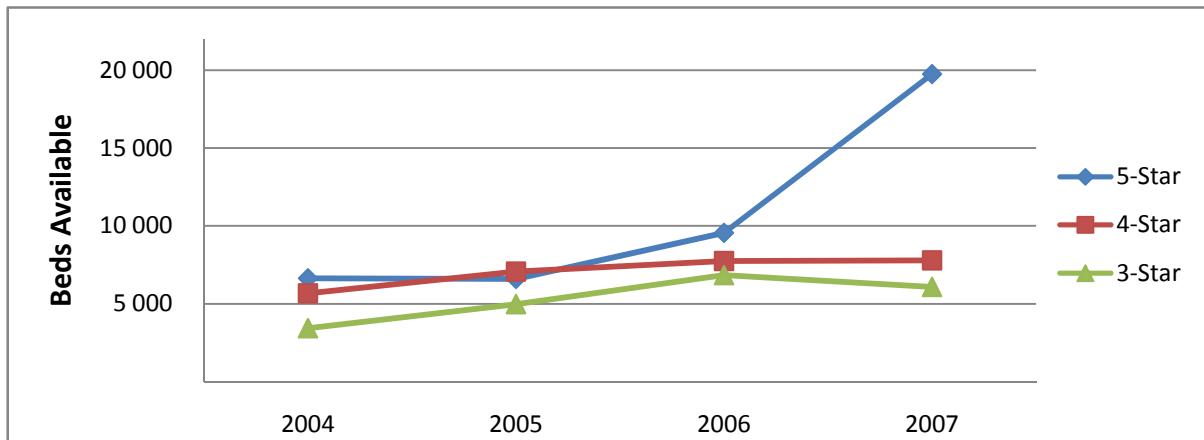
and existing hotels have emphasized different strengthens, the arrangement on the distribution of single, double and other room types remain quite similar throughout the industry.

Figure 5: Total Number of Three to Five Star Hotel Rooms in Macau for Years 2004 – 2007



Source: Statistics and Census Service of Macau SAR, 2008

Figure 6: Total Number of Three to Five Star Hotel Beds in Macau for Years 2004 – 2007



Source: Statistics and Census Service of Macau SAR, 2008

The Seasonality Effect

According to statistics (Statistics and Census Service of Macau SAR, 2008), more than 80% of tourists visiting Macau come from PRC and Hong Kong, together with the fact that Macau and Hong Kong being the special administrative regions of PRC, the schedule of public holiday between these three places is very similar. Therefore, the holiday months of these three places, identified as February, May, June, July, August, December and non-holiday months, grouped as January, March, April, September, October, November have been applied to track on the trend and changes on the occupancy of three to five-star rating hotels in Macau.

Analysis on the occupancy rate for the hotels in Macau has shown a comparatively much wider spread during the holiday months than those in the non-holiday category, though the average occupancy rate between these two seasons are very similar every year with a difference of less than 1%. Year 2005 has the lowest average occupancy rate of around 75%, while Year 2007 achieved the

peak average rate of around 81%. Year 2004 & 2006 have an average rate of around 79% and 77% respectively.

However, the average occupancy rate shows substantial difference between months within the category of holiday seasons, as well as those within non-holiday seasons. For months within the holiday season basket, the difference in occupancy rate ranges from a lowest of 13% to a maximum spread of 18%. The minimum spread takes place in Year 2005 between the months of February and August and Year 2007 between June and August while the maximum spread happened in Year 2004, between February and July. For months within the non-holiday season basket, the difference in occupancy rate ranges from 10% to 19%. These two extremes occurred in Year 2007 and Year 2005 respectively, both between January and November.

The Significance

Hypothesis 1 (null): Seasonality and inclusion of Casino Facility has no significant difference on hotels' occupancy rate.

Hypothesis 2 (null): Seasonality and inclusion of Casino Facility has no significant difference on the average rate of hotel rooms.

Two layers of each variable on seasonality and casino facility have been identified as a) holiday months, b) non-holiday months for seasonality; c) inclusion of casino facility and d) exclusion of casino facility for casino facility. From Table 2, all identified layers of holiday and casino facility show a significant F-ratio at $p<.01$ for occupancy, rejecting the null Hypothesis 1 that seasonality and casino facility have no significant difference between the means of the individual occupancy throughout the 48 months from Year 2004 – 2007, when there is significant difference.

Nevertheless, it is found the identical layers for average room rate have shown a straight insignificant F-ratio (Table 2). This supports the null Hypothesis 2 that there is no significant difference between the means of the individual average room rate during Year 2004 – 2007 for all the different identifiable layers on holiday and casino facility.

Table 2: Seasonality and Inclusion of Casino Facility on Occupancy and Average Room Rate of Three to Five Star Hotels, Analysis of Variance (ANOVA)

Variables		Occupancy				Average Room Rate			
Filter / Layer		df	Mean Square	F	Sig *	df	Mean Square	F	Sig *
Overall	Between Groups	47	846.57	5.23	0.000	47	401256.69	1.37	0.051
	Within Groups	1139	161.73			1139	292990.32		
	Total	1186				1186			
Holiday Months	Between Groups	23	891.80	5.86	0.000	23	438051.54	1.51	0.060
	Within Groups	567	152.18			567	289561.02		
	Total	590				590			
Non-Holiday Months	Between Groups	23	838.07	4.90	0.000	23	380562.48	1.28	0.170
	Within Groups	572	171.20			572	296389.64		
	Total	595				595			
Inclusion of Casino Facility	Between Groups	47	480.82	3.88	0.000	47	351881.56	0.97	0.530
	Within Groups	754	123.93			754	362469.58		
	Total	801				801			
Exclusion of Casino Facility	Between Groups	47	468.37	2.11	0.000	47	104819.26	0.65	0.966
	Within Groups	337	221.76			337	162285.87		
	Total	384				384			

The Correlation

Hypothesis 3: Number of tourist arrival has a positive correlation with the hotels' occupancy rate.

Hypothesis 4: Total number of hotel rooms available has a negative correlation with on hotels' occupancy rate.

Table 3: Pearson Correlation (r) of the Potential Influential Factors on Occupancy Rate of the Macau Hotels.

Hypothesis	2	3	4	5
	Tourist Arrival Number	Total Rooms Available	Mthly Average Room Rate	Casino Facility
Mthly Occupancy Rate				
Overall	+ .113 .000	+ .956 .000	- -.066 .005	- -.582 .000
Holiday Months	+ .125 .000	+ .953 .000	x	- -.587 .000
Non-Holiday Months	+ .102 .000	+ .959 .000	- -.089 .005	- -.577 .000

Table 3 has shown the summary on the Pearson correlation (r) of the various potential influential variables to the occupancy of the hotel rooms in Macau. It is found that a consistent positive correlation can be seen for all the identified factors during holiday and non-holiday months of the 4 years between tourist arrival and hotel occupancy rate and this supports Hypothesis 3.

This is probably the result that an increase in incoming tourist will increase the demand of accommodation and in turn leads to higher occupancy level. However, it is worthy to notice that though there is a positive correlation between tourist arrival and hotel occupancy rate but the correlation between these two variables is actually weak, reaching a peak of $r = .125$ ($p < .01$) only during the holiday months. From Figures 3 and 6, it is found that the increase in the number of rooms available from hotels in Macau has a much substantial relative increase from Year 2005 to 2007, which in turn means that there is a higher increase in supply than in demand. Therefore, though the increase in the number of tourist has a positive effect to the occupancy rate, this positive correlation is not strong because of the difference in the extent of change on the demand and supply of hotel rooms in the market.

Nevertheless, the increase in the number of rooms available does not show to decrease the occupancy rate and this has also been resulted from the increase in number of tourist that ranges from more than 40% in Year 2004 to around 23% in Year 2007. Consequently, though the percentage increase in the number of rooms available is more substantial than that of tourist arrival, however, the huge increase in the latter number has resulted in actual increase in demand of hotel accommodation and did not lead to average decrease in occupancy. Therefore, Hypothesis 4, structuring that there is a negative correlation between the total number of hotel rooms available and the occupancy of hotel rooms has been rejected because of the special situation of the market.

Hypothesis 5: Average room rate (ARR) has a negative correlation with hotels' occupancy rate.

Referring to Table 3, it is found that the average room rate is negatively correlated with the monthly occupancy of hotel rooms which supports Hypothesis 5. However, it has to be noted that the correlation is not strong which reaches a peak of only $r = -.089$ during the non-holiday months, while

during holiday months, there is no significant correlation found. The reason probably has a high relationship with the number of tourists.

During the holiday months throughout Year 2004 – 2007, the hotel industry managed to achieve an average occupancy of higher than 68% for all 48 months during the 4 years of study and even reached a maximum average of around 90% during years 2004 and 2007. This brilliant business achievement has explained the high demand of the market which has diluted the price rate affect on the occupancy of hotels, resulting in the exceptional situation that there is no significant correlation between the average room rate and occupancy of hotels during holiday months.

Hypothesis 6: The inclusion of casino as a hotel facility has a negative correlation with on hotels' occupancy rate.

From Table 3, it is found that the inclusion of a casino facility has a negative correlation with the occupancy of hotels and the correlation is relatively strong at r over -.577 ($p<.01$) for all circumstances, which supports Hypothesis 6. This can be explained from the structure of tourists visiting Macau. According to empirical research, casino is only one of the five top attractions for tourists visiting Macau and it has been mostly identified as a sight-seeing spot rather than a major visiting incentive (Lam & Vong, 2007). Moreover, majority of the incoming tourist come with family and relatives, which makes up around 37% of the whole tourist sector, ranking as the second largest touristic group, which stands just behind the group coming with friends that amounted to around 39% of all the incoming tourists (Lam, 2006). Therefore, this major group of family tourist, which looked upon casino as a sight-seeing spot, probably does not have high preference to stay in hotels with casino as a facility, especially when children under 18 are prohibited to enter any casino in Macau. This probably has resulted in the negative correlation between the inclusion of a casino facility to the occupancy rate.

IMPLICATIONS AND CONCLUSION

The results obtained in this research demonstrate interesting marketing information for the Macau hotel industry. Seasonality and the availability of casino facilities have effects on hotels' occupancy rate. It is a common tourism phenomenon that holiday seasons increase tourist arrivals so as the demand for hotel accommodation. Moreover, it is also proofed that the number of tourist arrivals has a positive correlation with the hotels' occupancy rate in Macau (hypothesis 3). However, seasonality and the availability of casino facilities have no significant difference on the average rate of hotel rooms (hypothesis 2) is accepted. It reveals appealing market information and arouses an important question – how seasonality matter in the Macau hotel industry? The answer to this question may be first sought by examining hypothesis 4 (Total number of hotel rooms available has a negative correlation with hotels' occupancy rate) that is rejected in this research. Certain queries are explored through examining hypothesis 4: 1. The trend of hotel rooms availability; 2. The trend of tourist arrivals. As demonstrated in Figure 2 and Figure 4, tourist arrivals has picked up after a steep drop from 2004, whilst three to four star hotels has followed similar occupancy trend. In addition, total number of hotel rooms has been increased during the research period (Figure 5); however, hotels' occupancy rate has shown an upward trend since 2005. Moreover, the acceptance of

hypothesis 4 is noteworthy as it has reflected this unusual market condition that hotels' occupancy rate did not drop even there are more hotel rooms available in the market. This is perhaps a result on the massive number of tourist arrival that dilutes the effect of seasonality on hotels' average room rate. The implication of this research finding is encouraging to Macau hoteliers. It implies that accommodation supply has reached the demand yet. This is surely a good news for the hotel developers that are currently developing hotel projects in Macau.

On the other hand, the availability of casino facility in a hotel establishment seems not to be a major attraction for business. As hypothesis 1 and 6 indicate that inclusion of casino facility has no significant difference on hotels' occupancy rate and has a negative correlation with hotels' occupancy rate. From an unknown small city of 538 million people to one of the 20th richest economies in the world (Anonymous, 2008), Macau has achieved a 26% increase in Gross Domestic Product (GDP) by Year 2007 (Statistics and Census Service of Macau SAR, 2008) and these are results from the liberalization of the casino industry. Therefore, being identified as the mega casino city of the world, the existence of casino should be an influential factor. However, it is not proofed in this research. This research finding provides market implications to the conventional hotels and casino hotels, that casino hotels are not necessarily the competitors to conventional hotels, while any supplemental business strategies may be of mutual benefits in the Macau market. We hope that this research provides new facets to hotel management in Macau and serves as handy information for room rate setting and business forecasting.

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'An analysis of community involvement into ecotourism arrangements'

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Abstract

Driven by the discussion on sustainability and by the need for addressing local development and nature conservation issues, tourism researchers and practitioners have attempted to find ways to make tourism meaningful for both nature and local communities. As a result, in the past decades several ecotourism arrangements involving communities with different level of participations were developed. This study seeks to analyze the development of various existing ecotourism arrangements, to classify them and to briefly investigate their consequences in terms of local empowerment, expected benefits and the main constraints. The analysis focuses on developing countries, with particular emphasis to Sub-Saharan Africa. Based on literature study, this paper investigates findings presented on a number of peer-reviewed articles, reports from research institutes and governmental and non-governmental organizations, conference proceedings, books as well as newsletter and notes from relevant web sources. Findings indicate the high complexity of community involvement as well as empowerment issues in ecotourism.

1. Introduction

The 1992 Rio Earth Summit challenged actors at different levels, also in the tourism field, to adopt sustainable strategies and pursue goals that serve environmental and development purposes. The consequent Agenda 21 enriched the discussion by emphasizing the need for community participation in policy and planning and for community management, also in the case of tourism resources (Jackson and Morpeth, 1998). The development of specific and concrete UN Millennium Development Goals (MDGs) and Targets have pushed the policy agenda towards more actions for local development and conservation. Driven by these discussions tourism researchers and practitioners have attempted to find ways to make tourism meaningful for nature and for communities through, for example, the development of ecotourism arrangements involving locals with different level of participation. To date, however, research studies critically discussing community involvement in ecotourism arrangements appear to be very scattered and a systematic analysis of these various arrangements in terms of their significance for local development and empowerment is actually lacking.

This study is an attempt to address this gap by analyzing existing ecotourism arrangements and their consequences for the local community. We first examine the change over time into the conservation and development agenda and the need to include livelihood issues into policy plans and projects, including ecotourism ones. Then we classify, according to ownership and rights of land and resources, and analyze a number of possible ecotourism arrangements involving local communities. Based on literature analysis and by presenting few case studies we briefly examine some possible arrangements according to their key impacts in terms of local empowerment, expected benefits and some constraints. Due to the limited length of this paper we focus only on the main issues and give

few examples. The analysis focuses on low-income economies in developing countries, especially Sub-Saharan Africa considering the importance of this area in the international agenda (UN, 2007).

2. Ecotourism and the evolution of the conservation and development agenda

Several definitions of the term “ecotourism” are available in literature (see for example Ceballos-Lascurain, 1996; Honey, 1999; Scheyvens, 1999; WWF, 2001; www.ecotourism.org). However, in spite of the different analytical interpretations and various nuances given to ecotourism, in a broad sense the term ‘ecotourism’ evolved from the need to bridge the development and conservation agendas and to involve communities into conservation and development plans (Butcher, 2007). This section investigates and synthesizes the shift over time into conservation and development thinking and the need to address livelihood issues. This short reflection aims to provide the conceptual context on which specific ecotourism strategies, involving communities with different levels of participation, are developed and which will be analyzed in the following section.

Within the conservation agenda, since the late 19th century, the dominant approach towards conservation and preservation of biodiversity was the establishment of protected areas (Adams, 2004). Alarmed by the decline in natural resources and wildlife a number of protectionist and coercive policies were set in place especially in the 1950s and 1960s. Such approach, also called “Fortress Conservation”, focused on establishing protected areas, excluding or limiting local people to access these areas for consumptive use and enforced these rules through a “fines and fences” method (Adams and Hulme, 2001). Later, since the end of the 20th century, it was recognized that a conservation approach based on site protection and on maintaining biodiversity for its sake was actually not sufficient or feasible (Adams, 2004). Conflict issues with the adjacent communities related to land and resource use, the negative social and economic impacts on poverty, ethical issues related to legal and human rights, high financial costs for the implementation and protections of parks and reserves has lead to the realization that development and livelihood issues should have been included in the conservation agenda (e.g. Kiss, 1990; Colchester, 2002). The focus of policies and plans thus slowly shifted from a Fortress Conservation paradigm to the involvement of local communities into conservation plans.

On this line of thought several international organizations such as WWF, IUCN, Conservation International as well as national and local NGO's have funded and/or supported programs throughout the world to achieve conservation goals while addressing development issues, including ecotourism projects (e.g. Butcher, 2007). For example, the program “Integrated Conservation and Development Projects” (ICDPs) was first introduced in the mid 1980's by WWF with the intent of overcoming problems with the ‘fines and fences’ approach to conservation in protected areas. Ecotourism ICDPs are projects that consider ecotourism as a tool to address conservation and development goals for local communities (Scheyvens, 2002). Such projects applied later on in several developing countries consider that people and livelihood practices are a threat to the biodiversity resources and that community can act to conserve resources if they have a ‘stake’ in decision-making about use and management of the resources (Hughes and Flintan, 2001). In practice, these projects are implemented through a number of arrangements which involve community through for example revenue sharing, shared-decision making authority, provision of community services and

infrastructures, etc. The community can benefit from these arrangements, in exchange for its support to conservation (Newmark and Hough, 2000). In spite of the good intention of the implementation of such projects, they either failed in achieving the objectives placed or achieved only limited success. This was a result of a number of factors including the difficulty of ensuring proper distribution of benefits to individuals, the difficulty of modifying individual behaviour of communities towards conservation through the incentives provided to them, the lack of greater control and authority of communities over the use of natural resources which could likely mimic earlier ineffective colonial structures (Newmark and Hough, 2000).

In the attempt to achieve conservation and development goals and learning from these experiences new approaches were developed. For example several projects were established within the broad family of Community-Based Natural Resources Management (CBNRM) programmes (see: www.cbnrm.net). Such programmes involved a greater level of community control over natural resource use in rural areas. These programs use to a large extent a bottom-up approach taking local communities as a point of departure, empowering them, and creating a social movement around managing local natural resources. This change in the way of thinking within the conservation agenda and the need to merge conservation goals with development ones gave rise in the last decades to a number of community-based programs overall in the world, including community-based ecotourism ones. These programs, instead of offering development services in exchange for conservation as previous programs like the above mentioned revenue-sharing mechanisms did, were mainly focusing on devolving management responsibility for natural resources to communities (Newmark and Hough, 2000).

The development of such projects is however not only the consequence of the changing view on conservation, but also the consequence of the evolution of theoretical perspectives and practices on tourism and development. Scheyvens (2007) and van der Duim (2008) explain that the liberal approach to tourism and modernization theory, which informed development practices from the 1950s though the 1970s focusing on promoting economic growth in developing countries, did not lead to the benefits hoped, as the economic growth did not actually benefit the poor. The consequent neoliberal perspective in 1970s and 1980s emphasizing free market processes and the private sector tourism development was also criticized because it did not appear to contribute much to reduce inequalities between the developed and developing world. Alternative approaches were then suggested such as for example community-based forms of tourism and ecotourism attempting to bring benefits to local communities while conserving the natural resources on which the poor rely for their survival. As a consequence, at the turn of this last century, grassroots development, local participation into management and decision making, equity and empowerment were particularly emphasized through the development of ecotourism initiatives.

3. An analysis of arrangements involving communities into ecotourism

A number of arrangements can be identified for addressing conservation and development issues while involving communities with different levels of participation (e.g. Ashley and Garland 1994; Ashley and Jones, 2001; Ashley and Ntshona, 2002; Barrow and Murphree, 2001). Arrangements can be classified according to different frameworks and perspectives, based for example on type of local

participation, type of actors involved, type of resource management modalities, etc.. Barrow and Murphree (2001) and Barrow et al., (2000) have developed a framework based on tenure of land and resources which allows for a classification of possible arrangements which can then be comprehensively analyzed in terms for example of different types of participation and responsibilities of actors, different forms of resources use and access arrangements, different forms of benefit flows, etc. Their analysis however focuses on community conservation arrangements only and does not specifically address ecotourism ones. Additionally, the analysis considers that all lands and natural resources belong to the state, which can then grant specific rights to communities, and does therefore not include cases in which communities own land and resources.

In this study, in order to analyze ecotourism arrangements meaningful for locals, building on the framework developed by Barrow and Murphree (2001) and Barrow et al. (2000), we use tenure of land and resources as a starting point to distinguish a number of tenurial categories under which few possible ecotourism arrangements can be analyzed. Thus, firstly we distinguish the following three tenurial categories:

1. **State** owns land and manages resources and ecotourism plans
2. **State** owns land. **Communities** have rights on land and natural resources and make ecotourism plans
3. **Communities** own land and manage resources and ecotourism plans

Secondly, below in this section, within each category we analyze few possible arrangements involving local communities into ecotourism. By using some case studies and main discussion in literature¹⁵¹ we reflect upon these arrangements by analyzing them mainly according to few key impacts in terms of local empowerment. We reflect on different forms of empowerment such as economic, psychological, social and political empowerment, following the framework developed by Scheyvens (1999). Additionally, we highlight some major benefits and constraints.

¹⁵¹ The selection of case studies and relevant literature is performed by using the search engine *Google Scholar*. Firstly, relevant papers, and included case studies, are preliminary selected based on a number of keywords, variously combined among them, such as "ecotourism", "community(-based)", "development", "conservation", "poverty reduction", "nature protection", "private sector", "wildlife", "Africa". The abstracts of such preliminary papers are read in order to exclude those only marginally dealing with the object of the analysis. The remaining key papers are selected and carefully read and analyzed. Secondly, a scan of the list of references reported in these selected papers is made in order to identify and analyze additional papers dealing with the issues investigated in this study. Thirdly, this study also includes key findings of papers presented at the UNWTO conference focusing on the contribution of ecotourism to community development, poverty reduction and financing of protected areas (Maputo, 5-7 Nov. 2008). Fourthly, meaningful information presented in newsletters and notes from relevant websites is also reported in this study. In conclusion, the papers analyzed for this study include peer-reviewed articles, reports from research institutes and governmental and non-governmental organizations, conference proceedings, books as well as newsletter and notes from relevant web sources.

1. State owns land and manages resources and ecotourism plans

The change in paradigm in the conservation and development agenda since the end of the 20th century (as pointed out in Section 3) has favoured the development of ecotourism programs addressing livelihood and communities issues. Driven by this agenda, the State, which owns the land and resources, has set plans and programs, including ecotourism ones, which did acknowledge communities needs. Specific policies and plans are developed in many cases in combination with other agents such as public-private partnership. The community is involved in an indirect manner in the sense that there is a limited or a lack of local participation in ecotourism decision-making and a lack of sense of proprietorship by locals. Communities are mainly following choices made at a higher level.

Revenue-sharing mechanisms are an example of possible arrangements within this tenure category. These mechanisms are based on the assumption that providing financial support (a share of the ecotourism revenue gained) to communities affected by restrictions imposed on them for conservation and ecotourism purposes, can help to reduce pressure on natural resource and thus support conservation and development. Such arrangements can occur when for example public authorities or other bodies establish parks and develop ecotourism in areas previously accessed by communities. In exchange for the costs that the community needs to bear due to the lack of (or reduced) access to land and resources, the community receive a financial incentive contributing thus indirectly to ecotourism development. For example, at the beginning of the '70s, when the Liwonde National Park in the southern part of Malawi was gazetted, locals were asked to move out of the park. The Park developed into a wildlife tourism destination. Acknowledging the difficult livelihood conditions of the local communities and the importance of local support for the survival and management of protected areas, incentives were offered to the locals in order to reduce pressure on natural resources. It was agreed that the local community would take 50% of the total Park revenue (Novelli and Scarth, 2007). Similarly, in Nepal, the establishment of the Chitwan National Park in 1973, led to the relocation of communities residing in that area. Recognizing the consequent challenge for the community and their survival and in order to reduce poaching incidents and other illegal activities inside the park, the government decided to bestow 30-50% of the annual park revenue to the community (UNDP, 2008; WWF, 2008). Very often revenues are placed into community funds which supports the development of community projects. This is for example the case of the Mgahinga Gorilla National Park in Uganda which has a revenue-sharing program based on visitor fees which are placed on funds destined to support the construction of school buildings, roads and other infrastructures (Adams and Infield, 2001). These revenue sharing arrangements, assuming that they are successful, can contribute to local economic empowerment because of the financial benefits received and because the community in some cases may gain control over the revenue share. However, this may not solve the problem of passive economic dependency of local communities, as locals are only indirectly responsible of tourism revenue production; they are only the beneficiaries, assuming proper distribution of resources, of ecotourism plans and choices mainly made at a higher level. In some cases the costs they need to bear (due to lack or reduced access of resources) are higher than the benefits they get. In successful cases these mechanisms can help improve community attitudes towards conservation by returning revenue from natural resources exploitation and wildlife use. However, in the case of communities feeling that there is no other

option for livelihood than to accept the incentive offered, such arrangements may generate detrimental effects and can be coercive (Novelli and Scarth, 2007).

Employment arrangements are another example of the possible arrangements involving locals. Employment possibilities for community members can emerge as a consequence of policy plans and programs addressing the financial needs of communities living next to parks and reserves. Community members can be employed (e.g. as cooks, waiters, guides) regularly or occasionally by private operators and entrepreneurs developing ecotourism in certain areas. For example, as a consequence of the public-private partnership between the state organization SAN Parks and private operators, these operators have the legal right to develop tourism, to build and operate tourism facilities, such as lodges, etc. in certain areas of the parks. Next to a number of commitments made by the operators towards the community (such as revenue sharing), the private operators agreed to offer to the community employment arrangements. In effect 79% of total employees are recruited from communities adjacent to the Parks (Varghese, 2008). Employment arrangements can be very significant for local communities, mainly contributing to economic empowerment because of the gained financial benefits, and to psychological empowerment because of the increased sense of self-confidence derived from the development of skills, an increase in terms of status, etc. Regular wages provide locals of the possibility to further develop their competence and increase their sense of security. Also, occasional earning opportunities, such as in the case of casual labourers, can contribute to local economic development (Ashley, 2000). However, in many cases local employees are often skilled or semi-skilled individuals with some social connection and in some cases, speaking a reasonable level of English which keeps the more disadvantaged out of the picture (Ashley and Ntshona, 2002). Additionally, often tourism arrangements may not generate permanent jobs for more than a small proportion of households in a community (Ashley, 2000). Also, the control of the enterprise remains in the hands of private entrepreneurs and thus locals have meagre say into tourism plans. Conservation issues can be addressed but not necessarily by all members of a community as some members that are not employed and not receiving a direct benefit from conservation, do not perceive any advantage from conservation activities (Ashley and Garland, 2004). In some cases, certain tourism arrangements can bring about some costs for community members not benefiting from employment, due to reduced access to local resources and land.

2. State owns land. Communities have rights on land and natural resources and make ecotourism plans

By giving the community responsibility and rights over land, wildlife and resources, which were previously owned by the public bodies, it is attempted to empower locals and contribute to sustainable livelihood and conservation.

Communities can develop *community-private ventures*. By gaining rights and responsibility on the use of available resources communities, organized in community-based organizations such as Trusts and Conservancies, are then able to negotiate their use with other actors such as private investors. For example, in several areas in Namibia, communities gained rights from the government over natural resources. Communities then established legally registered institutions, the so called Conservancies. The Conservancies have a committee formed by community members that are

required to have a sustainable behaviour and management approach towards the use of wildlife. Companies can enter into ventures with the Conservancy and pay for the use of certain land or resources (Ashley, 2000). For example, in the Kunene region in Namibia, the community first represented by the Residents Trust and later by the Torra Conservancy, negotiated with the Wilderness Safari (WS) the establishment of a lodge (the Damaraland Camp) in the communal area. WS, an African company, agrees to pay to the community a levy per bed-night, to pay a flat fee for renting the site of the lodge, to hire community members for local services such as buying wood, washing laundry, etc. Additionally, after 10 years, WS gives an option to the community to continue alone in this venture or to renew the joint venture contract for other 5 years and take over at the end of this period (Ashley and Jones, 2001). Joint ventures between communities and the private sectors can occur also through other modalities for example through hunting and photographic safaris in the communal area. Novelli and Gebhardt (2007) investigated the outcome of tourism development in the Kunene region in Namibia. The Conservancies favoured the conservation of natural resources. They have increased employment and income deriving also from other sources (artwork, souvenirs, stones, etc) and improved the living standard of communities due to the fact that households received direct payments from hunting and lodging leading thus to economic and social empowerment. The devolution of rights and the ability of the locals to manage resources, to act in their own interests and negotiate with privates and other actors have increased the level of self-confidence of the community members and thus favoured psychological and political empowerment.

Similarly in several areas in Botswana communities have formed Trusts through which communities are granted access and use of land and related natural resources for ecotourism purposes (see Mbaiwa, 2008). The Trusts are guided by constitutions agreed by communities and are engaged in various tourism activities also jointly with the private sectors, such as sub-leasing community tourism areas to privates, selling wildlife quotas to tourism companies, managing cultural tourism, marketing baskets and crafts, photographic tourism, etc. Also in this case, the devolution of rights contributed to political, social and psychological empowerment since community members have a say and make common choices with regard to the management of land and resources and are directly responsible for improving their livelihoods. Additionally, the economic benefits deriving from tourism and the access to land resulted in a reduction of poaching activities and the contribution of communities to nature conservation. From the economic point of view, financial benefits deriving from the various arrangements with the private sector can flow in different directions. They can be destined to community funds. The community invests then the earnings in social services and development projects such as assistance for disabled people, for orphans and for elderly people; development in terms of infrastructure, transportation and communication tools; scholarships and support for local activities. Financial benefits can also be bestowed to individuals that receive income in the form of dividends. In the case of the Sankoyo Village, the community Trust distributes annual income to each household. In any case the income received at a household level is very small and often individuals rely on agricultural production and other activities for sustenance. However, in some cases it has been reported that funds from ecotourism were misappropriated, mismanaged and due to lack of entrepreneurial skills funds were not reinvested. In fact, one of the main weaknesses reported with

regard to ecotourism development and the establishment of the Trusts is the lack of a fair and equitable distribution mechanism for sharing benefits within the community.

Also, operators and communities need to adapt to each others' past and style of negotiation. The negotiation process requires some skills at the community level, which the community may not possess. Additionally, the community members have to internally come to an agreement as a community and be able to secure a good deal with external companies. Internal conflicts among community members in relation to alternative land use (e.g. consumptive versus non-consumptive use of wildlife), the lack of communication and lack of teamwork among community members can hamper the development of possible projects (Novelli and Gebhardt, 2007). In some cases these issues among community members can slow down the negotiation process (Ashley and Jones, 2001). For this, often the donors, conservation and development organizations can play a relevant role in supporting communities through educational, training and conflict-solving programs. On the other side, companies who want to quickly profit from the investment, should be willing to invest their time in negotiation and adaptation to the past of the communities (Ashley and Jones, 2001; Frost and Bond, 2008). Lastly, the option given to the community to purchase and manage the assets (i.e. a lodge) after a number of years, offers interesting possibilities for further empowerment of the community. But it also raises the question whether the community can manage to run the assets on its own or needs to rely on long-term support of external organizations.

*The development of *community-run enterprises* and other examples of possible arrangements within this tenure category*. Community members can get access to land and resources and develop and run various types of enterprises, for example establishing a campsite, game lodges, natural-made craft shops, etc. This can lead to economic empowerment and as a consequence of an increase in terms of skills and self-confidence also to psychological empowerment. However the assistance of donors, conservation and development organizations can play a major role in the development of community based enterprises. Salafsky et al. 2001 have tested 39 conservation projects in Asia and the Pacific and 48 community based enterprises, including eco lodges in the time span of 4 years. They found that a community based enterprise strategy can lead to conservation under certain conditions and *never on its own*, suggesting therefore how important the role of supporting institutions can be. Important factors influencing enterprise success (and related conservation) was local education and awareness, good management and book keeping skills, an established but not too competitive market, good market research, and an enterprise that utilises skills and technologies that the community members already possess. It is suggested that there is a strong association between the success of an enterprise and the degree of local community ownership and management of the enterprise. However, despite financial and technical support, community based enterprise may be difficult to establish. Out of the 37 community based enterprises for which financial data were available, 7 had no or minimal revenue, 13 covered only their variable costs, 10 covered their variable and fixed costs, and only 7 made profit. However it is assessed that some enterprises were able to make progress towards long term viability.

3. Communities own land and manage resources and ecotourism plans

In the case of which communities own land and resources, they do have a final say about the choices and management on land use and resource management and thus their level of political, social, psychological and economic empowerment be higher. Land ownership can be transferred to communities for example as a consequence of post-apartheid land restitution in South Africa. An example of such an approach is the devolution of land ownership to the Makuleke community in South Africa (Massyn, 2008). After removing the Makuleke community from their land in 1969 between the Luvhuu and Limpopo Rivers, the state agreed in 1998 to give the land back to its people. That land was incorporated into the Kruger Park as a contractual park. The Makuleke community agreed to guarantee the management of the land according to conservation principles, to not undertake any activity that could compromise these principles and to follow the wildlife management policies of the state organization SAN Parks. The community, organized in a legal association called the Makuleke Communal Property Association (CPA), had the right, independently from the state, to commercialise the land and establish partnership with the private sector for building for example game lodges and camps. *Community-private ventures* were then set in place and a commercial plan was developed. For this the Makuleke CPA benefited from the support of a team of external tourism and development practitioners, including tourism industries advisors from the major private lodge operating companies. This has led to the establishment of a number of ventures between CPA and private companies, selected through bidding. The Makuleke CPA made a 30-year or 45-year agreement concessions to private companies. Among other things the concession agreement granted the private partners the right to Build, Operate and Transfer back (called BOT concession) luxury lodges in the Makuleke land and the right of conducting game viewing excursions. The economic benefits to the community include land rentals by private investors to the CPA, profits or dividends that the Makuleke people will earn as shareholders in the lodge companies; and employment. Hunting concessions were also negotiated and agreed.

Massyn (2008) points out that the approach has encountered some problems due to the opposition of state's conservation organizations which, as a consequence of the devolution of land ownership to communities, is losing a valuable income stream deriving from the commercial tourism development of the area. Furthermore, this Makuleke 'model' seems to jeopardize the control of these organizations to the conservation assets, generating thus conflicts with regard to management. Additionally, the author suggests that although this 'model' has generated gains at a community level due to the re-gained ownership of the land, the community may not have optimised the integration of their land into the market. The main reason for this is that the Makuleke CPA did not attempt to raise capital for investment in the lodges infrastructure, which could have generated substantial returns. Instead, the CPA agreed to rent their land to investors that raised capital privately. This finding thus suggests that re-gained ownership and capacity building should be coupled to strategies that optimise the integration of the poor into the market, if the strategy is meant to contribute to poverty reduction and economic empowerment in the long run.

4. Concluding remarks

This paper has analyzed the underlying discourses and the evolution in the development and conservation agenda which led to the implementation of various ecotourism arrangements involving

communities with different levels of participation. This study has classified, according to tenure of land and resources, a number of possible ecotourism arrangements, like revenue sharing mechanisms, employment arrangements, community-private partnerships and community-run enterprises. Then, based on a number of case studies and findings in literature this paper has made a first attempt to investigate some possible consequences of the selected arrangements in terms of local empowerment, expected benefits and main constraints.

This analysis has highlighted the high complexity of ecotourism arrangements involving communities. To give a straightforward answer about the consequences of ecotourism arrangements is very difficult if not impossible due to the variety and complexity of issues that need to be taken into account, the lack of comparative studies and the lack of long term in-depth analysis. Generally speaking, the level of empowerment of local communities has a high chance of increasing with the increase of land and natural resource management responsibilities and rights devolved to local communities. Joint ventures with the private sector can favour a deeper involvement of local communities into ecotourism plans, stimulate them to directly improve their livelihood and increase their capability to act in their own interests. On the other hand, due to the lack of education, awareness, skills, negotiation capabilities, etc., in the majority of cases communities rely upon the help of donors as well as societal and conservation organizations for carrying out their plans. If on one side it is argued that the support of external agents is essential for community involvement into ecotourism plans, on the other hand, it is also argued that heavy reliance on external support and donor-funding in the long run can only reinforce dependency and that community based arrangements are often destined to collapse after funding dries up and they may not succeed because of poor governance and poor market access. Further analysis is needed in order to identify additional challenges and constraints with regard to community involvement into ecotourism and to suggest a way forward.

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