Contents

→ Conference Co-Chairs' Foreword

We are delighted to welcome you to the Fourth Critical Tourism Studies (CTS) Conference and the first to be held here in the new Cardiff School of Management building at UWIC. Croeso i Gymru - welcome to Wales. With over 120 delegates, it is the largest CTS conference to date and we hope it will continue the momentum generated at the previous events held in Croatia (2005, 2007 & 2009). We are particularly keen that it maintains the 'Dubrovnik spirit' by providing an inclusive and supportive environment in which we can explore new understandings and practices related to critical thinking, action and education in the areas of tourism, hospitality and events.

The conference keynotes, papers, workshops and exhibitions focus on the themes of (i) sustainable tourism futures; (ii) ethics and social justice; (iii) tourism & worldmaking; (iv) critical hospitality & labour; (v) embodiment, performance & identity; (vi) tourism in the symbolic, visual, virtual and material worlds; (vii) tourism & peace; (viii) tourism education and research futures. In traversing the connections between these eight themes, over the next four days we have an opportunity to debate the philosophical scope of tourism and hospitality enquiry and to consider the multifaceted roles of its scholars and educators as change agents.

Those of us who proffer 'hopeful tourism' as an unfolding perspective which aims for co-transformation in and through enquiry and practice, also underline the transformative power of learning and education and so we see thinking, action and education as inextricably entwined. Although an unfolding perspective, hopeful tourism is gaining traction and many of the delegates here (whether they associate themselves with hopeful tourism or not) are engaging with a whole range of issues surrounding the opportunities and obligations inherent in intervening to foster transformations. Whatever your personal standpoint, we hope that you agree that the continued conceptual development of tourism enquiry depends on the exploration of new paradigms and perspectives. We would certainly argue that it is only when we push ourselves away from dominant and taken-for-granted thinking that we truly open up possibilities of seeing ourselves and our multiple worlds anew. And, as with all such journeys, hanner y daith, cychwyn - half the journey is starting.

We hope you find your time in Cardiff intellectually stimulating as well as enjoying the city and all it has to offer. As co-chairs, we would like to thank all those who have helped create this conference, the delegates, our sponsors, our colleagues on the scientific and organising committees and our keynote speakers John Hilary, Cherry Short and Pauline Sheldon. Particular thanks go to Helen Hallam in UWIC's marketing department and above all to our hard-working conference administrators Richard Ward and Rebecca Arrowsmith, without whose efforts the event would not have been possible.

Conference Co-Chairs:

Professor Nigel Morgan, Welsh Centre for Tourism Research, UWIC
Professor Annette Pritchard, Welsh Centre for Tourism Research, UWIC
Dr Irena Ateljevic, Wageningen University, the Netherlands

Conference Programme At-a-Glance

Saturday 2nd. July

17.30–19.30   Conference Registration, CSM Atrium

18.00-18.15   Conference Opening, Lecture Theatre 1
18.15-19.00   Professor Cherry Short CBE Keynote, Lecture Theatre 1

19.00-21.00   Reception to Celebrate 10 years of WCTR, CSM Atrium

Sunday 3rd. July

8.30–10.00   Conference Registration, CSM Atrium

9.15-10.00   John Hilary Keynote Address, Lecture Theatre 1
10.00-10.30   Tea & Coffee Break, CSM Atrium
10.30-12.30   Parallel sessions

12.30-13.15   Lunch, CSM Atrium
13.15-15.15   Tourism & Peace and Research & Ethics workshops
15.15-15.45   Tea & Coffee, CSM Atrium
15.45-17.45   Parallel sessions

19.30-20.30   VisitWales reception at the Wales Millennium Centre in Cardiff Bay

Monday 4th. July

9.15-10.00   Professor Pauline Sheldon Keynote Address, Lecture Theatre 1
10.00-10.30   Tea & Coffee Break, CSM Atrium
10.30-12.30   Parallel sessions

12.30-13.15   Lunch, CSM Atrium
13.15–15.15   Parallel sessions
15.15-15.45   Tea & Coffee, CSM Atrium
15.45-17.45   Parallel sessions

19.30-late   Gala Dinner & Conference Award in Radisson Blu Hotel

Tuesday 5th. July

9.30-10.30   Closing Plenary: Future Agenda, Lecture Theatre 1

10.30-11.30   Coffee & Opportunity to Network Project Bids, CSM Atrium

                     Depart

↘ **Keynote Speakers' Biographies & Abstracts**

Professor Cherry Short CBE has spent her working life fighting for social justice and equal rights. An experienced advocate, she is a former race commissioner for Wales and served on the task force to implement the Welfare to Work and New Deal Programs in Wales and as an elected city councillor. She received the UK Black Business Woman of the Year and the Commander of the British Empire Awards for her pioneering career in promoting racial equality and equal opportunity in Wales. Recently Cherry has focused on developing stronger communities through partnerships and multi-agency approaches. She now heads the University of Southern California's Office of Global & Community Initiatives, overseeing international and community programmes, and exploring outreach and collaborative activities with community organizations and state/ local government.

Keynote Title:
Inequalities, Communities and Actions

Abstract

We know that tourism is the world's biggest and fastest growing industry and that it holds tremendous potential for global economic growth. Yet there is considerable inequality and discrimination in the tourism industry; it remains a leisure activity for the privileged elite and is serviced by the underprivileged in society. Studies by the United Nations University (2006) show that 2% of the richest adult population of the world owns over half of the global wealth. At the same time, we live in a world where at least 44 million people are suffering from malnutrition (Social Watch Report, 2009) and it is estimated that an additional 53 million people will be living in poverty at the global level by 2013 (World Report, 2007).

If this situation is maintained, the gap between rich and poor will continue to increase as inequality continues to widen both in more and less economically developed economies. Thus, poverty and inequality stands at unprecedented levels in post-war history in Britain. In this context, we need to look at tourism more closely to see how it can provide economic equality to under-empowered groups everywhere. As someone who has spent her entire working life fighting for equal rights for all and working to develop stronger communities, I feel it is important to ensure that both globally and locally, tourism plays its role in helping to assure equality and this is the theme of my keynote.

↘ Keynote Speakers' Biographies & Abstracts

John Hilary is Executive Director of War on Want. He has worked in the field of international development and human rights for the past 20 years, including previous posts at Amnesty International, ActionAid and Save the Children. He is a regular contributor to the Guardian's Comment is Free pages, and has authored numerous publications on issues of globalisation, international trade policy and development.

Keynote Title:
To Whose Benefit? Globalisation, tourism and people's rights

Abstract

The past three decades have witnessed an unprecedented shift in the balance of power in favour of transnational capital. Globalisation in the late 20th and early 21st centuries has been characterised by an increase in the rights and freedoms of multinational corporations operating in the world economy, and the penetration of market forces into areas untouched by them before. As the world has shrunk, local communities have found themselves integrated into global markets, often under terms dictated to them by external institutions over which they have no control. For many in the poorest parts of the world, this process has been driven by the tourism industry.

The liberalisation of markets has clearly been to the benefit of multinational corporations, which have seen their share of global income increase exponentially over the period of the last 30 years. Yet it is far from clear that this dynamic has served the interests of ordinary people in host countries. While foreign investment can be important to poorer economies, the benefits of such investment are too often denied to local communities. Where the fruits of globalisation are expropriated by transnational capital, investment becomes exploitation.

What have been the impacts of globalisation on local communities, particularly in the global South? What have been the mechanisms through which these communities have lost control over their livelihoods, particularly in respect of the tourism industry? How can we ensure that future investment will bring the desired benefits to ordinary people in host communities, not just to multinational corporations and their shareholders in the rich world? How can we ensure that tourism is a force for good?

↘ **Keynote Speakers' Biographies & Abstracts**

Pauline J. Sheldon PhD is Professor Emerita at the University of Hawaii's School of Travel Industry Management where she specializes in wellness tourism, corporate social responsibility and sustainable tourism. She is President of the International Academy for the Study of Tourism, and co-founder of the Tourism Education Futures Initiative (TEFI) with Dr. Daniel Fesenmaier. Pauline has chaired the BEST Education Network – an international consortium of educators committed to the development and dissemination of knowledge on sustainable tourism and serves on its international advisory board. In 2008 she won the UNWTO Ulysses prize for her work in developing knowledge in sustainable tourism.

Keynote Title:
Tourism Education Futures Initiative (TEFI): Activating Change in Tourism Education

Abstract

Enormous changes in tourism education are necessary if we are to respond adequately to the socio-economic and environmental shifts facing the planet and tourism destinations in the next few decades. The work of the Tourism Education Futures Initiative (TEFI), an initiative to provide vision, knowledge and a framework for tourism education programs to promote global citizenship and optimism for a better world, will be outlined in this presentation.

Tourism is a hallmark activity of the postmodern world. As such, it is a significant factor in world-making and people-making. The same can be said for universities – they are major enterprises and can be sources for innovative thinking and change. The intersection of tourism and universities is, therefore, a powerful nexus of potential influence. TEFI was born in 2007 to meet this challenge and has held four conferences to date. They have been attended by educators and industry members around the globe, who feel the same urgency to make a difference. In this presentation, specific TEFI initiatives and their progress will be presented. In addition, the outcomes of the May 2011 TEFI World Congress to be held at Temple University in Philadelphia, USA will be shared with conference delegates with the expectation of feedback, dialog and interchange of ideas to further the progress of responsible tourism education.

Saturday 2nd. July 2011

Saturday 2ᵗʰ. July 2011

17.30–19.30   Conference Registration
The Atrium, Cardiff School of Management

18.00-18.15   Conference Opening
Lecture Theatre 1 , Room 1.01

18.15-19.00   **Dr Cherry Short CBE (University of Southern California)**
Keynote Address
Lecture Theatre 1, Room 1.01
Inequalities, Communities & Actions

19.00-21.00   WCTR Reception & BBQ
The Atrium & Terrace, Cardiff School of Management
Welcome From David Pritchard, CB
Dean of Cardiff School of Management

21.30   Coach Pick-Up from UWIC to Radisson Blu Hotel

Sunday 3rd. July 2011

8.00   Coach Pick-Up from Radisson Blu Hotel

8.30 – 10.30   Conference Registration
The Atrium, Cardiff School of Management, Llandaff

9.15-10.00   **John Hilary (War on Want)**
Keynote Address,
Lecture Theatre 1, Room 1.01
To Whose Benefit? Globalisation, Tourism and People's Rights.

10.00-10.30   Tea & Coffee Break & Poster/Exhibition Viewing, The Atrium

→ Sustainable Tourism Futures I:
10.30-12.30 (Harvard Room 1.16)

10.30 Cristina Maxim (London Metroplitan University, England) Sustainable Tourism Planning & Management by Local Authorities.

11.00 Evangeline Singh, Simon Milne & John Hull (New Zealand Tourism Research Institute, AUT) From Farm to Tourist's Table. Towards a better understanding of grower-tourist relationships in South Pacific microstates: The case of Nive.

11.30 Dimitri Ioannides, Sandra Wall-Reinus & Kristina Zampoukos (Mid-Sweden University) The Trend Towards All-Inclusive and Other Preplanned Tourist Destinations: Does Geography Matter?

12.00 Simone Fullagar (Griffith University, Australia) Women's Experience of Mass Cycling Touring & Slow Travel.

→ Tourism & Worldmaking I:
10.30-12.30 (Harvard Room 2.16)

10.30 Keith Hollinshead (University of Bedfordshire) Worldmaking and Indigenous Cosmovision: Tourism and the declaration of structured locative interdependence.

11.00 Hazel Tucker (University of Otago, New Zealand) Opportunity, Mimicry and Ambivalence

11.30 Donna Chambers (University of Surrey, England) A Postcolonial Critique of World Heritage: A Caribbean Perspective.

12.00 Rob Hales (Griffith University, Australia) Whose World Heritage? The role of Indigenous 'free prior informed consent' in tourism and indigenous governance of potential World Heritage listing.

→ Critical Hospitality & Labour I:
10.30-12.30 (Harvard Room 3.20)

10.30 Candice Harris (Auckland University of Technology, New Zealand) & Jennie Small (University of Technology Sydney, Australia) Hotels & the Size of Their Workforce.

11.00 Jill Poulston (Auckland University of Technology, New Zealand Tourism Research Institute) The Impossible Ideal of Absolute Hospitality

11.30 Anne Zahra (Waikato University, New Zealand) & Carmen Pavia (Kenvale College, New Zealand) *Personalism* Informing the Concept of Service in Hospitality.

12.00 Darryl Gibbs (UWIC) Are You Being Served?

→ Embodiment, Performance & Identity I:
10.30-12.00 (Room 0.18)

10.30 Liza Berdychevsky & Heather Gibson (University of Florida, USA) Inversion of Roles in Women's Sexual Behaviour in Tourism as a Technology of Self.

11.00 Ziene Mottiar & Deidre Quinn (Dublin Institute of Technology, Ireland) Is a Self-Catering Holiday Really a Holiday for Women? Examining the balance of household responsibilities while on holiday.

11.30 Nigel Jones (UWIC) Are Marine Cold Water Divers Sensational? An examination of sensation seeking tendencies of recreational United Kingdom (UK) Marine cold water SCUBA Divers.

→ Tourism in the Symbolic & Material World I:
10.30-12.30 (Enterprise Suite)

10.30 Peter Wiltshier (University of Derby, England) & Alan Clarke (University of Pammonia, Hungary) Commodification and Costs of Tourism to Religious Sites: Cases from the UK and Hungary.

11.00 Elizabeth Eustace, Piers Thompson (UWIC) & Gary Packham (University of Glamorgan) Language and Identity in Business Serving the Tourism Industry.

11.30 Patricia Johnson (University of Newcastle, Australia) It's a Wild World: Language, liminality and a conceptual toolbox of scripts, scapes and tropes.

12.00 Katherine Cox, Dimitra Fimi & Kate North (UWIC) Literary Tourism: Exploring Cardiff.

12.30-13.15   Buffet Lunch, The Atrium

→ Tourism & Peace Workshop: 13.15-15.15 (Harvard Room 1.16)
Facilitated by **Tomas Pernecky (Auckland University of Technology, New Zealand) & Omar Moufakkir (Stenden University, The Netherlands)**.

→ Research & Ethics Workshop: 13.15-15.15 (Harvard Room 2.16)
Facilitated by **Scott Fleming (UWIC) & Fiona Jordan (University of the West of England).**

15.15-15.45   Tea & Coffee Break, The Atrium

→ **Social Justice & Ethics I:**
15.45-17.15 (Harvard Room 1.16)

15.45 Emily Hockert (University of Lapland) Sociocultural Sustainability in Rural Community-Based Tourism: The case of Fair Trade Coffee Trail in Nicaragua
16.15 David Manuel-Navarrete (Free University of Berlin) Uneven Tourism Growth and Self-Alienation in Akumal, Mexico
16.45 Louise Dixey (Leeds Metroplitan University) Organising Across the Formal-Informal Tourism Divide in The Gambia.

→ **Tourism & Worldmaking II:**
15.45-17.15 (Harvard Room 2.16)

15.45 Cora U. I. Wong (Institute for Tourism Studies, Macau) The Sanitization of Colonial History: The case of Macau.
16.15 Tomas Pernecky (Auckland University of Technology) Worldmaking: A new paradigm for tourism and events studies
16.45 Chin-Ee Ong (Institute for Tourism Studies, Macau) From Electrical Board Assembly to Card Dealing: A microgenealogy of a casino human resource facility in Singapore.

→ **Tourism Education I:**
15.45-17.15 (Harvard Room 3.20)

15.45 Margret Byrne Swain & Tometi Gbedema (University of California, Davis USA) Trans-Cultural Pedagogy Online.
16.15 David Botterill (UWIC) & Vincent Van Platenkamp (The Netherlands), Tourism Education.
16.45 Emma Bettinson (UWIC) The Tourism PhD Experience.

→ **Sustainable Tourism Futures II:**
15.45-17.15 (Room 0.18)

15.45 Adriana Budeanu (Copenhagen Business School, Denmark) Ignorance or Malevolence? Challenging assumptions behind the study of sustainable holiday products.
16.15 Karen Davies (UWIC) Cultural Events as Catalysts for Increased Cultural Understanding and 'Attitude Change'
16.45 Sheena Carlisle (UWIC) & Martin Kunc (Warwick University, England) & Scott Tiffin Entrepreneurship and Innovation for Sustainable Tourism Development: A multi-stakeholder approach

→ **Tourism in the Symbolic & Visual World I:**
15.45-17.15 (Enterprise Suite)

15.45 Jo-Anne Lester (University of Brighton, England) Cruise Ship Space and Their Embodied Practices
16.15 Mark Wallin (Thompson Rivers University, Canada) Souvenir Cinema: Travel for the 'Jackass'-Generation
16.45 Eunice Eunjung Yoo & Christine Buzinde (The Pennsylvania State University, USA) Deconstructing Tourism Representations of the Middle East: An analysis of televised travelogues.

17.30   Coach Pick-Up To Radisson Blu Hotel

19.00   Coach Pick-Up From Radisson Blu Hotel

19.30 – 20.30   VisitWales Sponsored Wine Reception & Canapes at the Wales Millennium Centre followed by free night in Cardiff Bay

22.30   Coach Pick-Up and Return to Radisson Blu Hotel

Monday 4th. July 2011

8.15   Coach Pick-Up From Radisson Blu Hotel

↘ 9.15-10.00   **Professor Pauline Sheldon (University of Hawaii, USA)**
                          Keynote Address
                          Lecture Theatre 1, Room 1.01
                          Tourism Education Futures Initiative:
                          Activating Change in Tourism Education

10.00-10.30   Tea & Coffee Break & Poster/Exhibition Viewing, The Atrium

→ **Tourism & Worldmaking III:**
10.30-12.30 (Harvard Room 1.16)

10.30 Keith Hollinshead (University of Bedfordshire) A Critical Primer in 'Soft Power': The strategic and enunciate agency of tourism.
11.00 Miha Koderman (University of Primorska, Slovenia), Hidden Potentials of Roots Tourism – The Case of Slovenia.
11.30 Derek Bryce (University of Strathcylde, Scotland) & Senija Causevic (London Metroplitan University, England) Should West Balkan Really be the European Other? The case of the Ottoman heritage interpretation in Bosnia & Hserzegovina.
12.00 Fateme Etemaddar (University of Otago, New Zealand) Towards a New Understanding of 'Diaspora Tourism'

→ **Embodiment, Performance & Identity II:**
10.30-12.30 (Harvard Room 2.16)

10.30 Jillian M. Rickly-Boyd (Indiana University, USA) Dirtbags of Appalachia: Perfoming Self Through the Transient Pursuit of Rock Climbing.
11.00 Carl Cater (Aberystwyth University, Wales) Bikers Beware! Organisational Structures of Motorcycle Tourism in Wales.
11.30 John Dobson (UWIC) Tourism and the Imagined Shark.
12.00 Rob Hood (Thompson Rivers Unniversity, Canada) Conceptualizing the Tourist Experience as a Community Experience.

→ Tourism Destination Futures II:
10.30-12.30 (Harvard Room 3.20)

10.30 Andrew Jones (University of Wales, Wales) Disappearing Destinations. The consequences of climate change: contemporary responses for adapting to change at tourism destinations.

11.00 Seinja Causevic (London Metropolitan University, England) & Paul Lynch (University of Strathclyde, Scotland) Tourism Provision and Host-Host Relations within the Community.

11.30 Gandhi González-Guerrero (Centro Universitario UAEM, Mexico) Questioning the meaning of participation and social equality in sustainable tourism based on the experience of a community-based initiative in Mexico

12.00 Louise Emmanuel & Anthony Samuel (Trinity St Davids, Wales), Sensing Place: Using social media to market places through lived experiences

→ Critical Hospitality & Labour II:
10.30-12.30: (Room 0.18)

10.30 Caroline Ritchie (UWIC) The face of wine: How wine is used to re/present self in public consumption environments

11.00 Bente Heimtun (Finmark University College, Norway) The Lives of Mobile, Seasonal Tourism Employees.

11.30 Richard Ward, Phil Coleman, Caroline Ritchie (UWIC) & Felix Ritchie (Office of National Statistics, Newport, Wales) Young British Women and Wine: Pre-loading is Safe Drinking!

12.00 Jill Poulston (Auckland University of Technology, New Zealand Tourism Research Institute) & Andrew Jenkins (University of Huddersfield) Subjectivity and Ageism: An exploration of myths about older hospitality workers.

12.30-13.15   Buffet Lunch, The Atrium

→ Social Justice & Ethics II:
13.15-15.15 (Harvard Room 1.16)

13.15 Karla Boluk (Dalarna University, Sweden) Creating a New Pedagogy for the Tourism Industry. Fair Trade Tourism Certification.

13.45 Lynn Minnaert (University of Surrey, England) How Social are Social Tourism Initiatives in the EU?

14.15 Jane Mullins (UWIC) Exploring the role and benefits of leisure for people with dementia and their partners

14.45 Diane Sedgley, Annette Pritchard & Nigel Morgan (UWIC) What I Did in My Summer Holidays: Tourism & Socially Excluded Children.

→ Research Futures I:
13.15-15.15 (Harvard Room 2.16)

13.15 Honggen Xiao (Hong Kong Polytechnic) 'Travel research' versus 'Tourist/m Studies'

13.45 Kellee Caton (Thompson Rivers University, Canada) Between You and Me: Making Messes with Construstivism and Critical Thoey

14.15 Tijana Rakic (Edinburgh Napier University, Scotland) Ethics of Visual Tourism Research

14.45 Culum Canally (Independent Scholar, Canada) Confronting Tourism: Participatory Action Research for Tourism Resistance

→ Embodiment, Performance & Identity III:
13.15-15.15 (Harvard Room 3.20)

13.15 Nigel Jarvis, Jo-Anne Lester & Claire Weeden (University of Brighton, England) A comparative analysis of lesbian and gay men's motivations and perceptions of the (gay) cruise market

13.45 Dewi Jaimangal-Jones (UWIC) "Festi-mental" – Exploring the Media Discourses Surrounding Dance Music Events

14.15 Pau Obrador (University of Sunderland, England) The Place of the Family in Tourism Studies: Domesticity and thick sociality by the pool.

14.45 Victoria Richards (UWIC) The (Dis)Embodied Tourism Experiences of People with Visual Impairment.

→ Tourism Destination Futures I:
13.15-15.15 (Room 0.18)

13.15 Jose Fernandez-Cavia (Universitat Pompeu Fabra, Barcelona, Spain) & Assumpcio Huertas (Universitat Rorvira I Virgili, Tarragona, Spain) Tourism Cities and Public Relations: A Critical Perspective.

13.45 Rita Cannas (University of Strathclyde, Scotland) Public Policies for Tourism Seasonality: Exploring the Change in Scotland and Sardinia

14.15 Simon Chiu & Sarah Howard (Edinburgh Napier University, Scotland) Creating Competitive Advantage Through the Effective Experience Economy in Musuems.

14.45 Deidre Quinn (Dublin Institute of Technology), Annette Pritchard (UWIC) & Nigel Morgan (UWIC) The Meaning of Home in the Global Age: The case of the holiday home

→ Tourism Innovative Futures:
13.15-14.45 (Enterprise Suite)

13.15 Hin Hoarau-Heemstra (University of Nordland, Norway) Drivers for Innovation of Nature-Based Tourism Experiences

13.45 Julia Crozier (Australian Innovation Research Centre, University of Tasmania, Australia) Waves of Innovation and Heritage Tourism Attractions

14.15 Claire Haven-Tang & Eleri Jones (UWIC) The Future is now: Challenges in Developing Wales as A Digital Tourism Destination

15.15-15.45   Tea & Coffee Break, The Atrium

→ Research Futures II:
15.45-17.45 (Harvard Room 1.16)

15.45 Emilie Crossely (Cardiff University, Wales) Towards a Psycho-Social Theorization of Tourist Subjectivity.

16.15 Arianne Carvalhedo Reis (Southern Cross University, Australia) Creative Writing in Tourism Studies: A Writing-Story

16.45 Carol Kline (East Carolina University, USA), Nanch McGehee (Virginia Tech University, USA) & Christina Brown-Bochicchio (East Carolina University, USA) Social Capital as Catalyst for Critical Action: An Appreciative Enquiry Approach.

17.15 Agnieszka Rydzik (UWIC) (Im)mobilities of Central and Eastern European female migrants in (in)hospitable territories.

→ Tourism in the Symbolic & Material World II:
15.45-17.15 (Harvard Room 2.16)

15.45 Can Seng Ooi & Ana Maria Munar (Copenhagen Business School, Denmark) The Social Rules of Tourism Social Media.

16.15 Bernadette Quinn & Theresa Ryan (Dublin Institute of Technology, Ireland) Lost in Translation: Interpreting and representing Dublin's Colonial Past.

16.45 Mislava Bertosa (University of Zagreb, Croatia) & Petra Kavrecic (University of Primorska, Slovenia) View to the Health Tourism Between Historiography & Socio-Semiotics.

→ Social Justice & Ethics III: 15.45-17.45
(Harvard Room 3.20)

15.45 Dorina Buda & Alison McIntosh (University of Waikato, New Zealand) Unravelling the Tourist-Local Host-Researcher Nexus: Critical reflections on fieldwork in an area of ongoing conflict.

16.15 Dianne Dredge (Southern Cross University, Australia) Critically Engaged Tourism Research and Praxis: Contributions to destination stewardship

16.45 Tazim Jamal & Bianca A. Camargo (Texas A & M, USA) Critical & Philosophical Perspectives of Justice in Tourism: Theoretical and empirical dilemmas.

17.15 Omar Moufakkir (Stenden University, The Netherlands) The Moralization of Tourism. Much Ado About Nothing!

→ Critical Hospitality & Labour III:
15.45-17.45 (Room 0.18)

15.45 Cheryl Cockburn-Wootten & Alison McIntosh, (University of Waikato, NZ) Knowledge, Trust & Altruism: Conceptualising Professionalism in the NZ Tourism Sector
16.15 Donna Keen (University of Otago, New Zealand) Tourism and a Politics of Belonging
16.45 Berit Brandth (Noweigan University of Science & Technology, Norway) & Marit S. Haugen (Centre for Rural Studies, Trondheim, Norway) Farm Tourism & the Dilemmas of Work and Home.
17.15 Irena Ateljevic (Wageningen University, The Netherlands) Decolonising Myself: (R)evolution From Within and Without.

→ Tourism & Education II:
15.45-17.15 (Enterprise Suite)

15.45 Marta Plumed Lasarte, Vitelio Tena Piazuelo, Carmen Elboj Saso (University of Zaragoza, Spain) The Spanish Higher Education System According to the Bologna Process in the Field of Tourism.
16.15 Noelle O'Connor (Limerick Institute of Technology, Ireland) & Ann Conway (Dublin Institute of Technology, Ireland) The Role of Irish HEIs in the Recovery of the Irish Economy
16.45 Andy Roberts (UWIC) The Emancipation of Food & Beverage Provision From the Traditional Model: UWIC's Approach.

18.00   Coach Pick-Up from UWIC to Radisson Blu Hotel

19.30   Welcome Drinks Reception Sponsored by The Socio-Spatial Analysis Group, Wageningen University, The Netherlands & The Tourism Institute, Zagreb, Croatia

20.00   Gala Dinner & *Annals of Tourism Research* Award

22.00   Dancing

Tuesday 5th. July

8.45   Coach Pick-Up from Radisson Blu Hotel

↘ **Closing Panel & Plenary: An Agenda for CTS**
   9.30-10.30 (Lecture Theatre 2, Room 1.01)

10.30   Coffee & Cakes, The Atrium

↘ **'Speed Dating': Building Project Collaborations**
   10.30-11.30 (CSM Atrium)

                         Disperse

→ **Presentations**
   (The Atrium, Cardiff School of Management)

These will run throughout the conference and the authors will be available to talk through their presentations during the morning coffee breaks on Sunday and Monday.

Posters
Victoria Richards (UWIC) The Tourism Experiences of People with Visual Impairment
Jane Mullins (UWIC) Tourism & Dementia

Films & Exhibitions
Anne Zahalka (photographer based in Australia, zahalka@zip.com.au) Hotel Babylon? Exploring hotels as liminal sites of transition and transgression, visit:
http://www.zahalkaworld.com.au/pages/hotelsuite.html

Agnieszka Rydzik (UWIC) Materialising the Accession 8 Female Migrant Experience: Creative action research.

→ **T**ourism & Peace Workshop: 13.15-15.15 (Harvard Room 1.16)

Facilitated by **Tomas Pernecky** (Auckland University of Technology, New Zealand) **& Omar Moufakkir** (Stenden University, The Netherlands)

Despite the recent efforts to revive the discourse on peace and tourism and the launch of two important publications: *The Journal of Tourism and Peace Research* (2010) and the text *Tourism, Progress and Peace* (Moufakkir & Kelly, 2010), this subject of study struggles to gain sufficient scholarly interest and remains under-researched. The broad church of Tourism Studies, together with Hospitality Studies and the emerging field of Event Studies provide prisms through which the intricate relationships of objects, people, places, and environments can be further explored critically. The purpose of this workshop is to bring together researchers who are interested in exploring the complex issues of peace in these fields and their related way of knowing. This session will review developments in the field by drawing on the achievements of the International Centre for Peace through Tourism Research (ICPTR), and the recent initiatives such as the *Exploring Peace through Tourism, Hospitaliy and Events* network (EPTHE), and the commencement of a new ATLAS Special Interest Group: *Tourism Conflict and Peace Research Group.* The broad aims of this workshop are:

o   To introduce and set out the future direction of a new ATLAS *Tourism Conflict and Peace Research Group* and the ***epthe*** network (Exploring Peace through Tourism, Hospitality and Events; www.epthe.net);

o   To encourage further critical research into peace in all three domains: Tourism Studies, Hospitality Studies and Event Studies;

o   To provide a forum for researchers and emerging researchers interested in the subject of peace;

o   To share personal experiences, hopes, successes, and pitfalls associated with peace research;

o   To delineate areas which have been neglected, yet ought to be examined by Tourism, Hospitality and Event Studies researchers; and

o   To outline future publishing opportunities and research projects.

→ Research & Ethics Workshop: 13.15-15.15 (Harvard Room 2.16)

Facilitated by **Dr Fiona Jordan** (Bristol Business School, University of the West of England, & **Prof Scott Fleming** (Cardiff School of Sport, UWIC)

In line with the conference themes, this workshop will provide a forum within which tourism researchers can discuss the ethical issues raised by using creative, critical and action-based approaches to researching tourism. Building on the ethical issues and debates addressed at the third Critical Tourism Studies symposium in 2009, this workshop will again provide the opportunity for participants to share their experiences of the challenges and 'messiness' of the actual doing of tourism research. Drawing on the experiences of participants, it is anticipated that the discussion will address explicitly some of the key themes and debates that were raised at that time – for instance:

o The current climate of research governance (especially in many universities) remains one of increasing accountability. This is often manifest in the plethora of 'codes of conduct' and research ethics committees/boards and the imperative to publish in 'appropriate' outlets to satisfy the requirements of research funding exercises. To what extent is this culture experienced across different countries and what are the implications for innovations in tourism research and the dissemination of research findings?

o The increasing use of innovative methods of researching tourism & hospitality, many of which these place the researcher at the heart of the research process (e.g., autoethnography) and/or engage with new forms of technology, raise some challenging questions about, for instance, privacy, safety, protection and data ownership.

o Over the last decade there has also been an increasing tendency towards innovative and creative modes of presenting research (e.g., narrative tales, ethnodrama). They too raise ontological and epistemological dilemmas as well as ethical themes – especially in relation to the supervision of students' projects and the presentation of findings.

o The challenges of reflexivity in researching sensitive issues in tourism & hospitality and the dilemmas in combining the roles of activist, advocate and researcher/academic.

In an attempt to make the workshop as interesting and inclusive as possible, we welcome contributions (in whatever form seems appropriate) from participants about their own experiences of researching tourism & hospitality.

→ Abstracts in Session order

Sustainable Tourism Futures 1: 10.30-12.30 Sunday Room 01.16

Cristina Maxim
Sustainable Tourism Planning and Management by Local Authorities: An Investigation of the London Boroughs
London Metropolitan Business School, England

This paper will seek to address the weaknesses in tourism research in terms of our limited understanding of sustainable tourism policy development and implementation in urban areas. Therefore, it aims to develop the current knowledge and understanding of how local authorities in London have embraced and implemented strategies and measures to promote sustainable development of tourism. This research will analyse the role of the public sector in achieving sustainable development of tourism and, since little is known about the subject, an exploratory study was considered to be the most appropriate approach. Furthermore, in order to gain a better understanding of this phenomenon, the research will use a qualitative approach. The paper will comprise an extensive literature review of the relevant topics, as well as a qualitative analysis of secondary data (i.e. tourism policies, strategies and plans of local and central government in the UK). Urban tourism, the focus of the present research, is considered to be a new area of study (Pearce, 2001) which has been largely neglected by academics until recently (Page and Hall, 2003). Urban areas have now been recognised as one of the most important tourist destinations and consequently there has been a growing interest in the study of urban tourism (Edwards et al., 2008). In the same time, the role of government and public authorities in the development and management of tourism has been recognised and underlined by many authors and organisations (UNEP and ICLEI, 2003; HM Government, 2007; Ruhanen, 2008; Godfrey, 1998; Mowforth and Munt, 2009). In spite of this, the development of tourism public policies as a process is not yet fully understood (Hall and Jenkins, 1995). Therefore, the research will help fill the gap in the existing literature.

Evangeline Singh, Simon Milne and John Hull
From Farm to Tourist's Table - Towards a Better Understanding of Grower-Tourist Relationship in South Pacific Microstates: the Case of Niue
New Zealand Tourism Research Institute, New Zealand

Tourism is considered a key tool for creating opportunities for economic growth in Niue and many Pacific Microstates (WTO, 2006; Milne, 2005). The island nations recognise that it is their unique cultures, locations and natural resources that give them a competitive edge in the tourist market, a distinct profile for promotion and a well-defined focus for the traveller (Ayres, 2002, p. 147; WTO, 2001). The research uses the case of Niue to provide a better understanding of the grower-tourist relationship in Pacific Microstates. The objectives are to: (i) review the supply of food- and agriculture-related experiences for tourism; (ii) discuss the tourism operators' linkages to growers. Semi-structured interviews were conducted with 29 growers (N=29), 34 tourism operators (N=34), and discussions were held with 3 village councils (N=3) in Niue that were planning to offer agriculture and culture-based experiences for tourists in the near future. Difficulties can arise when conducting semi-structured interviews with growers and tourism operators such as, the scattered nature of stakeholders on Niue and their prejudiced perceptions related to the researcher's age, gender and background. Findings show that tourism operators use word of mouth to promote local produce and meals available on Niue. About 80–90% of the total food costs of tourism operators consist of imported food due to the inconsistent supply of local produce. Limited local food and agriculture-based experiences are available for tourists in Niue. Recently villages have taken the initiative to provide local food- and agriculture-related experiences for tourists. Recommendation includes the need for growers and tourism operators to strengthen the linkages with each other in order to supply local food- and agriculture-related experiences for tourists and take advantage of the economic benefits offered by the industry.

Dimitri Ioannides, Sandra Wall-Reinius & Kristina Zampoukos
The trend towards all-inclusive and other pre-planned tourist destinations: Does geography matter?
Mid Sweden University, Sweden

In this paper we explore how tourism spaces and places are constructed and transformed, how they are consumed, and how they are marketed. The prime focus is on all-inclusive tourism developments. Over the last two decades, there has been a tendency to develop various types of planned tourism destinations, including all-inclusive resorts, in areas which are often physically separated from existing communities. More and more of these planned destinations are a direct outgrowth of the neoliberal global regime which has pitted many countries and regions in

a global place competition as they seek to attract foreign direct investment on a grand scale. In an effort to become competitive within the globalising economy, numerous places have undergone extensive makeovers to promote themselves in the global marketplace for tourism and the broader experience economy. In the case of the all-inclusive resorts, for the most part they exist out of context of their surroundings and global themes are reflected in characteristics like design and activities. Regardless of where these developments occur they all portray a high element of placelessness and do little to acknowledge local contingencies. An overriding question within this paper relates to the role of place in contemporary tourism. Is being "placeless" a reflection that geography no longer matters? Is it true that in these destinations the activities on offer have replaced the place itself as a principal determinant of travel motivation? What are the long-term implications of such developments for the geographic spaces within which they are set and the host communities? Among others the discussion will focus on the forces that have led to the establishments of such destinations and will seek to identify the key players behind their development. The paper ends with a discussion about the interactions and flows between all-inclusive enclaves and the surrounding areas.

Simone Fullagar
Women's experiences of mass cycling touring as slow travel
Griffith University, Australia

This paper considers how slow travel practices, such as mass cycle touring events, are gendered in ways that emphasise the ethical relations between pleasure, sensory engagement and sustainability. A collective experience of slow travel offers a means of thinking through the body to critically consider temporal modes of becoming and affective relations of connection. Drawing upon qualitative research with first time or experienced cycle tourists I explore how a mass event created 'communities of affiliation' and nomadic identities for women participants. The research has implications for the promotion of sustainable travel and gender inclusive events. More broadly, thinking about slow travel through an ethics of pleasure provides a way of moving beyond environmental moralism (that is highly gendered) to consider the potential of transforming women's experience of the world.

Tourism & Worldmaking 1: 10.30 – 12.30 Sunday Room 02.16

Keith Hollinshead
Worldmaking and Indigenous Cosmovision: Tourism and the Declaration of Structured Locative Interdependence
University of Bedford, England

This presentation inspects the fulfilling relationships Indigenous people have with their inherited environment by critically examining the meanings which land and nature have for Aboriginal groups and communities in Australia. In examining the place-centred *structured locative interdependence* which tends to characterise the traditional and spiritual ties which Aboriginal populations have with their land, the Cardiff delivery records the deep reverence which traditional groups have historically held over their 'country' (i.e., over their sacred and vibratory cultural landscapes of which they themselves are part). In noting that for such traditional populations, 'nature' should not therefore be viewed as something distinct from 'culture' (or 'spirituality'), the presentation offers cosmological insight into (or rather, about!) the totemic reach, centrality, and power of *culture-nature* in Indigenous life across the so called dry continent. It warns, though, that there is no single or unified Indigenous 'Australian' [sic!] cosmovision over the environment, and makes it clear that many longstanding 'traditional' outlooks over culture-nature are fast transitionalising in what non-Aboriginals call removed / outback settings, and are often utterly breaking down in urban-industrial locations. As it proceeds, the chapter offers the critical assessment that while tourism stands as another external / 'Western' / largely-eurocentric intrusion into Indigenous life, it also paradoxically has the latency to help Aboriginal groups freshly declare their longstanding tradition ways (and / or their throbbing fresh transitional contemporaneities) to the non-Aboriginal world. To this end, a case study is distilled in terms of a critique of the recent ground-breaking 'resistance literature' *Blacklines* collation from the University of Melbourne, in which a number of leading Indigenous intellectuals in Australia call for sustained dialogue with non-Aboriginals over issues of history, identity, and representation – all of which this presenter maintains are prime facets of the potentially empowering *declarative agency of tourism*, today.

Hazel Tucker
Opportunity, mimicry and ambivalence
University of Otago, New Zealand

Many studies have shown that tourism development in rural areas is effective in creating opportunities particularly for economic change. However, there remains a need for more nuanced understanding of the ambiguities and

ambivalences with which those opportunities might be met. Drawing on my long-term ethnographic study of tourism relationships in Goreme, Turkey, this paper discusses the ever changing parameters and contexts of opportunity *and ambivalence* that tourism creates. Moreover, because this opportunity exists for a variety of 'incomers' as well as for people 'indigenous' to Goreme (Goremeli), a particular focus here will be on the opportunity relationship between Goremeli people and the increasing number and variety of 'expats' living there. 'Expats' and long-term tourists who long to belong can enunciate their sense of belonging by becoming tourism entrepreneurs and playing the role of host to tourist guests. Others have no such desire to make claims about belonging at all. Some who 'fetishise the idea of 'living like the locals' (Davidson 2005:46) do so with ambivalence and with awareness that their attempts are always undermined by their (desired) membership of the 'expat community.' Meanwhile, Goremeli people have for some years now pursued the idea of 'living like the (tourist) other' by seeking the opportunity that their (often romantic) relationships with tourists have offered them to live and work overseas. Foreigners can come and live in their town, but Goremeli people can't so easily go and live in their towns. Through a growing disappointment in the realisation that they can never achieve 'being one of them over there', however, Goremeli people are increasingly attempting to emulate the 'expat' other within the tourism spaces of their home town. The postcolonial concepts of ambivalence and mimicry are useful here in providing an analytic framework which highlights ambiguities, failures and contradictions in the ever changing relationship of opportunity between 'expats' and the people of Goreme.

Donna Chambers
A POSTCOLONIAL CRITIQUE OF WORLD HERITAGE: A CARIBBEAN PERSPECTIVE
University of Surrey, England

Of the 911 properties on the World Heritage List (WHL) as at the 20 December 2010, only 14 are in the Caribbean (and 9 of these are in Cuba).   This figure was the same in July 2003 when rather paradoxically, the percentage of States Parties in the Caribbean which had ratified the World Heritage Convention stood at 45%, representing the highest of any region in the world. The Caribbean is therefore particularly underrepresented on the WHL and the region forms a key part of the World Heritage Committee's global strategy for a representative WHL. A Caribbean Action Plan for World Heritage spanning the ten year period 2004-2014 has been developed as a means of addressing this underrepresentation of the region. In this discussion paper I question whether it is desirable for postcolonial Caribbean countries to continue to subscribe to the discourse and practice of *World Heritage* which suffers from its own conceptual contradictions and has been argued by several authors to be an inherently political and Eurocentric concept.   Some might undoubtedly present a pragmatic argument which suggests that as a tourism dependent region, World Heritage status could boost the region's tourism industry. However, there have been no studies which have established a causal relationship between World Heritage status and increased tourist arrivals and no conclusive evidence to suggest that cultural and heritage tourists to the Caribbean are influenced by the WHL when making their travel decisions. So in terms of tourism development there is no apparent benefit to the Caribbean of the World Heritage nomenclature. I therefore interrogate whether efforts of Caribbean governments are not better focused on clarifying national understandings of heritage which would take into account the historical and cultural contingency of this term and what it means for Caribbean development rather than slavishly buying into a concept of World (*qua* European) Heritage which perpetuates colonial dependencies.

Rob Hales
Whose World Heritage? The role of Indigenous 'free prior informed consent' in tourism and indigenous governance of potential World Heritage listing.
Griffith University, Australia

This paper examines the engagement of indigenous communities in World Heritage nominations processes with a key focus on how international human rights obligations can influence governance of touristed landscapes. The recent development of the concept of Indigenous free prior informed consent (FPIC) culminating in the Universal Declaration of Human Rights (United Nations, 2008) has highlighted the need to operationalise this concept in a range of contexts to progress human rights and self determination of Indigenous People. The operationalisation of this concept may lead to the altering the governance regimes of indigenous-postcolonial relations which are in need of greater self determination, transparency and accountability in the Australian context (Altman, 2010). The case of potential World Heritage nomination for certain areas of Cape York will be used to explore how these obligations force upon the state a number of dilemmas in developing collaborative ways of governance of touristed landscapes. The process of implementing FPIC will invariably rekindle historical contestation and negotiation of law, policy, institutions and funding frameworks (Hunt and Smith 2008). It will also force tourism governance and indigenous governance to merge in the local context. The research methods used was a web-based literature review of scholarly and non-scholarly articles. The review was conducted as a research consultancy for the Australian State of Queensland. The findings presented in this paper are solely based on conclusions drawn from a literature

review. The literature review also involved verification the conclusions through informal conversations with key stakeholders. The review revealed there is a significant gap in the literature on the application of FPIC to World Heritage nomination processes. FPIC has not been used as a principle to guide World Heritage nomination processes. Where FPIC has been implemented in other contexts the focus has been on individual rights and interests as opposed to collective agreements between geographically disperse groups. Unless this aspect is redressed and a more participatory approach is adopted (Lane and Hibbard, 2005) the World Heritage FPIC process will fall short of realising its human rights and self determination agenda.

Critical Hospitality & Labour 1: 10.30 – 12.30 Sunday Room 03.20

Candice Harris, Jennie Small
Hotels and the Size of their Workers
AUT University; University of Technology, Sydney

The idea that workers embody the brand is placing increasing emphasis on the personal and cultural attributes of employees. The drive towards aesthetic labour, which focuses on "particular embodied capacities and attributes that appeal to the senses of customers" (Warhurst & Nickson, 2007: 103), has the potential for a new form of discrimination based on appearance, "lookism" (Oaff cited in Warhurst & Nickson, 2007). With modern Western society's focus on the thin ideal, there are implications for the increasing number of people who are deemed overweight or obese especially in industries such as hospitality, an aesthetic industry concerned with style and appearance. This paper sought to examine the "face of" 35 major hotels in the business district of Sydney through their online promotional videos, with particular reference to the size of employees. Images of hotel staff were categorized by perceived size, age, ethnicity, gender and occupational role. In total there were images of 112 staff, primarily in front-of-house roles. Of those whose ethnicity was apparent, most were Caucasian. The images were overwhelmingly of slim workers who were under the age of 40. The few who were judged as slightly larger than the norm were older men in the role of "doorman", exemplifying the "portly" British gentleman in top hat and tails or military uniform opening the door of a 4-5 star hotel. The question arises: are Sydney hotels employing only slim staff or are they presenting only their slim staff as the "face of" the hotel. Whatever the answer, the message portrayed to guests and the existing and potential labour pool remains the same: the brand values slimness. While "pride in appearance" is an important criteria in hiring entry-level hospitality staff (Martin and Grove, 2002), this does not explain the exclusion of staff based on size. There are moral implications when hotels discriminate either in employment or promotional message.

Jill Poulston
The impossible ideal of absolute hospitality
AUT University; New Zealand Tourism Research Institute (NZTRI)

Shakespearean dramas, morality plays, Masonic ceremonies and religious rituals are allegorical dramas that impart meaning to those willing and able to interpret them. In much the same vein, this conceptual paper explores the construction of meaning from the drama of commercial hospitality, in which a server offers comfort and sustenance to a stranger, and then asks for recompense. This paper explores symbolic acts such as pouring wine, preparing a bed for a honeymoon couple, and taking money from strangers, suggesting possible interpretations of these common rituals. The paper leans on Derrida's (2000) ideas of conditional and absolute hospitality, exploring the differences between them by attempting to examine the attributes of each. Conditional (or operative) hospitality is an act of service that accrues a debt. It involves a complex set of rituals that may symbolise the philosophical underpinning of hospitality, and is therefore somewhat like a morality play, presenting a ritual open to interpretation. To the contrary, absolute (or speculative) hospitality is an unconditional gift that neither implies nor expects any form of reciprocation. Using symbolic acts of hospitality, the paper argues that absolute hospitality is an ideal rather than a reality - a theoretical construct that exists in the imagination but perhaps impossible to manifest. Absolute hospitality cannot exist in reality, because once given, it creates in the giver, a desire for reciprocation or reward, and so by definition, becomes a conditional act, and not a gift. The discussion explores the impact of the unexpressed gift of absolute hospitality on server-hosts, and how the frustration of the desire to give freely, actually generates a desire to receive. Because commercial hospitality is predicated on a reciprocal basis, server-hosts cannot express the desire to give through to its ultimate resolution. Instead, they are paid to 'give', and paid to seek reward for their gifts (sic). The discussion also questions whether the frustration of the impossibility of absolute hospitality ultimately erodes the ability to provide hospitality, or whether the true server, seeking expression through giving hospitality, unconsciously acts out an inner drama of absolute hospitality as an inner ritual, with each sequence of the hospitable ritual. If the server-host is frustrated by the impossibility of giving without expectation of reward, this may manifest as a constant expectation of reciprocation, and a seeking of service due, rather than a seeking to serve. This notion of reciprocation underpins all interactions because it is

argued that it is impossible to give without having the thought of receiving, whether by reciprocation, or by intrinsic reward. The paper concludes with the suggestion that while absolute hospitality can be held as an ideal, in reality it may be impossible to achieve.

Anne Zahra, Carmen Pavia
Personalism informing the concept of service in hospitality
The University of Waikato, New Zealand; Kenvale College

Hospitality has been defined as an experience industry where hosts take responsibility for the experiences created for their guests (Hemmington, 2007), especially the service experience. These experiences are centred around 'persons' both hosts and guests. Fostering a person-oriented culture in an environment where profits and return on investment generally take precedent is a constant challenge for businesses operating in the service and hospitality sectors. Teng and Barrows (2009) claim that over the last decade there has been a decline in hospitality research on service and a research gap that needs to be addressed are insights into a deeper understanding of the concept of service and the application of this concept within the context of hospitality. This paper explores the concept of service through a person oriented philosophical approach, *personalism,* which views service as an integral manifestation of our humanity (De Tavernier, 2009; Minett, Yaman, & Denizci, 2009; Whetstone, 2002). This exploratory study adopted an inductive grounded theory approach. Fifty six front and back of house operations staff from diverse hospitality organisations in Sydney, Australia, were interviewed using both unstructured and semi structured interviews. Hospitality staff were asked to elicit their understanding of: service, service attitude, 'genuine' service, and the relationship between service and job satisfaction, service and attitude to life and service and happiness. Data was analysed using content analysis. The findings highlight that service cannot be reduced to external, quantifiable and measurable components and that service is not only intangible but is inter-subjective, has its ontological and epistemological roots in the human person and the social nature of the human being. The paper concludes that personalism can inform the concept of service and can provide a deeper explanation of what it means to have a person-oriented service attitude in hospitality.

Darryl Gibbs, Claire Haven-Tang, Caroline Ritchie.
Are You Being Served!? An exploration of the role of food and beverage staff in creating hospitable experiences
University of Wales Institute, Cardiff (UWIC), Wales

Many recent studies into service encounters between customers and service staff take a functional view, i.e. reviewing the physical environment or servicescapes (Wall & Berry, 2007). Other views focus on issues such as the nature of hospitableness (Telfer, 2000), emotional labour (Hochschild, 1983), aesthetic labour and worker identity. Recent emerging academic research investigates the creation, delivery and management of experiences (Pine & Gilmore, 1999), including the theatricality of food and beverage servicescapes (Gibbs & Ritchie, 2010). This work in progress paper forms part of a larger PhD study at the University of Wales Institute, Cardiff (UWIC). The aim of the research is to explore the motivations and perceptions of staff working within food and beverage servicescapes in order to contribute to theoretical debates on: gender; natural hospitableness (including cultural and social influences); servicescapes (the physical nature of the service environments) and theatricality (the influence and application of theatrical analogies to the service encounter). It is envisaged that this research will lead to an enhanced understanding of what constitutes the hospitable experience and how this knowledge can then be utilised to develop and empower food and beverage staff to provide and deliver more natural, enjoyable and authentic hospitable experiences.

Embodiment. Performance & Identity 1: 10.30 – 12.00 Sunday Room 00.18

Liza Berdychevsky; Heather J. Gibson
Inversion of roles in women's sexual behavior in tourism as a technology of the self
University of Florida, USA

Foucault's ideas are widely implemented by feminist researchers. Yet, his ideas have been used sparingly in tourism and have not been used to frame understandings of sexual behavior among tourists. This is surprising considering his theorizing around power, knowledge and sexuality. With 21 in-depth semi-structured interviews with Israeli women, this study aims to address this gap. A Foucauldian prism of power relations and feminist perspective were used as an analytical lens. Findings reveal various modes of sexual behavior in tourism perceived by participants as transgressions of everyday boundaries and as masculine. This can be understood as an inversion of sexual roles (Foucault, 1984). The data show three interrelated facets of inversion: mind, language, and body. Women described shifts in their state of mind in tourism that projected on their sexual self awareness

and behavior: "You let your demons go crazy on holidays!" Additionally, participants explained that using non-native language with foreign casual partner added perceived distance, made them feel "different" and made the sex "kinky." Some women even with their regular partners felt freer to self-express in sex as "suddenly you are not afraid to sound cheap or vulgar!" Further, women used their bodies differently to achieve sexual excitement and/or gratification, "to explore" or "to make a statement," as the "vacation has opened a new channel in sex" for "the expression of the instincts and desires" and for "the fulfilling of the sexual fantasies." Socially constructed standards of femininity (Butler, 1996) imply certain norms regarding appropriate sexual behavior for women and are exercised as forms of power. Yet, according to Foucault "where there is power, there is resistance" (1976, p. 95) and inversion of sexual roles in tourism produces a counter discourse to stereotypical sexual behavior for women, which can be understood as a technology of the self (Foucault, 1988).

Ziene Mottiar; Deirdre Quinn
Is a self-catering holiday really a holiday for women? Examining the balance of household responsibilities while on holiday
Dublin Institute of Technology, S. Ireland

This paper investigates holidays from a gendered perspective. The commonly cited definition of what constitute a holiday is that it is a change from the norm, or an escape from everyday life. But is this the case if tourists are going on a self-catering holiday where many of the tasks from everyday life such as cleaning, cooking and minding children still must be undertaken? This research is specifically interested in the role of women on such holidays. It poses the question: How are household responsibilities divided between partners when on holiday? Does this differ from the situation when at home? How are the personal dynamics and relationships within a family different when they are on holiday? The research builds upon two different strands of literature, from that which deals with the division of labour and decision making within households, and then in the tourism literature we rely on debates and discussions regarding what constitutes a holiday. To date much research in tourism is concerned with the experience of the holidaymaker and little attention is paid to the more mundane activities which are part and parcel of any self-catering holiday. Similarly the focus is often on the individual rather than the family group. This paper uses quantitative data but to a large extent presents focus group findings to address these issues and so adds to our understanding about the holiday experience from a gendered perspective. The findings show that there are differences in roles while on holidays with some chores being shared and others not being done at all. However others remain the responsibility of the female partner. The findings are analyzed in detail. This gendered approach to the holiday experience adds to and broadens the limited feminist research in tourism and contributes to our knowledge about family and female tourist experience.

Nigel Jones
Are Marine Cold Water Divers Sensational? An examination of sensation seeking tendencies of recreational United Kingdom (UK) Marine cold water SCUBA Divers..
University of Wales Institute, Cardiff (UWIC), Wales

As more and more people participate in risky leisure activities, there is a greater need for a nuanced and in-depth understanding of the factors influencing their behaviours. The purpose of this study is to determine the possible difference in the sensation-seeking tendency of recreational cold water SCUBA divers and non-SCUBA divers. Psychologists note among individuals we find different levels of sensation seeking desire, and as a rule their preferred level remains generally consistent. This study uses Zuckerman's Sensation Seeking Scale form V (SSS-V) to examine possible difference in sensation seeking characteristics. The concept of sensation seeking is to access individual differences in optimal levels of stimulation. Since its initial development in 1964, the sensation seeking scale has undergone various changes. This form has 40 forced-choice items separated into factorial derived subscales designed to measure the dimension of sensation seeking as a whole as well as Thrill and Adventure Seeking (TAS), Experience Seeking (ES), Disinhibition (Dis) , and Boredom Susceptibility (BS). The concept of optimal level of stimulation, excitation, or activation in a person who needs experiences to maintain an optimal level of arousal is called sensation seeking. The research scope is limited to a sample of 81 SCUBA divers in the United Kingdom, matched for age, educational level, and income. All subjects were selected on a voluntary basis. The subjects were administered Zuckerman's SSS-V, which is a test predicted on the assumption that all individuals have characteristic levels of optimal stimulation and arousal or activation for particular activities, including SCUBA diving. The data indicates that the UK SCUBA divers have raised levels of sensation seeking scores, but lower compared to other sports, the significance of this for the SCUBA Diving Tour industry is that it indicates that UK divers if provided with home comforts, and satisfied with the services and facilities provided will be repeat visitors, and not constantly seeking new locations for sensational experiences.

Tourism in the Symbolic & Material World 1: 10.30 – 12.30 Sunday Room Enterprise Suite

Peter Wiltshier; Alan Clarke
Commodification and costs of tourism to religious sites; cases from UK and Hungary
University of Derby Buxton, England; University of Pannonia, Veszprem, Hungary

This conceptual paper explores the paradox of commodification benefits and costs to worship at religious sites of special interest.Commodification, or commoditisation, the possible loss of unique cultural meaning and identity, of religious sites can cause obvious distress to worshippers and pilgrims (Andriotis, 2009; Levi & Kocher, 2009; McKercher et al 2008; Timothy & Olsen, 2006; Shackley 2006; Shackley, 2005). We see this as often at Uluru, Central Australia as we do in Westminster Abbey or Canterbury Cathedral. The sale of goods and services at such sites is widespread but can be anticipated with some trepidation by visitors as they enter and leave the site. These souvenirs, often mass produced away from the site itself, are often collected by visitors to commemorate a sacred visit, as occurs at Fatima in Portugal or Lourdes in France. Relics are copied; religious scripts are reproduced; vernacular and sacred architectural mementoes are re-created in cheaper materials and are freely distributed as faithful copies. Therefore, with some resistance from visitors and from worshippers we can now query the need of all visitors for these copies. However, we cannot question the need for the site to sell mass produced items to generate an income for re-investment in site protection and interpretation (Poria & Ashworth, 2009; Rivera et al, 2009; Rotherham, 2007; Hall, 2006; Jackson 2002). Here lies the paradox. To what extent is it fair, or equitable, to continue to support the production of these gimcracks in faraway places? Does the souvenir purchaser have any notion of whether an income is generated for the sacred site? We contend that as visitors and as worshippers we all have a duty of care to revered and special sites and to their guardians. We additionally conclude that visitors and worshippers can be assured of the importance of making a contribution through their purchase to offset some costs of their visit. We shall explore the ways in which investment can be best used to ensure that sites can be sustainable, both in the site and through the souvenirs. Such sacred visits to sites of worship and pilgrimage should not sullied by outright greed. Sympathetic businesses and tour operators must consider is ways in which we can all support the ongoing management of religious sites with ethical and responsible practices.

Elizabeth Eustace, Piers Thompson, Gary Packham
Language and Identity in Businesses Serving the Tourism Industry
University of Wales Institute, Cardiff (UWIC) Wales; University of Glamorgan, Wales

Language is one of the factors that identify an ethnic group most strongly (Watson, 2007). It has been suggested in previous studies that minority language groups may use this as an additional source of human capital (Drinkwater and O'Leary, 1997), which can provide an advantage in small business development and creation. This may involve selling goods and services to fellow members of their group or as the source of a unique good or service provided to the majority population (Jones-Evans et al., 2011). Given the strong links between language and culture it might be expected that businesses that need to provide a strong image associated with place and culture will draw upon language to achieve this, such as those involved in the tourist trade. This paper explores theoretical potential for minority language to be utilised to develop the identify of the business for the purposes of selling a 'cultural experience' to customers, both from the majority language speaking groups of the country and international customers. Data from a survey of small firms in Wales is used to examine the links between the Welsh language and links to the tourist trade to explore the evidence for the theoretical model. The Welsh language is used more heavily in those firms directly involved in the tourist trade, but this is mainly reflective of location. Customer demand is identified less commonly as the factor most likely to lead to the adoption of Welsh by firms involved in tourism than others. However, a higher proportion state the availability of support would be a primary motivator, suggesting practical difficulties are present. The study therefore suggests that language used to promote identity should be incorporated as a major component in business strategies, but in the Welsh context at least, this is not being fully exploited.

Patricia Johnson
It's a wild world: language, liminality, and a conceptual toolbox of scripts, scapes, and tropes
University of Newcastle, Australia
Representations of tourism and travel are powerful creators of imaginative geographies of Other places and peoples as Shumer-Smith and Hannam (1994:4) argue, the way people think about the world has 'very real repercussions for the way it is'. This paper discusses the ways in which language and representations of tourism and travel work to construct place by way of conjuring up a sense of the liminal. It is the language of romance that evokes a sense of danger, excitement and intrigue (or the exotic) which imbibes the travel tale with a sharp sense of liminality – a liminal experience in a liminal space. The concept of liminality encapsulates spatial and temporal dimensions that are easily applied to the travel experience in various physical and social contexts. Scapes, in a

cultural anthropological sense appear as 'tropes of landscape' (Lewellen 2002), in a sociological sense as networks of global complexity (Appadurai 1990, Urry 2000), and in tourism studies as liminal sites involving dynamic interplay between time, space and place (Johnson 2010). This paper draws from a range of scholarly writings to examine how scripts, scapes and tropes can be used as a framework to analyse data drawn from texts about travel to uncover meaning. This conceptual toolbox is put to work to examine the various ways that phenomena of the world are explained through text, in particular how representations of the 'wild' have changed through space and time in the travel context. The discussion argues that 'wild' places, spaces and experiences in twentieth (and twenty-first) century writings about travel have dramatically shifted from the context within which boys own adventures were enacted to adventures in a cosmopolitical wilderness. Through examining notions of the wild in the travel context the usefulness of this conceptual toolbox is revealed.

Katharine Cox, Dimitra Fimi, Kate North
Literary Tourism: Exploring Cardiff
University of Wales Institute, Cardiff (UWIC) Wales

This paper presents research from an on-going interdisciplinary project focusing on literary tourism in the Cardiff area. Specifically, the project has generated a series of digital walks designed to open up representations of Cardiff as a literary site to tourists and residents. The project team consists of creative writers, literary critics, historians, educators and performance practitioners, who have identified a theoretical and practical gap in the marketing of Cardiff. This is addressed through the construction of literary walks which engage with the literary and historical heritage of the city. Our critical engagement with Cardiff's literary tradition and its emergent writers sees Cardiff as a site to be navigated through the experience of physical and digital tourism.   *Mapping the Lakes* Project (Lancaster University, 2009) identified the potential for literary studies and new technologies to experience location, through the use of Google Earth and GPS. The development of smartphones and digital technology in general offers sympathetic tourist interfaces. Literary tourism is a growth area that correlates to recent theoretical interest in literature and its relation to space, place and location (e.g. Miller 2006, Moretti 1998 and 2005). In particular tourist agencies, businesses and academics have connected (sometimes tenuously) canonical writers of place and landscape such as Jane Austen (Bath), Romantic poets (Lake District), Charles Dickens (London) and James Joyce (Dublin). No such connection has been made for Cardiff and so this project targets this underrepresented locality and identifies key writers through which the experience of the city is mediated and experienced. In doing so, this project offers a unique insight into the potential of literary tourism in Cardiff.

Social Justice & Ethics 1: 15.45 – 17.45 Sunday Room 01.16

Emily Hockert
Sociocultural Sustainability in Rural Community-Based Tourism: The Caes of Fair Trade Coffee Trial in Nicaragua
University of Lapland, Finland

Many international development aid organizations perceive community-based tourism as a promising strategy for sustainable development and poverty reduction. However, the planning and evaluation of the tourism development is often concentrated only upon rapid economic and environmental impacts. In practice, the top-down implementation of tourism projects have caused that the principles of local control, participation and equal distribution of benefits have turned out to become just empty buzzwords. It can be argued that community-based tourism initiatives fail when tourism developers overlook the indigenous knowledge and sociocultural significance in tourism development. This working paper forms a part of a doctoral dissertation which analyzes current possibilities and challenges in community-based tourism in Nicaraguan context. The purpose of this paper is to draw attention to sociocultural sustainability in community-based tourism and to discuss the possibilities in upcoming research. The author works 2011-2014 as a researcher and doctoral student at the University of Helsinki in a research project called POLITOUR: Policies and Practices of Tourism Industry – A Comparative and Interdisciplinary Study on Central America (funded by the Academy of Finland). The supervision of the dissertation is conducted by Professor of Cultural Studies of Tourism, Soile Veijola in LUC Tourism, Faculty of Social Sciences in the University of Lapland.

David Manuel-Navarrete
Uneven tourism growth and self-alienation in Akumal, Mexico
Free University of Berlin, Germany

This paper reviews the literature on sustainable de-growth and applies the concept of self-alienation to empirical and critical analysis of uneven tourism growth. The development of tourism is often advocated as a vehicle of

economic growth (Britton 1982, Bianchi 1994, Clancy 2001). However, the prospects of global environmental change and the persistence of social inequalities challenge assumptions that tourism growth may reduce poverty without creating other negative consequences (Bianchi 2002, Buzinde et al. 2010, Cole and Morgan 2010). Hence, the upfront rejection of the possibility and desirability of endless growth, which characterizes de-growth discourse, becomes highly pertinent for tourism critical research. The least radical approaches to de-growth consist of reviewing dominant economic paradigms (Victor and Rosenbluth 2007). A more radical approach focuses in value and institutional changes (Speth 2008, Jackson 2009). The goal of this second approach is to theorize about, and actually foster, a political (de-growth) movement that would combat the colonization of people's minds by "*economism*"; the belief in the primacy of economic causes or factors (Latouche 2006). A third approach proposes "inclusive democracy" as a Universalist project for human liberation and autonomy (Fotopoulos 2007). Drawing on libertarian thought, this approach focuses in the analysis of capitalism´s historical characteristics and power relations which are structurally linked to the need of continuous and uneven growth. This paper proposes the concept of self-alienation (Seeman 1959, Schmitt 2004) as central to this third approach. The usefulness of self-alienation for empirical and critical analysis of uneven tourist development is discussed. This discussion is illustrated through the reconstruction of life-story narratives of agents promoting tourist growth in the Mexican Caribbean, a region subjected to intense tourist commoditization (Manuel-Navarrete et al 2010). The development of two adjacent coastal enclaves in the Mayan Riviera is compared. In one of the enclaves the life-stories constructed by tourist promoters speak about the search of meaning in the experiencing of place, which is generally represented as a means for urbanites to reconnect with nature, or at least with an ideal of nature. The life-story narrative constructed around the other enclave, an all-inclusive resort, do not draw meaning from personal involvement with place. Rather, the language of growth ideology dominates a narrative about the objectification of place in terms of, for instance, investments and returns, the representation of workers as numbers and the role of nature as a factor of production. The paper illustrates the difficulties involved and the value for critical tourism studies of researching self-alienation and uneven tourist growth empirically.

Louise Dixey
Organising Across the Formal-Informal Tourism Divide in The Gambia.
Leeds Metropolitan University, England

Over the last decade, increasing attention has been given to organising the 'informal economy' - or what should be called 'the human economy' (Hart, 2007) - in urban Africa due to its immense size and perceived importance to the poor. A growth in local associations has been interpreted as a significant response to an urban 'crisis' of escalating poverty and weak government (Tostensen, Tvedten and Vaa, 2001) because such organisations can help reduce poverty and empower the informally employed (Chen, Jhabvala and Richards, 2007); an assertion which is echoed in the pro-poor tourism discourse (Ashley, Roe and Goodwin, 2001). Conversely, others warn that associations can create tensions as well as opportunities for alliance (Lindell, 2010), reinforce unequal relationships and disempower vulnerable groups (Hlela 2003; Lund and Skinner 2005). Past research on such organisations, however, has been criticised for being too normative, ideological and over-generalised. Hence I followed calls for a critical and ethnographic approach which emphasises processes, actors and agency; and contextualises associations as developing within complex and changing local, national and international discourses and practices (Fisher 1997; Hilhorst 2003; Igoe and Kelsall 2005; Lewis and Opoku-Mensah 2006). My paper presents key findings from this research on the Association of Small-Scale Enterprises in Tourism (ASSET) in The Gambia which was founded in 2000 to protect and give political voice to both small enterprises and the so-called 'informal sector'. I will explore how and why the association developed and whether it has been perceived to make a difference, particularly to informal actors.

Tourism & Worldmaking II: 15.45 – 17.15 Sunday Room 02.16

Cora U. I., WONG
The Sanitisation of Colonial History: The Case of Macau
Macau SAR, China

Macau was founded by the Portuguese in the mid-16th century and the centuries of Portuguese colonial rule that preceded its handover back to China in 1999 gave it a distinctive character which sets it apart from any other Chinese city. The inscription of the Historic Centre of Macau into the UNESCO World Heritage List in 2005 helped the local government package and promote Macau as a cultural and heritage city, while it is of course also known as the Las Vegas of the East. The imprint of the colonial history of Macau is at the root of its interest as a cultural tourism destination. The uniqueness of its blend of century-old Southern European architecture and Chinese styles and of its "fusion" cuisine which borrows ingredients, spices and cooking methods from China, Portugal and other former Portuguese colonies, are promoted as the highlights of a visit to Macau. Yet, as argued

in this paper, not all the 'colonial history products' of the territory are readily offered to tourists; this seems to apply in particular to some historical events that were disturbing or confrontational. Through interviewing Macau tour guides and future tour guides - students who attend the local tour guide training programme - it was found that the sensitive episodes of Macau's colonial history are perceived as being not fully compatible with the 'tastes' of the tourists and that some uneasy historical events are intentionally neglected in the interpretation of Macau presented to tourists. While a review of the literature suggests that the colonial history of a place contributes to tourists' arrival, the informants of this research all said that they prefer not to mention at all the colonial history of Macau. This seems to be particularly the case when the audience is from Mainland China, which for the last five years has been the source of the largest segment of visitors. It is revealed in this research that the tour guides' interpretation of the colonial history of Macau, is typically sanitised and embellished for touristic consumption.

Tomas Pernecky
WORLDMAKING: A NEW PARADIGM FOR TOURISM AND EVENTS STUDIES
AUT University, New Zealand

The concept of *worldmaking* has recently been resurrected in Tourism Studies by the efforts of professor Keith Hollinshead, who with great perseverance eventually mobilised other thinkers - resulting in the publication of the special issue on tourism and worldmaking in *Tourism Geographies* (2009). Despite its potential to help us understand tourism differently, worldmaking has not (yet) been widely adopted, and remains a distant prospect. The aim of this paper is to further articulate worldmaking as a paradigm, and widen its scope in Tourism and Event Studies. Both tourism and events are imbued with interpretations, signs, symbols, and socio-linguistic meanings - making the social realities of tourism and events possible. The field has been witnessing researchers becoming more creative in their conceptualisations about tourism, and there are now also increasing numbers of thinkers who pay attention to the connectedness of tourism and the everyday life: seeing it more as an existential phenomenon that impacts and transforms the lives of individuals and communities, and less as an isolated business entity. It is argued that with the expansion of the field, it is important to broaden the traditional world-views and allow for new ones to emerge: worldmaking is a promising contender for it captures the transformative powers of tourism.

Chin-Ee, ONG
From Electrical Board Assembly to Card Dealing: A Micro-Genealogy of a Casino Human Resource Facility in Singapore.
Institute for Tourism Studies, Macao

Building upon Michel Foucault's concepts of 'genealogy' (Foucault, 1990) and 'governmentality' (Foucault, 1978), this paper presents a very small but significant history of subject-positions at '213 Pandan Gardens'. Constructed in the early 1980s, the one hectare building complex originally housed the electronic board assembly lines of Matsushita Electric, the parent company of Panasonic Corporation, a Japanese electronics giant. Then, the factory drew its workforce from a pool of female homemakers who were encouraged to return to the labour market on a part-time basis by the Singapore government in its bid to arrest labour shortage. As Singapore lost its position as a profitable transnational subcontracting location as cost of production increased, Japanese production lines slowed down and the Panasonic factory at 213 Pandan Gardens saw its final output in early 2000. In 2009, however, the factory complex and the estate underwent an unexpected revival. As a result of the establishment of two casino integrated-resorts in Singapore in 2010, preparation for human resource recruitment and training for one of these casino integrated resorts found its way into Pandan Gardens. The disused Panasonic factory was converted into a one-stop human resource facility aimed at creating and shaping casino workers and the shops and eateries in Pandan Gardens thrived again. Drawing upon interviews with residents and former and current factory workers and archival research of yearbooks and records of institutions and associations in Pandan Gardens, this 'micro-genealogy' of worker subjectification traces the shift of Singapore's economy from the Tiger Economies era of profitable transnational subcontracting fuelled by Japan's regional investment in the 1980s to a post-economic crisis rise of tourism and service industry. In doing so, this paper seeks to contribute to an understanding of the everyday implications of changing modes of state-directed subjectification resulting from tourism and service industry development.

Tourism Education I: 15.45 – 17.15 Sunday Room 03.20

Margaret Byrne Swain and Tometi Gbedema
Teaching in the Academy of Hope: Trans-cultural Pedagogy Online.
University of California, USA.

The Academy of Hope in Tourism Studies (Ateljevic, Morgan, & Pritchard 2007:5) insists on ethical scholarship values within tourism education, embracing our power to become critical change agents. This paper explores how two tourism researchers work to sustain these values while crafting a new online course about niche tourism development (Robinson & Novelli 2005), challenging ourselves while we grow a trans-cultural pedagogy. Our audience for the course in cyberspace is unknown. We do know that this western university's online-fees will exclude many practitioners we would like to reach. Pedagogically our challenge is to be accessible and transform our students' understanding of diverse perspectives. We ourselves literally embody contrasts in many identities: Ghanaian/Californian; male/female; black/white; younger/older; etc. Through dialog we discover commonality, and coherence of our ethical concerns and desires for practice that strives for equity and rights. We interrogate the texts we might use (Ayikoru & Tribe 2007), making choices based on local knowledge and academic training. Our conversations about ethical landscapes (Smith 2009) in niche tourism, comprised of cultural and environmental sustainability, emotional investment, and power relations, lead us to believe that our trans-cultural knowledge is real, yielding both hope and despair for tourism futures.

David Botterill, Dr Vincent Platenkamp
Universality and realism in the tourism academia
University of Wales Institute Cardiff, Wales; NHTV University of Applied Sciences Breda, The Netherlands

There is no doubt about the decisive importance of universally valid theories in natural sciences. This has nothing to do with the mediaeval theological battle between nominalism and realism in which *universalia* in concepts (realism, Plato) or in reality (nominalism, Ockam) were at stake. Since the rise of modern sciences and its more instrumental use of theories in order to describe and explain reality, essentialist tendencies like defining *universalia* have been abolished as remnants of a past that are considered to be obstacles for the growth of scientific knowledge (Dijksterhuis, 1950). Popper (1963), who probably is the most reputed philosopher of science in more recent years, described this type of battles about definitions as completely nonsensical. In each definition, for example of 'power', there are new words to be defined. And at the end of the day it remains relatively easier to use the original concept with the awareness that it cannot be defined in its essence but can be used in a more instrumental manner. Nobody in physics is troubled by the word 'power' but it is used in many contexts in the way it has been operationally defined, for example by f=m.a. Nevertheless, the intention of stating natural laws that are *universally* valid, remains the same. F=m.a is supposed to be tested under the most complicated and various circumstances so that in light of the available knowledge of the day, we may consider it to be the most 'truthful', probable or the less un-truthful hypothesis about phenomena like gravitational power. A hypothesis, derived from a well tested theory, is tested in order to make it and its background theory *universally* valid. Although you can never be sure of it, the ultimate aim of natural sciences will remain to develop universally valid theories *of everything*. Whatever Kuhn, Feyerabend, Latour and others are stating about the lack of any internal criteria for the growth of knowledge, when Einstein and Bohr disagreed they were obsessed by each other's truth claims. For most natural scientists a situation in which two different theoretical research programmes have the same *universal* validity was and is something unacceptable in the natural sciences, despite all the existing objections.

Emma Bettinson
Do you speak the lingo? The role of language and power in the Tourism PhD experience.
University of Wales Institute Cardiff, Wales

The critical turn in tourism studies acknowledges the need for gatekeepers to listen to previously silent or marginalised voices within the tourism community, thereby embracing multiple worldviews (Morgan & Pritchard, 2007). On the surface, PhD students, particularly international PhD students, appear to offer an ideal opportunity for existing orthodoxies to be challenged. However, there does appear to be a reluctance on the part of the academy to reflect upon factors influencing knowledge production and the influence of gatekeepers on the shape of tourism knowledge. This paper suggests that this reluctance may be in part due to the power dynamics which exist within academia and, more particularly, within the supervisory relationship. It acknowledges that these power dynamics exist but are rarely voiced in discussions regarding academic life. The paper stems from a wider PhD study into students' and supervisors' experiences of doctoral study in tourism. It proposes that language plays a key role within the PhD student experience and, in particular, it focuses on the role of language in the power dynamics involved. Using a critical language studies framework, it examines the experiences of students and

attempts to unveil hidden issues of power which can lead to feelings of powerless and exclusion on the part of the students. My research suggests that these feelings of exclusion from dominant academic tribes serve to legitimise existing orthodoxies and discourses within tourism research.

Sustainable Tourism Features II: 15.45 – 17.15 Sunday Room 00.18

Adriana Budeanu
Ignorance or malevolence? Challenging assumptions behind the study of sustainable holiday products
Copenhagen Business School, Denmark

One of the main concerns when discussing the sustainable development of tourism is the noticeable low adoption of sustainable tourism products (CREM 2000), despite optimistic researches that proclaim the emergence of tourists with high environmental awareness and concerns for the sustainability of tourism ((Baysan 2001)(Chafe 2005)(Wurzinger, Johansson 2006). Current research provides abundant evidence of the triggering and hindering factors that determine tourist choices of environmentally friendly holiday products (Johansson 2000, Kim, Borges & Chon 2006)(Grankvist, Dahlstrand & Biels 2004, Götz et al. 2002)(De Burgos-Jiménez, Cano-Guillén & Céspedes-Lorente 2002). However, considering that such choices are never made in isolation, research focused on the consumption of singular holiday products (e.g. eco-labelled hotels, environmentally friendly transportation) does little to provide a holistic view on the motivations behind tourists' adoption or rejection of more sustainable tourism offers. Furthermore, the gap between the alleged emergency of environmentally conscious tourists and the seldom translation of these concerns into actual choices, raise questions related to the methodological assumptions of such research: are we in fact seeing *what we want* to see? The paper takes its starting point in acknowledging that tourism research is lacking a coherent discussion about sustainable tourist consumption. Further, it brings a contribution to the knowledge gap by proposing an analytical framework based on a critical examination of research on environmental behaviour of tourists, decision making processes and environmental impacts of holiday products. The framework examines the environmental significance of tourist choices, in relation to their triggers and barriers and provides inspiration for a holistic context-sensitive analysis of tourist choices. Experiences from initial tests of using the framework provide reflections about the challenges and opportunities encountered when attempting to explain the low adoption of sustainable tourism products. The concluding discussion provides the structure and content for initiating a more coherent discourse on sustainable holidays.

Karen Davies
Cultural Events as a Catalyst for Increased Cultural Understanding and 'Attitude Change'
University of Wales Institute Cardiff (UWIC), Wales

The postmodern tourist is a creature under scrutiny; the tourism industry one of increasing importance in the globalized society in which we live. Whereas in the past the tourist could go about his or her own business at ease, taking the well-deserved leisurely break from the drudgery of the nine-to-five day job, whether it be a beach holiday or a culturally inspired break, these days the tourist is constantly having to question their activities. The onset of the concept of the carbon footprint and the ideals of 'ethical tourism' are just two areas that have forced the tourist to seek moral justification for what was previously a mere pleasure-seeking occasion. An element of these moral justifications and one which is becoming more recognized within the field of tourism studies is that of tourism and attitude change (see for example Pizam et al. (1991), Nyaupane et al. (2008)). MacCannell (1992) argues that the motivation of all tourists lies in their desire to seek out the authentic; the paradoxical situation is such that once anything is 'experienced' or 'touched' then it instantly loses its authenticity (Taylor, 2001), which suggests that tourists will never truly discover the authentic cultures that they crave. However, there is no doubt that some experiences are more authentic than others and this research suggests that these are the ones which potentially act as catalysts for greater inter-cultural understanding and attitude change towards the host community. These experiences often come in the form of 'cultural events'. Through thorough research and investigation into their characteristics, a case study event is chosen that is as authentic to the host culture as possible. Primary research is then conducted in a 'two-phase' (Pol and Pak, 1994) methodological process to discover how much the event experience altered the tourists' cultural understanding and their attitude towards the host community.

Sheena Carlisle, Martin Kunc, Scott Tiffin
Entrepreneurship and Innovation for Sustainable Tourism Development: A multi-stakeholder approach.
University of Wales Institute Cardiff (UWIC), Wales; Warwick University, England

Innovation and entrepreneurship are recognised within a diverse range of literature as providing intrinsic worth to the advancement and quality of the international tourism industry (Cawley and Gilmore, 2008); Getz and Carlsen, 2005; Bardolet and Sheldon, 2008; Morrison and Thomas, 2005). Increasingly tourists are responding to and

demanding the development of niche markets and creative innovations which rely on entrepreneurial innovation. For Less Economically Developed Countries (LEDCs) innovation in tourism is seen as an opportunity to increase the socio-economic gains at a grassroots level (Ashley and Mitchell, 2007, 2008; Goodwin and Bah, 2003) because it may counteract the leakages from the destination generated from foreign owned enterprises and investments. Local innovation and entrepreneurship can help retain economic benefits and encourage the development of local enterprises. While Gurel (2010) suggests that entrepreneurial characteristics and traits are not necessarily learnt but innate through experience, family and personality, we believe, however, for such innovation to flourish a supportive environment is still required where new ideas and innovations can be tested and developed. This paper highlights the importance of a multi-stakeholder collaborative effort to support the intentions of innovation and entrepreneurship in tourism development at LEDCs. It is proposed that unless there is a supportive framework from government, industry and educational institutions to assist with marketing and promotion, product development, financial assistance, training and advocacy on behalf of SMEs any innate entrepreneurial spirits or drive to force change and development may be left undeveloped and stagnant. Subsequently this paper discusses roles which stakeholders can make available in order for a destination to take advantage of enterprise development. We illustrate the roles of stakeholders and issues with the implementation of the effort with specific cases drawn from our experience in different African countries.

Tourism in the Symbolic & Visual World I: 15.45 – 17.15 Sunday Room Enterprise Suite

Jo-Anne Lester
Cruise ship space and their embodied practices
University of Brighton, England

Cruise ships have been variously described as 'tourist enclaves' (Wood 2000; Lester and Weeden 2004); 'floating utopias' (Berger 2004); 'environmental bubbles' (Weaver 2005); or 'hedonistic floating pleasure palaces' (Jaakson 2004). The cruise ship, as a subject of investigation, provides a particularly fascinating space of travel and tourism framed by its bounded, mobile and transient distinctiveness. Additionally paralleling the upsurge in passenger numbers over the past two decades the industry continues to be serviced by larger and more technologically advanced ships (WTO 2010). Yet cruise tourism in general remains largely unexplored in comparison to land-based tourism (see Chin 2008) and despite some notable exceptions (see Foster 1986; Yarnel 2004; Yarnal and Kersetter 2005; Weaver 2005; Kwortnik 2008) cruise ships and cruise ship spaces have received relatively limited attention within tourism research, perhaps indicative of a ship's inaccessibility (see Papathanassis and Beckmann 2010). Embracing a socio-cultural perspective, this paper examines cruise ships as significant, but under-explored, spaces of postmodern travel and tourism. Conceptual in orientation it seeks to explore the multifaceted nature of cruise ships and the ways in which they are spatially constructed, organised and embodied for purposes of work and leisure. Embodied by what Foster (1986:217) refers to as "a short-lived society" it is argued in this paper that to develop a greater understanding of these unique spaces of travel and tourism, and their onboard communities, necessitates greater consideration of the spatial. In doing so Lefebvre's ([1974]1991) 'spatial triad' is utilised as an over-arching concept that acknowledges the inter-relationship between physical space, experiential space and symbolic space. Additionally this paper explores spatial concepts such as Tuan's (1977) notion of 'architectural space', Foucault's (1967) 'heterotopia' and Bahktin's (1984) 'carnivalesque' in its conceptual framing of the relationships between built environments, spatial boundaries and the functioning of temporary and transient societies at sea.

Mark Rowell Wallin
Souvenir Cinema: Travel for the "Jackass"- Generation
Thompson Rivers University, Canada

The modern documentary film represents a blending of politics, art, and tourism insofar as the documentary subjects are exotic Others, anthropological subjects in lives and places hitherto unrevealed to us. Often the documentary allows us to travel vicariously through camera, to consume the locations and lives of those we see. The rise of the documentary as an aesthetic powerhouse in cinema has coincided with the democratization of technologies used to create those films. This paper will focus on the ways that using those technologies, young filmmakers have begun to reconsider what have been defining narrative principles of cinema, replacing it with pastiche, picaresque, and postmodern narcissism. I will explore how these films, which often document the filmmakers' heroic (or stupid) actions, exotic locations visited, or even the process of travel, lack a narrative centre that could mark them as documentary. Rather, they represent a type of souvenir cinema, where the places and people seen in them are externalizations of the filmmakers' touristic impulses – "tourist-objects" (Lury 1997) insofar as they attempt to represent objects of semiotic complexity, overdetermined in their situatedness (majestic vistas, pristine natural settings, complex social systems), but flattened toward "tripper-objects" by the focus of the

film: the filmmaker. It is this aspect of hubris and narcissism that further distinguishes souvenir cinema from documentary, while its technical prowess and ambition elevates it above the "home movie" or tourist video. Baudrillard (1995) clearly speaks to this breakdown of the real and the representational to the point where all that remains is the self: any experience of the Other is secondary to the aggrandizement of the subject. In many ways this type of filmmaking returns to cinema's origins of artefact-oriented, looped data sets popular in the 1890s (Manovich 2001). Lacking any sense of narrative (i.e.the illusion of cohesion produced from small data sets assembled into montage), these wildly popular shorts highlighted both everyday and exotic life in ways that thrilled and terrorized early filmgoers. Souvenir cinema enacts this same principle of looped action (e.g. watching the filmmaker repeat acts of climbing prowess at higher and higher altitudes), but rather than being a by-product of technological constraint, these loops intentionally seek to produce a resonance of ethos by location: an authentic person in an authentic place, performing authentic acts.

Eunice Eunjung Yoo, Christine N. Buzinde
Deconstructing Tourism Representations of the Middle East: An Analysis of Televised Travelogues
The Pennsylvania State University, USA

The purpose of the study is to examine the portrayal of the Middle East within a televised travel show, *No Reservations*. As far-reaching multi-sensory media, televised travel shows go beyond the static print media and are particularly convincing and effective in constructing images of foreign destinations. With the exception of Fürsich (2002) and Jaworski et al.'s (2003) work, scholarship on the representational politics of televised tourism texts has remained scarce yet these cultural texts play a powerful role in mediating cross cultural relations. The aforementioned two studies have been instrumental in highlighting the portrayal of cultural Others within American and British televised travel shows, respectively. In their examination of BBC's *Holiday* and ITV's *Wish You Were Here*, Jaworski et al. (2003) state that locals are "limited to some expert talk, service encounters and brief phatic exchanges" (p.158). Similarly, in examining the content of three television travel shows, *Rough Guide*, *Lonely Planet*,and *Travelers*, Fürsich (2002) mentions that hosts are not actively involved in the showcasing of their nation. Furthermore, the TV show presenters avoid any mention of socio-political issues and rather offer superficial accounts of the foreign cultures (Fürsich 2002). Utilizing Critical Discourse Analysis (CDA), the current study builds on the aforementioned studies to examine the portrayal of the Middle East with particular attention paid to the (dis)engagement with post 9/11 discourses. The findings indicate active local engagement in the co-construction of their nation and critical incorporation of political issues, particularly as related to post 9/11 discourses. This study contributes to the discussion of the intricate discursive relationship between travel media and mainstream news media but also the link between tourism and politics within contemporary society.

Monday 04th July 2011

Tourism & Worldmaking III: 10.30 – 12.30 Monday Room 01.16

Keith Hollinshead
A Critical Primer in 'Soft Power': The Strategic and Enunciative Agency of Tourism
University of Bedfordshire, England

In recent years, tourism has been increasingly found to be not just the industry which scripts already-known places in already-known (time-honoured) ways, but a rather dynamic and creative mix of projective activities through which places (and peoples) are not only mediated, but variously made, de-made, and re-made. Thus, commentators within and overlooking Tourism Studies like Buck, Thomas, Kirshenblatt-Gimblett, Meethan, Franklin, and Hollinshead have drawn attention to **the immense invocative authority and fabricative agency of tourism**. One may thereby draw a conclusion from the work of this new wave of (largely) transdisciplinary / postdisciplinary conceptualists that just as the world out-there is full of 'artful' institutions and individuals, so tourism is itself loaded with 'artful' endeavour for 'places', for 'populations', for 'pasts', and for 'presents'. Indeed, a number of countries have been drawn to **the soft power** value of tourism as one of (if not 'the') leading mechanisms by and through which cities, regions, and (particularly) nations can be inventively re-envisioned or correctively re-scaffolded. This Cardiff presentation will therefore seek to reveal:
●1 = what 'soft power' is in general terms;
●2 = what 'soft power' is vis-à-vis tourism;
The presentation will conclude with (●3) a scrutiny of recent symbolic activity in the national tourism gene bank of 'China'. The pragmatic post-Mao use of, for instance ---
► the Beijing Olympics;
► the Shanghai Expo; and,
► the Terracotta Army Exhibits of Xian

--- will be explained not only for what may be gleaned about the realities of contemporary international tourism, but also vis-à-vis what Confucius recognized about soft power in QuFu (city) and elsewhere around China all those centuries ago. The relevance of the learned sage of the sixth / fifth century BC to twenty-first century China – and, indeed, to twenty-first century everywhere – will be critically revealed.

Miha Koderman
HIDDEN POTENTIALS OF ROOTS TOURISM – THE CASE OF SLOVENIA
University of Primorska, Slovenia

The tourism industry is a complex and segmented sector of the global economy and a major contributor to national gross domestic products in both developed and developing countries. Due to the stiff competition for visitors, tourism destinations constantly strive to present new niche products and search for new market opportunities. In recent years, this endeavor is predominantly evident in the domain of culture and heritage tourism, which occurs on many different scales and is closely related to human history. Such is also the segment of roots tourism, concentrating particularly on specific and personal interests in family history and ancestral and ethnic heritage. Although the term 'roots tourism' gained widespread academic attention, it remains relatively unknown in Slovenia despite the country's considerable diaspora with over 350.000 persons of Slovene origin living in different world continents. The paper examines the social, spatial, financial and cultural aspects of roots tourism visits by Slovene emigrants and their descendants in Slovenia. The research is based on empirical studies of Slovene-American and Slovene-Australian ethnic communities and includes data collected by over 300 respondent families. As the results show, their visits had an impact not only on their sense of family/ancestral heritage, but they also enhanced their identity as Slovene descendants. The respondents reported that in some cases the trip became an emotional 'pilgrimage' rather than a 'tourist journey'. The survey results also show that Slovene-American roots tourism has a significant impact on the local and national Slovene economy.

Derek Bryce; Senija Causevic
Should West Balkan really be the European other? The case of the Ottoman Heritage interpretation in Bosnia and Herzegovina
University of Strathclyde, Scotland; London Metropolitan University, England

This research presents the preliminary findings of the role of tourism in the construction of the meaning of the Balkans in the modern tourism discourse. Empirical research, in the form of deep participant observation of the guided tours, and the interpretation of museum artefacts, whereby the native author (Senija) reflected on her role of a ratified insider, took place in Bosnia and Herzegovina's cities of Sarajevo, Mostar, Srebrenica and Banjaluka. For the purpose of the generic tourism interpretation, the complex Ottoman history in Bosnia and Herzegovina is simplified in such a way that it actually reinforces this wider binary discourse of Europe and its 'other', i.e. the Balkans. The preliminary findings are thus in line with Zizek's argument that in modern European discourse, the Balkans are presented as the 'European 'other', creating a binary discourse of what belongs to Europe and what is European 'other'. As a consequence of a social unrest in the early nineties, today's Bosnia and Herzegovina is described as a divided state between different nationalities and ethnic groupings. Multiculturalism, which once used to be a part of Bosnian identity (Bringa 2005), has been denied. This research argues that promoting Bosnia and Herzegovina as a binary between the east and the west may exacerbate these internal divisions even more. The findings show that although creating the binary may result in some commercial gains, it may also create even more divisions in already divided country. Tourism thus may exercise a reconciliatory role, but it may also exercise the division if it allows the 'seduction' of the decision makers with some dubious potential short-term gains. Some reconciliatory aspects of tourism may be overlooked. Through the lens of heritage codification, this research argues that tourism activities need to be recognised not only as an economic enhancer, but the interpretation of the contested heritage plays an important part of the total process of social renewal.

Fateme Etemaddar
Moving towards a new understanding of "Diaspora Tourism"
University of Otago, New Zealand

In the current literature, the often touristic travels of Diasporas to their ancestral homelands are popularly known as 'Diaspora Tourism'. The reasons for these travels have been emphasised as the need for re-rooting their identity and sense of belonging, fulfilling a sense of nostalgia and social networking, among others. However, scholars have largely ignored the proportion of Diasporas who, despite having these same nostalgic and social needs, are *not able* to travel back to their home countries. This paper explores this issue through consideration of a week-long 'domestic holiday' trip undertaken by an Iranian diasporic group within New Zealand. Using participant observation and informal interviews, this research examines one of the ways the Iranian Diasporas in New Zealand

cope with their cultural and emotional diasporic needs. This case study thus challenges existing understandings of 'Diaspora Tourism'.

Embodiment, Performance & Idenity II: 10.30 – 12.30 Monday Room 02.16

Jillian M. Rickly-Boyd
Dirtbags of Appalachia: Performing Self through the Transient Pursuit of Rockclimbing
Indiana University, USA

The Appalachian region of Eastern Kentucky is the site of a growing community, a node in a national, transient rockclimbing network that spans across the United States. While one can find members of this community in the region year-round, the population expands considerably between March and November, reaching its peak during the optimal weather conditions of October with the Rocktober Fest. As self-described "dirtbags", this group has dedicated themselves to the pursuit of rockclimbing. In a sense they are engaging in drifting, but there are some clear distinctions between these "new age drifters" and those of the 1960s (as theorized by Cohen, 1973). While they have only tentative, and highly flexible, itineraries, they do, in fact, have a goal. In contrast to the original formulation these new age drifters are not traveling in protest, but are *in search* of experiences. They live meagerly, on only a few dollars a day. Most live out of tents, some only a sleeping bag and pack as they hitch rides and share travel expenses and accommodations. Yet, the majority of dirtbags come from backgrounds of relative affluence, and many have given up significant educational and employment opportunities in this recreational and existential pursuit. These dirtbags illustrate the significance of performance theory in tourism studies. While a passion for climbing fosters a minimalist lifestyle, a quest for experiences motivates their transience. Their narratives, however, highlight moments of self-definition and spiritual discovery. According to one dirtbag, "The point is to gain something physically *and* spiritually". Through transient rockclimbing, these dirtbags are searching for and performing identities.

Carl Cater,
Bikers Beware! Organisational structures of Motorcycle Tourism in Wales
Aberystwyth University, Wales

Motorcycle touring has grown significantly in recent years in the UK, with a shift to larger capacity motorcycles and an increase in the average age of motorcyclists, with 50% of all active motorcyclists now aged 40 or over (DfT, 2007). The demographics of this group has meant that, increasingly, motorcycles are used for leisure purposes rather than commuting. Rural Wales, with a high proportion of the mountain and country roads favoured by motorcyclists, has seen a dramatic influx of these recreationists, helped by its proximity to the large population centres of the Midlands. Despite this significance there has been little academic work on the subject, or concerted efforts to embrace this market sector by destination marketing organisations. Although there have been some LEADER funded project efforts in Dumfries (motorcyclescotland, 2009), we know little of these motorcyclists travel patterns, needs, satisfaction or economic impact. There are also important issues concerning sustainability and safety, as the chance of a motorcycle rider being killed or seriously injured, per kilometre travelled, is around 54 times greater than for a car driver (WAG, 2009). This project will discuss the initial findings of an investigation into the motorcycling leisure and tourism sector in Ceredigion, examining travel patterns of motorcycle tourists, motivations and preferences of this group and the potential economic impact. This paper will specifically discuss how the motorcycle leisure sector has evolved in an organisational sense from its roots in a rebellious culture of the 1950s to a large mainstream (although often ignored) subculture today. A number of media influences will be discussed, such as celebrity tours and the impact of web communities on organisational practice.

John Dobson
Tourism and the Imagined Shark
University of Wales Institute Cardiff (UWIC), Wales

This paper evaluates the way Western culture represents sharks through its media (news papers, television documentaries and television news), art (paintings and film) and language. It argues that Western culture has primarily constructed an imagined shark, one that is purely negative in concept, presenting the shark only as a mindless killer intent on harming humans. The paper then explores the duality inherent in shark-based tourism which can act both as a vehicle for re-enforcing the imagined shark and also as a mechanism for breaking it down.

Rob Hood
Conceptualizing the tourist experience as a community experience
Thompson Rivers University, Canada

In June 2009, the Rural Economic Development Tourism Research Education Enhancement [REDTREE] Project was born in response to calls to diversify economies in rural British Columbia. The Project is designed to support efforts to build tourism products/experiences in three rural communities. The Project team has relied on theoretical perspectives from the rural tourism development literature (Reid, Mair & George, 2004) and success factors for rural tourism development (Wilson, Fesenmaier, Fesenmaier, and van Es, 2001) to engage local people in developing these experiences. The approach to experience development encouraged local tourism players to work cooperatively to ensure the necessary attractions and services were coordinated to provide a memorable experience for visitors. In the process of working with community players, the cooperative aspect of building and delivering tourism products/experiences was used to explain the essence of a tourist experience. For example, the tourist experience was not limited to the recreational experience on the trails on the outskirts of town, but included the recreational experience combined with essential services such as accommodation and food services. Subsequently the tourist experience is multi-faceted and the quality of the product/experience depends on the coordination of these facets. This perspective for describing or defining a tourist experience is not readily evident in the variety ways of conceptualizing the tourist experience (Ryan, 2010). However, the perspective has implications for understanding and building quality tourism experiences in small towns. Therefore, in the context of small towns, it is proposed that the tourist experience is essentially a 'community experience' with the level of quality and success of tourism very much dependent on the ability to cooperate and coordinate facets of the experience. The proposed conference presentation and paper elaborates on this theoretical perspective relative to current theory on the tourist experience and community-based tourism development.

Tourism Destination Futures II: 10.30 – 12.30 Monday Room 03.20

Andrew Jones
Disappearing Destinations - the consequences of climate change: contemporary responses for adapting to change at tourism destinations.
University of Wales: Wales

A 2006 report by the UK based Churchill Insurance group highlighted that some of the world's most famous tourist attractions, such as Australia's Great Barrier Reef and Italy's Amalfi coast, could be closed to visitors within a few years because of worries about environmental damage and climate change. The report suggested that some destinations could be permanently closed to tourists by 2020 or face severe restrictions on visitor numbers and/or sharp increases in admission prices. The report warned that within the next fifty years or so, destinations such as the Great Barrier Reef, the Taj coral reef in the Maldives, Goa's coast in India, Florida's Everglades and Croatia's Dalmatian coastline, to name but a few, could be severely damaged, in turn restricting tourism access and in some cases forcing closure of such destinations (Smithers, 2006). Increasingly such sentiments have, more recently been evaluated by authors such as Jones and Philips (2011) in their recent assessment of climate change impacts on global coastal tourism destinations. From such evidence it seems increasingly apparent that the development of tourism destinations, particularly associated with beach and coastlines, are potentially under increasing threats. With current predictions of climate change, incidents of extreme climate phenomena and sea level rise, the socio-economic and environmental well being of such destinations in the short term remains, at best, uncertain and in the longer term potentially catastrophic. It is the consequences of such phenomena which will ultimately impact upon the long term future of coastal tourism destinations and, of course, their continued survival. With respect to such, it is becoming increasingly important to identify management strategies that protect tourism infrastructure and coastal resources, especially in areas significantly reliant on the tourism industry for their economy. This paper will discuss contemporary threats to, and consequences of, current climate predictions and impacts upon predicted tourism growth and asses predicted changes and implications for management and policy options for threatened destinations. From recent research, local impacts of erosion on coastal tourism development are evaluated and consequences for tourism development outlined. The validity and practicality of management options to tackle the complex nature and juxtaposition between tourism growth, climate change and tourism destination management are considered, including an evaluation of management responses and consequent policy options and choices. The research methodology is primarily focussed upon an evaluation of case studies from different regions of the world. These will be used to highlight and illustrate particular sensitive issues and points for contention.   Conclusions from the research will aim to demonstrate and raise debate on how coastal protection measures should be linked to stronger strategic policy responses. In this respect the paper aims to highlight that public perception and policy implementation often ignore this imperative, resulting in inappropriate or weak management responses. In conclusion strategic and integrated management strategies are considered and advocated

for managing coastal tourism destinations and for addressing increasing demands from the industry. More lateral options regarding coastal destinations and their relationship with associated hinterlands, which can often provide new opportunities for sustained tourism development, are also considered.

Senija Causevic, Paul Lynch
Tourism provision and host-host relations within the community
London Metropolitan University, England; University of Strathclyde, Scotland

This research presents a wider focus on post-conflict tourism within the context of social renewal through the development of community tourism. Fieldwork involving interviews and observations took place in the communities in Belfast whereby the primary researcher observed the tours in West Belfast and Shankill communities. In establishing a rapport with the tour guides and community members in charge of tourism, the fieldworker was mainly perceived as an insider due to the fact that she also comes from a previously war torn area. That perception shaped the research process in Belfast and was reflected upon during the analysis. The main findings relate to the clash between two distinctive tour providers in the Shankill and West Belfast communities in Northern Ireland: the communities themselves (Shankill and West Belfast which have predominantly Loyalist and Republican majority populations) as one unified provider, and those entering the communities for tour guiding purposes who come from outside of the communities. Republican and Loyalist communities connected themselves through the same social struggle (poverty, stigma and lack of opportunity) and their social class. Through finding a common ground, they currently cooperate in delivering tours regardless of the troubles from the past. Communities argue they have an exclusive right to be the hosts and talk about the troubles. They fiercely oppose the providers from outside of their communities, calling them 'red bus providers'. Local communities oppose their intrusion, attitude, language, expressions, delivery and interpretation. The findings from Belfast communities show that both Republican and Loyalist communities are united in opposing the civic and '*sanitised*' version of the troubles which is usually delivered by 'red bus providers', and not keeping with the prevalent community discourses. Although development of tourism in the two communities is a low strategic priority, it became very strong in reconciliatory terms due to its ability to unify previously worrying communities. This research thus calls for taking another, more human dimension in measuring tourism success in this context. It is suggested that civic authorities need to give greater recognition to the reconciliatory role that tourism can play in the communities concerned. The tourism product has already grown to the creation of public-private partnerships. However, it needs more support and understanding to start or redevelop businesses of interest to tourists, and allow communities to tell their stories to the generic tourists.

Gandhi González-Guerrero
Questioning the meaning of participation and social equality in sustainable tourism based on the experience of a community-based initiative in Mexico.
Centro Universitario UAEM Tenancingo, Mexico

This paper is based on a PhD research in the communities of San Juan de las Huertas and Raíces in Mexico. The purpose of the research was to add to the understanding of sustainable tourism in rural areas by going beyond environmental issues that are conventionally viewed as the key element in sustainable tourism by delving into the social issues: participation and exclusion. To present the information and findings this paper firstly describes briefly the historical background of ejidos – a type of land ownership in Mexico that was part of the land reform process of 1910s, meaning that a group of people collectively own a property which they use in usufruct. As the paper later explains, this type of land tenure has been a determinant factor in shaping the forms and possibilities of local participation. Based on the evidence from these communities, this paper argues that it is imperative that 'participation' in tourism be questioned by analysing the who and the how. Although much is written about the importance of local participation for 'good' tourism practice, only few studies in tourism have addressed the challenges of participation. This paper takes elements of the development literature, where the issue of participation in community natural resource management has been largely discussed, to analyse participation in rural tourism, which most times also involves the management of natural resources.

Anthony Samuel, Louise Emanuel
Sensing Place: using social media to market places through lived experiences
University of Wales Trinity Saint David; Wales

Sense of Place is fundamentally about people, the way in which throughout time they have stamped their mark on the landscape, the way they have interpreted their personal and social history and the way in which they have interacted, and continue to interact with each other, and with their locality.   The HERCULES (Heritage and Culture for Learning, Empowerment and Sustainable Tourism) Interreg 4A pilot project aims to release the

opportunities within the human capital of the Wales Ireland region through the development of an innovative marketing communications strategy which combines learning, community empowerment and social media (web 2.0). Community participation in an online sense of place social network across the Wales Ireland region will help to create a dynamic, live insight into the shared sense of place of these Celtic nations. This process aims to organically build on the lived experiences (both historical and contemporary) that come to define a place, to create a series of authentic and sustainable unique selling propositions communicated from, and woven into the fabric of the 'place'. It is therefore suggested that the process has the potential to create a dynamic marketing communications tool that aims to communicate an 'authentic sense of place' to the specific tourists that seek it.
This presentation outlines the theoretical basis for this project and describes a model that we conceptualise as 'bottom up marketing'. Bottom up marketing is thus understood as grassroots generated marketing communication activity created from peoples lived experience, all of which come together to helping generate authentic unique selling propositions'.

Critical Hospitality and Labour II: 10.30 – 12.30 Monday Room 00.18

Caroline Ritchie
The Face of Wine: How Wine is Used to Re/present Self in Public Consumption Environments
University of Wales Institute Cardiff (UWIC), Wales

Wine is an alcoholic beverage. It has been made and consumed for well over 8000 years (Charters, 2006). Originally it may have been the mysterious, drug like quality of fermented grapes that made it so attractive. However as humans began to live in larger groups it became obvious that fermented drinks, such as wine and beer, were often safer to consume than non-fermented ones such as river water. Unlike beer however wine has also acquired a symbolic significance which frequently impacts upon interaction with it. Wine may be used for religious rituals, inclusively to extend hospitality and /or develop friendship and fidelity bonds or exclusively to demonstrate social or cultural capital (Barr, 1995: Bourdieu, 1977: Charters, 2006: Demossier, 2004: Jones, 2007). Yet wine is such an integral part of lifestyle for most UK adults that many deny buying wine even when they actually do so (Ritchie, 2009; 2010). A further paradox of interaction with wine is that whilst it is frequently drunk immoderately in private consumption situations it is always seen/ described as a sophisticated inspirational beverage and often used as such in public consumption arenas. This paper discusses how wine is used to demonstrate self image in physically public consumption environments such as pubs, bars and restaurants and or psychologically public environments made so by the presence of significant others. It considers how gender, situation and occasion all impact upon wine related behaviours so that wine may be drunk by those who dislike it or refused by those who like it and in some environments, such as restaurants, become the default alcoholic beverage. To choose or not choose wine, sharing or not, the colour, still or sparkling can all reflect the image that the consumer wants to portray to others in that public situation. Understanding these needs helps the hospitality industry to provide a more accurately tailored experience for their customers.

Bente Heimtun
In the bubble: The lives of mobile, seasonal tourism employees
Finnmark University College, Norway.

The North Cape is a primary tourist attraction in Scandinavia, visited by more than 200 000 tourists each summer. The North Cape Hall and the nearby three hotels are all run by Rica Hotels, an hotel chain which in the season employ and house some 190 people from Norway and other European countries. From a feminist poststructural perspective the aim of this paper is to explore how the mainly unskilled, young, female employees negotiated work and life on the island Magerøya, populated by some 3 350 people and situated at the latitude 71° North. The data were collected in the summer of 2010. 20 male and female mobile employees were interviewed up to three times from June to August. The key argument is that the employees' way of living combined with the spatial, temporal, cultural, social and natural characteristics of Magerøya constructed work and everyday life performances which often were out of the ordinary. For instance, due to shift work and the midnight sun the employees often lost track of day and night. Moreover, as many of them were encapsulated in the Lagune (former motel as living arrangement) situated by a small lake outside Honningsvåg (small town) and the partly remote work places, they were more or less isolated from the local population and the town life, and without regular internet connections they were somewhat inaccessible to friends and family back home. Consequently, most of them had to establish new relationships and adjust their lives to a new environment. As the organised mass tourists visiting the North Cape Hall, many of these temporal migrants felt confined to the bubble. Contrary to the tourist bubble which was marked by the 'protective walls' of the familiar environment at home, the bubble within which the tourism employees lived was more 'betwixt and between' familiar lines of classification, confronting them with positive and negative habits and leisure pursuits.

Richard Ward, Phil Colman, Caroline Ritchie, Felix Ritchie
Young British Women and Wine: Pre-loading is Safe Drinking!
University of Wales Institute, Cardiff (UWIC), Wales; Office of National Statistics, Wales

This paper forms part of a larger PhD study at the University of Wales Institute Cardiff, entitled Alcohol Related Attitudes, Cultures and Behaviours in Young Adults; Challenging Perceived Wisdoms. The purpose of this work-in-progress paper is to investigate the reasoning behind pre-loading with wine amongst young British females between the ages of 18 and 30. Two groups of young female adult alcohol consumers were identified. The participants in group one were aged between 18 and 30 and were either studying at degree level or had completed a degree; the participants in group two were aged between 18 and 30 and had never studied or completed at degree level. 650 questionnaires were completed, 325 in each sample group. Follow up focus groups will be carried out with representatives from each group. The results suggest that pre-loading is not always an issue related to safe consumption habits, instead it may relate to the issue of personal safety and security. Furthermore, there are distinct differences of gender when the consumption of wine is considered within pre-loading and the public consumption arena. More, accurate information should be available if personal safety and security of consumers is to be increased within the public consumption arena. The perception that personal safety and security is more important than heavy wine-consumption may be leading to harmful behaviour on the part of young British females. This paper produces new insights into current wine drinking behaviours in differing groups of young British female adults aged between 18 and 30. Specifically it compares behavioural norms between graduate and non-graduate populations

Jill Poulston, Andrew Jenkins
Subjectivity and ageism: an exploration of myths about older hospitality workers
AUT University and New Zealand Tourism Research Institute (NZTRI); University of Huddersfield, England

Aesthetic labour is a common feature of hospitality work (Nickson *et al.*, 2003), and working hours are often long and unsociable, and potentially incompatible with family or community responsibilities. Logic therefore suggests that the industry is likely prefer younger workers (McNair *et al.*, 2007, Slonaker *et al.*, 2007). Ageism is an acknowledged form of discrimination in employment (Snape and Redman, 2003, Taylor and Walker, 1998). A report on ageism by Age Concern England revealed that more people (29%) had suffered more from age discrimination than from any other form of discrimination (Tasiopoulou and Abrams, 2006). Ageism is also prevalent in New Zealand (NZ) (McGregor, 2001, Wilson *et al.*, 2007), and increases with increased numbers of older workers in the labour force (Wilson et al.). This study identifies attitudes to employing older people in the NZ hospitality industry, defined for the purposes of this study as those aged 50 and over. An analysis of employment policies and views on older workers collected from hotel managers and human resources managers across NZ is presented and discussed. Over 90% of respondents reported that they had policies to prevent employment discrimination on the basis of age, and the majority considered older workers more conscientious, more loyal, and better with customers than their younger counterparts. The study revealed strong prejudices towards older workers, and the likelihood of ageist approaches to human resources activities such as recruitment, training, and promotion. The wide range of misconceptions about older workers perhaps explains why there are so few in the hotel industry.

Social Justice & Ethics II: 13.15 – 15.15 Monday Room 01.16

Karla Boluk
Creating a New Pedagogy for the Tourism Industry: Fair Trade Tourism Certification
School of Technology and Business Studies, Sweden

A number of tourism researchers have commented on the sometimes less than admirable consequences that tourism may have in optimizing community benefits. D'Sa (1999:68) states for example, that contemporary tourism is highly exploitative, socially damaging and ultimately, a "justice issue". Therefore, considering ethics in tourism development is necessary so that "exploitation" does not become its legacy (Page 2003:18). Such discourse in the literature has ultimately drawn attention to a lack of ethical awareness in the tourism industry. A reaction to responsible tourism planning has been the emergence of a number of eco-labels and codes of conduct. Yet, such codes simply 'tinker' with a problem (D'Sa 1999:68) and more proactive solutions and strategies are needed to address the negative impacts of tourism. A by-product of ecotourism and the Pro-Poor Tourism approach has applied fair trade principles to tourism. In the context of South Africa -the only country to have developed a national certification called Fair Trade Tourism South Africa- a process has emerged to externally access tourism businesses against a number of criteria in a way to determine their ethical position.

The key research questions that this paper addresses are what has been the impetus to identify and apply fair trade principles in the context of the tourism industry? How do businesses achieve fair trade certification? The paper aims to explore the development and application of fair trade principles to the tourism industry and investigate Fair Trade Tourism South Africa certification as a way to externally measure ethical conduct. A key finding of this paper illustrates that certification schemes are a way forward for the tourism industry as they provide a way for businesses to maintain credibility.

Lynn Minnaert
How social are social tourism initiatives in the EU?
University of Surrey, England

The proposed presentation for this conference will analyse the motivations and target audiences for social tourism initiatives in Europe. It will particularly focus on the 'Calypso Programme', an initiative of the European Commission for Enterprise and Industry. This programme has a total budget of €3 million and aims to promote and encourage cross-European social tourism initiatives, to which the commission has attributed a wide range of economic (revenue, employment, taxation) and social (inclusion, development, European citizenship) benefits. The questions asked in this paper will include: Should there be a 'right' to tourism, as the European Economic and Social Commission proposes? Do the economic benefits associated with these programmes contribute to, or indeed justify, the social benefits that are linked to social tourism? Does a concept that has been interpreted in so many different ways still have scientific and political credibility? The presentation will firstly analyse the ethical foundations of tourism as a 'right'. It will refer to the differentiation between deserts and entitlements, and examine the justifications that are provided by those who claim tourism should be considered a right. The discussion will then turn to existing infrastructure and organisations for social tourism in Europe, and highlight their need to sustain their operations and purpose. Finally, it will be shown how the evolution of the concept of social tourism has led to a range of different definitions of the phenomenon. It will be argued that a 'scientification' of the concept needs to take place, as has been the case for tourism in general and sustainable tourism in particular – if this does not happen the risk is that 'social tourism' may become a term that is so vague and all-encompassing that it loses its value and credibility.

Jane Mullins
Exploring the role and benefits of leisure for people with dementia and their partners
University of Wales Institute, Cardiff (UWIC), Wales

Dementia is a devastating disease associated with multiple losses for both the person with dementia and their partner. The relationship between the person with dementia (PWD) and their partner changes over time as in most cases the partner becomes a caregiver. There has been a recent shift in person-centred literature exploring the benefits of green exercise for people with dementia (Mapes, 2010). However, there has been very little research exploring the role and benefits of leisure for the PWD and their partners. Drawing from my experience as a research nurse within the memory teams of Cardiff & Bath, I aim to establish the need and benefit for leisure and short breaks for the PWD and their partners together through focus groups, interviews and reminiscence tools. This paper will report on work in progress.

Diane Sedgley, Annette Pritchard, Nigel Morgan
What I Did In My Summer Holidays: Socially Excluded Children
University of Wales Institute, Cardiff (UWIC), Wales

Ateljevic, Morgan and Pritchard (2007) have called for 'hopeful tourism scholarship' in which tourism researchers engage with issues of social justice and disenfranchisement. Unfortunately however, tourism research has not fully engaged with issues of social justice and exclusion but instead tended to focus on overwhelmingly market based, consumerist analyses of tourism (Tribe 2009:4). In doing so, tourism research has failed to consider the experiences of those people without the resources to take a holiday. Hence this paper, located within the 'hopeful tourism' paradigm aims to make some contribution to filling this knowledge gap by examining the reality of the school summer holiday experience for a group of low income parents, living in a deprived inner city area of London. The paper aims to enhance our understanding of how the lack of opportunity to participate in holiday taking by parents is perceived, encountered and managed. In doing so the paper highlights the inequalities and the structural constraints facing many families. The paper also considers the policy implications of its findings.

Research Futures I: 13.15 – 15.15 Monday Room 02.16

Honggen Xiao
"Travel Research" versus "Tourist/m Studies"
The Hong Kong Polytechnic University

This discussion begins with a critical review of tourism scholarship, and tentatively comes to an (the) observation that North America-based endeavours are more on "travel research" versus UK/Europe-based undertakings which are more readily associated with "tourist/m studies". Dictated by focus, perspectives, and paradigms, the former is more social-psychological, behavioural-attitudinal, and deductive/measurement-oriented whilst the latter tends to be more often driven by sociological/anthropological, constructivist/interpretive and inductive/engagement-oriented traditions. While these differences or disparities echo with what was discussed several years ago in the sister's field of "Recreation and Leisure Studies", the implications of a similar pattern in tourism are many fold, and shall have bearings on the future of its education and scholarship, as well as on the growth of tourism as an applied social scientific community. The observation also lends to discussion on research and scholarship in different cultural/language communities, and on diffusion and dissemination of knowledge for a better understanding of tourism as a dynamic and complex socio-cultural phenomenon in a modern world.

Kellee Caton
Between You and Me: Making Messes with Constructivism and Critical Theory
Thompson Rivers University, Canada

Many of us who have recently come of age as social researchers attended graduate school in a rather odd philosophical milieu: On one hand, in our methods and philosophy of science courses, the various research traditions we were exposed to were often presented and made sense of by being juxtaposed against one another in all-too-familiar Lincoln-and-Guba-style matrices, noting the places where their core ideas were seen to converge and diverge. At the same time, however, prevailing postmodern sensibilities lead us to envision broader possibilities, prompting us to see the virtue of mixing and matching research approaches, customizing our own individual strategies that draw their influence from multiple traditions. In this paper, which is meant to be both a personal reflection and an analytical methodology exploration, I engage in an exercise of "rethinking," in which I question earlier claims regarding the tensions between two increasingly popular research approaches in tourism studies—constructivism and critical theory—and attempt to interrogate what is really at stake between these perspectives. Ultimately, I conclude that the tensions between these two traditions may lie in a surprising place: they may not be ontological, and not necessarily even political, but *pedagogical* and *care oriented*. I then ponder the possibilities and limitations of combining the two traditions to forge a social research approach that is reflexive, critically and politically oriented, and respectful of participants and their lived experiences. By situating my analysis within the context of my own doctoral research project, I hope not only to capture the analytical dimension of working at a methodological crossroads, but also to offer a window into the ways that such issues are worked through in our own embodied research journeys.

Tijana Rakić
Ethics of visual tourism research
Edinburgh Napier University, Scotland

At a time when visual research is undoubtedly becoming all the more important across fields of studies and disciplines, this paper seeks both to draw attention to an evident lack of literature focusing on the ethics of visual research in tourism, as well as to stimulate debate surrounding the modes in which visual data could be incorporated in a responsible and ethical manner in the context of tourism research. While reviewing some of the existing literature on visual research ethics from the wider social sciences and humanities (such as Papademas, 2004; Prosser et al, 2008; Wiles et al, 2008), I emphasise that different, and possibly also previously under-examined (Prosser et al, 2008), ethical considerations are likely to need to be made within different visual research projects. In this context, I also draw attention to the importance of avoiding both ethical anxiety and hypochondria (ibid) which, among other, might also prevent some tourism researchers from engaging in visual research. In an attempt of incorporating an empirical discussion within this predominantly theoretical paper, I also reflect on ethical considerations and decisions made as a part of my PhD research (2005-2008) titled '*World Heritage, Tourism and National Identity: a case study of the Acropolis in Athens, Greece'* which, in addition to its more traditional textual side, also involved collecting and interpreting visuals from secondary sources as well as creating still and moving images in the field. Within these discussions, which relate to both the incorporation of visuals from secondary sources as well as the creation of visuals in the field, I pay particular attention to ethical considerations which stemmed from the fact that, in contrast to words, images allow little or no anonymity.

Culum R. Canally
Confronting Tourism: Participatory Action Research for Tourism Resistance
Independent Scholar, Waterloo, Ontario, Canada

For over two decades tourism has often been heralded as a panacea to the economic turmoil caused by a shift to a post-industrial and globalized economy. The rise of mass tourism parallels the flight of well paying jobs from the many formerly industrial and agricultural centers. However the promises made by tourism developers, city planners, and politicians of jobs and a better standard of living rarely materialize and, if they do, they seldom replace the well paying jobs of the industrial era. As more and more people fail to reap the promised benefits of tourism a growing phenomenon of locally organized resistance to tourism development has emerged. Communities across geographic regions and levels of economic development are organizing against exogenous and elite endogenous imposition of tourism. Grassroots organizations have emerged in places such as Atlantida, Honduras; Kaua'i, Hawaii; Chiapas, Mexico; Goa, India; and New Orleans, Louisiana to resist various forms of tourism development ranging from the mega resort construction to port expansion. Although there has been a significant amount of scholarly attention given to the conflict between tourists and hosts after mass tourism is introduced to a community with notable exceptions there has been scant research on organized resistance to tourism development in its planning, construction, and/or expansion stages. In this working paper I review recent local movements that have stood opposed to tourism development in their locales. I then describe why these movements are essential to promoting a more egalitarian form of tourism. Then, with the aim of empowering those most affected by tourism, I outline a participatory action research (PAR) approach that works with local grassroots organizations to constructively and creatively resist exogenous and elite endogenous tourism development.

Embodiment, Performance & Identity III: 13.15 – 15.15 Monday Room 03.20

Nigel Jarvis, Jo-Anne Lester, Clare Weeden
A comparative analysis of lesbian and gay men's motivations and perceptions of the (gay) cruise market
University of Brighton, England

The importance of gender and sexuality in tourism, an under-researched terrain, cannot be overlooked. According to Pritchard and Morgan (2000), any feminist analysis of tourism must include a critique of gender relations in the production and consumption of tourism experiences and images. There is a risk of conceptualising the gay tourist market as homogenous when in fact it is very complex. There is little research into the motivations of the cruise market in general and no significant data attached to the gay niche. This paper sheds light on this particular niche and provides a comparative analysis of lesbian and gay men's perceptions and motivations of the (gay) cruise market. This paper reports the findings from a survey on a diverse sample of 171 lesbian and gay men that explored the motivations, perceptions and constraints of the gay and lesbian consumer with regard to taking a cruise holiday. It further discusses attitudes toward marketing images used by cruise companies to appeal to lesbian and gay men. While lesbian and gay men share many similar attitudes, perceptions and motivations with cruise holidays, significant differences also emerged. The paper also demonstrates how the cruise industry privileges the gay male consumer and at times marginalises lesbians.

Dewi Jaimangal-Jones
 "Festi-mental" – Exploring the media discourses surrounding dance music events
University of Wales Institute, Cardiff (UWIC), Wales

Over recent decades the number of festivals occurring annually has grown exponentially, with one area of events witnessing significant growth being dance music festivals – outdoor events which feature various genres of electronic dance music. This paper contributes to the academic study of festivals by exploring the discourses surrounding the construction and consumption of dance music events within the niche media which support and inform the various scenes represented under the umbrella term 'dance culture'. A central tenant of this paper is that the positive and sensationalist reporting of events by the media and the discourses they construct surrounding events is a driver of demand for large scale events. Through studying the lexicon of the dance music media this paper reveals and dissects pertinent discourses surrounding the reporting of events, which emphasise cultural significance and the centrality of events to contemporary dance music culture through a variety of means.

Pau Obrador
The place of the family in tourism Studies: Domesticity and Thick Sociality by the Pool
University of Sunderland, England

This paper is concerned with the place of the family in tourism research. In an attempt at situating tourism theory, three discourses of tourism are examined in order to see what kind of articulations of the familiar they epitomize. This paper is also concerned with developing theoretical constructs that are sensitive to the familiar character of tourism. As well as contributing to the re-socialization of tourism theory, I look at the sort of *homely* feelings and cultural meanings about the family that are performed in coastal resorts. This argument is illustrated with ethnographical evidences from Menorca. The case study shows both the significance of domesticity and thick sociality for mass tourism and the significance of tourism for family life.

Victoria Richards
The (Dis)embodied tourism experiences of people with vision impairment.
University of Wales Institute, Cardiff (UWIC), Wales

Research Aims: It is widely assumed that a visually impaired person can derive little from seeing "the sights" and experiencing a place at its full potential, despite the fact that tourists are becoming bored of the tourist gaze (Franklin & Crang 2001). To gain more profound understandings of tourism experiences of people with disabilities, this paper presents findings from a doctoral study examining the meaning and significance of tourism experiences of vision impaired people. While earlier work in the study (see Richards, Pritchard & Morgan 2010) identified personal/intrinsic, social/interaction and environmental/structural constraints, the phase reported here set out to capture the embodied experiences of vision impaired people and their families in tourism places and spaces.
Research approach: My research is framed by emancipatory disability research, the sociology of the body and the emergent hopeful tourism perspective (Pritchard, Morgan & Ateljevic 2011). These perspectives are bound by recognition of a 'whole of life' approach (Darcy & Dickson 2009) and respect for the everyday life experiences, which tourists take with them (McCabe 2002). I visited five families, where at least one member was a vision impaired person, discussing together their holiday-taking. I adopted a reciprocal and respectful relationship with my co-researchers and foreground their voices alongside that of my own.
Key arguments: Inclusion and access to tourism experiences requires proactive cognitive thinking in strategic and management planning for any tourism setting. This encompasses universal design, accessibility of information, trained staff and innovative, flexible thinking that aims to include everyone. The study illustrates that vision impaired people want to experience the world, in some instances as a solo traveller, in others with friends and family, having a sense of place rather than being excluded from it. I conclude by arguing, however that inclusive thinking on the part of all the main stakeholders (vision impaired people, the tourism industry and policy makers) holds the key to improving people with disabilities' rights of citizenship and enabling them to find an equal sense of place in the world.

Tourism Destination Futures I: 13.15 – 15.15 Monday Room 00.18

José Fernández-Cavia, Assumpció Huertas
Tourism, cities, and public relations: a critical perspective
Universitat Pompeu Fabra, Spain; Universitat Rovira i Virgili, Spain

Cities around the world are undergoing a period of increasing competitiveness. Strategic brand planning has become necessary, and the process is usually led by political administrations, which not only focus on tourism, but also on the social and economic development of the town. One of the main steps should be to build a prior consensus between all stakeholders, as WTO suggests (WTO, 2009). This kind of consultation is a typical task for public relations, so the relationship between tourism and PR should be deeper, as some experts have already highlighted (L'Etang, 2006, 2007; Huertas, 2008; Fernández Cavia, 2010).
From a critical perspective, the management of a city or destination's image or reputation is not a task related to marketing, but to public relations, for two main reasons:
- from a strategic point of view, PR is crucial in including a wide range of key stakeholders in the brand development process;
- from an operational point of view, PR techniques are prevalent in the tourism industry.
To demonstrate that the importance of public relations in the destination branding is not already understood we will use the results of an on-going research conducted by a team of fourteen diverse experts. The research project is

called "New strategies for advertising and promotion of Spanish tourism brands on the web"[1], and among other aims, wants to analyse the level of development of the communication activities of the Spanish DMOs.
The results show the following:
- few DMOs have PR professionals working in the institution;
- although almost all DMOs have a Marketing Plan, only a few have a Communication Plan; consequently, a good marketing strategy could fail due to bad communication;
- destination managers understand PR mainly as an operational tool, ignoring its strategic role.

To conclude, if PR was better applied to city brand management, it would provide a more holistic vision and guarantee the participation of all interested parties and, thus, a more successful work.

Rita Cannas
Public Policies for Tourism Seasonality: Exploring the Change in Scotland and Sardinia
University of Strathclyde, Scotland

For several decades, tourism seasonality has received much attention both in academic studies and by policy makers. In the former, seasonality has been analyzed starting from a definition of the phenomenon (Allcock, 1989; Bar On, 1975; Butler, 1994) and investigating the variety of causes ((Allcock, 1989; Bar On, 1975; Butler, 1994; Butler and Mao, 1997; Baum, 1998; Baum and Hagen, 1999; Calantone and Johar, 1984; Hartmann, 1986; Higham and Hinch, 2002), impacts (Ashworth and Thomas, 1999; Ball, 1988; Baum and Hagen, 1999; Butler, 1994; Hartmann, 1986; Manning and Powers, 1984; Mathieson and Wall, 1982; Murphy, 1985, Sutcliffe and Sinclair, 1980), and measurements (Bar On, 1975; Drakatos, 1987; Frechling, 2001; Koenig and Bischoff, 2005; Yacoumis, 1980), especially in tourism destinations, although the causes have already been studied in the markets' origin. In the latter, seasonality has been seen as a problematic phenomenon which needs to be tackled by public policies. In particular, public policies have aimed in extending the main season and creating specific attractions for new clienteles (Baum and Hagen, 1999; Butler, 1994; Fitzpatrick Associates, 1993; Getz, 2008; McEnniff, 1992; Owens, 1994; Snepenger et al., 1990; Yacoumis, 1980; Weaver and Lawton, 2002). Although in the last decade tourism seasonality has lost its prominence in tourism literature, there still remain unanswered questions, such as the lack of longitudinal analysis (Baum and Lundtorp, 2001) and the causes have not been understood (Butler, 2001). This contribution investigates recent changes in tourism seasonality that have arisen from public policies and strategies in two different regions, Scotland and Sardinia. Adopting an interpretative philosophical framework and a qualitative methodology, the main research's purpose highlights the changes within spatial, organizational, social and economical characteristics in the two chosen tourism destinations. The research was conducted using in depth interviews with representatives of tourism public bodies and private tourism managers in Scotland and Sardinia, and the triangulation with data and statistics about the main tourism regional features. This has allowed to draw a "map of changes", which highlights how local identity and sustainability are emerging as crucial factors of tourism policies, within the endogenous characteristics of the two tourist destinations. Furthermore, the research emphasizes the role of public policies for changing seasonal tourism flows affected by spatial disparities between central and peripheral areas. Specifically, the Scottish tourism model favours the main cities over the rural areas, while in Sardinia the coastal areas are benefiting at the expense of inner ones.

Simon Chiu, Sarah Howard
CREATING COMPETITIVE ADVANTAGE THROUGH THE EFFECTIVE EXPERIENCE ECONOMY IN MUSEUMS
 Edinburgh Napier University, Scotland

The concept of the Experience Economy addresses trends in economic development with the assertion that there is an economic value to experience. The phenomenon of an increasingly experiential value orientation in both consumer behaviour and reactionary business practices has created a revolution in the approach towards competitive advantage. It is found that it is of greater benefit not only to the consumer but, to the organization, to invert the traditional value models based on organizational benefit and organizational processes to that of consumer value and processes. Concepts pertaining to The Experience Economy are of relevance to recreation and tourism organizations such as Museums and their absence on the discussion pertaining to those concepts is unjustified. The purpose of this research is to advance understanding of the role the experience economy plays in a product's value and competitive advantage and explore the possibilities for experiential product development in Museums which will differentiate these organizations from their competitors whilst maintaining the credibility and integrity of the museum product. The foundation of this research is formed out of recent works on the emergence of the experience economy and roles within our society, practical guides for advantage which have recognized experiential value and significant texts relating to consumer behaviour and competitive advantage. Primary

research was undertaken in a case study of the Hopetoun House of South Queensferry and additional insight brought through contact with management of this house museum and the Hearst Castle House Museum of San Simeon, California. The developing analysis has led to further support of the experiential methods investigated and related concepts. In addition, it is found that contrary to traditional assumptions, through these means museums have opportunities create deeper visitor experiences for competitive advantage without sacrificing organizational aims.

Deirdre Quinn , Annette Pritchard, Nigel Morgan
The Meaning of Home in the Global Age; the touristic case of the holiday (home).
Dublin Institute of Technology, S. Ireland; University of Wales Institute Cardiff (UWIC), Wales

The concept of home has become increasingly complex in an age where mobility on a global scale has become more pervasive.   The somewhat related concept of place attachment has been made problematic by the ability of significant numbers of people to call more than one place home. This paper seeks to explore what we currently call home and how we materialise attachment to place, and more specifically to home. In so doing it further explicates the phenomenon that is tourism because tourism cannot be understood except in relation to home (McCabe, 2002), it is our departure into a place and space that is different. '...home is unavoidably a constituent of tourist experiences...every tourist carries an inherent pursuit of a sense of home/self when travelling (Wang, 2007, p.797), as the definition of home changes so does the definition of tourism. The study on which this paper is based is a phenomenological account of the second home living experience in Ireland, exploring the interactions between the everyday home life and the holiday home life of the second home owner. This study has found that in the case of second home living home remains an integral part of the tourist experience. To date the interface of home and tourism has not been extensively examined in either the home or tourism literatures.

Tourism Innovative Futures: 13.15 – 14.45 Monday Room Enterprise suite

Hin Hoarau-Heemstra
Drivers for innovation of nature based tourism experiences
University of Nordland, Norway

The aim of the paper is to develop a conceptual understanding of the drivers of innovation in nature based tourism (NBT). The generation of a new idea and the adaptation into an innovation is vital to competitiveness in tourism (Sundbo, Orfila-Sintes et al. 2007). However, little seems to be known about how nature based tourism firms get new ideas. Ideas could be understood as the creative process of absorbing knowledge and values that leads to adaptation into innovations. Recently the sources, mechanism and outcomes of knowledge transfer and innovation have been explored by studying clusters of attractions (Weidenfeld, Williams et al. 2010). However, the absorption capacities of individual tourism firms and their ability to adapt the knowledge into innovations were outside the scope of this research. In this paper I will argue that the drivers of innovation could not be understood by looking only at sources of knowledge and knowledge transfer. Nature based tourism firms are connected with other firms, tourists, employees, nature, governments etc. (Sørensen 2004) and this connectedness influences their knowledge (Weidenfeld, Williams et al. 2010) but also their values; what they find important and what they stand for. The paper makes a contribution to the literature by including the role of values in the innovation process and studying the transfer of knowledge, values and innovation in the relatively neglected nature based tourism sector. The paper is mainly conceptual but uses empirical examples to illustrate the arguments. The empirical research has followed a qualitative approach where two Icelandic whale-watching companies have been studied with means of semi-structured interviews and participant observation.

Julia Crozier
Waves of Innovation and Heritage Tourism Attractions
University of Tasmania, Australia

Iconic heritage tourist attractions typically follow a life cycle which culminates in a series of innovation waves as they seek to maintain their relevance to a contemporary audience. Heritage places arguably exist within an environment shaped by disequilibrium where public perception shifts constantly as each generation imposes their own attitudes and values on the past.   The unique historic story of place offers a competitive advantage so long as it reflects the values of contemporary society and remains significant. Innovation lies within the interpretation of the story, using the inherent resources presented by place and through the meaningful triggers incorporated into the heritage experience. This research investigates the drivers, determinants and outcomes of innovation within the constraints imposed on places of historic significance. Several types of innovation are present at iconic heritage tourist attractions including paradigm innovation, product innovation, position innovation and process innovation,

all of which tend to be incremental rather than radical, suggesting that time is a crucial factor. Chronological case study research at Port Arthur in Tasmania, Australia was conducted to identify the internal and external triggers which prompted each innovation wave. The chronological nature of the study enabled the temporal context to be an integral factor in the analysis of change based on social value and perception over time. The paper concludes that at heritage attractions the source of innovation lies in the internal values of place, being the aspects of the story which are memorable, meaningful and personal to the visitor.

Claire Haven–Tang, Eleri Jones
THE FUTURE IS NOW: CHALLENGES IN DEVELOPING WALES AS A DIGITAL TOURISM DESTINATION
University of Wales Institute, Cardiff (UWIC), Wales

Visit Wales' new European Union-funded Digital Tourism Business Framework Project (DTBFP) is designed to address the key challenges of moving Wales' tourism industry from relative e-business immaturity towards the digital age by the end of 2014. Internationally: reduced demand, emergent new destinations and globalisation have significantly increased competition in the tourism industry and promoted process innovation (e.g. networking, reservation systems) not product innovation, which can be easily imitated by competitors. Information and communication technologies (ICTs) have accelerated changes to the way potential visitors access information about destinations and search for/book holidays. How ICTs are exploited for competitiveness and building dynamic businesses is crucial to destination success. The DTBFP will help tourism businesses and supporting organisations adopt new technologies to meet visitor expectations, become more competitive in the marketplace and holistically contribute to developing Wales as a competitive destination. The DTBFP is a portfolio of smaller projects focusing on diverse activities including: industry skill sets; online booking capability; development of virtual communities and social media (Facebook, Twitter and blogs); development of innovative technology pilots (e.g. mobile devices and applications). However, the tourism industry in Wales is dominated by SMEs, particularly micro-businesses and lifestyle businesses, which create significant challenges for public-sector interventions relating to destination development and competitiveness due to: different approaches to quality standards; weak business models; underdeveloped management infrastructures; complex operating environments; heterogeneous business motivations; limited skill sets; lack of engagement with destination propositions. Previous Welsh attempts to achieve a paradigm shift into the digital age have failed through an underestimation of the challenges associated with getting individual businesses engaged with destination development. Interviews with key stakeholders at Visit Wales will establish how the DTBFP proposes to address these challenges. Whether the DTBFP will be successful in achieving a co-ordinated, integrated and holistic approach to empowering tourism businesses to move into the digital age and contribute to the development of digital destinations manages only time will tell.

Research Futures: 15.45 – 17.45 Monday Room 01.16

Émilie Crossley
Towards a psychosocial theorisation of tourist subjectivity
Cardiff University, Wales

Recent theorisations of tourist subjectivity have emphasised the importance of performance, narrative and embodiment. However, these explorations mostly assume an ontology of the subject as unitary and rational, leaving them struggling to explain key features of the tourist experience such as desire, fantasy and enjoyment. These approaches are even less capable of capturing the complexities involved in practices such as volunteer tourism and tourist encounters with poverty, which may provoke ethical dilemmas, negotiations of agency, and feelings of anxiety or guilt. I argue that in order to grasp these affective components of tourist subjectivity, it is necessary to conceptualise tourists as constituted by socio-cultural discourses, unique biographies and intricate emotional worlds. Thus, in presenting a conceptual framework for understanding tourists psychosocially, this paper attempts to explore the largely uncharted 'depths and intimate contours of tourist curiosity, subjectivity, and motivation' (MacCannell 2011). Drawing on psychosocial theory and aspects of psychoanalytic geography, I examine the roles of affect, biography, and unconscious dynamics in producing topographies of tourist desires and seduction, psycho-spatial investments and defences, and conceptualisations of self and Other. I argue that a psychosocial approach, in attempting to transcend dualistic tendencies within the social sciences by theorising the social as 'psychically invested' and the psychological as 'socially formed' (Frosh 2003, p. 1555), provides a unique way of researching subjectivity that resists individualisation and social determinism. It is hoped that these theoretical developments will contribute positively to the advancement of qualitative scholarship in tourism studies and will allow researchers to engage with the complex and varied set of tourist identities and experiences produced by an increasingly diversified tourism market.

Arianne Carvalhedo Reis
Creative writing in tourism studies: A writing-story
Southern Cross University, Australia

The process of conducting social science research and constructing something that is considered by fellow researchers as a contribution to knowledge has the potential to involve one completely during an extended period of time. In my experience, I write pieces in my office, at home, while travelling to conferences, while feeling sick, at night time when all the lights are off, on a nice Saturday morning, and on every other possible occasion. It was then, during an extended project that I realised that Ellis' (1997, p. 117) plea to researchers to "add blood and tissue to the abstract bones of theoretical discourse" and to therefore thoroughly acknowledge one's influence and contribution to every piece of research was, necessarily, a plea to subvert some of the traditional discourse found in academic texts (Brearley, 2002; Richardson, 2004).Using the material I had available from my then current project, which looked into the performances of local hunters and international trampers on a remote nature-based tourism destination, I expressed what I had learnt from the experiences of those involved in my study, and from my own experiences with them, through the use of the 'traditional' academic written prose and through 'less ordinary' illustrative means. By illustrative I mean the use of photographs I had taken and collected during the period of involvement with this project, embedded in my text, without captions or direct mention, simply there in the hope of evoking significant meanings for/from the reader. Such an exploration of my different ways of communicating my research 'findings' elicited a myriad of responses from readers, reviewers, editors and publishers. The present paper aims to present and discuss some of these responses and the inherent difficulties encountered by all of those who try to push, however timidly, the boundaries of 'traditional' academic discourse.

Carol Kline, Nancy McGehee, Christina Brown-Bochicchio
Social Capital as Catalyst for Critical Action: An Appreciative Inquiry Approach
East Carolina University, U.S.A: Virginia Tech University, Blacksburg, U.S.A; East Carolina University, U.S.A

This paper combines an appreciative inquiry approach with the community capitals framework (Emery and Flora, 2006) to explore the ripple effects of community-based tourism development programming within seven small rural towns in western North Carolina. During the summer of 2008, over 100 participants of a regional small towns development program were interviewed regarding their town's tourism development projects. Appreciative inquiry (AI) guided the tone and purpose of the interviews. AI is the idea that organizations identify and focus on what works, rather than on problems that need to be resolved (Cooperrider & Whitney, 2000). The interview questions asked during this study were structured so that respondents would focus on: the beneficial aspects of the organization that governed the programs, the positive outcomes that resulted from the programs, and the reasons behind their success. In particular, the interviews focused on what Cooperrider and Whitney (2000) called the "discovery" stage of inquiry, which explores what gives an organization life. During the transcription process, the impacts noted by the respondents were pictorially-represented, or "mapped" to illustrate the primary, secondary and tertiary effects from various development programs. The map, or diagram, also illustrates the connectedness of impacts on individuals, groups, and physical spaces within the community. Each impact was categorized into one or more of the seven community capitals: built, political, natural, cultural, human, social and financial. Themes of impacted capitals were discovered across the participating towns, and a "spiraling up" force described by Emery and Flora (2006) was confirmed.

Agnieszka Rydzik
(Im)mobilities of Central and Eastern European Female Migrants in (in)hospitable Territories
University of Wales Institute, Cardiff (UWIC), Wales

Female migrant workers from the Accession 8 (A8) countries, the Central and Eastern European nations that joined the EU in 2004, often find themselves in low-paid hospitality work as receptionists, housekeepers or waitresses (Janta & Ladkin, 2009). As well as the pressures of aesthetic and emotional labour, they have to confront gender and ethnic stereotypes, exploitative employers and often experience difficulty moving up the career ladder. This paper discusses an empowering creative Action Research (AR) project carried out with A8 migrant women from Hungary, Latvia and Poland. The application of AR methodology in researching, often disadvantaged and disempowered, minority groups has been shown to bring positive change to participants (Lykes, 2001; McIntyre, 2008). Combining this methodological approach with creative research methods to explore A8 female migrant lived experiences and communicate their voices to the wider public can empower participants while advancing research theory and practice as well as expanding the current scarce body of literature on the topic of female migrants in hospitality. This creative AR project constituted the first phase of fieldwork carried out with a group of A8 female migrants which consisted of a series of discussions, interviews and meetings exploring stereotyped media portrayals of Eastern European women, the experiences and perceptions of being a migrant woman in the

UK and working in the hospitality sector. It resulted in an interactive community exhibition of participants' artworks presented to the public in October 2010, which will be also shown at this conference. This paper captures the results of this critical and creative action, and presents the initial findings with particular emphasis on migrant mobilities and mobile identities.

Tourism in the Symbolic & Material World II: 15.45 – 17.15 Monday Room 02.16

Can Seng Ooi, Ana María Munar
THE SOCIAL RULES OF TOURISM SOCIAL MEDIA
Copenhagen Business School, Denmark

The development of a more interactive and user-based Web has altered mediation processes in tourism. Social media has provided the necessary platforms to create and publish tourist generated content in a high variety of digitalized forms. Technological discourses following the advancement of social media focus on how this technology enhances self-realization, participation, democratization, transparency and user empowerment. However, this is only part of the story. This paper examines the relationship between individual agency and systemic reproduction of social rules and structures that takes place in the virtual world. Netnography and a constructive approach have been adopted for the examination of online communities. There are different types of tourist generated content online. This study focuses on the review genre and examines the case of Tripadvisor which, with over 40 million contributions, is the largest social media site focusing on tourism and travel. The study critically discusses power relations and socialization processes of on-line review making. The research findings provide insights into the politics and poetics of techno-meritocratic systems, social reengineering and commercialization processes in emerging virtual tourism cultures.

Bernadette Quinn, Theresa Ryan
The politics of memory: the case of Dublin's colonial past
Dublin Institute of Technology, S. Ireland

As Alderman (2010: 90) has recently written, the potential struggle to determine what conception of the past will prevail constitutes the politics of memory. This paper aims to investigate the politics of memory at play in determining how Dublin's colonial heritage is constructed and represented to tourists. Dublin's profile as a tourism destination has grown recently. It attracted 5.4 million visitors in 2009 (Fáilte Ireland 2010). Culture and heritage underpin both its touristic appeal and the city's official efforts to represent itself as a destination. Much of Dublin's most iconic built heritage is strongly associated with its development as a colonial capital. Many decades after independence, contemporary Ireland is a vastly changed place. Yet the process of dealing with colonial heritage in tourism contexts is not unproblematic. This paper begins to unravel both the construction and the representation of the city as a tourism destination to investigate how the city is remembering/forgetting its colonial heritage. Its approach is interpretivist, and methodologically, its efforts focus on one hugely important site: Dublin Castle, the seat of English administration in Ireland for 700 years. Centrally located in a prime tourist area to the south of the city centre Dublin Castle is the 6th most visited fee-paying attraction in the state (Fáilte Ireland 2010). Data are gathered through:

- In-depth interviewing with key personnel involved in the multiple sites operating as distinct tourist ventures within the Castle
- Discourse analysis of the Castle's promotional and informational literature
- Analysis of the tour guiding narratives offered to tourists.

The findings point to a selective narration of history in various aspects of the Castle's operation as a tourist attraction. They lend support to the argument that tourism constitutes a mechanism through which places can actively seek to reclaim and recast historically important places of memory.

Mislava Bertoša, Petra Kavrečič
View to the health tourism between historiography and sociosemiotics
University of Zagreb, Croatia; University of Primorska, Slovenia

The proposed presentation aims to analyse the tourist promotion of seaside and balneary destinations of the former Austro-Hungarian Monarchy, in regions which today belong to two countries: Portorož/Portorose in Slovenia, Opatija/Abbazia and Lošinj/Lussin in Croatia. Our approach combines the sociosemiotic perspective and historical research on health tourism. The sociosemiotic perspective (Landowski 1999; 2003) observes interactions actualized within a discourse, between individual or collective subjects who are inscribed and recognized in it. In this perspective discourse can be seen as a space of interactions where different communication strategies are distributed. These strategies determine the types of possible discursive roles for each of the two protagonists – the

sender and the receiver – of the discourse that is being uttered. The coastal balneary, health and beach resorts at the Austrian Littoral developed under the influence of medical discourse that promoted the positive influence of sea, sun and mild climate for treating and recovering from many diseases (tuberculosis, scrofulous, children diseases). An important, often crucial actor in the development of a seaside balneary and health resort was medicine. Some resorts were proclaimed as winter resorts because of the mild climate in winter, some began their tourist "career" as summer seaside resorts, promoting sea bathing, exposure to sea climate, medical treatments with sea mud and brine. Others, on the other hand, had two seasons, the summer and the winter one. The health and balneary seaside resorts, such as Portorož and Lošinj became important tourist destinations in the Monarchy. The aim of the analysis is to research the way in which semiotic material from a particular cultural and historical reality has been re-elaborated: this material consists of imaginary, symbolic forms, linguistic registers, and narrative, visual and uttered configurations.

Social Justice & Ethicd II: 15.45 – 17:45 Monday Room 03.20

Dorina Buda, Alison McIntosh
Unraveling the *tourist – local host – researchers* nexus: Critical reflections on fieldwork in an area of on-going conflict.
University of Waikato, New Zealand.

This paper critically unravels the *tourist-host-researchers* nexus during research fieldwork conducted in a locale of the on-going Israeli-Palestinian conflict. The encounter took place in Bethlehem, Palestinian Territories where tourism as well as every day life has been significantly changed "by the Wall and the surrounding checkpoints which imprison Bethlehem" (Alternative Tourism Group, p.197). The complex and embodied connection between tourists, a local host and the researchers is analysed from three perspectives: Firstly, from the perspective of the interactions between tourists, the main researcher and a local host during a tour to visit the home of the local host, Claire Anastas, a house now directly enclosed on three sides by the eight meter high Israel-Palestine Separation Barrier. Secondly, from the more emotive perspective of the emotional entanglement experienced by the main researcher from her interactions with the distressed local host whose tragic stories of 'living under occupation' (are recounted to) touched the heart of the researcher and other tourists, and the way feelings of sorrow and helplessness were negotiated. Thirdly, from the perspective of the reflexive accounts of the two tourism researchers during their respective travels to an area of ongoing conflict. In this light, the paper contributes discussions and thinking on the critical nature of home hospitality, the emotional and reflexive implications of fieldwork interactions, and the blurred boundaries between tourist-and-tourism researcher are also recognised as we draw on Liz Bondi's "psychoanalytic conceptualisations of identification and empathy as ways of thinking about fieldwork interactions" (p. 64).

Dianne Dredge
Critically engaged tourism research and praxis: Contributions to destination stewardship
Southern Cross University, Australia

This paper explores the messy world of tourism policy and planning research in practice and the entanglements of the researcher as both academic and agent of change. Inspired by the work of Bruno LaTour (2005) and Bent Flyvbjerg (2001, 2004), the paper engages with stories of tourism planning and policy practice, to explore the alternative roles of the researcher, transformed and transformative, during the research process, and what this can potentially mean for destination stewardship. The paper is set against the changing context in which tourism planning and policy takes place and explores the effect that such changes are having on plans, planners and the planned. A range of shifts taking place since the middle of the twentieth century are discussed (see Held 1989; Hirst 2000; Pierre 2000). In essence, these include economic and social restructuring associated with globalisation which has given rise to increasingly mobile capital; global corporate interests that have tended to dominate local interests; and governments that are losing control over local conditions as corporate interests, beyond the reach of any single government, shift their operations, investments and interests to take advantage of more favourable business environments (Peck and Tickell 2002). In an effort to address these negative criticisms of global economic restructuring and respond to claims that corporate interests have 'taken over', governments are increasingly converging on a middle ground between left and right. Anthony Giddens (1998; 2000) called this the 'Third Way' political project - a renewal of social democracy and a reanimation of the public sphere wherein citizens are encouraged to actively and responsibly participate in public debate. More recently UK Prime Minister David Cameron reiterated this project, calling for a 'Big Society', one in which citizens are encouraged to take more responsibility for shaping their destinies by undertaking civic action to address 'the big problems of our time'. These shifts have profound implications for the way that tourism policy and planning is practiced, and the role of research and the researcher into the future.

Tazim Jamal, Blanca A. Camargo
Critical and philosophical perspectives of justice in tourism: Theoretical and empirical dilemmas
Texas A&M University, USA

Studies of tourism have progressed beyond older discourses of "negative" and "positive" impacts to more nuanced understandings of the interrelatedness, complexity, and (local-global) scale in which tourism plays out. Numerous discourses of sustainable tourism, ecotourism, and responsible tourism have been forwarded to counter the apparent injustices attributed to mass tourism. Yet, theoretical and methodological developments related to justice, fairness and equity in tourism research and practice are surprisingly lacking. Tourism research has been particularly inattentive to conceptualizing and addressing justice in relation to minority, and diverse ethnic and socio-economic groups in tourism destinations. This paper starts with a critique of sustainable tourism (and its variants) and highlights some of the ethical gaps in current discourses. The limitations of distributive and procedural approaches are discussed, and insights from feminist theory and political philosophy are drawn upon to commence a conceptual discussion of justice in tourism. We then go on to add embodied perspectives of 'tales from the field', bringing in the voices of some of the working men and women who are the object of the tourist gaze, the raw material of labor exploitation, and the subject of the researcher's pen. As Birkenland (2005:17) put it so well: "The starting point for field research is that development of knowledge takes place somewhere… A field is not a physical locality of a territorially fixed community but a field of care for creation and recreation of knowledge". We approached our fieldwork in this spirit with a social constructivist research paradigm and discovered multiple tensions and contradictions, not only among the various "stakeholders" in our research site but also between our efforts to move iteratively between theory and practice, as well as our own positionalities as tourism researchers. We came back from the field with new learnings and new dilemmas. Based on our research, we argue that justice should be a primary criterion for developing tourism, implementing tourism policy, and evaluating sustainable tourism practices. But we also bring to Cardiff several questions, one of which is: Should theories of justice in tourism be based on historically and socially constructed values as Harvey (2002) argued? If so, what role do Kantian and other positions on morality play?

Omar Moufakkir
The Moralization of Tourism: Much Ado about Nothing!
Stenden University, The Netherlands

International tourists are forecast to reach 1.6 billion by 2020. Most tourism commentaries regard this growth as a great achievement. Others argue that "Wariness rather than celebration typically accompanies accounts of the growth of travel for leisure" (Butcher, 2002: 7). This paper discusses ethics in tourism and the moralization of tourism. The central question of this paper is whether or not there is a place for moral considerations in tourism? Criticizing the moralization of tourism and discussing the ironies surrounding this moralization is one thing; but the irony of these ironies is that this moralization dwells in books and academic journals and hardly ever reaches the target. And so it remains that the moralization of tourism and its critique is simply much ado about nothing. The majority of consumers have *absolutely* no knowledge about this moralization or ethics in tourism. This tendency is also apparent in tourism education programs. This deficit, some may argue, IS immoral.

Critical Hospitality & Labour II: 15.45 – 17:45 Monday Room 00.18

Cheryl Cockburn-Wootten & Alison McIntosh
Knowledge, trust & altruism: Conceptualising professionalism in NZ Tourism
University of Waikato, New Zealand

Recent calls for change within the Tourism sector have argued for the sector to seriously consider the implementation of 'professionalism'. Specifically, concerns have been raised about the workplace conditions of many employees, the readiness of graduates to meet or change these practices and commitment to sustainability in promoting and respecting the rights of people in the workplace (Hoel & Einarsen, 2003; Murray-Gibbons, 2007). Extreme work conditions containing incidents of bullying, violence, mismanagement, lack of organisational communication have been documented with the result that employees are feeling stressed, undervalued and burnt-out (Murray-Gibbons, 2007). In addition to these, the sector is becoming well known for practices embedded in gender discrimination (Banks & Milestone, 2011; Pritchard, Morgan, Ateljevic & Harris, 2007). Education, along with changes to the context of these workplace practices, have been seen as the key for promoting change towards a more ethical and sustainable sector. With this in mind, tourism education is seen as an area in which to implement and change future workplace practices. The Tourism Education Futures Initiative group (TEFI) developed key values needed for education which were: stewardship; mutuality; knowledge; ethics; and

professionalism (Sheldon, Fesenmaire & Tribe, 2011). Arguably all of the values integrate into the final concept of professionalism, which TEFI define as "align[ing] personal and organizational conduct with ethical and professional standards that include a responsibility to the customer or guest and community, service orientation, and a commitment to lifelong learning and improvement" (Sheldon, Fesenmaier & Tribe, 2011, p. 14). Barber's (2011) work illustrates how educational providers had tried to make major changes to their offerings based on these core values. While in the business context, Hussey, Holden and Lynch's (2010) study discusses the move by the Irish Tourist Board for the integration of professionalism in their strategy. The ambiguity surrounding the term has the authors arguing that the sector needs to address what a "precise conceptualisation of what tourism professionalism is" (p. 12). Interestingly, they also discuss altruism, ethical behaviour and knowledge as a key "a dimension of professionalism" (2010, p. 7). It is clear here then, that education, business practices and a commitment from the individual are proposed as essential features of professionalism in the tourism sector. None of these moves are unsurprising given the rise in reported workplace violence, issues of mismanagement and gender discrimination in Tourism and Hospitality (Hoel & Einarsen, 2003; Murray-Gibbons, 2007). Indeed, there has been a resurgence of popularity of the terms 'professional' and 'professionalism' in other areas of business and management too (Cheney & Ashcraft, 2007). Our working paper aims to explore and discuss the conceptions of professionalism for the NZ tourism sector. We intend to focus on three areas, business, strategy and education. The aim of our study is to contribute to both the academic literature and the workplace with a co-created and collaborative perspective regarding professionalism. As academics we are also interested in critically examining how identities are negotiated, managed and neglected. Within the workplace we aim to explore the tensions between professionalism and the reality of business, for example how altruistic values and profit are resolved in practice? The sector is known for issues of workplace violence, stress and gender discrimination: how could changes be implemented to restore trust and altruism? In education, how do we resolve and incorporate different types of knowledge perspectives in our teaching programmes? A key issue that we would like to discuss in our study is what type of knowledge, behaviour and tangible practices should be included and valued? So despite the current ambiguity in the term, an opportunity exists for the field to examine, discuss, reflect and conceptualise what they consider professionalism is for the sector.

Donna Keen
Tourism and a politics of belonging
University of Otago, New Zealand

Home, belonging and hospitality are fraught concepts, particularly as they are problematised through mobility and tourism. The need to belong is implicitly bound with the idea of home and the provision of hospitality. Drawing upon postcolonial theory this paper explores how the provision of hospitality within the guise of tourism, can be constitutive of a wider politics of belonging to place. The paper explores the provision of hospitality within tourism and leisure experiences in the High Country, South Island, New Zealand. The High Country is currently highly politicised within a debate on the nature and role of land within in the contemporary settler society of New Zealand. I focus explicitly upon the way in which the offering of hospitality can be read as a way to legitimise both connections and rights to own land within this particular place. Hence, the intersection between tourism and hospitality raises important questions regarding the ethics and politics of belonging. Such a politics of belonging also allows us to reconsider the world making power of tourism.

Berit Brandth, Marit S. Haugen
Farm tourism and the dilemmas of work and home
 Norwegian University of Science and Technology and Centre for Rural Studies, Norway

This paper aims to analyse overlap and sharing of work and home in farm tourism - both on the level of social roles and territories. When farmers diversify their production into tourism using their homes as a commercial arena for hosting visitors, new challenges regarding boundaries between private and public, home and work arise. Hosting visitors on the farm means commercialization of the home where the products draw on ideas of rural idyll and country hospitality. The paper will show how central aspects of hosting involve aesthetic considerations and emotional labour triggering the dilemma between the authentic and the staged. Moreover, it will show how the boundaries between work and home are managed in order to balance business and a sense of home, and it will deal with the many dilemmas that arise between being personal and professional, between the farm as a home and as a site of commercial activities, between family life and work life, between leisure and work. The analysis is based on case studies of 19 family farms from various districts in Norway. Some of the farms combine tourism and farming while others have altered their production to tourism only. The material includes formal interviews with 16 women and 19 men operating the businesses.

Irena Ateljevic
Decolonising Myself: (R)evolution from Within and Without.
Wageningen University, The Netherlands

No abstract Available

Tourism & Education II: 15.45 – 17:45 Monday Room Enterprise Suite

Marta Plumed Lasarte, Vitelio Tena Piazuelo, Carmen Elboj Saso
The Spanish Higher Education according to the Bologna Process in the Field of Tourism
University of Zaragoza, Spain

The economic relevance of tourism has meant that today most European countries have higher education in tourism. The extreme diversity of the tourism labour market gives rise to a complex combination of a variety of professional skills and a wide range of necessary formation that are taught in different ways in European universities, leading to a lack of homogeneity and diversity of orientations and content that hinder the convergence of these studies at European level. Two academic guidance of the Degree of Tourism dominate: the one that is related to the management of tourism enterprises, and the tourism one in the broadest sense, including the planning and management of the activity in the public sector and new developments of products. In this research we intend to present and analyze, from a European perspective, the thematic lines in which Spanish Universities are based when forming future tourism professionals through the implementation of the Degree of Tourism in accordance with the European Higher Education framework.

Noelle O'Connor, Ann Conway
The role of the Irish higher education institutes in the recovery of the Irish economy
Limerick Institute of Technology, S. Ireland; Dublin Institute of Technology, S. Ireland

The Irish government is still contemplating how it can turn around the Irish economy. As the McCarthy report on Public Services Numbers and Expenditures Programmes (July, 2009) and the Hunt Report (December, 2010) are debated, one area which can assist in the recovery of the Irish economy is higher education.   Therefore, research was conducted through a personal survey using two Institute of Technologies; Limerick and Dublin as the case studies. It was carried out throughout the academic year (2009-2010) and its main aim was to ascertain if students thought that education played a part in contributing to a solution to the crisis and what could be done better to help their industry throughout the crisis. A total of 300 full and part time students (Irish and International) students were surveyed.   This paper will be in three parts; the first section will examine the current tertiary education situation in Ireland amid the global economic crisis and will review what should education's contribution be to help alleviate the crisis. The second section will look at the merge of entrepreneurship and education. As the lifelong learning society is conceptualised largely in terms of maintaining a flexible and competitive economy in the knowledge society, the concept of an entrepreneurial society will be proposed to fill the gap which has emerged since the exit of many international companies for cheaper labour elsewhere. The third and final section will analyse the results which that indicate that some of the areas hit by recent closures of businesses and subsequent increase in uptake of up-skilling courses.   The majority of students felt that the Irish recovery could be aided through a more entrepreneurial approach to education through encouraging placements, learning about businesses through industry partnerships and being shown how to set up a business so they can equip themselves with the essential survival skills.

Andy Roberts
The Emancipation of Food and Beverage Provision from the Traditional Model: UWIC's Approach
University of Wales Institute Cardiff (UWIC), Wales

This paper highlights the dilemma facing UWIC, specifically regarding hospitality programmes when moving to a new building. The financial constraints placed on Universities forced the hospitality team to justify the costs associated with operational food and beverage provision. Unless a radical new approach was found no provision would be available. This paper evaluates the funding paradox, the perceived need for operational competence, the practitioner staff and some examples of innovative approaches by other Universities. Using a case study approach, the researcher uses an auto-ethnograpic approach with participant observations. The hospitality team has reflected on the process and their experiences working with management and the architects to find a cost effective solution to meet the needs of UWIC and the students. The new facility opened in September 2010.

→ Full Papers (As Submitted) in alphabetical order by first named author surname

INVERSIONS OF SEXUAL ROLES IN WOMEN'S SEXUAL BEHAVIOR IN TOURISM AS TECHNOLOGIES OF SELF

Liza Berdychevsky and Heather Gibson

University of Florida

Abstract

Women's non-commercial sexual behavior in tourism and related perceptions and meanings are an under researched area. Based on 21 in-depth semi-structured interviews with Israeli women, this study addresses the gap by examining women's sexual behavior in tourism, both with steady and casual sexual partners, via Foucauldian lens of heterotopia, inversions of sexual roles, and technologies of self. The findings reveal that women interpret transgressions in their sexual behavior in tourism as inversions of sexual roles that can also be practiced as technologies of self aiming at self-exploration and potential self-transformation. The complexity of the inversions of sexual roles is illustrated via the triplex of mind, body, and language that combined produce a counter discourse to the social stereotype of women's sexual behavior.

Key words: women's sexual behavior; heterotopia; inversion of sexual roles; body and mind; technologies of self.

1. INTRODUCTION

Foucault's ideas about power, sexuality, body, and norms have inspired three waves of implementation in feminist literature (Deveaux, 1996). The first wave was evoked by the concepts of surveillance and bio-power (Foucault, 1976, 1977), the second by the thesis of power and resistance (Foucault, 1976, 1980), and the third by the notions of sexual identity and regimes of truth/power (Foucault, 1976, 1980). Although, Foucault's ideas have feminist opponents, who blame Foucault for an androcentric gender blind approach and undermining account of agency, its proponents suggest to perceive Foucault's writing as a useful "tool box" of ideas. Yet, Foucault's ideas have been used sparingly in the tourism field. Ironically, Foucault's ideas have not been implemented in the endeavor to understand tourists' sexual behavior. This is surprising, considering his famous triplex of power/knowledge/sexuality and three volumes dedicated to the History of Sexuality (Foucault, 1976, 1984, 1986a) that indicate that sex and the sexual were a significant focus for Foucault. Therefore, this research addresses the gap through analyzing women's sexual behavior in tourism via the lens of the technologies of self, inversions of sexual roles, and heterotopia.

2. LITERATURE REVIEW

2.1. Technologies of Self

Foucault's analysis of power focuses at the micro-social level and describes power as fluid, capillary, plural, decentralized, ubiquitous, mobile and negotiated that operates to produce the social bodies it targets to regulate (1976, 1977, 1980). This discourse of power evokes a counter-discourse of resistance to power and resistance is the inverse image of power. Foucault proposed four types of technologies that operate simultaneously in people's lives: technologies of production that enable people to produce and transform things; technologies of sign systems which permit people to use signs, symbols and meanings; technologies of power that signify

social practices of surveillance and control, and define the standards of appropriate conduct; and technologies of the self that refer to individuals' influences on their bodies, minds and behaviors in order to achieve the state of happiness, purity, perfection, freedom, transformation, and etc (1988, p. 18). Earlier, Foucault also refers to the techniques or practices of the self as intentional actions by which people "seek to transform themselves […] and to make their life into an *oeuvre* [creation - French]" (1984, p. 10-11). Thus, technologies of self aim at self-transformation and embody individual's resistance to the surveillance and normalization of the technologies of power.

2.2. Inversions of Sexual Roles

Foucault's conceptualization of power, body and sexuality has also offered an analytical lens for questioning the essentialist view of gender and sexuality, and approaching them as socially constructed. According, to Foucault our society is intolerant to "the inversion of sexual roles" (1984, p. 18). The roots of this intolerance could be tracked back to Ancient Greeks that saw the practice of sexual pleasure as "role or polarity specific," where two roles/poles can be clearly distinguished: the masculine role of the subject/agent because of the active function defined by the penetration in the sexual intercourse vs. feminine passive role of the object/patient reduced to being the object of the other's pleasure (Foucault, 1984, p. 45). Aristotle argued that "the female, as female, is passive, and the male, as male, is active" (in Foucault, 1984, p. 46). The assumption of female sexual passiveness based on physiological characteristics is questionable today. Yet, Foucault argues that sex cannot be liberated from power. Indeed, sex is a focal factor in the production of the mechanisms of normalization, discipline and dividing practices (Butler, 1990; Deveaux, 1996).

Drawing upon these ideas, Butler's (1990) feminist genealogy of gender deconstructs the stable category of women and shows how gender is socially and culturally constructed via

repetitive performative acts. Butler argues that linking sex to identity is a regulatory practice for the purpose of reification of gender relations where incoherence and inversion have to be controlled and punished. Similarly, Sawicki (1996) states that sexual body as a target of bio-power is a vehicle of control of women's relationships to themselves, as well as production and perpetuation of gender roles and sexuality. However, both Butler and Sawicki explain that in the arena of gender and sexuality there is room for subversion and contestation as women can resist the socially constructed pattern and discover new ways of self-understanding.

Ramazanoğlu and Holland (1993) argue that women can empower themselves by transforming local gender relationships and gaining control over their bodies in terms of contraception, reproduction, and sexual pleasure. They elaborate that female sexuality is socially constructed as subordinate to male needs and desires, while sexually active woman is perceived as a threat to man's masculinity. Likewise, Grimshaw (1993) asserts that women are historically submitted to the rules of chastity because of their inferior status. Thus, socially constructed double standards of gender appropriate sexual behavior are the mechanisms preventing the inversion of sexual roles that may threaten the status quo. Resistance to these constraints is likely to occur in social contexts where departure from norms governing sex, gender and desire is tolerated or even encouraged. One such context is tourism that can be understood as heterotopia (Foucault, 1986b).

2.3. Tourism as Heterotopia

Turner's (1974) concept of liminoid that signifies the time-place of betwixt and between where a person feels detached from everyday life has been used to examine tourism over the years. For instance, Lett (1983) argues that in Western culture everyday social norms and rules are suspended or inverted in tourism and role reversal happens under a liminoid license. St John (2001) critiques the concept of liminoid as it omits the notion of the liminoid body, while body

cannot be ignored as it is focal to such processes as gendering (Butler, 1990) and the tourist experience cannot be understood without incorporating body into discourse (Small, 2007). Indeed, researchers claim that body is absent from the academic discourse of the tourist experience (Veijola & Jokinen, 1994; Small, 2007), which is surprising as body is a medium through which one experiences the world and the self and tourism liminoid body is a site of identity contestation (St John, 2001).

Body is a focal point in Foucault's work. Thus, his concept of heterotopia (Foucault, 1986b) can complement Turner's concept of liminoid. Foucault conceptualizes heterotopia as a real space that functions as a counter-site where the everyday social order is contested, transgressed, and inverted. In tourism, Andriotis (2010) analyzed gay nude beach as a heterotopia and concluded that it is a setting where individuals can experiment with body, pleasure, and sexuality, as well as a temporary inversion of morals and practices. Likewise, St John interpreted the ConFest festival in Australia as a heterotopia and arena for living out fantasies, disruption of gender identity, and resistance through liminoid embodiment. Wearing (1998) described women's leisure as heterotopia, where they can resist to the dominant discourses of female passiveness and subordination. Further, Wearing argues that women's renegotiation of boundaries for using their bodies in leisure contexts means gaining power and control over their bodies. Harris and Wilson (2007) suggest that female solo travel can be understood as a heterotopia as it offers an opportunity to transgress and resist gendered ideologies. Similarly, Jordan and Gibson (2005) illustrate that overcoming constraints in female solo travel is a site of resistance and a source of empowerment. Obenour (2005), also, portrays journeys of female backpackers as a strategy for self-making via emancipation and engagement in existential authenticity.

2.4. Sex in Tourism

Sexual behavior in tourism, because of the gender specific taboos and inhibitions, might be the area where the contestation, inversion, and resistance to gender stereotypes are the most prominent. Eiser and Ford (1995), investigating young tourists' sexual behavior on vacation, found that casual sex occurrence was related, especially among women, to the feeling of situational disinhibition. Wickens (1997) and Thomas (2000) found that women explain their indulgence in casual sex on vacation in terms of a unique atmosphere that encourages sexual permissiveness. Indeed, Mewhinney, Herold and Maticka-Tyndale (1995) suggest that the gendered double standards generally applied to sexual behavior do not apply on spring break as they are substituted with permissive sexual scripts for both genders. Such findings lead Ragsdale, Difranchecksco and Pinkerton (2006) to encourage researchers to examine women's sexual practices on vacation as this domain may be a source of self-discovery for women. This study investigated women's sexual behavior in tourism both with steady and casual sexual partners, focusing on their perceptions of sexual behavior in tourism, states of mind, bodies, and feelings.

3. METHODS

Data were collected in two phases. A pilot study included six in-depth open interviews with men and women of different ages. The primary data collection phase consisted of 20 in-depth semi-structured interviews with Israeli women. The final sample for the data analysis involved 21 interviews from both phases. Snow-ball sampling was used initially, however, following saturation of patterns from certain age cohorts and tourist experiences, theoretical sampling was used. The interviewees were asked to describe their sexual behaviors during their tourist experiences focusing on their feelings and perceptions. The participants described diversity of tourist experiences, varying in length, purpose, and distance from home. The most frequently mentioned types of tourism were rest and relaxation (R&R) vacations and backpacking trips. The interviews ranged in length from 1.5 to 4.5 hours, were audio recorded,

and transcribed verbatim. The interviewees ranged in age from 23 to 56 (Mean = 32 years). Fourteen women were unmarried, of whom six were involved in a long-term relationship. Six women were married, two for the second time, and one was divorced. For data analysis, the three coding steps in grounded theory – open, axial, and selective coding (Strauss & Corbin, 1990) were used facilitated by Atlas.ti5. Concepts from the genealogical and ethical phases of Foucault's work were used to interpret women's sexual behavior in tourism.

4. FINDINGS

4.1. Inversions of Sexual Roles

Women associated sexual initiatives, activeness and a feeling of control with a masculine role and some participants explained that during tourist experiences they could allow themselves to embrace it. For instance, Noa (26 years old, single) explained that in everyday life her curiosity in sexual innovations was oppressed by the conservative values of her boyfriend, but during a R&R vacation she "finally had guts to offer this position [doggy] because all this vacation atmosphere made me feel wild! I felt such a man's man!" Rivka (34 years old, divorced mother of two children) also illustrated reversal of sexual roles with a steady partner explaining that on a R&R vacation she "suddenly felt a need to impress him and to show that I can do different things in bed, I can be a sex bomb." However, in general she believes that "it is a man's function to impress in bed."

The inversion of sexual roles was even more evident in casual sex. Women perceived casual sex itself as a masculine behavior. For example, Gila (30 years old, single) stated that she "wouldn't have casual sex at home, but abroad this is your challenge to be like a man: to stay in charge, to feel nothing and not to ascribe importance to sex." She explained that in backpacking destinations like Thailand the atmosphere is conducive to sex, which "makes you so hungry for sex […], you become a hunter, you flirt all the time! It's so fun being able to be

like a man – sexually free and active." Maya (26 years old, single) further explained that "men can stay in control and have casual sex without feelings" and although she realizes that women are increasingly adopting this approach, "it is still a challenge for me to do so at home, but abroad I can behave like a man."

For some participants having casual sex in tourism was associated with exploration and accomplishment. For example, Ortal (23 years old, single) claimed, "You explore sexual behavior, but you discover yourself." In addition, Shira (27 years old, single) elaborated that on vacation she can allow herself to "behave like men who collect various sexual experiences and even brag about them." Tamar (25 years old, single), talking about her backpacking experience in Thailand, concluded that there "women behave like men and it's trivial. They ride scooters and ATV's [All-Terrain Vehicles], climb, hike, and have casual sex. […] Women become there manlier than the men I know here."

Describing inversions of sexual roles in tourism, women also discussed and disrupted the social myth that women are less interested in sex compared to men. Tamar argued, "I don't think that we [women] need sex less than men, but the environment is so judgmental for women! But on vacation, I take sex when I want it." In a similar vein, Rivka claimed that she has "the same rights to enjoy and to have fun like men do" and while it is not always possible at home, on vacation anonymous environment and unique state of mind become "a trigger to adopt a man's role, who is free to have sex and to disappear the next day." Indeed, the description of the vacation as a trigger affecting women's sexual behavior was very common in the findings. The data analysis reveals three closely interrelated facets of the inversion of sexual roles in tourism environment: mind, language and body. This division does not imply any dualism between mind and body, as these facets are the parts of one whole and operate simultaneously.

4.2. The Role of Mind in the Inversions of Sexual Roles

The women described a significant shift in their state of mind that projected on their sexual self awareness and sexual behavior. This change was multifaceted and included detachment from everyday routine, reduced social control, different perceptions of sex and sexual scripts on vacation. The participants said that "you pass the passport control in the airport and you leave everything behind, and you anticipate an adventure" (Yael, 34 years old, married). Talking about sex with her husband, Dana (56 years old, married) elaborated that women "never detach our mind. We work hard […] and if you have children, it's a 24 hours shift. […] But on vacation, I feel completely detached, I feel young again!" Shira explained that because of routine tensions and chores she has troubles reaching orgasms in everyday life, but on R&R vacations "we [she and her boyfriend] even counted. It was two, three, we need to be even. Ok, four-four, we are even, let's go to sleep. It's a different state of mind and it projects on sex." As for the casual sex, Gila argued that she "would never meet somebody and go to the public restrooms to have sex," but she did experience it while backpacking because "you feel a different person when you are detached from routine, responsibilities, phone, and laptop." Ronit (27 years old, single) explained that "on vacation you owe nothing to anybody except for yourself as it's your time to have fun, to unwind and to go wild!" Finally, Hadas (29 years old, single) concluded that on vacation "you're not a nerd in your lab, but you're a sex bomb in your bikini on the beach […] and if you want sex, you initiate and take it."

The participants also explained that the shift in the state of mind and perception of sex on vacation are related to different perceptions of time and sexual scripts in tourism. For example, Gila stated, "I've never slept with the guy I met the same day, but in Thailand I did because the day seems to be much longer. One day there is like an intensive week at home!" Further, Noa explained it as follows, "I don't think further than the current evening. It's here and now, and this evening!" Inbar (27 years old, single) said the backpacking experience is

"your time for emotionless and guiltless sex, and there are no games, just sex." Likewise, Sigal (26 years old, single) elaborated that the sexual scripts that apply at home, such as "who calls first and when, who initiates and who waits, who pays on the date etc, are irrelevant there. It's all simple and light, without playing games."

4.3. The Role of Language in the Inversions of Sexual Roles

In addition to the unique state of mind, the participants referred to the role of language in the inversion of sexual roles on vacation. Some participants explained that even with their regular sexual partners they felt freer to express themselves verbally during sexual activity. Keren (36 years old, single) illustrated that she played a game with her boyfriend "as if we just met. We entered the hotel and everything that happened earlier vanished." Because of this game, "we felt freer to express ourselves in sex" compared to everyday life and "it's like it was licit to say different things and to sound slutty."

The theme of perceived distance due to various notions related to language was also prominent in women's descriptions of casual sex in tourism. First, the participants explained that not hearing native language in tourism environment was related to their sense of anonymity and detachment. Dahlia (27 years old, single) illustrated that "even if I just hear somebody talking my language, I automatically assume – he knows me, even if it's not a personal acquaintance," but "complete detachment encourages experiencing crazy things in sex!" Second, the women explained that using their non-native language in the interaction with foreign casual partner in general and during the sexual activity in particular added perceived distance. Sarah (30 years old, single) explained that "we did not speak the same language and we did not have to speak at all. It's about distance, you don't have to explain anything and it's just sex, period." Ronit also argued that "using English [non-native language] during sex makes you feel different. You have more guts to say different things." Likewise, Keren

indicated that "I feel more confident and open to express myself during sex if I use English instead of Hebrew [native language] because I think less about the weight of the words and this way the sex kinky." Yet, other participants described certain awkwardness because of using a non-native language while having casual sex. Inbar indicated that it was "so strange. I could not stop laughing because I felt like a porn star!"

4.4. The Role of Body in the Inversions of Sexual Roles

The participants also described the bodily expressions of the inversion of sexual roles. The increased feeling of sexual self-awareness was brought up by almost all the interviewees. Inbar stated that during the tourist experience "the senses celebrate and the sexuality is natural and pushes for expression." Shira, referring to sex with her boyfriend on R&R vacation, explained that "sex is a significant part of pampering, feeling good and all the hormones and adrenalin that run through the body, it is so refreshing." Talking about sex in tourism, body was a focal point for women. The body has to be at its best shape for vacation, as Yael explained, "routine makes you disastrously neglect your body, but before vacation you miraculously find time to put color on your hair, to make depilation and you already feel sexier." Shira mentioned starting dieting right after booking the vacation and Dana described planning vacations according to her menstruation cycle so that they do not fall on her period.

The women also explained that they used their bodies differently to achieve sexual excitement and/or gratification, to explore, to simulate different bodily senses, or to make a statement. Dahlia explained that on vacation "you always try to be someone different and to experience it through different food, activities, clothing, and, of course, through sex." Talking about sex with a steady sexual partner on R&R vacation, Keren indicated that "vacation has opened a new channel in sex […] of thinking about sex not only for expression of love, but also for the expression of the instincts, desires, and bodily needs." Indeed, many participants

described trying sexual innovations in long term relationships during the tourist experience, like new positions, oral and/or anal sex, performing sex in public spaces (beach, elevator and etc). Tamar illustrated, "I never thought I would do something like that! […] We used blindfolds and handcuffs, tried anal sex and positions that we thought our bodies are not able to do."

The body was also a focal point in the inversion of sexual roles in the context of the casual sex. Describing backpacking experience in Thailand, Gila focused on "parties, bikinies, suntanned bodies, and hormones going crazy." The participants referred to fulfilling sexual fantasies like casual sex and sometimes lesbian sex and orgies. The motive of experimenting with the body without taking it seriously was prominent in women's accounts of casual sex in tourism. Tamar told about her experience of casual sex while backpacking with a partner who "was not fortunate luck in size" and while she "would be dwelling on this disappointment at home, there it was just an immediately forgotten episode." Further, Gila claimed, "I didn't get to come in casual sex in Thailand. […] There was no sexual gratification but it was a passionate one-time sex. Not gentle love with foreplay, but a wild, strong, and different sex!" In a similar vein, Rivka indicated that after casual sex in tourism she "felt butterflies in the stomach! […] Sex itself was not a success, but it doesn't prevent you from trying again and again."

5. CONCLUSION

The findings reveal that women interpret transgressions in their sexual behavior in tourism, especially with casual sexual partner/s, as inversions of sexual roles (Foucault, 1984). The socially constructed standard of femininity implies restrictive norms regarding appropriate sexual behavior that women conform to so as not to jeopardize their reputations (Grimshaw, 1993; Ramazanoğlu & Holland, 1993). Yet, in tourism women described resisting and reversing sexual roles as they sought to embrace a higher degree of sexual freedom. In this sense, tourism can be interpreted as a heterotopia – i.e. a counter-site for inversion of the stereotypes of sexual

roles, transgression, and identity contestation and transformation (Foucault, 1986b). Indeed, women associated sexual freedom and initiative with masculine role and indicated that adopting this mode of behavior prompted a sense of exploration, discovery, freedom, control, accomplishment, and growth. The feelings associated with the inversions of sexual roles in tourism can be interpreted as the technologies of self that may lead to self-exploration and potential self-transformation (Foucault, 1988). McLaren (2002) explained that resisting normalization via technologies of self may result in exploring new ways of self-understanding.

In order to grasp the complexity of the inversions of sexual roles in tourism, three closely interrelated aspects have to be clarified. Namely, mind, language and body need to be addressed as together they produce a counter discourse to the social stereotype of women's sexual behavior. The women described a shift in their state of mind in tourism as explaining their sexual self awareness and sexual behavior. The state of mind was affected by the feeling of detachment from everyday life and social surveillance, which in turn enabled women to experiment with sexual scripts on vacation. These findings are also supported by Mewhinney et al.'s (1995) assertion that tourism influences the scripting of sexual behavior. State of mind is also important in understanding the inversions of sexual roles as the findings indicate that it is woman's feelings and interpretations of sexual activity, rather than the actual behavior itself, that define her perceived degree of activity/passivity in the sexual behavior.

The role of language is also crucial to understanding women's inversions of sexual roles. Language is related to women's subjective sense of anonymity and perceived distance among sexual partners. Indeed, anonymity cannot be underestimated in the understanding of women's sexual behavior in tourism (Mewhinney at al., 1995; Ragsdale et. al., 2006). Finally, some women reported feeling less inhibited to verbally express themselves in non-native

language during sex, which can be related to the feeling of situational disinhibition suggested by Eiser and Ford (1995) as freeing sexual behavior in tourism.

Body was also found to have a focal role in the counter-discourse surrounding the inversion of sexual roles. Body is a source of knowledge, a locus of subjectivity, and a site of resistance (Foucault, 1980). The role of body also sheds light on inherent contradictions in women's accounts of inversions. The women explained that by adopting sexual freedom, guts, activeness, or permissiveness they have embraced a masculine mode of sexual behavior. Yet, participants made it clear that their sexual confidence was contingent on their self-perception as sexy, feminine, and attractive, while their bodies have to be in their best shape for vacations. This illustrates that socially constructed standards of femininity (Butler, 1990) are rooted so deeply in women that even when they perceive their sexual behavior as an inversion of sexual roles, their bodies have to comply with the standards of femininity and attractiveness. Thus, the inversion is not about being unfeminine, but about having freedom, being in charge, and making choices.

To conclude, this study sheds some light on the complexity of women's sexual behavior in tourism and the role of body, language, and the state of mind in women's interpretations of their sexual experiences. The study also illustrates the insightful contribution of Foucauldian analytical tools to understanding the uniqueness of the tourist context as well as women's perceptions of their sexual activity during tourist experiences. The findings may have been affected by social desirability. Yet, the study highlights the potential for future research in this area as women's sexual behavior in tourism can be a site for fostering alternative subjectivities and transformation via practicing resistance, technologies of self, and inversions of sexual roles.

6. REFERENCES

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View to the health tourism between historiography and sociosemiotics[2]

1. Introductory notes

The territory of the Austrian Monarchy (later named Austro-Hungarian Monarchy) that during the second half of the 19th century developed a significant tourist activity was also known by the name of *Austrian Riviera*, which especially referred to the coastal area of the crown land Austrian Littoral.[3] With the emergence of modern forms of tourism, seaside locations such as Portorož, Gradež, Opatija, Mali in Veli Lošinj etc. developed in climatic and health (spa) destinations.

Sea water and sea air were not a potential tourist attraction until the end of the 18th century. The sea was not supposed to have any therapeutic effects, but was even considered harmful for internal body organs. Towards the end of the 18th and in the first half of the 19th century, especially under the initiative of medicine discourse, the healing virtue of water and sea air led to the emergence of the first marine (seaside) colonies. Sea water was considered to have positive healing effects for the body and the spirit. The pioneers of this new trend were the

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[3] Austrian Littoral was a crown land within the Austrian Empire from 1813 until 1918. The Austrian Littoral included the Imperial Free City of Trieste and its suburbs, the Margraviate of Istria, and the Princely County of Gorizia and Gradisca, the Kvarner islands (until 1822 included also Rijeka and the civil Croatia). The capital since 1849 was in Trieste (Darovec 2008, 180–182).

English.[4] The first seaside resorts on the European continent developed on the North and Baltic Sea as summer destinations.

Sea bathing was firstly strictly practiced in the cold sea, as recommended by the doctors. Bathing was obviously taken only a few minutes. The bathers were not supposed to socialize on the beach, since the exposure to the sun (sunbathing) was in contrast with white complexion and considered unsophisticated. Sunbathing in the 19th century was not in vogue, in fact there were no therapeutic effects assigned to the sun. Whenever tourists were walking under the sun, protection with umbrella was recommended. The real social life in the seaside resorts was going on in the urban areas equipped with the suitable entertainment for the upper class.

Dark skin became a symbol of prosperity and holiday making only at the beginning of the 20th century. The warm Mediterranean Sea was not attractive in the summer season, but this locations firstly developed as alternative winter destinations (season from October to April) where wealthy guests spent the cold winter in a more pleasant climate on the south. As therapeutic effects of the warm water were discovered, the season in the Mediterranean moved towards summer months (the end of the 19th and the beginning of the 20th century). Winter season was not completely discarded, since some tourist locations still had the winter and summer seasons (Opatija, Lošinj). Seaside resorts (climatic or sea bathing) developed also in the mentioned area of the Austrian Littoral especially in the second half of the 19th century.

This paper aims to analyse the tourist promotion of seaside health destinations of the former Austro-Hungarian Monarchy, in regions which today belong to the two countries: Portorož in Slovenia and Mali Lošinj in Croatia. Our approach combines the sociosemiotic perspective and historical research on health tourism. On the one hand, the sociosemiotic perspective (Landowski 1999) observes interactions actualized within a discourse, between individual or collective subjects who are inscribed and recognized in it. In this perspective discourse can be seen as a space of interactions where different communication strategies are distributed. These strategies determine the types of possible discursive roles for each of the two protagonists – the sender and the receiver – of the discourse that is being uttered. On the other hand, historical research on health tourism provides necessary facts on the social and historical context where tourist practices and promotions took place. We aim to research the way in which semiotic material from a particular cultural and historical reality has been re-elaborated in the

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[4] The first seaside resort was Brighton (Battilani 2009). An important physician was dr. Richard Russel with his *Dissertation on the Use of Sea Water in the Diseases of the Glands*, where he recommends drinking of salty sea water, sea bathing and sea food (Urbain 2003, 78).

discourse of the 19th century travel advertising posters. This material consists of imaginary, symbolic forms, linguistic registers, and narrative, visual and uttered configurations that have been combined in a specific way in order to construct unique and complex meanings.

2. Medicine discourse and the formation of sea health and bathing tourism

The economic history of tourism considers that individual factors, such as medical practice, encourage and positively influence the development of seaside tourism. In fact the destinations of the Austrian Riviera developed their tourist activities on the basis of medical discourses first, as health resorts for the treatment of certain diseases (rheumatism, tuberculosis, diseases of the joints etc...) and later as winter and summer seaside resorts.

In the first phases of tourist development doctors played an important (if not crucial) role in spa and seaside health resorts. Medicine promoted new health treatments, with thermal water, sea water (cold and warm), and sea air and later on with the exposure to the sun as well. New medicine knowledge about the effective methods of treating diseases acted also as a promoter for the formation of spa resorts first, and then cold and later warm sea resorts.

Bathing in the river or in the sea was considered uncultivated and was mostly practiced by the lower classes. When attributed positive therapeutic health effect, former prejudices and fears were overwhelmed. It gradually became a popular habit.[5] Since the 18th century medical studies reminded of the positive preventive and curative effects of sea air and sea bathing, in cold water at first (Urbain 2003, 77). Doctors also recommended excursions with boats and long walks on the seaboard. Such practices allowed the sea air contraction.

Medicine "discovered" new health treatments, but the upper class was the forerunner and the initiator of the seaside tourism and the definer of new trends. The success of such a destination was depending also on other factors, such as the investments in the tourist infrastructure, pleasure and comfort of the tourists.

Seaside tourism as already mentioned developed firstly in England, where Brighton was the most famous and successful resort. On the continent seaside tourism firstly developed on the North and Baltic Sea (Doberan, 1794; Norderney, 1797; Travemunde, 1800–1802; Swinemunde, 1822–1826). The most popular French resort was Dieppe (nearby Paris) and other seaside localities in Normandy. These resorts were mostly visited by aristocrats, looking for a

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[5] The ritual of sea bathing was strictly set by rules and theories. Medicine created a historically decisive moment for the control and ritualisation of this fashion (Urbain 2003, 76).

cold sea in summer and a very urbanized environment (Battilani 2009). The south, like *Cote d'Azur* (Nice, Cannes) and the *Rivera Ligure* were also developing a tourist industry as alternative winter destinations due to their mild climate.[6] Gradually, as sunbathing and swimming in the warm sea had spread among the tourist population (considering the positive therapeutic effects discovered and promoted by medicine), the season also moved towards summer months (Battilani 2009). At that point tourism in the Mediterranean coast became increasingly important.

The new relation towards the sun also comprised a new relation towards the beach. In the twenties and thirties years of the 20th century Europe sunbathing with tanned skin prevailed. The main social activities began taking place on the beach. Sea bathing slowly lost its therapeutic purpose and became mostly reason for pleasure and fun (Becher 1990, 196-224).

2.1. Seaside health and bathing tourism of Austrian Riviera

The medical discourses of the Triestine physician Alessandro Goracucchi in the second half of the 19th century emphasized the therapeutic effects of sea air. Upon his opinion the only exposure to the sea air – as for instance, travelling by the sea – had positive effects on health, especially for treatment of pulmonary tuberculosis, chronic bronchitis and other lung diseases, nerve disorders, hypochondria, melancholy and disturbance, which occurred after major intellectual tensions (Stradner 1903, 91).

The beginnings of tourism in the area of Austrian Littoral (Austrian Riviera) are based on health tourism. Opatija, Portorož, Grado, Lošinj, Crikvenica, Grljan and Sesljan by Trieste are locations that developed in the second half of the 19th century due to their location by the sea as suitable places for treatment of various diseases that tormented the population of the industrial era. Based on the assessment of health-beneficial practices and new methods of treatment of some diseases, several places primarily developed as health-tourism destination. The objects of our analysis, Lošinj and Portorož, make no exception. But they have specific beginnings and initiators.

Portorož developed as a health resort towards the end of the 19th century. The favourable geographic position in the shelter of the *bora* wind and the natural affluence of the nearby saltpans (mud, brine) stimulated the income of guests searching for medical treatment.

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[6] Tourists travelled towards warmer locations in winter. The tourist season lasted from October to April. The first suchlike winter resort was Sète in France.

Dr. Giovanni Lugnani from Piran started the experimental medical treatment of his patients (suffering from rheumatism) with brine in 1879. He is known as the beginner of tourism in Porotož. The first experimental health-resort was near the chemical factory of the society *Consorzio delle Saline in Pirano* where in 1885 the first testimonies of successful treatment of rheumatism were recorded (Bartole 1890, 11-12; Pucer 1985). The district board of Koper conferred to the *Consorzio* the license for opening a seaside resort for public in 1887. In 1890 298 guests were registered.[7] The number of guests increased (due to the successful treatments) and so did the investments in accommodation facilities, the modernization of the bathing facilities and other tourist services. The local stock company built a new hotel with 80 rooms, 120 beds, dining room, refreshment room, reading rooms and games room in 1891 (Brglez 2005, 15-17).[8] In 1894 the new health and seaside resort was known by the name of Portorose.

Portorož was proclaimed a health resort in 1897.[9] The Health Commission (*Kurcommission*) was taking care of the tidy environment, roads, promenades and parks. The season in Portorož lasted from the 1st March until the 31st October. Portorož also had an Embellishment society. The golden years of Portorož tourism before WWI were during the construction of the elite hotel *Palace* (1908–1912; figure 1). The first gambling house *San Lorenzo* was opened in 1913. The same year Porotorž had more than 7.000 guests.

Tourism development in the Kvarner island of ***Lošinj*** is strongly related to Ambroz Haračić (professor at the Nautical school) and with his investigations of the climate and vegetation of the island (investigation begun in 1880; Kojić 1956). His research attracted the attention not only of the press and public but especially of the physicians, who were interested in the establishment of a climatic station on the eastern coast of the Adriatic Sea. An important actor of the island's tourism was also dr. Clar from Gleichenberg (Styria), who in 1885 came to the Adriatic, looking for a place for his son's health treatment. The higher temperature and the constant humidity of Lošinj convinced him. His son was the first patient in Lošinj resort. The treatment was successful and after three weeks he returned home in good health condition.

The climotherapists and thalasotherapists have found a suitable place for their patients in Lošinj, since they could benefit from a mild climate in the winter months (warmer winter),

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[7] AST, Luogotenenza del Litorale, Atti generali, volume II, 1886–1906, 39/25 Sanità, Fonti salutari (bagni), b. 601.

[8] The company changed names; in 1908 it was named *Portorose*.

[9] AST, Luogotenenza del Litorale, Atti generali, volume II, 1886–1906, 39/25 Sanità, Fonti salutari (bagni), b. 784.

constant humidity and the relatively calm wind. The year 1886 is signed as the first season of tourism in the island and also the year of the establishment of a tourist society and the society for the embellishment and forestation of the seaside resorts. First hotels started to grow the next year.

Lošinj has developed as a winter climatic resort for guests who were looking for a calm place surrounded by natural beauties, mild climate, luxurious vegetation, sun, sea and fresh air. The accommodation facilities improved every year and until 1903 Mali and Veli Lošinj offered accommodation in 121 buildings (520 rooms) within hotels, boarding-houses and private buildings. The statistics shows that in the period of twenty years (1893-1913) the number of foreign visitors increased from 415 in 1893 to 8427 in 1913.

Mali and Veli Lošinj were proclaimed as climatic resorts in 1892. The health policy of the health county of Mali and Veli Lošinj set also the establishment of the Health Commission and its members. The duration of the health season was from the 1st of October until the 31st May (Zakonik in ukaznik, 1892). Soon the tourists (who wanted to be separated from the sick guests) started also coming in the summer season and Lošinj developed as a summer seaside resort as well. Although, until 1904 the main season was still the one in winter, and the dominant guests were there for health treatment, as it can be seen by the great number of physicians present until that year (Kojić 1956).[10]

Besides Opatija, Lošinj became the second most visited winter health resort and summer seaside resort in the former Austro-Hungarian Monarchy. Until World War I there were several new hotels, boarding houses, restaurants, coffee shops, reading rooms, music room, library... Mali Lošinj also has had an observatory since 1893.

The industrial era changed the travel habits also. The previous travelling by post coaches and sailing boats was replaced by the fast steam machine (train and steam boat). Passengers transport has now become faster, regular, cheaper and safer. Information flow has also become faster. Press and publishing gained new extensiveness and had a massive impact on the everyday life (Cvirn and Studen 2001). The tourist resorts made good use from this situation. They promoted their services and supplies through embellishment societies, associations for the promotion of tourist income and Health Commissions in press (guides, posters on the main railway stations, postcards, brochures).

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[10] The summer bathing facilities were first built in Čikat.

The guide books (e.g. Mandl, Murray, and Baedeker) and brochures gave information about the tourist places, such as addresses of accommodations, train and steamboat schedule. They also recommended the visit of nearby locations, the distances, information about local restaurants and coffee shops, the quality of the supply and the recreation and entertainment facilities. Brochures published by local physicians and Health Commissions also promoted the health treatment for various diseases. The tourist resorts in the Austrian Riviera got positive impact from this kind of promotion. Below we focus on tourist posters advertising the seaside resorts.

3. Advertising posters between modern progress and pauperism

A poster can be determined as any piece of printed paper designed to be attached to a wall or vertical surface. Typically, posters include both verbal and visual elements, and are designed to be both eye-catching and convey information (Abruzzese and Colombo 1993, 259). At the time, they were a frequent tool of advertisers and it can be claimed that posters together with newspaper advertisements represent the two dominant means of advertising in that period. But, unlike the newspaper advertisements, posters were visually striking and colourful because they have been designed to attract the attention of passengers, walking down the streets and squares, enticing them to attend specific events such as exhibitions, fairs and theatres, or encouraging them to purchase a particular product or service. The development of printing techniques marked the beginning of the new era for advertising: this development allowed cheap mass production and printing, including notably the technique lithography which was invented in 1796 by Johann Alois Senefelder (Borello 2002, 33). The invention of lithography was soon, in 1838, followed by the invention of chromolithography, which enabled the production of posters illustrated in vibrant colours. The three primary colours were red, yellow and blue and the invention of this technique is ascribed to the German Engelmann (Borello 2002, 35).

Besides the invention of lithography and chromolithography, industrialisation, urbanisation, development of capitalism, aesthetisation of the cities, streets, squares, passages and shop windows had impact on the popularity and success of the advertising posters (Abruzzese 2003). It is often claimed that advertising posters reflect and celebrate typically bourgeois lifestyle at the turn of the century: beautiful women, exhibitions, scientific and technical progress, faith in human rationality, elegant suits, horse racings, fancy goods and trendy seaside resorts (Ceserani 1988; Abruzzese and Colombo 1993).

For the period in question it is often emphasized the strong link between art and advertising. On the one hand artists have influenced advertising, and on the other hand advertising, being so widespread and mundane, has had an impact on their work. This impact was huge: even new artistic directions emerged, drawing on everyday life and advertising.[11] Advertising posters became a special type of graphic art in the modern age and many posters have had great artistic merit. A number of noted artists, who painted advertising posters in this period, includes, among others <u>Henri de Toulouse-Lautrec</u>, <u>Jules Chéret</u>, Alphonse Mucha, Leonetto Capiello and Marcello Dudovich.[12]

The appearance of the posters in urban centres of modern Europe caused immediately reactions of critics and intellectuals (De Iulio 1996). Some of them viewed advertising posters in very negative social light, stressing their elitism and lack of social awareness, while the others underlined their positive characteristics in terms of posters as sources of the constant information flows, indicators of social progress and mirrors of modernity (De Iulio 1996, 28).

Albeit there can be singled out different and heterogeneous "subjects" of advertising posters – for instance, fairs, exhibitions, journals, consumable products, theatres, operas, cafés – our analysis is focused on so-called travel or tourist posters, i.e. posters advertising and proposing a travel destination, or simply artistically constructing a place as a tourist destination. At the time of their expansion and popularity, they were subjected to very strong criticism articulated and expressed in social light. We want to consider here critical article written by the French novelist and playwright Lucien Descaves (1861-1949) who wrote and published his review under the title "*Le remède interdit*" in the newspapers *L'Éco de Paris* in 1886 (the article is reproduced in De Iulio 1996, 54-60). He belonged to the French naturalists. In the focus of his critics are tourism posters affixed on the Paris urban walls promoting balneary and rural tourism as the means of the body cures and preservation of the welfare. The vivid messages they transmit Descaves opposes to pauperism of the majority of the Paris inhabitants. De Iulio presumes that his critical viewpoints were not isolated, and stresses that it is probable that his ideas represented anti-advertising climate widely spread among naturalists in the period

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[11] For instance, according to Pincas and Loiseau, inspiration for the name for the Dada movement came from a local advertisement for a hair strengthening tonic which was called 'Dada' (Pincas and Loiseau 2008, 29)

[12] Chéret is usually considered to be the "father" of advertising posters and with his name is connected several innovations important for their persuasive and expressive aspect: experiments with innovative typography, illustration of sex, and the provocative and laughing feminine images as an advertising ploy.

Capiello is usually considered to be the "father" of the so-called brand-poster, because he was among the first to create a brand identity represented in those posters.

(De Iulio 1996, 53). Descaves' starting point is his disgust with the apparent contrast between contents and visuals of the tourism posters and mass of the paupers who are left out from the phantasmagorical universe of the goods, consumption and travel:

"*These posters are accustomed in the sort of hypocrisy. They seem to invite to the joyous holidays, relaxing siestas, happy walks that only prosperity, leisure and good health can allow; but in the reality some of the posters, although they express joy and happiness, turn to* privileged *oldness, to a* privileged *infirmity*." (Descaves, in De Iulio 1996, 55)

"*Paupers know that these cures are for them prohibited, that their balneary stations and thermal cities are hospice and hospitals that none of the posters promotes surroundings and disguises the function*." (Descaves, in De Iulio 1996, 56)

With the appearance of the advertising posters became apparent contradiction concerning the two facts:

(1) The target of advertising posters was rich and selected public – primarily middle class, in all of its stratifications, but regarding tourist posters, rather elite and aristocracy who could afford to practice health tourism and participate in its accompanying practices (for instance, casinos, travel, horse racings);

(2) Posters were affixed on the walls of the streets and squares, so they were available to the sight of everyone, but it was the period when the majority of urban population was underprivileged and poor and could not afford popular tourist destinations to cure their bodies and souls.

A socially oriented critic by Lucien Descaves, evoking most of the *topoi* of the social environment of the second half of the 19th century, fits this framework.

On the importance of the seaside (health) tourism in the Austro-Hungarian Monarchy witnesses the poster advertising The First Istrian Regional Exhibition.[13] It took place in the city of Koper from May to September of 1910. The poster advertising this happening was created by the painter Argio Orell from Trieste (figure 2). The Exhibition consisted of numerous

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[13] Organization of different exhibitions – Great Exhibitions, Universal Exhibitions, International Exhibitions as well as Regional Exhibitions – was the usual practice for the period in question, both in Europe and in the United States. Exhibitions were viewed as the product of modernity, technical, medical and scientific progress, human capability of inventions, and of the 19th century fascination with colonial goods, "exotic" people and "miracles" (Baculo 2003).

international sections and was announcing, among others, *stabilimenti balneari* (seaside resorts) and *stazioni climatiche e di villeggiatura* (climatic resorts).

4. Tourist posters in the sociosemiotic perspective: Portorož and Mali Lošinj

4.1. Some notes on the sociosemiotic perspective

The basic premise of sociosemiotics is that all social phenomena, institutions, movements and relations exist within a universe of signs and meaning. The problem it faces is not how society affects sign systems or how sign systems and processes affect society, but rather the way society relates to itself, the way it represents and reflects itself in the sign systems, texts, discourses and narratives it produces, by itself and within itself. The "social" in sociosemiotics is not interpreted as an empirically given existing *a priori*, but a constructed effect of meaning. This means that sociosemiotics does not study the "social" directly, like sociology or cultural anthropology, for instance, but taken as a set of discourses, texts and practices. It is interested in how "society" constructs itself as an empiric, objective and obvious given, how it makes what is basically a result of constructed processes of meaning seem "natural", attractive, "normal", experiential, self-evident or common sense. From a semiotic perspective, "society" is seen as a set of discourses. In this perspective, all phenomena and objects are constructs, with the social reality itself being given not directly, but indirectly – it is strictly mediated through various effects of meaning.

A. Semprini defines sociosemiotics as a discipline studying the inscription of meaning within social practices (Semprini 1997; Semprini 2003). According to this author, the term implies examining the various kinds of social discourses – legal, political, advertising, journalist, sports, artistic, tourist – starting from the premise that all of these participate in the semiosphere and circulate in it, coming into contact with, refracting and permeating each other.[14] Each type of social discourse has its own topics, structure, configuration, ways of using space and time, as well as subjects that make it possible for it to be identified as a particular kind of discourse.

From a sociosemiotic perspective it can be claimed that a place becomes a tourist destination at the moment when it is semiotically evaluated, when some semiotic value has been attached to it and made known to potential tourists. When it comes to tourism, semiotic

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[14] Semiosphere is the universe of meaning containing texts (messages, goods, objects…) that circulate within its boundaries; the space of culture and language. It was coined and described by J. Lotman, after the term biosphere (Lotman 2005).

evaluation in the first place implies specifying the tourist offer and its objects.[15] Hereby it is emphasized the importance of cognitive manipulation: even before a tourist engages in deciding upon the tourist destination to visit there is someone who has already evaluated a place as a tourist destination. As pointed out by U. Volli, this destination construction is not without its material modifications, like building the infrastructure, amusement parks, sports grounds, renewing the monuments and so on, but also involved is semiotic work, consisting of evaluations, attaching a particular meaning and sense to each place (Volli 2003, 2005).

Sociosemiotics views tourism as a socially constructed phenomenon, "both a result and a part of the wider cultural process used by a society to represent itself and discursively construct a particular self-image" (Brucculeri 2009). In this respect tourism can be seen as an integral part of reality, contributing to its creation, changes and modifications, an efficient agent in it, just as important as politics, economy, information systems, law, etc. – as a social discourse.

Sociosemiotic perspective emphasizes that promotion material in tourism is not creating out of nothing. On the contrary, it can be seen as a re-elaboration of cultural material, with the view of establishing a convincing connection between a tourist destination, on the one hand, and values coupled with the existing cultural forms, on the other. Posters promoting tourist destinations, as the other promotional materials in general, can be viewed as communication processes or messages with two main actors – the sender of the message and its receiver. For the 19th century context of the art posters the first can be identified with the artist who created it (and before got the order to create the poster), while the second implies collective receiver – public to whom advertisement addressed in the first place. On this track stands the definition of the sociosemiotics as research of the relations established in the field of a social discourse. (Landowski 1999; Traini 2006)

4.2. Tourism promotion of Portorož and Mali Lošinj – the analysis

In our approach we shall equally focus on verbal and visual aspects of advertising posters and on their interaction in the construction of the overall meaning. The analysis of verbal characteristics of the posters will concentrate on linguistic and semantic components of the posters. It will observe the aspects of expression and staging the relations between the sender

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[15] In some authors (Floch 1997a; Floch 1997b; Pozzato 1998), the term semiotic valorization has become a recent substitute for the older term ideology. It consists of attaching positive or negative valencies not limited to general and abstract judgments about veracity and distortion, but with occasional pathemic nuances: acceptance/rejection, defence/struggle, liking/disliking, identification/detachment, assent/repulsion (Pozzato 1998).

and the receiver of messages. The analysis of visual aspect will try to examine visual means taking part in the semiotic construction of a place as a tourist destination.

We will analyse here two tourism posters promoting *Winterkurort* and *Seebad* in Mali Lošinj (Čikat/Cigale; figure 3) and in Portorož (Palace-Kur Hotel; figure 4). Both posters originate from 1910s. The poster promoting Mali Lošinj was created by A. Ficher, while the one advertising Portorož signed G. Cambon.

A. VISUAL

In the analysis of the posters' visual component we follow model suggested by A. J. Greimas in his paper on figurative and plastic semiotics (Greimas 1984/2001; Greimas, Collins, Perron 1989). His theoretical framework emphasizes cultural and historical relativity in the representation and reading/recognising of the objects belonging to the "natural world". Greimas distinguishes between figurative and plastic semiotics. The question of the figurativity is linked to our "reading" of the "natural world": "since each culture is endowed with its own 'vision of the world', then each culture will set its own variant for the conditions under which visual figures are identified as 'representing' the objects of the world." (Greimas, Collins, Perron 1989, 633) In this view figurativity is understood as a kind of mode of reading and of production of "constructed surfaces", and it can lead to the two extreme levels: on the one hand, level of iconization – production of highly realistic figures of the real world, and on the other hand level of abstraction, where figures are difficult to be recognised (Greimas, Collins, Perron 1989, 634). Plastic semiotics is concerned with the three categories: topological, eidetic and chromatic (Greimas, Collins, Perron 1989, 638-639). The topological mechanism is the roof category which includes arrangement of the objects in the frame (such as upper/lower, left/right, peripheral/central), as well as the two other plastic categories: chromatic category that includes colours, and the eidetic category which includes lines and forms. The superior position of the topological mechanism is explained starting from the importance of the frame: "The frame appears to be the only sure point of departure. It allows us to conceive of a topological grid that virtually underlies the surface that is being offered for our reading." (Greimas, Collins, Perron 1989, 638) On its side topological mechanism is subject to cultural relativism and historical determination and is founded upon conventions. Nevertheless, it functions because of the logically presupposed contract between the producer and the reader of the framed surface. Topological categories explained earlier bring about the reduction of the polysemic and rich number of readings to a number of elements that are recognisable as necessary and pertinent.

The posters we analyzed both show some similarities as well as differences. The most noticeable difference stands in the grade of the figurativity of the visual component. Poster promoting Mali Lošinj reaches almost iconic level of representation. Topologically verbal parts from above and under frame the drawing which reveals to the potential reader as the panoramic view from Čikat to the seafront (famous *riva*), sea, isthmus, and the mountain Osoršćica in the distance. In the first plane there are palms and agaves, even today considered to be the hallmarks of the tourist promotion of the whole island of Lošinj. In the chromatic plane dominate light colours such as blue, green, dark yellow and grey. Lines are sharp and clear-cut, but at the same time mild and tender. The major part of the poster occupies blue colour and the sea – clearly motivated with the object of the promotion, winter and summer resort. Verbal part is typographically stylised, rounded and printed in the red colour. In this way immediately attracted attention of the possible readers. The whole effect to the viewer is somewhat cold and static.

Poster promoting Portorož has somehow different structure. It is comprised of the three parts: major picture representing the view to the city (presumably in the artist's creation, from the promoted hotel Palace-Kur), geographical map showing some practical information on the location of the city, and black surface with white stylised verbal part. Contrast black surface and white letters usually evokes connotations of nobility, elitism and exclusiveness. In the visual part dominate tender and warm pastel colours – light blue, yellow, green and rose, and lines are vague and soft. All the scenery seems to be "blended" and abstract: the city and the sea are merging into one and the viewer hardly recognizes iconic elements – the atmosphere is gossamer-like. The view to this merged whole is – presumably in artist's imagination and creation – given from the terrace of the advertised hotel and is framed with flowers – the fence of the terrace is the most figurative element in the whole drawing. The whole effect to the viewer is light, warm and gentle.

At both posters there are only represented landscapes, without humans present. There are no potential tourists, who could enjoy these winter and summer resorts. There is no dynamics, everything is static and without motion. There are no seductive figures, imagination and phantasmagorical elements that were well attested in the advertising posters in that period.

B. LEVEL OF UTTERANCE

At the level of utterance it is possible to single out the mise en scène, the "putting in the scene", of relations between the producer of the utterance – *enunciator* and the receiver of the

utterance – *enunciatee*. Different communication strategies determine different types of possible discursive roles for each of the two protagonists – the enunciator and the enunciatee – of the discourse being uttered. The sender/enunciator can choose between the "personal" and the "objective" (neutral) discourse (Landowski 1999). If he/she chooses the "objective" discourse, its nature will be neutral, and it will be distanced and will tend to establish the objective state of affairs with no need for confirmation, with no need for the sender's participation and its communion with the recipient/enunciatee. If he/she chooses the "personal" discourse, this will establish a relation that connects the enunciator to the enunciatee, requires their mutual cooperation and confirms their agreement and communion. It will be a discourse of a personal, not a neutral nature.

In our analysis we are dealing with an objective discourse: verbal part provides only objective and practical information. In the case of the poster for Mali Lošinj there is only information regarding where to find more information, while in the case of Portorož potential tourist is informed on the comfort in the hotel (warm water, electric light, telephone, post office) and its practical and convenient availability (one hour by train from Trieste). The enunciator does not address enunciatee directly – he does not address him at all. He just presents to him some benefits in the form of practical and objective information. In this way the enunciator has counted itself and enunciatee out, and the verbal part embodies an utterance conveyed from outside. For this reasons, the nature of this utterance is neutral, it is distanced and tends to establish the objective state of affairs with no need for a confirmation, with no need for the sender's participation and its communion with the recipient. The enunciator has been constructed as a neutral, distanced and impersonal subject only transferring some objective data from outside. The discourse possesses a strong referential dimension, shaped by its verbal utterance and additionally confirmed at the visual level, which makes it operate as a discourse of the truth about the tourist destination being promoted. While conveying the truth about it, the discourse only repeats and adapts to itself a reality and a truth which already exist, *a priori*, outside of itself. The enunciatee is constructed as confident and competent clientele who know very well their needs, desires and possibilities – it was the upper class and aristocracy, well defined connoisseur. These characteristics of the verbal and visual part caused very small level of persuasive power of advertising discourse in the period in question. Instead of subtle persuasion and urging, the enunciator treated his enunciatee as equal partner in the advertising communication, transferring him only practical and objective information on the promoted resorts.

5. Conclusion

Portorož and Lošinj developed as successful tourist destination, seaside health resorts of the Austrian Riviera until World War I. The development was firstly characterized by the natural resources (mild climate, sea water, sea air, sun, mud and brine) that were implemented with health treatment. Medicine introduced treatment of several diseases and the localities developed as climatic or seaside resorts for elite aristocrat guests.

The analysis of tourist posters promoting seaside resorts of the Austrian Riviera at the beginning of the 20th century showed a low level of persuasive elements and characteristics. Creators of the tourist posters did not try to manipulate their public. On the one hand, posters only presented, in objective manner, important characteristics of the tourist destinations. On the other hand, promotion via posters was left to the creative freedom of artists. The low level of persuasion is explainable with the fact that promotion was oriented toward the upper class and aristocrat clientele who were treated as competent and secure in their wishes and needs. The close links with medicine and health treatment probably also prevented extravagant persuasion.

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Creating a New Pedagogy for the Tourism Industry: A Review of Fair Trade Tourism and an Exploration of FTTSA Certification

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A number of tourism researchers have commented on the sometimes less than admirable consequences that tourism may have in optimizing community benefits. D'Sa (1999:68) states for example, that contemporary tourism is highly exploitative, socially damaging and ultimately, a "justice issue". Tourism has been referred to as a "victim of its own success" (Lisle 2008:5) and an agreement has been reached, among some researchers (e.g., Brown and Hall 2008; Scheyvens 2007; Chong 2005; O'Hare and Barrett 1999; Britton 1982) that the tourism industry worsens the global disparity of wealth and exacerbates structural inequalities. Therefore, when tourists travel internationally to gated resorts their spending often benefits wealthy multinational companies rather than local communities (Dine 2001).

Effectively, tourism is an industry that operates through an unfair global economy perpetuating the structural inequalities between wealthy consumers and disempowered locals (Dine 2001). Such structural inequalities are further highlighted as destinations cater to the short-term demands of tourists whose economic influence outweighs the longer-term needs of the local communities. Tourist sites are thus becoming increasingly commodified as a way to meet the demands of the intercontinental travelling elite (Dine 2001). Furthermore tourism is responsible for creating an array of environmental damages (e.g., Mbaiwa 2002; Orams 2002; Briassoulis 2000; Kavallinis and Pizam 1994; Ap 1990; Mathieson and Wall 1982; Pizam 1978). The discourse in the literature regarding the economic, social and environmental impacts of tourism has ultimately drawn attention to a lack of ethical awareness in the tourism industry. As such, considering ethics in tourism development is necessary so that "exploitation" does not become its legacy (Page 2003:18).

A number of approaches have emerged recommending a progressive form of tourism such as 'alternative tourism' (Krippendorf ,1991); 'responsible tourism' (Wright, 2006; Wheeler, 1991); 'sustainable tourism' (e.g., Eagles *et al.,* 2002); 'eco-tourism' (Fennell, 1999); 'ethical tourism' (Fennell, 2006; Butcher, 2003; Tribe, 2002) 'just tourism' (Hultsman, 1995); and 'Pro-Poor Tourism' (PPT) (e.g., Scheyvens, 2007; 2002; 1999; Ashley *et al.,* 2001). Such

advancements provide an opportunity for stakeholders to choose specifically how they would like to participate in the industry, as a way to mitigate some of their impacts. Furthermore such approaches demonstrate a movement towards good governance thus providing opportunities for diverse contributions from governments, NGOs, academics, tourism operators, host communities and tourists. Diverse involvement has provided a way to respond in the climate of 'new tourism' (Poon, 2003; 1993). Alternative forms of tourism demonstrates progress towards a new pedagogy in the tourism industry; due to the focus on creating benefits for host communities and the shift towards good governance which encourages and values the participation of many stakeholders. The aim of this paper is to explore the development and application of fair trade principles to the tourism industry and investigate Fair Trade Tourism South Africa certification as a way to externally measure ethical conduct.

A reaction to responsible tourism planning has seen the emergence of a number of eco-labels and codes of conduct. Yet, such codes simply 'tinker' with a problem (D'Sa 1999:68) and more proactive solutions and strategies are needed to address the negative impacts of tourism. Accordingly the principal downfall to some of the approaches mentioned above is that they are at times perceived as ambiguous because they rely on participation yet lack clearly identified limitations which may prevent their successful implementation. Specifically the main challenge with tourism approaches is that they lack specific criteria as a way to ensure that they adhere to a set of standards (Honey, 2008:384) which is maintained by many certification systems. The general process for granting a certification to a business or product requires a third party who will provide assurance to the consumer that a specific product or service adheres to the requirements. Such schemes often provide plans of action for future improvements (Font, 2002). Sometimes certification systems request that their results become public but this is not always followed through by certified businesses (Font, 2002).

Several challenges face certification systems for example there is a sentiment among some critics (e.g., Worthen, 1999) that certification is unnecessary. Moreover, the credibility and competency of evaluators proposes a challenge given their level of preparedness (Worthen, 1999). Worthen (1999) suggests that too many evaluators are inadequately prepared. Another challenge with certification is that the regulatory requirements are demanding which makes achieving the certification difficult and expensive (Bhat, 2009). Furthermore, intrinsic motivations may propel certification attainment such as an opportunity to enhance a business's professional development profile and/or opportunity for positive marketing.

A by-product of ecotourism and the PPT approach has applied fair trade principles to tourism. In the context of South Africa -the only country to have developed a national certification called Fair Trade Tourism South Africa- a process has emerged to externally access tourism businesses against a number of criteria in a way to determine their ethical position.

2.1 FTT and FTTSA

FTT is embedded in the fair trade movement similarly concerned with addressing the imbalances in trade. It is primarily focused on the extent to which the application of fair trade in regard to trading partnerships, consumer awareness, and certification, can inform tourism development at tourism destinations, as well as overseas (Pluss, 2003; Kalisch, 2001; Evans and Cleverdon, 2000). Ultimately FTT provides a better deal for tourism producers and service providers in the Majority World (Cleverdon and Kalisch, 2000).

The concept of FTT has been referred to -by a limited number of researchers- either as a natural progression (Wheat, 1993) or an urgent call (Carbone, 2005) in both tourism theory and praxis. The fair trade notion has emerged as a way to readdress the sustainability and inequality issues that exist within the tourism industry. For example, Wheat (1999:3) begins to question "if we can have fair trade commodities [e.g., coffee and bananas] can we have fair trade tourism?" Furthermore, Carbone (2005:561) describes the urgency in protecting host countries and communities participating in tourism from government, big business, and environmental exploitation, thus "employing fair trade practices" is a way to guarantee living wages for employees.

Although few researchers have written on FTT cross pollination between Fairtrade products and FTT is beginning to take place in practice. For example, a coffee tour programme was developed in 2008 in a small community in Mexico with the intention of "providing tourists with a socially and environmentally sensitive tour of the coffee farms and communities involved in fair trade" (Chesworth, 2010:172). Tanzania in East Africa has been working with several coffee farmer communities to implement a "sustainable form of coffee-related tourism" (Goodwin and Boekhold, 2010:181). The Fair Tourism Project in Tanzania has subsequently created locally owned and managed coffee tours which return sizeable benefits to individuals, families and their communities.

In addition to the emergence of FTT in countries in the Majority World fair trade has also surfaced in the Developed World. Although fair trade was developed as a way to assist

marginalized producers the fundamental principles have recently been applied to the context of the accommodation sector in Ireland. Fair Hotels Ireland began in May of 2010 with the goal to support and promote quality employment in the hotel industry. A Fair hotel is one that:

- Treats their staff fairly by paying them a fair wage and minimizing risk in the workplace,

- Takes their responsibility as an employer seriously,

- Demonstrates respect for human rights and the voice of their employees,

- Values the work of their employees and

- Understands the significance of the people-centeredness of the hospitality industry (Fair Hotels 2011).

Thus Fair Hotels are concerned with attracting and retaining skilled workers who are reminded that the work they do is valued (Fair Hotels 2011). There are currently 46 Fair Hotels across Ireland including Belfast (2), Clare (4), Cork (4), Derry (1), Donegal (1), Dublin (14), Galway (3), Kerry (7), Kilkenny (1), Limerick (3), Mayo (2), Meath (1), Sligo (1), Waterford (2), Westmeath (1) and Wexford (2) (Fair Hotels 2011). Ireland is currently the only country in the world to have developed such a programme. In much of the literature discussing fair trade there is a focus on creating an opportunity for 'disadvantaged producers' in the Majority World. This is interesting in the context of the Developed world and specifically Ireland for a couple of reasons. Firstly, many front-line staff employed in the hospitality industry in Ireland are from countries in the Majority World. Secondly, there is recognition that hospitality staff have been notoriously mistreated by working long and unsociable hours, poor working conditions and often receiving little respect from their managers and customers. As such, front-line employees are compared to 'disadvantaged producers'. In theory although little research has discussed FTT a working definition has been proposed.

In 1999/2000 a NGO known as *Tourism Concern* facilitated an international network in order to discuss the potential application of fair trade principles to the context of tourism (Kalisch, 2001). The outcome of the international network facilitated by *Tourism Concern* was a working definition of FTT.

> Fair trade in tourism is a key aspect of sustainable tourism. It aims to maximize the benefits from tourism for local destination stakeholders through mutually beneficial and equitable partnerships between national and international tourism stakeholders in the destination. It also supports the rights of indigenous host communities, whether

involved in tourism or not, to participate as equal stakeholders and beneficiaries in the tourism development process (Tourism Concern, 2009; Grosspietsch, 2005:4; Beddoe, 2004; Kalisch, 2001:11).

Effectively, FTT is a civil society partnership, with a corporate ethical code of conduct and trade partnership, and a Fairtrade product that is monitored and certified. *Tourism Concern's* deliberation over their initial definition of FTT was informed by 'Southern Perspectives' based on experiences of international development in countries where poverty and inequality are a result of dynamic power relations (Tourism Concern, 2009). As a consequence *Tourism Concern* had several countries in mind for potential FTT implementation including India, Brazil, Gambia, Uganda, Namibia and South Africa.

Five areas were recognized by *Tourism Concern* (2009) regarding where change is necessary in order to achieve greater equality for participating communities including: International Trade Agreements; tourism industry (including transnational corporations and independent investors); destination community stakeholders; consumer behaviour; and destination government policies. Moreover, *Tourism Concern* (2009) identified the need to prioritize several beneficiaries in host communities who:

- have not previously had a voice in the tourism decision-making process;
- are economically and socially disadvantaged or discriminated against;
- are ready to engage with the national/international market yet need the necessary technical and organizational support;
- are employed in the formal and informal tourism sector.

Although *Tourism Concern* has continued FTT dialogue they are still awaiting funding which has hindered their progress and efficient FTT implementation (Personal Communication Stroma Cole, Chair of Tourism Concern, 25 June 2009). To date only one country, South Africa, has created an independent certification for fair trade in tourism.

Initially, in South Africa, the application of fair trade practices was investigated from the perspective of agriculture, as Black South African farmers had been notoriously disadvantaged in agricultural trade (FTTSA, 2009). Feasibility research was undertaken in the mid 1990s to investigate the potential for South African producers to enter the fair trade system (FTTSA, 2008). The Fairtrade Labelling Organization (FLO) then certified South African cooperative farms and commercial farms referring to certified products with a Fairtrade South Africa

(FTSA) label. As a consequence, South Africa is currently the world's largest exporter of Fairtrade certified products (FTSA, 2009).

Subsequent to the introduction of FTSA products a government document, known as the Tourism White Paper (RSA, 1996), addressed tourism in South Africa as a 'missed opportunity'. It further stated that had the historical context been different, the country would host a thriving tourism industry. The White Paper on the Development and Promotion of Tourism (RSA, 1996) is the core of South Africa's new tourism policy. It identifies tourism as a priority for national economic development and a major stimulus for achieving the objectives of the government's macro-economic strategy (Rogerson, 2004). The White Paper promoted a way forward highlighting the need for community participation in tourism, in direct response to the economic dilemmas of the poorest areas and ultimately the pursuit of Local Economic Development (LED) (RSA, 1998), and 'pro-poor' strategies (RSA, 2000).

The concept of PPT was recognized in the Tourism White Paper as a way to develop responsible tourism. Poverty alleviation is the core focus of PPT as it "requires mechanisms to unlock opportunities for the poor at all levels and scales of operation" (PPT, 2002:1). The Tourism White Paper (RSA, 1996) argues that, if pursued responsibly, tourism has the potential to positively improve the quality of life of all South Africans. Key principles embodied in the White Paper include the encouragement of community participation and the sustainable management of resources. Applying the principles of fair trade in the context of tourism has the potential to maintain a pro-poor focus, while also ensuring sustainable tourism business practices based on the criteria necessary to achieve such certification. Furthermore, a focus on fair trade in the context of tourism may facilitate opportunities for growing communities in urban, as well as rural areas throughout South Africa. Based on the success of FTSA as applied to agricultural commodities, the recognition of tourism in South Africa as a 'missed opportunity' and decisive action demonstrated by a few stakeholders, an NGO established a certification recognizing FTT in South Africa.

In 2002 South Africa launched its trademark certification known as FTTSA. The goal of FTTSA is to promote equitable and sustainable tourism development through "awareness raising, capacity-building, advocacy and the world's first tourism fair trade certification programme" (FTTSA, 2007/2008:2). The long-term vision of FTTSA is for "a just, participatory and sustainable tourism industry" providing meaningful benefits for both hosts and guests (Seif, 2001:5).

The aim of this paper is to explore the development and application of fair trade principles to the tourism industry and investigate Fair Trade Tourism South Africa certification as a way to externally measure ethical conduct. The key research questions that this paper addresses are what has been the impetus to identify and apply fair trade principles in the context of the tourism industry? What countries have gotten involved in Fair Trade Tourism? How do businesses in South Africa achieve Fair Trade Tourism certification? What are some challenges faced when applying for FTTSA certification? Subsequent to achieving certification are tourism businesses concerned with continual improvements? A qualitative approach was chosen for this study. Accordingly, semi-structured interviews were carried out with 25 FTTSA certified businesses.

Fair Trade Tourism is recognized as a by-product of ecotourism and PPT. It has emerged as a way to readdress some of the negative environmental, social and economic impacts created by tourism. This paper has described a number of countries in the Majority World that are participating in and offering FTT experiences for tourists. Furthermore, it was recognized that FTT practices have most recently been adopted in the Developed World, in Ireland. As such a focus on the fair treatment of people in both contexts has been recognized. South Africa was identified as the first country to implement a FTT certification. A key finding of this paper illustrates that certification schemes are a way forward for the tourism industry as they provide a way for businesses to maintain credibility. However, the assessment phases of certification programmes such as the application process provide an obstacle for busy entrepreneurs and managers. Furthermore, challenges exist in the context of rural South Africa where there are language barriers and difficulties with basic skills to facilitate written applications.

Moving forward it would be interesting to follow-up with the progress of FTT implementation in India, Brazil, Gambia, Uganda and Namibia since *Tourism Concern* identified such countries as prime candidates. Additionally, a study exploring consumer interest in FTT and an investigation regarding their satisfaction of FTT holidays may provide some insight regarding the consumer demand of such an approach.

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Universality and realism in the tourism academia

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……………………………………………What would

an ancient Roman, had he risen now, recognize? A wood-
pile, the blue yonder, a cloud's texture,
flat water, something in architecture,
but no one by face. That's how some folk still do
travel abroad at times, but, not entitled to
afterlife, scurry back home hiding their eyes in terror.
And not yet settled after the farewell tremor

Joseph Brodsky in 'So Forth'

Introduction

There is no doubt about the decisive importance of universally valid theories in natural sciences. This has nothing to do with the mediaeval theological battle between nominalism and realism in which *universalia* in concepts (realism, Plato) or in reality (nominalism, Ockam) were at stake. Since the rise of modern sciences and its more instrumental use of theories in order to describe and explain reality, essentialist tendencies like defining *universalia* have been abolished as remnants of a past that are considered to be obstacles for the growth of scientific knowledge (Dijksterhuis, 1950). Popper (1963), who probably is the most reputed philosopher of science in more recent years, described this type of battles about definitions as completely nonsensical. In each definition, for example of 'power', there are new words to be defined. And at the end of the day it remains relatively easier to use the original concept with the awareness that it cannot be defined in its essence but can be used in a more instrumental manner. Nobody in physics is troubled by the word 'power' but it is used in many contexts in the way it has been operationally defined, for example by f=m.a. Nevertheless, the intention of stating natural laws that are *universally* valid, remains the same. F=m.a is supposed to be tested under the most complicated and various circumstances so that in light of the available knowledge of the day, we may consider it to be the most 'truthful', probable or the less un-truthful hypothesis about phenomena like gravitational power. A hypothesis, derived from a well tested theory, is tested in order to make it and its background theory *universally* valid. Although you can never be sure

of it, the ultimate aim of natural sciences will remain to develop universally valid theories *of everything*. Whatever Kuhn, Feyerabend, Latour and others are stating about the lack of any internal criteria for the growth of knowledge, when Einstein and Bohr disagreed they were obsessed by each other's truth claims. For most natural scientists a situation in which two different theoretical research programmes have the same *universal* validity was and is something unacceptable in the natural sciences, despite all the existing objections.

This is not at all the situation in the social and human sciences. The concept of a paradigm has been eagerly used in various contexts (Botterill and Platenkamp, 2011, forthcoming) in order to, amongst other things, use it as a strategy of immunisation (Albert, 1965) of the own theoretical framework. What it hides, is a pre-paradigmatic situation in terms of Kuhn's terminology that remains far away from the paradigmatic situation of big brother, the natural sciences. Universally valid hypotheses, deductively derived from a well tested theory that have the status of a paradigm, do hardly exist in social and human sciences and this constitutes the starting point of this article about the state of affairs in the tourism academia.

Recently, the uneasiness with this situation emerged to the surface in the tourism academia (Tribe, 1999, 2006, 2010; Jamal and Hollinshead, 2001; Echtner, 1999; Dann, G. (2002); Riley, R. and Love, L. (2000)). The 'in-discipline of tourism' (Tribe, 1997) indicates this general suspicion about tourism studies not being an academic discipline as the other disciplines that generated during the 19th century into the scientific community. But this process of generation of the social and human sciences in the 19th century within a new (industrial) society offers some similarities and dissimilarities with the historical context in which tourism emerged as a field of investigation. Right from their start, especially the social sciences are characterised by a structural doubt about their theoretical and methodological status. This doubt has been related until our days to the original distinction between 'Naturwissenschaften' and 'Geisteswissenschaften', between nomothetic and deductive sciences versus ideographic and inductive ones, between explanation and interpretation, between quantitative and qualitative research. The tension between these two types of science has never been absent in the history of modern sciences since then. In the first type of science universality has never been a serious point of discussion, in the second one it remains a discussion all the time. The tourism academia has been influenced by this tension in the first place. But is it not possible to combine forces? Will this not be more fruitful than complaining about the in-discipline of tourism studies? In this paper a plea will be organised to introduce reality again in our research-efforts in order to come to such a combination of forces. The ontological characteristics of our species-being have to be translated, as far as possible, into universally valid theories. Although we will never be sure about this universality, the urge to strive for it is inevitable since reality has to be taken into account. The notion of a non-doubtable reality, we will argue, has been rearticulated through a serious discussion with critical realism. The question, of course, remains how intelligible- used here in the Hegelian meaning of the word- reality is.

Universality versus particularity in the academia, a contextual approach

In history: in *social sciences as in Western society* since the origins of social sciences in the nineteenth century, there is a contextual tension between the heritage of the Enlightenment and

of the subsequent reaction to or even resistance against it, Romanticism, the anti-Enlightenment. (Nisbet, 1966) describes the emergence of sociology within a context of the political and industrial revolution of the nineteenth century and the concomitant tensions between the traditional, agrarian and the new, modern and urban society. Sociology as a science grew out of this tension in order to better understand the new problems in the turmoil of a new society where a new, modern 'Gesellschaft' (society) opposed the traditional 'Gemeinschaft' (community).

Much of today's right wing's populism, once again, is a romantic reaction of back to basic instincts, community-feelings and the like, while using the superiority of the own Enlightened culture, against the so-called hypocrisy of Enlightened and politically correct cosmopolitans. At the same time it hides the painful opposition between universalism and cultural particularism. In 'Le Monde Diplomatique (14 dec 2010, p. 3) Zeev Sternhell describes this opposition. He signalises a growing anti-Enlightenment movement in European populism, notwithstanding the fact that it sometimes seems to use the Enlightenment as a source of inspiration. The core of the Enlightenment is explained by Diderot and d'Alembert who said that one never could let history or culture make men prisoner of any determinism. The individual constitutes the final objective of political or social action, through this universal appeal the individual rises to maturity and will be freed from the fetters of history. According to the anti-Enlightenment, very much inspired by Romanticism, the individual has no meaning but in and through the community. It exists in concrete particularity, exclusively related to this community and not in an abstract universality as imagined by the Enlightenment. Identities are related to this principle and communities are to be privileged in them above individuals. These identities distinguish, divide and separate people as different from one another in their particular context.

In a Western context this opposition between the heritage of the Enlightenment and of Romanticism has been and still is operating since its days of origin. The discussion of universality versus particularity is one of its main characteristics, that also haunt the crucial debates of the social and human sciences since the nineteenth century. Cultural anthropology is a good example. Traditionally this science represented the nostalgic attempt to preserve disappearing pre-modern, traditional, rural society and searched to gratify this nostalgic need in a colonial era by idealising faraway, agrarian, non-Western cultures, untouched by (modern) 'civilisation'. James Clifford (1986) refers to this 'pastoral tendency' as a still very persistent one. Anthropologists have a natural tendency, says he, to describe an authentic rural past of a generation ago. But of course this penultimate generation also has an authentic past of again a previous generation and so on. This pastoral tendency is meant to lead to a critical nostalgia in anthropological analyses because it implies a break with the hegemonic, corrupt modernist presence by asserting the reality of a radical alternative.

In the anthropological discourse this 'textualised structure' has been universalised into a wider topography of Western/non-Western, city/countryside oppositions. In this light underdeveloped, tribal societies lose their tradition because of progressing modernisation and anthropologists 'compose their requiems' (Murphy, Y and Murphy, R. 1984).

Fortunately the allegory of ethnographic loss and rescue has recently become less evident. New conditions of ethnographic production have emerged. More 'voices' are implied except from the one based on the anthropologist's experiences. Informants can read, write and interpret their own culture and the distinction between literate and non-literate has almost disappeared around the whole world. The anthropologist is not the only professional anymore who defines the ultimate insights in cross-cultural discussions.

"If the ethnographer reads culture over the native's shoulder, the native also reads over the ethnographer's shoulder as he or she writes each cultural description. Fieldworkers are increasingly constrained in what they publish by the reactions of those previously classified as non-literate." (Clifford, 1986, 119)

Anthropologists have long been represented as and sometimes still are the representatives of a logocentrism in which a Western biased type of rationality has been depicted as universal and decontextualised. Since globalisation becomes a much more complex process with different ethnoscapes and varying non-Western approaches which are embedded in various interfering networks of our network-society, this logocentrism needs to be included in a more subtle concept of understanding cultural processes. On a global scale the new emergent social structure causes the need of plural and contextual understandings from diverse perspectives in the social sciences. The ontological, multi-layered complexity of this emergent structure asks for a thorough analysis with strong implications for related epistemological claims.

Contextualisation in the tourism academia: a feast of particularism?

In various tourism discussions the lack of post-colonial pluriformity in a network-society appears to be a striking characteristic. At the same time this lack seems to be strongly related to a more subtle analysis of the specific ontology of our network-society. This conclusion may be drawn at many places. In a very interesting book on 'the tourist as a metaphor of the social world' (ed. by Graham Dann, 2002) many metaphors are crossing the discussions, that are without exception referring to a Western experience. The tourist is a 'pilgrim in search of the sacred', stroller', 'vagabond', 'player' in a 'fragmented and discontinuous life that militated against rational networks of mutual duties and obligations' (Bauman, 93). He is a 'paparazzi', a 'homeless drunk', a 'womanizer' or she is a 'prostitute', a 'babysitter' an 'au pair' (Jokinen and Veijola, 97). Urry (2000: 78) uses a 'photographer', a 'map-maker', a 'viewer of landscapes', a 'car driver' and a 'television gazer'. He is a 'sightseer' (Urry, 90), a 'stranger' (Cohen, 1979), 'performer' (Bruner, 94) or a 'child' (Dann, 89, 96). To a certain degree it seems clear that the non-Western voices are completely absent in this summary by Dann. But on the other hand in a network-society even this distinction between the West and the rest of the world would be a false presentation of the ontological subtlety of the 'real world'. In the metaphors referring to tourism there is at least one which indicates a sort of an awareness of this absence of non-Western voices when tourism has been called a 'form of imperialism' (Nash, 89). But here also the analysis is predetermined Western, be it with a critical intention. Tourism and the tourist do need new contextualised metaphors related to new ontological claims, as the author also stresses (using Urry) for example in relation to the new complexities of tourism:

".. as it (tourism, DB & VP) flows in and out of different regions, across different boundaries, using diverse networks and changing 'as it goes' ".

(Urry, 2000: 31)

These new metaphors should not only come from a greater variety of disciplines, as the author implies, but also from a wider perspective than the dominant, but particular Western one.

Also post-colonialism in sex tourism illustrates well the point to be made. Glenn Bowman wrote an interesting chapter in Sewlyn's book (1996) on the various strategies that victims of forces beyond control may develop to overcome these forces. In the Palestinian market of Jerusalem Western tourists dominated at the time Bowman wrote this story. In the merchants' narratives the women of these dominating tourists had been dominated in turn. This nevertheless could turn out wrong as well, as appeared in the story of the merchant who became a 'manioc', because an English woman 'in the course of heavy petting inserted a finger in his anus and he ejaculated' (Selwyn, 1996:97). He immediately afterwards forced her, half dressed, out into the street, because he was humiliated through this act. He became a *manioc,* who is 'the one who takes his pleasure in the ass'. A 'manioc' is demasculanized and enjoys sex like a woman. In this case the merchant was feminized whereas at the same time he was attempting to assert his dominance. This points to the post-colonial subtlety of this game of dominance and resistance in global tourism. Ontological claims, related to this network-society, once again force us to nuance post-colonial (sexual) relations. In chapter nine Martinez (Selwyn, 1996) introduces a Japanese metaphor of the (Japanese, domestic) tourist as a 'stranger' who is a 'deity' and who might bring good luck or disaster to the local population. Here, another example is offered of the obvious existence of new and hidden metaphors in this subtle game of tourism in a network-society. The tourist as a 'stranger' is not only to be associated with the 'Other' as known in the usual (Western) tourism discussions. Commodification is another recurring theme in tourism discussions. In "Contesting the Foreshore" (Boissevain and Selwyn, 2004) this theme has been introduced into coastal areas. Unfettered tourism development since the sixties has been categorised as a process of 'balearisation' during which kinship-structures, traditions and original customs have been destroyed and decontextualised by the marketisation of coasts. At the end of this process all these coasts look alike. Hannerz (1993, 232) would have called this a process of 'saturation', which is the 'colonization of the mind of the periphery by a relentless cultural bombardment of the centre'. At the same time, however, there is 'maturation' by which local groups are not seen as passive recipients of these global influences but recontextualise these influences according to their own, particular cultural frames. For example Bedouin girls work the beach of the Sinaï, selling friendship bracelets to tourists on the coast, again redefining their role vis-à-vis their parents, particularly their mothers. Especially in post-colonial circumstances and its ontological constraints these two tendencies are highly relevant and complicated by nature. They refer to the complex power-relations in a post-colonial reality that need to be incorporated into the micro-analysis of the working relations of Bedouin girls on the beach of the Sinaï.

More examples in this book testify of this need for contextualisation. Becoming a part of the international market economy, as has been the case for so many coastal destinations, while at

the same time even traditional households keep on playing a (reduced) role, implies a chaotic socio-cultural life in which various networks complicate any clear cut understanding. Generating tacit knowledge or silenced voices again makes sense because it gives space to a hidden reality that may be repressed in this discourse without notice.

The last example is the most striking one. Slavery from the past has produced many contested heritage places, where tourism planners provide wealthy, white and often retired persons with attractive historic sites, full of 'staged authenticity' (MacCannell, 1976) and 'pseudo-events' (Boorstin, (1961, 1980). Dann and Seaton edited an interesting book on this type of topic. Here, interpretations of these historic sites aim to educate visitors by sharing stories of e.g. the legendary Old South. But their tales seem to have 'some black holes, literally and figuratively'. Also in brochures and other promotion material, that has been analysed, the story of the slaves, now and then, is missing. Slave quarters are referred to as servant quarters or carriage houses, attempts to restore the balance are usually made on special demand. That tourism appears to be a natural successor of the plantation system instead of its polar opposite, is the clear assessment in this book. In a post-modern context the selective presentation of slavery heritage 'for purposes of visitor entertainment trivialises and compromises the very object of portrayal' (Dann & Seaton, 2001: 18). Another striking fact in this respect, again, is the exclusion of black participation in maritime museums of Britain where slavery has been marginalised. The question is where this general tendency comes from to imagine 'happy laughing blacks' while at the same time for example in the United States lynchings and violence took place in the South? From a post-colonial stance it remains logical that 'community healing occurs by keeping alive dissonant issues' rather than 'letting them rest' or 'sweeping them under the carpet' (Dann & Seaton, 2001: 20-21). Here too, evidently, black discourse itself should get a prominent place. The articles, except for one, are not subtle enough according to the editors in one sense. Most of them do not treat culture as emergent at a number of heritage sites. Even worse, 'there are no examples in this collection of the reactions of those depicted in the exhibits (or more realistically their descendants) to the ways in which they have been portrayed'. There is thus a certain *voicelessness* to the accounts (Dann & Seaton, 2001, 24). There is no ethnography with particular black views on slavery heritage.

In this type of cultural heritage sites many pasts are involved. They may coincide, compete with or exclude one another. The memorialisation as a construction from the various communities and their pasts needs to be dealt with in a subtle dialogue where no groups, of course, can be voiceless. Therefore:

'How, in pluralistic societies with a diverse ethnic mix (in a creolising world, DB & VP) is it possible to narrate histories that include all constituent variants equitably?' (Dann & Seaton, 2001, 25)

The obvious next question then is how to 'organise' these contextualised voices in such a manner that they will be heard and contribute to the public debate in an optimal manner. Again, from an ontological point of view there are combinations of pre-modern, modern, post-modern, globalised, deterritorialised and even virtual networks, which influence the voices in people's everyday life. Besides, pre-modern, modern or global networks may imply different

characteristics in various parts of the world. Traditional, Hindu society can be seen as a pre-modern society, but not just in the same way as a traditional Christian society. This picture implies an important challenge to the existing academic and professional state of affairs. In a more refined manner new voices from various contexts are to be included in order to understand the shortcomings of the academia and of professional life in this tension between the global and the local. Ontologically this suits perfectly the worldism perspective by Agathangelou and Ling (2009, p.1) and its 'multiple relations, ways of being, and traditions of seeing and doing passed to us across generations (in a globalising world, DB and VP)'. Worldism registers 'the entwinement of multiple worlds: their contending structures, histories, memories, and political economies in the making of our contemporary world'.

Interpretation versus explanation

In the ontological tension between the global and the local a pluriform discourse has come into being. The voices of this discourse are often hidden in background-assumptions of contexts that do not come to the surface. When parties involved in international tourism destinations come from so many and variegated cultural backgrounds, a cross-cultural understanding is needed in which these diverse cultural background-assumptions are taken into account. How do you introduce the fullness of 'other' cultural perspectives in the tourism academia? When people from so many and diverse backgrounds meet, the cross-cultural (mis)understandings between them contain more understandable *meaning* than has been dealt with in cross-cultural theory until now. The tradition of "Erklären" in the social sciences is not appropriate enough to pay attention to the richness of this meaning. Hofstede's (1980) dimensions, of course, do have their practical value to some extent in relation to national cultures. But with four variables it is impossible to penetrate into the rich meanings of the various contexts involved. It seems necessary to join this other tradition in social sciences – 'Verstehen' – in order to get into these meaningful contexts. The organisation of the understanding of this perspectival clash of interpretations from these diverse parts of the world emerges in this context as a main task. After such an interpretive approach, the focus will subsequently be on *universal types of knowledge,* which necessarily go beyond this mere interpretive reflection of different *perspectives. At this point we start to realise that there is a reality independent of our minds.*

But first, a plea for a contextualised perspectivism will serve as a first contribution to the understanding of cross-cultural, professional and academic encounters in tourism studies. In tourism destinations encounters are rich events to concentrate on in the development of a thorough understanding of various parties involved in the context of tourism conversation. Encounters are embedded in power-knowledge constellations as symbolic for the surrounding networks, in which the international tourism destination is embedded. These power-relations pre-structure the voices of the participants in an ontological manner. Their claims are inevitable. Each participant, either local stakeholder or observer, structures the interconnected meanings of these encounters according to his or her own background assumptions. These assumptions stem from diverse and in most of the times interacting cultures the participants originate from. From there on the necessity arises to introduce a way of thinking by which these various meanings may be approached in a more refined way that departs from the quick results

of the existing cross-cultural training programmes and the 'burgeoning do-it-yourself literature in this field'. (Platenkamp, 2007, 25). Although there's more to take care of, hermeneutics seems to be a first and necessary step to overcome this 'tunnelvision' of narrow-minded professionalism. This hermeneutical perspective counts as a self-reflexive way to include biases, which stem from mostly hidden background assumptions, into a contextualising effort to get at the richness of various contexts in this tension between the global and the local. Within the tradition of 'Verstehen', that seems crucial for this contextualisation, a hermeneutical approach takes a prominent position through which one tries to get at the richness of these contexts. In the tourism academy there starts to be (sources) more need for the understanding of this richness (Botterill & Platenkamp, 2011) since the interpretive and critical turn.

Decontextualisation: universality revisited in the tourism academia

Where dealing with cultural differences within the dominant global discourse leads to new so-called experts who in many cases confirm the already existing cultural biases, this new perspective claims to stimulate (counter) discourses in which diversity and 'genuine' localness might be related to a more subtle discussion of the global versus the local. This perspective might take place in an epistemological space as introduced by Foucault and used in this sense by Stuart Hall (1996). In such a space, according to Foucault, within a short period of time the whole grill through which people understand reality shifts into a relatively stable and completely new one, a new episteme. Stuart Hall, very much inspired by the work of Saïd (1974, 2003), speaks about such a post-colonial episteme. In this manner he extends the alliance between power and knowledge, as analysed by Foucault, to the (post)colonial conditions of the global village. Eminent writers in literary criticism like Spivak (1987, 1999) and Bhabha (1994) have worked in the same emergent discourse. Nevertheless, this concept of an 'episteme' still remains too essentialist in the contemporary network-society. This world is a complex world in which there is not one main and coherent, predominant discourse as a new totality, as has been illustrated in the books by Foucault, but diverse perspectives are enunciated in the same space of knowledge. Pluralism is a *conditio sine qua non* for an academic discussion on the new network society. In this sense, Foucault's episteme still has a Western flavour that needs to be removed from it. BRICOLAGE has been proposed as an emergent research strategy (Kincheloe et al 2003) to cope with diverging perspectives that follow the removal of this Western flavour, with the notion of a critical ontology, the web of reality. Reality flows like a river in which the exact contents of the water are never the same. No portrait of a social phenomenon is ever exactly the same as another.

'Because all physical, social, cultural, psychological and educational dynamics are connected in a larger fabric, researchers will produce different descriptions of an object of inquiry depending on what part of the fabric they have focused on – what part of the river they have seen. The more unaware observers are of this type of complexity, the more reductionist the knowledge they produce about it.'' (Handbook, ch. 3, 319-320)

The complexity of this reality is interconnected with the way reality is constructed. Ontology and epistemology are inextricably interlinked, but in a specific way as we will see later. .

Another important objection to the archeology or genealogy of Foucault is its relativism. In a network-society relativism is not an answer to the differences between perspectives. There is always a need to confront perspectives from a background of universal understanding. So, diverging perspectives will never be understood as isolated wholes that are not in need of critique from the outside. The main challenge, then, becomes how to organise this critique.

Natural sciences, in a direct heritage from the Renaissance and the Enlightenment, have originated without this interpretive particularism. Nature is to be understood and explained by referring to universal laws that are tested in the most critical manner possible. Theories have been developed that claim universality and with great success in the history of the natural sciences in Western modernity. Romanticism did not have any influence on its content nor its internal procedures. Particularism, which is related to Romanticism, has never had any significance in this history. This seems to be very different in the social sciences and the humanities. Through this (Romantic) particularism within modern and pre-modern contexts to be interpreted and deciphered, these sciences were challenged in a different manner. As has been shown, the tension between universality and particularity has been basic from its origins. And now, after the necessary attention to a serious contextualisation during which hidden meanings and their interpretations have been generated as relativist information from particular communities, the need for more Enlightened universality appears to be compelling. After contextualisation by a bricoleur diverging perspectives, which may even be incommensurable, are in need of a critique from the outside where claims of universality are never absent.

The academic context in which these universal claims used to be self-evident in a positivist environment, has changed in a conglomerate of 'tribes, territories and networks in the tourism academy' (Tribe, 2010). Therefore it is time to rearticulate the ontological notion of a non-doubtable but not completely intelligible or meaningful reality that lies at the horizon of all these 'tribes, territories and networks' and what the epistemological consequences are of this reality independent of our minds.

Critical realism reconsidered as the articulation of the notion of reality after the interpretive turn

The danger in the production of knowledge for crititical realism is the reducing of ontology to epistemology. For a critical realist there is a (intransitive) reality independent of the mind at the horizon of all discourses. For our position it remains crucial to incorporate the situated voices (Botterill, 2007) but the challenge is to go beyond them by taking this reality, that extends each epistemological perspective, more seriously into account. The danger for a critical realist is 'that an epistemic move inspired by reflexivity and embodiment and one that privileges context and subjective meaning will drift into a relativist philosophical position without challenge (ibidem, p. 126)'. There is no doubt about the importance of including the situated voice or the self-reflexivity of the researcher and the interpretive richness of its results, but at the same time the tourism objects are not to be misrepresented through the projection and selection of the researcher. "How", Botterill (2007, 127) is asking himself , "in a social world of 'infinite interpretative possibilities' will we distinguish between 'crazy' and 'practically adequate' accounts of tourism as an object of the intransitive world?" And: 'a multiple voices epistemology does not have to become a relativist ontology' because we should use

judgemental rationality 'in evaluating which voices provide deeper and more practically adequate accounts of the "real" in tourism studies (ibidem, 128)'. In these quotations Botterill refers to on the one hand the distinction between a transitive and an intransitive reality and on the other hand to an adequate account or a judgemental rationality of the intransitive domain of reality.

Critical realism is seen here as a serious attempt of re-articulation of a non-doubtable reality in order to be able to counter the relativism of the situated voices. In this re-articulation the concept of judgemental rationality apparently plays a crucial role. It implies to provide us with practically adequate accounts of the intransitive ontology of tourism, related to enduring tendencies, powers of objects and generative mechanisms that enable and constrain tourism. Botterill in his article 'Respresentations of Tourism in 20th Century Opera' developed an example of how to use this type of 'practically adequate accounts' through his opera project. Through the construction of three types of narrative on tourism in the representations of 38 operas Botterill tries to find out what representations of tourism *ontology* are better than others. The first touristic narratives depicted in this manner, are counter narratives such as about transgressions against a moral order, inversions of the 'normal' ontological ordering of tourism or about the vulnerability of tourists. The second touristic narratives are dominant narratives from tourism studies about exploration, wandering, opulence and spectacle. The third type of narrative on tourism appears at the end in a symbolical footnote. It is about love, hope and emotions that mostly are excluded from the scientific enquiry. Here they stand for the irrational part of reality, as treated in the next section. In these opera narratives the argument is that transgression, inversion and vulnerability (and exploration, opulence and wandering) are necessary but not sufficient conditions for tourism to exist. For critical realists the key epistemological process in order to realise these accounts is called *retroduction*. According to Sayer (1992, p.107), retroduction is a "...mode of inference in which events are explained by postulating (and identifying) mechanisms which are capable of producing them...". In the counter narratives, the dominant ones but also in this so-called footnote of Botterill's article the postulated mechanisms are respectively transgression, inversion and vulnerability (in the counter narrative), exploration, opulence and wandering (in the dominant narrative) and love, hope and emotions (in the 'irrational' footnote). These mechanisms produce events that belong to the ontology of tourism. In this way a practically more adequate account has been produce through this opera project of part of the intransitive ontology of tourism.

The distinction between the transitive and intransitive domains of social reality, and the idea of a stratified ontology have consequences for tourism research. The transitive domain is covered by the epistemological discourses of situated voices and their reflexive subjectivity. The intransitive domain of reality is decisive for our discussion about the non-doubtable reality at the horizon of each discourse that has to be taken into account in a (judgemental) rational manner. In Hegelian and Marxists approaches reality is intelligible. We would opt for a limited intelligibililty of reality, though. Practical adequate accounts of the intransitive ontology of tourism are possible. They relate to the accounts of enduring tendencies, powers of objects or social relations and generative mechanisms that enable and constrain tourism. But first, there is

the need to dispel the Marxist ideology from critical realism. Originally for example, in Marxism, the labouring class was the absolute anchorage point of the inevitable class-struggle in capitalist society. After the elimination of the revolutionary élan of the labouring class through the same system, in critical theory, this group, with its originally universal assignment to overthrow the system, already has been replaced subsequently by the radical student movement or by feminism and now in the eyes of some critical realists even by a (post-modern) multitude of groups. There has occurred an inflation of amongst others the content of this concept within the Marxist family. Universal pretensions of this kind are hardly defendable anymore, surely after the post-modern deconstruction of Marxism. The dialectical inevitability of these universal pretensions has been criticised enough by various thinkers, not only since the fall of the Iron Curtain but right from the start of the Marxist influence in the modern world. In this respect we do not have to believe Marx anymore, we can just read him.

What remains, though, is a humanism that has also been supported by Marx' 'human species-being' and its universalistic connotations. Botterill demonstrated in his article on the opera and tourism how this ontological claim can be elaborated in tourism. It, once again, refers to the fact that, also in the tourism academia, we need to go beyond the interpretive turn in the academia in order to be able to leave the relativism of situated voices. In the philosophy of science the growth of (scientific) knowledge has been extendedly discussed around 1970. In social science, as in a huge part of the tourism academy, this has, amongst others, led to the popularity of Kuhn's paradigm (Botterill & Platenkamp, 2011; Tribe, 2010) with its relativist claims concerning the growth of knowledge. Universalism seems to have become outdated in the so-called soft sciences, just like reality and the careful investigation of it as an entity outside of the human mind. It seems to be time to recover from this blow while at the same time including the richness of the more contextual analyses that have taken place since these days. Critical realism helps us to recognise the power of reality or the influence of ontology on epistemology, which has been forgotten too much during the post-modern era..

The limited intelligibililty of reality: the irrational

However, despite of what Hegel and Marx stated in their dialectical total intelligibililty of reality, this intelligibililty is limited. At the end of Botterill's article (2011) this is stipulated by his reference to the Dionysical in art and tourism. Irrationality seems to be a part of the intransitive reality as well and symptomatic for this irrationality that goes far beyond human's (rational) reach is the Dionysical power of the human condition, as referred to in this article on opera and tourism. Later it will be concluded that in the tourism industry as in the tourism academy there is hardly careful attention for the 'grausame' (Nietzsche, 1887) characteristics of reality as expressed in (human) nature. The Greeks respected these horrible and inevitable powers that could capture any individual human being. Envy, fear, ambition, passion: they all have names in Greek mythology and they all stand for this huge power that irrational nature can have and that goes beyond any human, rational control. If we think about it we realise how devastating for example ambition can be in a highly competitive environment. It may tear you apart.

In the novels by Thomas Mann this tension between brutal irrationality and a still present but weak form of humanism that tries to deal with that immense power, is situated in the context of the devastating area of twentieth century wars. Thomas Mann (1922) asked himself how still to be a humanist in that world. A bleak humanist in the Magic Mountain, like Settimbrini, was trying to convince the protagonist of the story with his idealist message but as a reader you realise more and more the futility of it in the light of the dark future. Thomas Mann was heavily influenced by the work of (Schopenhauer and) Nietzsche, of whom he said that he was not born to have these overwhelming and powerful ideas (Mann, 1948). Nietzsche has said many things about Dionysos, especially in his struggle with Apollo and the crucial meaning this had for the creation of art, Greek tragedy to start with and, later, the opera offered another good illustration (Botterill, 2011). For Thomas Mann this horrible and ecstatic power was self-evident in the first half of the twentieth century. Since the seventies of the last century this respect for the Dionysical forces in human nature and the attempt to save humanism in light of this, have been easily put aside by a triumphant anti-humanism. Even Foucault, who has been heavily influenced by Nietzsche, burried Dionysos and his huge influences in the anonymity of his archaeology of knowledge or the genealogy of his power-analysis (Platenkamp, 1987). For him man as study-object in the social sciences can be compared to a figure on the beach, that appeared during the 19th century but can be swept away by the next waves of the sea. The consequence of this type of reasoning was a triumphant anti-humanism in many post-structuralist theories and to an important extent the death of the irrational part of human nature. In the French discussion Foucault has been called a 'desperate positivist' (Amiot, 1967) and the Polish writer Gombrovics wished him a lot of toothache in his diaries (1986) because of this. Our point, of course, is that the inevitability of the intransitive reality, also when it seems to be irrational, can never be ignored. And this is what happened during post-modernism, also in the smooth analyses of the tourism academia. Certainly in tourism this Dionysical force has never gone away, but it probably was too 'unpleasant' to recognise. In the tourism academia as in the tourism industry the Dionysical power of the human condition seems to have been neutralised to a high degree. Sex-tourism has been overwhelmingly discussed, but not as a phenomenon of human nature that seems to be more persistent than our predominantly moral discussions would suggest. Houellebecq's writings (2002) raised an enormous debate in France, also because he paid attention to this Dionysical, erotical force that has been reasoned away in many Western discourses on the *scientia sexualis* (footnote: in his last books Foucault did pay attention to this Dionysical and erotical force, see his distinction between *ars erotica* and *scientia sexualis)*. He even developed an ideal model of sexual tourism in Thailand without exploitation of women but with a fatal end through a terrorist attack by muslim extremists. A novelist, here, discusses matters that in the tourism academy are mostly ignored. Some interest is growing in the dark sides of tourism or 'thanatourism'. Here too, the dark motives have not yet received the attention they deserve (Ashworth, Isaac, ….) probably because of the powerful and scary irrationality of them. Pro-poor tourism is another example. Many anthropologists tell us (Zwier, 1980) how degrading and dehumanising poverty is when you are observing it. How much does the academy allow of this dark side of often so-called beautiful cultures that are promoted as authentical to experience for tourists. Which tourist would like to be 'really' confronted with this horrible poverty? Summarising, Dionysos is ignored in our Western civilisation, which in

the end will turn out to be impossible. Intransitive reality cannot be ignored, also not when it seems to be irrational.

The importance of reality, rational or not: an ontological Renaissance in the tourism academy

Much is knowable or intelligible that is independent of the mind, but not everything. There is a serious irrational part in the intransitive domain that critical realists refer to and it should be recognised. However, much can be known as well and that is where academics can produce adequate accounts of the intransitive ontology of tourism by understanding and explaining the enduring tendencies, the powers of objects and the generative mechanisms that enable and constrain tourism. The tension in this intransitive reality is between the deep structures that can and need be explained and the not knowable, irrational part of it. The tension is between Enlightenment and Romanticism. Our search for universal explanations will remain infinite in this respect, but always in the awareness of never being able to understand it all. It reminds us of the Romantic Desire of our species being as the Dutch philosopher Jos de Mul (1991) has defined it in a post-modern context of art and philosophy. For him the Romantic desire is characterised by a combination of enthusiasm and irony. Applied to this discussion this could be translated as follows. With an inevitable and inspired surrender to our never ending search for knowledge our species is eager to understand the world, but at the same time she ironically realises the limited possibilities of this understanding. This romantic motive, which is well recognisable in art and philosophy (Mul, 1991), might also be of importance for an Enlightened academy of social and human scientists in its never ending struggle to understand reality. The struggle never ends because it will always remain impossible to understand the whole of it. Reality has its dark sides that are impossible to understand and the romantic scientist in its ironical attitude knows it without losing his enthusiasm for the search of knowledge.

One the sharpest discussions in social sciences has been the debate about value-free science. From our position a choice for values-led research seems evident. However, there is a difference in this choice with the tradition of critical theory. Habermas in his contribution to the struggle for or against positivism in German sociology (Adorno et al, 1972, pp 235-267) contested the notion of a positivist 'halbierter Rationalismus'. Values-led research was one crucial, excluded element in the positivist research tradition. This critique has become a standard element in the anti-positivist discourse and with good reasons. However, it also remains relevant to reflect upon the critical rationalist answer to this critique. We do not refer here to a restoration of value-free science, but to the total and totalitarian concept of rationality that dialectical, Marxist thinking included in this critique. The rational pretensions of this approach were thousand times as high as the positivist ones, because value-led research was also completely rational, based as it was on the legitimate and universally valid claims of the labour class, the student movement, feminism and others. And here history, but also the ontological claims of irrationality teach us to be more modest. There is a serious limit to all rationality, as we have tried to stress in this article. It will always be impossible to understand the whole of reality.

An interesting example, therefore, is the normative discussion in social sciences and its universal intentions. Reality, critical realists would state, for our human species-being is multi-layered and normative aspects constitute a relatively autonomous part of it. The normative model of Denzin (1997) starts with the assumption that ontologically the community is prior to individual persons. We are born in a socio-cultural universe where values, moral commitments and existential meanings are negotiated dialogically, in-between people. The idea of a polyphonic dialogue (Clifford, 1986) fits perfectly into this model. Participants to research endeavours are to be given a forum to activate this normative dialogue mutually. At the same time every moral act is a contingent accomplishment 'measured against the ideals of universal respect for the dignity of every human being regardless of gender, age, race or religion'. (Christians, 2005, 151). In this respect Christians (2005, 150) states "….in Levinasian terms, when I turn to the face of the Other, I not only see flesh and blood, but a third party also arrives – the whole of humanity. For Benhabib, this is interactive universalism. It is part of the ontological species-being of human mankind. Our universal solidarity is rooted in the principle that 'we have inescapable claims on one another which cannot be renounced except at the costs of our humanity' (Peukert, 1981, p.11). But there is a limit to this type of claim, based on the dark side of human nature. In extreme circumstances, the human species-being is only capable of a limited solidarity. The stories about concentration-camps, like the ones by Primo Levi or Sjalamov, in this respect are debunking. But also when we realise our limited empathy with faraway suffering, that enters our modern homes through the media, we realise the limited solidarity that also Nietzsche spoke about in his days. Here too, there is a dark side in human nature, which seems to be universal and that can make us loose our humanity.

Another example is, again, the article by Botterill on the opera and tourism where he strives for more practically adequate accounts of the intransitive ontology of tourism. Here too, there was an irrational part in reality, as he explained in his symbolical footnote at the end of his article. But also this irrational part remains part of the intransitive domain of reality that poses itself as an ontological condition for any epistemological attempt to understand tourism reality.

Both examples refer to different knowledge networks that can be related to different knowledge claims and their concomitant ontologies. Habermas, as the last serious representative of critical theory, referred to these two different realities that should be considered as one reality to be rationally approached. For him there were three types of rationality, instrumental, technical and normative (Habermas, 1968). After his proclamation of a paradigm switch in the Blue Monster (Habermas, 1985, chapter 5)) from a subject-object philosophy to a pragmatic action-theory, he distinguished communicative actions, and its emancipatory coordination mechanisms, based on the life world, from strategic actions, and its systemic coordination mechanisms of power and money, that grew out of the life world as more effective, and included his previous types of rationality (Habermas, 1968) in these two types of action. One might state that the distinction between positivist and normative research has now been dissolved in this interactive tension between two types of actions. But then again, does the proclamation of a paradigm-switch provide the legitimacy for an academic community to leave the subject-object philosophy behind? In the meantime, during the nineties this subject-object philosophy has been enriched

with the distinction between mode 1 and 2 knowledge by Gibbons (1994) as they are also introduced by Tribe (…) and Platenkamp (2007) in the tourism academy. An academic (mode 1) and a professional (mode 2) knowledge network seems relevant. In the first one truth finding, based on correspondence with reality, remains the main claim, in the second one the solving of the sophisticated problems of our network-society. Apart from these two modes, a third mode has been introduced by the Dutch philosopher Kunneman (Kunneman 2005; Platenkamp, 2007). This mode 3 production of knowledge stands in the tradition of this normative rationality of critical theory but after a serious deconstruction of its absolutist claims. Normativity in traditional society had a vertical, transcendent validity based on holy books. The last points of legitimacy were not open to discussion. The instrumental and technical knowledge of modern times replaced these normative discourses and submitted them to their mode 1 type of knowledge production. From here a new call has been organised for the previously forgotten normative and philosophical discourse that includes issues of justice, domination, solidarity and emancipation. But these values do not have an absolute validity without any doubt, as they did in many Marxist schemes. To the contrary: the limits of this discourse are constituted by a horizontal transcendent validity where sometimes incommensurable traditions are confronted, but also tolerate each others differences and learn from them.

Critical pluralism seems to be the best concept for the truth claims that try to get beyond relativism in this type of knowledge production. One of the main merits of constructionism has been that it made us sensitive to this type of knowledge production.

In post-modern constructionism, though, reality has almost completely disappeared. This disappearance is considered, here, to be impossible, but restoring reality implies at the same time that one considers the legitimate claims of constructionism as well. For constructionism the critique on absolutist, empiricist epistemological claims of positivism have been a reason for a much richer, perspectivist approach that needs our realist attention because of its openness to the complexity of a multi-layered reality. However, without absolutism and by including the irrationality of a part of reality the social-scientific community, also in tourism, should regain its respect for a reality, independent of the mind, that will always be there at the horizons of our discourses to be investigated.

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Emotion and Empathy: Critical reflections on fieldwork in an area of ongoing conflict.

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Abstract

This paper arose from conversations between the authors around a shared *web of emotional entanglements* during research conducted in Israel and Palestine, both locales of the on-going Israeli-Palestinian conflict. The focus of this particular paper, the primary researcher's fieldwork took place in Bethlehem, Palestinian Territories where tourism as well as every day life has been significantly changed "by the Wall and the surrounding checkpoints which imprison Bethlehem" (Alternative Tourism Group 2008: 197). Using excerpts from the primary researcher's interview notes and field diary, the paper presents and discusses the complex and embodied connection between a local host and the primary researcher. Analysis of the data reveals the emotional entanglement experienced by the primary researcher from her interactions with the distressed local host Claire Anastas, who lives in a house now directly enclosed on three sides by the eight meter high Separation Wall. Her tragic stories of living under occupation touched the heart of the researcher; feelings of sorrow, helplessness, anger and guilt were negotiated. In this light, the paper contributes discussions and thinking on the emotional, situated and reflexive implications of fieldwork interactions, and the role of empathy is also recognised as we draw on Liz Bondi's (2003: 64) "psychoanalytic conceptualisations of identification and empathy as ways of thinking about fieldwork interactions".

Introduction

This working paper is borne out of similar experiences shared in conversations between the two authors concerning their travel to a region of on-going conflict, namely, the Israeli-Palestinian conflict. In our conversations, we shared the emotional experiences we encountered of border control interrogations, travel as solo females, our fearful and angry reactions to armed officials, and our reflexive feelings of being tourism researchers in the field. We similarly described our experiences as highly emotional, although, on reflection, this is perhaps not surprising given the politically unstable context of the region we visited. In this paper, therefore, we put forward a *web of emotional entanglements* that embody our experiences in the field; not just our own emotions, and those shared between us, but also those with whom we interacted – both in the field and on our return home. Whilst the growth in researcher reflexivity has seemingly allowed researchers to give voice to their experiences, how researchers *feel* about their fieldwork remains relatively absent from scholarly writing in tourism studies.

Central to qualitative approaches to research is the acknowledgement that the researcher is not the expert and his/her own voice represents one amongst the rest. The ontological, epistemological and methodological aspects that define our worldview and hence underpin our research fit within a critical social sciences paradigm. We view reality not as containing one general truth waiting to be uncovered and recorded, but made up of nuanced, individual stories; of multiple subjectivities which bring different insights and empathies to the field (Dunkley, 2007). Such an ontological outlook is intertwined with our epistemological approach to knowledge production namely that our background, values, ideologies and, above all, our emotions shape our research.

Emotions matter, yet, as mentioned above, they have been conspicuously absent from previous tourism studies research. Jamal and Hollinshead (2001: 67) argue that "[t]he omission of studies and narratives which locate (…) 'emotion' in tourism, whether that of the tourist or the host, is a problem which has been noted and addressed by very few scholars". Their call for more recognition of emotion in tourism studies a decade ago seems to have been a cry that remains mostly unheard. Disparate accounts of shame (Tucker 2009), pride (Waitt et al. 2007), fear (Mura 2010) in tourism have been recently published. However, debate on the place of emotions in tourism research remains largely absent; arguably, it has been marginalised through the gender politics of research wherein the academy is conditioned to principles of distance, objectivity and rationality (Pritchard et al. 2011), and is thus often judged as unscientific, pretentious or evasive (McIntosh 2010). As a consequence perhaps, emotions are not only absent from understanding the tourist experience and the tourist–host encounter as presented in scholarly writing, but also notably from tourism researchers' accounts of their fieldwork. This paper aims therefore to raise attention to the situated and emotional nature of research through revealing, in particular, some of the emotional dialogue from fieldwork.

In this paper we seek to, at least, mark the difference in recognising the importance of our own emotions in research and call for tourism academics to contribute to making a difference in the wider debate happening within the social sciences on the place of emotions in research. We call for an 'emotional turn' in tourism studies. There is much ado about the critical turn in tourism studies (Ayikoru and Tribe 2007; Bianchi 2009; Botterill 2007; Chambers 2007; Pritchard and Morgan 2007; Tribe 2007). As tourism studies have engaged with postmodern, poststructural, postcolonial, feminist, queer theories on identity, subjectivities, the body and gender a quiet revolution has been taking place that inscribes tourism studies within the critical turn in the social sciences (Ateljevic et al. 2007). The 'emotional turn' that we would like to draw tourism researchers' attention remains, to date, almost completely ignored in tourism studies. The discipline of geography, for example, has witnessed a 'welling-up' of emotions, which has resulted from a genuine recognition that emotions are "all-pervasive yet also heart- and gut-wrenchingly present and personal" (Davidson and Smith 2009: 440). To maintain its critical edge, geography has positively engaged with work on emotions and feelings. Likewise, we advocate a genuine expressing of, and dealing with, emotions, including an emotional attachment within tourism research to counteract the emotional detachment of past research. "Our human world is constructed and lived through the emotions" (Anderson and Smith 2001: 8); so too is our travel and tourism world, our tourist encounters with people and places. Emotions travel with us and through us. Emotional encounters define people as much as places we travel to, yet they are noticeably absent from tourism studies. The emotional turn in tourism studies seeks to *fill/feel* this gap.

Whilst the conversations we shared were broad, here, we present research data from a field diary kept during visits to Israel and Palestine and an interview with a Palestinian local host. We argue that emotions of anger, fear and guilt expressed within the interview and field diary are useful experiences in the field and should not be bracketed out from our accounts. In analysing the interview taken in Bethlehem, Palestine we draw wider discussion about the role of empathy in the emotional plight of field research.

A field diary and an interview from the trenches

To illustrate the above, we draw on the primary author's field visit to the home of Claire Anastas in Bethlehem in July and October 2010. "Trapped in Bethlehem" (Downes 2007), "Boxed in" (Adamski 2007)", "The house with seven walls" (Palestine Monitor 2008), are but few titles on the world wide web about Claire Anastas' story. Claire Anastas lives in Bethlehem, Palestine together with her husband, four children and extended family in a three-storey house, which was built in 1963. On July 23rd 2001 the Israeli Government decided to build a Security Fence in "response to the horrific wave of terrorism emanating from the West Bank, resulting in suicide bombers who enter into Israel with the sole intention of killing innocent people" (Israeli Ministry of Defence 2007). The Security Fence is a contentious issue in the Palestinian–Israeli landscape generating much dispute between politicians, social and political

activists, journalists, academic researchers and so on (Curti 2008; Gelbman and Keinan 2007; Isaac 2010; Falah 2004; 2007; 2008). While it is not our intention to contribute to the discussion on the legitimacy of the Security Fence, we are acknowledging the decision of the International Court of Justice of July 9th 2004 to rule fourteen votes to one the Security Fence illegal.

Throughout this paper, we will use the United Nations and International Court of Justice terminology of the "wall" since it is "a complex construction and (…) cannot be understood in a limited physical sense. However, the other terms used, either by Israel ("fence") or by the Secretary-General ("barrier"), are no more accurate if understood in the physical sense" (International Court of Justice website, 9 July 2004). It is argued that the term Separation Wall is "employed by those negatively affected by its existence and those engaged in challenging it" (Pallister-Wilkins 2011: 28). In an attempt to respond to calls of cessation of hostilities and animosities between the two sides we refer to this construction as the Security Wall to render both perspectives.

In 2003, the Security Wall was built in and around Bethlehem, one of the main cities in Palestine, with devastating social, cultural and economic effects for the city. Claire Anastas bitterly remembers when and how it happened:

> In 2003 before Christmas time, one week and a half before Christmas time– I remember it – they put the wall up in one day. They dug for two months before, and we were fighting, trying to communicate our struggle [to authorities]. They [Israeli Defense Establishment] surrounded our building in one day. When the children went to school, they returned back at 2.30 [in the afternoon]. They found themselves blocked completely with that ugly wall. They saw it as a high – very, very high, long ghost surrounding their life. It became hopeless for them, and no future, they became frustrated with life, with what happened with us while we were living under occupation and terrible situation, in this horrible life, horrible fear and terror. (Claire Anastas, interview, July 20th, 2010)

Claire Anastas' house is located on what used to be one of the busiest roads at the entrance to Bethlehem from Jerusalem, now it sits in its own dead end and is directly enclosed on three sides by the eight meter high Security Wall. Together with her family she now runs a souvenir shop, but pilgrims and tourists to Bethlehem do not visit her shop because it is about seven miles from the Church of the Holy Nativity and pilgrims are on a set schedule with limited time for anything else.

The Interview

I met Claire Anastas on two occasions, once on the 20th of July 2010 and the second time on 12th of October 2010. The first time was after approximately 10 days of being in Israel and Palestine. It was a short visit to her souvenir shop together with a small group of tourists and a Palestinian guide. On this occasion I also had an interview with her.

> My story is a long story and it's something of a… As we are civilians, we are only victims here, and nobody [helps us], and we are ignored by almost everybody, who have the power to do [change] something. (Claire Anastas, interview, July 20th, 2010)

This is how Claire started recounting her story. She has told it many times before to many people. There was sadness in her eyes, bitterness in her voice, but dignity in her demeanor and consideration for her make-up, grooming and clothes. 'We are victims', 'nobody helps', 'we are ignored' resounded powerfully in my heart. My emotions were aroused, but I had to stay composed and be a good listener during the interview. Our shared gender identity provided a base for empathy between us. Our 'Eastern' backgrounds are also something we have in common; an aside that I could resort to so as to better communicate and empathise with her. I lived through the 1989 revolution and several violent clashes in the early 1990s in Romania. I was but a child then, not a woman like Claire needing to take care of a whole family. However I felt I understood her, I felt I empathised with her.

Bondi (2003: 70) argues that there is nothing mysterious about feeling sad upon hearing a story of loss and suffering but it does "depend on an intersubjective exchange: something of the inner reality of one person is not only communicated to another person, but is actively incorporated into the inner reality of that other person". As Claire was recounting her story I became angry at those who do not help her and her family. I empathised with her struggles as I kept the awareness of our differences while understanding and feeling her own experiential frame of reference. By empathising with Claire, I validated the details she described of the Bethlehem siege in 2002, the Israeli soldiers' brutality when they occupied her house and transformed it into a buffer zone between the two clashing sides, the leaders who never are there to help.

> In 2002 the Israeli military made the siege and occupied all Bethlehem, and they put us in a curfew. They caged people inside the Nativity Church. There were clashes there, and they caged us for 40 days here in our house. They [Israeli soldiers] turned our building and all the area into a military-base area – completely military, full of military, and that's why people left. They couldn't bear staying here. For my family, we couldn't leave our property. We couldn't leave it for them. And we couldn't even get the children out. Nobody helped with that. (…) We were shaking. Our brains were shaking and we were under fear; we used to see our children turning their eyes up. We were all traumatised. Their legs were blue from the fear of the bullets and the bombs around…the noise, the most horrible. And we used to close their ears, but it didn't work. They used to use the night to shoot, and we never slept. (Claire Anastas, interview, July 20th, 2010)

'Siege', 'cage', 'curfew', 'clashes', 'bombs', 'trauma' were words that further emphasised my emotional implication during the interviewing process. In the process of empathising with my interviewee, that is, imaginatively entering her experiential world, a wealth of emotions and feelings were mobilised. I felt angry, sad and guilty that I could not do anything to help. While I listened empathetically trying to understand her, I felt useless that I was not in the position to provide her with any support. I could but imagine how terrible it must feel to 'be caged in' your own house for forty days, to have soldiers in your own house shooting at night. By the end of the interview I was overwhelmed, moved to anger having wet, teary eyes. I knew then that interviewing 'in the trenches', as it were, was not going to be emotionally easy.

The Field Diary

> Tuesday 20th of July
>
> We were a small group made up of a young couple from Canada, Sean from the UK, a German guy and myself. We reached Claire's house, and were offered Turkish coffee in her souvenir shop, which is located on the ground floor of her house. She narrated her sad story in a victimized, low voice and you could not help but feel sorrow for herself and her family 'buried alive in a tomb.' There was something in her looks that surprised me. Her hair was nicely done, coloured and with bright highlights, she smelled of a nice perfume. She wore tight jeans with a green top and matching eye make up, her hand and toe nails seemed freshly done.
>
> When the rest of the group left I stayed behind and had an interview with Claire. It was a long talk, slightly more than 1 hour. She emphasised that the small souvenir shop and the bed & breakfast accommodation that she offered for foreigners were the only sources of income her family had. She talked at length of the many financial debts and money issues they had: cannot afford to pay for oldest daughter's tuition fees, not enough money for the medicine needed by the very ill mother-in-law who lives with them, insufficient funds to buy daily food and water. I almost felt like crying, I felt guilty I couldn't help them, so I promised myself that later on, in a month or so, I would travel back to Bethlehem and stay in her small hostel, thus contributing to her income from the little money I had.

> Tuesday, 12th of October 2010
>
> It was Tuesday morning, so, my friend, the Palestinian guide, has his usual Bethlehem tour and I invited him with his group to pass by Claire's souvenir shop. The company my friend works for, explicitly warns tour guides from taking the tourists to souvenir shops, it is only allowed when tourists/visitors ask to be taken to one. Tour guides have deals with shops and restaurants to get commission from the tourists' purchase. My friend takes tourists to Claire's shop mostly to have them hear her sad story of life

near the wall and on this occasion they might decide to purchase souvenirs from her shop.

This particular visitor group consisted of 2 senior ladies in their 60s with a US accent, 2 young ones in their late 20s probably early 30s, and 2 young men who seemed to be the boyfriends of the younger women. One seemed to be an Italian couple, I could tell them from their accent when we met and greeted. Welcoming us with Turkish coffee the group was invited to listen to Claire's story:

> - 'military area – biblical roots' to refer to Bethlehem

> - 'when Israeli military occupied our house they gave us legal papers to show us they can occupy whenever and whatever'.

> - 'from 2000-2003 they put the wall, they buried us alive'

> - 'as civilians we are weak'

> - she shows the nativity scene carved in wood behind a carved wall, the wall is a recent addition and is the 'symbol for our situation – Nativity Church with removable wall carved in wood.'

After her talk, visitors are welcome to look around the shop and perhaps buy something. The Italian couple bought some souvenirs, he bought a bracelet for NIS 20, she a small camel key chain in the same amount. The other couple was from the UK and slightly more reserved. They told me they were English Jewish and staying with some friends in Jerusalem. The whole group left not without having purchased a few souvenirs, much to Claire's satisfaction. The two senior ladies from the US have bought the most expensive souvenirs amongst which the wood carved Nativity set with the removable wall. Thus Claire paid special attention and talked at length to the 2 women. Claire seems to be an astute businessperson, she knows how to assess a situation and turn it into her own advantage, no doubt that recounting (countless) times her sad story has helped make her audience, her visitors empathise with her.

After the visitors left the shop I wanted to spend some time with Claire trying to relate my unhappiness with the small, window-less room and the whole accommodation deal. As soon as we sat to chat a big truck came to repair the sewage system, then she was busy on the phone so I decided to mind my own business and get ready for my planned interviews. In the evening I returned to her house, paid for 1 day of room and board and moved to a different family.

Why did I feel like crying upon hearing her story? It was the first time I had ever saw or heard about her, she is not related to me in any way, why then did I feel sorry and guilty that I could not do anything to help? Was I right to leave Claire's house and look for a different accommodation in October during my

second time in Bethlehem? Was it too much for me to witness or live, even if it was just for few days, the Palestinian plight? Should I have stayed in spite of my feelings of discomfort? Did I experience superficial and hypocritical sentiments of moral outrage?

The difficulties of negotiating my feelings and emotions in the field emerged. Doing tourism fieldwork is not a straightforward and totally pleasant experience, Punch (2010: 4) acknowledges that "fieldwork can be difficult as we have to actually go out there and do it; it is not armchair theorizing in the comfort of our home. It can be messy, nerve-wracking and hard work". I felt the initial encounter with Claire very intensely, I deeply sympathised with her situation. As researchers we do not want to be perceived weak and have tears in the eyes when listening to a participant's sad life story, yet we cannot remain aloof and robotically proceed with the data collection. I immersed so much in the sadness of her recount that days and weeks after the interview I kept thinking on ways to provide some help. I searched on-line for scholarships for her older daughter who was at a local university and wished to study abroad but could not because of lack of money. I even emailed the scholarship advisor at my university to ask whether the university offers any grants to Palestinian students, or whether the advisor knew any such grants Palestinian students could apply for. While Dowler (2001) advocates for attachment, involvement and intense contact with participants, Linkogle (2000: 3) warns researchers not to immerse and identify themselves too much with their informants "that they lose sight of their own physical and emotional vulnerabilities". Intensity, guilt, desire to be of help was what I felt during my first encounter with Claire.

The second time I met Claire I was more disappointed than sympathetic, as I was the first time. To this day I cannot explain how that sympathy for her situation turned into disappointment, which made me leave her house after one day. Was it her insistence to bring tourists to her souvenir shop? How could I even do that? I am a tourist myself, not a guide or a person with connections in high places. Was it the small windowless room she gave me in her bed and breakfast hostel? Was it the last minute raise in price for the room and one meal a day? Was it my own self-consciousness about money since I was in the region on a very tight student budget? Was it the strength of dramatic emotions she exuded whenever she talked to me and other tourists? Was it the intensity of the struggles of this Palestinian family, encircled by the wall, which was emotionally too much for me to deal with? It must have been a combination of all these reasons and feelings. Writing about these emotions and struggles in the field was therapeutic for me. Field diary writing was a safe channel to express, negotiate and understand my thoughts, my feelings, especially those which might have been 'unacceptable', such as anger.

It is claimed that the emotion of anger has been socially constructed to necessarily lead to negative sociopolitical outcomes and should be avoided at all times (Henderson 2008). I join Henderson (2008) and other researchers (see for example Mikula et al. 1998) who challenge this idea and make a guarded defense of anger as an emotional response to experiencing and witnessing perceived injustice. Thus,

Henderson (2008) argues that, for this very reason, the absence of anger is problematic. Henderson (2008: 35) opines that "[t]here are some things for which we ought to be angry, and this things include affronts to common human dignity". Witnessing the life of a family who lives in a house 'boxed in' by a wall is, I feel, something to be angry and emotional about. I also acknowledge that I have the duty to regulate this anger. Conversely, if moderated, anger is not expressed; therefore, we tacitly agree to that particular mode of behaviour and leave the impression that it is acceptable and thus it may become the norm.

Conclusion

This paper presents reflections and excerpts from an interview and the field diary of a tourism researcher to illustrate the emotional and situated nature of fieldwork in an area of ongoing conflict – specifically, that of a visit to the home of Claire Anastas in Bethlehem. Such reflections can be perplexing and personally uncomfortable to reveal, and leave a lasting impact on the researcher. Punch (2010: 2) explains, "the emotional, practical and personal challenges of fieldwork remain complex and often unresolved". Field diaries are useful places to articulate and accept conflicting emotions and to navigate through them while on the field and later when analysing the information collected. Using the reflexivity and emotionality of field diaries as autoethnographic accounts of our experiences in the field is an invitation to all readers to look inside reported research experiences and construct your own interpretations of them. We encourage readers to also share their emotional reflections in their published writing rather than just leaving it in the confines of their field notes, and to share the nature of their emotions, even if the emotions described are perceived as somehow 'unacceptable', for example, anger. Ria Ann Dunkley (2007) was supported and empowered by her supervisors to include herself and her experience in the writing process by using direct quotes from her field diary as a thanatourist/researcher thus breathing life and meaning into her research. Such an example is unfortunately almost unique in tourism research; tourism academia is still out of step with the rest of the social sciences which understand that research is not done by "someone 'out there' a shadowy figure set apart" (Widdowfield 2000: 199); that one has to bring oneself into the research process in a reflexive manner that acknowledges and articulates the role of emotions in our accounts.

Acceptance of emotion in research provides a richer layer of understanding of how research is carried out and theory constructed; it illustrates the often unconscious form of interaction we have with those with whom we engage in the field, and gives recognition to the challenges and opportunities faced by qualitative researchers which inevitably involves emotion, and which often may not be expected (McIntosh 2010). It too raises the opportunity to discuss the nature of empathy in our research relationships. What level of emotional entanglement can be tolerated by the researcher? How can empathy be mobilised in our emotional response? Dunkley (2007) describes the struggle with traditional research conventions when trying to research an emotional form of tourism and the need to understand

how the different 'selves' bring different insights and empathies to the field. Although not always easy to achieve, empathy is needed for the researcher to be able to understand the interviewee's feelings and experiential world whilst staying in touch with the difference between the other person's feelings and his/her own (Bondi 2003). Thus, the interviewee feels understood emotionally and experientially, but the interviewer does not become overwhelmed or incapacitated by the emotional engagement. Thus, this paper also calls for tourism researchers to embrace, and more openly discuss, the opportunities and challenges of the emotional dynamics of research relations which are often at the foreground of embodied entanglements in tourism.

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Confronting Tourism:

Participatory Action Research for Tourism Resistance

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For over two decades tourism has often been heralded as a panacea to the economic turmoil caused by a shift to a post-industrial and globalized economy. The rise of mass tourism parallels the flight of well paying jobs from the many formerly industrial and agricultural centers. However, the promises made by tourism developers, city planners, and politicians of jobs and a better standard of living rarely materialize and, if they do, they seldom replace the well paying jobs of the industrial era. As more and more people fail to reap the promised benefits of tourism a growing phenomenon of locally organized resistance to tourism development has emerged. Communities across geographic regions and levels of economic development are organizing against the exogenous and elite endogenous imposition of tourism. Grassroots organizations have emerged in places such as Atlantida, Honduras; Kaua'i, Hawaii; Chiapas, Mexico; Goa, India; and New Orleans, Louisiana to resist various forms of tourism development ranging from mega resort construction to port expansion. Although there has been a significant amount of scholarly attention given to the conflict between tourists and hosts after mass tourism is introduced into a community with notable exceptions there has been scant research on organized resistance to tourism development in its planning, construction, and/or expansion stages. In this working paper I review recent local movements that have stood opposed to tourism development in their locales. I then describe why these movements are essential to promoting a more egalitarian form of tourism. Lastly, with the aim of empowering those most affected by tourism, I outline a participatory action research (PAR) approach that works with local grassroots organizations to constructively and creatively resist exogenous and elite endogenous tourism development.

Introduction

The dilemma that I am grappling with at this juncture in my short, happy academic career is the efficacy of my research to truly affect positive change. In Paul Routledge (2002) and Cindi Katz's (1992) words to be precise, I feel "a desire and a responsibility to rebel, in order to work towards 'a redistribution of wealth, power, and justice between nations, between races, between ethnic and cultural groups, between classes, and between men and women' (Katz, 1992: 503)." Unfortunately I have come to see the role of the critical researcher is inert and, as such, even the most insightful and empowering critical research is often easily marginalized while research that reifies imperious and capitalistic practices is lionized.

As Swain (2009) notes, "Critical Tourism Studies has emerged to engage inequalities, but our emancipatory solutions remain elusive." At its best research emanating from biennial Critical Tourism Studies conferences illuminate the asymmetrical power relations between tourists and their hosts. Much of this work focuses on deconstructing the practices that produce inequalities. This research and analysis is vital to protect against the hegemony of industry-centric knowledge creation in the field of Tourism Studies. However, unlike those researchers who collaborate with DMOs and tourism service providers to turn research into tourism management practices, much of the critical research is focused on awareness and education and stops short of an operational component. With a few notable exceptions (Routledge, 2001, Routledge, 2002), researchers draw the line at collaborating with activist community groups in places adversely affected by the imposition of tourism.

My desire is not to simply produce knowledge but also to use the unique role I perform as a researcher to develop and implement immediate and actionable techniques, tactics, and strategies in collaboration with local social movements to resist the disempowerment and destruction inherent in most forms of tourism development. In this paper, I argue that the barrier between researcher and activist be torn down in order to develop an overtly political praxis of empowerment, resistance, and solidarity. It is important to use the framework of participatory action research (PAR) to imbue a sound theoretical and epistemological to this type of activist research.

Participatory Action Research

Kindon, Pain, & Kesby (2007) define PAR as "researchers and participants working together to examine a problematic situation or action to change it for the better." They assert that PAR "challenges the traditional hierarchy between research and action and between the researcher and the researched…[and seeks] to replace an 'extractive' imperial model of social research with one where the benefits of research accrue to the communities involved." This approach to research is ideally suited for the task of collaborating with tourism resistance movements. Through collaboration the researcher/researched can develop and utilize each others strengths, such as their embodied roles and their respective resources to find creative ways to resist the entrenched power of tourism developers and local elites.

The use of participatory action research is a fairly recent and small addition to the methodological tool bag of tourism researchers. Judging form the literature it seems that the approach is primarily used by researchers interested in sustainable tourism (Guevara, 1996, Jennings et al., 2010). Cole (2006: 630) provides the rationale for the cloistering of PAR in the sustainable tourism literature when he notes that "local community participation is a widely accepted criterion of sustainable tourism." However, in practice, community participation is commonly used as another form of greenwashing that benefits tourism developers through less conflict with locals, claims of authenticity, and local knowledge used to boost the efficacy of tourism management, to name a few (Mowforth and Munt, 2003). While participation is ideally meant to democratize the benefits of tourism and lessen the impact on the local community participation it is commonly used as a savvy marketing ploy to sell tourism development to the local population; in other words as a means of ascertaining community buy-in to exogenous or elite endogenously imposed eco-tourism schemes. Locals seldom have the power to stop tourism development by declaration of dissatisfaction therefore these participatory endeavors are window dressings for status quo development practices (Mowforth and Munt, 2003). I do not mean to imply that the window dressing of participation is not better than the usual practice of developers pretending that local community members do not exist. It is certainly an improvement, but it also is not an effective means of articulating the will of local community members. Participatory action research should be implemented to collaborate with social movements to make their practices more effective and to develop a global network of groups resisting tourism.

Organized Resistance to Tourism

Resisting tourism development and/or expansion is nothing new (Routledge, 2001). While it does not draw anywhere near the attention that it should, there have been a few researchers that have examined the phenomena of social movements against tourism development. I would like to note that, for the purpose of this paper, I distinguish tourism resistance research from the larger, more managerial focused, tourism conflict literature in the sense that tourism conflict researchers often take the epistemic position that tourism is inherently beneficial to a community and therefore seek to find consensus amongst conflicting parties be they tourist, hosts, or both so that the business of tourism can still proceed. My goal with this type of research is to strengthen the local populations who recognize the imminent negative impacts of tourism development and wish to stop or conform it to suit their interests.

This leaves local grassroots movements that are resisting the development of tourism amenities. Although the corpus of this research is small in comparison to the body of critical tourism studies, the research on local organized resistance to tourism spans a variety of locales and issues. The research that I am interested in, and feel could most benefit from a PAR approach, centers on local grassroots organizations that have formed around, or focused on, fighting back a private development of a public good. For instance, Owens (2008) conducted descriptive research on how an anarchist squatter's movement in Amsterdam resisted the gentrification that accompanied urban tourism development in the city's core only to turn around and embrace the practice to maintain support for their movement. In a vastly different setting Reygadas, Ramos, and Montoya (2009) explore how, through its resistance movement, the Chiapas, Mexico based EZLN have simultaneously resisted the state sponsored neoliberal onslaught that has plagued indigenous communities and rural farmers from the late 1980s through today while inadvertently creating conditions that popularize the jungles of Mexico for ecotourism exploitation.

These descriptive accounts of local grassroots resistance go a long way to bringing attention to the locally empowered groups that recognize the dangers ushered in by tourism development. However, I argue that research into resistance could be efficacious if critical tourism researchers who understand the consequences of commodifying people and place took an active role in the struggle to assert local control of place by those who understand they will be the most negatively effected. Therefore the framework that I am constructing focuses on a local scale where-by I, performing the role of the researcher, and utilizing the resources afforded me by my position, can work in collaboration with local social movements to resist encroaching neoliberalism in the form of tourism development.

Illustrative Cases of Tourism Resistance

While there are numerous examples of resistance to tourism development, three recent incidences of successful creative resistance demonstrate the sophistication of social movements in activating select discourses and practices to challenge the hegemony of neoliberalism. These cases are also important because they represent fertile ground for researchers to co-implement PAR as a means of direct support and solidarity. The Garifuna Community in Tela Bay Honduras, Kauai, Hawaii, and the ongoing resistance in Goa, India are of key interest to me in developing this research approach. Each of these has been studied to some extent by academics

but except in the Goa case, researchers have only documented, and not acted in collaboration with the resistance movements.

According to the website set up to bring awareness to the ongoing siege from the government and tourism developers, since 1992 the Garifuna people have had varying degrees of success in resisting the expropriation of their traditional coastal land (MiMundo.org, 2008). The ebb and flow of their long struggle has seen the blockage of mega-resort development as well as government reprisal against local resistance leaders. Following the coup d'état of Honduran president Manuel Zelaya the new pro-business regime headed by Porfirio Lobo Sosa has intensified its campaign to arrest and intimidate the members of the indigenous resistance and simultaneously attract foreign tourism development to the Roatan, the traditional homeland of the Garifuna (Kirtsoglou and Theodossopoulos, 2004, Thorne, 2004). While some researchers have explored aspects of the Garifuna resistance (Brondo, 2007, Thorne, 2004, Kirtsoglou and Theodossopoulos, 2004) the most notable is the research and dissemination that comes from the Garifuna community itself (MiMundo.org, 2008). This research has not only resulted in accounts of the situated history of the Garifuna culture but also in the formulation of a strategy for solidarity tourism to build international support for their local movement (Brondo, 2007, Kirtsoglou and Theodossopoulos, 2004, MiMundo.org, 2008, Thorne, 2004).

Another recent movement which has received scant attention from tourism researchers is the blockage of the Hawaiian Superferry from access to Kauai's Nawiliwili Harbor. An unambiguous success for the local grassroots resistance to mass tourism development a coalition of local, Kauai based social and environmental justice groups banded together to block, both legally and physically, the docking of the 800 passengers and 250 automobile Alakai Superferry from the port. Although this significant example of effective resistance was examined by various news media outlets and the legal scholars for its precedence setting court case, only one unpublished master's thesis has examined the strategies and techniques of this successful resistance campaign (Corlew, 2009, Yerton, 2010).

The last grassroots movement that I want to explore is the struggle in Goa, India to resist illegal tourism development in culturally and environmentally sensitive areas. I save this example for the end because of the research that has previously been conducted here. Paul Routledge (Routledge, 2002) has not only produced a significant amount of research on the impacts of tourism development in Goa, he has also produced a template for a reflexive, critical participation with local grassroots resistance movements. In one of the few PAR projects to address the issue of tourism resistance Routledge (2002) demonstrates the efficacy along with the potential pitfalls of transcending the role from researcher as observer into the role of researcher as activist. Routledge's role as a co-researcher/co-activist within the Goa Foundation and the Jagrut Goenkaranchi Fouz (Vigilant Goan Army) in Goa, India, a hotbed for resisting further tourism development, was effective in not only producing knowledge about the impacts of tourism, it also directly resulted in the halting environmental and cultural degradation. In one of his papers he reflects on the ethics of transcending the barrier between researcher and activist. Routledge reflects on the contradictions and ethical considerations he faced when embodying both the researcher and the activist which he aptly applies his nom de guerre, Walter Kurtz. Routledge/Kurtz documents the complex interplay of these two

embodied roles in his recounting of the creative subterfuge he used to gather information about tourism developers circumventing of environmental laws. His appearance, a white male of western origin, afforded him access to information that was inaccessible to locals. This information allowed the organizations with whom he collaborated to build a legal case against illegal development. In addition, his willingness to demonstrate his support for the movement allowed Routledge access to grassroots organizations that had grown weary of western researchers who mimicked the same colonial, extractive practices as the tourism developers. His work demonstrates the powerful and unique attributes that a researcher doing PAR fieldwork can bring to a tourism resistance movement.

Conclusion

By working with local grassroots movements to define the problem and develop a praxis that aids in the resisting of tourism development, critical tourism researchers can use PAR to move beyond the descriptive research to bring new heft to the constant struggle against marginalization. Also, it is necessary to develop a collaborative network that links social movements and PAR researchers, across the globe to share effective resistance tactics and collaborate on globally coordinated direct actions. However, researchers practicing this type of research must be vigilant towards overly identifying with the movements to the point where they loose their ability to critically reflect on the movements themselves. As Routledge (2002) cautions, some detachment from the group is necessary so that the researcher loses their reflexivity regarding group dynamics and movement practices. With vigilant critical reflection, the use of PAR to empower tourism resistance movements to counter tourism developers and local elites can foster a situation whereby local community members, not tourism developers, determine if and in what ways tourism will take shape in their communities.

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CREATING COMPETITIVE ADVANTAGE THROUGH THE EFFECTIVE EXPERIENCE ECONOMY IN MUSEUMS

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Abstract

The concept of the Experience Economy addresses trends in economic development with the assertion that there is an economic value to experience. The phenomenon of an increasingly experiential value orientation in both consumer behavior and reactionary business practices has created a revolution in the approach towards competitive advantage. It is found that it is of greater benefit not only to the consumer but, to the organization, to invert the traditional value models based on organizational benefit and organizational processes to that of consumer value and processes. Concepts pertaining to The Experience Economy are of relevance to recreation and tourism organizations such as Museums and their absence on the discussion pertaining to those concepts is unjustified. The purpose of this research is to advance understanding of the role the experience economy plays in a product's value and competitive advantage and explore the possibilities for experiential product development in Museums which will differentiate these organizations from their competitors whilst maintaining the credibility and integrity of the museum product.

The foundation of this research is formed out of recent works on the emergence of the experience economy and roles within our society, practical guides for advantage which have recognized experiential value, and significant texts relating to consumer behavior and competitive advantage. Primary research was undertaken in a case study of the Hopetoun House of South Queensferry and additional insight brought through contact with management of this house museum. The developing analysis has led to further support of the experiential methods investigated and related concepts. In addition, it is found that contrary to traditional assumptions, through these means museums have opportunities create deeper visitor experiences for competitive advantage without sacrificing organizational aims.

Key words: Experience Economy, competitive advantage

The Experience Economy:

Words used in definitions of experience include but are not limited to: activity, encounter, direct observation, participation, practice, personal, knowledge, skill, affection, process of perception of events or reality, and the conscious events of one's life (Merriam-Webster, 2010). Experience is highly personal, as people will experience the same object and event etc. in different ways. Though there is dispute on how to categorize the components or levels of experience, the concept of experience as multi dimensional phenomena is widely agreed to. Intangibleness is one of the most recognized aspects of experience and one of the reasons why experiences have always been considered to belong in the service industry whose goods are often intangible or have intangible elements to them. However, intangibility is a quality of infinite concepts and occurrences and does not justly define experience. The conscious, perceptive element of the phenomena which affects one as the result of a personal engagement however, is the most distinct quality of experience. Exceeding the services in intangibility, it is suggested that where services are merely intangible, experiences are memorable (Pine and Gilmore, 1999; Sundbo, 1999).

A dominating theme in western Consumerism is the trend of hyper-consumption, but there are other trends in consumer behaviour that have developed and increased demands which providers must meet in order to become and remain competitive. A factor that has been recently recognized as playing a major role in consumer choice, and therefore product development, is experience. Experience has been utilized in hospitality organizations as a mechanism for dealing with lack of product ownership and intangibility, often placed under the umbrella of various operational departments. However, studies analyzed by LaSalle and Britton (2003), conclude that consumers perceive not just the product, but the entire process from purchase to consumption as an experience of the product. As businesses continue to grow more customer oriented, they are beginning to realize that this means being customer experience oriented.

 The flexible term 'Museum' is used in this research to its maximum capacity as a term which describes and Institution, place, or building, which contains objects of historical, artistic, or scientific interest that are exhibited, preserved, or studied, and is often dedicated to preserving and interpreting the primary tangible evidence of humankind and the environment (Cambridge Advanced Learners Dictionary, 2010; Collins English Dictionary; 2009; Encyclopedia Britannica; 2010).

It appears that only from the late 1990's has experience gained broader recognition as a component in the value of a product. Changes in the way we perceive value in western society have been further altered by developments in the macroenvironment initiating numerous studies from the beginning of the 21st century. Analysis of the results of these studies displays a consensus of support for the current need & effectiveness of experience in the market, though the reasons for such development are debated. This study is spurred out of the desire for fuller and more positive experiences identified in the recent influx of research regarding consumer behaviour, consumer experience, and resulting theoretical insight.

It is expected that with recognition of the importance of experiential value, the service sector will secure a prominent place in future discussions regarding consumerism. Various sub-sectors of service are often left out of dialogue surrounding consumerism which tends to focus on issues of consumption of material goods and ownership. For example: Museums and cultural sites are often viewed as non-profit public organizations. However, in the mind of the consumer they are classified as leisure and the leisure environment is competitive. As such, experience and methods of competitive advantage are extremely relevant. In addition, Fisher (2000) points out a conflict of interest where museums need to be publically accessible yet the organizations and academics fear the popularization and commercialization of art and its damage to the aesthetic and intellectual integrity of art.

Further, as product development for differentiation may be expensive, market research such as this should be undertaken to indicate sufficient demand and investigate the nature of the consumer-product interaction for appropriateness before investment is made. Products of cultural tourism sites have their own unique characteristics. Therefore, the case for further research into the application of theories pertaining to innovation and experience production to these organizations is supported by authors such as Binkhorst & Dekker (2009), Ellis and Rossman, (2008), Morgan, Elbe, and Esteban Curiel (2009), and Sundbo (2008).

On a larger scale, the provision of multiple realms of experience may be a simultaneous answer to multiple product offering for the increasingly fragmented market and variety of consumer needs. Weather the consumer is looking for an educational experience or entertainment, the multifaceted product will satisfy these needs. Effective experience production is an alternate to competing by self sabotaging reliance on price reduction.

A second area of contribution is to further understandings of the application of competitive theories relative to the experience economy to the house museum product. Experience is an aid

and possibly an essential component of the visitor's relation to, understanding of, and motivation by the cultural collection. As a result, it is significant to the organization's stakeholders from educators to visitors and from curators to the communities which may rely on the organization. The carrying out of empirical fieldwork which has not been done before and delving into the various aspects of the museum product from this alternate perspective is intentioned to create a forum for discussion of competitive advantage in cultural sites which are often avoided due to traditional ideas of their exemption from commercial activity.   This research may serve to shed light on alternative means of competitive product development which would allow the maintenance of the art etc., as what is commonly seen as 'art' or the authentic site in the traditional museum or historical attraction, through expanding the experience of that art or site, thereby reducing the conflict of interest. It is a different approach to addressing the problem of general access to museums and public benefit that museums have addressed mainly by attempting to turn museums into educational centres. As such, this research is a means to answering Fisher's (2000) call for creative and effective ways of designing stimulus material for the visual and creative arts.

In efforts to understanding trends in economic development, a closer look at experience has changed views on the relationship of experience to economic sectors and the industries within. The inclusion of experience in a product is not a new phenomenon as hospitality, services, and the entertainment industry have long been creating and marketing experiences. Lorentzen (2008) suggests that it is exactly this relationship of experience to the industries, in the form of structural context by role in an organization and product development which is profoundly new.

If one agrees to the notion that the greater the differentiation relative to the needs of the customer the greater the economic value, than if experience is proven to fulfil this role to a greater extent than commodities, goods, and services, it may be gathered that experience surpasses them in the value it commands. Numerous testimonies of successful business leaders and results of recent research concerning the consumer experience and the rise in demand have created professional and academic advocates of the experience economy who share their belief that experience does fulfil this role and therefore, incorporating experience into a product will result in the shifting of the product up to a higher level of economic value. Some of these testimonies and results which support Pine and Gilmore's (1999) Progression of Economic Value based on these premises may be found in Ellis & Rossman, 2008; Hoover, 2009; LaSalle & Britton, 2003; Morgan, Elbe & Esteban Curiel, 2009; and Wu 2009.

Additionally, empirical studies and theoretic research support these claims as they indicate the attribution of value to the subjective matter of experience. For example: an analysis of studies of value, formally known as axiology, presented by Lasalle and Britton (2003) indicate that the value of something is ultimately decided upon by the consumer rather than alternate criteria. The consumer criteria may have both symbolic aspects and physical or quantifiable aspects. From this study it can be understood that the subjective criteria of a product may have as much an influence on perceptions of value as the objective. In Foxall's (2005, p.17) timeline of theories surrounding processing of consumer choice, the various methods reflect that there are attentional and perceptual filters affecting interpretation composed of a variety of the individual's attributes such as attitudes, memories, needs, and wants.

The concept of the experience economy addresses trends in economic development with the assertion that there is an economic value to experience. The experience economy recognizes experience as a distinct economic offering not confined to the service sector and identifies experience as the latest stage in the evolution of value and hence, the way products are sold (Smidt-Jensen, Skytt & Winther, 2008; Pine and Gilmore, 1998 & 1999; Smidt-Jensen, Skytt, & Winther, 2009). The experiential product is admitted to be quite varied due to the variety of means to which a consumer may interact with a product. What is definitive is that the relationship between the consumer and the product which produces the experience is the core of an experiential product (Lorentzen, 2008; Pine & Gilmore, 1999). Therefore, key theories and philosophies circulating dialogue on the experience economy relate to means of engaging the consumer through marrying ideas on experience, need, and value.

Competitive Advantage and the Experience Economy:

The phenomenon of an increasingly experiential value orientation in both consumer behaviour and reactionary business practices has created a revolution in the approach towards competitive advantage. It is found that it is of greater benefit not only to the consumer but, to the organization, to invert the traditional value models based on organizational benefit and organizational processes to that of consumer value and processes.   The major observation of the relationship between experiential and competitive methods is that due to shared aims, placement of experience within identified methods of competitive advantage, and recently shared understandings of the viewer's perception of the product, there are a number of shared objectives to meeting these aims. The difference is the revolutionary experience economy view

of the product through the experience it is able to offer and the relationship of the product with the consumer as a foundation.

The Role of Experience in Competitive Advantage:

It is a general consensus that competitive advantage is when a firm utilizes the business level strategies of differentiation or cost advantage to win the favour of customers, produce greater economic value than rival businesses, and as a result, triumph over competitors (Barney & Hesterly, 2006; De Wit & Meyer, 1999; Porter, 2004b). Competitive advantage cannot be separated from the value chain; the means of its creation. The value chain's theoretical framework is composed of activities performed by an organization which create cost advantage and differentiation produced through price and performance attributes (Ghobadian et al, 2004; Porter, 2004b; Prahalad & Hamel, 1990). An increasing number of businesses are providing experience which increases perceived value, the organization that refuses to implement a competitive strategy to likewise increase their economic value will have relatively less value and can be understood to be at a competitive disadvantage. With the Impact of the Evolution of Value on Business, LaSalle and Britton (2003, p.25) present the experience economy as the measure of value for the new millennium where business focus is the customer, model is experiential value, marketplace is the individual, customer role is a participant, point of value creation is the "entire company with customers as co-creators of value", drivers of profitability are experiences, and the success metrics as customer loyalty. The proactive organization will approach the Experience Economy not as a threat but as an opportunity to develop new strategies which utilize unique performance offerings for strategic advantage. As the Experience Economy asserts that there is an economic value to experience, it may be assumed that there is a place for experience in competitive strategy which creates competitive advantage through increased economic value.

Differentiation Strategy:

Differentiation strategy is the identified place for experience in competitive strategy. Even though it is not always directly stated as in 'Experience Economy', experience has been presented in related publications such as 'Priceless' and 'Selling Dreams' as a form of differentiation and differentiation is one of the identified means to creating competitive advantage. Superiority in the product's ability to satisfy consumer needs is both a fundamental tenant of differentiation and the experience production.

Differentiation strategy may be divided into two methods: strengthening uniqueness of existing value activities or creating uniqueness through reconfiguration of the value chain (Porter, 2004b). Likewise, concepts surrounding effective implementation of experience include the strengthening of types of experience as a point of unique value and do not conflict with but, at times require a reconfiguration of the value chain. Considering the strengthening of value activities, there are a series of drivers which determine a firm's uniqueness in a value activity (Porter, 2004b). Identifying these drivers highlights levels of sustainability and areas for further differentiation. Porter (2004b) lists Policy Choices as the most prominent driver to be manipulated for uniqueness. This driver designates the 'what' and 'how' of performance activities and it is also where the majority of contributions to the development of the experiential product may be found.

The experiential view has the potential to fully address all aspects of the product which make the competitive difference. Product differentiation is seen as one of the barriers to market entry for competitors who do not possess such customer loyalty. This is because differentiation creates identification of brand and customer loyalties. In concert, the experience engagement process covers consumer experience from factors which influence consumer choice in the evaluative phase to the extension of the product through creation of customer relationships. Porter's organization of strategic management concepts encompasses the more recent view, shared with the experience economy, of the product and desire for the product as multifaceted. Furthermore, in consensus with the experience economic theory, recent competitive strategy concepts embrace the demand theory in which a product is seen as possessing multiple components which create a cumulative value.

Identification of Points of Uniqueness and Opportunities:

Differentiation as a uniqueness which carries value has long been a method for competitive advantage and some standard views have been developed. The resource based view (RBV), is a common way to identify an organization's strengths for exploitation and weakness for minimization. The RBV looks to both tangible and intangible assets and capabilities in a firm's performance to identify sources for competitive advantage. Typically, the organization's Value-Chain would be used for this process. The resource based view acknowledges that, "…a resource is not inherently valuable or not valuable. It depends on the specific market demand for that resource" (Barney & Hesterly, 2006 p.81). With this understanding, it is of no surprise

that the process of identifying organizational strengths and weaknesses firstly and then secondly considering the values of the market is now under revaluation.

A variety of resources and capabilities or their combination may contribute to strengths found in a value chain analysis. It is the same with the experiential analysis but, with the difference of the starting point of experiential components that meet consumer needs which are followed up by identified modes of engagement that produce the experiential result. Various models for components of experience such as LaSalle & Britton's (2003) Levels of Operation may be used or adapted and the chosen model will depend on the suitability of the model to the organizational structure and aims. Once the strengths, weaknesses, and unique consumer experiences have been identified, it is then that the organization will look back to the Value-Chain, for means of enhancement, development, and communication of these.

Creating and Enhancing Points of Uniqueness:

In the process of strategic development, the organization will need to define what changes will be made for the desired performance. Porter (2004b) describes the process of successful differentiation as one which often cumulates uniqueness in distinct activities that the firm performs which compose the value chain, termed *value activities*. Policy choices, linkages, interrelationships, learning and spillovers, Scale, and institutional factors are identified drivers which create uniqueness in a value activity (Porter, 2004b). It is recognized that unless these create value to the consumer they do not create effective differentiation yet; the starting point of the analysis remains internal. In the value activity of Marketing, with methods such as consumer relationship marketing, is where experience is often considered and even then, it is a provider-centric view. For example: Bell's (2002) 7 Es of Customer Love: enlistment, engagement, enlightenment, entrustment, empowerment, enchantment, and endearment. The theory acknowledges of the role of these factors in experience however, each of these experiential components are minimally utilized for direct benefit to the organization such as, educating in the way of keeping customers informed of company activity to foster commitment, engagement for customer 'belief' that they are making a difference because findings show engaged customers, even if it is to complain, spend more, and endearment through generosity that gives the customer the impression that they, not profit, are the concern of the business (West, Ford, & Ibraham, 2006). The benefits to the organization of customer 'love' such as greater spending, feedback, leniency, social support, and advocacy cannot be denied however,

the authenticity and depth of consumer experiences are lacking in the provider-centric approach and as a result insufficient.

Therefore, a starting point of the consumer-product relationship is recommended. The concepts and resulting tenants of the Experience Economy do not conflict with the concepts that organize the process of product production and resulting margins of profit; they are guidelines for creation and good practice and often do not dictate the details of how it should be done. Just as the value chain may flex to the simplicity or complexity of the organization, the flexibility of this approach allows general application. Any of the value activities identified in the traditional value chain may be utilized in order to meet experiential aims. For example: In inbound logistics, the way a potential visitor would access and experience a museum's archives could be simplified and enhanced; in operations, the connectedness of the project and production management through to human resources for purposeful selection and training of staff could bring an experiential theme to life; in outbound logistics, museum interpretation may connect with visitor's values; in marketing and sales, the uniqueness of the museum product may be communicated; and in services , visitor services can provide opportunities for guest interaction with the product and staff.

From simply making sure guests are provided with the various types of encounters and sensations for fuller experiences to taking on the theatre model of staging themed experiences proposed by Pine and Gilmore (1999), there are numerous options at the organizations disposal. The theatre model is actually not such an outrageous idea, Grove and Fisk proposed creation of customer experiential value through the Service as a Drama concept back in 1983. The difference is the original was service based and did not address the complexity of experience and the process of consumer-product interaction to the depths that are apparent in more recent theories. Keeping the Experience Engagement Process in mind, one of the most straightforward methods is to create experience objectives out of the previous identification of points of uniqueness, weaknesses, and opportunities, and implement a choice of the suggested or organization innovated means of meeting these objectives. As each product and organization is unique, there will undoubtedly be some innovation necessary in the process. It is also apparent that consistency or flow of the consumer experience is one of the higher concerns of the experiential method and therefore it is suggested that the experiential needs to be met derive from unique factors of the organization, part of the identification process, and that the creation and enhancement process should fully integrate needs into the organisational culture, structure, and systems (Longinotti-Buitoni, 1999; Nijis, 2003). An additional uniqueness is that where

reduction of consumer experiential sacrifice is seen as one of the means to differentiation in competitive advantage, the experiential view sees this reduction as necessary to produce value. Mass Customization presented by porter or the Experience Engagement Process are two of the innovative means towards reduction of consumer sacrifice which simultaneously create personal value experiences.

Communicating Points of Uniqueness

In effective differentiation, perception may be just as important as reality (Porter, 2004). In the competitive methods of differentiation, purchase criteria are divided into the characteristics of the product termed use criteria and signals that relate value termed signalling criteria. Likewise, approaches towards experience management break up management of the consumer journey into two sets of cues; functional and sensory emotional (Berry and Haeckel, 2002). It is often the case that there is a failure to comprehend needs that may be met or the lowering of personal costs provided by a product as consumers may glance at single factors, misinterpret the product, or lack knowledge about the product. Therefore, the connection between signalling criteria and use criteria is important in both traditional competitive methods and the experiential method. For instance, an important signalling criteria in an experiential method is the provision of memorabilia, a physical product. This provision signals to the visitor and those they come in contact with that the experience is of value and worthy of remembrance.

Use criteria are not limited to the physical product; therefore organizations should not place sole focus on the physical product. This tendency is seen not only in commodities but, in efforts to materialize an immaterial product rather than capitalizing on the immateriality. Take the museum for example: Often an exhibit's sole prestige is based on the facts; who produced it, what era it represents, the technique that is used, etc., which to many potential visitors, is not high enough on their personal value chain to invoke their attendance. In contrast, intrinsic experiential needs met by use criteria are able to create strong signifiers. The Queens Gallery's 19th March to 31st October exhibition, 'Victoria & Albert: Art & love', is a brilliant example of how an institution may expand the perception of the product to hit on multiple points of value. The collection pieces are presented not just as paintings of Victoria and Albert, but as a documentary of love through the medium of art.

In the experiential approach presented by Pine and Gilmore (1999), the idea of value signals are further transitioned to cues which create positive associations, compliment the product and

theme, and lend to harmony, and cues which disrupt the experience of the product or give negative associations. In support, a study by Kollmann, (2007) on "broken" museum exhibits is representative of the influential role of seemingly minute negative cues. For example: 10% of the exhibits identified by visitors as "broken" were functional but had an element of design which hindered their experience. Once the impact of these cues are recognized, they are often not complicated to reduce through addressing value activities within the value chain such as maintenance and design. The number of influential factors in the consumer experience necessitates the integration of consumer needs into a strong organizational culture which supports quality guest experiences for long term success rather than focusing on quantifiable guest and finance data that produces short-term numbers and profit (Ellis & Rossman, 2008; Nijis, 2003).

Now that various aspects of the experience economy and relationship between competitive advantage have been explored, the questions of our first objective which help clarify this relationship may be addressed. The major theories surrounding the experience economy pertain to providing value experiences through engagement of the consumer on multiple levels of the consumer's personal value chain and have a foundation of the consumer experience and interaction with the products; not industry based competitive methods which are organization-oriented. Though they do not derive from competitive advantage, they are recognized and utilized as methods of competitive advantage by means of differentiation. As such, the production of experience as a means to increasing value appears not to conflict, but resonate with ideas concerning frameworks for organizational evaluation and value production. If presented in a competitive advantage point of view the experience economy may be seen as an inversion of traditional methods to extend beyond the foundations in order to address key areas of consumer value. In conclusion, the experiential view is able to stand alone as a competitive method and if standard competitive advantage processes are utilized to meet shared goals they do so but, in a manner which circulates around the consumer's experience engagement process.

Methodology:

The purpose of this research is to advance understanding of the role the experience economy plays in a product's value and competitive advantage. There is the additional aim of acquiring knowledge of how to utilize experience to increase value and therefore competitiveness in an immaterial product such as that provided by museums. Ultimately, from the exploration of product differentiation through experience will emerge creative and effective ways of designing

stimulus material for the visual and creative arts without compromising the aims of the organization.

The design of this research follows a multiple method approach. Both qualitative and quantitative data collection techniques in a multi-method qualitative study are used to address the questions in this exploration. The findings associated with the qualitative approach are highly appropriate for a detailed study of the phenomenon of the experience economy as Fisher (2000) identified that experience is an aid and possibly an essential component of the visitor's relation to, understanding of, and motivation by the collection.

The questions are derived largely from Pine & Gilmore (1999) and LaSalle & Britton's (3002) suggested components for the enhancement of experience. Though the subject matter is complex, experience is highly subjective and therefore, it is of greater validity to forgo the tempting researchers conducted observational method of data collection in favour of a survey. The answers not only give insight into the consumer experience of the museum product, they highlight areas of strengths and weaknesses in the museum's fulfilment of different aspects of experiential need. From this practice we receive a view of what is actually done rather than said to be done, aiding in validity of the data-gathering process (Davies, 2007).

The interviews with management of the organizations studied follow up the survey to provide deeper analysis and obtain information concerning the organization that cannot be accessed otherwise. The semi-structured Interviews create flexibility which allows for elaboration on issues of greater significance or unaware of by the interviewer.
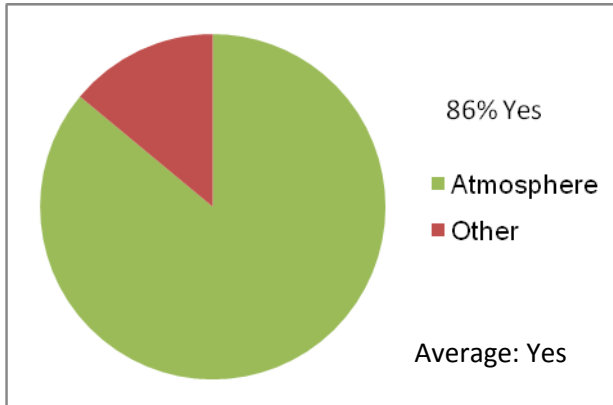
Findings:

Considering the application of the experience realm concept to the house museum; Figure 1.0 displays that the majority of visitors consider education, atmosphere, and an escape from the ordinary an important part of the memorable museum product yet there is little desire for entertainment. These three are associated with high levels of immersion, absorption, and active participation. From this we understand that there cannot be general application of the entirety of this concept to every industry and that the majority of individuals who chose to visit Hopetoun rather than the simultaneous Fringe Festival shows in the city centre were interested in deeper aspects of experience than entertainment which is significantly passive. Figures 2.0-6.0, indicate the Hopetoun house experience is strong educationally and in certain esthetical qualities and weaker in the escapist experience and entertainment. Figure 9.0 illustrates the

strong levels of guest opportunity for interaction which supports Pine and Gilmore's association of active participation and absorption with education which 84% rated above average. Aesthetically, Hopetoun is extremely inviting and comfort is good, but with higher levels of uncertainty and disagreement there is still some room for improvement to comfort. There is a weakness in strength of theme however, the majority of respondents felt there was harmony between the collections, service, and theme for those that perceived one (see figure 5.0).

Figure 7.0 represents levels of sensory engagement which aid in immersion and absorption. Hopetoun visitors perceive engagement of sight as high, hearing secondary, and lower levels of taste, touch, and smell. Positively, other than the usual talking among individuals in nearby group tours and perception of some modern elements, there was little sensory disruption. This is significant as there was a classical quartet on the first day and bagpipe players on both days as part of wedding events. These were not perceived as disruptions and may have even contributed positively to the higher levels of engagement of guest hearing and sight. Considering the ideal country house described by visitors in Table 1.0, high levels of certain stimulation such as sound may be a disruption or negative cue to the peace and quiet perception however, if deemed appropriate to higher ideals such as opulence, magnificence, or historical, there is no detraction. Therefore, there is significant desire for two out of three of the experience realms yet, the means of their fulfilment must be sensitive to the context.

Figure 1.0The Four Experience Realms: Visitor perceptions of their importance in creating the memorable museum experience.

86% Yes

■ Atmosphere
■ Other

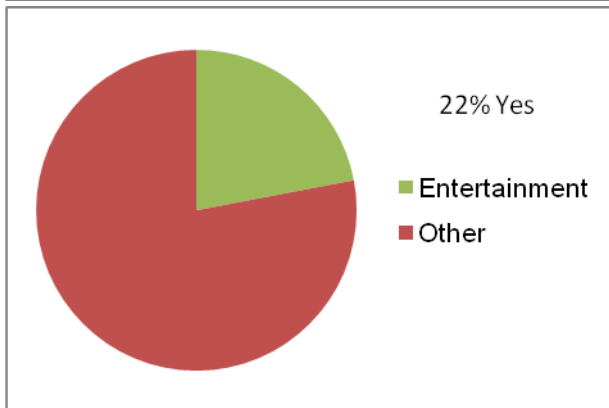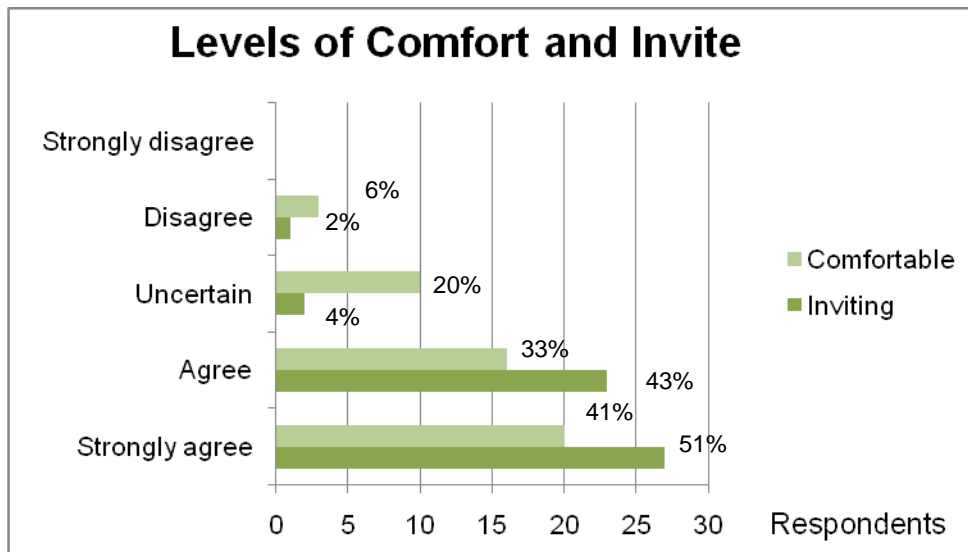Average: Yes

76% Yes

Average: Yes

■ Education
■ Other

66% Yes

■ Escape from the ordinary
■ Other

Average: Yes

Average: No

22% Yes

■ Entertainment
■ Other
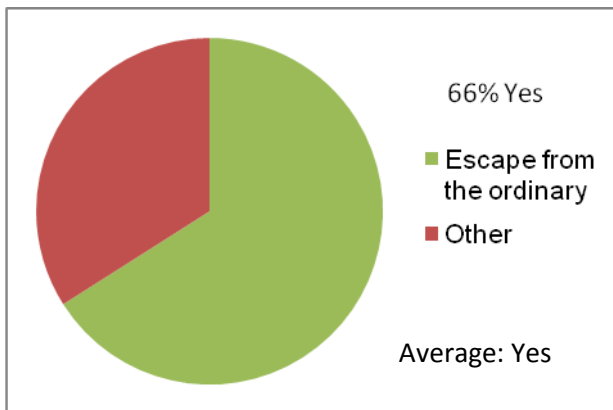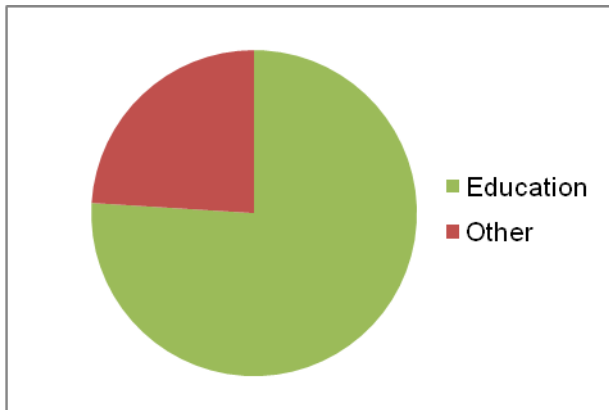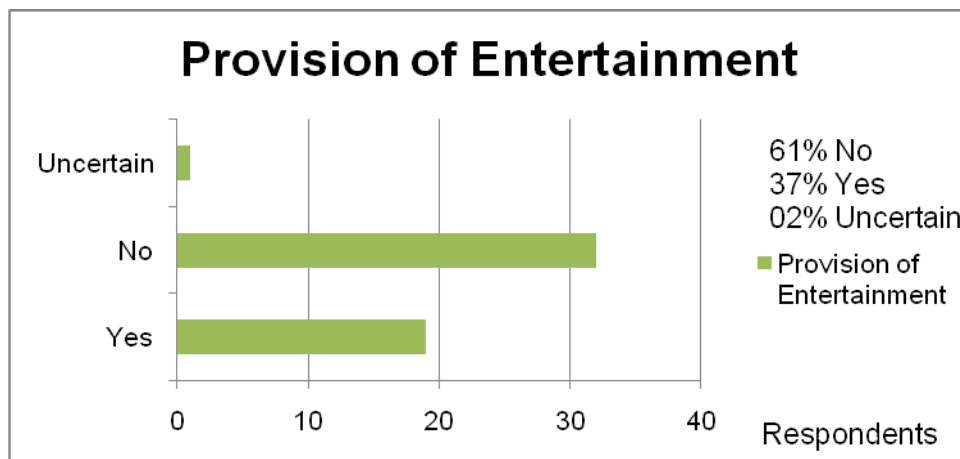
Figure 2.0

Figure 3.0

Figure 4.0
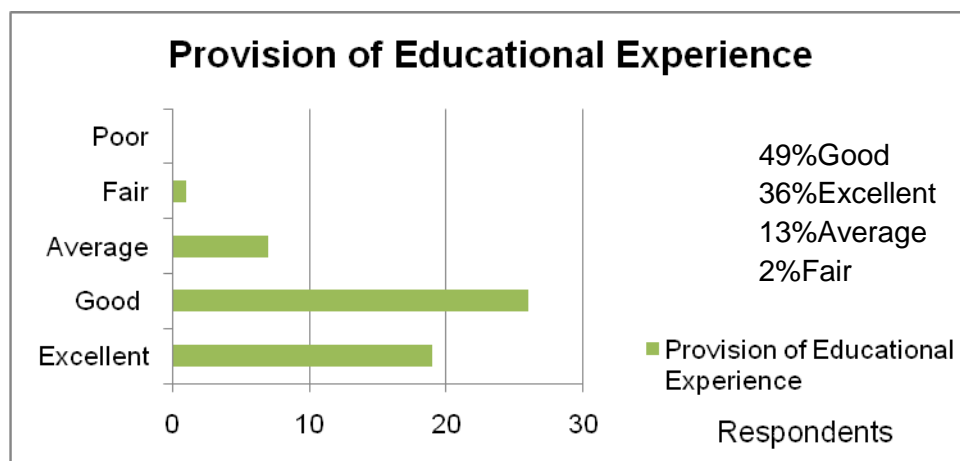
Figure 5.0
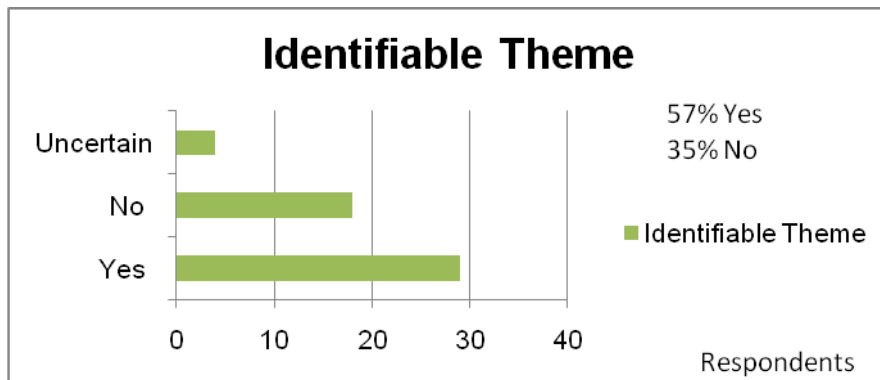
Figure 6.0

Figure 7.0

Figure 8.0

Sensory Engagement Detracting From the Experience

85% None
07.5% Uncertain
07.5% Yes

Sensory engagement Detracting From the Experience

Figure 9.0

Opportunity for Interaction with the Collection, Staff, Educational material, or surroundings

98% Yess
2% Uncertain

Yes
No
Uncertain
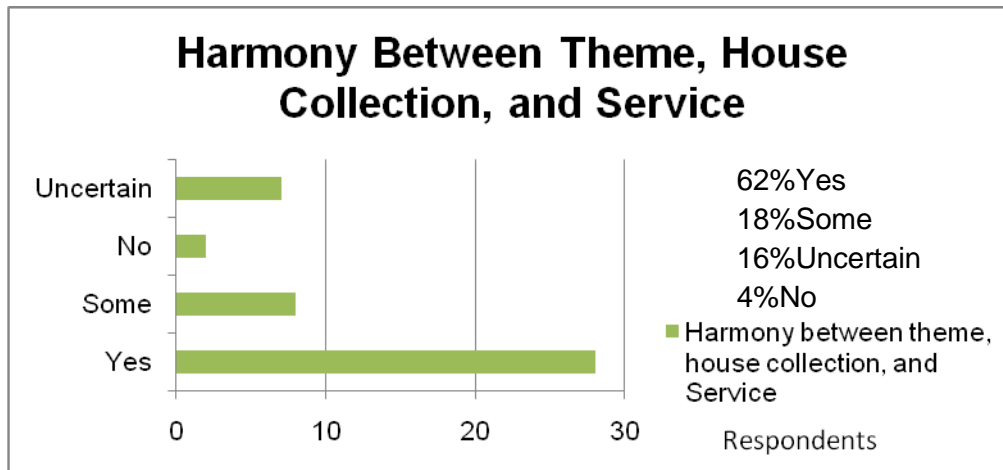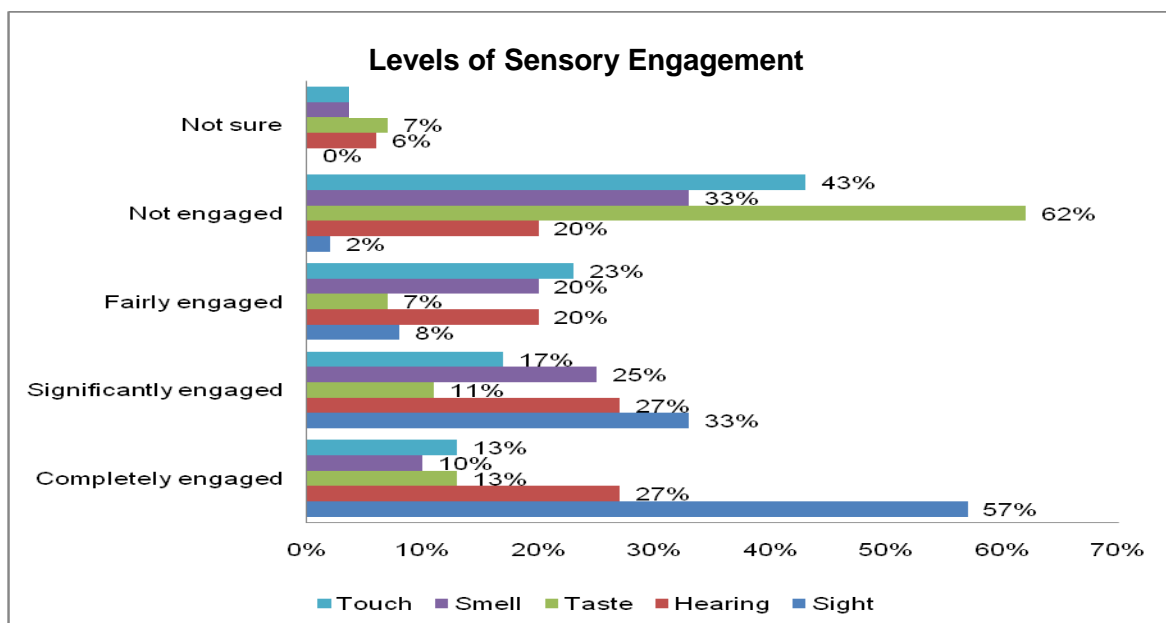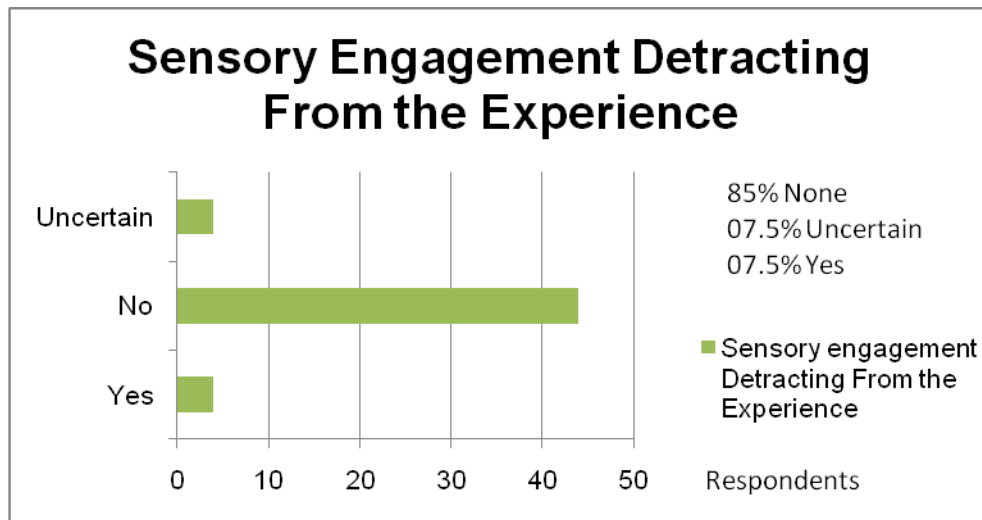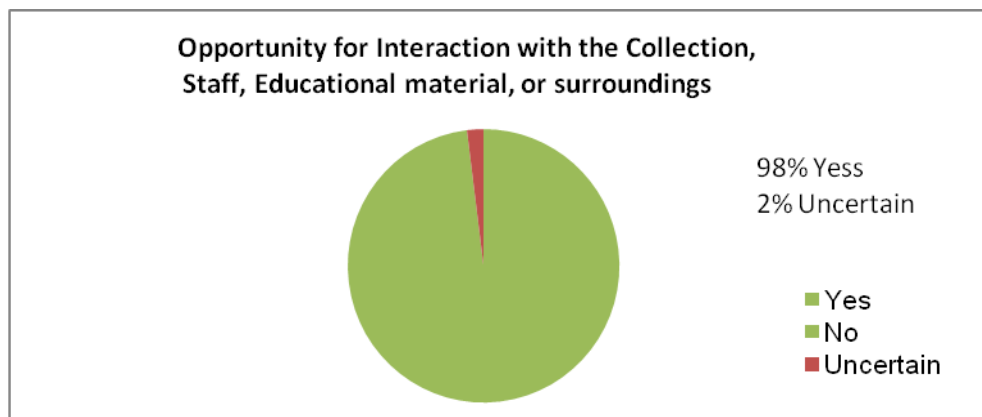
Positive and Negative Cues

The harmony inherent in the collections, theme, and services should extend to the consumer experience. Thirty percent of respondents felt there were factors which disrupted the complete harmony of their visitor experience (see Figure 10.0). This revelation gives significant basis for prescribing the reduction of negative cues and enhancement of positive cues suggested by experiential methods. The diversity of the reasons for this disruption supports the theory that the visitor experience is multifaceted and details which may seem minute have a significant impact. As such, a detailed look into the causes of possible disruptions in each area will need to take place. For example: There had been a wedding on both days the survey was taking place and while some guests thought the weddings exciting, others mentioned it as an infringement

on their experience. Reduction of such infringement may include steps like refraining from allowing the wedding party to occupy the rooms of the house for photo sessions during open visitor hours or online notification to the visitors the day and hours a certain facility such as the Stables Tearoom will be utilized by an event so they can plan their visit accordingly.

Figure 10.0
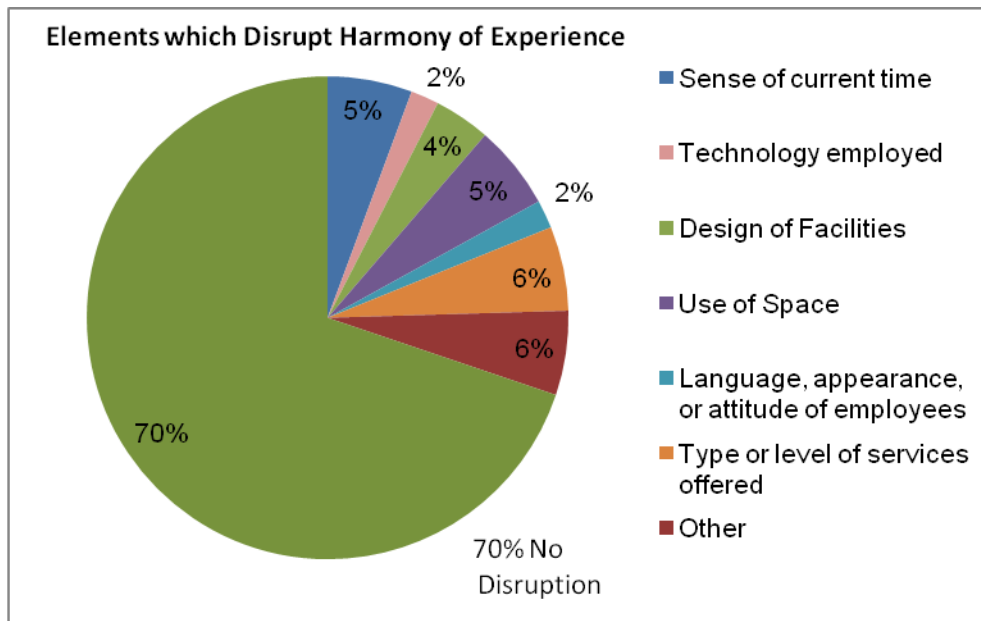
Table 1.0 Visitor Perceptions of a Country House

Perceptions of a Country House	Similar Responses	Percent of Category	Perception Percent
Physical Qualities			41%
Large Scale/Space	9	20%	
Landscape/Gardens	6	13%	
Beautiful/Handsome	5	11%	
Old/Faded	5	11%	
Art/Collections	4	9%	
Elegant	3	7%	
Nature/Green	3	7%	
Associations			24%
History	9	33%	
Wealth	6	22%	
Family	4	15%	
Luxury/Privilege	3	11%	
			22%
Descriptions			

Grand/Magnificent	16	64%	
Opulent/Extravagant	3	12%	
Interesting	2	8%	
Comfortable	2	8%	
Quiet	2	8%	
	Emotions/Feelings		13%
Wonder/Amazement	4	29%	
Atmosphere/Ambiance	4	29%	
Peace/Tranquility	3	21%	

The Experience Engagement Process

For each aspect which represents a positive component of a step in an experience engagement process, the medium is guest agreement to Hopetoun's possession of these (see figure11.0). This outcome, along with overall consumer experiential satisfaction seen in figure 12.0, shows an overall positive perception of Hopetoun. However, there are still areas of opportunity as the highest percentage of visitor responses for each step peaked at the second highest rating. Appeal of Hopetoun received the highest rating followed by enjoyment of the visit. The lowest levels of agreement and highest levels of disagreement are accessibility. Commentary received included the lack of directional signs on smaller streets, difficulty navigating the route to Hopetoun, and desire for better provisions for those which are mobility challenged. There is a remoteness of public transportation, an absence of the Hopetoun from GPS identified visitor attractions, and inability of some GPS to locate the Hopetoun house. The map provided by Hopetoun house is lacking in detail and Maps provided elsewhere mislead the visitor down roads which are closed to the public. Extension of the consumer engagement with the process in terms of a place they would like to visit again obtained the highest level of uncertainty, 22%.

Figure 11.0
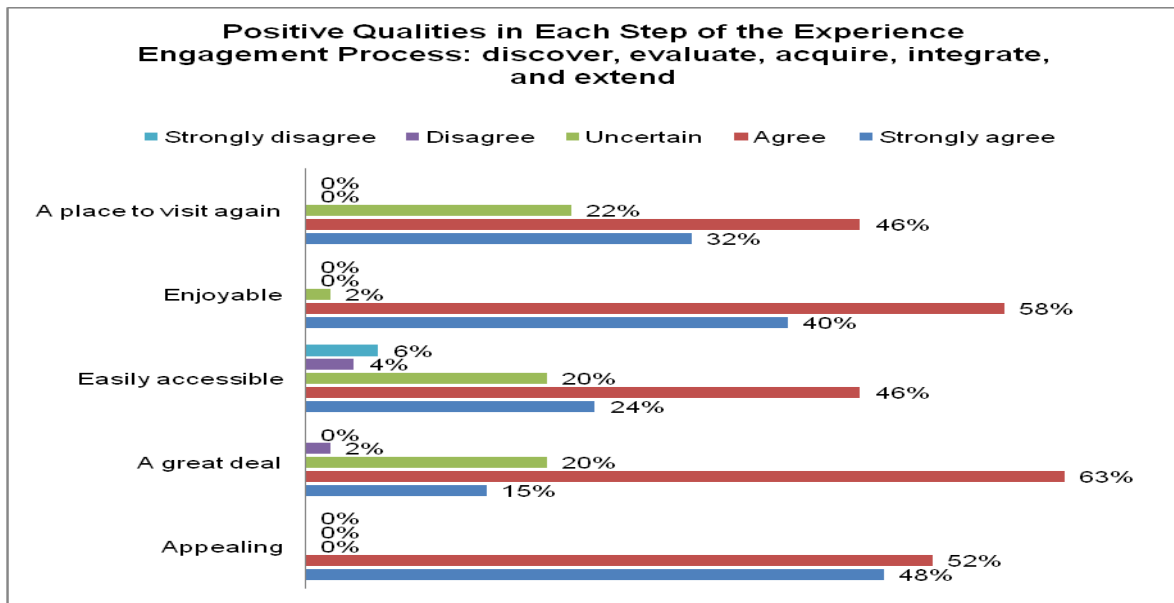
Figure 12.0

Sources of Uniqueness

Positively, figure 13.0 represents an overwhelming majority of 96% of visitors, after their visit to the house, perceived Hopetoun as possessing some unique if not very unique qualities. Surprisingly, 61% marked that a perceived uniqueness was not part of their decision to visit (see figure 14.0). Communication of points of uniqueness is an aim of competitive experiential methods and with this gap it is apparent that there exist further unique aspects of the Hopetoun house which remain to be communicated. When respondents took the time to write what

unique aspect motivated their visit, these were the answers: The architects, a private rather than National Trust property, bringing the visitor closer to their Queensferry roots, Forth Bridge view and roof experience, location for an episode on the Antiques Road Show television series, on the British Heritage Pass, and identification as a sight to see before leaving Edinburgh after a period of residency. With the exception of the view from the roof and the specific architects, these descriptions are lacking in unique qualities possessed by the Hopetoun House & experience of it. Rather than holding a spot at the end of the list of Edinburgh experiences as a site to see before leaving, a competitive position would place the destination as a priority site to see when arriving in Edinburgh.

Figure 13.0
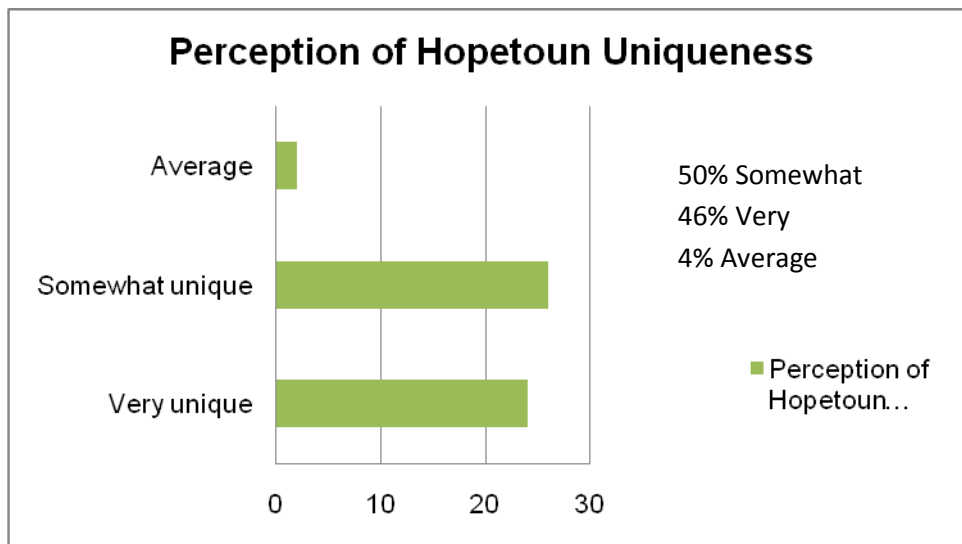
Figure 14.0
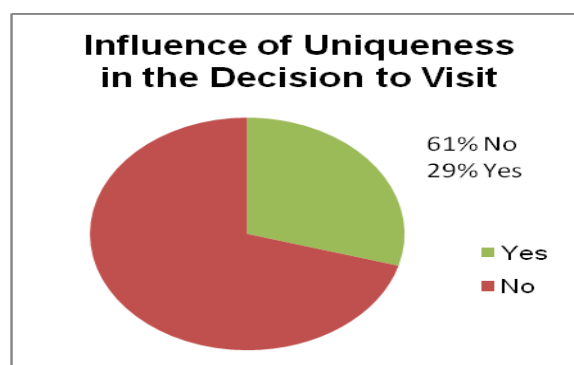
Looking at the relative advantages of Hopetoun to the Hearst Castle House and the results of the survey, Hopetoun can do more to improve the harmony of the visitor experience, effectively communicate uniqueness, and communicate ways in which their product reduces visitor

sacrifice for greater value. Comfort, strength of theme, and further engagement of senses are additional areas for improvement. A comment was received from one respondent regarding disruption to their visitor experience: "No, Neither disrupted nor enhanced, missed opportunity". Figure 12.0 displays that, not including those who had hot been to another country house and were uncertain of their experiential satisfaction, the rate of strongly satisfied visitors for Hopetoun House is higher, 37%, than those of the usual country house, 17%. Achieving this positivity with low levels of deliberate enhancement and visitor perception of further opportunity indicate an underachieved potential for the Hopetown house to create greater competitive advantage through experiences. The typical country house product is lacking in the highest level of satisfaction which indicates demand for greater experiences in these destinations.

Hopetoun has strengths in the provision of educational experience, welcome, and harmony within the property and appears to meet the majority of visitor associations and physical ideals which contribute towards the noted general satisfaction of visitors. From Table 1.0, it is unknown if the Hopetoun House experience had any impact on visitor perceptions of a country house, but it remains that even after the visit, only 13% of respondents attributed any emotion to a country house experience. Four respondents thought of atmosphere or ambience in connection to their perception even though, as figure 1.0 illustrates, a majority of visitors feel that it would contribute to a memorable experience. There is great opportunity through this provision.

Response by the Hopetoun House Manager

Management of Hopetoun was clear that they were not unaware of other routes towards creating visitor experience, but it was a very conscious decision to not go down these routes due to what they felt was appropriate to nature of the product and aims of the organization. Consideration of the site as a home and conservation of the home are first objectives followed by public access and educational aims, with business as a tourist attraction as a necessity. The other two businesses, hospitality and closely managed, time tabled events, produce the majority of funds necessary and are also deemed to take less toll on the home while easier to assess visitor impact and staffing requirements. Consideration of visitor experience exists, but there is little likelihood of movement towards visitor experience orientation, (VEO). These insights also reveal that organizations which preside over cultural attractions do not necessarily define higher

visitor numbers, related profits, and competitiveness as a tourist attraction as success; in some cases there may be little motivation towards a VEO.

Hopetoun agreed that such funds (for example) enabling the restoration of an area on the second floor closed due to structural unsoundness to expand the already limited space open to visitors would be a benefit, but remains adamant about not increasing visitor numbers.

Efforts to fulfil the second objective through insight from the interview and results of the survey produce an indication, but are not decisive, as to whether the methods set forth by Pine and Gilmore (1999), for creating a heightened experience have a live relationship with value and competitiveness due to revelation of Hopetoun's lack of desire for competitiveness as a tourist site, intended reduced number of visitors, and therefore related profits of the House Museum surveyed in this case study. The third objective of discerning whether these methods are appropriate to this product is aided by Hopetoun House management and may give insight into the perceived appropriateness of the methods to other forms of cultural tourism. It was not found that these methods themselves threaten the integrity of the collection or home but that the means of how they are carried out have potential to contradict the aims of the organization and nature of the product. For example: period costumed guides would not align with the progression of time from past to present of the residence and creation of new structures for visitor services would mar the authenticity of the site which the trust strives for. Management believed that the product is naturally static and the feasibility of implementing experiential objectives is limited.

Two additional matters which have arisen are the continued negative perception some museums tend to have on practices associated with business, as such non-profit organizations venture into business reluctantly as a necessity, resulting in the initial impression of incompatibility of these methods with higher aims of the organization. For example: The suggested provision of a multifaceted visitor product was linked to the notion of running the house as an entertainment centre and 'manufacturing'. Entertainment is only one of the realms of experience and as the survey results indicate, the least significant element in creating a value experience in the museum product. One consideration is that in a historical site's drive for authenticity, the term 'create' is seen as a threat to this common aim.

Hopetoun Management has created, and is in the process of further developing, unique visitor experiences in line with the tenants of creating deeper experiences for competitive advantage

presented by Pine and Gilmore (1999) without consideration of such developments as competitive advantage or strong efforts to communicate these to potential visitors.

Hopetoun familial progression in a home largely designed and furnished under one concept is unique to other structures which faced constant modification throughout time. Contributing to high levels of perceived harmony between the home, theme, and collection, the trust does not bring in any outside objects and is in the process of removing typical "museum" impact regulation items. In efforts to present the home as it is, there is the intended experience of the visitor to be that of an actual guest in the home like Hearst Castle, but uniquely a willingness to provide deeper experiences made possible by smaller visitor numbers. Late edition pieces are being removed in favour of original comfortable furniture where guests can sit around the fire and read archive material. In all these efforts there is conscious consideration of comfort, immersion, interaction, education, and engagement of the senses. There are cues that give positive impressions towards maintaining the original familial country home theme desired by the trust such as authenticity and the additional encouragement of natural familial script, appearance and inviting attitude of guides. Though management does not want these efforts to be seen as manufacturing, these are perfect examples of great multipurpose experiential product characteristics which are utterly unique to the industry.

Conclusions

From the review of literature it is understood that experience does have a value and this value is highly subjective. Results of the survey illustrate that subjectivity extends to levels of value placed on various components of experience of specific products such as higher importance of aesthetic factors and lower desire for entertainment in the museum product. The accumulation of value through multiple levels of engagement is given further support by the indication that the concepts such as the experience engagement process which were formed according to related research have a relationship with value. In this support, the concept and management of negative and positive cues is affirmed to be essential as multiple disruptions by factors which deemed to affect experience such as use of space were reflected in the reduction of harmony of visitor experience. Accessibility was identified by LaSalle and Britton (2003) to be the least considered component of the EEP by the organizations, yet important point of value that will alter customer's decisions. This notion was not contradicted by the survey which revealed the lowest experiential scores to accessibility and the largest levels of uncertainty to returning.

Insight into the nature of historic sites such as the Hopetoun House reveal a great variation from priorities of visitor experiences to aims which may have little to do with competitiveness, motivation towards creation of greater visitor experiences, or increasing visitor numbers. However, for those that are interested in these, be it a genuine desire for accessibility and funding or necessity for better business, these methods should not be seen as a direct threat to authenticity and integrity. Agreeably with the management of Hopetoun, there is a fine line and you have to work with what you have so as not to destroy the very thing visitors come to see. However, there are drastic measures such as reorganization of the organization's value chain into a mode that supports a theatre like production, or there are more tailored and minimal approaches such as simply considering the process through which the consumer will engage with your product. The flexibility through choice and means of implementation of methods available for adaptation of the experiential view to the nature of the product should not be overlooked.

Examination of competitive methods reveals that experience is a means of creating competitive advantage through differentiation. Many components of Pine and Gilmore (1999) and LaSalle and Britton's (2003) tenants find significant support in the case study of the industry leader, Hearst Castle, which is found to possess many of the suggested practices and qualities. However, due to the highly contextual element of experiential production and the great range in the nature of these cultural organizations highlighted by the interviews, there is more of an indication towards effectiveness of a full use of experiential conceptual and practical resources available to an organization through means which fit their aims, market, and are inspired by the nature of the product, than superiority of a single set of proposed guidelines. With flexibility, a sustainable competitive method of utilizing an organization's unique value chain, mass customization which is able to tackle the static nature of a product, widely recognized consumer demand for greater experiences and demonstrated room for improvement in experience of the house museum product, there is more indication of benefit than risk in pursuing these methods for those organizations wishing to improve visitor experience, numbers of visitors, related profits, and ultimately maintain a competitive position in the market.

Pine and Gilmore (1999) prospect a further step in the evolution of value which will extend beyond experiences, and this is the provision of transformations. To touch on the aspirations toward transformations; as the museums are not a physical or psychological service, there are limits to the levels of transformation that may be claimed and it is unlikely that these

organizations will be designated as transformation businesses. This does not rule out various forms of transformation which museums may aspire to. An alternative perspective of a culture, spurring of a new appreciation for literature, instilling a fascination with science, fostering understanding of an era, helping individuals identify with heroes or instil a sense of pride, provision of artistic inspiration, etc... These are not beyond the grasp of the museum.

This case study of a historic home may seem to benefit on a minute scale however, the issue at hand is one which not only reaches heritage sites but impacts cultural tourism on a whole and therefore of importance to the tourism industry which is the backbone of many regional economies. Sundbo's (2008) Taxonomy of Experience Production and Innovation Activities identify organizations like museums as composing the primary experience sector. Commoditization of services recognized by Morgan, Elbe, & Curiel, (2009) among other consumer culture studies means that services are ever more following the trend of experience production to maintain competitive advantage. If what museums and heritage sites have to offer is experience, and visitors perceive that that experience is lacking, how will these place-bound organizations stand against the easier and more popular choice of the pleasure providing service industry?

As Csikszentmihalyi (2003) has discovered, deeper enjoyable experiences are more fulfilling compared to pleasurable ones associated with materialism. These experiences are memorable and attend to higher needs, which from key authors like Maslow, we understand are naturally occurring in our developing society. Furthermore as these needs are higher, they are also more varied and personal. Traditional museums and historic sites are place bound and places, as related by Lorentzen (2008), are social and atmospheric areas which will collect diverse groups of individuals of often conflicting interests. The methods of effective experience production such as mass-customization are able to tackle the difficulties brought on by characteristics of the cultural product whilst placing these organizations into the contemporary leisure environment with advantage. As a final response to efforts towards creating a sharper perspective of the effective Experience Economy production and competitive advantage in cultural sites, it may even be suggested, that there is little else so appropriate.

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Title:
Waves of Innovation and Heritage Tourism Attractions

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Abstract
Iconic heritage tourist attractions typically follow a life cycle which culminates in a series of innovation waves as they seek to maintain their relevance to a contemporary audience. Heritage places arguably exist within an environment shaped by disequilibrium where public perception shifts constantly as each generation imposes their own attitudes and values on the past. The unique historic story of place offers a competitive advantage so long as it reflects the values of contemporary society and remains significant. Innovation lies within the interpretation of the story, using the inherent resources presented by place and through the meaningful triggers incorporated into the heritage experience. This research investigates the drivers, determinants and outcomes of innovation within the constraints imposed on places of historic significance. Several types of innovation are present at iconic heritage tourist attractions including paradigm innovation, product innovation, position innovation and process innovation, all of which tend to be incremental rather than radical, suggesting that time is a crucial factor. Chronological case study research at Port Arthur in Tasmania, Australia was conducted to identify the internal and external triggers which prompted each innovation wave. The chronological nature of the study enabled the temporal context to be an integral factor in the analysis of change based on social value and perception over time. The paper concludes that at heritage attractions the source of innovation lies in the internal values of place, being the aspects of the story which are memorable, meaningful and personal to the visitor.

Introduction

 This paper sets out some foundations for a theory of innovation at built heritage tourist attractions. It demonstrates the role that innovation plays in enabling built heritage tourist sites to remain sustainable in a constantly shifting market and proposes that innovation occurs in waves driven by changes in social values and meaning over time. That heritage places innovate, particularly using interpretation as a media to enhance the tourist experience, is widely accepted (Ashworth 1994; Garrod & Fyall 2000; Giaccardi & Palen 2008; Graham 2002; Halewood & Hannam 2001; Richards & Wilson 2006; Stamboulis & Skayannis 2002; Wanhill 2003). However, there has been little research about types of innovation or how it is affected by the heritage context. Additionally, the drivers and determinants for innovation in the broader tourism industry have been discussed briefly, but the factors associated with innovation in heritage tourism have not. Innovation in this study is defined as "new combinations of existing resources" (Fagerberg 2003, p. 4; Schumpeter 1939, p. 88). The paper begins with a description of the method undertaken in the study; this is followed by a literature review which incorporates a definition of the heritage product and the internal and external drivers which provide the criteria for understanding how and why innovation occurred at

specific times. This is followed by the development of a model. The paper then goes on to briefly describe the findings from the case study. In this paper the term heritage attraction refers to heritage tourist attractions.

Method

The longevity of iconic heritage attractions is evidenced by those which have attracted tourists for millennia, how they have innovated to remain relevant and significant across time is the central question of this study. This study is cross-disciplinary as it incorporates three distinct strands of literature; innovation, heritage and tourism. A review of the literature identified several theories which were applied to heritage attractions and adapted for the heritage context to identify the drivers and determinants of innovation. Mapping these drivers chronologically suggested why change occurred at specific times. Chronological case study research was carried out at a single iconic heritage site in Tasmania, Australia. The diversity of primary and secondary information enabled a qualitative analysis of innovation, based on changes in social value, to be undertaken. Sources included private and public correspondence, social commentary via newspapers and other publications; government documents; guidebooks; fiction; film media; personal correspondence; interviews and personal observation. This resulted in a model which illustrates the factors involved in innovation at heritage tourist attractions, including the catalysts for each wave of activity.

Case study research allows for an exploratory investigation where the variables are unknown due to lack of prior research in an emergent area which has hitherto not been examined (Eisenhardt 1989; Meredith 1998; Voss, Tsikriktsis & Frolich 2002; Yin 1994). Meaningful and relevant theory can be generated from understanding the phenomenon on multiple levels resulting in a contextualist analysis (Pettigrew 1990). The contextualist analysis allows innovation to be studied in the context of heritage tourist attractions across a range of interconnected levels, and across time allowing past, present and future drivers of innovation to be understood. This type of analysis explores how context is a product of action and vice versa and allows identification of the variety and mixture of causes for innovation over time, dependent on conditions and contexts (Pettigrew 1990).

Patterns of innovation were determined by examining the fluctuations between periods of activity and periods of inertia to discover the catalysts which drove change. 'History-friendly' methods of examining innovation sharpens the theoretical understanding of the key factors behind the evolution (Malerba et al. 1999), of heritage attractions in this study.

Literature Review

Innovation is important at heritage attractions because if they are to be sustainable in business terms, they need to keep pace with tourist demand, as well as forecasting probable shifts in perspective and strategising for innovation (Leask 2003). Sustainability will only be achieved if the heritage product is relevant to a contemporary audience, meaning that interpretation needs to be multi-layered and flexible enough to attract and engage with the shifting social focus over prolonged periods of time (Garrod & Fyall 2000; Giaccardi & Palen 2008; Richards & Wilson 2006; Stamboulis & Skayannis 2002). The conditions which differentiate heritage tourism enterprises from other types of tourism, distinguish it as a discrete sector. Some of the key variables of sectoral innovation depend on: characteristics; sources; the actors involved; the boundaries of the process; and the organisation of innovation (Malerba 2005 p.380). In the heritage context, the primary differentiating characteristic lies in its core attribute, as an interpretation of the past for a contemporary audience (Ashworth 1994; Graham 2002; Kirschenblatt-Gimblett 1995; Leask, Fyall & Garrod 2002; Lowenthal 1998), meaning that the basic attraction is predetermined before tourism becomes a factor, unlike purpose built tourist

attractions. Secondly, the sources of innovation are contingent on the interpretation of site specific 'raw materials' which include history and knowledge, as well as tangible relics, buildings and artefacts, and intangible myth, story, and atmosphere (Ashworth 1994; Richards & Wilson 2006). The raw materials, as objects, are largely static and inflexible but become mutable and dynamic, offering opportunity for innovation, when they are used as meaningful triggers in interpretation (DeSilvey 2006; McIntosh 1999; Pocock 2008; Wouters 2009). The actors involved in heritage tourism include a heterogeneous range of individuals and organisations from the tourism and heritage realms as well as those who specialise in conservation and preservation (Giaccardi & Palen 2008; Hjalager 2001; Maddern 2005; Pocock 2006; Richards & Wilson 2006). The boundaries created in the process of turning the raw materials into the tourist experience can either act as limitations or as opportunities. For example, history, geography, built infrastructure or social significance can limit interpretation restricting it to narrowly confined events and spaces, alternatively they can provide opportunities through new linkages or associations, leading to new interpreted experiences (Wanhill 2003). The organisation of innovation shifts depending on management responses to a range of internal and external influences (Leask, Fyall & Garrod 2002).

Heritage attractions are businesses which are valued for their uniqueness and act as a pull factor for other support industries (Gartner 1996; Tunbridge & Ashworth 1996).   They entertain, interest and educate (Leask, Fyall & Garrod 2002) and they stimulate visits motivated by their unique historic attributes (Silberberg 1994). But heritage attractions prevail in an environment shaped by disequilibrium as society is influenced by constant change, and public perception fluctuates within limits imposed by social attitudes, expectations and values constantly altering the relationship between the past and the present (Burns 2006; Kirschenblatt-Gimblett 1995; Wanhill 2003). If heritage attractions are to meet the changing demands and expectations of tourists there needs to be constant vigilance (Leask, Fyall & Garrod 2002), so that when the current interpretation becomes outdated, what is relevant and how it is interpreted can be revised (Hjalager 2001). The changing audience provides new markets for heritage attractions as each generation develops their own reflections of the past (Hall 1997; Nora 1996) and it creates opportunities for innovation including new types of interpretation, presentation and delivery (Richards & Wilson 2006).

In recent years heritage sites, have had to market themselves extensively if they are to be economically sustainable, broadening their customer base (Dewhurst & Dewhurst 2006). To provide the breadth of interpretive triggers necessary to engage an extended audience, operators have to utilise the full interpretative potential of their core assets (Poria, Butler & Airey 2003). For operators, this requires a delicate balance between maximizing the profundity inherent in the unique attributes of the heritage resource, and being comprehensive enough to engage with a less specialised audience without the negative consequences of commodification which occurs when differentiation loses its meaning (Christensen 1997). At heritage attractions, this can be the outcome of 'dumbing down' the tourist experience (Voase 2002), meaning that interpretation needs to be multiple layered to satisfy a range of tourist types. If an attraction is unable to maintain its differentiation, or if the competitive advantage inherent in its unique history becomes insignificant, then the place will cease to attract tourists and it will not survive as an attraction business (Garrod & Fyall 2000; Wanhill 2003)

Some authors consider commodification to be a threat to authenticity (Chang 1997; Pocock 2006), but when authenticity is associated with the tourist experience, rather than the objects through which the experience is created, the result is a personally authentic, customised experience (Pine & Gilmore 2007 p.13; Voase 2002). Experiences, which encompass a bundle of attributes, hold meanings which are similar in significance across all consumers, but which

are consumed in a variety of ways by different people (Holt 1995). The challenge for operators involves giving the consumer a degree of control over their own experience (Holt 1995; Prahalad & Ramaswamy 2004). The process of co-production occurs when tourists become complicit in constructing their own meaningful experience (Edensor 2001).

Heritage distinctions

Two elements, among others, which particularly distinguish heritage tourist attractions from other types of tourist enterprises, are their iconic status and the time factor. Those heritage attractions which enjoy iconic status are more likely to be sustainable over long periods because they are more difficult to duplicate (Garrod & Fyall 2000). A characteristic of attractions which have iconic status is their symbolic relationship with a range of identity categories, including national, regional, local or personal identities (Gonzalez 2007; Hollinshead 2007; Kirschenblatt-Gimblett 1998; Palmer 1998; Poria, Butler & Airey 2003). However, there are some limitations to innovative activity caused by conflicts in values and priorities, and the schism between tourism and conservation.

Time is a factor because change is difficult to recognise in the short term. External and internal events affect social perspective, and change takes place slowly as the micro-view, provided through recent memory, turns into a macro view provided through hindsight (Lowenthal 1998). A sense of the past gives current generations the ability to locate significant events, places and personalities in a temporal framework providing a historic perspective (Walsh 1992 p.153). The symbols and signs chosen to represent the past have several consequences, they reflect contemporary social values and what is currently relevant; they suggest images to solve present problems; and they help to make sense (Assmann & Czaplicka 1995; Carr 1987, p. 83; Halbwachs 1992, p. 34). Updating or rejuvenation occurs at intervals as values change and symbolic objects become more or less meaningful as time passes; for example objects of the recent past may be judged as not worth preserving until they become symbols of the remote past and gain the value of antiquity (Cappetta, Cillo & Ponti 2006; Lowenthal 1985; Lynch 1972p.42).

Product, Process, Position and Paradigm innovation opportunities

Bessant et al (2007) posit that there are several forms of innovation in services including product innovation which incorporates changes in the things which are offered; process innovation which are changes in creation or delivery; position innovation which is change in the context in which the service is produced; and paradigm innovation which are changes in the underlying mental mode about what the service firm or organisation does (Bessant & Davies 2007; Francis & Bessant 2005). Each of these innovation types can be found at heritage tourist attractions although the lines between them are fuzzy and can overlap (Voss & Zomerdijk 2007, p. 93). It is difficult to assign innovation to specific categories (Tether 2005). For example, heritage attractions are defined as "*any property that attracts the public by virtue of its explicit connection with the past*" (Garrod & Fyall 2000), which incorporates what HTAs are (a product) with what they do (a process).

For the purposes of this study, the heritage attraction product has been defined using Kotler's (Kotler et al. 2009) three level model. The interaction between the three product levels creates the process through which the tourist experience develops. The core product answers the question "what is the buyer really buying"? (Kotler et al. 2009). In this study, the core product is access to the raw materials for heritage where access can be physical, emotional, intellectual and digital. The second level is the actual product, where the raw materials which encompass the essence of the place, become the interpretive triggers, constructed by the operators of the site to be used for meaning and making sense. The actual product is multi-layered as the same

triggers are provided for all, but the experience is customised by each individual visitor. The third level is the augmented product (Kotler pg 270) which is the co-produced tourist experience. Augmentation is at the behest of each tourist, and largely within their control, depending on their personal input and their choice of connection points amongst the interpretive triggers. They bring their own prior experience, knowledge and personal interests to the co-production making the experience personally relevant and unique (Addy 2009 p.201; Voase 2002).

Gunn suggests that surrounding the product is an inviolate belt which can take various forms including physical distance, separating the nucleus from the everyday world (Gunn 1997). Outside this belt are the practical elements of the experience, including the provision of restaurants, shops, public facilities, and other services plus guide books and souvenirs which visitors are able to take home as mementoes of their experience.

Although the core, actual and augmented product levels are constant, their substance changes over time, as a response to market change or events, neither of which may be in the control of the heritage attraction. Whether or not to respond is within the control of the operators and can precipitate opportunities for innovation through new products such as the use of different raw materials or combinations thereof, leading to revitalised interpretation triggers, or new processes in their delivery, both leading to new experiences (Diller, Shedroff & Rhea 2008; Pine & Gilmore 1999). Position innovation (Bessant & Davies 2007) occurs when demand shifts, either because of generational change or due to current trends or events providing a new type of connection for the attraction. Market demand can either precipitate or culminate in the development of new interpretive triggers which augment possible interactions creating alternative experiences. Paradigm innovation occurs when the prime concern of management changes to prioritise a new strategy, for example, when conservation or preservation takes precedence rather than tourism as the primary function of a heritage attraction.

The drivers and determinants of innovation at heritage tourist attractions

Sundbo and Gallouj (2000) developed framework to describe the driving forces behind innovation in services which included internal and external factors, this framework has been adapted for the heritage context. They describe trajectories as "*ideas and logic diffused through the social system*" (Sundbo & Gallouj 2000). The first external trajectory is the institutional regulations which deal with tourism and those which are concerned with conservation and preservation. Technology is the second trajectory, which has a range of effects including physical and digital access, particularly when places are remote from large urban areas. Digital access increases the reach of heritage places to attract more diverse audiences. Technology also allows interpreters and marketers to target their prospective tourist market more directly (Nuryanti 1996) and to engage the audience by providing emotional and intellectual access through revitalised delivery channels creating interpretive triggers. The third trajectory is the service professional; specialist knowledge, methods, general knowledge and behavioural rules are provided by a diversity of individuals with expertise in a range of areas which may be site-specific. The fourth trajectory is general management, including business activities consisting of heritage, conservation and tourism concerns, for example benchmarking for sustainable best practise, or the adherence to the guidelines for acceptance as a world heritage site. The fifth trajectory is social which is critical because socially constructed values shift with each generation, including those applied to heritage places, depending on what they symbolise to a contemporary audience (Giaccardi & Palen 2008; Richards & Wilson 2006; Urry 1990).

The actors are "*persons, firms or organisations whose behaviour has importance*" (Sundbo & Gallouj 2000) for the possibility of innovation at heritage attractions. They include competitors

who vie for time, money and engagement (Richards & Wilson 2006), and who may imitate new innovations threatening their differentiation value. The second group of actors are customers or tourists who co-produce their unique experience depending on their personal expectation, prior knowledge, recollections and personal interests (Voase 2002), as well as their personal attributes, temperament and tastes (Holbrook & Hirschman 1982). They use their intellect and imagination to receive and communicate messages, and in the process they construct *"their own sense of historic places to create their individual journeys of self discovery"* (Nuryanti 1996). The third group of actors are the public sector which fund many heritage attractions and steer their future strategy, for example incorporation on UNESCO's World Heritage List may result in political sensitivity when an attraction becomes part of an international tourism system (Maddern 2005). Suppliers are the fourth group of actors who range from local operators dependent on the heritage place as an attraction for their businesses, to suppliers of new technologies which enable different forms of delivery to visitors. Tourism suppliers include networks of specialists benefitting the organisation in terms of information, status and resource advantages (Powell & Grodal 2005).

The internal forces for innovation are the main drivers and include the Management team who strategise to facilitate the shifting focus of the business as it oscillates between prioritizing conservation aims and tourism aims. Research and development, a second internal force, is multi-focussed, and carried out by a range of professionals including historians, architects and archaeologists, who may be required for research, for their engineering and design skills or within the realm of conservation. Employees and other stakeholders are also drivers for innovation as they provide expertise in their professional fields. Stakeholders are often intimately connected with historic places, and offer alternative views and tacit knowledge which enlarges the historic resource adding to the opportunities for innovation.

The Model

The following model represents the process of innovation which has been identified in this research.
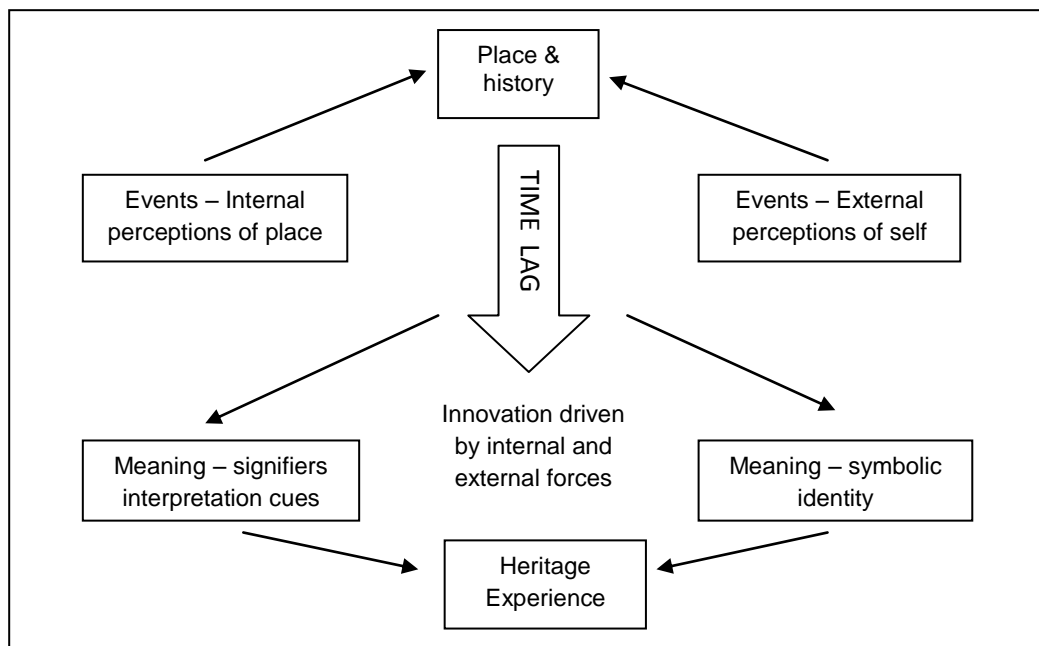
There are two types of events which act as catalysts for change; internal events cause shifts in the perception of place and what it represents affecting its presentation. External events change Australians perceptions about themselves and how their image is portrayed by history. As the events reflect on place they lay the foundations for future innovation. A time lag exists between events and their inclusion into, or omission from, the interpretation. This enables the micro view of recent history and living memory, to slowly evolve into the macro view accorded by hindsight, after which it may be incorporated into the heritage story. Once sufficient time has passed for the outcome of the events to be absorbed, internal and external forces drive innovative activity resulting in new interpretation which can either precipitate, or reflect the shifting meanings and values associated with the site. .

In order for the heritage attraction to maintain its significance, the interpretation must be meaningful. There are several types of meaning at heritage attractions which combine as a competitive advantage. The first type of meaning is signified in the attributes embodied by the place, including the raw materials, location, knowledge and use as an attraction as well as a repository of stories. The second type is in the relationship between the place and its symbolic association with identity and perspective. The third type of meaning is co-produced as the heritage tourist experience and is highly personal, created through the combination of the meaningful triggers provided by the heritage attraction and the unique attributes provided by each visitor. Meaningful triggers not only include in the choice of artefacts, but the knowledge they contain, the mode of delivery, the display and associated artefacts, all of which combine to create a meaningful dialogue between place and visitor (Hirschman 1982; Lovelock, Patterson & Walker 1998; Strange 2000; Wanhill 2003).

The Case Study

Port Arthur is a historic site, situated on a remote peninsula in southern Tasmania, surrounded on three sides by the Southern Ocean and linked to the mainland by two narrow isthmuses. Between 1830 and 1877 it was used as a British colonial penal settlement, where nature rather than walls marked its perimeter. The penal settlement reached its zenith in 1846 when 1200 convicts were imprisoned there but following the cessation of convict transportation from Britain in 1853 the numbers declined until by 1870 they numbered only 500 increasingly frail and aged men. The abandonment of Port Arthur as a penal settlement was advocated and by September 1877 the prison finally closed. Since 1877 it has been a tourist attraction, initially free of charge, but now subject to an entry fee. Port Arthur, is an iconic attraction with strong ties to the identity of the State (Richards and Wilson, 2006) as well as to the wider colonial history of Australia. In 1877, when Port Arthur was first accessible for tourism, information available in the public domain, in the form of newspaper commentaries and brochures, as well as myth and rumour, captivated the imagination of the general public. Consequently, the mass tourists who flocked to the place as soon as access was provided did so because their curiosity had been aroused and they expected an experience to satisfy their imagination through sensation, adventure and enjoyment, aided by a modicum of fantasy (Richards and Wilson, 2006, McIntosh, 1999). In 1996 Port Arthur became the location for a horrendous crime, when 35 people were murdered at or near the site by a lone gunman. In August 2010, Port Arthur was added to the UNESCO World Heritage List.

Findings

The first wave of innovation at Port Arthur started three months after the closure of the penal settlement when the first tourist excursion was arranged. Tourism was driven by Hobart-based entrepreneurs who promoted their services as new products (Djellal & Gallouj 2001). They created a tourist destination and provided access by sea to the historic site. The entrepreneurs

created a network which enabled the packaging of trip components into a single product (Djellal & Gallouj 2001). Although a visit to Port Arthur was the highlight of any excursion, the overall experience included the journey by ship, the bands playing music, the picnic on arrival and the seasickness which many suffered as well as exploring the site.

The second wave was spurred by a series of three bushfires, between 1884 and 1897 ruining the prison buildings and symbolizing reformation through the changed image. The ruined buildings effectively removed the impermanency which had been intrinsic when the Government continually attempted to sell the prison buildings (largely unsuccessfully), as building materials. The ruins were permanent, having no economic value except for tourism. After the fires, local suppliers drove innovation creating a tourist 'resort' which acted like a hub for the Tasman Peninsula from which trips to other places of interest were offered, extending the length of time people stayed and creating new products. The residential houses originally built for officers and senior appointees created a pleasant village atmosphere and provided several accommodation choices. By the end of the 19th century technology had provided road access to Port Arthur, meaning that tourists arrived throughout the summer months rather than being restricted to excursions by sea.

Social drivers for innovation stimulated the third wave including Australia's independence from Britain in 1901, after which a national identity, differentiating Australians, began to develop. This was further encouraged after the First World War when the larrikin, a maverick who rebelled against rules, and the bushman, a romantic, egalitarian figure, were joined by the 'digger', with his values of mateship, as popular stereotypes. The national identity was reflected in the stories of Port Arthur and the interpretation shifted from horror to romanticism tinged with tragedy. The vehicle for this shift was the novel, For the Term of His Natural Life by Marcus Clark (1874), and its effect on social perceptions about the convict era. Technology enabled the novel to be turned into a stage show, then into film three times. The 1926 version was made on location at Port Arthur. This story became an unofficial history, presenting visual images which appealed to a contemporary and technologically savvy market.   Position innovation targeted this new market which was motivated by seeing the location for the film as well as recreational activities and some heritage interest. The Scenic Preservation Board which was tasked with managing the ruins after 1915, their focus was not on the ruins as historic relics, but preferred to emphasise their aesthetic attributes as a backdrop to the scenic attractions of the Tasman Peninsula, initiating another paradigm shift.

The fourth wave of innovation came with a growing appreciation of the heritage values of Port Arthur both in terms of tourist revenue and recognition that history was a competitive advantage. During the period between the First and Second World War, Port Arthur symbolised longevity for Australia. In 1918 Port Arthur was proclaimed as Australia's "only bona fide ruin" (Brennan 1918), followed in 1937 by centenary celebrations for the Church and the call for its restoration (Correspondent 1937).   Between the wars, the tourist experience was recreational and local entrepreneurs supplied activities including fishing, shooting, boating, golfing and lawn tennis. Intellectual access was provided once the museum opened in 1927, including a miasma of manacles, handcuffs, farming implements, crockery, pictures, books and bells, some statuary, a little furniture and the old fire wagon. The displays were static, for observation only with artifacts displayed for their curiosity, rather than economic value, and although some had been everyday items, they were no longer in use and were valued for their heritage attributes (Wouters 2009).

Following the Second World War, the influx of non-British migrants changed the values which reflected the past for contemporary society. There was a call for the preservation of Port Arthur

and for the Government to repurchase as many historic buildings as possible. Consequently the public sector drove the fifth wave of innovation and the buildings were slowly repurchased. Many local suppliers continued to provide activities and amenities, working together through a network to deliver a comprehensive tourism product. Innovation of this type is almost invisible occurring over a long period (Abernathy & Clark 1985). The tourist experience at Port Arthur was varied, with day trips by interstate and international visitors interested in the ruins, and longer stays by intrastate tourists participating in recreational activities, many of them on camping holidays. Port Arthur was "a heritage place for tourists" (Poria, Butler & Airey 2003).

By the 1960s it became increasingly evident that the heritage of Port Arthur was its most valuable competitive advantage, and would attract more tourists than scenery. The catalyst for the sixth wave was a paradigm shift propelled by a variety of external global initiatives towards conservation culminating in the Venice Charter (1964), the formation of the Australian National Trust (1965) and the Burra Charter (1979). These institutional regulations drove the main internal business focus at Port Arthur from tourism to conservation affirmed by the Port Arthur Conservation Project (1979 – 1986). Conservation technologies became part of the interpretation of place on a par with the heritage story. Management Plans were widely debated and a strategy to attract heritage tourists rather than recreationalists was implemented. Port Arthur was becoming "a place for heritage tourists" (Poria, Butler & Airey 2003).

The seventh wave began in 1986 when an external political event meant that no more money was forthcoming from the Federal Government and the conservation project ground to a halt. Financial drivers forced the new Board (formed in 1987) to refocus on tourism in an effort to be economically sustainable. New products included concerts and spectacular events as well as public-private collaboration and sponsorship. A renewed interest in Australian identity was engendered by the Bicentennial celebrations and the interpretation shifted to positive stories about convicts, such as how they were 'craftsmen of distinction', who showed courage and strength (Sale 1990). The suggestion that Port Arthur be enclosed and an entrance fee charged had been made periodically, but economic requirements meant this became an eventuality and the prison which had once had no walls became the historic site bounded by fences.

The eighth, and current wave, began on 28 April 1996 when a lone gun man walked into the Broad Arrow Café at Port Arthur and started a killing spree which spread throughout the heritage site and local vicinity. In the end 35 people were murdered, 19 injured and many others left with mental scars which have still not healed. This was the largest mass murder by a single gunman which has ever taken place. The distance in time between the massacre and the present is too short to gauge how it will be absorbed into the interpretation; the time lag is not yet complete. Although there is a memorial garden with minimal explanation, discomfort and grief prohibits it from being incorporated into the story, leaving it unexplained and confusing for international visitors and those with no prior knowledge of the event.

In August 2010 the Port Arthur Historic Site was included, with other convict sites in Australia, on the UNESCO World Heritage List, where its values are listed as: a site of significant events (including the massacre); a rare 'prison within a prison'; a place to learn; and strong aesthetics.

Conclusion

Innovation at heritage attractions tends to be reactive, following events which create opportunities and shift contemporary social perception, providing new markets. Factual historic knowledge and the raw materials are existing resources which can be combined in multiple ways to create new meaning delivered in innovative products, processes, positions and

paradigms. If a heritage tourist attraction is to be sustainable, innovation should be an on-going strategy.

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Questioning the meaning of participation and social equality in sustainable tourism based on the experience of a community-based initiative in Mexico

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Abstract

This paper is based on a PhD research in the communities of San Juan de las Huertas (SJH) and Raíces in Mexico. The purpose of the research was to add to the understanding of sustainable tourism in rural areas by going beyond environmental issues that are conventionally viewed as the key element in sustainable tourism by delving into the social issues: participation and exclusion. To present the information and findings this paper firstly describes briefly the historical background of ejidos – a type of land ownership in Mexico that was part of the land reform process of 1910s, meaning that a group of people collectively own a property which they use in usufruct. As the paper later explains, this type of land tenure has been a determinant factor in shaping the forms and possibilities of local participation. Based on the evidence from these communities, this paper argues that it is imperative that 'participation' in tourism be questioned by analysing the who and the how. Although much is written about the importance of local participation for 'good' tourism practice, only few studies in tourism have addressed the challenges of participation. This paper takes elements of the development literature, where the issue of participation in community natural resource management has been largely discussed, to analyse participation in rural tourism, which most times also involves the management of natural resources.

Keywords: tourism, sustainability, participation, exclusion

1. Introduction

Although the concept of sustainable tourism has contributed to changing the perception of tourism, after three decades the discussion of its meaning and application continues (Sharpley and Sharpley 1997). Following this concept planners seek to work within a more holistic framework, and look more attentively at the environmental impacts of tourism while also paying attention to the role of local communities in planning and decision making. At the same time, there remains a sense that neither tourism policy nor practice has sufficiently incorporated social and cultural issues while paying attention to conservation issues (Roberts and Hall 2001). In addition, an important critique to sustainable tourism has been the lack of clarity on how to make tourism compatible with the principles of sustainable development. Thus, Mowforth and Munt (2003), conclude that sustainable tourism "is not definable except in terms of the context, control and position of those who are defining it" (Mowforth and Munt 2003:105; see also Stone and Stone 2011).

Although sustainable rural tourism has followed the rhetoric of local people's involvement and participation it has done so without explaining or questioning its meaning. The concept of 'integrated rural tourism' attempts to address sustainable rural tourism's lack of attention to local people, by arguing for strong local participation and the empowerment of local people (Oliver and Jenkins 2003; Saxena, Clarck et al. 2007; Cawley and Gillmor 2008). While this represents a step forward for the issues of participation, integrated rural tourism has also failed to explain the meaning or expectations of participation: who is going to participate, how and why. Furthermore it considers 'local people' as a unified entity, thereby failing to recognise differences in circumstances, interests and even power struggles at the local level (Agrawal and Gibson 1999; Jeanrenaud 1999). In contrast, this paper attempts to delve into the issues of participation as perceived by the local people and recognises groups and interests within a community.

Mexico has been chosen as the context for this study because of the importance of tourism to its economy (Calderón Hinojosa 2007). At the discourse level, rural tourism is praised as a tool for the diversification of rural economies (Presidencia de la República 2004), however there is little research or insight into the dynamics and processes of rural tourism, particularly from the perspective of the local people.

2.   The discussion on participation

It has been said that "for tourism development to succeed in any context... requires effective tourism planning, and effective tourism planning requires public participation" (Spencer 2010:684). However, there have been challenges to the participation of local people in resource planning and management in tourism initiatives that are based on community-based conservation. In the first place, when the decision is made by a government or organisation that an area is to be used for conservation purposes, the community's power of decision making has already been hampered. In the second place, since communities are made up of different actors with different interests and different power, questions such as what is being devolved and to whom? (De Merode 2005), how are decision-making and rights over resources actually being distributed? need to be raised. Moreover, in sustainable tourism, even though participation is also deemed vital it has largely been uncontested. It is only recently that a discussion has started to emerge of the implications of participation (or lack of it) in tourism. Local participation in tourism has mostly been seen in terms of the economic benefits that the community receives (Ashley 2000; Dyer, Aberdeen et al. 2003; Briedenhann and Wickens 2004). It has also been said that if community participation is present in a tourism project it can influence the outcome of the project; whether or not the project will be successful and to what extent (Simmons 1994; Fleischer and Felsenstein 2000; Narayan, Chambers et al. 2000; Stone and Stone 2011). At the theoretical level, participation in planning has been deemed as fundamental for the 'appropriate' practice of tourism and sustainable development (Telfer 2002). Based on the work of France (1998), Timothy (2002) suggests different types of participation in tourism from an exploitative kind of 'participation' where local people are manipulated into the agenda of other stakeholders, to self-mobilisation where the initiatives are independent and people are empowered.

Exclusion is a by-product of participation. Community-based conservation policies are in themselves a movement against exclusion. With protectionist policies people were excluded from natural areas and decision-making concerning them. In contrast, community-based conservation seeks to integrate local people once again into natural resource management (Hess 1998; Goldman 2003). However, community-based conservation is criticised for assuming homogenous communities with shared values (Layzer 2002). Assuming homogeneity can potentially mean overlooking exclusion. However, as shown by some studies, access to development resources can often be negotiated by local people on their own terms (Villarreal 1992; Cooke and Kothari 2001). Villarreal (1992), for example, based on a study made in a rural area in Mexico, describes how two groups of women (tomato labourers and beekeepers) use different resources (negotiation, struggle, compromise and manipulation) to deal with their exclusion in a 'male' environment so that they are able to gain a piece of autonomy.

In tourism, exclusion has been approached from two perspectives; firstly in relation to resource access when residents of declared reserve zones to be dedicated to tourism are expelled. These residents are not only denied access to the resources in the reserves but are also excluded from accessing any benefits from the tourism initiative itself (Brooks 2005). Agenda 21 for Tourism, adopted widely as a resolution from the General Assembly of the United Nations in 1997, for instance, states, as a priority for government departments, provision for the participation of all sectors of society; travel and tourism companies to involve staff, customers and communities in environmental issues. This includes asking for opinions on the management of tourism development and access to employment and promotional opportunities in the company. However, the document is vague as to what participation means. Further, it does not allow for the possibility of community appropriation of tourism development.

Sustainable tourism argues for the inclusion of different stakeholders and perhaps more importantly, the participation of local people (Spencer 2010; Stone and Stone 2011). Indeed, the rhetoric of sustainable tourism argues that one of the elements that make it different from 'traditional tourism' is its call for the involvement of the local people, without which sustainable tourism cannot really be sustainable.

3.   The local context

3.1 Background of ejidos

The institution of ejido refers both to a form of landed property and to the group of people who have rights to it as a collective. It was created shortly after the Mexican Revolution in 1910 when land was redistributed and given to the landless. Each ejido member, called an ejidatario, has his or her own

designated plot with rights to it determined by the Assembly of Ejidatarios (who are members of the ejido). However, it cannot be assumed that there was equality among ejidos; when land was received it was not always enough to distribute to all households (Nuijten 2004). As communities grew and land was no longer available, some landless members of the rural community became paid labourers on ejido plots rather than ejidatarios (Assies 2008).

The constitution of ejidos after the Revolution started parallel with the decrees of National Parks throughout Mexico. The first registered provision of land to the landless took place in 1913 (Esteva 1983). The action of decreeing National Parks started in 1917. As a result, there was some overlapping on the disposition of land so that some ejidos became National Parks and some parts of National Parks became ejidos. The practical implications are that communities have been using resources granted to them in the form of ejidos, and the governments have blammed the communities for using resources that had been set aside for conservation through National Park decrees.

In its original form before 1992, the ejido, even though given in usufruct to the ejidatarios, remained the property of the state and thus the national government retained some legal control over it (Jones and Ward 1998) (Nuijten 2004; Haenn 2006; Hernandez-Santos, Mora-Flores et al. 2006). In 1992, following neoliberal policies, an amendment was made to the 27th Constitutional Article that in its original form prevented any form of transaction of ejido land, i.e. land could not be rented, sold or given in guarantee. The Programa de Certificacion de Derechos Ejidales y Titulacion de Solares Urbanos (Program for the Certification of Ejido Land Rights and the Titling of Urban House Plots or PROCEDE) was instrumental in the application of the reform of the 27th article and was meant to process titles of ejido land to be given to ejidatarios all around Mexico. As stated by the government, the objective of the programme was to 'give legal certainty to land tenure through the delivery of plot certificates and/or certificates of common use rights … in favour of individuals that approve it and request it' (Procuraduria Agraria).

Although part of the ejido land was divided for individual holdings which have normally been used for agriculture, the rest, such as pastures and woodlands, have been used collectively. The ejido land held collectively constitutes approximately 77% of the total ejido in the country (Nuijten 2003; Nuijten 2004). Even after title certification, in many places these common use areas have been kept as such (Barnes 2009). This type of holding is the interest of this research, as over time part of it has become an important tourism product: National Parks.

3.2 The Nevado de Toluca National Park

The Nevado de Toluca National Park is home to 15 rural communities that are distributed across its 53,988 hectares. Settlements in the park range in size from 2 to 500 houses. The size determines the number and kind of services that can be found in each. Immediately around each settlement there are fields where there was once forest. Potato and oats are the most common crops grown, although maize can be found in the lowest-lying areas. It is also common to come across herds of cattle or flocks of sheep being herded to grazing areas.

Before the 20th Century most of the park's 53988 hectares were then divided amongst three haciendas: la Gavia, la Huerta and Tejalpa. Some hacienda workers, at first indigenous people and eventually a mixture of indigenous people and mestizos (people of indigenous and Spanish mixed blood) settled provisionally in the area surrounding the Xinantecatl Volcano until the expropriation period, which occurred from 1910 to the 1940s in this particular area. Landless workers established and registered formal settlements in order to benefit from this the expropriation and the formation of ejidos. As it has been already mentioned, the 1992 modification to the Agrarian Law through which individual member rights could be transformed into private rights does not apply to woodland, or collectively held ejido. As the majority of the Nevado Park is characterised as woodland, it will largely remain ejido land.

The Nevado Park was constituted by decree in 1936. The decree made it clear that due to the ecological importance of the area, conservation was a priority and this could not be achieved if excessive exploitation (by ejidos or individual owners) prevailed. Owners affected by the decree were given by law a period of six months to prove their ownership, after which they would receive compensation for their land. However, although the area was declared a National Park the individual land owners and ejido members were not compensated and did not leave the area. Furthermore, the Loma Alta ejido (a

Zinacantepec ejido inside the Nevado Park which owns ejido land jointly with Raíces), for example, was granted more land in August 1936, seven months after the decree. In the absence of compensation, ejidatarios and individual owners maintained their claims, but heavy restrictions were imposed on the use of resources in the Nevado Park. In consequence the Nevado de Toluca National Park was made subject to three kinds of property rules: ejido, individual and federal property.

In total there are 15 settlements inside the Nevado Park and 64 surrounding it, all of which have some claims to park resources. Within the park, two communities were chosen for detailed study on the basis of their obvious links with tourism: Raíces and SJH. Raíces is a community situated within the Nevado Park boundaries while SJH is an adjacent community. Both communities have claims to park land through their ejidos. SJH is considered to be the only community directly benefiting from tourism by means of what is referred to as the Deer Park. Raíces, although not having a direct income from tourism, it does participate in tourism in various ways. Its participation in tourism is aided by its geographical proximity to the area where most visitors arrive.

3.3 The Deer Park

The Deer Park is a tourism initiative that has gone through many phases. In 1974 the main representative of the Ejidal Comisariado in Talasa at the time, presented SEMARNAT with a proposal to breed deer in an area of the ejido near the Crater in the Nevado Park. His idea was to reintroduce the species, which had been decimated in the area and assess the possibility of the gradual introduction of other species. The proposal was accepted and an enclosed area was prepared within the boundary of the ejido in which to breed deer. At that time the state government through the Ministry of Tourism started building an inn to be managed by the government.

This same ejido representative informally met also in 1974 met a federal government official in the Nevado Park. According to the ejido representative´s account, the government representative asked him who the area belonged to, and the former replied that it was part of the ejido of SJH. The government representative suggested that it would be a good project to build accommodation, a lodge, for visitors to the site. He offered to get the workers and building material. The lodge was finished in 1975. At that time the ejido representative set up a park admission booth. From then on while the inn was administered by the government, the lodge and the admission booth were administered by the ejido. In time and through the instances of the ejido the administration of the inn was handed over to the ejido.

Vargas Marquez (1997) reports this as an arrangement between the National Commission of Works in Natural Parks (CONOPAN) and the SJH ejido. Nevertheless, the Deer Park was not initiated as a formal development project. There was no explicit goal, purpose or expected outcome. It rather had a spontaneous beginning that originated from an informal conversation between a government official and the main representative of the ejido.

Two main sources of income were expected from this tourism initiative: the entrance fee to the park and the two accommodation buildings – the inn and the lodge. The first was a secure source of income, as there is only one road to the Crater, which is the main attraction in the Nevado Park: the road first crosses the Deer Park and those wishing to visit the Crater are already a captive market for the Deer Park. Records kept by CEPANAF since 1992 show that the number of visitors increased every year until 1995 when it reached its peak at 54,152. Since 1996 numbers have fluctuated between 27,698 and 19,311. These records are taken at the Crater, the highest point of the Nevado Park. Thus it can be assumed that most of these visitors went through, and possibly spent some time in, the Deer Park.

It would be more complicated to secure the second source of income. Visitors had to be convinced that it was worth spending two or three days or even longer. As Stone and Stone (2011:100) point out "for poor people to benefit, tourists must stay in or near to these communities" or tourism initiatives. It was thus necessary for the accommodation to be comfortable and for the Deer Park's managers to show that it had enough activities or attractions to offer. This has not been the case. A study made around 2000 suggests that most visitors stay only a few hours on average because of the poor quality of services and infrastructure (CEPANAF, Biocenosis et al. undated). The same study found that the visitors were from nearby cities or municipalities, reducing the possibility of desiring or needing to stay in the park.

4.   Methodology

In the Nevado de Toluca National Park information was sought on local organisations, and especially the ejidos, to provide insight into community participation. The two chosen communities were assessed as being especially relevant in a study of tourism. Raíces was selected because its geographical location allows interaction with the tourism activity and awareness of its development. SJH was selected because its ejido manages the Deer Park, where most tourism activity in the Nevado Park takes place.

The research techniques used were: mapping, structured and semi-structured interviews, key informants and informal conversations.

The first exercise undertaken in Raíces was the preparation of a map; this provided a basis for household selection. Although a mapping exercise was also attempted in SJH it proved a challenging task as this community is considerably larger than Raíces (i.e. 11835 versus 571 inhabitants), which made it difficult to identify individual households. However, a map of the community was obtained from the community representative's office and this served as a starting point for both household selection and getting to know the community.

In Raíces, through the mapping exercise, 133 households were identified. A number was assigned to each house on the map and a sample of 33 was drawn using a table of random numbers. Once the houses were selected the interviews were conducted. Interviews were undertaken with any adult of 16 years and above present at the time of the visit. Data included information on household size, the ages of household members, income sources, specific assets (with an emphasis on ejido land) and links to tourism. At this level information was gathered regarding issues of participation, exclusion, access to resources, information and services related to tourism. Despite the fact that interviews were conducted at different times of day it was mostly women who were found at home. As a result only 30 per cent of the interviewees were males.

The sampling technique used in SJH reflected the fact that the administration of the Deer Park is in the hands of the ejidatarios or ejido members. Therefore two samples of respondents were selected, one comprising ejido members and the other non-ejidatarios. This made it possible to compare their perceptions of the Deer Park, tourism in the park and how they saw themselves benefiting from the park and its visitors. For ejido members a list was obtained from the Ejidal Comisariado in SJH with a total of 415 ejidatarios from which a random sample of 24 was drawn.

For non-ejido members, using the map acquired from the community representative's office, a systematic sample of 20 houses was taken using housing blocks as the units of the sample. In each block, the house located in the same position was selected (the fourth door on the south side of the block, counting from east to west). If no household member agreed to participate, or if there was an ejidatario in the household, the next house was selected, and so on until a willing person was found.

Two key informants were interviewed in Raíces. The first was the manager of the Nevado Park, appointed by CEPANAF, and lived in Raíces. He was interviewed regarding the sort of businesses operating in the area in support of the tourism activity; the ownership of such businesses and the number and origin of the workers; and he was asked for an evaluation of tourism and the park and the effects of tourism on community development. Another key informant was the president of the Ejidal Comisariado. He gave information regarding the ejido, its composition, its main problems, his perception of access to resources and other ejido-related issues. A particular feature of this community regarding the ejido is that it shares the ejido land with another community, Loma Alta, and only the president of the Comisariado lives in Raíces.

In SJH the President of the Ejidal Comisariado at the time that the Deer Park was created was an additional key informant. His input proved fundamental because no records had been kept regarding the creation of the Deer Park and there was no other documentation. He was the only source of information concerning the origins of the park, and the information that he provided could only be partly cross-checked with information provided by other ejido members.

Views and perceptions regarding community issues and tourism were also gathered through informal talks with groups of people or individuals.

5.   The Deer Park - An exclusive initiative?

The 1926 decree that granted the woodland given to SJH as part of the ejido where the Deer Park is located mentioned that it was to be exploited in common or for the common benefit. The term *common* could give the idea that *everybody* (or anybody) was to benefit from it. Yet, as the land in question is ejido land it is claimed that only those belonging to the ejido (i.e. those who have ejido land and are recognised as ejidatarios by the Ejidal Assembly) and by extension their immediate families can directly benefit from its exploitation. In 1926 this was not an issue as *all* 'able' males in the community were granted land and recognised as ejidatarios. As years went by and land became scarce more inhabitants became non-ejidatarios.

The management of the Deer Park was allocated to the SJH ejido ruling out the participation of non-ejidatarios in its management and decision-making. By the time the Deer Park was established, 56% of the employed population worked in farming-related activities (Dirección General Estadística 1973). Consequently potentially only 56% of the employed population might have been included as beneficiaries of any tourism investment.[16] This made de Deer Park an exclusive initiative. However, as local participation in sustainable rural tourism remains undefined, it raises the question: Are there other forms of participation that might enrich the understanding of sustainable rural tourism?

5.1 Participation and exclusion

The management and decision-making power over the Deer Park is mostly effected through the ejido representatives, the Ejidal Comisariado. Counting the three members of the Comisariado, 15 (3% of ejidatarios) people are receiving an income from tourism by watching the gate, selling food or managing the park. The Ejidal Comisariado members do not receive an income *per se* but they use the park income for the expenses they incur representing the ejido. A narrow view of participation would consider these the only stakeholders. A broader view presents a very different picture with many other stakeholders involved.

Although non-ejidatarios are prevented by law from involving directly in ejido matters, it was claimed by past and present Ejidal Comisariado members that through the years part of the revenue from the ejido, including revenues from the Deer Park, have been used for the benefit of the community through different public works. As expressed in tourism and rural development policies, and even by the local people themselves, one of the main purposes of the involvement of local people is that they have additional sources of income or economic benefits more generally, then it could be asked, is the sharing of benefits a type of involvement? According to 20% of the non-ejidatarios this does not mean involvement. A possible reason may be that participation is not being offered to them as a choice. For the type of initiative, they have been excluded from the beginning.

Raíces could be considered more involved in tourism than SJH as a community, despite not being part of the formal tourism initiative. Indeed, Raíces was left out of the tourism initiative both as a community and as an ejido, yet Raíces community members perceive themselves as participating in tourism in different ways. For example, the area of the Nevado Park that surrounds the crater is managed by CEPANAF, and the person directly in charge, appointed by CEPANAF, is from Raíces. Six other people from Raíces also work there, in addition to watchmen and entrance fee collectors. In the area of the crater there are two small buildings that together can accommodate eight visitors. These are also managed by CEPANAF and maintained and cleaned by people from Raíces. Others also participate in tourism by selling food and goods on the road to the Deer Park and the Crater. Although until recently they were allowed to sell in the Deer Park, now it is not possible. But in Raíces itself there are permanent shops principally aimed at satisfying the needs of the local people but they partly benefit from tourism because tourists often stop there to purchase drinks or snacks for the day. At least 30% of Raíces respondents mentioned that during the winter months, particularly on frosty days, they set up provisional stands to sell food and drinks because '*thousands of visitors are expected'*. These occasions

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16 This percentage includes those who worked the land but were not ejidatarios, such as sons of ejidatarios or the landless who worked for others or rented land, and therefore the actual percentage is probably lower than this.

mean extra income for the community. For the rest of the year tourists are expected only at weekends, and at least two people set up provisional establishments on Saturdays and Sundays.

Other forms of participation in tourism do not necessarily involve economic benefit, nevertheless they may be 'of great value to the community' (Stone and Stone 2011). Respondents believe that they are also participating when they give directions, assist tourists with their needs or simply have short conversations with them. People in Raíces feel proud of living there and take pride in letting other people know it and share in the experience. All these forms of participation are at individual or household level, but Raíces as a community has contact with tourists and its community members are hospitable. In contrast, most non-ejidatarios, and even ejidatarios, in SJH don't have this relationship and opportunity for interaction with visitors. In the case of Raíces the interaction is possible due to its privileged geographical location in the Nevado Park.

Community members in SJH and Raíces also take part in tourism in other ways. This is connected to the relationship between local people and the Nevado Park, which is historical. For example in SJH there seems to be a tradition of going to the Deer Park and the Crater at least once a year, mostly during the Easter, Christmas and New Year holidays. This is a tradition shared by both ejidatarios and non-ejidatarios. Seventy five percent of the non-ejidatarios and 72% ejidatarios mentioned having taken part in this tradition. The Nevado Park and the Deer Park are thus a source of pride for local people. In this context, local people in SJH and Raíces are also not simply host communities but in some circumstances consider themselves to be tourists visiting the recognised local attractions.

6. Conclusions

This article has shown that local people have their own ideas about what participation means. As it has been shown, they perceive that they are participating in tourism in different ways which may not necessarily include their involvement in decision-making or gaining economic benefit (Stone and Stone 2011). The Deer Park is officially managed by the SJH ejido, however various members of Raíces have managed to find a way to participate in this tourism initiative. Some sell food to visitors, others participate by interacting with them, for example by giving them directions or looking after their vehicles, helping them when their cars break down or joining a search party when a visitor gets lost. In SJH non-ejidatarios participate arguably by sharing in the benefits of the community works that have been made with the revenues from the ejido.

Participation can acquire many shapes and shades; this needs to be fully explored in sustainable tourism research. Sustainable rural tourism cannot go on calling for 'the participation of the local people' without explicitly stating who the local people are, who engages with whom, in what circumstances and with what expectations. All of these questions need to be considered in the local context, as sustainable tourism projects need to be planned, managed and analysed 'on an individual basis' (Stone and Stone 2011:111; see also Mowforth and Munt 2003) . Only then can sustainable tourism make a real contribution to local development.

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IV International Critical Tourism Studies (CTS) Conference
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Phronetic Tourism Planning Research:
Reflections on critically engaged tourism planning research and practice

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INTRODUCTION

This paper explores the messy world of tourism policy and planning research in practice and the entanglements of the researcher as both an academic and agent of change in phronetic tourism planning research. Inspired by the Aristotelian notion of phronesis and the influential contemporary treatment of the concept by Bent Flyvbjerg (2001, 2004), the paper reflects on a case study of tourism planning and policy development at the local level. The paper explores the roles of the researcher situated within and contributing to tourism planning research and practice.

Discussions of phronesis within the tourism literature are not new. Both Tribe (2002) and Jamal (2004) have introduced the concept and variously argue for its inclusion in tourism education. Tribe (2002, p. 322), building upon readings of Schon's (1983) reflective practitioner, argues for a 'knowing–in-tourism-ethical-action' wherein 'reflection and action are integrated where people act for the good of tourism societies'. Jamal (2004) argues that Tribe's argumentation does not go far enough, and that further examination of the ethical underpinnings that are dynamically enacted in phronesis and practice is needed. Building upon Tribe's work, Jamal examines the context of ethical tourism action, phronesis and the good life in sustainable tourism. While both these works provide important lines of inquiry that highlight the value of phronesis in pedagogy and curriculum, interest in the concept has not gained any meaningful momentum in tourism studies despite considerable attention in business and management studies. In particular, this paper argues that phronesis research also illuminates the complex and messy social world (see Law, 2004) of tourism planning and policy research and how good judgments are made in difficult situations (Maguire, 1997). Phronesis research offers the possibility of moving beyond the preoccupation of the critical turn with "discursive, cultural and symbolic realms" (Bianchi, 2009) by undertaking research that addresses the gap between research and practice.

In exploring the case study of tourism planning and policy presented in this paper, the literature on phronetic planning research provides a critical lens. The need for 'deep' research approaches

that engage in the practical work of planning and policy has been well argued in the literature (e.g., Flyvbjerg, 2001; Healey, 2007; Peck, 2000; Sandercock, 2003). The challenge is not simply to find a better form of engagement between research and practice, but to better understand, share knowledge and provide practical guidance on some of the deeper challenges of contemporary policy making. For Peck (2000), these challenges include the ideological power of neoliberalism and globalisation, for which we need "deep, engaged and incisive research as opposed to shallow superficial and sweeping" meta-narratives. Such research can help to highlight extra-local rule system and assist local communities respond in thoughtful and locally meaningful ways and enables the researcher to exercise Aristotle's notion of a good life – a life characterised by acting virtuously for the good of the community.

WHAT IS PHRONESIS?

Phronesis has been the subject of increasing attention in a range of fields subject to contemporary moral and practical challenges such as bioethics, education, medicine, politics, planning and business studies (Maguire, 1997). The origin of the concept of phronesis is derived from Aristotle's Nicomachean Ethics (Stanford Encyclopedia of Philosophy, 2010). Aristotle's original work discussed the contributions of scientific knowledge (*episteme*) and technical knowledge (*techne*), arguing that neither was sufficient to determine good actions in a particular context (see Flyvbjerg, 2001). For Aristotle, phronesis, a form of practical wisdom or prudence, was necessary. In Aristotle's view, phronesis required actors to draw not only from *episteme* and *techne*, but also from maturity and experience, to determine actions that were good and virtuous. These good and virtuous actions by actors living the good life can be neither codified or universalised (Abizadeh, 2002). For many contemporary researchers, phronesis provides a lens to explore how actors make complex practical judgements in complex political settings. They are sufficiently wise to seek a 'middle way' that equates to good action (Abizadeh, 2002). This middle way is not so much about avoiding problems, as it is about recognising one's positionality and those of others within the particular setting and applying *in situ* judgement based on intellectual and moral judgement. McIntyre (1999 in Fowers, 2003, p. 416) explains that good judgement involves:

> [a] chain of reasoning whose first premises concern the human good, whose intermediate steps specify what virtues require, if the human good is to be achieved, and whose conclusion is the action that is good and best for us to perform here and now.

The resultant 'good life' of actors is one that is characterised by active and virtuous public engagement in local contexts. According to Flyvbjerg (2001, p.2), phronesis "goes beyond analytical science based knowledge and involves judgements and decisions made in the manner of a virtuoso social and political actor".

For Flyvbjerg, phronesis is a powerful concept that has the potential to move the social sciences beyond the unproductive mudslinging of the Science Wars. Flyvbjerg, drawing at length from Hubert Dreyfus and Pierre Bourdieu, argues that "a theory that makes possible explanation and prediction [as scientific research seeks to do] requires that the concrete context of everyday

human activity be excluded, but this very exclusion of context makes explanation and prediction impossible" (2001, p.40). For social science to matter, the question of balancing the instrumental rationality inherent in scientific approaches with the values-based rationality required for taking action *in situ* is a key challenge to be addressed.

Flyvbjerg's contribution to the phronesis debate is to include issues of power (2001, p. 3). Flyvbjerg notes that Aristotle's argumentation for phronesis does not include considerations of power yet the phronetic researcher 'knows enough about power to understand that progress is often complex, ephemeral, and hard-won, and that set-backs are an inevitable part of planning' (p. 291). This observation resonates with calls from within tourism studies for greater scrutiny on power and the governmentalities that characterise tourism (e.g., Bianchi, 2009; Bramwell, 2006; Bramwell & Lane, 2006; Hall & Jenkins, 1995). Power determines what can be done, how, and by whom. Consequently, practical wisdom can only be exercised in the context of these understandings of power. For planners and policy researchers and practitioners, institutional and governmental contexts provide a powerful context requiring the researcher to understand not only "who governs", but also "what government rationalities are at work" (Flyvbjerg 2004 p.293). In this context, an important focus for phronetic researchers is to analyse power and how it plays out in very contextualised ways.

HOW CAN PHRONESIS BE APPLIED IN TOURISM PLANNING RESEARCH?

Phronetic planning research focuses on practical activity and practical knowledge in everyday situations. Phronesis as a research approach interrogates what is happening empirically. Its contribution is to explore and understand the forces at work in an episode of tourism planning, and through this, uncover the work of tourism planners and those involved in practice. Flyvbjerg (2004) poses four value rational questions that should guide research:

1. Where are we going?
2. Who gains and who looses, and by what mechanisms of power?
3. Is this development desirable?
4. What, is anything, should we do about it?

In this phronetic research, the researcher ascribes no particular 'truth' or value to the participants, problems or factors encountered at the outset, and over time, the task is to understand the role and significance played by a single episode of planning practice within the broader contextual relations that exist. Nietzsche (1966) called phonetic researchers "free spirits"; these are researchers who are independent of prejudices and embedded in the project of uncovering an objective truth. Being a free spirit is a "prerogative of the strong" (Nietzsche 1966, p. 30), because as Flyvbjerg (2004, p. 297) explains, these free spirits deliberately expose themselves to the case study, local power relations, and the "positive and negative effects from engaging in their surroundings". They derive intense learning benefits from immersion and involvement in local political dialogue, but do not identify with the stakeholders as action researchers and anthropologists might do (Flyvbjerg, 2004, p. 294).

In the field of tourism planning, phronetic research attempts to let go of *a priori* understandings

and taken for granted 'truths' about tourism that dominate ways of thinking. For example, the notion that tourism, if appropriately managed, brings positive economic, social and environmental benefits that outweigh costs tends to be a strong a priori belief that underpins much tourism planning practice. Accordingly to Flyvbjerg (2004, p. 296) however, "only by relaxing and distancing ourselves from our a priori assumptions about [tourism] planning will we be able as scholars to make our contribution to progress in planning". In the above example then, the researcher remains value neutral about the promise of tourism and open to alternative values-based rationalities that might frame tourism as a risk to, for example, community or environmental values.

APPROACH AND METHODS

Flyvbjerg (2001, 2004) identifies a number of key characteristics of contemporary phronetic planning research, which build upon the critical turn in the policy sciences more generally (e.g., Marinetto, 2006). These include:

Phronetic research is driven more by issues and less by method

Phronetic planning research distinguishes itself from the research methods of the natural sciences and which are driven by predetermined method (although questions of method are relevant and do play a role in the research process). Instead, phronetic research is problem driven, and is underpinned by the idea that methods cannot be prescribed *a priori* without detailed knowledge of the problem. The primary rationale for phronetic research is to arrive at research that effectively answers the above four values-based questions raised by Flyvbjerg (2004) as the basis of action. Accordingly, the connections between the research process, identification of the problem and good actions must be assembled *in situ* and accommodate the political dynamics at play.

The concept of *method assemblage* articulated by Law (2004) is pertinent here. Method assemblage is best understood as a process through which information and understandings are collected and collated to produce a "crafting of relations that shape, separate and mediate an object in-here, its relevant context out-there... Specifically, method assemblage becomes the crafting or bundling of relations or hinterland into three parts: (a) whatever is in-here or present; (b) whatever is absent but is also *manifest* in its absence, and (c) whatever is absent but is *Other*" (Law, 2004, p. 84).

Phronetic research is embedded in contexts

Phronetic research rejects grand narratives and values understandings generated from specific historically and culturally embedded contexts. Flyvbjerg (2001, 2006) argues for a focus on case studies and the minutiae and emphasises the need to ask little questions, rather than focusing on big problems. Valuable knowledge is uncovered from the patience exercised in piecing together small details from a vast accumulation of primary and secondary data and source materials, and from being and acting within the community. In this line of thinking, noted anthropologist Clifford Geertz (1990) asserts that focusing on the reverse – on big

problems by generalising the minutiae – makes it very difficult for us to understand difference and inhibits insights into what good action might be in a particular circumstance. In other words, generalisation can lead to meta-narratives that do not assist in detailed understanding nor help to produce guidance on what to do in specific cases.

Phronetic research focuses on the values-based rationality of actors

Phronetic research helps to identify good actions by balancing the instrumental rationality and scientific 'truths' inherent in traditional positivistic planning approaches with maturity, expertise, reflection, creativeness and moral wisdom. This process produces a type of rationality that is value driven and inevitably reflects the moral position of the researcher. This focus prompts the phronetic researcher to ask questions about rational and universally grounded values, like "tourism provided economic benefits to local communities" that often provide the underpinning value for the preparation of a tourism plan. The researcher becomes aware that there are alternative and equally legitimate values. For instance, an equally valid value-driven rationality might come from local storeowners who might argue "I don't really care if our customers are tourists or residents, just so long as they continue to buy from our stores'. In this example then, good actions are not necessarily about developing tourist visitation, but to take steps to ensure a robust local business environment from a holistic perspective. In this manner, phronetic researchers distance themselves from dominant models of tourism planning (i.e., market models of tourism planning that focus on visitor growth, expenditure and capital investment) and seek to identify and consider alternative values. According to Flyvbjerg (2004, p. 291), phronetic researchers seek to "ensure that [their attitudes are] not based on idiosyncratic morality or personal preferences, but on a common view among a specific reference group to which the planning researcher belong".

Phronetic research acknowledges power

Phronetic researchers seek to understand notions of power and the outcomes of power relations. In its simplest form, the phronetic researcher seeks to understand who governs and by what mechanisms of power (Flyvbjerg, 2002). However, postmodern and post-structural scholars have unleashed new ways of examining power by raising questions about the intangible, invisible and unintentional dimensions of power embedded in the ensemble of institutions, apparatus, procedures and actions that govern society (Marinetto, 2006). Foucault (1991) in particular, draws attention to the fact that power is a multidimensional concept and that the state is one actor within a wider set of power relations that operate to govern a population. Phronetic researchers, according to Flyvbjerg (2004), attempt to make sense of the ambiguities and subtleties of power relations within a particular case study setting, and are acutely aware of the interplay of global-local influences and power vested in present, absent and other actors.

Phronetic research jumps in and gets close

Tourism planning and policy development is a form of intervention. Those engaged in tourism planning, whether it be market planning, infrastructure planning or organisational planning, seek to implement change that will steer tourism development in certain directions. At a local

level, jumping in and getting close, engaging with the minutiae of the way stakeholders employ values-based rationality provide the phronetic researcher with the necessary grounding to identify and select good actions. For example, in exploring the values-based rationality of stakeholders in a tourism destination, a phronetic researcher will be able to evaluate whether certain policy actions are likely to be accepted or rejected, and perhaps more importantly, how they will be performed in everyday practices in the future.

Having identified the characteristics of phronetic research above, the next section presents reflections on a case study in which this approach was adopted.

A LOCAL TOURISM PLANNING AND POLICY CASE STUDY

The Scenic Rim Region is strategically located approximately one hour's drive south-west of Brisbane, the State capital of Queensland, and one hour west of Gold Coast City, Australia. Brisbane and the Gold Coast are the two of the three largest destinations in Queensland based on visitor numbers, nights and expenditure indicators. As a result of State-wide amalgamation processes in 2008, the Scenic Rim Regional Council was created out of the former Boonah and Beaudesert Shires and part of Ipswich City. The Scenic Rim region has long been considered the agricultural production zone and rural hinterland of the Brisbane metropolitan region. Whilst its image was stigmatised as a result of lower than average socio-economic indicators for the local population, in recent years it has become a popular destination for retirement and semi-retirement amenity migration. The region includes World Heritage Rainforests and a spectacular scenic landscape characterised by a rim of extinct volcanic peaks and ridges. These landscapes provide a range of active and passive recreation experiences for the metropolitan area of Brisbane. The Scenic Rim Region also has a growing agri-tourism product base, which is supplemented by ecotourism and nature based tourism pursuits, and an increasing variety of arts and cultural attractions, food and wine experiences.

In 2009, after the appointment of a new tourism officer, the Council's Development Services division undertook to prepare a regional tourism strategy. Prior to amalgamation, there were three 'official' local tourism organisations and a number of place-based and product-based associations representing the diverse tourism interests within the region. The amalgamation and acquisition of a new name for the local government area (although the name had been coined by early settlers some 150 years before) stimulated interest in developing a new destination brand for the region with the hope of distancing the region from its traditional stigmatised image. Council officers believed the region had considerable potential to become a regional destination of choice for the growing population of South East Queensland and Northern New South Wales. The increased size and diversity of the product as a result of amalgamation was a valuable asset in this new project. Developing the region principally as a short break destination on the doorstep of the fastest growing metropolitan region in Australia and to support local economic development appeared a logical step forward.

The Researcher as Tourism Planning Practitioner

As a result of an invitation by the tourism officer to tender for project, I became involved in the preparation of the tourism strategy. The original proposal submitted to Council outlined a framework and a process to prepare the strategy that can best be described as a rational comprehensive approach with some added data collection features to ensure that the activity could be classified as 'research' within the university context (see Figure 1). These additional features included an online survey, semi-structured interviews with key internal and external stakeholders and focus groups around key issues and associated with key milestones in the process.

Figure 1 – Framework for the preparation of the tourism strategy
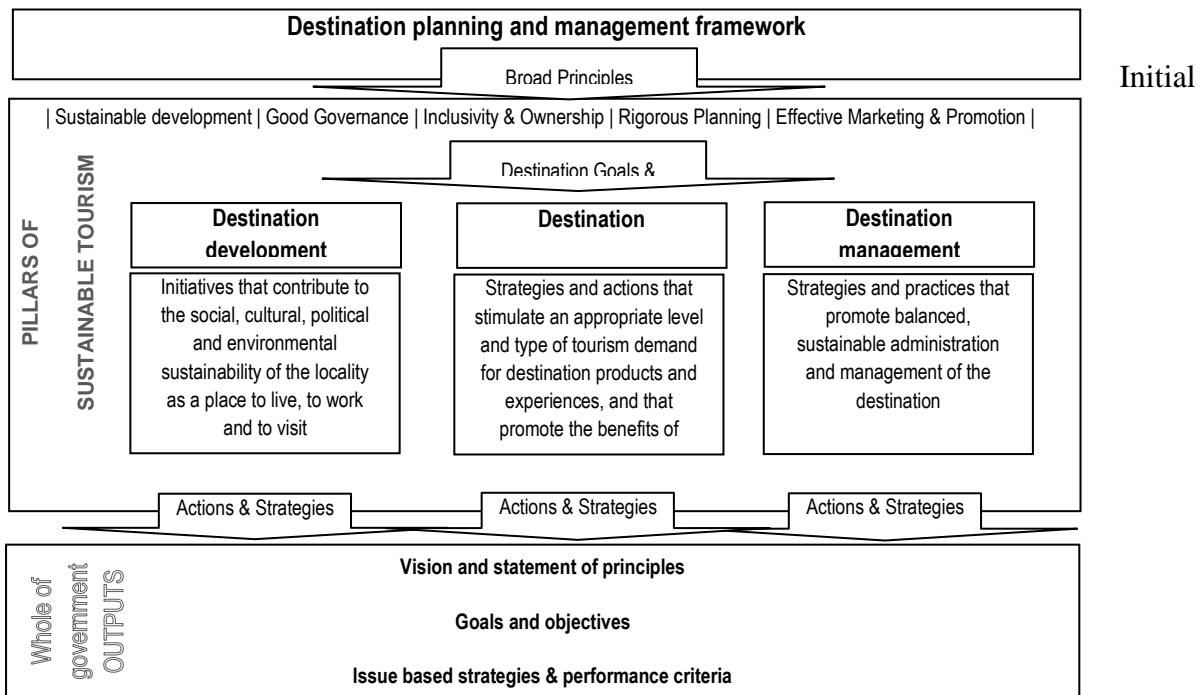
feedback received from Council was that the framework was clear and aligned closely with the values and process that they wished to pursue within the new strategy. It was clear that the articulation of a clear 'rational scientific approach' was of value to the council officers who were, in the end, accountable back to the elected representatives, and subject to the broader rules of public expenditure. The recent local government amalgamation had left embedded tensions in the local community, and had resulted in each of the three key local tourism organisations claiming to be the legitimate voice representing the majority or most important tourism interests in the newly created local government area.

However, what followed was a range of public engagement and consultation activities and data collection tasks that snowballed as issues and problems emerged. Data collection was not an end in itself, but became a means to engage with and develop trust and respect within the local community; to discuss immediate concerns and bring and share alternative perspectives to stakeholders grappling with uncertain economic conditions and local political tensions and uncertainties. As Flyvbjerg (2004) described, as the researcher, I was exposed to the positive and negative effects of the case study setting, drawing immense learnings but also witnessing

the harsh realities of the global financial crisis, deeply embedded political tensions and interpersonal competition.

The method-driven proposal rapidly gave way to a practical and problem-driven process aimed at managing stakeholder relationships and expectations. The complexity of the problems and issues faced in the region meant that identifying the problems and making sense of them from the perspectives of stakeholders quickly became a priority. Moreover, I was intensely aware that the strategy could not simply be a static object. The strategy needed to be accepted, adopted and performed in the hearts and minds of the stakeholders in their daily practices in order to make a difference. In other words, the performativity of the strategy into the future was a central consideration in how the preparation of the strategy took place.

The data and information sources accumulated at the end of the process included:

- An extensive range of population, economic and tourism visitation data, reports and research conducted at local, regional, state and national levels.
- An extensive consultation exercise involving an online survey (167 responses), face-to-face and telephone interviews with over 90 tourism businesses, operators and industry representatives and focus group meetings.
- Participant observation notes and data collected from discussions with the Stakeholder Reference Group (SRG), Council's Tourism Advisory Committee (TAC) and elected representatives.
- 230 visitor information centre surveys.
- An extensive audit of existing and proposed tourism product.
- Analysis of 28 plans, policies and related documents produced at regional and state levels within implications for tourism in the Scenic Rim region.
- An extensive bank of hard copy and email correspondence, draft reports and deleted report sections.

What could not be collected and collated with any 'scientific' rigour but which were crucial in the building deep understanding were reflections on relationships, power relations and the value rational discourses of the actors involved in the process. Moreover, at times actors' value-based rationality was not clearly evident but was cloaked in emotive terminology and/or passive resistance, for example, making it difficult to capture 'data' in the traditional manner.

It also took considerable time, experience and embeddedness to establish within the particular setting a deep understanding of the present voices, the identification of the interests that were identified as being absent (and why these interests and not others were raised), and *Other* interests that were invisible, i.e., not present nor registered as absent. In particular, from time to time, communications were received from interested community members wishing to engage in a broad discussion about whether tourism was desirable or not in their community, but the singular process of preparing a tourism strategy did not provide a opportunity for such debate since there was already an *a priori* assumption that tourism could produce benefits. In fact, the strategy was being prepared within the Economic Development Section of Council's Development Services. In this sense, the institutional setting produced an ensemble of

structures, processes, values and discourses that reproduced a dominant form of governmentality that promoted tourism as a tool for economic and social growth. It was deemed by council officers that the concerns of these actors were best handled within the preparation of the Community Plan, another council strategy that was being prepared simultaneously. Here, aspects of Foucault's description of governmentality resonated – the council apparatus functioned to promote certain pro-growth discourses of tourism which could easily be usurped into a wider discourse about local government's role in servicing local communities, and by corollary, promoting social and economic benefits of tourism as tool for social engineering.

DISCUSSION

After 14 months in preparation, the strategy was adopted by Council in April 2011. The Strategy's expressed intention is to be a living document to guide the development of an innovative, viable and sustainable tourism activity that is consistent with community values and aspirations (Dredge, Ford, & Whitford, 2011). It was intended that the strategy be owned by the local community, by the tourism industry and by government and that it reflect the intrinsic natural, social and cultural values of the Scenic Rim. It acknowledged the importance of local communities and sought to identify a range of strategies and actions that contribute to a strong and vibrant future for tourism within a global context. The strategy also sought to be responsive to changing conditions, local needs and issues and to embody a shared vision that lives within the minds and actions of the stakeholders and agencies involved in tourism.

That said, there is a significant gap between the strategy, being the expressed intentions of the Council to steer tourism in the region over the next five years, and what the preparation of the strategy achieved and will achieve into the future. The strategy document itself belies the significance of the phronetic research process. Retuning to Flyvbjerg's original questions that drive phronetic planning research, the following summary provides a simplified account of the deep insights and reflections generated from the research process. The objective in outlining these observations is not to provide a decisive summary (which would only contradict the objectives of phronesis as a dynamic, creative and enduring project), but to illustrate the way in which scientific rationality and *a priori* understandings become entangled and infused with *in situ* insights and political understanding to produce what appears to be an instrumental objective-rational strategy.

Where are we going?

The strategy sets out 18 objectives and 57 concrete action divided amongst the three key areas of council activity/intervention identified in Figure 1: (1) destination product development; (2) destination marketing; and (3) industry development/destination management. In preparing the final strategy document, in articulating and prioritising actions, the balance between these three key areas was carefully considered. It was important to ensure that council had the necessary resources, political power and industry support to implement the actions. Good actions, that were nevertheless outside the immediate authority of that particular section of council, that were beyond the capacities of council to address, or for which there were no resources or widespread support, were not included. The point was reiterated several times by council

officers that the Strategy would be evaluated, and there was no point in including actions or items that could not be directly actioned from within the economic development section. In other words, the governmental rationalities associated with council structures and processes worked to prioritise some issues and make others invisible.

For example, persistent concerns about the environmental damage of tourism and carrying capacity of sensitive locations were raised. The Economic Development section did not have the capacity or expertise to deal with these issues nor did they have the authority or power to implement actions to manage such problems even if identified in the strategy. As a result, the treatment of the issues required sensitivity: Stakeholders expected recognition of the problems they raised, the strategy's credibility rested on being a comprehensive and fair account of the issues and challenges, and if they were not identified they would become invisible in the future. The solution was to formally identify the issues in consultation summaries and product audits, however actions to address these concerns were not listed in the final document. That said, this did not mean the potential for good actions was lost. The issues, which were supported by survey data, were raised in one-to-one meetings with tourism officers and environmental officers in other sections of Council and some stakeholders galvanised a collective interest in environmental issues. The awareness building activities around these issues may result in advocacy and action by these stakeholders in the future. In this scenario, my political and social role as a phronetic researcher was to highlight and make actors aware of invisible issues, to communicate these issues while being mindful to present data or knowledge in a manner meaningful to the actor, and to build an appreciation that might change actors' information sharing, advocacy and decision making behaviour in the future.

In answering the question "where are we going", another dominant theme was the interplay between the Council officers' desire to generate a creative, innovate and locally driven strategy and the long established centralist discourse generated at the State level. Upon her appointment and prior to the commissioning of the Tourism Strategy, the tourism officer had adopted an unconventional but highly innovative and creative initiative to develop a high quality image bank, aspirational brochure and other branding collateral. The move drew skepticism from the State and regional tourism organisations because branding and marketing expertise had traditionally been understood to reside at these higher levels and not at the local level. The quick delivery of high quality branding collateral was intended to invoke in industry a sense of belonging and useful tools while the strategy was being prepared, however state and regional scepticism (which turned out to be unfounded) only served to unsettle local stakeholder confidence. In this situation, I was independent of the long established discourse that had positioned local government as a small and inexpert partner in the development of the State tourism industry. The tensions that developed needed to be managed within the Tourism Strategy so that each stakeholder could feel their roles and authority had not been adversely affected. To achieve this, the balance of the tourism strategy's actions was focused on destination product development and industry development/management. Strong innovative branding and marketing initiatives had already been established which now had their own life, and it was thought that too much emphasis on these issues would only serve to propagate tension.

Who gains and who looses, and by what mechanisms of power?

The Tourism Strategy was prepared on behalf of the Scenic Rim Regional Council and its actions were firmly embedded within the statutory roles and responsibilities of local government. On this basis, the community of residents and business were clearly articulated as the benefactors of a mindful, competitive and sustainable tourism industry. The oft-cited rhetoric that tourism is a tool for economic and social development was used to position this strategy from the outset. The institutional setting and organisational objectives in which the tourism strategy was developed dictated this rhetoric be adopted. To do otherwise would be risky and good actions contained within might be thrown out unwittingly. So, who really emerged as the winners and loosers?

There were winners that remain invisible but yet whose support has long-term implications for the performativity of the plan. Some of the local tourism industry organisations were winners in unexpected ways. The State, influenced by neoliberal new public management ideologies, offered incentives to help local tourism organisations amalgamate following local government amalgamation processes in 2008. The announcement of this incentive program shortly after the strategy was commissioned led to a heightening of local political conflict within the region. Strong place based networks had developed in the region for over a hundred years and the local tourism organisations reflected this sense of belongingness. Tensions erupted between the local tourism organisations, between the state and local stakeholders and there was a lack of trust in whether the strategy would recommend amalgamation. In dealing with this conflict early in the process, it was decided that there was no good reason for amalgamation and that the Strategy's position would be to foster a networked approach to industry structure but that it should be driven by industry itself. In effect this development meant that local tourism organisations had some assurances going into the development of the Strategy, and that the Council had effectively positioned itself as acting in local, not state, interests. Additionally, the council officers and the researcher also gained considerable insights into the management of local political tensions and the personal skills and communication strategies required.

Is this development desirable?

In an overarching sense there was never any question that tourism growth development was not desirable in the Scenic Rim. The question was how should tourism grow, in what directions and what strategies should be employed. To a large extent, the institutional setting dictated the overall direction of the plan but not its detailed strategies. Here nuances start to emerge in what is desirable now and at some time in the future. To illustrate, an important reoccurring issue was the management of the visitor information centres (VICs). The Council managed the VICs under different arrangements; they were staffed differently; and there were service quality and consistency issues. However, VICs are predominantly staffed by volunteers and the management of this workforce could be jeopardised by confronting the issues 'head on' in the Strategy. As a result, a decision was made to excise the findings and recommendations relating to the VIC services in the final report and to tackle this issue separately. This decision provided the opportunity for greater level of engagement and sensitivity in the management of the volunteer workforce. Here, phronetic research revealed that while governmental rationalities are

at play and that these might dictate broad outcomes and the positioning of a planning outcome such as a tourism strategy, there are still many nuanced decisions to be made about what is desirable. Moreover, the phronetic researcher is in a position to evaluate the consequences of these decisions on the stakeholders likely to be affected.

What, is anything, should we do about it?

While this question has, to some extent, been addressed within the previous reflections and examples, two overarching comments can be made. First, and demonstrated by the above example relating to VICs, through reflection and evaluation of the stakeholders' positionality, the phronetic researcher has considerably capacity to help make good decisions that steer intervention and avoid unnecessary and unintended problems. Second, phronetic researchers have the opportunity to evaluate the local implications of large scale social and politics shifts derived from powerful ideological forces and to assist in making good decisions that mediate the impacts of this change. As discussed above, in this case study, I was able to identify and understand the genesis of State-local tension by reverting back to previous work on prevailing discourses (e.g., see Dredge, 2001, 2005; Dredge & Jenkins, 2003).

CONCLUSIONS

Retuning to the aim of this paper, which was to examine the entanglements of the researcher as both an academic and an agent of change within the particular tourism planning context, three key conclusions are drawn.

The Plan as a Rhetorical Device

The end result is a tourism strategy that was identified as one of the best strategy documents the council had seen prepared (Council communication, April 2011). Yet the strategy document itself is an object derived from a project that involved the application of practical values-based rationality that went well beyond what might be contained in literature as rational technical planning solutions derived from Aristotle's notion of *episteme*. Practical value-based rationality was cultivated throughout the process and practiced by both council officers and the researcher. A small but important example of this cultivation of value rationality was evident in the compilation of the final document, which included some sections but others were removed in anticipation of the response from stakeholders. This level of praxis cannot be derived from theory or principles contained in literature, but are dependent on context specific judgement.

Virtuosity involves Managing Multiplicity

Flyvbjerg (2004, p.2) suggests that the phronetic research goes beyond science-based knowledge and involves judgements and decisions made in the manner of a virtuoso social and political actor. In this case study, I was acutely aware of my role as a social and political actor, however an important point of clarification on Flyvbjerg's claim is warranted. The nature of the phronetic researcher's power is also key in what they can achieve. The development of the tourism strategy necessarily involved producing a singular, narrative view of tourism in the Scenic Rim and its development into the future. The multiplicity of stakeholders' interests

were, to some extent, made invisible through a series of mechanisms (e.g. individual names are not allowed to be used or acknowledged in council documents, summarising and tabularising information, etc). However, the research, through deep and engaging research practice, uncovered multiple realities, perspectives, interests and meanings that influenced understandings and interpretations of what are good actions. Inevitably however, the plan folded the uncertain and conflicting nature of local tourism politics into what might appear a stable document that separates out and deals with objects separately such as product development, marketing and stakeholder management (see strategy development framework in Figure 1). In this process, wider notions of community were made invisible. The result is a document that makes the management of local tourism appears much more straightforward than it really is and that makes invisible deep tensions between state and local government objectives, and also local place-based political tensions. The plan also positions the Scenic Rim Tourism Strategy 'out-there', but gives less weight to the 'in-there' internal management of local political and organisational life. That said, the plan is to be enacted, and the knowledge and insights developed throughout the phronesis research process, and the sharing of that knowledge with stakeholders including council officers, will inevitably have an impact upon the constellations of practice that will occur into the future.

A final reflection

This paper originally set out to explore the messy world of tourism policy and planning research in practice and the entanglements of the researcher as both an academic and agent of change in one episode of tourism planning in practice. However, as the development of the ideas in this paper took hold, it became increasingly evident that I was touching upon deep tensions in ontological politics and that, as a researcher *and* a practitioner, I was deeply entangled in these tensions. On one hand, as a researcher, my work has been heavily invested in the Aristotelian project of phronesis, and its postmodern interpretations advanced by advocates including Geertz (1990), Flyvbjerg (2001, 2004), and others. I remained convinced that a deep interpretive approach to studying tourism planning and policy revealed understandings and insights into the ideological power and ramifications of globalisation, neoliberalism, extra-local rule systems and new public management that are not revealed by adopting scientific method to explore a predetermined problem (Dredge, Jenkins, & Whitford, 2011).

At the same time, the phronetic research approach, and the opportunity to engage in identifying good actions based on deep, embedded, interpretive research in this case study reinforced that two enterprises are indeed at play. Phronesis provides an alluring, insightful and humanistic framework for research that can penetrate unique issues and problems in very contextualised settings. However, in practice, the certainty associated with scientific rationality remains a powerful driver for research. Moving beyond these ontological tensions, and drawing from the strengths and contributions of each, seems sensible. However, in order to do this, the ever-widening gap between critical policy and planning research and the utilitarian needs of practice needs to be addressed. As Peck (2001, p.257) points out, the risk is that under the prevailing performance-driven research quality assessment exercises in many countries, there will be those who seek to play safe (and stay 'pure') by 'avoiding policy work and steering clear of other

forms of active engagement' that don't earn academic credits. Clearly, a withdrawal of academics from active engagement in tourism policy and planning is undesirable. The phronetic research undertaken in this case study suggests that it is possible to develop a fluid, reflexive, creative, meaningful and purposive relationship between scientific rationality of plan making and phronetic research but that this mode of research is time consuming, physically exhausting and presents various challenges for project management and negotiating academic workload. Despite these challenges the potential for learning is enormous and further reflection on the value of phronetic planning and policy research is warranted.

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Cultural Events as a Catalyst for Increased Cultural Understanding and 'Attitude Change'

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Type of presentation: Powerpoint presentation plus workshop in the form of a pilot study to test proposed methodological process.

The postmodern tourist is a creature under scrutiny; the tourism industry one of increasing importance in the globalized society in which we live. Whereas in the past the tourist could go about his or her own business at ease, taking the well-deserved leisurely break from the drudgery of the nine-to-five day job, whether it be a beach holiday or a culturally inspired break, these days the tourist is constantly having to question their activities. The onset of the concept of the carbon footprint and the ideals of 'ethical tourism' are just two areas that have forced the tourist to seek moral justification for what was previously a mere pleasure-seeking occasion. An element of these moral justifications and one which is becoming more recognized within the field of tourism studies is that of tourism and attitude change (see for example Pizam et al. (1991), Nyaupane et al. (2008)). MacCannell (1992) argues that the motivation of all tourists lies in their desire to seek out the authentic; the paradoxical situation is such that once anything is 'experienced' or 'touched' then it instantly loses its authenticity (Taylor, 2001), which suggests that tourists will never truly discover the authentic cultures that they crave. However, there is no doubt that some experiences are more authentic than others and this research suggests that these are the ones which potentially act as catalysts for greater inter-cultural understanding and attitude change towards the host community. These experiences often come in the form of 'cultural events'. Through thorough research and investigation into their characteristics, a case study event is chosen that is as authentic to the host culture as possible. Primary research is then conducted in a 'two-phase' (Pol and Pak, 1994) methodological process to discover how much the event experience altered the tourists' cultural understanding and their attitude towards the host community.

Overview

This paper forms part of a larger on-going project which seeks to understand how 'cultural events' can be catalysts for increased cultural understanding and better intercultural relations. The very nature of the paper being one 'in progress' suggests that it will be difficult to reach any solid conclusions and therefore it is by nature 'exploratory' both in terms of secondary data and potential methodological techniques to be applied in the primary research stage.   In order to discover whether 'cultural events' at a destination serve to increase cultural understanding through increased cultural exchange, the post-modern 'tourist' is utilised as the avenue by which this cultural exchange takes place and therefore the study falls within the academic sphere of 'tourism studies', along with those of anthropology, cultural studies and event studies. The outcome of the research hopes to contribute something of relevance to all of these areas. To this end, some main themes which are covered in greater depth in the final study, shall be

investigated in this paper, namely – intercultural communication, and tourism in relation to this field, cultural events and the commodification of tourism, and the 'authenticity debate'. The discussion of these themes will provide the research with a contextual framework and considerations of appropriate methodologies will then unfold.

The stance that shall be taken in relation to cultural studies is that culture is made up of several elements and that "the system of interconnections between all aspects of social life plays a more important part in the transmission of culture than any one of those aspects considered separately" (Levi-Strauss, 1963 p. 358). Without all of the ingredients of *social structure*, a culture cannot be fully understood, and these ingredients are what could be considered 'webs of significance' (Geertz 1979), the ingredients being the **economic, technical, political, legal, aesthetic** and **religious** aspects of a society or community (Levi-Strauss, 1963). This point is re-iterated by Edward Bruner (1986) who recognizes that culture is normally placed within the spheres of art and ritual, but actually it is "radically plural" (p.25) and symbolic in **all** domains. Tylor (cited by Geertz, 1979) stated that 'man became man' through the ability to transmit **knowledge, belief, law, morals** and **customs,** and it is these five facets that can be said to represent what makes up a culture and so, if one is to fully understand any community's culture, they must look at the knowledge, belief, law, morals and customs of a community in relation to their position within the economic, technical, political, legal, aesthetic and religious social structure. This model shall be used in the final project when discussing potential case studies for use in the primary research stage, but for the purpose of this paper, the views of Hofstede (cited by Jandt, 2007) shall be considered. Hofstede classifies the elements of culture in more simplistic terms as **Symbols**, which refer to verbal and nonverbal language, **Rituals**, which are the essential collective activities within a culture, **Values**, which are feelings within a culture about what is good or bad, beautiful or ugly, normal or abnormal, and **Heroes** or the people who act as role models within a culture and it is the former three of these that will form the structure for discussions surrounding the themes of the research.

Symbols - (verbal and non-verbal communication).

Geertz (1979) infers that the interpretations of cultures are rooted in signs or symbols and that anything that is used to "impose meaning upon experience" (p.45) is a cultural symbol and these are ultimately what make up our lives. Therefore it can be said that culture "…denotes an historically transmitted pattern of meanings embodied in symbols… by means of which men communicate, perpetuate and develop their knowledge about and attitudes towards life" (Geertz, 1979, p. 89).   The "imposition of meaning upon experience" to which Geertz refers can be said to manifest itself in the tourist industry.   However, globalisation and commodification of cultures has arguably led to a situation whereby "the signs which invoke the idea of travel are … mass produced by the culture industry" (Galani-Moutafi, 2000, p.216). One school of thought suggests that this situation has led to a greater divide of cultures and deeper 'ethnocentrism', where there arises a "social construction of visited cultures as exotic, primitive, sensual, servile and…dependant on tourists for advancement and modernization" (Canton and Santos, 2008, pg. 8) and thus a large disparity occurs between tourist-generating and tourist-receiving societies, which in turn potentially acts as a barrier to effective intercultural communication. As stated by Neulip (2009), "high levels of ethnocentrism are

dysfunctional with respect to intercultural communication" (p.174).   Much of this process which can be termed as the (re)formation of ideologies and occurs through mostly non-verbal signs or symbols, in what is commonly referred to in academic literature as tourism 'discourse' (Pritchard and Jaworski, 2005).

"Tourism discourse contributes to the formation and maintenance of Western discourse about the rest of the world" (Canton and Santos, 2008, pg. 8) and exposure to these types of representations helps to shape people's perceptions of host cultures and destinations.   The discourse that Canton and Santos refer to come in the form of promotional media, guidebooks, and   travel programmes and the theoretical background for their argument derives from dominant ideologies through history such as the post-colonialism which marginalizes 'the other'.   This in effect means that before they even start off on their journey, the tourist has preconceived ideas about the culture they are visiting and it can therefore be argued that they will not be open to learn about the true nature of where they are visiting and its people.   This is re-iterated by Heidegger (1962) and subsequently Steiner and Reisinger (2004) who refer to the aforementioned discourse as 'idle talk' which they say is the "lifeblood of the tourist industry" (p.124).   Therefore whether cultural events serve to enhance the cultural awareness / understanding of the tourist will be to some extent dependant on how exposed to this type of discourse they may be and to what extent they take heed of it, i.e. what the tourist's **preconceptions** are.

On the other hand, there is an argument that recognises the potential benefit that can be derived from inter-cultural communications within tourism. Intercultural communication has been by Neuliep (2009) as "when a minimum of two persons from different cultures or micro-cultures come together and exchange verbal and non-verbal symbols" (pg. 21). The benefits have been described within the social psychological 'contact theory', which was originally put forward by Allport as early as 1954 (cited in Pizam et al. 1991), and can be summarised as follows: "…inter-group contact will lead to a change in mutual attitudes…and…contact between individuals from diverse groups … [therefore] enhances understanding and acceptance" (p.47). This is the premise on which the research moves forward, the assumption being that tourist and host interactions are the "inter-group contact" referred to by Allport.

The more conventional forms of inter-cultural communication are broken down by theorists (Nueliep 2009, Jandt 2007, Brislin 2000) into verbal and non-verbal forms; the non-verbal category is further segregated into kinesics (body language), proxemics (use of personal space), chronemics (use of time), paralanguage (sobs, whistles, ums and ahs), olfactics (use of smell), haptics (use of touch), clothing and physical appearance and silence. Much of the theory relating to intercultural communication and be transferred to tourism experiences and the ways in which tourists 'receive' different cultures. However, research in the area of intercultural communication in relation to tourism is limited and within the tourism literature the views of Bruner (1991) are invariably taken, that tourists "only spend a few days or weeks in any one locality and then move so rapidly that there is little opportunity for sustained interaction with local people" (p. 242). There are a handful of academics that have recognised the power of tourism to encourage greater intercultural understanding (see for example Pizam et al. (1991), Anastasopoulos (1992), Nyaupane et al. (2008)) but more often than not their case study groups

have been students as opposed to tourists and their focus has been on 'attitude change' as opposed to increased cultural understanding. Other relevant studies have been centred around 'culture shock' in tourism (see for example Pearce, 1995, Hottola, 2004), the main argument being that tourists immediately experience a sense of shock when they arrive at their location and only over time does this develop into any form of host-guest relation. There are only a handful of studies, however, that discuss tourism in direct relation to cross-cultural communication and understanding. One of these is Steiner and Reisinger's (2004) study "Enriching the Tourist and Host Intercultural Experience by Reconceptualising Communication", their view being opposed to the traditional theory of communication's role as the achievement of common ground, conformity and consensus between cultures and more accepting of the Heideggerian (1962) theory that 'communication' within tourism should be interpreted more as the *acceptance* of *cultural differences*.

Ritual – (the essential collective activities within a culture)

Ritual, ceremony and performance form a major part of a community's culture and have become for many a reason for travel. These rituals, ceremonies and performances have, through a process of modernisation been relabelled 'cultural events' (Getz, 2008).   Cultural events are essentially displays of cultures and therefore an intensified means of transmitting messages regarding that culture onto its audience; they are therefore arguably forms of *non-verbal communication*, as they demonstrate the use of kinesics, proxemics, chronemics and haptics as well as displaying certain physical appearances particular to that culture. However, modern theorists on intercultural communication, as inferred in the previous section, do not include rituals, ceremonies and cultural performances in their classification of non-verbal communication. One has to delve deeper, into the realms anthropogenesis (the scientific study of the origin and development of humans) to find a similar approach; Stockman (1985), for example, believes that ritual activity (out of which most authentic cultural events have grown) are a means of communication and that human beings have developed a sense of "aesthetic competency" (p.17) which she defines as "an ability or disposition for emotive acquisition of the aesthetic value systems of a group or society" (Stockman, 1985, p. 17).

What messages these cultural events transmit to the tourist will depend on certain factors such as *who* is performing it and for *what purpose*? This is all tied up with the notion of authenticity, for surely if the true values of a culture are to be transmitted, then the event should be authentic to that culture? It has been widely recognized that the extent of authenticity will depend on not only the 'viewer' but also the presented interpretation of the displays (McIntosh and Prentice, 1999), whether these are museum displays or cultural performances. McIntosh and Prentice go on to argue that in many societies these representations are conveyed 'formally' as opposed to organically and they are conveyed by 'professionals' who thereby mix pastness and presentness in a process which Lowenthal (1985) refers to as "creative anachronism" (changing the past to suit one's own ends).   Increasingly then, through a process of *post*-modernisation the original rituals and ceremonies that were so important to a community's culture are becoming commoditised 'cultures on display' (Stanley, 1998) and it has been said that they are in this process losing a sense of their true and original meaning.   Taylor goes so far as to say "the moment that culture is defined as an object of tourism, or segmented and detached from its

indigenous sphere, its aura of authenticity is reduced" (Taylor, 2001, p.15).   In other words, some truly 'authentic' events that are not staged for the tourists' eye and remain unchanged and sacred to their communities (e.g. pueblo corn dances, as discussed by Laxson, 1991) do emit their cultural values to any on-lookers but in a *subconscious* fashion which is not driven by commercial value, whereas at the other end of the scale cultural events are often designed to consciously present certain elements of a culture ('front-stage' elements, as referred to by Connell (2007)) especially for tourists whilst preserving the truly authentic 'back-stage' elements. They communicate their culture through a series of sign-values in a very *conscious* fashion, but it is questionable whether the tourist is actually gaining a true understanding of the culture, its *real* values.

Cole (2007) recognizes that for some communities the commodification of culture can be dis-empowering but emphasizes that in others it can be a political instrument in the construction of their identity.   In other words either 'cultural erosion' or 'cultural involution' occurs (Shepherd, 2002). Some examples of cultural erosion whereby the 'cultural capital' (Bourdieu, 1984) of a community has been harnessed and reproduced as a tourism product are Lunenburg, Nova Scotia, Canada (George and Reid, 2005), Amboseli National Park, Kenya (Van der Duim et. al, 2005),   Mayan communities, (Medina, 2003), and Yakel Village, Tanna, Vanuatu, (Connell, 2007).   Cultural involution, on the other hand, has been described by Xie (2003) as "the concept that tourism can inject new meanings into current cultures" (p.6). In an interesting study that highlights both the benefits and disadvantages of the commoditization of an area's culture Xie focuses on the dance performances that take place in Hainan, China and the ways in which these have, over the years, changed from being born out of mourning for the dead to themed for tourists as reflection of a 'new society'. Lacy and Douglas (2002) also conclude, in their study of Basque tourism, that the "touristic commodification of Basque identity" (pg. 17) is neither intrinsically negative *or* positive, but is extraordinarily complex and highly sensitive to economic and political influences. Their particularly insightful view is that all aspects of Basque culture, whether they be authentic in the traditional sense of the term or cosmopolitan in their modernity (for example the Guggenheim Museum) add up to form the identity of the area and that the anthropology of tourism serves to provide direct insight into the formation and modification of the area's cultural identities.   It is seemingly difficult for academics to find the middle ground, but there is arguably always the 'third way', and in this context neither the term cultural 'erosion' or cultural 'involution' applies; a more appropriate term would be cultural *evolution*.

In selection if an appropriate case study for the research, all of the above should be taken into consideration. The challenge is to select a cultural event that displays as much of the authentic culture of that region as possible and one which ultimately stages the event not for the tourist spectator but for the indigenous community from which it has grown - the cultural event chosen should be as "naturally, culturally and spiritually unspoilt" (Taylor, 2001, p.10) as possible. This way a true picture of whether the cultural event serves to enhance the cultural awareness of the on-looker can be gauged. In selection and discussion of the appropriate case study, all the aspects of social structure and culture as presented in the introduction should be taken into consideration to give an holistic picture of the history of the event and which aspects of the

culture it reflects. Within this process it is generally recognised that a culture *evolves* and therefore that tourism will inevitably have or have had an affect on the culture of the region, but the overarching aim is to find a cultural event that has been as little affected by these changes as possible.

Values (feelings about what is good or bad, beautiful or ugly, normal or abnormal within a culture)

"Cultural ideas (thoughts, beliefs and values) are expressed and communicated symbolically …and those properties of culture that seem most distinctive of it and most important are its values" (George and Reid, 2005, p. 101)

As suggested in the above quotation, the values of a culture are what matters the most in any form of cross-cultural communication and they are also what distinguishes one culture from another. These values, however, can only be transmitted to on-lookers effectively if they are open to receiving them. When looking at the cultural tourism product and the projection of cultural values as a form of non-verbal intercultural communication, the extent to which the host destination wishes their 'audience', 'participants' or 'spectators' to understand the values of their culture will be evident in the ways in which they present or 'stage' their ceremonies, rituals and 'events'. Central both to the communication of these values and to the experiences of the tourist is an understanding of the notion of 'authenticity'. Whereas there are many studies that focus on the authenticity of the tourist product (as discussed above), Selstad (2007) points out that "the primacy of tourist experiences in tourist research is not self-evident" (p.20) and that "exploring what tourists think and do will …add new dimensions to the study of tourism" (p.31). This study aims to take this stance but in order to analyse tourist experiences, some background on the 'authenticity of experience' and how this relates to the postmodern tourist must be analysed.

Getz (2008), when writing on 'event tourism' suggests that "experiences should be conceptualized and studied in terms of three inter-related dimensions:" (p.415) people's behaviour (conative), their emotions, moods or attitudes (affective), and their awareness, perception and understanding (cognitive). This study is concerned mostly with the latter of these dimensions but it should be said that any change in cultural awareness and understanding is intrinsically tied up with how authentic the individual perceives their experience to be. Steiner and Reisinger (2004) argue that *any* experience can be considered authentic as it is being experienced for the first time and from an individual's perspective.   Wang (1999) continues in this vein by introducing the notion of 'existential authenticity' where the tourist actually feels a part of the experience and a process of "touristic communitas" occurs where the tourist is likened to the pilgrim, in that they are "looking for the centre that is endowed with most sacred values and charged with high emotions" (1999, p. 364) and where they are not concerned with the obligatory tasks of everyday life. In this situation, structures fall apart, roles and status disappear and it is relatively easy to make new friends, which also, it could be said, paves the way to greater inter-cultural understanding. In this state, "everyone becomes the same" (Getz, 2008, p.414) and therefore the tourist potentially experiences what it is truly like to be part of another culture, fostering greater inter-cultural understanding. This theory derives

from the anthropological concept of 'liminality' and can be particularly applicable when talking about events such as carnivals or festivals. It has also been recognised by Crouch et al. (2001) in their discussion on 'Tourist Encounters' which they see as a sensual complex process where the tourist mingles with other people, shares a story and shares 'body-space' and where they are "not detached from the signs and symbols [that make up the industry, but semi-detached" (p.262). This research takes on board the fact that authenticity is a constantly changing phenomenon and chooses to focus on what the tourist *perceives* to be their own authentic experience, whether this be existential through actual participation or more objective through a spectator's role (Olsen, 2002). Xie (2003) sums up the postmodern argument in the following quotation: "authenticity is relative rather than absolute and, like beauty, is in the eye of the beholder" (p.5).   It is ultimately down to the individual tourist, their **motivations, interest** and **quest for knowledge** to interpret these cultures and their forms of communication and therefore these are some of the pieces of information regarding the individual that will need to be ascertained during the methodological process.

Considerations of Appropriate Methodologies

The above discussions provide the contextual framework for the primary research.   The objectives that will fulfil the main aim of the research to discover whether cultural events can act as catalysts for better intercultural understanding can be broken down as follows:

- To discover the motivations of the tourists that attend the event (and subsequently classify them accordingly)
- To investigate what the tourists' level of understanding of the culture they are visiting *prior* to attending the event
- To examine whether the tourist feels they have a deeper understanding of the host culture *following* attendance at the cultural event
    - Do they feel like they had an 'authentic experience?'
    - Do they feel that they understand a certain aspect of the culture of the region more due to attendance at the event
- To analyse how any greater understanding achieved e.g. through tourism discourse, 'touristic communitas', follow-up research, interpretative signs or symbols at the event or through direct communication with participants and/or organisers.

With regard to methodologies on cross-cultural research in the tourism context, Kay (2004) poses the question "where and when should the research of cultural event tourists … be undertaken: for example, at home in their country of origin; at the destination; before and after attendance at the event; on-site at one cultural event or across several cultural events?" (p. 200). In answer to this question, one must consider the views of Pol and Pak (1994) who introduced a "two-stage" survey method as a valid approach to event study research. Their argument was that in this situation, "respondents are either in a hurry to leave the event or they are actually in the process of experiencing the event…[and]... the interview environment is contaminated by other people" (p.316). Therefore, they argue, detailed information cannot be acquired on-site, but a short survey can be carried out which is then followed up by a more in-depth interview when the tourist returns home. This technique is supported by the view of Selstad (2007) who considers that "the tourist is in a constant state of transition, both through movement and

experience... Learning is accomplished once the experience has been completed" (Selstad, 2007, p. 28) - Therefore, what the tourist has learnt about the culture of the community which they visited should be ascertained following, not during their visit.

A variation on this theme is required for the current research for a number of reasons. Many cultural events take place over a series of days and therefore it can be argued that qualitative on-site interviewing over the whole duration would give more valid results than the quantitative survey approach as described above, which was used for a short-duration sporting event. The advantages to the use of qualitative survey design in tourist settings are summarised by Phillimore and Goodson (2004) who state that it places "emphasis on understanding the world from the perspective of its participants, and should view social life as being a result of interaction and interpretations" (p. 4). The second stage of the two-stage method has its advantages as described above, but the counter-argument to this is that much of the detail regarding the tourist experience can be forgotten by the time this the tourist returns home. To overcome this problem, the use of photographic images shall be utilised to prompt memories of activities within the case study cultural event; as stated by Haldrup and Larsen (2006) "photographs … prompt memory stories that would not have been prompted without the photographic objects" p.284.

The survey which is to be carried out on site will take the form of a series of qualitative unstructured interviews with broad themes that will ascertain both motivations of the tourist and an understanding of the level of cultural understanding or knowledge of the tourist *prior* to the event, and subsequently what they feel they have gained in terms of their experience of the event itself; whether attendance at the event has made any difference to their cultural understanding either through direct communication or through a process of non-verbal messages and whether they feel a level of cultural exchange has been gained due to their attendance. The results of the motivational aspects of this survey will lead to the formation of a cultural tourist typology, based upon the work of McKercher (2002) and McKercher and Du Cros (2003) and this, alongside the level of cultural understanding of the region which will be analysed in terms of the cultural aspects as described by Geertz (1973) in the Overview section.   At the end of the on-site interviews, the respondent will be asked whether they are prepared to take part in a follow-up discussion forum when they return home. This will form part two of the 'two-stage' method.

This discussion forum will take place on the social networking site 'Facebook' based upon the data collected in the first stage and will seek to discover whether the tourist has any greater level of cultural understanding following their visit.   The use of on-line survey methods is considered for many reasons, some of which have been summed up by Litvin and Kar (2001): "'E-surveying' is an obvious extension of traditional data collection methods, offering researchers the potential to reach… respondents in a potentially efficient and cost-effective manner" (p.308).   Other advantages to this technique which are relevant to the study in hand are that it can gain a response 'around the clock', is environmentally friendly and provides the opportunity for more complex research design (Weible and Wallace, 1998, cited in Litvin and Kar, 2001). The latter of these advantages is most poignant to the research undertaken for several reasons as it is the intention of the researcher to carry out the survey over an extended

period of time and to use photographic images to prompt responses. The use of Facebook will enable both researcher and respondents to paste their photographic images on-line so that discussions can be formed on what tourists have gained from their experiences. Writing on photographic images as a research tool in relation to tourism is limited, but it is useful to take into account the views of Haldrup and Larsen (2006) who state that "in much literature, the camerawork of tourists are too easily and too quickly seen as passive, superficial and disembodied, a discursively prefigured activity of 'quotation'" (Haldrup and Larsen, 2006, pg. 282), that is the photographer is not seen as an active element in the relation of experience. The truth is that the tourist as photographer is potentially ethnologist, depending of course on what happens to the photographs following their trip. Robinson and Picard also site some relevant points when reviewing Faulkner's book, stating that 'the camera is seen as a technology able to transport some essence of a place into another without losing its material authenticity' (Robinson and Picard, cited in Faulkner, 2010, p. 11). They consider the tourist photograph to be a 'trans-materialisation' of a place – an effect that is reinforced rather than diminished by distance.

Summary

The main themes and issues that relate to the larger research project have been covered to a level that encourages the reader to consider new avenues of academic thought surrounding culture, tourism and events. The methodologies that have been mooted seem to be 'best fit' for the research in hand. All that now remains is to select very carefully a case study event that fits all the criteria for valid, meaningful and transferable research outcomes. This will be done with careful consideration of the facets of social structure and of culture put forward in the Overview section and with recognition of the authenticity debate as outlined in the main text. It remains to be seen how the tourists that take part in the research respond and whether their experiences are gained through verbal and/or non-verbal forms of communication, how much of this communication is conscious and how much is subconscious, and whether or not it is gained through tourism discourse or through 'real-life' intercultural communication. What may be discovered is that the form of intercultural communication that is most effective is that of 'silence', which would reinforces the Heideggerian theory of intercultural communication as acceptance of cultural difference. It is likely that any cultural events that are truly authentic to the area are therefore staged purely for the communities in which they take place and have only grown organically to include 'foreign' spectators and/or participants through a process of cultural evolution, would prefer that this be the case, as intimated by a interviewee of Laxson (1991) in her study of North American Indian pueblos:

"Life in general is a mystery. In the ceremonies, as in life's journey, there is a mystery beyond every door. We request the outsider to sit and watch and just experience the event, and in time they will come to understand it" (Laxson, 1991, pg. 389).

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Place brands: moving from the marketing approach to the public relations perspective

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Introduction

Places around the world are undergoing a period of increasing competitiveness. Strategic brand planning has become necessary, and the process is usually led by political administrations, which not only focus on tourism, but also on the social and economic development of the place. One of the main steps should be to build a prior consensus between all stakeholders, as WTO suggests (WTO, 2009). This kind of consultation is a typical task for public relations, so the relationship between place branding, tourism and PR should be deeper, as some experts have already highlighted (L'Etang, 2006, 2007; Huertas, 2008; Fernández Cavia, 2009).

From a critical perspective, the management of a destination's image or reputation is not a task related to marketing, but to public relations, for two main reasons:

- from a strategic point of view, PR is crucial in including a wide range of key stakeholders in the brand development process;
- from an operational point of view, PR techniques are prevalent in the tourism industry.

To demonstrate that the importance of public relations in the destination branding is not yet fully understood we will use the results of an on-going research conducted by a team of thirteen diverse experts. The research project is called "New strategies for advertising and promotion of Spanish tourism brands on the web"[17], funded by the Spanish Ministry of Science and Innovation (CSO2008-02627) and based in the Pompeu Fabra University of Barcelona. The project will last from January 1, 2009 to December 31, 2011.

The research team is made up of thirteen researchers from seven Spanish universities, specialised in diverse knowledge areas: advertising, public relations, tourism, economy, usability and information architecture, market research, linguistics and geography.

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[17] Information about the research project (only is Spanish) is available at: www.marcasturisticas.org

The main goal of the project is to diagnose and evaluate the quality and suitability of Spanish destination websites and to provide DMO managers with precise knowledge for incorporating the latest professional and scientific advances in web design.

The concept of place branding and its links with public relations

The concept *place brand* is quite recent, as it has been generally accepted since the Travel and Tourism Research Association's Annual Conference in 1998 (according to Blain, Levy and Brent Ritchie, 2005). In fact, due to the short tradition, both practical and theoretical, of place branding, there is still not a clear definition agreed by everyone. On the contrary, as is usual in the social science field, we face many conflicting ideas and concepts which still are not fully constructed.

As stated by Kavaratzis and Ashworth (2010), the initial concept was *place promotion*, understood as the techniques applied to promote territories to external targets. Later it evolved into the concept of *place marketing*, gathering all aspects of strategy and planning so as to development a territory. And finally, we have *place branding* as a branding philosophy for managing places. Though the concept has evolved a lot, the fundamentals are still based on a marketing approach.

However, marketing is not the only discipline that has focused on place branding. From tourism or communication fields as well as from other social sciences some valuable professional and academic contributions have been made. Nevertheless marketing is still the predominant framework as its general theories are older and, on top of that, socially far more well-known, shared and respected.

But the fact is that the theory of marketing is not entirely appropriate and does not fit well with the development of place branding. From the very beginning marketing theories needed a shoehorn to be fitted into destination branding, and the shift from destination to place branding has done nothing but to worsen this misfit.

It may sound redundant, as many authors have already pointed out, but a place is not a product and a public institution is not a company either. So treating our city as a soft drink or a gadget might be inefficient and, what is worse, could actually transform our city into a soft drink or a gadget.

However, for most authors branding can be applied to territories, although they recognize the existence of some limitations (Morgan, Pritchard & Pride, 2005; Fernández Cavia & Huertas, 2009; Anholt, 2009; Kavaratzis & Ashworth, 2010; Hankinson, 2010). The first limitation would be the multiplicity of actors involved in the branding process of the territories (Hankinson, 2010), which may even have conflicting interests. Therefore, their implication and participation is more complex than in other kinds of branding processes, and cooperative work is required among all organizations involved.

A second limitation consists of the difficulty of creating a single brand for a territory whereas it addresses a wide range of different publics: citizens, investors, business people, tourists,

students, journalists. Each public has diverse interests and needs so as to require specific communication strategies for each one. Therefore, it can be very complicated or even contradictory to develop strategies and integrate them into a single brand positioning (Fernández Cavia & Huertas, 2009; Huertas, Morgan & Pritchard, 2010).

A third limitation concerns the difficulty of building a distinctive identity for each place, because of the fact that a lot of important physical and emotional attributes are commonly shared with other places. For example, values such as multiculturalism, tolerance or modernity appear to be crucial, relevant to people, but they are also part of the DNA of a high number of cities or nations. These shared attributes are important, then, but to use them also generates confusion (Morgan, Pritchard & Pride, 2002; Huertas & Fernández Cavia, 2006).

Finally, another critical limitation is related to the appropriation of place brands by the public administrations that create and manage them. The timing of the political arena is quite different from the timing a brand needs to be implemented and nurtured. Thus, short-term political decisions about place brands could bring long-term strategic mistakes.

Given the existence of these limitations, authors like Hankinson (2010) or Kavaratzis (2010) prefer to focus on the concept of places as corporate brands, but also from a marketing perspective. This point of view is closer to the public relations field than to the marketing one. In fact, Hankinson (2010) even uses public relations concepts such as stakeholders. According to this author place brands are more similar to corporate brands than to product brands, and he provides three arguments for it:

- First, both corporate and place brands involve interactions with multiple stakeholders.
- Secondly, these two types of brands add value and a corporate or organizational culture through a process of association with the organization or the territory.
- And finally, both types of brands provide a focal point for various consumer segments simultaneously. Hankinson's contributions are in the line of public relations because he affirms that corporate brands seek to build and maintain strong relationships with stakeholders, but still ends up placing the concept of corporate brands from the marketing approach.

Suffice to say that some authors have already begun to do research or write papers about place branding from a public relations perspective (Feng et al., 2011), but they develop concrete concepts and they do not develop a theoretical framework or a theory of public relations applied to place branding as has happened with marketing.

In a previous paper, Huertas (2008) wrote about the importance of public relations in tourism, from a practical and professional point of view. The study, based in a quantitative research, showed that the majority of tourist companies and organizations carry out many public relations actions among their main communication tasks. Therefore, the paper clearly stated the importance of public relations in tourism. But a theoretical framework is still required.

In this way, the following arguments try to back up the better adequacy of PR concepts and theories applied to place branding against the current leading position of marketing:

- In the original theory of marketing the sender is composed of private companies that pursue economic benefits. It has little to do with place branding. In place branding, instead, the sender is composed of a wide array of public institutions, private companies and also individuals, with diverse interests, but often lead or coordinated by a public or semi-public organization. This context fits better with PR theories, based on the existence of multiple publics with different interests.

- Similarly, from a marketing perspective, receivers are consumers or potential consumers, that is, those who buy the products or those that may end up buying. Instead, from the PR perspective, publics are always numerous and diverse, all social groups whose objectives mix, interfere or collide with the organization's objectives.

- In addition, the main objective of marketing is commercialization, selling products. On the contrary, places don't sell anything (although a lot of things can be sold in a place). In this point, PR is also much more appropriate to understand place branding, because PR also lacks of a short-term selling objective. Conversely, their aim is to create and negotiate a brand image, a reputation and a mutual trust that make any kind of interaction easier.

- As marketing of products doesn't correspond easily to place branding, more emphasis has been put on marketing of services. And even in corporate branding (Hankinson, 2010; Kavaratzis, 2010). But places are not products, nor services, nor corporations. They are a reality much broader and complex.

- Moreover, the underlying philosophy of marketing is competition, while the underlying philosophy of public relations is collaboration. PR doesn't seek to defeat its competitor, but to create bidirectional relationships. It seems then, from our point of view, a more adequate approach to place branding. What PR really intends is to create lasting ties with publics and a positive public image. Places are not obliged to enter the narrow path of rivalry. Instead, they have alternative options, such as joining together in combined promotion under common umbrella brands, for instance.

- Finally, marketing, although considering the consumer the most important piece of the structure, still holds a unidirectional approach to communication. Companies want to know people only to be able to sell better and more. Public relations promote a different perspective, where communication is conceived as bidirectional between an organization and its publics and where organizations must not only communicate but adapt to its publics.

All these arguments support the idea that the theoretical framework of public relations is much more appropriate and fits much better with the reality of place branding than the theories of marketing.

Methodology

One of the specific aims of the above mentioned research project is to understand how Spanish Destination Marketing Organizations (DMOs) are actually organized, what are their structures and functions, brand strategies and communication objectives.

In order to do this, a questionnaire was designed and addressed to the managers and professionals responsible for communication in autonomous communities, cities and regions in Spain.

The questionnaire was sent via Internet to a sample of 92 Spanish official DMOs of three kinds: cities (only province capitals, such as Barcelona, Soria, Oviedo, Bilbao), provinces (like Sevilla, Vizcaya, Lugo) and autonomous communities (La Rioja, País Vasco, Catalunya, Andalucía, etc.).

We tried to reach those people in charge of decision making about planning and communication strategies, so the respondents were mainly heads of department and communication, promotion or marketing managers.

It is important to bear in mind that some differentiations are hard to make. For example, Madrid is a city (Spain's country capital) with its city council, it is also a province (with a different institution in charge of, the Diputación Provincial) and it is also an autonomous community (Comunidad de Madrid) with its respective institution.

Logroño is a city, capital of a province named Logroño whose territory covers the same as La Rioja autonomous community, because this community, as is the case of Asturias or Cantabria, includes one single province.

So, only the work of distinguishing what institutions were in charge of what territories and what responsibilities was quite a difficult task. But at the end we identified those 92 professionals and the questionnaire was sent in December, 2010.

We got back 35 valid answers by the end of April, 2011, so the response rate was 38%.

The questionnaire consisted of five different sections: after a brief introduction about the research project and the aim of the study, Section 1 asked for some socio-demographic information about the respondent: name, gender, age, institution, position, education, internal organization of the department, etc.

Section 2 comprised of questions about general strategy and the marketing plan for the destination. Section 3 focused on the contents of the communication plan (if existing), goals, brand personality, assessment, etc. Section 4 covered the usage of technology to achieve communication and promotion aims. Finally, Section 5 concentrated on the promotion of the destination through the Internet, how it is conceived and applied.

Results

Out of 35 respondents, 14 were men and 21 women, with an average age of 41. The official name of their positions is quite diverse: Head of the Department of Tourism and Innovation, Communication Manager, General Manager, Director, Assistant Director, Head of the Promotion Department, Communication and Advertising Manager, Marketing Director, Information Unit Manager, and so on.

These results show that the structure and functions of the Spanish DMOs are not well defined and organized yet. These findings are consistent with the educational background of the people in charge of the strategic planning for the DMOs communication: it is also quite diverse, as reflected in Figure 1.

Figure 1. Spanish DMOs' managers' education
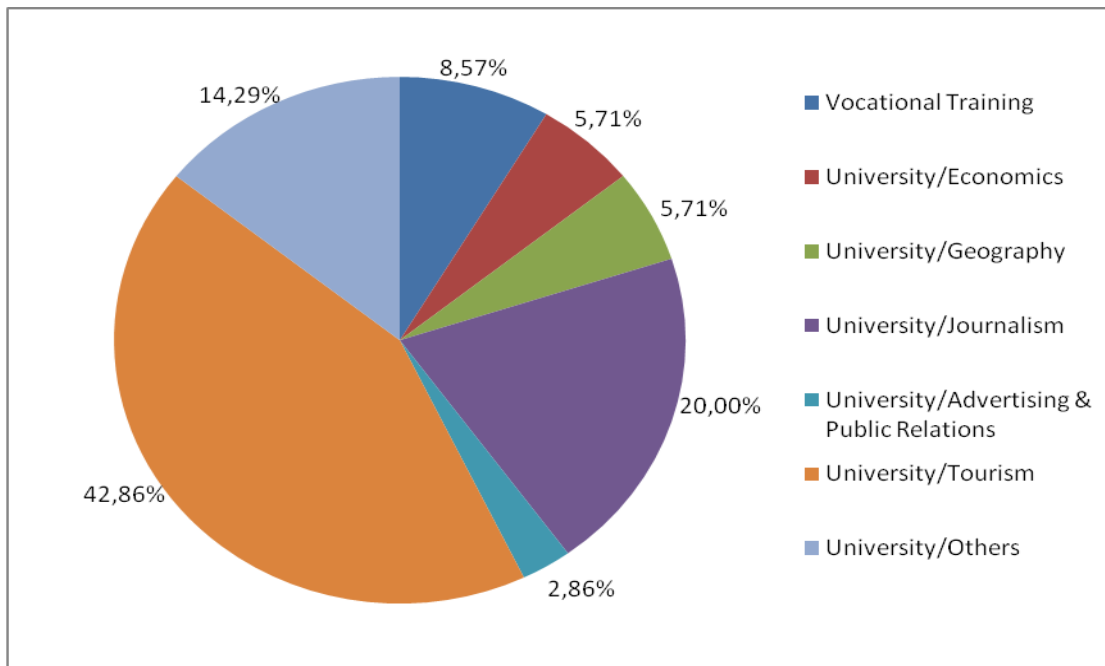
n= 35

As we can see, the most common educational background for Spanish DMO managers is the tourism degree. Surprisingly, we can also find a high percentage of journalists. But only one person in the sample has studied the degree in advertising and public relations, so this kind of professional is not very common in the Spanish place branding organizations, at least at the top managing positions.

This fact reinforces the idea that the PR techniques, concepts and theories are not well known among top DMO Spanish managers.

We also asked the sample about whether their destination had a Marketing and a Communication Plan, and the responses show that only about half of them have them. Actually, seven of the thirty five DMOs surveyed have neither Marketing nor a Communication Plan.

The results confirm that the process of professionalization of this kind of institution is still in an early stage, and that there's still a long way to go.

**Table 1. Spanish DMOs with Marketing Plan and with Communication Plan**

	Yes	No	Now working on it
Marketing Plan	17	9	9
Communication Plan	18	10	7

n= 35

Another important thing was to discover how DMOs conceptualize the target public in their communication plans. For that purpose we included the following question: "What is the strategic target of your communication plan?". Five options were proposed, with a sixth one labelled as "Others" and allowing an open answer. As we can see in Figure 2, only the destination's main stakeholders are taken into account, and the "Others" option was chosen only for four times, referring to "general target", "young people", "the press" and "social influencers and opinion leaders".

If we compare these results with the table of main target publics for a destination elaborated by Fernández-Cavia (2009), which contemplates 14 different target publics, we can find that the list DMO managers have in mind is quite short. This means that some strategic publics of destinations (such as local companies, other institutions, students) are not addressed nor even taken into account.

Figure 2. Public/target aimed at Spanish DMOs' Communication Plans
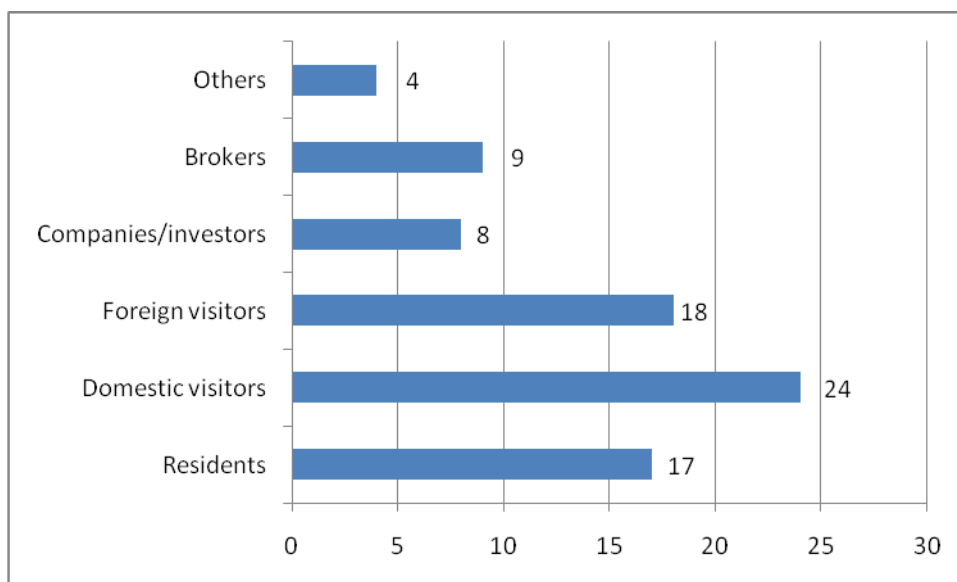
n= 25 (more than one option available)

A public relations perspective could help DMOs in this point in order to be more conscious of the variety and diversity of parties that a place must communicate with.

Similarly, the aims of the Spanish DMOs' communication plans seem too centred on the brand image and not giving enough attention to relationship aspects with the different stakeholders. Mere operational features (such as "Assure an easy and efficient access to the destination") seem to the Spanish DMOs managers almost as important as to give a balanced attention to residents, visitors and investors. We can find the results in Figure 3:

Figure 3. Aims of the Spanish DMOs' Communication Plans
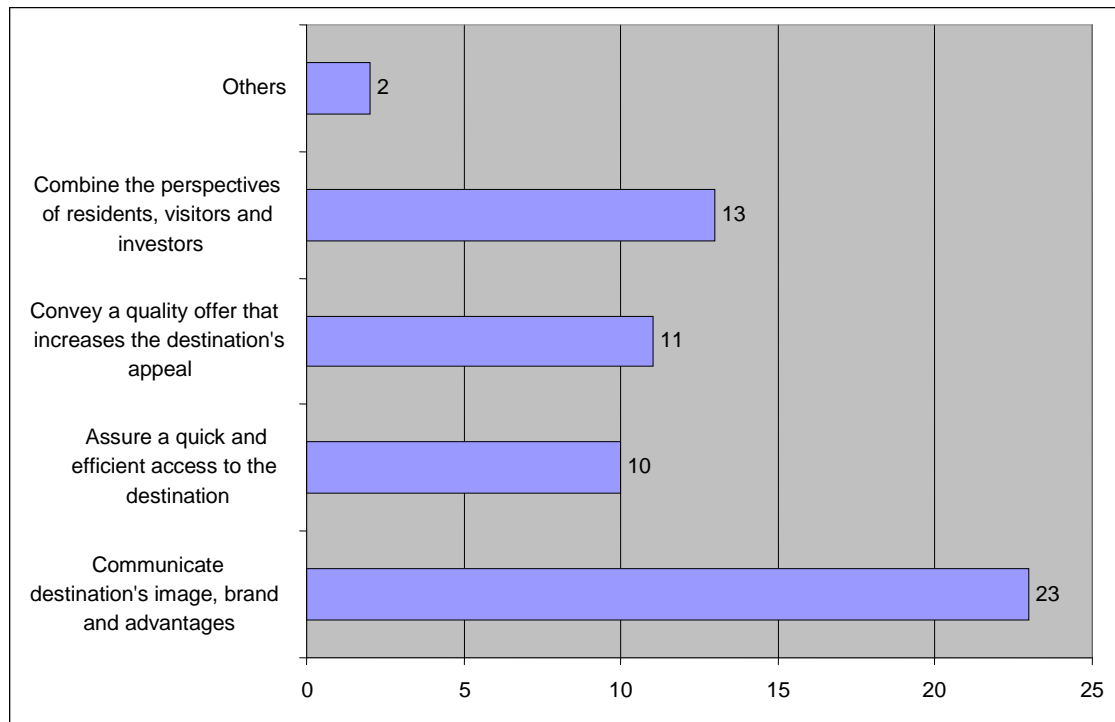
n= 25 (more than one option available)

We also asked DMOs' managers to answer the following question: "What channels of technological communication are used in the communication of your destination brand" where more than one option was allowed.

All the respondents considered the destination's website a fundamental channel of communication, but also added a wide range of bidirectional tools such as social networks, video sharing, photo sharing or microblogging platforms. These are considered, in the academic communication field, public relations instruments rather than marketing ones.

And their aim is clearly not selling products but creating relationships between people, between people and brands maybe, and why not also between people and places. Some interesting campaigns have been launched not in the conventional media (television, radio, press) but on Youtube or Facebook.

Competition between conventional media and new media started fifteen years ago, and it is marking a revolution in the way communication is conceived and practised. The one-to-many paradigm is giving way to the many-to-many paradigm, where mass media or corporations are no longer in command.

So DMOs seem to be adapting their practices, but not adapting their theoretical perspective as fast.

The results are shown in Figure 4:

Figure 4. Technological channels of communication. Spanish DMOs
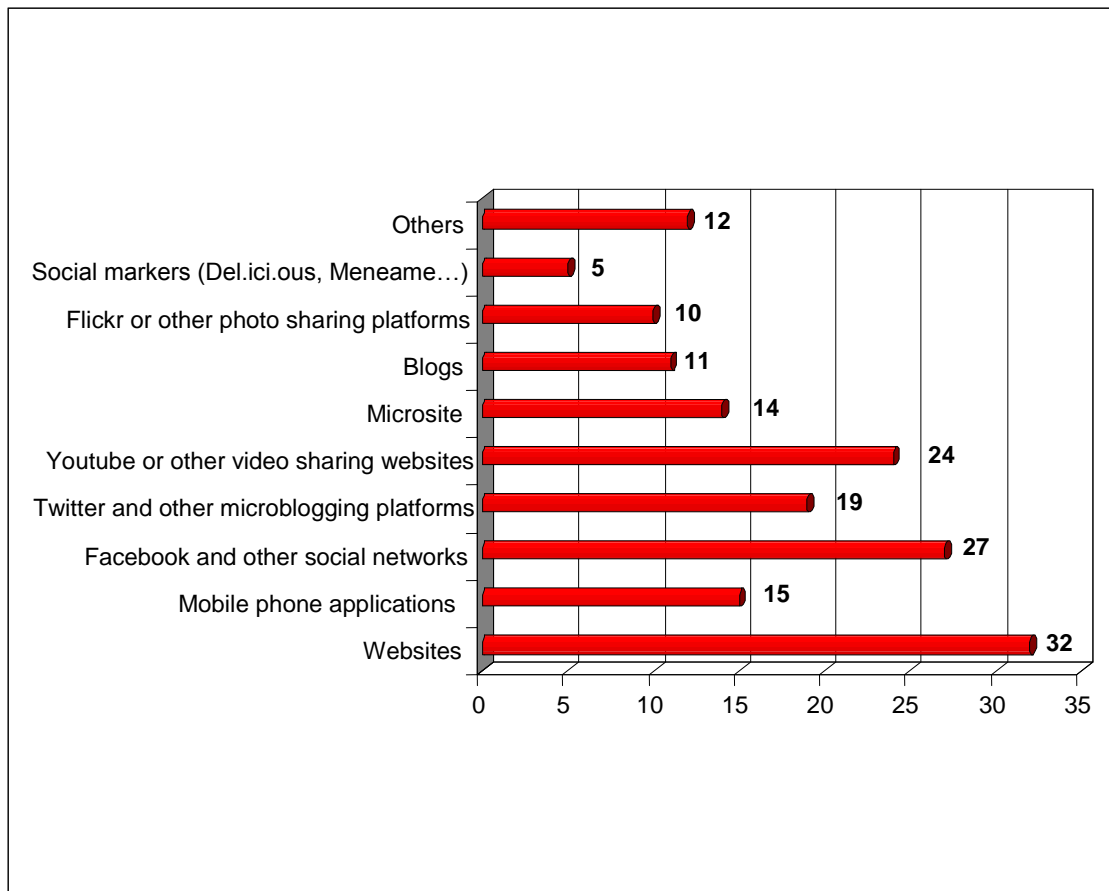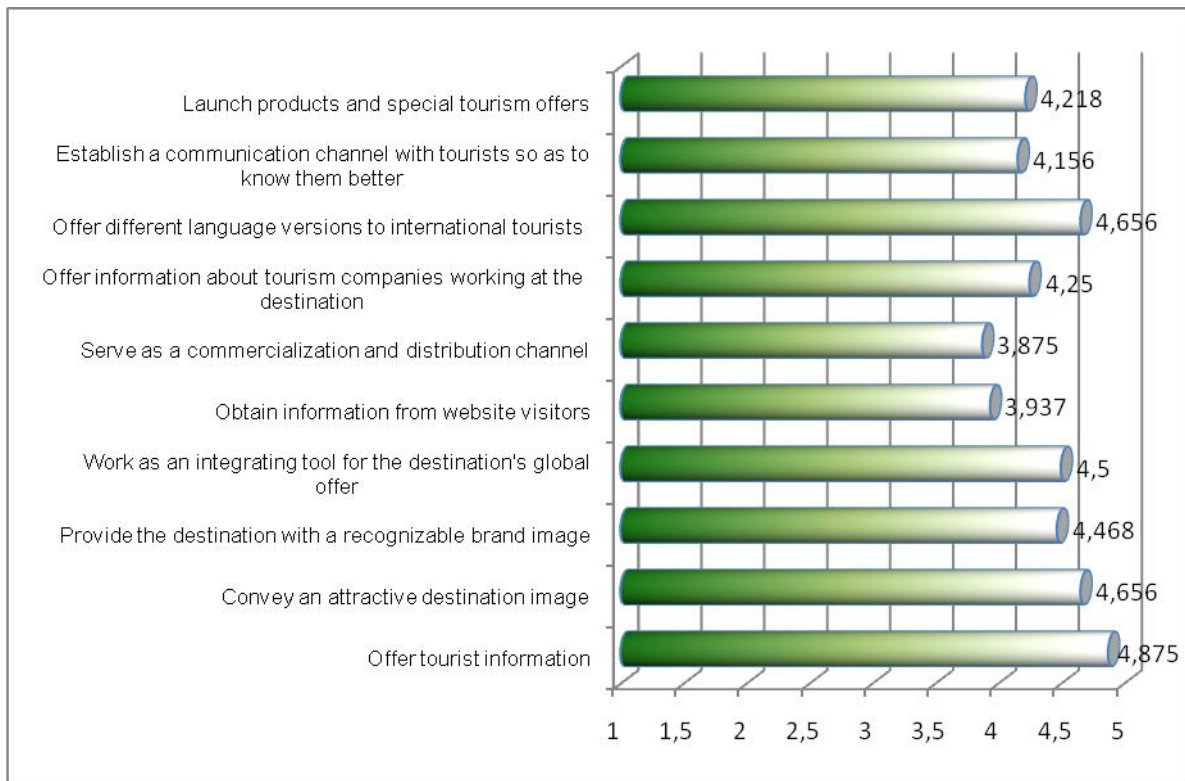

n= 32 (more than one option available)

The "Others" responses are related to some external links on the websites, travellers' communities (*Minube*, for instance), virtual tourism assistants or local televisions.

Another item of the questionnaire tackled the purposes and aims for the creation and maintenance of a destination's website. Here the options offered were numerous, trying to gather all possible ideas. The question was formulated this way: "You said that you are using a website to promote your destination brand. What objectives does your website pursue?".

Each option had to be rated from 1 "Not important" to 5 "Very important". In the following chart we show the results as an average. The highest number is obtained by "Offer tourist information" while "Serve as commercialization and distribution channel" obtained the lowest rate.

Differences are not high, never exceeding 1 point, but unidirectional purposes are leading ("offer information" -4,875-, "convey image" -4,656-, "offer language versions" -4,656-) while bidirectional purposes rate clearly lower ("establish a communication channel to know tourists better" -4,156-, "obtain information from visitors" -3,937-).

These results provide more support to the idea that PR practices are common among DMOs but PR concepts are still not fully understood. All averages are shown at Figure 5:

Figure 5. Destinations' websites. Functions

	Rating
Launch products and special tourism offers	4,218
Establish a communication channel with tourists so as to know them better	4,156
Offer different language versions to international tourists	4,656
Offer information about tourism companies working at the destination	4,25
Serve as a commercialization and distribution channel	3,875
Obtain information from website visitors	3,937
Work as an integrating tool for the destination's global offer	4,5
Provide the destination with a recognizable brand image	4,468
Convey an attractive destination image	4,656
Offer tourist information	4,875

n= 32 (rating from 1 'Not important' to 5 'Very important')

We also asked about interactive media often used by the destinations. Two different questions were addressed: "Please try to evaluate on the following scale the level of usefulness for tourism of the web 2.0. applications (e.g. user generated content: social networks, YouTube, blogs, etc.)" and "Please try to evaluate on the following scale the level of usefulness for tourism of the mobile phones" where a five-scale answer was allowed, ranging from "very low" to "very high".

The results show that Spanish DMOs' managers are more aware or more convinced of the importance of the Web 2.0 than of the possibilities that mobile phones combined with geolocation are currently offering.

Figure 6. Usefulness of web 2.0 and mobile phone applications in tourism
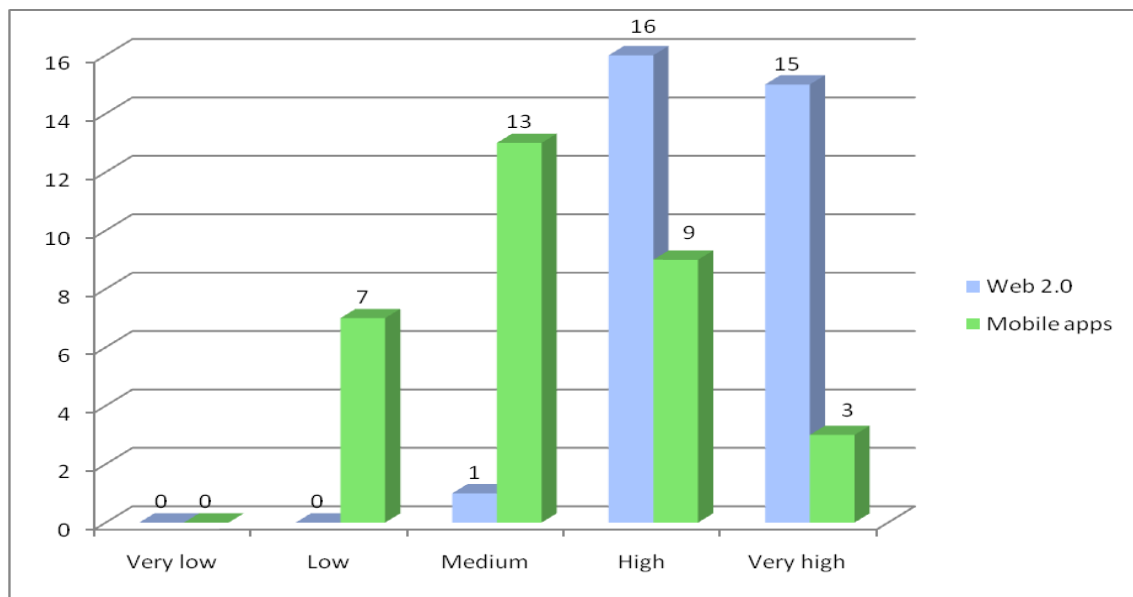
n= 32 (by number of respondents)

Conclusions

We have proved that few Spanish DMOs' managers have an educational background in public relations. However a big number of PR techniques are commonly used by their organizations. Accordingly, destination managers understand PR mainly as an operational tool, ignoring its strategic role.

This indicates, from our point of view, that PR concepts and theories have more to say in place branding than is commonly assumed. This is also the case when talking about strategic planning and stakeholders: some groups are not taken into account as they are not consumers.

Secondarily, the research provides some signs about the early stage of professionalization in Spanish DMOs: different names for departments with the same functions, same name for departments with different functions, a number of DMOs without a Marketing Plan or without a Communication Plan.

Besides that, the basics of place branding are mainly rooted in marketing theories. These origins have demonstrated their efficacy but now a shift is needed. Globalization, social media and new consumers demand a new paradigm for place branding based on bidirectional communication and collaboration rather than competition. And public relations can provide useful concepts and ideas for building this new theoretical framework.

We stand up for the idea that it is impossible to carry out an effective place branding if the marketing approach prevails. Moreover, we defend the idea that another name is needed to refer to the institution in charge for the destination's promotion and communication. DMO is a label coined from the marketing point of view, so now has become inappropriate when experts have changed from the destination branding paradigm to the place branding paradigm, and when a change is also required from the marketing approach to the public relations perspective.

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Literary Tourism: Exploring Cardiff

Dr Katharine Cox, Dr Dimitra Fimi and Dr Kate North

This paper presents research from an on-going interdisciplinary project focusing on literary tourism in the Cardiff area. Specifically, the project has generated a series of digital walks designed to open up representations of Cardiff as a literary site to tourists and residents. The project team consists of creative writers, literary critics, historians, educators and performance practitioners, who have identified a theoretical and practical gap in the marketing of Cardiff. This is addressed through the construction of literary walks which engage with the literary and historical heritage of the city. Our critical engagement with Cardiff's literary tradition and its emergent writers sees Cardiff as a site to be navigated through the experience of physical and digital tourism. Mapping the Lakes Project (Lancaster University, 2009) identified the potential for literary studies and new technologies to experience location, through the use of Google Earth and GPS. The development of smartphones and digital technology in general offers sympathetic tourist interfaces.

Literary tourism is a growth area that correlates to recent theoretical interest in literature and its relation to space, place and location (e.g. Miller 2006, Moretti 1998 and 2005). In particular tourist agencies, businesses and academics have connected (sometimes tenuously) canonical writers of place and landscape such as Jane Austen (Bath), Romanic poets (Lake District), Charles Dickens (London) and James Joyce (Dublin). No such connection has been made for Cardiff and so this project targets this underrepresented locality and identifies key writers through which the experience of the city is mediated and experienced. In doing so, this project offers a unique insight into the potential of literary tourism in Cardiff.

1. Introduction

This paper presents research from an on-going interdisciplinary project focusing on literary tourism in the Cardiff Bay area. Specifically, the project is working to generate a series of themed digital walks using Apple APPs. These are designed to introduce tourists and residents to representations of Cardiff via its contemporary literature. We intend to use these APPs as a way of experiencing and re-experiencing the Bay and its layers of literary, historical and cultural meaning. This includes a specific emphasis on the gendered representations of the Bay in contemporary fiction. Our use of sympathetic technologies enables tourists and residents to

navigate Cardiff Bay in new and innovative ways, both constructing and consuming this tourist space, and additionally informs our research of the mediations between literature and place.

2. Place, Tourism and Literary Studies

Literary Tourism has a long history. Nicola Watson in monograph (2006) and in a recent edited collection (2009) has explored the establishment of Literary Tourism in the 19th century, which began by focusing on the landscapes of Romantic poetry. However, this can be traced back still further with the phenomenon of devoted readers undertaking pseudo-pilgrimages to houses of celebrated authors, such as William Shakespeare (Stratford Upon Avon) and Lawrence Stern (Shandy Hall, Coxwold, Yorkshire) and the trend of visiting canonical authors' graves in Westminster Abbey. Later on, urban spaces entered the map of the literary tourist, usually associated with canonical writers and places such as Jane Austen's Bath, Charles Dickens's London and James Joyce's Dublin. Returning to Watson's work, she argues that the text creates literary place, which is then re-experienced by the literary tourist in an effort to 'construct a relationship with the dead author that is essentially physical and anti-textual'; ironically, this is 'only made possible by the text itself' (2006, p. 47). This view concentrates on the idea of a need for a material connection between reader and author, which can then be exploited by agents of tourism. In this reading, the place is secondary to the relationship between the reader and writer, and accordingly the presentation of place needs to be 're-designed' to capitalise on this relationship. In 're-designing' specific locations and sites to respond to this need, the development of tourism can be seen in a negative light, as materialistic, profit-driven, and ideologically suspect, ultimately harnessing 'high-brow' literature to the 'lower' needs of economic development or national and regional pride.

At the same time, however, there has been a recent 'spatial turn' in the humanities and a new theoretical interest in literature and its relation to space, place and location (Thacker, 2003). Critics such as Moretti (1996 and 2005) have begun exploring the relationship between literary place and real locations, and have mapped the setting of one or a group of related literary works. These maps are not decorative illustrations, but tools to aid the analysis of constructions of power and ideology in a specific text. The developing field of 'literary geography' has been hailed as opening a new dimension in literary studies, offering a new ability to respond to an intriguing set of questions:

> 'Are there still any geographic areas entirely undocumented in literature? How densely settled by fictional works is a particular space? How internationally occupied is it? Or is the space inscribed almost exclusively by native authors? Under which conditions

(political-historical not least) does the (imaginary) space of literature contract, and under which does it expand?' (Piatti *et al*., 2008, p. 31)

There is a distinctive shift from the features identified by Moretti in his pre-twentieth-century texts. As Thacker (2003) notes, Modernism and by extension postmodernism, make problematic any obvious correspondence between map and literature. Other critics, including Bulson (2007) and Miller (2006) have commented on the inclusion of detailed place indicators in literary works that serve not to guide the readers in that space, but to disorientate them and alienate them. The interplay between place and literature is, therefore, generating a new set of interesting questions, ideas and methodological tools to illuminate literary works, but also to re-experience and re-conceive space.

These relationships are far more nuanced and complex than a simple division between different material cultures (the perceived popular culture of a day-tripper tourist engaging with a high cultural event or the informed tourist dealing with the poor dissemination of a literary author's work). Bearing these recent developments in mind, literary tourism cannot be seen anymore as profiteering and embarrassing to literary studies, but can become a rich interdisciplinary space to explore both literature and tourism as equal partners.

3. Cardiff: An Unexplored Literary Space?

Cardiff Bay is a contested space. Expanded as a result of the coal trade in the nineteenth century, the area intertwines Butetown, the Docks and the part that became known as Tiger Bay (possibly as reflection on its diverse community). Following Cardiff's development as a European capital city as well as the investment and 'guardianship' of Cardiff Bay Development Corporation the Bay has been rebranded as a major tourist destination in the Cardiff area.

Psychogeographer and chronicler of the Bay, Peter Finch has bemoans this transition of space where a dichotomy of insiders and tourists claim the space:

'What was the Docks became Cardiff Bay. This was much to the annoyance of locals who continue to call the place what they always have - Butetown.' (Finch, no date)

In the last fifteen years, the city of Cardiff has figured very prominently in contemporary fiction and popular culture. As we will argue, the multicultural space of Tiger Bay has served as the setting of many crime or 'noir' novels; new female voices have used it to explore issues of identity; while popular TV texts have given it an iconic, Science Fiction flavour (see Appendix

1). Despite this recent flourishing in Cardiff-set fiction, there has been little reaction from literary studies to this phenomenon, and very little response from local tourism organizations. Academi, recently rebranded as "Literature Wales", has attempted a literary mapping of Wales via a "Literary Tourism" initiative, but their Literary Walks and Bus Tours have not included Cardiff so far. Their "Writers [sic] Plaques" project has included a handful of Cardiff locations and writers (John Ormond, John Tripp, Roald Dahl, Jack Jones and Glyn Jones), but no systematic mapping of the rich contemporary fiction and popular culture tradition of Cardiff Bay has been attempted. Our project aims to address this gap by offering a new way to experience Cardiff Bay as a literary and cultural space, which will take into account the complex past of Cardiff Bay and its new fictional representations.

Before we explore the project in more detail, it will be necessary to outline the current literary traditions which engage with Cardiff Bay. Contemporary fictional and popular culture representations of Cardiff have developed into three distinctive strands, focusing on gender and genre:

1) **Noir novels and crime fiction.** A number of male authors have engaged with Cardiff Bay as a setting for noir novels and crime fiction. David Craig's *The Tattooed Detective* (1998) uses Cardiff Bay as a locality typified by capitalism and panic in the transformation of Tiger Bay into Cardiff Bay. John Williams' *Cardiff Trilogy* engages with the seedy life of the docks (*Five Pubs, Two Bars and a Night Club*, 1999), the changing city of Cardiff in the lead up to the millennium (*Cardiff Dead*, 2001) and a novel set around the landmark of the Prince of Wales pub in the personal lives of two protagonists (*Prince of Wales*, 2004).

2) **Journeys and identities.** Female creative voices have focused more on multicultural and hybrid identities and personal journeys. The publication and long-listing of Trezza Azzopardi's *The Hiding Place* for the Booker Prize in 2000 concentrated attention on the Maltese immigrant community of Tiger Bay and the Docks. After Azzopardi, this manner of exploring identity and place in Cardiff Bay was also ultilised by Catrin Collier in *Tiger Bay Blues* (2006) and more generally in the city itself by Nikita Lalwani in the novel *Gifted* (2007). These novels fall within the established trend of revisiting ancestral histories in female fiction, leading to shaping new identities. The recognized author Tessa Hadley has set a novel of complex personal relationships in Cardiff (*The Master Bedroom*, 2007) while Kate North's recent novel, *Eva Shell* (2008), navigates the city via a mosaic of different typefaces and new media effects.

3) **Science Fiction.** Popular culture texts have established Cardiff as a Science Fiction space, giving specific landmarks in the Bay a cult, iconic status. The re-launch of *Doctor Who* in 2005 used mostly Cardiff landmarks and locations to film the series resulting in a close affinity with the city and the series. Inspired by *Doctor Who*, the spin-off series *Torchwood* made Cardiff Bay its headquarters and prominently featured the city in its storylines. The connections between this series and Cardiff Bay are very strong. Following the 'death' of the fictional protagonist Ianto Jones, fans of the series constructed a physical memorial to the character in the Bay, thereby creating an impromptu tourist site. The books of the series continue this fascination with Cardiff Bay as the centre of rift activity, on the space-time continuum.

This diverse literary and cultural engagement with a contested space such as Cardiff Bay is interesting in its own right: Why is the writing of the Bay gendered? Why do certain genres seem to "fit" this place better than others? How does each writer engage with the layered past of Cardiff Bay to create a new place?

4. Cardiff Literary Walks: The Project So Far

Our current project is set to design an APP that allows the user to encounter significant landmarks that link the contemporary fictional present to the bay's past. Watson's concerns, that literary tourism distances the reader from the literature, are relevant here but for different reasons. Our literary walks are hampered by issues of copyright which demands that we as constructors of the information interpret the space's relationship with the fiction or poetry, thus distancing the reader from the literary text.   Although the user/reader is distanced from the literary text at times, s/he is also experiencing it in a different and unconventional way and could arguably render the relationship as a closer one. The vacillation between user and texts is an intriguing one and in some ways mirrors the rapidly increasing trends of reading literary texts in non-print form which requires an amended theoretical framework to deal with this new type of 'reader-response'.

As we've outlined, the project is a direct result of the need to address an underrepresented theoretical and practical area, that of literary tourism in Cardiff Bay using digital technology. Furthermore, the literature that the team has engaged with is an undertheorised corpus of literary works representing contemporary writers' engagement with the city of Cardiff, and specifically Cardiff Bay. The project is an opportunity to test existing relationships between

literature and place, specifically causing us to consider and revise established paradigms of reader-response theory. At the same time this provides us with a practical outlet for community, scholarly and educational engagement.

The APP offers an accessible and practical route around the Bay which engages with a diverse range of landmarks, buildings and the environment. Specially commissioned sound-bites offer further information which links these features to contemporary writing, historical sources and further hypertextual information. This allows participates to engage with literature in an outdoors environment; connecting the cultural past with the literary present. We encourage the user of the APP to deconstruct the setting of the Bay through our mediation of material culture and literary artefact. In principle (and by embedding the walk in our creative programmes) there's an opportunity to augment this APP with creative responses from users thus adding to the archive of Cardiff Bay.

The distinctive features of this project are:

1) Focuses on the present rather than exclusively the literary past and heritage (see for example literary London, literary Dublin etc.). We anticipate the further development of the noir fiction would be marketable (especially given the example of Ian Rankin's Edinburgh APP).
2) Opportunity for commercial production of APP
3) Literary and theoretical perspective on space and place
4) Interdisciplinary synthesis of material
5) Possible creative application
6) Testing of theoretical paradigms via new technology (reader-response)
7) Community engagement
8) Revaluate the relationship between literature and tourism

5. Conclusion

This project as we've outlined is still a work in progress. However, we believe that there is enormous potential for practical and theoretical research in the future. The success of this project provides an applicable model which can be transposed to other urban environments with emerging literary traditions. Engagement with this APP and project offers intriguing insights into the relationship between user and text/s, and it is this vacillating relationship that we hope will challenge established literary theory and convention in the role of 'reader response'. In

addition, it allows us to better challenge the prejudice that exists in literary circles regarding the recycled commercialisation of literature as consumed by the tourist.

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Teaching in the Academy of Hope: Trans-cultural Pedagogy Online

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working paper, Tourism Education

As critical tourism studies educators engaged in an 'Academy of Hope', we strive to dialogue openly, exploring the ethics of our scholarship, embracing our power to become change agents and acknowledging the ways in which we are changed along the way (Ateljevic, Morgan, & Pritchard 2007:1-5). We hope to promote spaces for social justice through our efforts to educate others about tourism development. Our paper explores how we two worked together to sustain these values while crafting a new online course about niche tourism development (Robinson & Novelli 2005), challenging ourselves while we grow a trans-cultural pedagogy.

Veijola notes that like any field of research, "…the cornerstone of tourism studies consists of people talking", with a particular challenge of our "…internal dichotomy of interests – between critical studies of tourism and business-oriented tourism management" (Veijola in Ateljevic et al, 2007, p. xxi). It is imperative to acknowledge that this dichotomy gears us toward a need to understand the ethical landscapes of tourism. As Smith (2009) relates "… philosophical and ethical questions that go to the heart of tourism practices" should be engaged about this industry that seems to reduce people and places into "…objects valued only as a means to serve our more self-interested ends" (Smith 2009:613-14).

We interrogate our ethical perspectives whilst developing this course, reflecting on our choice of texts and our discourse that shape our message. We question how to produce lessons to efficiently challenge the mindsets of our cyberspace audience who we literally have no clue about, although they must be able to afford the tuition to enroll. Pedagogically our challenge is to be accessible and transform our students' understanding of diverse perspectives. We ourselves literally embody contrasts in many identities: Ghanaian/Californian; male/female; black/white; younger/older. Our differences become constraints we have to deal with as we try to build a course appropriate for the context. At the same time, these differences provide for rich dialogue and multiple resources. We discover commonality, and coherence of our ethical concerns and desires for practice that strives for equity and rights.

Our course defines niche tourism in its global context before tackling the subject of tourism as an effective economic driver for local community development. We draw two case studies from our own research: an emic (insider) study of cultural heritage tourism sites and local community development in Ghana and an etic (outsider) study of ethnic/indigenous tourism development in Yunnan, China. Policy issues engaged in tourism industry development, processes for accessing community development needs, the identification of niche tourism opportunities, stakeholder analysis and the role of public/private partnerships in this sector are explored through the case studies and other materials. We encourage students to engage in critical discussions about the possibilities of utilizing niche tourism to improve local conditions. Their insights and arguments drawing from concepts and models developed in the course, promote ethical understanding of niche tourism development's potential effects on individual people and communities, their traditions and livelihoods.

Ayikoru & Tribe (2007:281) encourage that "…attention be paid to how a discursive analysis can be deployed to enhance the methodologies in tourism education enquiry". Likewise we

develop this course to embrace critical tourism studies concepts to better educate our students through discursive analysis of interdisciplinary deployed in different social domains and studies (2007:282). Through discursive analysis, we engage in multiple dialogues to obtain a commonality in the decisions we make about topics and texts. The texts that we chose to teach from represent emic and etic analyses of tourism development, highlighting local scholarship published in English. While Foucault for instance is useful for our own and our students' critical reflection (Ayikoru & Tribe 2007), we strive for a balance between texts derived from the western academy and non-western scholarship. Mindful that our course is part of a series, following one by Dean MacCannell solidly based in Euro-American thought, we require our students to develop appreciation of a diverse range of texts.

Crafting this new online course about niche tourism development provided an interesting learning environment for us. It created a way for us to not only criticize our thoughts but to explore the knowledge that we gain from each other. Although this is our first time working together and being involved in online teaching, we see this opportunity as a means of making change and imparting to our students a challenging education in tourism studies. Thus, we were both enthusiastic about the opportunity because it allowed us to delve into our research interests to discover the coherence of our ethical concerns and desires that strives for equity and rights.

One example that we develop in the course comes from Tometi's dissertation fieldwork in the town of Keta where the derelict slave fort, Prinzenstein, is located. This Danish fort built in 1784 was one of the sites where kidnapped Africans were kept during the slave trade, but now serves as a tourist destination. Because this region was under the supervision of Chief James Ocloo V, I was advised to see the Chief before getting access into the fort. Upon arrival for an appointment I was informed to wait before being summoned in and introduced. Once admitted, the Chief's staff bearer asked me what message I had brought. As I stood up to introduce myself and the reasons that led me to the Keta Palace, I gave out my business card to the Chief and each of the elders the in the courtroom. My card included the inscription "PhD Candidate, Geography Graduate Group". To my surprise, just after the introduction, one of the elders retorted "Your card indicates that you are a student in Geography. Why then are you coming to work on a subject that is about history?" I was not only amazed but also stunned at the abruptness of the question because I was not expecting such a reaction. I then smiled a little before responding saying that 'even though the site is about history, it's also related to geography. For example, the fort is built on land, a geographical space and place within a community, an environment in which people live. And thus, it has had impacts on the community's lives, the way they behave and do things. All these are some of the issues that studies in geography look at. Therefore it is possible for a geographer to study a place that is related to history.'

I had not finished talking before the same elder snapped back and demanded that I tell him the reason why I immediately smiled when he asked me the question about my status as a geography student. I was very shocked because there weren't any angry or frustrated feelings behind my smile, just a little bit of astonishment. Originating from the area and having the local language as my first language, I didn't expect such a culture shock response in myself. This case perfectly serves as an example for the theory of positionality. Having being away and experience life in the US, I saw no harm in smiling when asked such a question, which is not the situation with the local elders. Although they were able to settle the situation after I asked the elder for forgiveness for my comportment, and any perceived disrespect from me, I was haunted by the experience. I think that as researchers we ought to be aware of and well prepared for circumstances like that. However, as Smith (2009:614) observed, tourism ethics are extraordinarily complex, ". . . not just because tourism itself encompasses so many

heterogeneous purposes and practices, but also because what constitutes an ethical relation is so very difficult to define".

We understood that we could not produce the course without taking into consideration ethical questions and responsibilities of our positionality as tourism education providers. We thought about how best to reach out to our students, for them to grasp just how ethics play out in the complex interactions between individual tourists, host communities, and different structural scales of tourism enterprises. This is extraordinarily complicated because of the variety of different "actors" involved and the myriad ways of dispersing and reallocating responsibilities within an ever-changing matrix of complicated commercial, institutional, and social relations (Smith 2009:619). We initially approached the work without any constraints, especially, being aware of the academic and professional knowledge each one possesses in the tourism field. We did not prioritize the influences of our cultural backgrounds, gender and age statuses, and our family and graduate student-professor position and responsibilities in the production and development of this course. We did not ignore them but seemed to have taken for granted what effects these conditions would have on our capacity of crafting the course not knowing that they would impact the way we argued for interests in tourism studies and against each other's points and thoughts, articulated our objectives for the themes and concepts we intended to develop in the course.

As Robinson and Novelli (2005:1) put it, the concept of 'niche tourism' has emerged in recent years in counter-point to what is commonly referred to as 'mass tourism' to represents diversity and ways of making difference. Our course has an important task to educate about how niche tourism can be implemented in particularly economically poor environments, to promote development and assist the local community. Tourism development planning is a strategic decision-making process about the allocation of resources to derive optimum economic, environmental and socio-cultural outcomes for destinations and their stakeholders. If we think about how this idea of niche tourism development is negotiated where tourism resources are located, and where mostly the local people need to benefit from the outcomes of such initiatives, we notice that such outcomes are often nonexistent. A case can be made for the development of niche tourism in Ghana where according to van Dantzig (1980) and Anquandah (1999) more than fifty fortifications were built within a very short distance of coastline, all of which van Dantzig (1980) called the 'European Shopping Mall' in the 15th and 16th centuries. This set of forts along the Ghanaian coast constitutes a set of monuments and museums due to the role that they played in the histories of Africa and the World. They lay along a very short distance of the coast of this West African nation which is also endowed with many recreational and leisure tourism opportunities, ecotourism and agriculture tourism assets.

Touring heritage sites of the Elmina and Cape Coast Castles in Ghana by the Black Diaspora, African Americans in particular, is an example of niche tourism development. These tourists are mainly interested in knowing about their origins and history, now that they have this opportunity. However, the idea of niche tourism markets becomes complex when we think about the scale of heritage sites. The huge number of slave forts along such a relatively short stretch of coast could be seen as a collective historical monument unique in the world. It has no competition as a kind of heritage/niche destination, if Ghana is able to put these places into proper tourism sites. This West African coastal region has been acknowledged as the main zone where the majority of Africans enslaved in the New World and Caribbean Islands were shipped from. The collective is a monument to social justice issues with great potential for global education and local benefits, if, and a big if, there are local controls and transparency.

To develop this example and others in our course, we engage an underlying proposition that 'tourism higher education operates largely in a taken-for-granted (ideological) manner that tends to offer a partial view of the tourism phenomena to learners' (Ayikoru & Tribe 2007:279). We interrogate the texts we might use, making choices based on local knowledge and academic training. We are acutely aware that this western university's online-fees will exclude many practitioners we would like to reach, and contemplate subversive methods to teach this material. Our conversations about ethical landscapes (Smith 2009) in niche tourism, comprised of cultural and environmental sustainability, emotional investment, and power relations, lead us to believe that our trans-cultural knowledge is real, yielding both hope and despair for tourism futures.

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Are you being served?

An exploration of the motivation and perception of staff working in food and beverage servicescapes.

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Abstract

Many recent studies into service encounters take a functional view, i.e. reviewing the physical environment or servicescape (Wall and Berry, 2007), whilst others focus on issues such as organisational citizenship behaviour, the nature of hospitableness (Telfer, 2000; Lugosi, 2007), emotional labour (Hochschild, 1983; Erickson, 2010), aesthetic labour (Nickson, 2007) and worker identity (Nickson *et al*., 2005). Recent emerging academic research investigates the creation, delivery and management of experiences (Pine and Gilmore, 1999), including the theatricality of food and beverage servicescapes (Morgan *et al*., 2008; Gibbs and Ritchie, 2010).

This work in progress paper aims to present the preliminary results of a pilot focus group which was conducted as part of a current larger PhD study at the University of Wales Institute, Cardiff. The aim of the wider PhD research is to examine and identify the motivations and perceptions of staff in differing food and beverage servicescapes in order to better understand what constitutes the hospitable experience and how this knowledge can be utilised to develop and empower food and beverage staff to provide more natural, enjoyable and authentic experiences. This work in progress paper therefore aims to present the focus of the PhD to date, delineate the preliminary results of a pilot focus group and to present the future direction and scope of the reminder of the PhD study.

Research Methods

This work in progress paper aims to present the results of the pilot focus group held as part of the first study phase. The first study phase of the wider PhD is concerned with investigating the thoughts and opinions of a variety of bar and restaurant staff in differing contexts with reference to the influence of gender, natural hospitableness, servicescapes and theatricality on the motivations and perceptions of staff working in the hospitality industry.

It is intended that this first study phase will utilize focus groups with a food and beverage staff working in a range of hotels of varying classifications across South Wales. This decision to choose a variety of hotels on which to focus my research was made for a number of pragmatic and theoretical reasons. Hotels inevitably have a differing variety of food and beverage servicescapes within the one hotel, and often hotel food and beverage staff have to 'multi-task' and fluctuate between a variety of differing servicescapes within one shift or service. Interesting questions and comparisons can therefore be drawn between how staff in one hotel adopt and act out roles and modes for differing servicescapes, and the appropriate level of service and theatricality required for different servicescapes within one case study hotel. Following on from this first study phase, the second study phase will then examine the hospitality industry's ability to embrace the differing motivations and perceptions of its staff.

The pilot focus group was held at a four star hotel located in the outskirts of Cardiff. This case study hotel was deliberately chosen as the setting for the pilot focus group on the grounds of convenience sampling. Having connections with personnel employed in the hotel made the issue of access easier. As a convenient sample was chosen for the pilot focus group, the author bore in mind research which argues that convenience sampling saves time, money and effort, but often at the expense of information and credibility (Miles and Huberman, 1994).

Bearing in mind the combination of the identifiable variables (Henry, 2009) of gender, age, sexuality, full time or part time, core or peripheral and the ability to work in a variety of food and/or beverage servicescapes, together with an acknowledgement of both the inclusion and exclusion criteria (Maxwell, 2009) regarding the sampling decisions that had to be made, it was decided to include six food and beverage staff in the pilot focus group– i.e. three men and three women. Each of these focus group members therefore represented different genders, age ranges, part time/full time, core and peripheral workers bar and/or restaurant service staff. On the actual day of the pilot focus group, one staff member was unavailable therefore the final composition of the pilot focus groups was 4 male and 2 female food and beverage staff. As research highlights (Flick, 1998), the unexpected is a common feature of focus groups which has to be anticipated and compensated for in the main study

Preliminary Results and Interpretation

The main results of the above pilot focus group can be delineated as follows.

The majority of staff interviewed in the focus group began working in the case study hotel due to the location and closeness and proximity of the hotel to their homes, rather than because of a genuine desire to work in the hospitality industry. They continue to work in the industry due to the changeable unpredictable nature of the work and the fact that every day in the hotel is different. The variety of work and customers makes them motivated and interested enough to stay in the job.

The staff interviewed who preferred working in a bar servicescape to a restaurant servicescape did so because they preferred working behind the physical 'barrier' of the bar itself. The bar acts as a 'barrier' between their personal space and the customer. Conversely, staff who preferred working in a restaurant servicescape preferred the proximity and closeness of the

space between themselves and the customer. Staff who preferred the restaurant servicescape enjoyed the physical nature of walking around the restaurant and using the 'space' rather than being restrained to the small 'space' of the bar servicescape (Seymour and Sandiford, 2007). Those who preferred the restaurant servicescape did so because of the more intense level of customer interaction, and the fact that in the bar, you have to stand there and wait for customers to come to the bar. Restaurant work is therefore more proactive and initiative led by the staff in the restaurant servicescape than in the bar servicescape.

In a discussion on natural hospitableness and natural hosts (Lovell, 2008), one member of staff commented that although they felt that they did have a degree of being 'naturally nice', they did often tell lies to customers in their quest to tell the customer what they thought the customer wished to hear. This same member of staff also happens to be a proficient poker player and therefore the link between acting and 'poker face' is an interesting one. One other member of the focus group was also a semi professional actor. This suggests that there may be a stronger link between acting and the provision of hospitality and natural hospitality than previously recognised.

Interestingly all of the interviewees agreed that personality cannot be taught or trained, and needs to be an inherent personality trait for those working in the industry. Yet the group had a very high percentage of 'players' or 'actors' within it who would actively try to present what their customers wanted to hear. Participants agreed that the type of person needed to work in the food and beverage sector is someone who has initiative, a bit of spark, common sense, confidence and a 'bit of life behind the eyes'. These qualities have to be inherent within a person and cannot necessarily be taught.

The promise of potential of increased tips did not proactively affect the level of service that the staff provided for customers. This may be because in this hotel the new legislation had not affected the amount of tips and therefore had not made a significant difference to take home pay.

Participants created their own coping strategies to deal with the effect of the emotional labour invested and inherent in their work (Van Maanen and Kunda, 1989).

Those who wanted to stay in the industry all saw their futures as managers / owners of a business within the hospitality industry not as remaining in a technical / operative role.

All of the interviewees believed that they behave differently when they visit restaurants to friends/family/peer members who do not work in the industry. This difference in behaviour was in regard to the expectation of the experience whereby they were in certain instances more tolerant and yet at the same time more critical of the overall experience. There was also a marked difference in the higher tipping levels of those working in the industry to those who do not work in the industry.

Future Direction and Next Step(s)......

As a direct result of these preliminary findings, the following themes have been identified as the most potentially significant. Therefore these themes will be followed up in the remainder of the

first study phase which focuses on five other case study hotels of varying classifications across South Wales:

- Expanding on the types/ ranges of bars and restaurants to develop more rich and useable qualitative data.
- Is being genuinely and authentically naturally hospitable ever achievable, and if so, can it actually be taught/trained? Can we ever be expected to like everyone and provide the same level of hospitableness to every type of customer?
- The link between flirting, sexuality, gender and service.
- A deeper exploration of the link between acting and tips and vice versa – to what extent does having a "poker face" help within the hospitality industry.
- Possible exploration of the ethics of lying and acting.
- How does the behaviour of food and beverage staff differ in their role as customer with those customers who have no experience of working in the food and beverage industry? How can this knowledge be used by managers within the hospitality industry to enhance the hospitable experience for all customers?
- How do others view you / hospitality jobs *per se* and the impact of this upon their perception of work "suitable work roles"

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Whose World Heritage? The role of Indigenous 'free prior informed consent' in tourism and indigenous governance of potential World Heritage listing.

Dr Rob Hales

Keywords: Free prior informed consent, World Heritage, Indigenous Engagement , Tourism.

Abstract

This paper examines the engagement of indigenous communities in World Heritage nomination processes with a key focus on how international human rights obligations can influence governance of the state controlled conservation estate. The recent development of the concept of Indigenous Free Prior Informed Consent (FPIC) culminating in the Universal Declaration of Human Rights (United Nations 2007) has highlighted the need to operationalise this concept in a range of contexts in order to progress human rights and self determination of Indigenous People. Such operationalisation of this concept has led to the altering of the governance regimes of indigenous-postcolonial relations that are in need of self determination, transparency and accountability in the Australian context. The case of potential World Heritage nomination for certain areas of Cape York will be used to explore how these obligations force upon the state a number of dilemmas in developing collaborative ways of governance of the state controlled conservation estate. The research undertaken here revealed that there is a significant gap in the literature on the application of FPIC to World Heritage nomination processes. FPIC has not been used as a principle to guide previous World Heritage nomination processes. Where FPIC has been implemented in other contexts, the focus has been on individual rights and interests as opposed to collective agreements between geographically disperse groups. Unless this aspect is redressed and a more participatory approach is adopted (Lane and Hibbard 2005) the World Heritage FPIC process will fall short of realising its human rights and self determination agenda.

Introduction

This paper examines how international human rights obligations can influence governance of the state controlled conservation estate through the process of engagement of indigenous communities in World Heritage nomination processes. The trend toward the decolonisation of nature in conservation management has largely resulted from Indigenous People voicing

concerns of ownership, rights and use of contested lands (Adams and Mulligans 2003). However, despite the increasing engagement of Indigenous People in cooperative management of conservation areas there still is fundamental issues of power that seem to be side-lined in the development of indigenous-conservation agreements. It is unsurprising that the present World Heritage nomination procedures, as outlined by UNESCO, do not include contemporary principles of how to engage with Indigenous People and seek their consent. For example, the recent internationally accepted principle of Free Prior Informed Consent (FPIC) is a glaring omission in the nomination process for World Heritage. In this paper I argue that when such a principle is included it challenges the power dynamics of indigenous conservation governance in ways that shifts the dynamics of power away from the favoured conservation agenda. The way in which Indigenous People are included in the process of nomination of World Heritage sites is linked to how Indigenous People can respond to the resultant increase in tourism that invariably occurs after listing of the site. There is a greater likelihood of greater benefits to those Indigenous People who will be directly and indirectly affected by the changes if they are included in a participatory approach to consultations and negotiations.

This paper explores the tensions and implications that occur when FPIC is used as a core principle of indigenous engagement in World Heritage nomination. The central argument of this paper is that FPIC has changed the governance regimes of World Heritage nomination in Australia but if FPIC is not used within a participatory planning and legal framework it will not redress the potential impacts of World Heritage nomination, including tourism impacts, on Indigenous People.

Free Prior Informed Consent is an internationally recognised term used to define an agreement between Indigenous People and another party in order to allow the other party to proceed with an intended proposal only after all the relevant facts are known prior to consent, and it is established that the consent was voluntarily given. It is a term linked to the human rights agenda and self-determination of Indigenous People (United Nations 2007).

Free Prior Informed Consent is a relatively new concept only being only enshrined in the United Nations Declaration on the Rights of Indigenous Peoples in 2008. However, historically, the concept of seeking consent of Indigenous People by colonial powers is not new. The British Government gave Captain Cook secret instructions to take possession of the east coast of Australia but only after seeking consent of the native people. However, Cook never actively

sought the consent of Aborigines and nor was it ever given by them during his voyage in 1770. In relation to the present study, it is ironic that the place where Captain Cook took possession of the east coast of Australia is now a national park and is an area to be possibly included in the World Heritage nomination process using the principle of Free Prior Informed Consent to establish the listing.

This paper will use the case of potential World Heritage nomination for certain areas of Cape York Peninsula in North Queensland, Australia, to examine three implications in the operationalisation of FPIC. The first implication is how the United Nations Declaration on the Rights of Indigenous People's (United Nations 2007) obliges the state to tenuously adopt the FPIC principles to engage with Indigenous People over potential World Heritage nomination. Secondly, how these obligations expose dilemmas in participation when developing an FPIC process for potential World Heritage nomination. Thirdly, the operationalisation of FPIC as a means to redress the impacts of World Heritage nomination, including tourism impacts, on Indigenous People depends on the adoption of key aspects of FPIC. Central to the discussion across all three implications is the issue of power.

Power behind World Heritage nomination and the researchers

The research methodology for this paper is messy. In developing a methodology for this paper I struggled in my attempts to make sense of the dynamic and hard-to-grasp world in which the research topic was situated. Law (2004) identifies that a common assumption of research generally is that messy findings are the result of poor research processes. I felt this acutely in my attempts to frame the process of understanding and writing about the phenomenon I was engaged with. Law (2004) indicates that, in order to make sense of this 'messy world', contemporary social inquiry persist in seeking clarity and precision. However, the notion that the world might be fluid, ephemeral, elusive and multiple is unthinkable and incompatible with the processes of making it seem clear and definable. However, the difficulty in making such orderly generalisations may be the result of a 'messy world' and not the limitations of method/methodology.

Law (2004) proposes that a 'performative understanding' of the research process might help to explain the outcomes in more 'precise' ways. As Law and Urry conclude, 'research methods in the social sciences do not simply describe the world as it is, but also enact it' (2004, p. 391).

They continue: 'They are performative; they have effects; they make differences; they enact realities; and they can help to bring into being what they also discover.' (Law and Urry 2004, p. 392–393) Indeed, 'to the extent social science conceals its performativity from itself it is pretending to an innocence that it cannot have' (Laws and Urry 2004, p. 404). This leads to the consideration of the idea of a 'performative' social inquiry. The present paper has evolved from this understanding of the research process.

This paper is the result of a research consultancy for the Queensland Government, Australia that provided guidance as to the FPIC mechanisms that they might implement when engaging with Indigenous People of Cape York Peninsula for the purpose of World Heritage nomination. The process of negotiation with Indigenous People over potential nomination is at a preliminary stage at the time of writing this paper. The very act of my publishing this research before negotiations even begin is a performative act as it discusses potential directs outcomes of a process that is in its infancy. I do not view my role of researcher as an 'innocence act' of empirical objectivism that regards the world as objective, where reality is 'out there' to be captured. Such a process strips the political context from the process and outcomes of the research and does not account for the realities of power that I have acutely felt as a researcher in the consultancy and also when writing this paper.

My engagement in the research process is best summarised in the following way. I and four other academics were commissioned by the Queensland Government to review literature review of scholarly and non-scholarly articles in order to determine whether FPIC has been used in the process of World Heritage Nomination and also to examine potential ways to include FPIC in such a process. This formed the basis of an unpublished report. The conclusions from that report informed the ideas presented in this paper. The reflections of the researchers during and after their engagement in the consultancy itself are also included in the paper. Reflexive understanding of our role in the consultancy and the engagement with Indigenous representative is also an important part of understanding this research and writing this paper. One key aspect of this is our understanding of the reasons for Indigenous representatives not to become part of the FPIC process. In order to understand and communicate why this occurred public sphere comments by Indigenous representatives on Cape York Peninsula are used as well as the public sphere comments of Federal and Queensland politicians. Lastly the researcher's contextual understanding of issues related to Indigenous engagement is also part of the ideas presented here.

FPIC is a colonising concept that attempts to acknowledge sovereignty of Indigenous People but the knowledge of, and control of, this processes is still in the hands of the coloniser As will be discussed in the proceeding analysis, various tensions between the state and Indigenous People create opportunities for resistance within the operationalalisation of Free Prior Informed Consent. The conceptual frame of this working paper will be developed further in future iterations of this research.

FPIC and obligations to engage with Indigenous People over potential World Heritage nomination

The United Nations General Assembly adopted the United Nations Declaration on the Rights of Indigenous People's (United Nations 2007) on 13 September 2007. The Australian Government officially supported the Declaration of the Right of Indigenous People on 3 April 2009. It should be noted here that Australia was one of the last countries to support the declaration. Following this, the Queensland Government officially supported the Declaration on 8 August 2009. In doing so, the Queensland Government accepted the Declaration as a way of recognising and protecting the rights of Indigenous Australians. However, the support is non-binding. Despite this, Article 19 is of particular interest. It states:

> [The] States shall consult and cooperate in good faith with the Indigenous
> peoples concerned through their own representative institutions in order to
> obtain their free, prior and informed consent before adopting and
> implementing legislative or administrative measures that may affect them.
> (United Nations **2007, p. 8**)

This is a guiding principle in both the development of consent frameworks, and the development and implementation of consultation strategies for potential World Heritage nomination. As a consequence of the acceptance of the declaration, recent statements by the Queensland Government and the Australian Federal Government have indicated the importance of the consent of Traditional Owners as a precondition to any World Heritage nomination. On 25 February 2010, Minister for the Environment Peter Garrett stated:

The government has always made it perfectly clear that any negotiations going forward in terms of tentative listing are dependent upon the full consent and participation of Indigenous People in Cape York. (*Hansard*, 25 February 2010)

Queensland's Sustainability Minister Kate Jones also confirmed the Queensland Government's commitment to indigenous consent:

We will not proceed with a formal World Heritage nomination without the express and informed consent of Traditional Owners. (Schwarten & Crystal 2010, para. 7)

These statements indicate that there has been a change in the governance of World Heritage nomination processes in Australia. Previous World Heritage listings, such as the wet tropics listing in far north Queensland, demonstrate Australia has had flawed consultation processes involving Indigenous People (Lane 2001).

However, despite these commitments, the terminology used in the statements above are not the same as stated in the accepted definition of FPIC. The term 'free' is not used by either politician. The issue of voluntariness is excluded in the meanings of how the process of FPIC is to proceed. In effect, they are promoting obligation but an obligation to a process that inherently acknowledges the power of the state and its will to progress world heritage listing.

There is also a difference in the subjects who will be giving consent in the above statements. The Queensland Government uses Traditional Owners whereas Federal Government uses Indigenous People. These statements may reflect the different approaches to FPIC. The use of Traditional Owners means that only Indigenous People who have native title will be part of FPIC processes. The implications of this are discussed below in the section on tourism impacts.

Dilemmas of participation in FPIC processes

Inclusion of Indigenous People in FPIC processes is not a given. In order to keep their options open, Indigenous groups can choose to stay outside FPIC negotiation processes (Dore and Lebel, 2010). This is a type of passive exclusivity, which has the effect of ensuring groups are kept off limits to inclusion by proponents (Dryzek, 2002). If deals are perceived as already 'done', then engaging in a FPIC process is redundant and outcomes for Indigenous People will

be most likely limited. Alternatively, the motivations for passive exclusivity may stem from concerns that joining an FPIC process will deplete the power of oppositional public sphere action. This loss of power stems from the implied consent incurred through Indigenous People engaging in the FPIC process itself – prior to giving consent! One of the most significant issues associated with FPIC is the implied nature of engagement. Puño and Laya (2007, p. 5) point out that the use of the term 'consent' leads both proponents and Indigenous People towards a point of agreement:

> the usage of terminology which leads us to think and behave in such a way that we have no option but to accept what is proposed to us should not be permitted. As such, the processes between consultants and Indigenous Peoples should not be described as FPIC processes, but as self-determination, thus making it clear that the options of saying yes or no are possible and valid.

Indigenous representatives on Cape York Peninsula have experienced this phenomenon already. Their problem with consent is best understood from an historical perspective. The neo-colonialism is still being experienced by Indigenous representatives (Marks, 2010). Some Indigenous People believe that the recently introduced Wild Rivers legislation had a consultation process was not inclusive of Indigenous interests. This legislation altered land use controls of various types of Indigenous lands tenures in Cape York Peninsula. As a result of this experience Indigenous representative bodies have refused to participate in any preliminary discussions aimed at developing an appropriate and relevant mechanism for FPIC in potential World Heritage nomination on Cape York Peninsula. This is despite many attempts of interest groups and the government to initiate dialogue with Indigenous People in Cape York Peninsula over the process of World Heritage Nomination.

Redress the impacts of world heritage nomination, including tourism impacts, on Indigenous People

The International Cultural Tourism Charter for Managing Tourism at Places of Heritage Significance (UNESCO, 1999) was adopted by the International Council on *Monuments* and *Sites* (ICOMOS) in Mexico, October, 1999. This organisation works with UNESCO to assess the cultural aspects of all World Heritage nominations and uses the principles of the Cultural Tourism Charter as a way of ensuring the rights of '[h]ost communities and Indigenous Peoples should be involved in planning for conservation and tourism' (UNESCO 1999, Principle 4). However, there is no explicit mechanism that details how this might actually occur.

The problem with not having explicit mechanisms will invariably result in the rights and concerns of Indigenous people not being included in the FPIC process of negotiation. Despite there being an obligation to include FPIC and that this gives power of resistance to Indigenous People – as has been witnessed on Cape York Peninsula – this does not mean that critical aspects of FPIC will be included that ensure possible benefits from increased tourism will flow on to Indigenous People.

The major issue in terms of tourism and indigenous engagement is one of scope and inclusivity in planning processes. The progress of World Heritage Nomination of certain areas of Cape York Peninsula in terms of indigenous engagement is witnessing a similar history to previous nominations in Australia. One of the 'success' stories of World Heritage for joint management between Indigenous People and park management is Kakadu National Park in the Northern Territory of Australia. In 1985, Uluru–Kata Tjuta National Park was handed back to its Traditional Owners. The joint-management arrangement that has evolved between the Indigenous Anangu people and the federal protection area agency is now lauded around the world as the Kakadu/Uluru model of joint management (Worboy, Worboys & De Lacy, 2005). However, the history of planning does not reflect the espoused level of success in the relationships and management that is now operating in the park.

The literature concerning Kakadu National Parks indicates that consultation, participation and ultimately consent are notably absent from the practices that have led to the establishment of these protected areas (Greer, 2010; Hill, 2006; Lane, 2002). Joint management and ownership arrangements were negotiated and established some years after national park declarations in an attempt to build equitable relationships for management and access between the Traditional Owners and agencies (Haynes, 2009). The process essentially has been one of government and agencies being forced to negotiate with the Traditional Owners as a result of political activism from Indigenous People, a reactive process that generated the inception of the boards of management and agency acceptance of traditional ecological knowledge and cultural systems of organisation. In the case of Kakadu, when the Northern Land Council 'wanted to negotiate for a park board during the initial negotiations in 1978, the national government itself specifically refused the idea' (Haynes, 2009, p. 10). Kakadu National Park Stage 1 was proclaimed in 1979 and the board with Indigenous representation was finally established in 1989.

The Kakadu case is similar to the nomination process for Cape York Peninsula. Indigenous People who are Traditional Owners will be included in the management regime that will

eventually be initiated if the nomination proceeds. However the legacies of previous government actions on Cape Your Peninsula have become impediments to the process of consultation using FPIC. Greater political scope is need in negotiations of potential World Heritage nomination if the consultation process is to proceed. The problems encountered at this preliminary stage will be similar to the problems that will be experienced by Indigenous People as a result of the implementation of World Heritage listing - if it proceeds. The scope of FPIC consultation needs to ensure that not only Traditional Owners are included in the potential listing but also people outside the boundary areas of World Heritage areas. However, this latter group are less likely to be included in consultation process and therefore have less power in negotiating potential beneficial arrangements in the management of World Heritage Areas. This is ironic because the people who are on the fringes of World Heritage areas have historically experienced greater negative impacts compared to Traditional Owners of land directly regulated by World Heritage Listing. The issue of consultation is not just about adopting an FPIC process that deals with direct issues. Fundamental in the process of adopting a robust process is inclusion of issues that lie outside the 'normal' scope of negotiations both geographically and politically.

Conclusion

The process of implementing FPIC in potential World Heritage nomination processes has rekindled historical contestation and negotiation over land and its use. The scope of consultation using FPIC has emerged as an issue that needs to be addressed. Unless this aspect is redressed and a more participatory approach is adopted (Lane and Hibbard, 2005) the World Heritage FPIC process will fall short of realising its human rights and self determination agenda. Future research into how tourism is can be incorporated into the scope of negotiations using FPIC is warranted.

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Entrepreneurial drivers of innovation in nature based tourism

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ABSTRACT

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Critical & Philosophical Perspectives of Justice in Tourism: Whither Sustainable Tourism Marketing?

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Abstract

Numerous versions and discourses of sustainable tourism, ecotourism, and responsible tourism have been forwarded over the past three decade, yet theoretical and methodological developments related to justice, fairness and equity are surprisingly lacking. Tourism research has been particularly inattentive to conceptualizing and addressing justice in relation to minority, and diverse ethnic and socio-economic groups in tourism destinations. This paper starts with a critique of sustainable tourism (marketing) and highlights some of the theoretical and ethical lacunae. We then bring in some of the voices of local men and women in the island destination of Cozumel, Mexico, to explore tourism's interpellation with the people of and the place. These 'tales from the field' illustrates some of the ethical and critical challenges to be considered in this task. A framework (paradigm) is suggested that addresses (i) ecocultural justice, (ii) pedagogic practices, and (iii) integrated governance. The "4 P's" of marketing are re-visited from this perspective—a perspective oriented towards flourishing and well-being (drawing from Aristotelean principles).

Keywords: Sustainable tourism marketing, equity, justice, virtue ethics, flourishing, well-being

Sustainable Tourism Marketing: Critique and imperative

While a few authors have attempted to draw upon broad principles of environmental, social and economical sustainability as well as social marketing to construct the notion of *sustainable*

tourism marketing, the approach remains vague and ill-defined (see, for instance, Dinan and Sargeant, 2000). Contributing to the confusion is the complexity of tourism and the management functions, processes and practices within the tourism system. The globalization of finance, communication, media and information technologies has enabled "time-space" compression in image production and consumption (Harvey, 1990). News, information and the culture industries traverse the globe, and cultural criticisms abound with respect to the representation and consumption of people, places, and pasts, with little accountability and inadequate governance mechanisms to ensure responsible, respectful use (see Hollinshead, 1991; Pritchard and Morgan, 2001). Despite repeated calls to consider the close interrelations between humans and the biophysical world (and with each), to facilitate sustainability and democratic values from such an interconnected perspective (Shiva, 2010), management, marketing, land-use planning, resource use and conservation still tend to operate in isolation from each other and hence from societal values and resident/visitor needs. Such a marketing-planning gap is no longer tenable, and the political economy of tourism marketing deserves closer scrutiny (see Albrecht, 2010; Morgan and Pritchard, 1999).

Our paper aims to offers some preliminary contributions towards developing a robust conceptual framework for *sustainable tourism marketing* [STM]. We argue below that a paradigm shift is needed towards an ecocultural, pedagogic and integrated approach to sustainable tourism marketing. Here, justice, equity and the well-being of diverse cultural groups and the places they inhabit are integral considerations in development, planning and delivery of tourism marketing initiatives. A local-global systems view and participatory principles support this ethically grounded marketing approach, as discussed below. An interpretive look at the popular destinations of Cozumel, Mexico, illustrates some of the theoretical and empirical challenges to be considered in this task. How do we as researchers approach the "other", reflexively conscious as we are of constructing "subjects" or re-enacting colonial relationships, or… What role can Kantian and other positions on morality play in understanding the ethical lacunae in tourism marketing, and offering direction towards what might constitute responsible or "sustainable" tourism marketing?[i]

A new paradigm for sustainable tourism marketing?

Sustainable marketing, say Van Dam and Apeldoorn (1996), should contribute to finding feasible trade-offs between business and environmental concerns, appealing to lengthening corporate time horizons, valuing continuity over profit, and acknowledging the "necessity of regulatory constraints to the market mechanism" (p. 53). Dinan and Sargeant (2000) focus on tools and techniques of social marketing, which they say "have much to offer tourism organizations seeking a more sustainable approach to their market" (p. 1). Middleton and Hawkins (1988) offer an early discussion on sustainable tourism marketing, drawing on the broader area of sustainable tourism to incorporate notions of stakeholder involvement and community involvement in policy and planning, among other aspects. Gilmmore, Carson and Ascencao (2007) similarly draw on sustainable tourism and sustainable development to define sustainable tourism marketing as: "marketing that incorporates social, economic and

environmental perspectives in a given region" (p. 255). We draw on the rich literature that is beginning to coalesce around the topic of sustainability in tourism, to address *sustainable tourism marketing* from three perspectives that we argue are integral to the urgent task of developing a conceptual framework for STM: (i) ecocultural justice, (ii) pedagogic and (iii) integrated governance:

 (i) An ecocultural justice approach: The sustainability of the biophysical environment has dominated discourses on sustainable (tourism) development and sustainable marketing (WCED, 1997, Sharpley, 2005, Van Dam and Apeldoorn, 1996), along with some social and socio-economic considerations like inter-generational and intra-generational equity, closing the gap between the "North" and the "South" (WCED, 1997). Cultural considerations are woefully lacking in such discussions, and need to be brought into discussions of environmental sustainability. Also poorly addressed in these early discourses on sustainable development, sustainable tourism and sustainable marketing, has been fair consideration of minority and lower-income populations, diverse groups who risk being excluded from decision making on development and conservation.

Drawing on principles of environmental justice, the *ecocultural justice* perspective therefore calls for the need to examine tourism impacts and participation in tourism decision-making from a distributional and procedural justice perspective, paying special attention to issues of equity, discrimination, and racism (Lee and Jamal, 2008; Jamal et al 2010). Principles of equity and justice, it can be argued, should apply to both sustainable tourism research and to sustainable tourism marketing. Furthermore, where environmental resources are intricately linked to people's culture, such as the case of indigenous groups, adverse environmental impacts become a matter of *eco-cultural justice.*

Using the term *ecocultural justice* rather than *cultural justice* is useful for two reasons. Firstly, it helps to transcend the tendency to separate environmental (ecological, biophysical) considerations and "impacts" from cultural ones (e.g., human-environmental relationships, land ethic, traditional and historical relationships). Secondly, it attempts to bring a little more equity into sustainable development related discourses, as noted above. Some of its concepts, as drawn from environmental justice, are not necessarily independent of each other; issues of equity, for instance, can related closely to historical discrimination or racism against diverse populations. Applicable to the sustainable tourism marketing perspective, Camargo et. (2008) offer the following:

- *Eco-cultural justice* refers to active involvement of low-income and minority groups, including indigenous groups, in the marketing of their eco-cultural goods for tourism purposes
- *Eco-cultural* e*quity* refers to the fair distribution of marketing and promotion initiatives among different groups, paying particular attention to the marketing needs of low income and minority groups
- *Eco-cultural discrimination*: Indigenous people, low income and minority groups around the world have traditionally been excluded from participating in tourism

marketing efforts or being given control over them. In addition, their traditional knowledge on sustainable use, conservation and protection of resources has usually taken to a secondary place as opposed to more "scientific" approaches to tourism development and marketing.

(ii) Pedagogic practices: In addition to the integrated and eco-cultural justice view above, a radical shift is needed towards acknowledging the ethical responsibilities of tourism and destination marketing organizations. Ethics in tourism marketing, argues Wheeler (1995), are implicit but should be discussed explicitly and debated seriously; the role of tourism marketing ethics "revolves around effective segmentation, communicating more appropriate messages about the destination and the reality of the fragility of the environment". Some key principles offered by Wight (1994: 39, 40) for guiding ecotourism (a form of sustainable tourism) corroborate the importance of collaboration, education, awareness and ethical responsibility by tourism managers and marketers:

- provision of "first-hand participatory and enlightening experiences"
- "education among all parties—local communities, government, non-government organizations, industry and tourists…"
- "encourage all-party recognition of the intrinsic value of the resource"
- "promote understanding and involve partnerships between many players including government and non-governmental organizations, industry, scientists and locals"
- "*promote moral and ethical responsibilities and behaviour towards the natural and cultural environment by all players.*" (our italics)

Translating Wight's principle immediately above to STM, responsible product development, marketing and communication, can (should?) also foster a sense of stewardship plus mindfulness among visitors (Moscardo, 1996), residents, destination managers and service providers. A key principle of *visitor experience* is education and learning; Fennell and Weaver (2005), among others, argue for transformative learning that results in behavioral change towards sustainability. Middleton and Hawkins (1998) also point to marketing's role to influence visitor behavior through education and informing, product development and branding. Yet, like many destination marketers, destination marketers scholars have also shied away from addressing the practical and the ethical implications embedded in sustainable tourism marketing, of which visitor experience is both an explicit and implicit component. Promoting moral and ethical responsibilities and behaviors, as Wight suggests above, is itself fraught with moral challenges, what is the right thing to do, the right way to behave? Who decides?

Wheeler (1995) and others have noted that tourism offers a powerful opportunity to influence expectations, awareness and knowledge of destinations as well as consumer behavior, and so do tourism marketers. But what guide moral behavior and practices by tourism marketers themselves? Given the power and influence of transnational players in the marketing of tourism-related products, places and experiences, who will attend to those who goods and cultures are being packaged and sold? Justice, fairness and equity are key ethical issues in addressing marketing impacts on diverse and minority cultural groups, as noted above. A significant theoretical literature is available on these topics (see, for instance, Rawls, 1971 on justice and fairness). Jamal and Menzel (2009) draw from several philosophical perspectives

address the tension between utilitarianism and respect for persons, as well as virtue, and the "good" in tourism (see Appendix A for a brief overview)—these philosophical principles have much to offer future conceptual development of ethical principles in the STM paradigm (see also Fennell, 2006).

(iii) The integrated approach: An integrated approach to sustainable tourism development and marketing was proposed by Jamal and Jamrozy (2006) framework. Their systems-based view extends beyond the 1990's sustainability paradigm that was based on balancing economy and environment ([WCED], 1987), to encompass social equity and diversity, quality of life, sense of place and healthy living environments. As these authors point out, long-term planning horizons and systems thinking are imperative for destination management under complex conditions, and require understanding tourism as a networked system of interrelated and interactive components:

> "The Integrated Destination Management framework we propose brings in the destination's human-social communities as equitable and integrated members of planning-marketing and goal setting. The new approach integrates economic viability, social equity and environmental responsibilities towards achieving quality of life within *living systems*…The marketing exchange does not just take place between consumers and businesses; it links self-generating networks of participants operating in diverse spatial and temporal spaces. The benefits are not just profits, but civic energy and social equity"

A systems-based view also shows that partnerships, networks and other forms of collaborative management action between stakeholders within and outside of the destination are integral to sustainable tourism (Bramwell and Lane, 2000). Efforts by the public and private sector, DMOs, NGOs and local/area-based residents, must be supported by the actions and activities of tourism industry participants outside the destination. Rabady and Jamal (2006) point to the need for an integrated approach in heritage management, especially with respect to the diverse stakeholders in this domain: heritage conservation experts intent on conservation and preservation, and heritage tourism developers and marketers do not necessarily speak the same language (though they may have overlapping interests with respect to heritage use revenues contributing to heritage conservation). And they may not communicate or collaborate during the planning, marketing and management phases, especially as a range of marketing activities occur elsewhere in the system (e.g. national-level destination marketing organizations promotion various locations around the country, or tour operators and Internet service facilitating the advertising of various attractions.

Visitor impact management and supply-demand market matching are clearly challenging endeavors within the complex tourism system. A paradigm shift, no less, is needed to address the sustainability of destination places and spaces containing the ecological, physical and cultural resources that are being packaged and sold from afar. Renewed attention to governance mechanisms and multi-stakeholder processes are needed to enable sustainable marketing and corporate social responsibility towards places and people that lie outside one's regulatory

boundaries (see, for instance, Garcia-Rosell, 2009). What governance mechanism control and monitor destination marketing and destination marketers in the tourism system? Sustainability principles call for the inclusion in decision making of those who stand to be most impacted by the processes and consequences of development actions (Bramwell, 2005). But additional guiding principles are needed to ensure fair and equitable treatment of destination places and their inhabitants, i.e., a justice oriented approach, as our preliminary explorations on the island of Cozumel suggest.

Cozumel: Cruise playground or place of Mayan worship?

Cozumel has been one of the most important ports for cruise tourism in the Caribbean, receiving between 2 and 2.5 million cruise passengers per year (SEDETUR [Secretary of Tourism of Quintana Roo], 2009). The island's unique natural and cultural heritage includes the world's second largest coral reef barrier, two natural parks (i.e., Parque Marino Nacional Arrecifes de Cozumel and Parque Natural de Chankanaab), white sand beaches, lakes, mangroves, and diverse of species of fish and migratory birds. It is also the home to important archeological sites, which include the ruins of the sanctuary of the Mayan goddess Ixchel (San Gervasio). Located 30 kilometers off the coast of Playa del Carmen, in the state of Quintana Roo, it was occupied by the Mayan as early as 300 A.D., and became a significant trade and religious center in the Yucatan Peninsula, and a pilgrimage site for worship of Ixchel, the Mayan goddess of the moon, medicine, and fertility. In 1518, Cozumel was discovered by Spanish explorer Juan de Grijalva, and it soon became the starting point for the colonization of Mexico, and a long protracted struggle between Mayan inhabitants and incoming Spanish. In 1848, families escaping from civil war in Yucatan (in la Guerra de Castas – the Caste War), arrived to Cozumel and by 1850 Cozumel's population grew to 324 residents. People continue settling in making it, once again, an important port with a vibrant economy derived from the natural gum (chicle) industry and fishing.

Cozumelinos today caught between the jaws of a global economic crisis and "savage capitalism" at home (not to mention the HINI disaster two years ago); residents recognize their dependency on tourism for their livelihood, and neocolonialism and a neoliberal agenda make this a complex performative "playground". Paradoxically, tourism's subjection also offers potential for pedagogic resistance and learning, as discussed below. The main aim of this exploratory study was to understand the experiences and perceptions of various local stakeholders with regard to tourism. Qualitative methods of participant observation and semi-structured interviews (15) were used during two trips to Cozumel in Spring 2007. While follow-up study was conducted in 2009, we discuss here some 2007 study results that offer pertinent insights to this discussion of sustainable tourism marketing. Interviews consisted of open-ended questions addressing four areas: (1) overall attitudes towards tourism, (2) attitudes and opinions about tourists visiting Cozumel, (3) tourism impacts, and (4) tourism and the Maya culture. They were conducted in Spanish or English depending on the fluency of the respondent, and lasted 45 minutes on average. The majority of the respondents were male (12) and born outside Cozumel (11). Their average length of residency on the island was 18 years. With the exception

of two participants, all respondents interviewed were directly involved in the tourism industry as tourism workers (9), business owners (3), or government tourism officials (1). All interviews were transcribed verbatim and translated to English as necessary. Information from each interview was open-coded to identify major themes and categories related to the topics under investigation.

Some critical themes

1. Appropriating Maya culture for promotional purposes

The Mayan thing has been exploited more because of the marketing thing. That many rich people, owners of enterprises here in the Mexican Caribbean use it for advertising their companies or tourist companies or hotels or resorts more than something that … I consider it that is important that people from the whole world knows about the Mayan culture. They use certain names or certain symbols that might create, I think, a thought in their mind that this is kind of sort of exotic more than it's real interesting.

Jewelry shop attendant

A theme that ran across many interviews was the exploitation of the Mayan culture for tourism promotional purposes by larger enterprises and "rich people", with little attention to ethically representing and communicating the cultural heritage of those of Mayan descent who lived on the island. As the above respondent notes, representations of the Maya portrayed in symbols and terms that translate to the "exotic". A number of other respondents also noted that visitors seemed to have the impression that the Mayas were extinct when, in fact, theirs was a living culture that continues today. It was a comment we heard more than once, and so we learned about the desire of the local Mayan residents for tourists to learn a bit about them and about Mayan cultural heritage while they visited, so that they would leave the island and country knowing more about the Mayan civilization, past and present.

2. Lack of attention to cultural and heritage sustainability

Sustaining the Mayan cultural heritage of Cozumel was low on the priority list of key stakeholders in tourism. Even the local government appears to privilege beach-related amenities, reef, scuba diving, but provide little support for cultural survival or the conserving cultural heritage through tourism.

The cultural movement is very limited and there is little support…not from hotels, travel agencies… They [government] think about the beach, the reef, the sea, scuba…They go for the economic not the cultural.
Historian and university professor, Cozumel

While our study did not explore this in depth, the historical racial discrimination against the Maya residents, our in-depth explorations raise questions about how well this minority group fares, in relation to their to livelihood and everyday life, and with respect to their cultural

heritage. Pedagogic opportunities abound for sharing the island's history, and while we wonder why San Gervasio is so difficult to access (one of us got there by riding pillion on a little scooter with a tour guide, who stopped en route to proudly introduce his young kids lying in one of the two hammocks strung wall to wall in their concrete one room house – hurricane proof, government sponsored housing (as was the garbage collection facility), he explained, it had kept them safe from hurricane Wilma, the eye of the hurricane had hovered over their island and house for over 72 hours.

But he also mourned the loss of Maya language and culture—he did not have the time or the resources to take his children to visit their *abuelas* (grandparents) who cultivate a *milpa* (small farm) in the Yucatan. That is where they learned about food and other traditions. But kids today, and his friends, he said, were only interested in American music, culture and learning English (in order to get jobs in tourism). Yet, even amidst the complex historical relations between the Mayan residents and colonial survivors of the Spanish (Hispanic) survivors of the Cast War (Mayan uprising against their oppressors which led some colonists in the Yucatan peninsula area to retreat to Cozumel around the mid-19th century), and the neocolonial interpellations of culture, language and tourism, it is clear that some pockets of resistance are present. Today, one can participate in reenacted Mayan canoe races from the theme park Xcaret (on the mainland, close to Playa del Carmen) to Cozumel. This was a historic sea route used by the Mayans for trading along the coast and with the island.

2. Inequitable promotions: A beach and reef destination image

> *There are not, for instance, promoting the cultural richness of the island. Basically, what they show in all of the brochures and fliers and all that kind of promotional material that bring over to the States are white sand beaches and a local person from the downtown area selling some stuff.*
> *Small business owner, Cozumel*

What is selected for promotion and the amount of resources (private and public) that go towards telling certain stories, but not others, promotion of certain sites, but not others, is a process that locals have little say in. Promotional materials in travel sections of newspapers showing images of people in destinations (like the ubiquitous tourist family or honeymooning couple on pristine Caribbean beaches, devoid of any inhabitants other than the enclavic resort and its foreign occupants), and occasionally the token local person as mentioned in the quote above. This small business owner goes on to point out that real estate information, a list of jewelry businesses and pictures of "white sand beaches" are typically provided to travel agents attending trade shows:

> *I would say that, first of all what the local authorities should do is like to really evaluate all the different points of interest and attractions that we have in the island. For instance, we have more than white sand beaches. We have some*

natural parks, we have very good restaurants…lot of culture in the island but they are not exposing that in the promotional materials or in the tradeshows. I mean, most of the travel agents that attend those tradeshows…get a brochure with the list of the new jewelry stores that are opening in the boulevard…They get real state information and basically a lot of pictures about white sand beaches.

Same business owner

3. Educational discourses or lack thereof?

Local media promoters seem to contribute to promoting Cozumel exclusively as a natural/reef destination, but at least one offers counter-discourses that aim to be educational about environmental problems related to the reefs. For one Internet radio station, promoting Cozumel for tourism, plus protecting the reefs in the Caribbean by awareness raising through their radio shows.

The motto of the internet radio is "Cozumel for the world". We want to tell people where Cozumel is, what is Cozumel, what Cozumel depends on. We have a radio show about international tourism through which we invite people to come. The content of our programs is about the ecology and the environment. From Cozumel, we are launching a campaign for people to protect the reefs and corals of all the islands of the Caribbean. People have sent us emails and pictures of people destroying the coral reefs in other islands and they ask us what we do here to protect the reefs. We use the radio station for two things: to promote tourism to Cozumel and to launch and international campaign to protect…those reefs.

This radio station engages in educational activities, recognizing the symbiotic relationship of the island with the reefs, at least from an economic perspective:

In addition, we take the opportunity to let people who are coming to Cozumel know that here we have an area which is protected and they cannot come and do things that damage the reefs. In Cozumel we know that if the reefs disappear, the economy dies. The island would remain like a ghost island because the main features of Cozumel are its reefs, its sea, and its nature.

First we tell them that we are the second most important coral barrier reef in the world. That is why we need to protect those reefs. And second, we also tell them that they should not touch, step on the sand beach, or capture them. In May, we will start a new campaign to protect the sea turtles.
Journalist and director or online radio station

But, again, as many respondents pointed out, there were very few places on the island that were developed to provide learning opportunities to visitors about its history and its evolution. There were a few sites that had been developed, such as the museum

on the waterfront in Cozumel, lined up amidst jewelry, clothing and souvenir stores. San Gervasio, the ancient Mayan site where the goddess Ixchel was worshipped, contains interpretive plaques that tell the stories represented by the ruins there, in Mayan, English and Spanish. Brochures and tours are also available. But the site is really difficult to get to without a car as there is no public transit, and its location is relatively isolated and remote. Cruise ship visitors spending the day at Cozumel can have the choice of visiting the World Heritage Site of Chichen-Itzá (a ferry ride to the mainland plus about 1.5 hour drive from there to this site) or the humbler, smaller site at San Gervasio—but both are organized tours, purchased on board the cruise ship, with the government playing little hand, and local entrepreneurship is lacking in regards to developing and promoting the island's rich cultural heritage.

Towards an ethics of care & flourishing

Birkenland (2005:17) reminds us that the "starting point for field research is that development of knowledge takes place somewhere… A field is not a physical locality of a territorially fixed community but a field of care for creation and recreation of knowledge". We approached our fieldwork in this spirit and discovered multiple tensions and contradictions, not only among the various "stakeholders" in our research site but also between our efforts to move iteratively between theory and practice, as with respect to our own positionalities as tourism researchers. Despite so much better understanding of representation, commodification, exclusion and other inequities and injustices related to the appropriation and use of natural and cultural resources, marketing research has not proffered much guidance to ensure fair treatment of destination places, peoples and ecologies, especially with respect to intangibles such as eco-cultural relationships (a related term in the literature being human-environmental relationships). Our own positions as 'critical' scholars left us in an uneasy place, wondering how to move from critique to praxis—we sought guidelines for ourselves, and for this neocolonial island space.

So, what ethical principles guide responsible marketing decisions in this domain and, researchers of tourism and marketing? Our explorations lead us to argue that justice should be a primary criterion for developing and marketing tourism, implementing tourism policy, and evaluating sustainable tourism practices. More specifically, we argue for the development of an *ecocultural*, *pedagogic* and *integrated* approach to tourism marketing and research, i.e., a paradigm (framework) for sustainable tourism marketing that addresses the well-being of the people and places of visitation, rather than merely material benefits to the tourism "industry" and to the utilitarian calculus of government stakeholders. These two groups, the industry and government beneficiaries should be held more responsible for the social and cultural well-being of people in tourism destinations, in addition to undertaking more than token action towards the environmental and economic sustainability. From an Aristotelian perspective (Appendix 1), market driven discourses aimed at tourist 'satisfaction' should be re-situated to a paradigm where human flourishing and well-being are the *telos,* or purpose, to which marketing actions and practices (rather than profit) are oriented (note: we do not discuss tourist well-being here, it deserves it's own critical investigation). Following virtue ethics, good habits (dispositions)

would be cultivated that enable them to treat local residents with fairness, equity, respect, and honesty (government corruption was cited by several participants).

Moreover, they would need to tackle not only what is commonly seen as social (e.g., corporate funding of the local community library or swimming pool), but also more troublesome (often political and sensitive) issues involving, for instance, *cultural responsibility* and *ecocultural justice.* Here, the issue is not merely how destination cultures places are represented and interpreted, packaged, branded and advertised, but also by whom and with whose permission (dare we say, oversight?) (Pritchard and Morgan, 2001). A utilitarian calculus makes it easy to ignore the particularities (especially the particularities of historic discrimination and racism that external hotel developers may choose to ignore), while Mayan cultural survival struggles on the island—incoming migrant workers from different parts of Mexico and the Yucatan add to the political and social complexities. Ethical perspectives such as Kant's Categorical Imperative, and Aristotelian virtue ethics, as well as contributions such as Rawls on social justice, Rachels (1999) on an ethics of care, Iris Marion Young (1990) on democracy and difference, and Nancy Fraser (1995) on recognition, may offer useful start towards developing robust theoretical and analytical frameworks for sustainable tourism marketing (STM).

Our preliminary learnings also suggest that a framework for sustainable tourism marketing should include a place-based, participatory ethic within the STM framework. This comports well with principles for collaboration and partnerships (Bramwell and Lane, 2000, and should also help towards closing the problematic "marketing-planning gap" (Jamal and Jamrozy, 2006). Destination marketers promote places and urban planners plan their local spaces, but how often do the two meet? And how well does marketing-planning really consider the destination's inhabitants? The "p" that stands for product development should, we argue, address the needs of those who stand to be impacted most by such development (human and non-human, though we focus on human here) in a way that provides for fair wages (labor practices) and direct involvement of the diverse (migrant and resident) groups in decision making on tourism, especially where they stand to be directly impacted (such as in the way their island was being commoditized, promoted and advertised). Hence, product development could encompass participatory principles in marketing planning—and a holistic, integrated approach to economic, social and cultural by tourism development and marketing (see Dredge and Jenkins 2011).

Some useful ethical guidelines can be drawn upon to provide directions to researchers and practitioners of *sustainable tourism marketing*. For instance, market segmentation could include targeting and educating visitors on sustainability and cultural heritage, grounding accountability in the local as a form of "resistance" to neoliberal agendas that make it difficult to protest the global culture of consumption and market capitalism that commodifies, packages, represents and sells them, their island and its natural and cultural assets. The marketing mix could address aspects such as the following:

Product offerings would be ethically produced with a place-based perspective and systems approach (following Jamal and Jamrozy, 2006). All product offerings would be

grounded in a "destination culture" (like a corporate culture) that emphasizes corporate social responsibility (CSR) and destination sustainability. The *place* (destination) and its cultural and social context, its residents and their eco-cultural heritage are represented and "commodified" ethically and responsibly, following not only Utilitarian principles but Kantian respect for persons (see Jamal and Menzel, 2009).

Promotion would integrate sustainability issues and impacts management (general and specific to destination), into promoting the destination's social, cultural and natural attractions. The diverse range of media (including social media) available today can promote "green" actions to visitors, cultural knowledge and pre-trip preparation. Local knowledge, history, resident and visitor stories can be actively engaged to provide a culturally informed understanding of place and lifestyles, and avenues for managing them. Understanding that the physical (built and natural) environment and culture are integrally linked through everyday practices, history and cultural heritage is a key principle here. *Price* thus requires a *full-cost accounting* approach that identifies and addresses cultural impacts of development and change (e.g., on traditional lifestyles), related issues of environmental and social justice, plus fair and equitable costing for managing development impacts on both ecologies and culture (Batra, 2006).

Tourism's *pedagogic* potential cannot be under-estimated, we believe, to play a key bridging role here between product, price, place and people. Involving residents in neighborhood tours, for instance, offer opportunities for storytelling in relation to natural habitats, social well-being (contributing to local livelihoods and jobs), and cultural experiences. Or, for example, linking historic preservation with new "green" building technologies *and* interpretive stories, explaining these to visitors, encouraging bioregionalism through facilitating small scale, organic, fair trade products, and conveying this via storytelling (personally, digitally and via other media and social networking sources), to visitors in the retail, accommodation and food (hospitality) sectors.

Denzin and Giardina (2009: 11-12) ask: "What is the role of critical qualitative research in a historic present when the need for social justice has never been greater? This is a historic present that cries out for emancipatory visions, for visions that inspire transformative inquiries, and for inquiries that can provide the moral authority to move people to struggle and resist oppression." If we are to engage in such critical, emancipatory tourism research, we require a better understanding of what gives us that "moral authority" or perhaps as Donna Haraway (1989) suggests, a standpoint epistemology where our perspectives are partial, situated and yet one from which we can speak with conviction on our learnings as *situated knowledges*.

Appendix A

Appendix A provides a brief overview of three ethical perspectives drawn from Jamal & Menzel (2009) that we believe are pertinent to tourism, and to which we have alluded to in our paper: (1) The utilitarian ethic of the greatest good; (2) A Kantian ethic of respect for persons; (3) An Aristotelian virtue ethics. It is not intended to be an exhaustive scholarly review of these paradigms, rather, its purpose is to tap the strong moral intuitions that drive each of the paradigms (*ibid*).

Utilitarianism

Utilitarianism is an ethical theory most associated with the British philosophers Jeremy Bentham and John Stuart Mill. Utilitarianism doesn't really tell us what a *good* action is. Rather, it tells us what a (morally) *right* action is. The fundamental intuition behind utilitarianism is that actions are judged as right or not for an agent in accordance with the *consequences* of performing them, in particular, with the amount of good and bad that result. For our purposes these can be understood simply to mean *pleasure* and *pain*, respectively. Importantly, however, pleasure should not be understood crassly to mean simply pleasant physical sensation. Rather, it should be understood to encompass all aspects of pleasure, from simple physical pleasures to social and aesthetic pleasures of, e.g. good company or fine entertainment. Utilitarianism captures a very important ethical intuition, viz., that, other things being equal, at least, the goodness of an action is judged in terms of its consequences.

Kantianism and respect for persons

The moral philosophy of Immanuel Kant is best known for the idea that every moral action is guided by a categorical imperative. Unlike hypothetical imperatives, which dictate what one ought to do if one wishes to achieve a particular end – e.g. If you want a good red wine, you ought to buy one from Bordeaux – categorical imperatives are absolute; one is obligated to obey them regardless of one's desired ends. A central question, then, is: Whence these imperatives? Kant famously answers that individual categorical imperatives are grounded in a principle of reason, which he named the categorical imperative (CI). The connection between CI and particular imperatives that guide our actions in particular circumstances is straightforward: CI provides a general principle from which particular categorical imperatives can be inferred by applying the principle to a given context in which moral action is required.

The CI itself takes a number of forms in Kant's ethical writings. The most famous of these reflected the influence of Newton on the 18th century mindset by appealing to the notion of universal laws: 'Act only in accordance with that maxim through which you can at the same time will that it become a universal law' (*Groundwork of the Metaphysics of Morals*, 4:421).[ii] The idea is that an action is morally permissible only if one can rationally envision a world in which everyone acted in accordance with the principle underlying the action. The humanity formulation of the CI is capture in the following, as Kant put it: 'Act in such a way that you treat humanity, whether in your own person or in the person of another, always at the same time as an end and never simply as a means' (*Groundwork of the Metaphysics of Morals*, 4:432). The qualification 'simply' in the principle is important. For it would be impossible to make one's way around in the world without treating others as means to an end – anyone performing a service for pay, for example, is being so treated by the beneficiary of the service. What Kant's principle proscribes is treatment of another solely as a means to an end.

Aristotle and living well

For Aristotle, eudaimonia – happiness, or 'living well' – is the highest good. All particular goods that one chooses to pursue – health, friends, community, even the austere Kantian

summum bonum of a good will – are pursued for the sake of the general, highest good of living well. Aristotle thus explicitly recognized the moral significance of wellbeing in our thinking, and thereby provides us with the ingredient that seems to be missing from the Kantian notion of respect for persons. For we show respect for others not only passively, by refraining from treating them merely as means in the service of achieving our ends, but also actively, by acting in such a way that promotes their happiness, their ability to live well. Other things being equal, we should treat others so as to facilitate and enhance their ability to live a 'good' life, in a word, to flourish, to live a life that is full and well-rounded.

Living well, it must be emphasized, is most definitely not to be confused with 'living large', i.e. with the mere possession and enjoyment of wealth and worldly goods. To the contrary, for Aristotle, living well involves the development of a certain character, which, in turn, involves the acquisition of certain virtues. Virtues are traits of character (dispositions) that are manifested in daily action, the possession of which are what make for a good person (Rachels, 1999). Aristotle conceived of virtues as midpoints, or means, between extremes of deficiency and excess. Thus, for example, courage is the mean between cowardice and rashness; honesty the mean between prevarication and indiscretion.

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TITLE: It's a wild world: language, liminality, and a conceptual toolbox of scripts, scapes, and tropes

ABSTRACT**:**

Representations of tourism and travel are powerful creators of imaginative geographies of Other places and peoples as Shumer-Smith and Hannam (1994:4) argue, the way people think about the world has 'very real repercussions for the way it is'. This paper discusses the ways in which language and representations of tourism and travel work to construct place by way of conjuring up a sense of the liminal. It is the language of romance that evokes a sense of danger, excitement and intrigue (or the exotic) which imbibes the travel tale with a sharp sense of liminality – a liminal experience in a liminal space. The concept of liminality encapsulates spatial and temporal dimensions that are easily applied to the travel experience in various physical and social contexts. Scapes, in a cultural anthropological sense appear as 'tropes of landscape' (Lewellen 2002), in a sociological sense as networks of global complexity (Appadurai 1990, Urry 2000), and in tourism studies as liminal sites involving dynamic interplay between time, space and place (Johnson 2010). This paper draws from a range of scholarly writings to examine how scripts, scapes and tropes can be used as a framework to analyse data drawn from texts about travel to uncover meaning. This conceptual toolbox is put to work to examine the various ways that phenomena of the world are explained through text, in particular how representations of the 'wild' have been perpetuated or changed through space and time in the travel context. The discussion argues that 'wild' places, spaces and experiences in twentieth (and twenty-first) century writings about travel have dramatically shifted from the context within which boys own adventures were enacted to adventures in a cosmopolitical wilderness. Through examining notions of the wild in the travel context the usefulness of this conceptual toolbox is revealed.

Key Words: liminality, travel texts, tropes, wild, cosmopolitical, scapes

Introduction

This conceptual paper engages a poststructuralist and social constructivist approach is to view writings about travel as sign, discourse and representation. According to Lewellen (2002), who speaks from a cultural anthropological position, this approach positions 'reality' as socially constructed and studies discourse in a historical context (see also Hall 1997a, 1997b; Barker and Galasiński 2001). 'Reality' appears in terms of imaginative geographies of Other places and peoples because the way people think about the world has 'very real repercussions for the way it is' (Shumer-Smith & Hannam 1994:4). The ways in which time and space are culturally coded within a context, and through language, provide insight into discourses used to speak about self, place and people. Thus, travel narratives not only re-imagine worlds through language (Duncan & Gregory 1999) but also provide a site to re-imagine oneself – as a form of human expression. 'The old "I was there in the remote wild jungle"' rhetoric repeatedly drifts in and out of travel accounts, guidebooks and scholarly searches for the 'untouched' and 'authentic' (Mowforth & Munt 1998; Kaur & Hutnyk 1999:5). Wild, untouched, authentic, primitive, and so on are tropes of travel that provide meaning to the type of journey undertaken while other places, peoples and natures operate as foils for the adventurer/traveller to script the self.

The following discussion positions scapes, scripts and tropes as conceptual tools that not only enable one to read into, and between, texts but also to assign meaning to language, which in turn, informs discourse. The analysis of text uses liminality together with these tools to reveal how imaginings of self and Other are constructed in the travel text and to examine the various ways that phenomena of the world are explained, in particular: how the 'wild' has been represented through space and time in writings about travel.

A Discussion of Method: Scapes Scripts and Tropes

Trope is a tool borrowed from anthropology used in cultural studies to explain the ways metaphor operates to build social constructions in text. According to Said (1979:2) the way tropes are mobilised reveal the author's 'textual attitude' which indicates ways metaphor, and the meanings attached to them, inform discourse and frame interplay between self, place and Other. Trope and metaphor are closely connected but operate in different ways to shape discourse – metaphor refers to something 'outside the discourse – an image' or a technique of seeing because it allows one to visualise the image the metaphor suggests (Pesmen 1991:217).

Pesman (1991:215,226) believes metaphor can be used to examine 'notions of order' implied in text just as it can be used to construct a 'point of view'. While metaphor is a technique of seeing or a way of locating the seeing, trope is a technique of assigning meaning to the sight. Both trope and metaphor are made meaningful through writing and discourse as Ohinuki-Tierney (1991:160) explains:

> Like meanings, tropes are not frozen onto particular objects or beings … a symbol becomes a different trope depending upon the actor's use.

Travel texts often conjure up a sense of the liminal through language to evoke a sense of danger, excitement and intrigue (or the exotic); elements which invest the tale with a sharp sense of liminality – a liminal experience in a liminal space. This paper draws from Turner's conception of liminality and his ambition to 'cross disciplinary boundaries' (Weber 1995:527) – liminality encapsulates spatial and temporal dimensions that are easily applied to the travel experience in various physical and social contexts. A way to examine how liminality is expressed in text is through the notion of scapes. Scapes can be seen as sites of political contestation which addresses Weber's (1995:532 original emphasis) concern that 'What … is missing in [Victor] Turner is a conception and recognition of culture as *political contestation*: the battle over narrative power, the fight over who gets to (re)tell the story and from what position'. Black (1992:1) notes that since the eighteenth century, travel literature has maintained an ideological slant; writers are not neutral figures but assume positions that struggle with the tension between 'cosmopolitanism and xenophobia'.

Scapes, in a cultural anthropological sense, appear as 'tropes of landscape' (Lewellen 2002) that explain phenomena of the modern world. For instance, Appadurai (1990) coined the terms ethnoscape, mediascape, technoscape, ideascape and financescape to characterise various 'landscapes' of globalisation. In this 'age of globalisation' the notion of scapes increasingly involves a degree of cosmopolitanism as information becomes more accessible worldwide: information which eventually gets transformed into 'normative knowledge' within disparate cultures (Lewellen 2002). Urry (2000:193) follows Appadurai's (1990) conceptualisation of 'scapes' to explain features of global complexity. This paper engages previous work by this author which argues that scapes assume cosmopolitical meaning, positioned through discourses which are indicated through the codes that tropes evoke when they appear in writings about travel (Johnson 2010a).

According to Rojek (1997) scapes exist as imaginary geographies or social constructions that are identified through dimensions of time and space and are codified in some definable way. Edensor (1998:14) found the construction of place to rely on 'familiar codes' which operate to commodify Otherness; for instance, he says that mediascapes build and reinforce images of the exotic, sublime, beautiful, exploration, discovery, timelessness and authenticity to frame tourist places. As a tool, scapes can be used to read between texts offering a sense of common ground and they assist in the analysis of data offering a way to explore how dimensions of time and space operate in travel texts to reveal cultural codes. A way to explain scapes is through liminality whereby spatial and temporal dimensions interplay with self, Other and the world and an example of this interplay are borders, which appear as liminal scapes to be transversed and/or transgressed. This paper argues that scapes can be seen as liminal sites, not geographically fixed, but involving a sense of dynamic interplay between time, space and place. Adventure travel narratives are regularly explained as positioned in, and formulated according to, liminal notions of adventure, pilgrimage and quest. Indeed, the liminal occurs within a temporal and spatial framework (past and present) because one maps, experiences and/or imagines place through cultural references.

Scholars who examine travel writing do so within a context – the context which is examined in this paper is one of the Orient as Said (1979) understood it – in particular, the discussion centres on travel writing to the Arab and Persian 'world' which provides strong evocations of a Western cosmopolitical ethnoscape. Westerners writing about this region commonly draw on the liminal and evoke notions of risk and danger to characterise their journey and the travelling self. This discussion positions the author as one who 'scripts' a journey through the voice of the narrator. When the travel text is viewed in this way it evokes notions of theatre because performance is enacted through scripts. Gregory (1999) found that travel writers wrote about (or produced) the Orient through scripts worked to construct experiences of place as a type of theatre – an ideascape. In his view, travel writing operates to represent 'other places and landscape as a *text*' with the production of such texts being achieved through scripting (Gregory 1999:115 original emphasis). For instance, he found that the nineteenth century travel writing about Egypt operated as scripts to produce Western imaginings of place. In Porter's (1991:9) view:

> If one learns anything from a close reading of a variety of travel writings, in
> fact, it is precisely that although there are both cultural and historically

specific fantasies concerning our various Others, there are also markedly idiosyncratic ones.

Porter articulates what this discussion so far has suggested: that places are really only imaginary in that they are constructed through metaphor, and the meanings attached to metaphor can vary according to the way it is used. Tropes should be interpreted not only according to the way that metaphor is used, but also to the context within which the trope exists and the currently circulating discourses within that context. Semiotic analysis is required to assign meaning to tropes when they appear as symbols and their meanings are never static but are subject to change according to context; they are subject to generational change as Fussell (1982:182) observed: the travel book acts out 'the basic trope of the generation'. The following section puts these conceptual tools to work to examine the ways in which the trope of 'the wild' appears in texts about travel.

The Trope of the Wild

A way to explain how meaning is assigned through trope is to examine how travel writers imagine the 'wild'. Travel writers have dealt with the trope of the wild in various ways according to the circulating discourses of their times. Scholars have found that discourses of the past (Orientalism, colonialism, post-colonialism, and imperialism) are perpetuated through the use of trope in writings about travel (Pratt 1993; Edensor 1998; Amy 1999) and, these work to orient geopolitical scapes which resonate with readerships of the time (Johnson 2010b). For instance, Edensor (1998:3) found that the notion of an 'authentic, non-Western other' continues to emerge in contemporary travel narratives because they often draw from 'colonial tropes of desire and classification' – tropes of the exotic and the primitive other. 'Wild' spaces have traditionally been depicted as liminal masculine places – places to prove one's manhood. Chard (1996:4) positions the 'wild' to move beyond symbolic boundaries and quotes from Lord Byron's poem *The Dream* to illustrate the notion:

The boy was sprung into manhood: in the wilds.

Byron refers to the experience of the wild as a liminal rite of passage that transforms boys into men. It is the 'wildness' of landscape and the people that live in them that travel writers respond to in various ways. An early example can be seen in *Glimpses of Life and Manners in Persia* by Shiel (1973:395 [1856]) who used scientific racism to ground discourse and position the Other as subhuman:

> The Lek [a Persian tribe] is known by his wild, restless, ferocious look; I have heard them compared to wild cats, and there is truth in the observation.

Kaplan (1993) found the desert to present a test, a measure of manhood for those who wrote in the nineteenth and early twentieth centuries. For instance, he considered that Charles Doughty, who travelled in 1876, reflected a need to 'conquer' wildness and dehumanise the landscape in order to survive it. Doughty was a pioneer adventurer who travelled alone; a liminal figure who transgressed dangerous boundaries that were unknown to Westerners at the time. To transgress the boundaries of the desert required control, competence, knowledge, careful judgement and other qualities to brave the wilds. Mills (1996) views this framework as an example of the 'hero' trope: of being in control of situations, fearless in the face of danger and competent. Liminal landscapes that can support the heroic trope of traveller were described in many male narratives as 'boys own country': overwhelming, strange and potentially dangerous, to be subdued and dominated (Phillips 1997). In Pratt's (1993) view, early survival literature traded on themes of hardship and danger and these themes continue through into contemporary travel writing. While early heroes suffered trials and tribulations to discover 'marvels and curiosities' in 'savage' lands (Pratt 1993), and travellers of the Grand Tour were confronted with increasing risks of travelling to politically unstable countries (particularly during the French Revolution) (Black 1992), the modern traveller finds danger in other contexts, such as the 'urban jungle, ethnic ghettos, and other threatening environments' (Phillips 1997:164).

Accordingly, in travel experiences metaphors of freedom, adventure and risk operate to construct the conquering of such places and imbibe the traveller identity with strong masculine qualities and/or characteristics. For example, the wild scapes of the nineteenth century were commonly depicted as spaces of conquest over the feminine:

> The wild, the tropics was the stage upon which true manhood was forged – the imperial drama of the untamed and alluring female continent and the lone white man she embraced. The Unknown and Savage Lands simply make a man of you. (Birkett 1989:137)

Metaphorical language works in conjunction with the formulation of trope to provide meaning to text. In this case, wild places beckon the explorer/traveller because they are 'ripe' for

adventure, metaphor for the virginal female. Phallocentric tropes of desire appear as a Western cultural 'force' that women 'consciously or unconsciously' draw on when they travel (Fullagar 2002:72). As a cultural 'force' desire for the 'wild' often appears in travel narratives as a discursive space of passion, adventure, exploration, excitement, danger, risk and fear and, as such, presents a space for personal (real or imagined) transformation and transgression. Adventurous women travellers have been seen to assume masculine qualities by braving the wild (Birkett 1989). Indeed, Robinson's (1995) book *Unsuitable for Ladies* focuses on women travellers of the Victorian age who embarked on 'wild' wanderings of exploration associated with 'authentic' freedom. Gertrude Bell, who travelled in the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries attempted to 'civilise' wild landscapes and wild peoples by carrying with her the accoutrements of fine clothing, tableware and other necessities of British civilisation (Wallach 1996). Bell travelled in comfort and style, had influential contacts to impress, and was closely aligned to the patriarchal enterprise of stabilising the 'wildness' of the Arabian tribes to bring them into line with the serious enterprise of British colonialism (Kaplan 1993; Wallach 1996). Alongside these motivations, she articulates a sense of freedom and transformation of self through travel in her book *The Desert and the Sown*:

> To those bred under an elaborate social order few such moments of exhilaration can come as that which stands at the threshold of *wild* travel. The gates of the enclosed garden are thrown open, the chain at the entrance of the sanctuary is lowered, with a wary glance to right and left you step forth, and behold! the immeasurable world … Into it you must go alone, separated from the troops of friends … (Bell 1973:1-2 [1907] my emphasis)

Freedom and existential authenticity permeates Bell's narrative as she describes the exhilaration of stepping over the threshold into a liminal zone. The phrase 'bands … riveted about your heart' (Bell 1973:2 [1907]] are metaphor referring to constraints of a mundane everyday social world, a sphere of conformity, and, tellingly she refers to herself as masculine to escape them. Once the binds were broken through travel she gained freedom to be herself – a self that transgressed the gender boundaries and social mores of her day. The trope of wild in this context means unrestrained freedom, or escape, through 'wild' travel. Escape, as a romantic discourse, has been a dominant theme in travel and tourism since the eighteenth century and has commonly 'focused on feelings, passions, and pleasure, and transcended utilitarian and pragmatic considerations' (Wang 2000:178) as a form of existential authenticity. Escape is connected to freedom – to create adventure in a free, 'uncontrolled' time-space (Elsrud 2001)

and Fuller and Harley (2004) explain how the uncontrolled nature of air travel in a global age inspires an emotional reaction using a quote from a Michel Serres' novel to illustrate a sense of existential authenticity of self: a character 'eulogises on the joys of jet travel' by expressing '[t]he *wild* passion of letting yourself be transported by wind, by burning heat and by cold space' (Fuller and Harley 2004:44 my emphasis). In this case wild connotes a sense of heightened emotion and exhilaration – a letting go of oneself or of being swept away by something one cannot control. Matthews (2006: 132,134) argues that words such as 'wild' and 'adventure' in travel media work to shape twenty-first century backpacker experiences as 'authentic' – noting that 'wild' is not only used to depict an environmental 'wilderness' but an existential authentic (Wang 2000) 'freedom' such as 'going wild' as a way of 'living it up' and escaping the social mores of the day.

Liminal scapes not only appear as physical places on the periphery of civilisation and/or deep inside unexplored territories, but as metaphor for cultural resistance. The 'proto-feminists' Nava (2002) studied who embraced cosmopolitanism as resistance to parental and cultural controls may have been described as 'wild' women – because they assumed freedom to transgress boundaries and behave in a way that violated cultural (and gender) norms of the day. McEwan (2000:9) explains that 'travel writings by white women were positioned geographically, metaphorically and metaphysically between the dominant culture and the "wild zone"'' – and notes how women who travelled as subjects of the British Empire 'into the wild' often colluded with its masculine enterprise (see also Bassnett 2002). In a Victorian context, Melman found expressions of 'wild travel' to comment on society of the time and the restrictions placed on women. She found Bell's work revealing because travelling as an 'unprotected female' she adopted a male voice to challenge conventional gender roles and authorise her writings to a male readership.

It was common for women to write in a male voice during the nineteenth and early twentieth centuries to assume authority to speak as travellers (see Sackville-West 1987 [1928]; 1990 [1926]). In this era, the Arab desert regions were constructed as liminal scapes which epitomised the sublime with all its beauty, wonder and terror, particularly in British travel literature (Kaplan 1993; Chard 1996b). The landscape of these regions was coded male – dangerous, exciting, forbidden and unpredictable and, as such, inspired a literary tradition in

travel writings of the period (Fussell 1982; Kaplan 1993; Chard 1996). Kaplan (1993:50) found the desert imagined as a romantic scape embodied in literature 'in all its awesome beauty, horror, and sameness'. Although these examples of travel writing are drawn from the texts of travellers to the Arab provinces of the Ottoman Empire, there are qualities of this response to the sublime and liminal in travel writings to Iran (Persia) which both relate to, and provide foil for, this tradition (see Kaplan 1993). I found numerous examples of this in my informal review of travel writings from the early nineteenth century (see for example Morier 1812) through to those which were in the twentieth century (see for examples Sackville-West 1987 [1928], 1990 [1926]; Danzinger 1988).

Often militaristic metaphors are used to position the heroic/liminal and wild/unknown where wild takes on a cosmopolitical edge. Anne Blunt (1968 [1881]) in *Pilgrimage to Nejd… and "Our Persian Campaign"* reveals that romance played a part in her pilgrimage/quest, the title conjures up notions of a military exercise in the service of an imperialist cause: imposing order over chaos by investing a sense of control – to anchor the liminal. This militaristic metaphor does not substantially differ from that which Danzinger (1988:55) uses a hundred years later when documenting his travels to Iran in *Beyond Forbidden Frontiers*, the title a metaphor for a liminal cosmopolitical scape, a place he says 'burns with hatred of the West' (see also Dann 1999), he was 'after all, a citizen of an enemy country' – not unlike another America writer under the *nom de plume* of Edward Shirley (1997) who titled his travel book to Iran *Know Thine Enemy.* Inflated language is commonly used in travel writing as a dramatic form of hyperbole that is highly symbolic and laden with cultural references; in this case the cosmopolitical edginess of the American ideology of liberal democracy which has a great investment in the metaphors of freedom and control – the antithesis of the uncontrolled wild. Indeed, once Shirley arrived in Iran he began to plan his 'escape' as he said he had transgressed cosmopolitical boundaries, although he found the Iranian people hospitable and, predictably, a love interest which was forbidden to him.

Women's travel narratives have often been observed as working to civilise the wild from an anti-heroic position. Melman (1995; 2002) found Anne Blunt (1968 [1879]) wrote about her adventures into the wild (with her husband and a retinue of support people) by discursively 'taming' the wildness of the Arabian desert through domesticating landscape by describing it in

terms of things that could be found in the kitchen. Isabel Burton, who accompanied her husband Sir Richard, assumed a male disguise because:

> After all, *wild* people in *wild* places would feel but little respect or consideration for a Christian woman with a bare face, whatever they may put on of outward show… according to their notions, we ought to be covered up and stowed far away from the men, with the baggage and the beasts. (Burton cited in Robinson 1995:149, my emphasis)

Assuming masculine characteristics was important for women to gain the cultural authority needed to write about their travels to liminal places. Burton's passage suggests that personifying masculine characteristics was also a way of gaining credence, as traveller, in the eyes of the visited Other. In a similar way in the 1970s Hobson assumed a male disguise to cope with travel through Iran because it would provide freedom of movement and offer her control and protection against potential danger and trouble that she could cause to herself and others (Hobson 1979). Accordingly, Carr (2002) found male representations of 'wild places' in twentieth century travel writing to dramatically shift by representing places where an 'anti-hero' merely copes with the difficulties he encounters. She suggests that power (and perhaps gender) relationships have changed and that mastering the situation has become something that must be taken in ones stride.

The second millennium is commonly characterised by sense of global interconnectedness, on could argue that the wild zones past travellers ventured into have been plotted, traversed and documented and no blank sections of the map are left for discovery. However, cosmopolitical events and the reactions to them can work in new and frightening ways to reconfigure the wild, and as a result affect international travel processes and flows. In 1998, the United Nations named 2001 as the 'Year of Tourism, Dialogue of Civilisations' because 'tourists are the main factors for cultural exchanges among nations' (Anon. *Tehran Times* 2/12/98). This cosmopolitical scape was changed with the September 11th bombings that year which evoked an unprecedented fear of the Islamic Other in the West and worked against the UN inspired dialogue in a dramatic way. This cosmopolitical shift may be explained with reference to Urry's (2003) writings on global complexity who considers the event:

> …demonstrates this new curvature of space and time…. Suddenly those from the *wild* zones rose from that zone and struck at the vertical city that had previously been invisible. The *wild* and safe zones collided in the sky above New York in a manner no one in the safe zones had predicted. (Urry 2003:131 my emphasis)

As a system of global complexity, Urry considers the hegemon of the British Empire, and by extension the discourses associated with it, to be restructured by a collective of cosmopolitan institutions which operate according to a new world order which repositions the wild. He explains:

> …wild and safe zones have become highly proximate through the curvatures of time-space. There is "time-space compression", not only of the capitalist world but also of the "terrorist world". Wild zones are now only a telephone call, an Internet connection or a plane ride away. (Urry 2003:131)

It appears that the safe zones and wild zones of the world are blurring and 'colliding' into 'strange and dangerous new juxtapositions' (Urry 2003:131). Urry suggests that flows from these 'wild zones of people, risks, substances, images and so on increasingly slip under, over and through the safe gates, suddenly and chaotically eliminating the invisibilities that had kept the zones apart' (Urry 2003:131). While the danger of disease and fear of infection have been continuing themes in travel stories since the fifteenth century (Carter & Clift 2000) more recently the fear has manifested into threats of infection such as HIV/AIDS, SARS, and Avian Influenza – diseases of the Other or the absolute Other (animal) unseen threats emanating from wild (unsecure) zones into the safe (secure) zones. Once again, a militaristic metaphor is employed to position the wild to impose order over chaos in an effort to anchor the liminal. One can explain the American 'war on terror' and 'war on drugs' as exercises to control the flow of the wild into the safe zones – and this also explains the continuing international focus on strengthening border security and the mechanisms used to aid the process – which affect anyone who travels and determines ones propensity to travel to certain places. Dikeç (2002:238 original emphasis) points out, the sign *Britian Welcomes You* at Heathrow Airport in London could be considered misleading because it should read 'Britain welcomes you *if* … you are deemed safe which will depend on whether you meet a range of criteria. Nations around the world are increasingly concerned with security and are more selective about who they will, or will not, allow the right of entry. Nationality, cultural and ethnic background, religious affiliation all become suspect under these dynamic juxtapositions and the discourses which circulate around

them are legitimised by engaging the trope of the wild to configure the social construction of a cosmopolitical wilderness.

Conclusion

This paper examines how representations of the 'wild' have changed through space and time in the travel context to argue that 'wild' places, spaces and experiences in past and present writings about travel are often gender oriented and have noticeably shifted over time. Arguably, evocations of wild places and peoples connect imagined geographies with human emotions – wild passion connected to existential authenticity continues to be evoked through notions of freedom and is connected to self, society and the natural elements. By using trope as an interpretive tool to analyse the travel text it is possible to investigate how strains of rhetoric are employed in the narrative and to find the dominant discourses that underpin, and give meaning to, such language. Striving for existential authenticity is a human condition, and the trope of the wild provides expression to emotions, most effective when combined with a sense of passion. Metaphors encapsulating notions of freedom, escape, adventure, exploration, excitement, risk and fear provide context within which to fashion trope and, in turn, presents a discursive scape to enact personal (real or imagined) transformation and/or transgression. The discussion engages the concept of liminality to examine the use of trope within context (or scape) to discover how discourses are formulated in texts about travel and tourism.

Tropes appear as techniques that authors use to articulate the gaze (way of seeing, viewpoint) according to discourse, and through this process they frame the various ways places and people are viewed and places are scaped. Those who write about travel appear as semioticians, who read scapes 'for signifiers of pre-established notions or signs' (Urry 1998:12) to present a world view according to circulating discourses of their times. The tropes that are used in this regard are often perpetuated where one can track usage through time and space to formulate scapes in writings about travel – and this paper examined how the trope of the wild maintains such a currency. While this may be true, at the least one thing has changed: the twenty-first century traveller need not travel to risk the wilds somewhere else on the peripheral of civilisation, but instead risks the wild at home – through discourses of the cosmopolitical. A new 'global age' now exists, and writings about travel highlight the ways that the cosmopolitical is configured through evocation of the trope of the wild from a context where boys own adventures were

enacted to adventures in a cosmopolitical wilderness – a scape where the wild and the safe collide.

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Disappearing Destinations - the consequences of climate change: contemporary debates for adapting to change at tourism destinations.

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INTRODUCTION

This paper will discuss contemporary threats to, and consequences of, current climate predictions and impacts upon predicted tourism growth and asses predicted changes and implications for management and policy options for threatened destinations. From recent research, local impacts of erosion on coastal tourism development are evaluated and consequences for tourism development outlined. The validity and practicality of management options to tackle the complex nature and juxtaposition between tourism growth, climate change and tourism destination management are considered, including an evaluation of management responses and consequent policy options and choices. The research methodology is primarily focussed upon an evaluation of case studies from different regions of the world. These will be used to highlight and illustrate particular sensitive issues and points for contention.   Conclusions from the research will aim to demonstrate and raise debate on how coastal protection measures should be linked to stronger strategic policy responses. In this respect the paper aims to highlight that public perception and policy implementation often ignore this imperative, resulting in inappropriate or weak management responses. In conclusion strategic and integrated management strategies are considered and advocated for managing coastal tourism destinations and for addressing increasing demands from the industry. More lateral options regarding coastal destinations and their relationship with associated hinterlands, which can often provide new opportunities for sustained tourism development, are also considered.

THE GLOBAL CONTEXT

Coastal tourism destinations now form a well documented account of the historical development of modern day tourism and our basic understanding of it. However, one of the key issues confronting coastal environments is the   continued growth of tourism development and the impact of such on

coastal zones. In the mid 1990s organisations such as the United Nations began to highlight such issues, particularly in developing tourist regions such as the Caribbean (UNEP, 1997). More recently the consequences of such development measured against predicted climate change on coastal belts and fringes has become a contemporary topic of debate (Phillips and Jones, 2005).

The consulting firm KPMG (2009) claims that tourism is among the industries least prepared and the most vulnerable to climate change. It suggests that the tourism industry has yet to come to terms with the risk and associated costs it is facing as threats from heat waves, droughts and rising sea levels are some factors that will directly impact the industry especially in terms of social conflict and economic stability (KPMG, 2009).

As a consequence a new paradox has emerged between coastal tourism destinations and climate, with climate now threatening to destroy the very nature of tourism that, in the past, it has so successfully encouraged. It has been suggested that concern particularly regarding erosion, poses a threat to all stakeholders, especially tourism infrastructure as the ever growing demands for recreational and tourism facilities along coastal fringes increases. This will also be further complicated by ever increasing concerns and debates over the continued need and merits for remedial actions to offset such problems and the need to protect such facilities. Who takes responsibility for the implementation and funding of such measures is also a key question (Argawal and Shaw, 2007).

A recent review by the United Nations Environment Programme (2009) in association with the French Government and the United Nations World Tourism Organisation has also highlighted growing concerns between the need for better integrated coastal management and the need to adapt coastal tourism destinations for climate change (UNEP, 2009). The media stunt of hosting an undersea cabinet meeting by the Maldives Government in the Autumn 2009 to emphasis climate change threats to the island nation is also a case in point.

It is only recently through such august organisations as the Intergovernmental Panel on Climate Change (IPPC,2007) and The Stern Review (MH Treasury-Cabinet Office, 2005) that climate change is believed to be affecting the planet in a potentially far reaching way. The IPCC has confirmed that the Earth's surface average temperature is increasing, leading to many potentially adverse impacts around the globe. For example heat waves are becoming more frequent, glaciers and ice caps are melting at more rapid rates, and sea levels are predicted to rise leading to coastal flooding. Droughts and fires are happening more frequently, as well as unpredicted rains, heavy snowfalls and flooding (IPCC, 2007). The impacts on tourism are also predicted to be far reaching as Hall and Higham (2005) and Becken and Hay (2007) suggest in their recent assessments of climate change and its predicted impacts on tourism.

In October 2007, the second International Conference on Climate Change took place in Davos, Switzerland. The conference agreed that the tourism sector must rapidly respond to climate change, within the evolving UN framework and progressively reduce its Greenhouse Gas (GHG) contribution especially if it is to grow in a sustainable manner. This, it suggested, will require action to mitigate its GHG emissions, derived especially from transport and accommodation activities; adapt tourism businesses and destinations to changing climate conditions; apply existing and new technology to improve energy efficiency and   secure financial resources to help poor regions and developing countries (UNWTO, 2007). As a response to the United Nations Copenhagen Climate Change Conference in December 2009 there has been much speculation and debate concerning real outcomes and actions. It is still unclear how these will manifest themselves but it is quite clear that emergency actions will be required sooner than later and Copenhagen was not a positive start to this process.

Climate change is thus increasingly seen as one of the major long-term threats facing nation states and for those reliant on tourism, their tourism industries. Predicted threats could potentially lead to the loss of many tourist destinations whose appeal depends on their natural environment, particularly coastlines. Many low-lying coastal regions are at risk from rising sea levels - as is already evident in examples such as Venice, highlighted in a recent UNESCO research assessment of impacts of climate change on world heritage (UNESCO, 2007). The report suggests that many of the world's greatest wonders may be under threat from climate change. It predicts that rising sea levels, increased flooding risks and depleted marine and land biodiversity could have disastrous effects on the 830 designated UNESCO world heritage sites.

A recent report by The World Wild Life Fund (WWF, 2007) has also suggested that the tourism industry's heavy reliance on the local environment and climate to sell holidays means that it could face serious challenges as a result of climate change. Global and regional temperatures are rising. An increase in extreme weather events such as floods and storms is also expected. Such critical processes are predicted to have serious if not disastrous consequences for tourism destinations. According to the report, climate change is also going to affect destinations in other ways. It is expected to increase the risk of illness in several parts of the world and this may lead to a 'falling-off' of tourism. (WWF, 2007).

The European Travel Commission have also evaluated social and economic impacts of climate change. They claim that local service providers and tour operators will have to carry out assessments of the threat to their businesses from environmental changes and   changes in tourism flows. In particular the cost of maintaining basic 'natural' resources for tourism, such

as beaches and other coastal amenities, lakes and rivers will need to be addressed more seriously and effectively (ETC, 2006).

Resrach by Epaedia (2005) the European Union's Environmental Agency also suggests that the biggest driver of development in the European coastal zone in recent years has been the demand for tourism. Its research states that Europe is still the world's largest holiday destination, with 60% of all international tourists and a continued growth of approximately 3.8 % per annum. Evidence from Epaedia's research shows that the Mediterranean coasts of France, Spain and Italy are currently respectively receiving approximately 75 million, 59 million and 40 million visitors a year. An increase of between 40% and 60% since 1990. Obvious concerns are raised regarding such growth and further concerns are now raised on growth along the Eastern Mediterranean including the Greek islands, Cyprus and Malta (Epaedia, 2005). In the United States, Houston (2002) reported that travel and tourism had become the US largest industry, employer, and earner of foreign exchange and that beaches were the major factor in this tourism market. He further identified beach erosion as the number one concern of Americans who visit beaches. More recent assessment of beaches to national economies has also been assessed by Williams and Micallef (2009).

The UK based Churchill Insurance group in their 2006 assessment highlighted that some of the world's most famous tourist attractions, such as Australia's Great Barrier Reef and Italy's Amalfi coast, could be closed to visitors within a few years because of worries about environmental damage and climate change. The report suggested that some destinations could be permanently closed to tourists by 2020 or face severe restrictions on visitor numbers and sharp increases in admission prices. Evidence from the report goes on to warn that in twenty to forty years' time the Great Barrier Reef could be severely damaged, forcing its closure, while other parts of Australia would be off-limits because of a rise in bushfires and insect-borne diseases. Other highlighted destinations at risk included the Taj coral reef in the Maldives, Goa in India, Florida's Everglades and Croatia's Dalmatian coastline (Smithers, 2006). The report also suggests that coastal attractions are particularly vulnerable and comments that many resorts will run the risk of damage severe enough to put their long-term viability as destinations in doubt.

One of Britain's leading climatologists, David Viner, senior research scientist at the University of East Anglia, has also supported such notions and has advocated that climate change will have a profound impact on tourism in the coming decades (Agnew and Viner, 2001; Viner,

2006). Becken and Hay's recent review of climate change and its impact on tourism destinations has also raised a keen and growing awareness of such issues (Becken and Hay, 2007).

Greenpeace (2007) issued a stark warning of this by illustrating a hypothetical future Spain if steps are not taken to stop the effects of climate change. The highly controversial warning was illustrated in a publication presented by the organization in Madrid in November 2007. Entitled 'Photoclima – Photoclimate,'

Viewed at: http://www.greenpeace.org/espana/footer/search?q=photoclima

THE SOLUTIONS

Clearly threats derived from climate change will ultimately impact upon the long term future of coastal tourism environments and, of course, their continued survival. From such debates there seems growing evidence that coastal tourism and its relationship with the coastal zone are now significant topics of research, increasingly discussed within international policy contexts. It is therefore, becoming increasingly critical to identify management strategies that on the one hand recognize climatic threats and on the other protect tourism infrastructure and coastal resources, especially in areas significantly reliant on the industry for their economy.

Over the last decade two factors have clearly emerged. One suggests that tourism is having a major environmental impact on many coastal areas and the second suggests that potential threats from climate change are likely to create considerable adverse impacts unless managed effectively. Thus we find an increasingly clear juxtaposition and paradox emerging between, on the one hand, tourism, itself, creating many undesirable impacts on the coastal zone and on the other, climate change threatening to adversely impact on coastal tourism infrastructure, ultimately threatening the very nature, character and socio-economic well being of many tourist coastal destinations.

Climate and tourism are thus increasingly in conflict with one another and consequently, the point at issue is one of how to balance the protection and management our coastal resources and to accommodate growing pressures for recreation and tourism developments. All this, of course, is set within the context of safeguarding and balancing the often crucial socio-economic development issues within such zones. Critical to this are escalating concerns for climate change and mounting pressure to take effective ameliorative actions such as hard and soft engineering responses and the need to advocate strategies for the effective and sustainable

management of tourism infrastructure. Wider arguments relating to how such threats are recognized and accepted, who takes responsibility for enacting ameliorative measures and who ultimately pays the bill   all contribute to the increasing complex debate on these emerging concerns. Who takes responsibility appears to be an emerging theme all round.

As a consequence there are a number of growing complex interactive relationships now evolving between several dynamic forces. These will ultimately determine the future sustainability of many coastal tourism destinations. Such forces can be classified into seven key processes which include a dynamic and possible cyclic relationship between the following

i) IDENTIFYING KEY THREATS: The   extent to which problems and threats are accurately identified and   hazards predicted and recognized

ii) MEDIA RESPONSIBILITY: The impact of the media on correctly interpreting key issues and threats from climate change

iii) ROLES OF GOVERNMENT: The role of local governance and public policy making vis a vis local and strategic planning actions in combating perceived and actual threats by ensuring forward and long term planning strategies

iv) ECONOMIC AND FINANCIAL RESPONSIBILITY: Accountability and partnership between alternative funding options and the roles and responsibilities between public and private funding streams

v) TECHNOLOGICAL EXPERTISE: Making informed choices and decisions between ameliorative protective and /or adaptive measures : hard-soft-non response alternatives in this context

vi) RESPONDING TO HEALTH, RISK AND SAFETY: Recognising and ensuring compliance with   growing legal frameworks , legal litigation threats, insurance hazard and risk adverse management strategies

vii) SOCIO-ECONOMIC RESPONSIBILITY AND SUSTAINABILITY: Maintaining the economic, social and environmental well being of coastal tourism communities

The relationship between these factors are, by their very nature,   symbiotic. Thus it has become increasingly important to put in place a strategic overview (perhaps dare we say it even a strategic long term plan) that effectively manages such forces to the benefit and needs of each destination.

A FINAL NOTE

The potential demise of coastal tourism destinations through predicted climate change impacts will undoubtedly pose a significant threat to both natural ecosystems and tourism infrastructures and consequently the tourist 'communities' at such destinations. Evidence from the discussion illustrate that perceived and actual threats are indeed real, although accurate predictions and current assessments remain at best ambiguous and at worst remain a guessing game. The discussions present a variety and varied set of local destinations experiences.

In summary it seems fair to say that there remains uncertainty regarding climate change and the validity of current predictions. However, general perceptions amongst professional tourism managers demonstrates that there is recognition of increased incidence of storm surges and a general rise in sea level. Perceptions also recognise predicted, erosion and loss issues but mixed responses and knowledge of options for ameliorative actions appears to be a norm. In essence there remains a complex relationship of concurrent processes or continuums that combine at differing levels and stages of the tourism destination management life cycle. These continuums address processes associated with coastal tourism destination management, and associated dynamic processes of problem recognition, balancing strategies or meeting stakeholder expectations and providing solutions to the key issues, problems and threats at hand. At many destinations this still remains a pipe dream. On a last note it will certainly be the most innovative, coordinated, efficient and technological savvy destinations that will survive long term in this respect.

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Title:

Social Capital as Catalyst for Critical Action: An Appreciative Inquiry Approach

Carol Kline, Christina Brown-Bochicchio, and Nancy McGehee

This paper combines an appreciative inquiry approach with the community capitals framework (Emery and Flora, 2006) to explore the ripple effects of community-based tourism development programming within seven small rural towns in western North Carolina. During the summer of 2008, over 100 participants of a regional small towns development program were interviewed regarding their town's tourism development projects. Appreciative inquiry (AI) guided the tone and purpose of the interviews. AI is the idea that organizations identify and focus on what works, rather than on problems that need to be resolved (Cooperrider & Whitney, 2000). The interview questions asked during this study were structured so that respondents would focus on: the beneficial aspects of the organization that governed the programs, the positive outcomes that resulted from the programs, and the reasons behind their success. In particular, the interviews focused on what Cooperrider and Whitney (2000) called the "discovery" stage of inquiry, which explores what gives an organization life. During the transcription process, the impacts noted by the respondents were pictorially-represented, or "mapped" to illustrate the primary, secondary and tertiary effects from various development programs. The map, or diagram, also illustrates the connectedness of impacts on individuals, groups, and physical spaces within the community. Each impact was categorized into one or more of the seven community capitals: built, political, natural, cultural, human, social and financial. Themes of impacted capitals were discovered across the participating towns, and a "spiraling up" force described by Emery and Flora (2006) was confirmed.

Introduction

A healthy, vibrant community serves as a foundation for successful tourism activity. Most communities in the early stages of tourism development do not have a complete "product mix" to attract visitors and provide a satisfying experience as a multi-day destination. Organizations within the community who strive to develop tourism product find their work overlapping economic development and community development. Emery and Flora (2006) wrote a conceptual paper about the "spiraling up" effect of community development efforts in rural communities, focusing a case study on the change process of a town in Nebraska, U.S.A. They examined the effects of a non-profit organization that "effectively and systematically increased all the community capitals in a mutually-reinforcing spiral of community development" (Emery and Flora, 2006, p. 20).

The purpose of this current research was to document the ripple effect of impacts of a community development program in the mountains of North Carolina, and to analyze whether these ripple effects did indeed produce the spiraling up pattern described by Emery and Flora. The Community Capitals model by Flora and Flora (2004) was employed as a framework to discern the patterns of capitals. Effects were categorized into one or more of the seven capitals. An Appreciative Inquiry approach was used to guide the qualitative question design and protocol.

II. Background of Appreciative Inquiry

The Appreciative Inquiry approach (AI) is rooted in a system of positive change management (Cooperrider & Whitney, 2005). AI states that organizations are capable of harnessing their unique combination of strengths to develop and approach change management (Cooperrider & Whitney, 2005). The fundamental definition of AI (Cooperrider & Whitney, 2005) states:

> *Appreciative Inquiry is the cooperative search for the best in people, their organizations, and the world around them. It employs a systematic discovery that gives life to a group when it is most effective and most capable in economic, ecological, and human terms.*

In terms of this particular study, the applicability of AI surrounds Appreciative Inquiry's ability to utilize abstract findings of a study and apply them to provide normative value for members of an organization (Cooperrider & Srivastva, 1987). This process can happen only with the critical input and choice of the organization (Cooperrider and Srivastva, 1987).

AI is comprised of four stages, which form the Appreciative Inquiry 4-D cycle: Discovery, Dream, Design and Destiny (Cooperrider & Whitney, 2005). Discovery describes mobilizing a whole system of inquiry into the core of the positive agent of change (Cooperrider & Whitney, 2005). The Dream stage focuses on creating a clear, results-oriented vision in relation to the discovered potential in the previous cycle of Discovery (Cooperrider & Whitney, 2005). The design phase encompasses the creation of possible new propositions of the ideal organization (Cooperrider & Whitney, 2005). The last phase is Destiny, where the organization focuses on affirming the capability of the organizational system, building hope and momentum around the deep purpose and learning processes of the organization (Cooperrider & Whitney, 2005).

The first stage, Discovery, is of particular importance as it describes the process of inquiry that has been noted to best define AI practice (Bushe & Kassam, 2005). In this stage, stories are collected from stakeholders about their best experiences. This may include describing the best event organized in a small town or their best customer satisfaction experience. In this phase, the

importance of collecting narrative is stressed, as it is crucial to the process of describing organizational life (Bushe & Kassam, 2005).

AI has most commonly been used as an evaluation tool, but has also been applied as a methodology for change in organizational management, changes in the military, environmental partnerships and community planning, and has gained popularity as an interview tool for field research (Koster, & Lemelin, 2010; Michael, 2005). When applied to a community-based tourism program, the 4-D cycle is used as a method which illustrates the strengths of the community and the positive outcomes of past decisions. By engaging in the AI experience, through utilizing positive language, sharing information, and engaging people from the place they have most to offer, the potential for rural tourism and community development is strengthened (Koster, & Lemelin, 2010). This approach, focusing on what can be done, is an important element for rural communities facing economic difficulty and transition and can help to embed the tourism industry within the community (Koster, R. & Lemelin, R, 2010).

III. Community Capitals Framework

Cornelia and Jan Flora with Susan Fey developed the Community Capitals Framework to analyze how communities function (Flora, Flora, Fey, 2004). Their research found that communities that were successful in supporting a sustainable community and healthy economic development employed all seven types of community capitals: natural, cultural, human, social, political, financial and built (Flora, et al., 2004).

Natural capital describes the assets that are specific to a particular location including resources, amenities, and natural beauty (Flora, et al., 2004). Cultural capital describes the dynamics of the interactions of community members and includes the heritages valued within the community and collaboration across races. Human capital defines the skills and abilities of the people within a community, as well as confidence and self-esteem. Social capital reflects community connections among people and the social glue that bonds people together (Flora, et al., 2004). Political capital defines the access to power within a community such as access to local government offices as well as county, state and national government agencies. Financial capital describes the resources available for investment into the community, such as to support civic and social entrepreneurship and community development projects (Flora, et al., 2004). Built capital refers to the infrastructure that supports the communities daily functioning including telecommunications, streets, water and sewer systems, roads, etc. The Community Capitals Framework (CCF) provides a method for analyzing community and economic development efforts from a network perspective by identifying the community's assets in each capital, the types of capitals invested by and through the community, the relationship among the various capitals, and the resulting impacts across these capitals (Emery & Flora, 2006). Similar to the Appreciative Inquiry approach, the Community Capitals Framework relies on appreciating the assets already existing and assists in determining ways of investing those assets to create strategies to help all the various segments of a community to prosper.   Emery and Flora suggest the use of the CCF to "think systematically about strategies and projects" (2006, p. 33)

Methods

Study Area
The western part of North Carolina is part of the Appalachian Mountain Range, and covers around 28,000 square km (11,000 square miles). The population of the region is estimated at slightly over one million (2000 Census); the largest municipality in the region is populated at 83,313 (2010 census). Of the 25 counties in the region, 23 are considered economically marginal or distressed (North Carolina Department of Commerce, n.d.). The region has been familiar to tourism for over 100 years; some of the earliest tourists would come to the mountains seeking the "good air" of the altitude.   The area has one grand resort, many inns and bed & breakfasts, and quite a few family-owned lodges, campgrounds, cabins, guesthouses, and the occasional religious-based conference facility. In addition, moderate-sized and mid-level chain hotels exist in the larger towns. Fast food restaurants exist but the region is fiercely independent and the residents take pride in locally-owned restaurants that source food from many of the surrounding farms. Current tourism markets visit the region for the scenery, outdoor recreation, the flourishing arts and music scene, culinary and farm tourism, small farmers markets, and architectural attractions. The second home market is also prevalent.

Study Process
In 2009, the primary investigator (PI) contacted HandMade in America, a non-profit organization that serves the western region of North Carolina by supporting craftspeople through a number of entrepreneurship development, marketing, and community revitalization programs. HandMade, which was founded in 1994, is widely successful, attracting funding from government agencies and private foundations, drawing visitors to the region to learn about the craft heritage, spurring community development investments by local volunteers, and being emulated by many other national groups.

Using Appreciative Inquiry approach, the researcher interviewed current and previous staff of the organization, as well as its community partners to document and "map" the ripple effect of impacts that the many programs have in the region. The Community Capitals framework by Flora and Flora (2004) served as a guide to classify the impacts, so that patterns of impacts, the connection between impacts, and the sequencing of impacts could be depicted. As an initial part of the project, a total of nine staff interviews were conducted.

HandMade has a community development program called "Small Towns" based on the principles of the U.S. national program "Main Street" which focuses on design, community organization, economic restructuring, and marketing (Main Street, n.d.). One of the tenants of the Small Towns program is the existence of a formal community development organization (CDO) to serve as the organizing liaison between HandMade and the residents of the community. The CDO is legally structured as a "501c3" which also allows it to be the recipient of grant funds from government agencies and private foundations. The representatives from seven CDO's assisted the PI in organizing interviews and focus groups with community residents to speak on the process, approach and results of the CDO's programs and projects. The interviews focused on the successes and positive aspects of the development efforts in each town. A total of 117 community residents gave input to the project.

Focus Group Protocol Using Appreciate Inquiry Approach

The research visits to the small towns focused on targeted information regarding programs of each town's community development group. Participants were instructed that the session

would follow a positive tone, and would be reflective. Rather than focusing on future plans and community "visions," the session would consider the impacts that the organization has made and why the organization has been successful. Examples of questions focusing on the CDO follow:

- Tell me about (your community development group's) programs.
- What positive impacts have you had in the community?
- Have these impacts created further impacts?
- Which community capital would that fall under?
- What impacts has (your community development group) had in each of these capitals? (The group or interviewee would circle around the community diagram discussing each capital).
- What would have happened anyway without the efforts of (your community development group)?

All of the focus groups and the interviews were audio-taped. Transcriptions were made in two ways: through a drawing software program that creates flow charts, and verbally by hand into Microsoft Word. The drawing program was used to record the primary, secondary, tertiary and further impacts, depicted through a series of boxed text and arrows. Additionally, the impact statements generated by the interview transcriptions were placed into tables where one or more community capitals were assigned by the researchers. The flowcharts and the capitals table were verified by the community participants through a second visit to the town in early 2011. Corrections, additions, and deletions to the original flowcharts and tables were made by many of the original interviewees. This oral presentation will focus on the interviews with several community partners within one of the seven small towns, Hayesville.

Hayesville
Hayesville (population 311 in the 2010 census) is the county seat of Clay County (population 10,587, in the 2010 census), and joined the Small Towns program in 1996. Their particular community development organization (CDO) is called the Clay County Communities Revitalization Association (CCCRA). Approximately 100 people participate in CCCRA programs. Leadership however, will attest to the application of the "90/10" rule which means that 10 percent of the people do 90 percent of the work. Contact with 29 participants of CCCRA took the form of four focus groups and three interviews. All of the focus groups were arranged ahead of time and scheduled by the Vice-President of CCCRA. The participants included business people, elected officials, retirees, educators, local planners, clergy, and representatives from the arts community, and a balanced mixture of "locals" and "transplants."

The focus group participants and interviewees enumerated three major ongoing programs and six projects, discussed the benefits of CCCRA events, and made general comments on the successes of CCCRA. For the purpose of this presentation, the three major programs highlighted will be: 1) renovation of the historic courthouse (circa 1888), 2) development of the Jack Rabbit (recreational hiking) Trail, and 3) construction of the replica Cherokee Heritage Village. Figures presented in the oral paper depict the ripples of impacts for each of these programs and the relationships between them. The table below summarizes the number of impacts that fall within each capital.

Table 1. Capitals Impacted by Project

Hayesville Courthouse Renovation	Heritage Village	Jack Rabbit Trail
Social (21)	Human (9)	Human (6)
Human (15)	Cultural (6) & Social (6)	Cultural, Political, & Social (4)
Cultural (13)	Built (2)	Financial (3)
Financial (10)	Financial, Natural, & Political (2)	Built (2)
Built (8)		Natural (1)
Natural & Political (1)		

Discussion/ Conclusion

While each of the projects is very different, they all result in some form of built capital. The number of impacts in each capital varied from project to project, but the three most affected overall are social, human and cultural. Many impacts listed by community members represent a change in more than one capital. Human and social impacts are most often paired together as impacts (for example, in self-efficacy or pride in accomplishments), followed by the paring of human and cultural capitals. Built and financial also seem to pair together. Cultural seems to pair with all of the other impacts except for political. Political pairs with social, and is also closely tied to financial in that it pairs with it or led to it. There does not appear to be a pattern in the CCCRA projects in that single-capital impacts lead to other single-capital impacts, or multi-capital impacts lead to other multi-capital impacts. Patterns are harder to trace when a ripple of impacts fall into more than one capital category. However, it appears that a capital will more often than not remain in the line of the ripple as the impacts move from one stage to another. Immediate first tier impacts most always include human and social components. Early impacts always include individual and collective self-efficacy of project participants, and this feeling of efficacy inevitably leads to taking on additional projects, often of higher complexity. The increase of individual (a change in human capital) and collective self-efficacy (a change in social capital) greatly influences the longevity of projects and community development efforts in general.

The capitals affected, the pairings, and the directions found in this study are reflective of the three projects examined here, and can not be generalized to other projects or towns. Analysis of other towns and future research may provide insight into trends across towns, and among similar types of projects, e.g. facility renovations, green infrastructure development, festival management. Certainly within this case study, and through the use of Appreciative Inquiry to gather data, it is apparent that the "spiraling up phenomena" is at work in Hayesville. Each of the seven community capitals is affected by programs that were deliberately developed to change a physical aspect of the community. Partly by design and partly by an organic outcome, many other capitals are influenced as a result.

Using the AI approach to document impacts is an effective means for soliciting information from participants. AI encourages participants to discuss "what works," thereby soliciting important milestones in the memories of residents and filtering out the challenges linked to scale of economy and personality conflicts that are innate in most rural development scenarios.

The nature of the project itself (e.g. a courthouse renovation or construction of a replica of heritage architecture) certainly influences the types of impacts and capitals evidenced, but patterns are noticeable. Beyond the nature of the project, contextual considerations for such a project include: the stage of the town as a destination, the stage of the organization in its life cycle, and the stage of a project when it is examined/discussed. These aspects would need to be taken into account in future analyses of different projects or comparison across projects. Implications for community planning and further research are discussed in the presentation.

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Conceptualizing food-related political tourism:

Comprehension, relationships and real alternatives

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Abstract: Moynagh (2008, p.3) argues, "[t]he political tourist belongs to a particular category of traveler, one who seeks to participate in, or manifest solidarity with a political struggle taking place elsewhere in the world." This is not an idea unfamiliar to students of tourism or social relations. Hollander, for example, developed the notion of 'political pilgrims' (1981) and 'political hospitality' (1986) and others have continued to study both politically-motivated travelers as well as the ideological impulse of those who construct tourist destinations (see for example, Higgins-Desbiolles 2008; Huener 2001; Shields 2003; Smith 1998). We build on these works and explore the potential of relatively new conceptual territory as we assess political tourism in the context of global food movements. We then use this assessment to propose a definition of political tourism that captures its potential to foster an understanding of, and resistance to, capitalist globalization.

Introduction

Moynagh (2008, p.3) argues, "[t]he political tourist belongs to a particular category of traveler, one who seeks to participate in, or manifest solidarity with a political struggle taking place elsewhere in the world." This is not an idea unfamiliar to students of tourism or social relations. Hollander, for example,

developed the notion of 'political pilgrims' (1981) and 'political hospitality' (1986) and others have continued to study both politically-motivated travelers as well as the ideological impulse of those who construct tourist destinations (see for example, Higgins-Desbiolles 2008; Huener 2001; Shields 2003; Smith 1998). We build on these works and explore the potential of relatively new conceptual territory as we assess political tourism in the context of global food movements. We then use this assessment to propose a definition of political tourism that captures its potential to foster an understanding of, and resistance to, capitalist globalization.

While food-related tourism, particularly culinary tourism, is a well-researched area in our field (see, for instance, Long 2004; Smith & Xiao 2008) we develop a conceptualization of food-related, political tourism in order to uncover both the inherent political dimension and the social change potential of these practices. Of course, all tourism decisions are political. And yet, what happens to our understanding if we push the discussion a bit further? For instance, we can consider tourists as participants in the struggle for social, economic and environmental justice around the globe. What are the implications of this participation for both global food movements and tourism studies? Developing these analyses, we argue, opens avenues for fostering a critical understanding of tourism activity that hints at a relatively unexplored gravitas. We spend the first part of the paper setting the stage by briefly highlighting both the political tourism literature and relevant work from food studies. Next, we develop these ideas further by grounding them within four particular cases: the Canada-Cuba Farmer to Farmer Project, Permaculture Cuba, Terra Madre and Wwoofing. Last, we begin unraveling the opportunities for critical tourism scholarship by bringing these areas together and assessing them in light of recent work on ecotourism (Butcher 2008), and justice tourism (Higgins-Desbiolles 2008). We argue certain transformative features of political tourism may or may not be specific to the case of food-related tourism. Nonetheless, they present potential for enhanced comprehension of food issues, the building of relationships and support networks and the articulation and practice of real alternatives to the global corporate food system.

I.   Political tourism research

Our current understandings of political tourism are best located under the growing rubric of 'alternative tourisms'. Indeed, as Pozzi and Martinotti (2004) point out, political and alternative tourisms share deep roots in civil society and are embedded in social movements. This is increasingly well-trod ground and so will not be dealt with in any concentrated manner here. Higgins-Desbiolles (2008) provides a thorough survey of the development of socially and environmentally-oriented alternative tourisms (and how they have been usurped by corporate capitalism). Brin (2006) provides one of the most thorough overviews of politically-orientated tourism, successfully challenging the assumption that so-called 'rational tourists' avoid places with political instability or visit them out of curiosity once the instability has passed (see, for example, Hall & O'Sullivan 1996). Tourists instead may choose places because of their political associations.

However, it is worth noting that much of the research on political tourism to date has been place-oriented. For instance, Isaac (2010) outlines the development of alternative tourism in the context of the changing political situation in Bethlehem. Hollander was interested in politically-oriented travel by left-leaning American intellectuals to Cuba, Nicaragua, the USSR and other so-called

Socialist states (1981, 1986, 1997). Brin's work is based on the very particular case of Jerusalem although the analysis leads to the development of a typology of politically-orientated tourists: solidarity, activist and intrigued tourists. Huener (2001) investigates politically-motivated travel to Nazi concentration camps and renders an understanding of tourism as a public, commemorative act of expiation. Housley and Wahl-Jorgensen (2008), in their analysis of visitors to the Senedd – the new Welsh Assembly building in Cardiff – consider the mixing of pleasure and duty as it underscores the relationships between tourist practices and political participation. Indeed, case studies and other context-driven approaches are helping us to understand the particularities of political and alternative tourism in all their various manifestations. Underlying most of these efforts is the desire to reclaim or remake tourism in light of a damning history.

Perhaps one of the most influential, and much-less contextually-situated explorations of political or alternative tourism was put forward by Lafant and Graburn (1992). These authors trace the "paternity" of the term alternative tourism to the Ecumenical Coalition on Third World Tourism (p. 90) and highlight the various debates about the concept. Of course, these debates have not subsided (Higgins-Desbiolles 2008) and we can add further confusion and more concepts to the discussion (e.g. ecotourism, volunteer tourism, Pro-Poor tourism, justice tourism, etc.). Importantly, the authors left a lasting legacy in our understanding of the term alternative tourism (however convoluted) by pointing out the potential for locating tourism within the current political-economic condition and thinking about alternative tourism as "the promotion of a new order" (p. 92). As Higgins-Desbiolles argues, alternative tourism, at least at the moment, offers more by way of potential than reality:

> It is apparent that some proponents and contributors to the alternative tourism phenomenon hold a radical agenda not only to overturn an inequitable, unjust and unsustainable tourism system, but envision such efforts as a catalyst for a more humanistic form of globalisation. There are particular facets of the alternative tourism movement that foster societal and ecological transformations that might be conducive to a transition to an alternative globalization. (p. 347)

Linked to this social change agenda are, of course, varying levels of comfort with alternative tourisms and the extent to which they are really agents of progressive change (Wheeller 1992). Higgins-Desbiolles, for example, argues many of these activities have been "co-opted by a threatened tourism industry and diverted from fulfilling their full capacities." (p. 348). Butcher (2008) offers a particularly insightful analysis of ecotourism by locating its development within the broader societal shift from producing to consuming as manifestations of individual expression through so-called 'lifestyle politics'. Without denying the positive impact of ecotourism and other related activities where 'ethical consumption' is front and center, he makes the following, essential critique:

> However, others point out that the growth of ethical consumption has been parallel to the *decline* of the social (Heartfield, 2002). In other words, lifestyle politics represents a narrowing of human subjectivity away from collective solutions towards individual ones; away from broader social relationships towards those between individuals. As people are less likely to view traditional political channels as so central to their lives, their beliefs and aspirations, it is conceivable that a lack of engagement with society through these channels may, by default,

elevate a sense that one's lifestyle is a key arena in which to express one's beliefs and make a difference. (p. 324)

The resultant 'decline of the social' may be the most damaging as people risk losing sight of the underlying structures of power that frame the conditions in which they live and narrow their options for resistance and change at the broadest level.

And so, it is within this rather complicated and varied discussion of alternative tourisms where we must locate our interest in food-related political tourism. Despite the complexity, this potential for radical transformation is the catalyst that keeps those of us who think critically about tourism engaged in the research. In the next section, we begin to focus on food-related political tourism by briefly introducing some of the key aspects of global food movements.

II. Global food movements and the politics of food

Much like the notion of political tourism, food-related travel has also enjoyed much attention as of late. Everett and Aitchison (2008) provide a recent overview of the development of research into food tourism. While a full review of the literature is beyond the scope of this paper, it is important to note food tourism, much like alternative tourism, has taken on the mantle of offering a window into everything from community development to an understanding of consumer behaviour (for instance, see the following collections: Hall, Sharples, Mitchell, Macionis, & Cambourne 2003; Hjalager & Richards 2002). Of course, people have long travelled to sample the culinary delights of distant places, yet the interconnections among politics, travel and food are much less frequently investigated.

In the age of globalization, however, food is gaining a political emphasis that highlights values, resistance and change. On the one hand, capitalist globalization has diversified the "foodscape" (Winson 2004) in unprecedented ways. Seasonality has been left behind as the global market makes fruits and vegetables available all year round. Along with familiar tropical produce such as oranges and bananas, new products such as kiwis and mangoes have become household staples in temperate countries. And world cuisines tempt our taste buds from the shelves of major grocery chains.

On the other hand, capitalist globalization has also homogenized the foodscape in unprecedented ways, pushing the boundaries of what has been called "the Western diet" – a diet based on heavy doses of sugar, salt and oil – into every continent (see Pollan 2008). Huge multinational corporations with global reach, such as McDonalds and Coca-Cola, have become the ambassadors of this diet and turned their products into status symbols around the world. But the spread of this diet has been accompanied by an unsustainable complex of problems, including so-called Western diseases such as obesity, heart disease and some forms of cancer (Pollan 2008), along with economic disaster for small and medium-sized farmers, and environmental despoliation of land, water and air (Sumner 2005).

This corporate alteration of the foodscape has spawned a number of food-related social movements, which, in turn, provide incentives for travel and political tourism. For example, the local food movement focuses on the protection of locality and resistance to faceless, placeless food in a

global context of anti-protectionism and export economics. In the Canadian context, opportunities for tourism associated with the local food movement include Savour Ontario as well as various seasonal food festivals such as maple syrup festivals, and farm tours/farm stays. Tourism researchers are just beginning to investigate the implications of these developments (see for instance, Plummer, Telfer & Hashimoto 2006; Hall, Sharples, Mitchell, Macionis, & Cambourne 2003).

The rise of food-related social movements (such as the local food movement, the food justice movement, the organic farming movement and the Slow Food movement) help us to understand the connection between politics and food because, in the words of UK researcher Jules Pretty (BBC 2005), "the most political act we do on a daily basis is to eat, as our actions affect farms, landscapes and food businesses." In essence, its very intimate nature makes food a lightning rod for resistance and protest and, as Mair, Sumner and Rotteau (2008) argue, a vehicle for what they call critically reflexive leisure:

> …politically oriented leisure where the central components of reflection, resistance, and the articulation of an alternative vision inform and are informed by the dimensions of pleasure, activism, and empowerment. (p. 381)

Raising the connection between politics and food also raises questions of power: Who controls food production and distribution? Who benefits and who loses in the global food economy? McMichael (2000) unpacks the politics of food when he contends that global corporate managers are well aware of the power of food to lend meaning and legitimacy to the corporate regime. But he also emphasizes that

> The power of food lies in its material and symbolic functions of linking nature, human survival, health, culture and livelihood as a focus of resistance to corporate takeover of life itself (p. 21).

Indeed, as this brief review illustrates, looking more deeply into the politics of food provides a unique platform for investigating food-related travel, and, in the spirit of alternative tourisms, highlights opportunities for radical transformation. In short, food can be seen as "politics by other means" (Rymer 2006, p.4). And just as consumers can have an important role in initiating or supporting these movements, so can tourists. As we argue below, this kind of political tourism is certainly a form of political consumerism (Micheletti 2003) in that it reflects consumer behaviour as a way of expressing ethical and political involvement and of taking responsibility. We go further, however, by aiming to illustrate the extent to which this particular form of political tourism can also help us to move beyond the lifestyle politics underscoring most alternative tourisms (Butcher 2008) towards real social change. The next section introduces four relatively new examples of food-related political tourism. We present these briefly with a view to foregrounding the transformative potential of food-related political tourism.

III. Food-related political tourism in practice

The first two cases – The Canada-Cuba Farmer to Farmer Project and Permaculture Cuba – focus on Cuba. Travel to Cuba is inherently a form of political tourism – its alternative economic structure and the long-standing American embargo to break that structure make it a potential flashpoint in world politics (Canally, 2009). The recent emergence of Cuba as the poster child for organic urban food production has turned it into a food-related political tourism destination par excellence. The third case involves Terra Madre, the biennial meeting of small-scale food producers who travel to Turin, Italy, hosted by Slow Food. And the fourth case concentrates on WWOOFing, also known as World Wide Opportunities on Organic Farms, which encourages people to travel and work on organic farms around the world.

1. The Canada-Cuba Farmer to Farmer Project

One example of the transformative potential of food-related political tourism is the Canada-Cuba Farmer to Farmer Project. Begun in 1999, the project aims

> …to develop a model through which Canadian and Cuban farmers can work cooperatively to build capacity that will enhance the development of sustainable food production models to improve both the economics of farming and the environmental, ecological and nutritional sustainability of the land and her communities… (Canada-Cuba Farmer to Farmer Project 2011).

With the fall of the Soviet Union in 1989, Cuba lost its primary source of fossil fuel imports and immediately experienced an energy crisis, which quickly turned into a food crisis. Without the fuel to power tractors and move food from rural to urban areas, and without access to pesticides, fertilizers and farming equipment, Cuba could no longer practice industrial agriculture, leading to widespread hunger. In the face of this crisis, the Cuban government adopted innovative measures to develop and implement urban organic agriculture projects across the country. By 1995, food shortages had eased (TVE 2004) and by 2002, Cuba was producing 3.2 million tonnes of organic food in urban farms and gardens, which occupy approximately 3.4 percent of urban land (8 percent in Havana) and are tended by 18,000 individuals (Sumner 2010).

As the first country to adopt a comprehensive, nation-wide organic agriculture program with the objective of growing food for its people, not for export, Cuba became a magnet for those interested in food and sustainable food systems. Within this context, the Canada-Cuba Farmer to Farmer Project was established to support sustainable farming practices as well as skills and technology transfer in Canada and Cuba, and (in a reverse of normalized Western development projects) to improve Canadian farmers' access to Cuban skills in organic agriculture and sustainable, organic urban food production (Canada-Cuba Farmer to Farmer Project 2011).

The political credentials of the Farmer to Farmer Project are clearly evident in its rationale: "if multi-national concentration is the CANCER of the market system, then multi-national cooperation is the ANTIDOTE" (Canada-Cuba Farmer to Farmer Project 2011). These credentials clearly appeal to

food producers – by 2010, 487 Canadian farmers had travelled to Cuba with the Project. On a typical two-week trip, farmers enjoy three days on the beach, eight days touring large cooperative farms and three days in old Havana.

2. Permaculture Cuba

Permaculture – from *permanent* and *agriculture* – is an integrated design philosophy based on creating sustainable systems that provide for their own needs and recycle their waste (London 2005). The Permaculture Cuba project centres on a partnership among three groups: The Urban Farmer, a small business in Edmonton, Alberta, specializing in permaculture; the University of Alberta Faculty of Extension; and the Antonio Nunez Jimenez Foundation for Nature and Man, a leading organization in the on-going propagation of permaculture in Cuba. Based on an experiential adult education model in which participants play a significant role in determining their own learning outcomes, Permaculture Cuba emphasizes partnership building and working and learning side-by-side with Cuban practitioners (Urban Farmer 2011). This explicit learning component gives the project its transformative potential.

The first Permaculture Cuba trip took place over seven weeks in May and June of 2010, when ten Canadians had the opportunity to experience first hand the thriving urban agriculture and permaculture movements in Cuba. Based in the city of Sancti Spiritus, participants worked hand-in-hand with local leaders and practitioners on a variety of food production projects. Grounded in a model of partnership and collaborative learning, the program included orientations in Canada and Cuba, workshops and dialogue on a variety of urban agriculture and permaculture themes, placements in existing permaculture/urban agriculture projects, the opportunity to work with local leaders in the design and implementation of a new project site, Spanish language learning, immersion in the rich cultural life and natural beauty of the Sancti Spiritus region of Cuba and an optional graduate-level credit through the University of Alberta's Faculty of Extension (Urban Farmer 2011).

As this project is still relatively young, future scholarship must endeavour to assess the impact of the partnership as well as the extent to which it fosters transformative change in the world of food production and consumption. A second trip is planned for 2011.

3. Terra Madre

Co-ordinated by the Slow Food movement, Terra Madre is a major biennial conference held in Turin, Italy, to foster discussion and introduce innovative concepts in the field of food, gastronomy, globalization and economics (Terra Madre 2011). The Slow Food movement concentrates on the preservation of food traditions, and resistance to the fast food that is overwhelming particular cuisines. Terra Madre, launched in 2004, creates a space for small-scale producers threatened by capitalist globalization. According to the website:

> It was where these "rationales" were leading that brought Slow Food to realize the need to protect and support small producers, and to change the systems that put them in danger by bringing together those players with decision-making power: consumers, educational institutions, chefs and cooks, agricultural research entities, NGOs, etc. It became clear that it is

only through repeated, cumulative, local action, following a guiding global vision, that a significant impact can be achieved. (Terra Madre 2011)

At its first conference in 2004, Madison (2005, p. 56) explained how the 5,000 small-scale food producers from 130 countries came together to address:

[T]he homogenizing pressures of globalization; the power of the World Trade Organization to pursue corporate control and standardization; the lack of a holistic integrity in industrial food production; and the concomitant decline of human health, soil fertility, water quality, and water itself.

Importantly, the meetings are designed to build long-lasting networks and relationships between "food communities" (people involved in the production, transformation and distribution of food), cooks and even academics. These relationships extend beyond the time in Italy. According to the website,

The Terra Madre network, which integrates new members every day, is made up of all those who wish to act to preserve, encourage, and support sustainable food production methods. These methods are based on attention to territory and those distinctive qualities that have permitted the land to retain its fertility over centuries of use. This vision is in direct opposition to pursuing a globalized marketplace, with the ongoing, systematic goal of increasing profit and productivity. (Terra Madre 2011)

Pozzi and Martinotti (2004) argue that political, public gatherings such as international summits and counter summits or social forums (for instance, the annual Social Forum in Porto Alegre, or counter summits held in Davos during the meetings of the World Economic Forum - a summit of the world`s most powerful economies) are clear examples of political tourism. Terra Madre is no exception. Keynote speaker Vandana Shiva (in Madison 2005, p. 55) set the political tone for the diverse group of food producers dressed in their national finery who had travelled to Terra Madre by pointing out that "If this were an agribusiness meeting, the faces would be white and the clothes black. But you are full of beauty and color, the colors of the earth." Madison (2005) emphasized the clear links between politics, food and travel when she argued that Terra Madre was small-scale farmers' answer to the World Trade Organization – it was a meeting not of brokers but of the actual producers of food: farmers, cheese makers, bakers, ranchers, poultry people, grain growers and honey gatherers. The transformative potential is encapsulated in Madison's assertion that, like the travelers to Terra Madre, "those involved with traditional, small-scale, sustainable food production must meet, grasp the gravity of our situation and figure out how to help one another" (p. 56).

4. WWOOFing

The final example of food-related political tourism is Wwoofing, an evolving term that began as 'Working Weekends on Organic Farms', changed to 'Willing Workers on Organic Farms' and is now known as 'World Wide Opportunities on Organic Farms' (Mosedale 2009). As part of the organic movement, Wwoofing emphasizes farming in nature's image and resistance to the industrialization of agriculture and food. Begun in 1971, Wwoofing boasts organizations in 42 countries, with independent hosts found in a further 54 countries. Mosedale (2009, p. 25) illustrates its transformative potential when he maintains that

> Wwoofing emerged from a desire to engage with the organic food movement and is now seen as a good way to increase the awareness of alternative solutions to industrial agriculture and at the same time to act as a conduit for a transfer of knowledge within and outside the movement.

It is important to note that organic farming and WWOOFing are already garnering the attention of tourism students. For instance, Choo and Jamal (2009) provide one of the first explorations of organic farm tourism (what they call eco-organic tourism) and McIntosh and Bonnemann's work (2006; see also McIntosh & Campbell 2001) has put WWOOFing on the tourism studies agenda. Of course, Wwoofing is a form of volunteer tourism and, as McGehee and Santos (2005) have pointed out, there are many aspects of volunteer tourism with social movement linkages and the potential for consciousness-raising. Indeed, as a form of food-related political tourism, Wwoofing offers travelers the opportunity to get more involved with the movement toward local and sustainable agriculture (Chin 2008). It also "creates spaces in which the principles of conventional labour exchanges (the commodification of labour) are transformed into alternative exchange relationships" (Mosedale 2009, p. 27).

While analyses of Wwoofing are still in their infancy, it clearly combines food, politics and tourism in a potent mix that opens opportunities to draw out the underlying transformative component of political tourism.

IV. Conceptualizing food-related political tourism: Comprehension, relationships and real alternatives

As noted above, what little there is of political tourism research has been context-based and, arguably, site-specific. As Brin (2006) argues, politically-orientated tourism is under-researched and yet as the cases above illustrate, this area of tourism practice (as distinct from other forms of culinary tourism) holds unrealized potential for both academic understanding and social change. In this section, we build on these food-related cases in order to develop a broader conceptualization of political tourism and in an effort to draw out the underlying transformative components of these practices. In particular, we seek to foster a deeper appreciation of food-related political tourism and to point toward new avenues

for understanding how we might re-inject a focus on production into the ethical consumption movement. Importantly, we are not suggesting that other, 'alternative tourisms' are completely devoid of these features, but food-related political tourism does present a uniquely worthy example.

Across the cases, the nature of the political tourist's relationship with food systems is fundamental and holds the key to unlocking the transformative potential of this particular practice. So, what is it about these cases that makes them transformative or, more modestly, what lies within them that holds the potential for transformation? There are three inter-related features of these practices, which present opportunities for radical transformation: the potential for deep reflection on, and comprehension of, the myriad implications of food production and consumption; the potential to appreciate producer-consumer relationships and to build support networks; and the potential for collectively articulating alternatives. We address each in turn.

1. *There is potential for political tourists to reflect on and comprehend how food is produced and consumed, as well as the social, environmental and political economic implications of these processes.*

Tourist practices that actively engage the politics of food are based upon developing an understanding of how food is produced and consumed in our capitalist corporate system as well as the wide-ranging, negative implications of this system. This is particularly true in the Farmer to Farmer and Permaculture cases where farmers/tourists engage directly in a system of food production that is virtually disconnected from the broader capitalist system. Wwoofing, like the Cuba cases, is founded upon learning about production as a way to highlight the broader implications of consumption. Wwoofers, like most volunteer tourists, are seeking an alternative tourist experience, but by becoming workers on organic farms, they are immediately encouraged to reflect on corporate, industrial agriculture and its implications, particularly environmental. Terra Madre is designed to bring together players in the food production process and to foster the kind of critical reflection that comes with sharing information. These tourist practices instantiate the kind of holistic understanding encapsulated in Wendell Berry's (1990) observation that eating is an agricultural act.

2. *There is potential for political tourists to appreciate relationships with others in their roles as food producers and consumers, and to build or enhance support networks.*

As McGehee and Santos (2005**)** have noted, volunteer tourism can help to build powerful networks and invigorate the desire for broader social change. In the Farmer to Farmer case, travel to Cuba is for learning about farming practices obscured by the corporate industrialization of farming in Canada, but also for building long-lasting relationships with these Cuban farmers. Similarly, in the Permaculture Cuba case, tourists work side-by-side with Cuban farmers as they take on the role of both food producer and consumer. Terra Madre, by its very nature, is a gathering where people share stories and learn from one another. While the meetings are events bound by time, the point is to foster learning and on-going interactions between all players in the world of food and to build lasting and supportive relationships. Wwoofers are invited onto organic farms not just as labourers but as partners in the food

production process and as members of networks that support alternative food systems and resist industrial agriculture. These tourist practices lift the veil of commodity fetishism (Hudson & Hudson 2003) promoted by the capitalist corporate system to reveal the web of relationships behind the product that need to be foregrounded – relationships with people (among producers as well as between producers and consumers) and relationships with the earth.

3. *There is potential for political tourists to work collectively to resist the corporate capitalist food system and to articulate alternatives.*

Perhaps as a direct consequence of the first two features, food-related political tourists are well-placed to work collectively with other political tourists and those in the sponsoring organizations to put words into actions and experiences into the articulation of alternatives. Indeed, by being encouraged to contend with all dimensions of food – production and consumption and particularly the social relations that shape them – these tourists are already participating in efforts to foster social transformation.

The tourists who become Wwoofers as well as those who participate in the farming tours in Cuba become food producers and link into the organic movement – an increasingly popular and well-established alternative food movement. Terra Madre is the collective face of the growing Slow Food movement – also an increasingly viable alternative food movement. In all cases, tourists learn and live alternatives in collective ways.

Conclusion: Food-related Political Tourism: More than lifestyle. More than solidarity. More than tourism?

Butcher (2008) made a cogent case for the need to understand that 'ethical consumption', as made manifest in alternative tourisms such as ecotourism, is only part of the solution and an over-reliance on this aspect of lifestyle politics obscures the extent to which we've not only lost sight of how things are produced, but are sacrificing our ability to gather and talk collectively about how to address the social, environmental, and political economic ills that permeate our world. This paper briefly puts forward four cases, each examples of food-related political tourism, which emphasize comprehension, relationships and real alternatives. These features of food-related political tourism highlight opportunities to re-gain and rebuild our awareness and to foster change.

Moynagh (2008) points to participation and/or solidarity as central elements of political tourism. We agree but argue there is also much more. Solidarity suggests cohesion and camaraderie and while they certainly are important and undoubtedly exist in the four cases we present here, there are also opportunities to take this unity to a transformative level and build comprehension, relationships and real alternatives. In short, it is solidarity and participation mixed with the potential for transformation that should define political tourism.

Higgins-Desbiolles (2008) argued justice tourism may hold the only hope for helping us (i.e., tourists and tourism students) to avoid the corporate capitalist domination of tourism development and move towards a new order. In some ways, those of us concerned with the impacts of tourism are demanding more from this activity. We present food-related political tourism in part to add to Higgins-Desbiolles' inventory and to argue for a kind of tourism that may be more than tourism as we've previously considered it. While food-related tourism risks cooptation (some might argue most iterations of culinary and even local food tourism have succumbed to these pressures), the key lies in the political component. Our cases were selected to bring this point to bear on our understanding of the potential of tourism to help tourists and students of tourism become part of the solutions, not part of the problems that face us as inhabitants of this planet. We also think they hint at a potential to contribute to what the Slow Food movement refers to as "virtuous globalization" (Petrini, 2004, p.52). Of course, future empirical research will strive to see if this rings true and the next phase of our work will take us in this direction.

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Uneven tourism growth and self-alienation in Akumal, Mexico

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Abstract

This paper reviews the literature on sustainable de-growth and applies the concept of self-alienation to empirical and critical analysis of uneven tourism growth. The development of tourism is often advocated as a vehicle of economic growth. However, the prospects of global environmental change and the persistence of social inequalities challenge assumptions that tourism growth may reduce poverty without creating other negative consequences. Hence, the upfront rejection of the possibility and desirability of endless growth, which characterizes de-growth discourse, becomes highly pertinent for tourism critical research. The least radical approaches to de-growth consist of reviewing dominant economic paradigms. A more radical approach focuses in value and institutional changes. The goal of this second approach is to theorize about, and actually foster, a political (de-growth) movement that would combat the colonization of people's minds by "*economism*"; the belief in the primacy of economic causes or factors. A third approach proposes "inclusive democracy" as a Universalist project for human liberation and autonomy. Drawing on libertarian thought, this approach focuses in the analysis of capitalism´s historical characteristics and power relations which are structurally linked to the need of continuous and uneven growth. This paper proposes the concept of self-alienation as central to this third approach. The usefulness of self-alienation for empirical and critical analysis of uneven tourist development is discussed. This discussion is illustrated through the reconstruction of life-story narratives of agents promoting tourist growth in the Mexican Caribbean, a region subjected to intense tourist commoditization. The development of two adjacent coastal enclaves in the Mayan Riviera is compared. In one of the enclaves the life-stories constructed by tourist promoters speak about the search of meaning in the experiencing of place, which is generally represented as a means for urbanites to reconnect with nature, or at least with an ideal of nature. The life-story narrative constructed around the other enclave, an all-inclusive resort, do not draw meaning from personal involvement with place. Rather, the language of growth ideology dominates a narrative about the objectification of place in terms of, for instance, investments and returns, the representation of workers as numbers and the role of nature as a factor of production. The paper illustrates the difficulties involved and the value for critical tourism studies of researching self-alienation and uneven tourist growth empirically.

Full paper available on disc

Is a self-catering holiday really a holiday for women? Examining the balance of household responsibilities while on holiday

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In spite of the fact that 'gender is a core interest for sociology' (Crow and Pope, 2008), this is an area which has received sparse attention in the tourism literature. And yet the research that has been conducted shows that gender is relevant and plays a role in terms of issues such as marketing, holiday decision making, destination choice, entrepreneurship, employment and tourism behaviour. We cannot simply deal with tourists, consumers, entrepreneurs, policy makers and community leaders and ignore the gender issues which may have influenced their actions, perceptions, beliefs or experience. Gender needs to be as a cross cutting theme of all of our analysis.

This paper begins by discussing the literature in tourism relating to gender. It then indicates a gap in understanding of tourism gender issues within families. While a common topic of discussion in sociology is the division of household tasks, this has not been addressed in the tourism literature and the key question of this research is do these roles and responsibilities differ when families are on holidays? How are the personal dynamics and relationships within a family different when they are on holiday? So does the tourism experience fundamentally change the defined gender roles that individuals may have in their everyday life?

Gender and Tourism

Aitchison and Reeves (1998, p.50) note that 'an area of tourism and hospitality research which could be defined as feminist tourism studies does not exist in the way that feminist leisure studies has become established over the last decade'. It was in the mid 1990s that gender in tourism emerged in the tourism literature with the publication of Kinnard and Hall's book entitled Tourism a Gender Analysis in 1994, and a special issue of Annals in Tourism Research edited by Margaret Swain in 1995. In their preface Kinnard and Hall (1994) noted that 'it appeared to us that the social construction of tourism was lacking a gendered component in the literature'. They say that 'women and men are

involved differently within tourism processes, and, as a result, the relationships, consequences and the eventual configuration of the tourism experience for hosts and guests is gender specific' (p.7).

Pritchard and Morgan (2000 pp.116-117) note that 'in those tourism studies which have addressed gender, it is possible to discern two particular research strands. The first focuses on the economic relationships which characterize female employment in the tourism industry. The second research strand centers on 'the nature of host and guest relationships in destinations.. the overwhelming focus of work has, however, been devoted to sex tourism and the gender relationships which characterize this activity'. In terms of employment, research such as Breathnach et al (1994), Hennessy (1994), Baum (2006), Zampoukos and Ioannides (2011) highlight the dominance of women in tourism employment, low levels of pay, the low skilled nature of jobs dominated by women and the dominance of women in part-time rather than full-time positions in the industry. The gender perspective on host guest relationships has focused on sex tourism with emphasis on the imbalance of power that exists in such situations and the stages and institutionalization of such tourism (for example Hall (1994), Bauer and McKercher (2003), and Ryan and Hall (2001)).

More recently there has been a discussion of gender and tourism marketing and the influence of gender on travel behaviour. Pritchard and Morgan (2000) discuss the sexualization and genderdization of travel marketing and conclude that the 'language of tourism promotion reflect(s) a privileged white, male, heterosexual gaze'. While Pritchard et al (2007) comprises many articles which focus on the 'body' in terms of gender and tourism. When analyzing travel behaviour, Collins and Tisdell (2002 p. 142) conclude that 'gender has an important influence on travel demand' and Frew and Shaw (1999) show that personality type and gender influences tourists behaviour in terms of visiting attractions. McGhee et al (1996) and Freysinger (1995) show that motivations differ according to gender and Meng and Uysal (2008, p.462) state that 'gender differences were revealed in the perceived importance placed on destination attributes'.

Much of the focus in what has been discussed up until now relates to what Kinnard and Hall (1994) talked about as the role of gender in tourism processes in terms of the economy, the environment and society. However one of the key contexts in which the issue of power, inequality and gendered relationships is most evident, and much researched, is within the family and the home. From a tourism perspective this dynamic of family roles, and relationships, has focused on decision making as regards the holiday. Cosenza and Davis (1981) found that while husbands dominated decision-making processes in families with children at home, joint decision making was evident in families without children and that at later points in the lifecycle as children got older they became more dominant in decision making roles. Madrigal et al (1992) showed that personal variables such as type of marriage,

education and parental status affect the level of involvement of the married couple in the vacation decision. Mottiar and Quinn (2004, p.158) describe women as the 'gatekeepers to the tourism product as they initiate the idea of going on a holiday and collect the information.. this shows a degree of power by women in households which can be exerted in the holiday decision'.

While such research does move the area of concern into the home and family this paper seeks to probe further by dealing with the issue of domestic responsibilities while on holiday. Much research on gender in sociology focuses on the division of labour or roles and responsibilities within households. And yet this discussion is absent from the tourism literature even though on self-catering holidays in particular many domestic responsibilities still need to be conducted.

National and international data repeatedly shows that women dominate in terms of domestic duties. The UN reports that Women spend at least twice as much time as men on housework (2010). Similarly the Australian Bureau of Statistics (http://www.abc.net.au/news/stories/2009/03/25/2525756.htm) found that women do about 2/3rd of the housework, and in the UK time use surveys show that women spend double the amount of time as men daily on domestic work (http://www.statistics.gov.uk/cci/nugget.asp?id=7). Ballann et al (http://www.helsinki.fi/science/xantippa/wee/wee22.html) say that

> 'it is necessary to take a closer look at the nature of tasks carried out by the minority of men who take part in domestic work.. Around 60% of European men participate from time to time in shopping, an activity which can be equated with leisure and which allows them to directly control the family purse strings, while scarcely 30% participate in any way in cleaning or cooking'.

It is interesting to note that some have observed the acceptance of women in playing this role. Beagan, Chapman, D'Sylva and Bassett (2008, p.668) observe 'an overwhelmingly common rationale offered by women was that it was simply easier to do the foodwork themselves'. Kawamura and Brown (2010, p.976) note that the 'more the wives believe they matter to their husbands, the more likely they are to report the division of housework is fair, regardless of the share of housework wives perform'. What has not been studied to date however is whether the imbalance in terms of domestic work persists while on holiday? In a different environment with different routines and expectations do women still undertake the significant share of domestic work and so are genderdized roles maintained?

Tourists are motivated by a variety of factors including weather, activities, relaxation and for social reasons but Gilbert (1992) showed that the biggest motivation for overseas travel from the UK was wanting change and escape. This concept of escape is also identifiable in Dann's (1981) study and

McIntosh Goeldner and Ritchie's (1995) work. According to Suvantola (2002, p.81) 'travel can be conceptualized as a move from the mundane everyday routines of the home with its routines and sameless, to experience the excitement of being away from home and experiencing the Other'. Wickens (2002 p.843) observes that 'the theme of escape is a major pre-occupation in theoretical discourses on why people leave their home environment for holiday in another country'. But for a woman who is responsible for most of the household chores and often the childcare, if they go on a self-catering holiday how are they escaping their everyday life? Are they not bringing their everyday life and responsibilities with them? If so then how can it be classified as a holiday or an escape? Do couples roles and responsibilities change when they are on holiday so that in fact each is escaping their everyday role, thus even though household and child caring roles need to be fulfilled they are fulfilled in such a way that there is escapism for each party? These are the types of questions that this paper seeks to answer.

Methodology

This research involved a number of different phases and took a triangulation approach. In the first instance a self-completing questionnaire was distributed to 11 couples one for each partner to complete. The questionnaire asked questions about roles and responsibilities at home in everyday life and the situation when on holidays. This first phase confirmed a number of issues, firstly that there was no discernable difference between the response of both parties in terms of the division of responsibilities and secondly that there does appear to be a difference in terms of the ways that responsibilities are shared at home and on holiday.

The second phase involved a quantitative approach which used a questionnaire and acquired 145 responses. These respondents were split 60:40 between women and men. This approach was used in order to develop a broad picture of the issues of concern. The third phase then added depth to our analysis as we conducted two focus groups with women to discuss these issues in more details. It was decided at this stage to concentrate on the female perspective of this issue and that is why the focus groups just comprised women. Focus group one comprised of 8 women aged between mid thirties and fifty, all had children and all had been on a self-catering holiday in the last year. All of these women worked in the home full time. The second focus group consisted of 6 women in the same age bracket who have also had self-catering holidays in the previous year but these were women who all worked outside the home. The specific age group of the participants in the focus group must be acknowledged as women of this age, all (bar one) have children under the age of 12, and so they form a particular component of female self-catering tourists and their situation is not the same as those who do not have children, those who have older teenage children or who have adult children. However selection

of this group where there are many domestic responsibilities which need to be undertaken while children are still young make them a particularly interesting group to focus on.

Findings and Analysis

In depth analysis of the quantitative and qualitative data resulted in the identification of three key themes; division of responsibilities, escape and routine and changing relationships. They are discussed below.

Division of Responsibilities

Reflecting the national data discussed above the first clear finding is that at home women are primarily responsible for household chores. 60% of female respondents state that they do most of the household chores when at home while only 17% of men said that they have primary responsibility. A stereotypical gender divide is evident with men predominantly doing gardening and women engaged in the cleaning and food responsibilities.

Table 1: Proportion of female and male respondents who say they solely or mostly do the following at home

	Female	Male
Clean the house	63	9
Cook the food	59	17
Decide what is for dinner	59	11
Make decisions re. grocery shop	70	7
Do the grocery shop	58	15
Manage the household budget	33	24
Pays the bills	33	39
Mind the children	14	7
Cuts the grass	9	64
Wash the clothes	46	9

Iron the clothes	38	13
Clean the bathroom	49	17

It is notable that there is a very low figure for minding the children and this reflects the fact that a high proportion of the sample work full-time, thus those that have children must use some form of childcare. In the focus groups it was clear that for most while this clear division of labour does exist there appeared little animosity about this fact. For those who worked in the home opinions can be encapsulated in Lucy's comment 'I am a stay-at-home mum and Mark is at work so I think that is fair enough.. that's the deal'. While in the focus groups some of the women who worked outside the home were surprised when they thought about it how much they did with Dervilla commenting 'I am depressed, I never realized I did so much'. All noted that things were different at the weekend, in part because much of the domestic work happened Monday to Friday and also because partners are at home and in particular would play a larger role in terms of bringing children places and minding them. This is a first indication that if responsibilities are different at the weekend then perhaps this is also the case when on holiday.

So the first key questions is, is there a change in household responsibilities when on a self-catering holiday? This type of holiday necessitates that many of the household tasks listed in table 1 continue to occur while on holiday so does the person who does them at home continue to do them on holiday?

As table two shows in all categories respondents do less household duties when on holiday. In every category less respondents report that they do this job on holiday that at home so overall there are less domestic responsibilities being undertaken while on holiday. But it is clear that many tasks are still being performed – 37% of people still wash clothes and 30% are still cooking food. The key issue of interest here is how the work is distributed between partners.

Table 2: Proportion of <u>all</u> respondents who undertake household duties at home and on holiday

	At home	On holiday
Clean the house	41	26
Cook the food	42	30
Decide what is for dinner	40	24

Make decisions re. grocery shop	41	19
Do the grocery shop	41	14
Manage the household budget	30	25
Mind the children	14	4
Wash the clothes	46	37
Iron the clothes	38	23
Clean the bathroom	49	33

Table 3 focuses on the female respondents and asks how are household responsibilities shared when on holidays? Three key findings are exhibited. Firstly some duties are not done at all by most people while on holiday. The clearest example of this is ironing which 51 percent do not do while on holiday and in 28% of cases neither partner cooks food or cleans the bathroom while on holiday and in 29% of cases neither partner washes clothes. Participants in the focus group also noted that when on holidays there is less work attached to keeping the house running for example Irene noted that:

> 'Even talking about kids having to be dressed… They get into their swimming togs first thing in the morning and they stay in them, it is brilliant. Nobody has to be fed, there is this big bowl of fruit in the centre of the table and people take it as they want it. Eating and dressing are just so easy and the focus is let's get out'.

Similarly Dervilla said 'when you are on holidays you are out of the house, you are not thinking, I have to get on a wash, when you are on holidays you bring enough clothes, it flows, there is a relaxation'. Sheelagh agrees saying 'you don't have this endless list of jobs'.

Table 3: While on holiday how are the household responsibilities shared? (Female respondents only)

	Female	Male	Both	Neither
Cleans the house	37	1	36	25

Cooks the food	36	10	26	28
Decide what is for dinner	29	6	53	12
Make decisions re. grocery shop	26	5	61	8
Do the grocery shop	16	8	66	11
Manage the household budget	19	23	57	1
Mind the children	7	2	64	28
Wash the clothes	53	4	13	29
Iron the clothes	36	4	10	51
Clean the bathroom	45	5	22	28

The second pattern is that more responsibilities are shared - 80% of respondents agreed with the statement 'on holidays I feel like we share the household chores'. This was also reflected in the focus groups when Lucy said 'we split a lot.. but there would be no ironing of clothes for example', and Claire said 'some things don't get done.. cleaning the bathroom wouldn't be high on my agenda when on holiday.. some of the cooking would fall away.. and I think most of those jobs get shared'. Comparing Table 1 and 3 shows that deciding what is for dinner, making decisions about grocery shopping and minding the children become shared responsibilities. In their research discussed above Ballann et al (http://www.helsinki.fi/science/xantippa/wee/wee22.html) similarly note that the role of those men who do participate in domestic work tends to be in terms of shopping and they classify this as a leisure activity rather than a domestic chore. It certainly could be argued that the tasks of shopping, deciding what is for dinner and minding children are the more exiting and rewarding of the domestic responsibilities explored and this will be discussed in more detail below.

The third finding is that some jobs remain primarily in the female domain. As table 3 shows washing and ironing the clothes, cooking the food and cleaning the bathroom are tasks that are either not done

on holiday, or if they are continue to be undertaken by the women. When asked in the focus groups about whether gender roles are maintained when on holidays there was general agreement that this is the case. An interesting discussion about efficiency ensued when Clare said the reason for this was 'because you can't change what you do automatically for two weeks that would make life very inefficient'. Lucy added:

> 'because when you go away on holidays you want it to be efficient because even if efficiency is getting up and going to the beach for five hours you still want to do that, you don't want to be stuck in the house until twelve o'clock, taking forever, you want to.. [get ready] in the ten minutes that you normally do it in and just be gone'.

Ursula took the example of packing the bag to go out saying if her husband is there then 'at least he can take [the children] off while you pack the bag.. what would normally take you ten minutes would take you five. Whereas if you were to tell him to pack the bag it would take hours, and half the stuff would not be there when you got there'.

The quantitative and qualitative data point to the fact that while on holiday some domestic responsibilities, are simply not engaged in and others are shared much more than they are at home. But this is not the case with all domestic responsibilities and the focus groups show that participants feel that they maintain their gender roles and responsibilities while on holiday and in so doing create efficiencies which allow them and their families to maximize the holiday experience. Thus the holiday environment is still one in which gender inequality in terms of domestic chores exist although the inequality is less extreme and it is notable that the women see this as an efficient way to maximize the families enjoyment.

Escape and Routine

While it has been shown that many domestic responsibilities are shared on holidays rather than done solely by women, nonetheless if women are still cleaning clothes, cooking and cleaning the house or apartment on holiday then to what extent is it an escape from the everyday? In the focus groups when the issue of what a holiday is an escape from was explored it is the escape from a routine which is the most important attribute – Alison says 'the change in routine is the biggest thing for me when on holidays', Clare notes 'you just want to shake off the routine', Catherine says 'no routine, no bedtime, no certain bedtime, no certain getting up time, no certain lunchtime even, or certain mealtimes'. Sheelagh says on holidays you 'can take it more as it comes'.

It is interesting to note though that it is not that there is no routine, a holiday routine emerges. This reflects the findings of White and White (2007). Fiona observes 'I do think I get into a certain routine. I find I will be thinking about the picnic lunch when I get up and the girls still wake up at a certain time and we do get into that certain routine'. Irene says that

> 'we found we would go over to the lake and spend the whole afternoon there, and the kids would come back and they would be a bit cranky at four of half four and we have found ourselves getting into s routine of putting on a DVD and we would just sit and relax and maybe have an aperitif or whatever and slowly get dinner ready. But I don't think that routine is any harm, I think children really like routines. But they are not rigid routines'.

Sheelagh talks about them as 'unrestricted routines'.

Activities that are part of routines at home such as shopping become much more of an experience when on holiday. When asked if shopping was different when away in both groups there was an animated consensus Alison said 'completely, it is pleasurable'. Just wandering though the shops that are different.. you would tend to buy different things. Irene noted that when on holiday

> 'the children enjoy shopping.. there are fish displays which you would take photographs of and the kids are fascinated with it. And they have loads of samples of fruit and you can try things, and they are buying melons and all sorts of things and it is so fresh and everything tastes different'.

So the routine of shopping becomes a more pleasurable family activity which transforms it from being a domestic chore and routine into a family experience and adventure.

Ìt is also interesting to observe how while it is great to escape an everyday routine those women in the focus group who holiday for longer periods enjoy and look forward to returning to the routine. Dervilla said:

> 'Last summer I went away for five weeks and it was brilliant. But I was a little bit putting on a face because the reality of it was I was five weeks out of routine, the kids were out of routine they were up until eleven or twelve at night, they wouldn't have a sleep curing the day like the locals so their behaviour went south.. so I was well and truly ready to come back after five weeks'.

So it is clear that being on holiday is an escape. Some domestic responsibilities do not have to be undertaken, others become shared responsibilities with partners and others, such as shopping, can become a much more positive experience which is shared by all in the family. While the escape from everyday routines is what makes a holiday, it is interesting to note that other routines emerge while on holiday, but these routines are different as they are less rigid and restricted. Thus it is not *having* a routine that a holiday facilitates escape from; it is the nature of the routine which changes while on holiday. In some ways it is this relaxed routine that is part of the positive memories of the holiday, the vibrant and excited discussion about the experience of food shopping while abroad and the discussion of what a typical day on holiday is shows that many like the fact that they have this relaxed routine which is part of the holiday experience. When they recollect about holidays it is many of these factors which constitute the memories of the holiday.

Roles and Relationships within the family

As holidays are an escape and there is a shift in domestic responsibilities among women are relationships and roles different when on holidays? Interestingly the survey showed that in spite of the fact that more chores are shared only 36% of respondents 'feel like my role in the family is different'. This different role is reflected by Dervilla's comment that her role would change a bit from 'being an organizer and carer.. I would tend to sit back a bit and my husband would kind of take over'. But the belief that their role didn't change while on holidays was also the consensus view of the focus groups with Alison saying 'I think your role as the mother doesn't change.. you are always wondering if they are ok'. Lucy adds 'whenever we go anywhere it is 'how much food we have, do we have nappies, how much water do we have, are we going to be near toilets? All that kind of stuff that is my role'. Viv commented that 'I sometimes feel I am more wrecked after a holiday because there is so much more.. running around.. when on holiday with the family it's fun and you are having a great time but there is still a lot involved in shifting around a family'. For most it seems that roles do not change on holidays, this is in part because minding children and a family continues even while on holiday, it also may indicate that respondents do not define their role within the family in terms of domestic chores but more in terms of parenting which continues while on holiday.

In terms of relationships 45% of the survey respondents feel that 'on holidays my relationship with my partner is quite different than it is when we are at home'. In the focus groups in this context much discussion was around the fact that you have more time with your partner and more relaxed time, Yvonne says 'it is 24/7 with your partner when you are on holidays', there was general agreement that you discuss things as a couple more when you are away 'because you have time to do it' (Ursula). According to Sheelagh there is time for a 'real chat.. it is not squeezed in between don't forget this and

don't forget that, at home you talk a lot about the "business of the day"'. Two participants whose husbands work away during the week spoke about the adjustment that is needed when on holiday as they are spending all day every day together and Claire B said that while 'we would look forward to [holidays] I have to admit, when he goes back to work, I am happy and he is happy to go back to work as well. Because it is stressful'

Relationships with children are described as 'far more relaxed' and 'there are less conflicts'. The lack of television and technology was also noted by a number of participants as a positive thing about holidays. The being relaxed with children and doing things like swimming together, playing and having bicycle races were cited as things that mothers are much more likely to do on holiday than at home. It was also noted that when a child asked you to do something with them on holiday you would do it straight away, whereas at home you would say just wait until I get this job done first.. and then at the end of the day you would realize you had never done that with them (Dervilla).

Conclusion

What this paper shows is that firstly when we analyze the experience of holidays we need to be cognizant of the fact that this experience can be very different for men and women. As discussed above the literature to date shows that gender has an influence in terms of travel demand and motivations but this research shows that in addition to this the actual experience while on holiday can be different. There are clear product development and marketing implications of such a finding.

Secondly, although holidays are an 'escape' from the everyday, in terms of a self-catering holiday for women and mothers genderdized roles are most often maintained. They still do many of the same domestic tasks as they would when they are at home, with the only difference being that some responsibilities rather than being done alone are shared. Some jobs such as shopping and childcare are shared and some other tasks such as ironing often aren't conducted while on holiday. Nonetheless where cleaning clothes and preparing food still need to be done, it is predominantly the women who still perform these tasks, thus maintaining a higher proportion of domestic responsibility even while on holiday.

So an escape for many female tourists does not necessarily involve an escape from everything at home, but from a pragmatic point of view it means less domestic responsibility, and by them maintaining their genderdized role they can maximize the holiday experience by efficiently carrying out the tasks that they do at home in the quickest time possible. It is also notable that a family routine emerges on holiday and often this incorporates domestic responsibilities, but the routines are much less rigid and restricted than those in their everyday life.

To conclude, the research has shown that the imbalance in the division of household labour continues while on holiday. This reflects the fact that national data shows that even in situations where both partners work outside the home, women take on more of the domestic responsibilities. On a more positive note there is more sharing of some responsibilities while on holiday - although the relative 'niceness' of such responsibilities has been discussed above. What is interesting to note is that the focus group discussions did not indicate dissatisfaction with this situation; it made sense to the women for them to do what they do at home as they could do it most efficiently and so maximize the time spent doing the things that the family wanted. This reflects the Beagan et al (2008) finding that women felt it was 'simply easier' to do the jobs themselves.

This brings to light an interesting point that when these women discussed their holidays it was in terms of their families. They were choosing self catering holiday as they said this is what suited the children best and they were continuing to be primarily responsible for getting children ready, cleaning and cooking as this meant that the family as a whole would have more time to enjoy the holiday. In passing some noted the difficulties associated with 'moving a family around' and spending a lot of time with partners and children. One participant reflected on a holiday she has just come back from where she had travelled on her own and the difference that this created 'I could leave when I wanted and do what I chose'. This shows that the holiday experience for women when holidaying with families is constrained by the needs of the group as a whole and the women appear to maintain their gender roles in order to ensure that the holidays goes as smoothly as possible for the family as a whole. While they enjoy the break away from everyday routines the holiday itself creates a routine because 'your role as a mother never changes' (Alison). From a feminist perspective the unequal division of labour in households and the genderdized roles of women are maintained while on holidays.

These findings are important from a number of different perspectives, in the first instance they add to the sociological debate about gender and household responsibilities, secondly they make a contribution to the debate about to what extent holidays are an escape from the everyday and thirdly in terms of the research on gender and tourism it provides another avenue of research which is concerned with the family and the division of labour while on holiday. It is clear that while women do classify a self-catering holiday as a holiday and an escape, in reality the gender inequality that is evident generally within the home is perpetuated while on holiday.

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TITLE

Higher education and the Irish economy - A partnership approach

KEYWORDS

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ABSTRACT

As the Public Services Numbers and Expenditures Programmes Report (McCarthy, 2009) and the National Strategy for Higher Education to 2030 (Hunt, 2011) are debated, one area which can assist in the recovery of the Irish economy is Higher Education (HE). Therefore, research was conducted through a personal survey using two Irish case studies; Dublin Institute of Technology (DIT) and Limerick Institute of Technology (LIT). It was carried out throughout the 2009-2010 academic year and its main aim was to ascertain if students thought that education played a part in contributing to a solution to the economic crisis and what could be done to facilitate the recovery of their industry throughout the crisis. Nearly 300 full and part time students (both Irish and International) were surveyed.

This paper will be in three parts; the first section will examine the current tertiary education situation in Ireland amid the global economic crisis and will review what higher education's contribution be should be to help alleviate the crisis. Building stronger links with the academy and the economy to help raise skills, efficiency, and productivity is becoming more important in ensuring global competitiveness and retaining equality and accessibility in the academy (Gaffikin and Morrissey, 2003: 98). The second section will look at the merge of entrepreneurship and education. As the lifelong learning society is conceptualised largely in terms of maintaining a flexible and competitive economy in the knowledge society, the concept of an entrepreneurial society will be proposed to fill the gap which has emerged since the exit of many international companies for cheaper labour elsewhere. Within all levels of education entrepreneurship should be encouraged and embedded in the curricula from the earliest stages as a prevention rather than cure to the current economic crisis in Ireland. The final section will illustrate a brief analysis of students' perspectives on how HE can help meet the ever-changing needs of the Irish economy.

INTRODUCTION

Ireland has experienced a serious economic downturn resulting in job losses and renewed emigration since 2008 (Barrett, Kearney, and Goggin, 2009) and the economy continues to contract into 2011. Furthermore, the annual rate of inflation is fluctuating with a marked deterioration in the labour market since 2008 to the present day. Ireland needs to act fast by providing a highly skilled, productive and flexible workforce which will attract high-value inward investment and grass roots development of businesses and generation of employment. Healy and Slowey (2006) suggest that the Celtic Tiger boom had been dependent on the Irish human capital and of formal education including the mobility and return of highly skilled workers who had emigrated in the 1980's and early 1990's. They suggest that it was also in part to do with favourable incentives given to international firms willing to invest in Ireland (Healy and Slowey, 2006).

The Organisation for Economic Co-Operation and Development (OECD) reports (2008a; 2009) and the more recent *National Strategy for Higher Education to 2030* (Hunt, 2011) recommends a greater reliance on education and training particularly for labour market needs and this concurs with the launch of the government strategy for sustainable economic renewal (Department of the Taoiseach, 2008) where it views the importance of Ireland's performance on a global scale as an 'Innovation Island'. This essentially requires our HE system becoming the cornerstone to this development and an impetus to economic and social renewal through elements of lifelong learning (Green, 2006), research and development and partnerships with all stakeholders within the state as the strength of the educational system has been identified as a key factor in the recent economic growth during the Celtic Tiger boom period (Fitzgerald, 2000; Smyth, McCoy, Darmody and Dunne, 2007: 139).

THE CONTRIBUTION OF IRELAND'S HIGHER EDUCATION

Currently a programme for re-skilling, the Labour Market Activation Programme (LMAP), under the partnership of the Department of Education and Science (DES), the Department of Enterprise, Trade and Employment and the Higher Education Authority (HEA) is advertising for candidates for undergraduate and postgraduate programmes (Levels 6-9 of NFQ) within the Institute of Technologies (IoT's) and Universities in areas of study specifically required in business today and for business set-up. To qualify you must have been made redundant for at least six months and already hold some qualifications. This targets those already in the 'system' but should be open to all. The HEA has also made some steps towards addressing the challenges for further, continuing and HE in relation to lifelong learning and the non-traditional student. It is to further develop an integrated approach to HE policy which addresses the changing, more diverse nature of the student body, including, in particular adult and part-time learners. These and other issues of access and equity are highlighted in their reports (HEA, 2004; DES, 2000). As a recent Goodbody report (O'Leary and O'Brien, 2009) suggests, unemployment will continue to be a problem for many years to come and Ireland needs more than just 'policy discourse' to solve Ireland's growing crisis, rather what is required are 'action plans' to get things moving again.

The current programmes provided through state and academies are positive, but not all potential students have equality of access yet and all graduates will still be dependent on the availability of jobs in the market. This is subsequently dependent on an innovation and entrepreneurial economy where entrepreneurship and new business set up is encouraged and supported, both locally and nationally, with the help of academies and financial institutions, thus reducing a certain dependence on multinationals for the bulk of our employment and returning to grassroots businesses.

Re-skilling is enhancing your existing qualifications and retraining in skills required for modern businesses which can help gain employment for those made redundant while up skilling on the other hand is training people in companies in more skills areas which may help to prevent redundancies and

increase skills and knowledge base of the workforce to gain competitive advantage. This would seem the more appropriate policy however, in the current recessionary climate there are many people already signing on for unemployment benefits so re-skilling and re-training is a priority. This is being witnessed with the increase in numbers applying for courses in further and HE around the country. Nevertheless up-skilling is being employed for sustainability by companies still in operation and applied for by those employed hoping for better future prospects, promotions, or careers.

a partnership with education

The knowledge society has greatly emphasised the importance of knowledge skills and know-how in the population at large, apart from social justice, the current recession now emphasises the significance of lifelong learning and as a way of life in modern society. Therefore a more coordinated approach to align the HE institutions and enterprises through up-skilling courses and research so that they can work together to exploit and develop our current and future highly skilled graduates and employees is imperative in the role of recovery of the economy, and development of one of a more efficient knowledge economy, innovation society and entrepreneurial economy (Prospectus, 2007; OECD, 2004; 2005; Irish Council for Science, Technology and Innovation, (ICSTI), 1999; National Competitiveness Council (NCC), 2008; Department of Enterprise, Trade and Employment, 2002). The links between indigenous firms and the research departments of HEA's is vital. While 27% of foreign multinational firms link with HEA's, only 17% of Irish firms do (OECD, 2004).

The Irish have worldwide recognition and reputation for being successful in business and arts, (Global Entrepreneurship Monitor (GEM), 2005) and this together with the resourcefulness of the 'new' Irish can play a part in Ireland's survival. It is the non-traditional students who are generally more entrepreneurial and create businesses and in most cases employment for others, that we also need to focus on both in and outside of the academy. Kennedy (2009) illustrates that when Digital Equipment Corporation (DEC) pulled out of Galway in 1993 and when Motorola pulled out of Cork after 25 years, both cities saw a wave of entrepreneurialism that boosted employment. The problem with Limerick and the pull-out of DELL is the lack of financing for these new entrepreneurs. Policies need to emphasise not only the support for re-skilling and up-skilling, but also for entrepreneurship.

Today entrepreneurship and Small to Medium Enterprises (SME) are increasingly important parts of the global business world. The responsibility for entrepreneurship education and training does not rest entirely with the academies as pointed out by Garavan and O'Cinneide (1994; 4). There is a need for creation of an atmosphere that will encourage entrepreneurship and recognize failures as part of the learning process (Garavan, O'Cinneide and Fleming, 1997). One common objective of entrepreneurship education and training is to stimulate entrepreneurial drive talent and skills and the success of an entrepreneurial economy is to encourage and reinforce attitudes towards entrepreneurship and both

outline the importance of education and entrepreneurship as crucial factors for the continued success of companies (Morrissey, 2008; O'Brien, 2008). The education and training system must adapt to produce the skills to drive successful enterprise in conjunction with work-based learning and up-skilling.

The GEM report (2005) highlights the need for early adoption of entrepreneurship in education from as early as primary education, but to reinforce entrepreneurship across all levels if indigenous enterprise is to flourish in the future and a culture of entrepreneurship is to be adopted and initiated as a career choice (Report of the Small Business Forum, 2006). Curricula and assessment mechanisms throughout education should promote critical thinking, entrepreneurship, and innovation (NCC, 2009; 6). Together with this is are the LMAP's in areas of entrepreneurship and business set-up now being run across the community and further education establishments, the IoT's, and Universities highlighting the importance of not only the knowledge society but of a developing entrepreneurial economy.

RESEARCH METHODS

Primary research cannot begin until the field of the subject area is scanned for similar or equivalent research which may have been carried out previously. Secondary data collection can be defined as 'the analysis of information collected for a purpose other than that of the researcher' (Finn, Elliott-White, Walton, 2000; 40). Moving on, primary research is carried out following the choice of research philosophy, approach, and strategy. As a result, this research study, the different research philosophies were considered, from their origins to weighing up the pros and cons of each and the reasoning behind the choice of philosophy for this study. In turn the approach and strategy were examined as a consequence of the choice of philosophy. Involved in this were a discussion on the properties of both deductive and inductive approaches, qualitative and quantitative methodologies and the advantages and disadvantages of each. Analysis of the primary research completed including the survey design **(See Findings)** is discussed. Following this consideration will be given to the limitations of these methods.

THE PRINCIPLE AIM OF THIS RESEARCH IS TO EXPLORE THE STUDENTS' PERCEPTION OF HE AND ITS ROLE IN ASSISTING THE CURRENT GLOBAL ECONOMIC CRISIS. STUDENTS WERE CHOSEN AT RANDOM TO REPRESENT A TYPICAL SAMPLE OF FULL-TIME, PART-TIME AND NIGHT-TIME STUDENTS IN DIT AND LIT. THE SURVEY WAS DELIVERED TO STUDENTS TO COMPLETE INDIVIDUALLY AND RETURN TO THE RESEARCHERS. SOME OF THESE STUDENTS SURVEYED INDICATED THE NEED FOR ENTREPRENEURSHIP TYPE MODULES ON COURSES AND NOT JUST AS OPTIONS. CORE ELEMENTS OF THE COURSE SHOULD BE TOWARDS CAREERS AND NOT JUST ROTE LEARNING. SOME RESEARCH RESULTS ARE HIGHLIGHTED NEXT.

FINDINGS

Of all who were interviewed in DIT, 39% were male and 58% female. There were 3 invalid surveys out of a total of 125 respondents. All students interviewed were studying on both fulltime and part time programmes throughout the hospitality and tourism school on tourism marketing and tourism, leisure, event and hospitality management courses, which gave a broad example of students from hospitality and tourism programmes from this school. Of both male and female survey candidates, nearly 39% of the population surveyed were Irish. The remaining 61% coming from many different countries from around the world such as the Korea, China, Nigeria, Czech Republic, Poland, Hungary and Spain. In relation to LIT, 43 of the students were male and 118 female. There were 7 invalid surveys. All students interviewed were studying fulltime on tourism, events, sports, front office, and professional cookery programmes which gave a broad example of students from hospitality and tourism programmes. Of both male and female survey candidates, nearly 75% of the population surveyed were Irish. The remaining 25% coming from many different countries from around the world. They were influenced in deciding their courses via the following key areas, one to note is that of work experience, which came in as one of the most important influencing factors after family and friends **(See Figures 1 and 2).**

Figure 1   **What factors influenced you to pursue a career in the tourism/front office /events/sports/hospitality industry? (Question 7) - DIT**
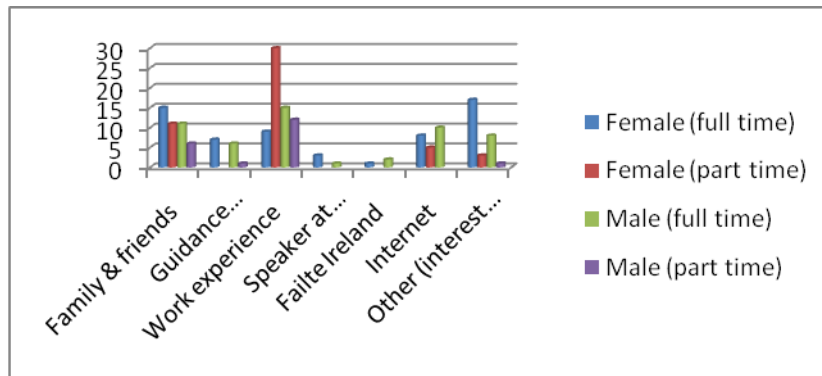

Figure 2   **What factors influenced you to pursue a career in the tourism/front office /events/sports/hospitality industry? (Question 7) - LIT**
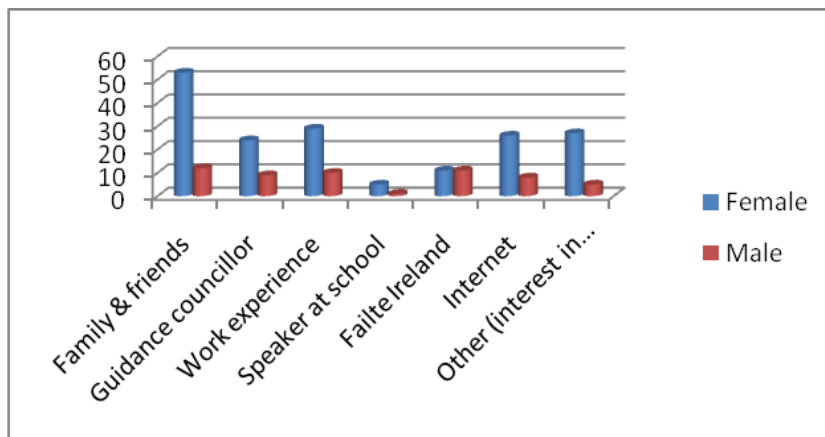
Also interesting to note is when asked what position did they hope to obtain upon the succesful completion of their courses and whether they were ready to work in the industry or another industry because of the course they were doing, the majority of students answered affirmatively. This would link positively with the previous results of work placement influence on their decision to persue a career in the industry and subsequent desire to stay within the industry. It shows the importance of including work or industry placements, work experience or at least a connection or partnership with industy and the course on all courses being offered to students wanting to persue a career in this industry **(See Figures 3 and 4).**

Figure 3   **What position/job do you hope to obtain upon after the successful completion of your course? (Question 10) - DIT**
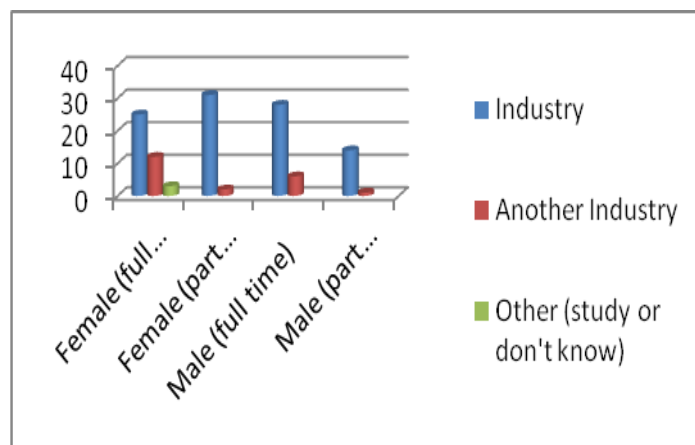
Figure 4   **What position/job do you hope to obtain upon after the successful completion of your course? (Question 10) - LIT**
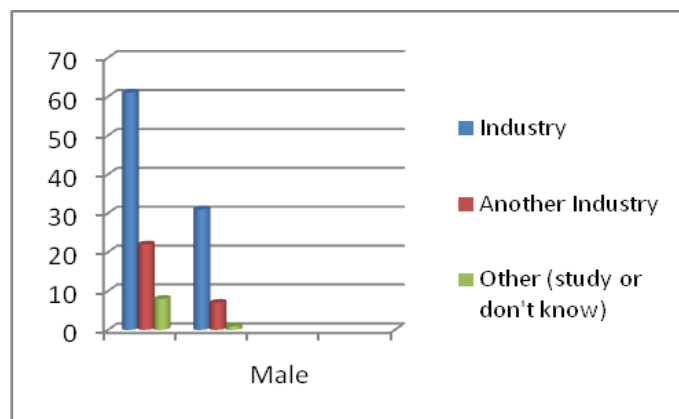
Figure 5 shows responses from the survey which were also not surprising. The students also agreed that the course met industry needs with 68 (54%) (DIT) and 77 (45%) (LIT) respondents respectively agreeing that the course met industry needs. However it is also interesting to note that there was a high response in the undecided category in both colleges. This could indicate that the respondents in this

catergory have not yet had the experience in industry to be able to comment confidently on this question (some students surveyed would only be going on industry placement during the summer after the survey was administered) **(See Figures 5 and 4).**

Figure 5   Does the course meet the needs of industry? (Question 10) - DIT
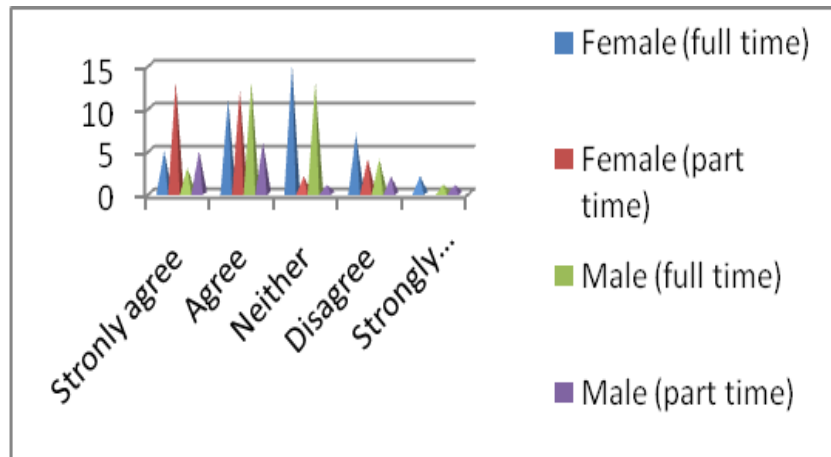
Figure 6   Does the course meet the needs of industry? (Question 10) - LIT
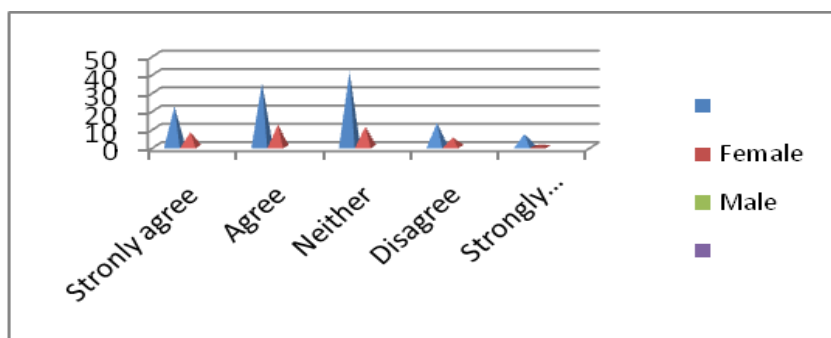
The students responded most favourably when asked what they see as important for improvements on their courses. The majority indicated practicals, industry experience and placement as being most important, which may indicate we are not doing enough in this area or that they have been happy with their work experience and feel they need more. Some students spend any time from 2 weeks to 6 months on industry placement or work experience.

There were nearly equal responses of more and less of both theory and practicals so we may assume what works for one student is not working for another! However what is interesting to note is that entrepreneurial modules are not seen as needing improvement or inclusion. Does this mean we are doing enough in this area on our courses through business studies and entreprenurial type modules? **See**

Figures 7 and **8** below.

Figure 7   **What improvements or changes would you suggest for the course? (Question 16) -**
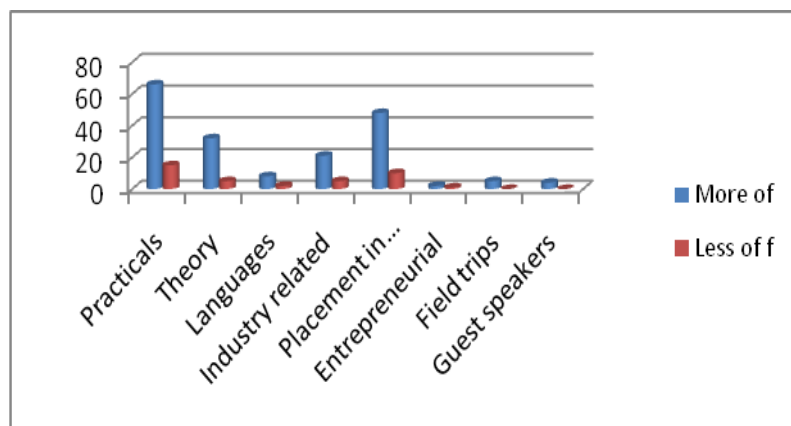**DIT**
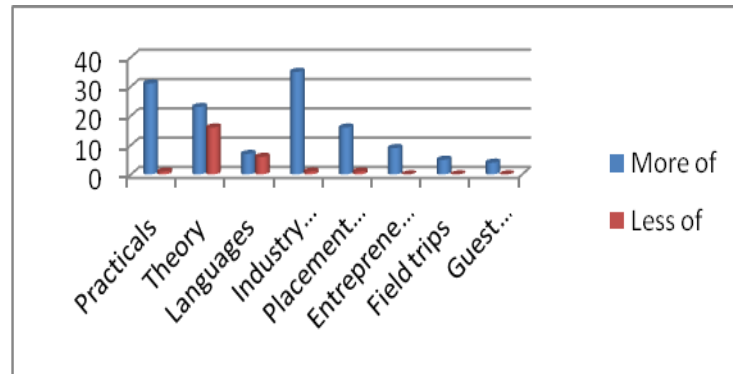
Figure 8   **What improvements or changes would you suggest for the course (Question 16)? -**
LIT

When asked of their opinion as to how HE contributes to dealing with the crisis **Tables 1 and 2**
demostrates their appreciation of how the HE contributes to dealing with the Ireland's current economic
crisis.   They clearly understood the value of their education in the current climate whereby they said
that HE will produce a *"pool of skilled workers which [sic] will be available when we come out of the*
recession", and *"provide further education for students to get a degree and improve their qualifications*
for a job".

The majority of students in both institutions agreed with the reintroduction of HE fees, albeit by
addressing that fact that they thought they were paying something in the way of fees already. One
student actually said *"lesson the entrance fees for students"* and another said *"reduce Fees"*. At the
moment there is a registration fee for all students, and in the case of part-time students a college fee
also applies, especially in the case of international and/or non-EU students. See **Tables 1** and **2** below

for more suggestions and responses.

Table 1   How do you think Higher Education can contribute to the current global economic crisis? (Question 18) - DIT

Respondent Number	MPT, MFT, FFT, FPT[18]	How do you think Higher Education can contribute to the current global economic crisis? (Question 18)
21	MFT	*They can prepare students to be better professionals and in the end to promote and build a better economic environment.*
22	MFT	*Students have to be more aware by introducing a micro-economy module in different areas.*
27	MFT	*Really develops young students to use their imagination and produce innovation.*
28	MFT	*Pool of skilled workers will be available when we come out of the recession.*
30	MFT	*In the future more people will be better educated.*
35	MFT	*More places for the unemployed.*
39	MFT	*It can take people off the unemployment benefit and relying on government.* *It gives people better opportunities and would give more money to government.*
40	MFT	*It's good to be in HE because there's no work.*
41	MFT	*Attend HE, so that the degree you get is a good one to enter into the workforce.*
42	MFT	*HE is good as there is no work out there.*
43	MFT	*It's keeping people in HE as there is no work for them.*
45	MFT	*By preparing students for employment.*
46	MFT	*They are sending out young qualified students with good degrees in their chosen field.*
47	MFT	*They are training young people with necessary skills so as they are ready to enter the working world.*
48	MFT	*People are graduating but there is no one going into work; you end up qualified but unemployment!*
49	FFT	*It can give you a qualification while we are going through this recession and hopefully when we finish (HE) the recession will be over and there will be jobs for us!*
51	MFT	*Lessen entrance fees for students.*
54	MFT	*It provides protection for young student.* *Gives them qualifications reduces the amount claiming benefits.*
56	MFT	*Include more business related classes into courses.*
61	MPT	*Turns out more students than can actually produce, fix, maintain, and improve things.*
65	MPT	*Explains to students what effects and changes the economy.*

18 Male Part Time (MPT), Male Full Time (MFT), Female Full Time (FFT), Female Part Time (FPT)

72	MPT	*Education prepares future managers to be able to deal with customer awareness in order to succeed.*
73	MPT	*Gives the economy the right type of grads and workers.*
79	MPT	*Good examples of failings given by lecturers.*
97	MPT	*By re-educating people with new skills.*
99	MPT	*Now is best time to study!.*
102	MPT	*By teaching students what was the problem that started all this and the possible solutions.*
104	MPT	*By producing new and emerging educated talent.*
110	MFT	*By better educating people that they are more likely to do better, thus bringing more money into the economy.*
112	MFT	*By highlighting reasons for economic crisis and steps to improve.*
113	MFT	*Somehow make it as cheap as possible.*
114	MFT	*Teach the courses with the recession in mind.*
117	MFT	*By teaching people more about economics and how the global market actually works.*
119	MFT	*Provide further education for students to get a degree and improve their qualifications for a job.*

Table 2　　How do you think Higher Education can contribute to the current global economic crisis? (Question 18) - LIT

Respondent Number	Male (M) Female (F)	How do you think Higher Education can contribute to the current global economic crisis? (Question 18)
1	F	*Reduce Fees*
5	F	*Further education*
17	F	*Free education, more languages*
18	F	*More educated people*
29	F	*Less wastage*
30	F	*HE make use of their facilities*
42	F	*Reduce costs*
54	F	*Reduce costs*
65	F	*More guest speakers*
69	F	*Reduce Fees*
79	M	*Offer more incentives*
83	F	*More educated people*
89	F	*Further education*
94	F	*Financial Management Seminars*
106	F	*More grants*
107	F	*Too costly*
108	F	*Offer more incentives*
111	F	*Drop expenses e.g. registration fees, free car parking*
121	F	*No fees*
131	F	*More courses*
135	F	*HE provides education*
146	F	*Student support hard on families e.g. laptop*

154	M	Reduce Fees

As Hunt's (2011) National *Strategy for Higher Education to 2030,* highlighted the need for the introduction of fees into the Ireland HE **Tables 3** and **4** shows how this would not be welcome at any level by the students, who ultimately would have to pay for them.

Table 3   **Would the reintroduction of tuition fees discourage you from pursuing your third level education? (Question 21) - DIT**

Respondent Number	MPT, MFT, FFT,FPT	*Would the reintroduction of tuition fees discourage you from pursuing your third level education? (Question 21)*
3	MFT	*Agree*
4	MFT	*Agree*
8	MFT	*Disagree*
21	MFT	*Agree*
22	MFT	*Don't care*
27	MFT	*Don't care*
28	MFT	*Agree*
30	MFT	*Agree*
35	MFT	*Agree*
38	MFT	*Agree*
39	MFT	*Agree*
40	MFT	*Agree*
41	MFT	*Agree*
42	MFT	*Agree*
43	MFT	*Agree*
45	MFT	*Don't care*
46	MFT	*Agree*
47	MFT	*Agree*
48	MFT	*Agree*
49	MFT	*Agree*
50	MPT	*Don't care*
51	MFT	*Don't care*
54	MFT	*Disagree*
56	MFT	*Agree*
61	MPT	*Agree*
65	MPT	*Paying them already*
72	MPT	*Strongly agree*
73	MPT	*Strongly disagree*
79	MPT	*Disagree*
83	MPT	*Disagree*
84	MPT	*Don't care*
86	MFT	*Paying them already*
97	MPT	*Disagree*
99	MPT	*Paying them already*

102	MPT	*Paying them already*
104	MPT	*Agree*
108	MPT	*Agree*
110	MFT	*Agree*
112	MFT	*Agree*
113	MFT	*Agree*
114	MFT	*Agree*
117	MFT	*Agree*
119	MFT	*Agree*
124	MFT	*Disagree*
125	MFT	*Don't care*

Table 4   **Would the reintroduction of tuition fees discourage you from pursuing your third level education? (Question 21) - LIT**

Respondent Number	Male (M) Female (F)	Would the reintroduction of tuition fees discourage you from pursuing your third level education? (Question 21)
1	F	*Don't care*
5	F	*Agree*
6	F	*Agree*
17	F	*Disagree*
18	F	*Agree*
29	F	*Don't care*
30	F	*Don't care*
31	F	*Agree*
42	F	*Agree*
47	M	*Agree*
54	F	*Agree*
61	F	*Agree*
65	F	*Agree*
69	F	*Agree*
77	F	*Agree*
78	F	*Agree*
79	M	*Agree*
83	F	*Don't care*
89	F	*Agree*
102	M	*Agree*
106	F	*Agree*
107	F	*Don't care*
108	F	*Disagree*
109	F	*Agree*
110	F	*Agree*
111	F	*Paying them already*
119	F	*Strongly agree*
121	F	*Strongly disagree*

131	F	*Disagree*
135	F	*Disagree*
146	F	*Don't care*
147	F	*Paying them already*
154	M	*Disagree*

Tables 5 and **6** illustrates the modules that students feel are import in light of the current global economic crisis. It is interesting to see that Enterprise development, Management, Hospitality Industry Studies, Economics, Marketing and Financial Management are the modules that the students feel are the most important in the light of the current economic and leadership issues Ireland faces. On reflection these are mostly business type modules and some directly related to industry showing another desire from the students to retain or highlight the importance of industry related modules. For further suggestions and survey responses please see **Tables 5** and **6** below.

Table 5   **Is there any modules that you are currently studying, feel are very useful in light of the current global economic crisis? (Question 19) – DIT**

Responde nt Number	MPT, MFT, FFT, FPT	Is there any modules that you are currently studying, feel are very useful in light of the current global economic crisis? (Question 19)
3	MFT	*Economics and Marketing*
8	MFT	*Management*
22	MFT	*Global to local tourism*
27	MFT	*SME*
28	MFT	*Economics and Marketing*
30	MFT	*Economics and Marketing*
35	MFT	*Economics and Marketing*
38	MFT	*Management and economics*
39	MFT	*Communications*
40	MFT	*Management*
41	MFT	*Management*
42	MFT	*Management*
43	MFT	*Management*
45	MFT	*Management and Leadership*
46	MFT	*Leisure Studies*
47	MFT	*Management*
48	MFT	*Management*
50	MPT	*Hospitality Law*
51	MFT	*Business and Management*
54	MFT	*Management*
61	MPT	*Enterprise Development and Strategic Management*
65	MPT	*Accounting*
79	MPT	*Management and Hospitality Industry Studies*
83	MPT	*Business and Management*
84	MPT	*Management*

97	MPT	*Hospitality Industry Studies*
102	MPT	*Management and Hospitality Industry Studies*
104	MPT	*Hospitality Industry Studies*
106	MPT	*Hospitality Industry Studies*
112	MFT	*Management*
113	MFT	*Marketing*
114	MFT	*Management and Tourism*
117	MFT	*Management and Marketing*
119	MFT	*Marketing*
124	MFT	*Enterprise Development*
125	MFT	*Business and Management*

Table 6   Is there any modules that you are currently studying, feel are very useful in light of the current global economic crisis? (Question 19) – LIT

Respondent Number	Male (M) Female (F)	Is there any modules that you are currently studying, feel are very useful in light of the current global economic crisis? (Question 19)
1	F	*Event planning / volunteering*
6	F	*Volunteering*
17	F	*Accounting, Marketing and Management*
18	F	*Strategic Management, Accounting and Marketing*
29	F	*Strategic Management*
30	F	*Marketing and Human Resource Management*
31	F	*Marketing*
42	F	*Financial Management, Human Resource Management*
47	M	*Accounting and Human Resource Management*
54	F	*Financial Management and Strategic Management*
65	F	*Financial Management and Event Management*
69	F	*Financial Management*
77	F	*Financial Management*
78	F	*Financial Management*
79	M	*Economics*
83	F	*Economics*
89	F	*French*
94	F	*Business Management*
102	M	*Business*
107	F	*Management*
108	F	*Economics*
109	F	*Accounting*
110	F	*Management*
111	F	*Economics, Accounting*
119	F	*Economics*
121	F	*Event Management, Communications*
131	F	*Business*

135	F	*Economics, Management Accounting, Communications*
146	F	*Accounting*
147	F	*Law, Event Management*
154	M	*Economics*

Considering these surveys were administered during the 2009-2010 academic year, it is not completely surprising that in relation to how Ireland is dealing with the current economic crisis, the students were very negative in their responses **(See Tables 7 and 8).**

Table 7   **How do you feel Ireland is dealing with the current economic crisis? (Question 20) - DIT**

Respondent Number	MPT MFT FFT FPT	How do you feel Ireland is dealing with the current economic crisis? (Question 20)
3	MFT	*Reactionary approach*
4	MFT	*Good*
8	MFT	*Doing the best it can*
22	MFT	*Poorly in comparison to other EU countries*
27	MFT	*Until we sweep out the current clowns in the government we are going nowhere*
28	MFT	*Government is not leading by example; we still have a long way to go. "Your country your call" is a great idea.*
30	MFT	*We'll be grand!*
35	MFT	*Not very well*
38	MFT	*Everyone is freaking out for no reason!*
39	MFT	*We are making a lot of bad decisions*
40	MFT	*Poorly*
41	MFT	*Well - cuts will always happen, that's life*
42	MFT	*Poorly*
43	MFT	*Not very well*
45	MFT	*How can they claim expenses when it's their job?*
46	MFT	*There are jobs, it's just people aren't willing to work for less*
47	MFT	*People are sitting back and complaining when they should be doing something about it.*
48	MFT	*Not well*
49	MFT	*At the start they were not handling it but now I think they are starting to get on top of it. It will take time.*
50	MPT	*Irish people seem to be more accepting of the crisis but the Irish Politicians are panicking.*
51	MFT	*Poorly*
54	MFT	*Poorly*
56	MFT	*Badly. People should be made to clean the streets for the unemployment!*
61	MPT	*Poorly Not taking action in best interest of the country.*

65	MPT	*Very slow*
73	MPT	*Could be better*
79	MPT	*Poorly*
83	MPT	*Very poorly. Bad decisions made at government level.*
86	MFT	*Not very well*
97	MPT	*Badly*
102	MPT	*Cut backs!*
104	MPT	*Not good the hospitality industry is struggling.*
106	MPT	*Badly but not as badly as my country (Hungary).*
108	MPT	*Its surviving*
110	MFT	*Could be better*
112	MFT	*time will tell with National Asset Management Agency (NAMA)*
113	MFT	*We're slowly picking up*
117	MFT	*Very poorly not enough positive action*
119	MFT	*We're not coping well; in the boom times we spent too much and now we're suffering.*
124	MFT	*As bad as Spain!?*

One student's acknowledgement of "your country your call" as being a great idea**,** is only one of a very few positive responses identified in **Table 7** previously. Whereas in the responses illustrated in **Table 8** below, students mainly felt that we were doing badly or poorly in response to the economic crisis.

Table 8   **How do you feel Ireland is dealing with the current economic crisis?**
                 (Question 20) - LIT

Respondent Number	Male (M) Female (F)	How do you feel Ireland is dealing with the current economic crisis? (Question 20)
1	F	*Dealing with some parts of it*
6	F	*Doing nothing*
17	F	*Not informed*
18	F	*Staying afloat*
29	F	*Doing what they can*
30	F	*Slowly but correctly*
31	F	*Badly*
42	F	*Badly*
47	M	*Badly*
54	F	*Badly, especially the retail sector*
61	F	*Bad*
65	F	*Not well*
69	F	*delayed reaction*
78	F	*Ok*
79	M	*Absolute disgrace*
83	F	*Ok*
89	F	*Badly*

94	F	*Poorly*
10	M	*Badly*
106	F	*Poorly*
107	F	*Not well*
108	F	*More incentive for all*
109	F	*Terrible*
110	F	*No real ideas/plans*
111	F	*Badly*
119	F	*Not great*
121	F	*Wrong folks suffering*
131	F	*Ok*
135	F	*Not great*
147	F	*Ok*
154	M	*Government is poor*

As the main aim of this survey was to ascertain if students thought that education played a part in contributing to a solution to the economic crisis and what could be done to facilitate the recovery of their industry throughout the crisis, the results in **Tables 9** and **10** presents some interesting findings. Many student's suggested that HE can help by taking people off of the live register, retraining them for employment and connecting up with industry.

Table 9   **How do you feel the third level education sector could help aide the recovery of Ireland during this recession? (Question 22) - DIT**

Respondent Number	MPT, MFT FFT, FPT	How do you feel the third level education sector could help aide the recovery of Ireland during this recession? (Question 22)
4	MFT	*More students*
8	MFT	*More practical and less theory*
21	MFT	*Education is the best way to recover.* *Prepared people can set up businesses and create opportunities*
28	MFT	*Many ideas come from the HEA*
30	MFT	*Take unemployed people off unemployment benefits.*
38	MFT	*More HE fundraising events*
40	MFT	*More qualified workforce*
41	MFT	*Pay back your fees or a % when you start work*
47	MFT	*Lower fees and more work experience*
48	MFT	*Lower tuition fees*
49	MFT	*By encouraging people to go to HE and graduate because without a qualification you won't get a job*
54	MFT	*Encourage students to spend*
65	MPT	*Better education for students and know how to deal with a downturn*
79	MPT	*Better prepared workforce*
83	MPT	*Providing education and up skilling for the unemployed*

84	MPT	*Elimination of nepotism*
97	MPT	*Getting new skills for different jobs*
99	MPT	*Education is remedy of poor (against being poor)*
112	MFT	*It can educate and bring out better leaders for economy*
113	MFT	*Offer cheaper education*
114	MFT	*By not introducing fees*
124	MFT	*More connection with current business to survive*

Table 10   **How do you feel the third level education sector could help aide the recovery of Ireland during this recession? (Question 22) - LIT**

Respondent Number	Male (M) Female (F)	How do you feel the third level education sector could help aide the recovery of Ireland during this recession? (Question 22)
6	F	*Educate people*
17	F	*Educate people*
18	F	*Keep students in education*
29	F	*Educate people*
30	F	*Encourage back to work for unemployed*
31	F	*Educate people*
47	M	*Lecturers to help government*
54	F	*Keep people in education*
61	F	*HE encouragement*
65	F	*Educate people*
77	F	*No fees*
79	M	*Badly*
83	F	*Qualifications in new areas away from traditional jobs*
94	F	*Not our responsibility*
110	F	*Providing business with young educated people*
121	F	*No fees*
135	F	*Produce heavily educated workforce*
146	F	*Less people looking for jobs more people in HE*

The final question **(Question 23)** was left opened for the students are we wanted to find out if they have any additional information that they wanted to share **(See Tables 11 and 12).** Some students indicated that there needs to be more encouragement for work placements and links with industry for successful careers in the future for graduates. One student's suggestion to "*pay back your fees or a % when you start work, in 3/4 years' time recession should be over and we will have jobs and so we could afford to pay back some fees,"* we thought was quite innovative. See **Tables 11** and **12** for more suggestions.

In Ireland, policy makers often quote the need for further education, training and greater skill in the services industry and it has been the IoTs' that have been one of the first to provide for this.

Table 11   We would be very eager to hear any additional comments you might have (Question 23) - DIT

Respondent Number	MPT, MFT FFT, FPT	We would be very eager to hear any additional comments you might have (Question 23)
21	MFT	*Course needs to deliver more in the area of tourism (Tourism Marketing student).*
28	MFT	*Reintroduction of fees would dissuade me from doing further education. I did this course because it was 'free'.*
41	MFT	*Pay back your fees or a % when you start work, in 3/4 years' time recession should be over and we will have jobs and so we could afford to pay back some fees*
65	MPT	*Full time students need more realisation of what is going on in the real working world!*
73	MPT	*Lecturers to be more patient and understand students better.*
104	MPT	*I work fulltime and find it hard to attend all my lectures; the lecturers are very understanding and flexible towards my situation.*
106	MPT	*I am grateful to have found this course and I like to be a student of DIT as the atmosphere and lecturers are very nice.*

Table 12   We would be very eager to hear any additional comments you might have (Question 23)

Respondent Number	Male (M) Female (F)	We would be very eager to hear any additional comments you might have (Question 23)
1	F	*Assignment more weighted.*
17	F	*More emphasis on practice work - industry preparation.*
18	F	*Recession knowledge poor, maybe more tax.*
29	F	*More creative and industry led courses.*
30	F	*HE not like school - more work like environment.*
31	F	*More industry interaction*
42	F	*Erasmus Tourism Degree - Poor opportunities*
47	M	*Reduce social benefits and increase foreign investment though less tax.*
54	F	*HE fees - not a good idea, registration fee is too high.*
61	F	*Ban tuition fees.*
65	F	*Teach adults.*
78	F	*Communication with students – improvement.*
79	M	*Course overview.*
83	F	*Reduce government wages.*
89	F	*Registration fees too high.*
111	F	*HE very expensive - car parking. Books, printing, fees.*

Conclusion

Education should be viewed as an intelligent investment with accountable returns, i.e. employment for individuals and tax returns for government from those employed after graduating, rather than increasing costs and public spending. However, successive government budgets of the last year have seen policies introduced whereby funding for education is being further reduced. The economic advantage and aid to social mobility, derived from gaining educational qualifications, together with the barriers associated with gaining employment by unqualified school leavers, has impacted on the demand for further and HE.

Education and training is viewed as crucial to achieving the objective of an inclusive society, where all citizens have the opportunity and incentive to participate fully in the social and economic life of the country. The link between HE, economic and social development is addressed in a plethora of national government commissioned reports, which substantiate the view that education and training is perceived as a vital resource for a successful economy. Both have a crucial influence on economic performance at an individual and aggregate level. The previous market-state policies of expanding third-level education are based on the premise, that a highly skilled and educated workforce will enhance economic competitiveness, industrial growth, and increased levels of prosperity. What we are now witnessing since the global economic downturn hit Ireland are more and more redundancies each day, and fewer jobs available. Of those advertised, most are seeking highly skilled workers for lower pay than what they would have been used to during the Celtic Tiger era. The research results have shown that although students view the economy as bad at the moment, through encouraging placements, learning about businesses through industry partnerships, and being shown how to set up a business and become entrepreneurial they can equip themselves with the essential skills needed for survival in the future once they graduate from HE.

In HE empowerment through education and training initiatives, through courses on up-skilling (for those still lucky to be working), re-skilling (for those unemployed) and/or career projection, such as entrepreneurship, can help communities and society become more self-reliant and economically viable. State support would also be required for initiatives within the post-secondary education sector. By removing some of those unemployed off the social welfare and encouraging them back into education this would relieve a certain amount of strain on the state and so it would become a win-win situation.

The unemployed will become empowered to do something for themselves and their communities rather than being dependant on the state for welfare support. Education pursuit in this regard should be for the betterment of the individual and the society and community within which they live and/or work and then eventually the economy can improve slowly.

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Konfrontasi, Electric Board Assembly and Card Dealing: Singapore Labour Governmentalities and 213 Pandan Gardens

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Abstract

Building upon Michel Foucault's concepts of 'genealogy' (Foucault, 1990) and 'governmentality' (Foucault, 1978), this paper presents a very small but significant history of subject-positions at '213 Pandan Gardens'. Constructed in the early 1980s after the *Kronfrontasi* period of import substitution production, the one hectare building complex originally housed the electronic board assembly lines of Matsushita Electric, a Japanese electronics giant. Then, the factory drew its workforce from a pool of female homemakers who were encouraged to return to the labour market on a part-time basis by the Singapore government in its bid to arrest labour shortage. The housing estate was itself built in 1978 to supply labour force to the Jurong Industrial Estate, the first major industrial project in Singapore after the undeclared war with Indonesia. Shortly after Singapore became independent as part of the Federation of Malaysia, Indonesia declared a state of confrontation or *Konfrontasi* with its neighbour. As Singapore lost its position as a profitable transnational subcontracting location as cost of production increased, Japanese production lines slowed down and the Matsushita factory at 213 Pandan Gardens saw its final output in early 2000. In 2009, however, the factory complex and the estate underwent an unexpected revival. As a result of the establishment of two casino integrated-resorts in Singapore in 2010, preparation for human resource recruitment and training for one of these casino integrated resorts found its way into Pandan Gardens. The disused Matsushita factory was converted into a one-stop human resource facility aimed at creating and shaping casino workers and the shops and eateries in Pandan Gardens thrived again. Drawing upon interviews with residents and former and current factory workers, archival research of Singapore Government and Jurong Town Corporation (Singapore's major industrial developer) press releases between 1950 and 2011 and personal biography, this 'micro-genealogy' of worker subjectification traces the shift of Singapore's economy from the Tiger Economies era of profitable transnational subcontracting fuelled by Japan's regional investment in the 1980s to a post-economic crisis rise of tourism and service industry. In doing so, this paper seeks to contribute to an understanding of the everyday implications of changing modes of state-directed subjectification resulting from tourism and service industry development.

Keywords: labour governmentalities, archaeology and genealogy, tourism and workers, Singapore

Introduction

Aims and objectives of the paper

Studies on community relations and participation in tourism have often focused on various cultural (Smith, 1977), economic (Farrell, 1977), social (Butler, 1974) and environmental impacts (Cohen, 1978), carrying capacities of sites of development, community attitudes (Murphy, 1981) and management

strategies (Mathieson and Wall, 1982, Miura, 2005). Less is done to understand the ways in which tourism development is situated within broader histories and how such histories are bound up with networks of power and politics mediated by the state. Such networks of power and politics bring about specific discursive formations that bring about the production of different industries and the shaping of specific resident and worker subjectivities needed by those industries privileged.

The aim of the paper is to trace the changing resident and worker subject positions in Singapore through a micro-study of the changing state-endorsed discourses shaping the factory building (213 Pandan Gardens) in the Jurong Town Corporation-built Pandan Gardens. This is done in two main ways. First, the paper identifies the discursive formations within each of the three specific time periods. Second, the paper identifies the 'micro-genealogy' or the ways in which political and social engineering or policies shift resident and worker subject positions in Pandan Gardens and Singapore from one to the other. In doing so, the paper seeks to demonstrate the political and social motivations (as opposed to a 'logical progression') behind workforce changes and the ways in which these influence, shape and touch lives of Pandan Garden residents. This is of particular relevance to Singapore as it has been ruled by a single political party for the last 51 years, a period that saw rapid economic and social transformations within a context of recurring economic and political uncertainties.

The Context: 213 Pandan Gardens

Originally an intertidal region home to Singapore's mangrove swamps, Pandan Gardens is developed by the Jurong Town Corporation as its fourth residential neighbourhood. The purpose of the four estates is to serve the neighbouring Jurong Industrial Estate, Singapore's major and still biggest industrial estate. The factory site of 213 Pandan Gardens is an excellent site to discuss historical change in subject positions, to trace the genealogy of Singapore's workforce, from 'worker-new citizens' to 'cost-effective tiger economy workers' to 'new information age service workers' as it can be located historically, materially and discursively at the major 'turns' of Singapore's changing resident and worker governmentalities. First it was a part of the JTC-planned and built housing estate supporting and supplying workers for the broader Jurong Industrial Estate (JIE was itself Goh and PAP's strategy of transforming residents of the newly and reluctantly independent (from Malaysia) into worker citizens (gainfully employed, not striking, and eventually identifying with PAP rule). Second, the vacant plot was then transformed into a major Japanese electric factory officially opened by the then finance minister within the context of an era of global production subcontracting led by the Japanese, making Singapore one of the a 'tiger' or 'little dragon' or newly industrialised economies alongside Taiwan, Malaysia, Thailand, South Korea, Japan and Hong Kong. The factory site also charts 'on-the-ground' and lived aspects of the eventual demise and decline of the East Asian tiger economies phenomenon. Third, it

then became in 2008, the key 'backroom' hub of Resorts World Sentosa, one of the two casino integrated resorts in Singapore. Today, 213 Pandan Gardens houses its training, recruitment and logistic operations. Basing my investigations on the creation and transformation of 213 Pandan Gardens allows me to understand the three specific discursive formations that bring about the formation of three distinct resident and worker subject positions and the genealogy that moves residents and workers from one subject position to the next.

Literature Review and Methodology

> If we were to characterize it in two terms, then "archaeology" would be the appropriate methodology of this analysis of local discursivities, and "genealogy" would be the tactics whereby, on the basis of the descriptions of these local discursivities, the subjected knowledges which were thus released would be brought into play (p. 85).

To understand the changing governmentalities of resident and worker subjectivities in Pandan Gardens and Singapore, this paper draws upon both the 'archaeological' and 'genealogical' methods of Michel Foucault (1980). I intend to use the archaeological method to help uncover the discursive formations that shape human consciousness regarding work and citizenship in Singapore through history. This is done by accessing and analysing Singapore government press releases between 1960 and 2011. This time period marks the early days of Singapore's internal self-rule while it was still a colony of Britain, to its short-lived merger with Malaya and its eventual independence as an island state. It also charts the island states development from an import-substitution-based economy to one that relied on global subcontracting. It also marks Singapore's push into a service economy built around hospitality and gaming. As Singapore does not permit freedom of expression in the media and that the media is operated by government-linked companies, I argue that an analysis of the government press release captures the bulk of media and government discourses in that time period (since all other media reports (re)circulates state-sanctioned ideas. Archaeology, in the Foucauldian sense, is a useful way of looking behind the consciousness of the individuals and organisations that crafted specific discourses. In doing so, archaeology helps pin down the political rules and social arrangements that determines the boundaries of thought in a given domain or context. For example, Foucault's study of psychiatric patients and their care is an intellectual excavation of the discursive formations that shape talk and thought about madness and psychiatric care from the 17th to 19th centuries. However, archaeology is limited in that it only facilitates comparison of discursive formations across time and space. To understand how societies transit from one discursive formation to the next, I will deploy a second Foucauldian strategy, the genealogy. First in *Discipline and Punishment* and subsequently in the *The Use of Pleasure* trilogy, Foucault used genealogy to show that a discursive formation and an episteme

shaping resident and worker subject positions was and is a result of contingent turns and twists of history. They are, I will argue in this paper with regards to state-directed governmentalities of Singapore workers, not the outcome of inevitable trends in increased rationality or progress of modernity but of contingency and partisan politics. My archaeological method is thus complemented by a genealogy of the estate.

A thematic analysis of Singapore Government Press releases between 1950 and 2011 contributes to my archaeology of Singapore labour governmentalities. Data for my genealogy derives from autoethnography and field interviews. A resident of Pandan Gardens from 1985 to 2006, I have spent the bulk of my childhood, teenage years and early adulthood in the estate. I have thus, witnessed and experienced some of the vital changes that happened in the estate. I recall the conversations I had with my 'aunties' in the neighbourhood when they were rushing to and getting off work from the factory. I also have vivid memories of the creepy silence that engulfed the precinct when the factory work ceased. I am hence able to observe the technologies of the self at a personal level, of my neighbours as they sought to switch from their roles as homemakers in their domestic realms to that of 'factory-ladies'. Looking through passages of my childhood and teenage diary, I am able to now see the networks of power that shapes my neighbours' subject positions. I left the estate in 2006 for Macao but I return to the estate every three to four months to visit my parents who are still staying the estate. On those trips, changes to the estate greeted me and I was able to see these with eyes that are both fresh and familiar. The neighbours talked to me more when I was back, largely due to the novelty surrounding my departure from the estate and from Singapore and partly due to the perceived notoriety of my destination. These conversations formed my field interviews and allow me to tap into their perceptions, feelings and sense-making to what I will argue as the gaming and service-economy induced changes in the estate. My autoethnography and life in the estate allows me to see how the estate and its residents move from one discursive formation to the next. They allow me to connect my three archaeologies to the broader power relations motivating and shaping them. My autoethnography and life in the estate thus allows me to conduct a genealogy or a history of the position of the subject. I also have field interviews and conversations with my neighbours and shopkeepers in the estate. These conversations and field interviews help me understand their responses to state-directed governmentalities and how they make sense of changing circumstances and subject positions directed. This research, however, is limited in that data is not available to help paint a genealogy of the estate or of Singapore governmentalities in the 1960s and 1970s. Further research would be needed to complete this.

In so doing, I seek to build upon existing work on worker governmentalities (Bunnell, 2004, Ong, 1987, Ngai, 2005) and contribute to a more people-centred understanding of global economic restructuring

and economic development on a national and precinct scale (Ong, 2000, Ong, 2004). This is also an attempt to draw tourism scholars' attention to tourism-linked development (backroom training spaces such as 213 Pandan Gardens) using indepth and intimate micro-studies (for example, Scott, 1985) and towards a more people-centred appreciation of workers beyond 'human resource' and tourism-induced community development or revitalisation (for example, Long, 2001).

The *Kronfrontasi* and Goh's Forging of Worker-Citizens: 1950-1980

Like Pandan Gardens, the Jurong Industrial Estate was once a site of tropical marshes and swamps and state-led plans to convert the marshy and rural Jurong area into a modern industrial estate was widely ridiculed in the 1960s. However, the deep-water harbours, cheap and sparsely populated mangrove and rural lands and the availability of small knolls and hills (as fills for land reclamation) made Jurong's industrialisation a success. This success took place at the time when the People's Action Party was leading a young nation out of British colonial rule and out of World War II-induced hardships and poverty. Pandan Gardens and the Jurong Industrial estate, I argue in this paper, is a result of a PAP response to the unstable socio-political situations of its time. The young nation state has trodded on an unusual and reluctant path to nationhood. First, under a banner of freeing the island state from colonialism, local intellectuals and politicians fought and obtained internally self-rule in 1959. Singapore then became independent in 1963. The advantages of obtaining an economic hinterland and 'territorial depth' in military defence prompted the ruling PAP government to lead the island to join the Malaya, Sarawak and Sabah to form the Federation of Malaysia in 1963. Ethnic and ideological conflicts drove Singapore out of the federation two years later.

Between 1963 and 1966, Indonesia conducted a policy of "Confrontation" or *Konfrontasi*. The policy is borne out from Indonesia's opposition to the formation of Malaysia from the Federation of Malaya, Sabah, Sarawak and Singapore. Indonesia's hostilities at that time materialised in sabotage operations in the newly formed Federation of Malaysia, including a Singapore downtown bombing by two Indonesian commandoes. Against that insecure political backdrop, independence from Indonesian imports and a sense of survival ranks high in political rhetoric:

> I am very pleased to be here today to perform this opening of Singapore Oil Mills Factory Ltd. As I shall explain, the opening of this enterprise signifies a resounding defeat of Indonesian economic confrontation. Before Indonesia started its economic confrontation against Malaysia [then Federation of Malaysia where Singapore is a part of], Singapore used to import from Indonesia about 70,000 tons of copra every year. Most of this copra was for use in our oil mills.

> When this source is cut off, the Government had to control the export of copra from Singapore... I understand that the shortage of copra is being overcome as our mills can now get supplies from elsewhere. The opening of this large mill provides a clear proof. Indonesia's attempt to cripple our oil milling industry has been defeated (Goh, 1964).

Rhetoric of such nature was typical at the launch of new factory sites and characterised Goh's aspirations in forging of Singaporeans into worker-citizens. Goh is a key figure in the industrialisation of Singapore and the prime mover for the establishment of the Jurong Industrial Estate. The political think-tank at that time see a pressing need for Singapore to shift from entrepot trade to industrialisation. The original idea was import substitution for self-reliance during the days of *Konfrontasi*. Then it was labour intensive export-oriented manufacturing to provide jobs for the citizenry on an island that was resource poor. This was extremely so after Singapore was forced to leave the Federation of Malaysia in 1965. In 1965, the island-state was independent and alone. It had lost its hinterland in the Federation. Industrialisation was thus, at that time, bound up with notions of survival for the reluctantly independent island state. Speaking at the third anniversary f the establishment of Bridgestone Malaysia's factory in Singapore, the then Minister for Labour, Jek Yeun Thong outlines the strategic relevance of industrialisation to the new island state:

> Singapore's future depends predominately on successful industrialisation and the winning of export markets. The part that Bridgestone Malaysia is playing in the industrial economy of this country is quite significant. Essential ingredients in the success of a manufacturing concern and consequently to the national economy are proper methods and organisation, training and co-operation between management and workers, all of which will contribute to higher productivity and profits to both management and employees. Looming ahead of us are crucial years arising from the British withdrawal of their forces from this region and the impact this will have on our economy. It therefore behoves all of us to gird ourselves to meet the situation squarely. Much greater effort is required by both labour and management. It must be realised that [how] our future progress[es] depends on ourselves. The easy going attitude of the past will spell disaster (Jek, 1968).

Tire making, a lucrative business since the British colonial days, is ironically seen as a way to stable economic survival for post-British Singapore. Within the wider context of manufacturing, Jek emphasises the role the tire making factory has in helping Singapore win export markets and how that should be done with continued cooperation and endeavour on part of labour and management. The ideal post-British and post-Malaya Singapore worker is one who should shed his or her past "easy going attitude". In Jek's perspective, the ideal Singapore at his time is to be a meticulous and responsible

worker. Goh Keng Swee, Singapore's Finance Minister in the 1960s and one credited for pioneering the industrialisation of an island state formerly dependent on entrepot trade, makes even more explicit, the traits of the ideal Singapore worker:

> If there is one thing that Singapore is not short of, it is the availability of keen and thrusting minds to make money. It is one thing to make money by trading and risk-taking and another thing to make money by appealing to the mind and curiosity of consumers by cleverly made products and it is this sophisticated and creative approach to industry that needs to be emphasised from now on in Singapore's industrialisation drive (Goh, 1968).

However, for all of Goh's creative and thinking worker rhetoric, the 1960s in Singapore was not a time to push for what is now popularised as 'creative industries' – a sector driven by arts, media and information technological innovations. Rather, Goh was rehearsing the argument of job creation for a 'value-for-money' Singapore workforce:

> I am glad to note that this factory carries out a relatively labour-intensive process, employing 130 Singaporeans in a factory space of 9,000 sq. ft. and with paid up capital of $400,000. Labour can only be considered cheap if the quality of work turned out is good and I am sure you choice of Singapore was in no small way determined by the sure knowledge that one can get good value for money in the Singapore labour force (Goh, 1968).

Indeed, such was the success of 'cheap Singapore labour' that between 1960 and 1980, the island-state transformed itself from an entrepot hub to a manufacturing shopfloor for the region. In the eyes of the Singapore state, the shift allowed for a less highly educated workforce of the young nation to become fully-engaged as 'worker-citizens':

> During the past two decades, Singapore has undergone a period of rapid and traumatic change in almost all spheres of life. Politically, we gained independence from the British in 1959 and further consolidated our sovereignty, after separation, in 1965. During this period, the nature and scope of our economic activities also underwent dynamic transformation. In the early '60s we were mainly depending on the entrepot trade for our livelihood, whereas industrialisation, with the accent on manufacturing activities, has today become the mainstay of the economy (Sia, 1972).

Much of this success in industrialisation stems from the creation of a massive and modern industrial estate in the Southwest of the island, away in the tropical forests and marshes:

The story of Jurong's growing industrial progress is, in part, also the story of Singapore's increasing strength, security, stability and hope for the future. A decade ago, faced with the problems of massive unemployment and the need to convert an entrepot economy into an industrial one, a bold step was taken to turn a marshland into an industrial complex (Jek, 1972).

Jek and Goh, however, would not have imagined the scale of transformation the industrial estate will undergo. In the next section, I discuss the Singapore labour governmentalities between 1980 and 2000.

Tigers, Dragons and the 'Aunties' of Japanese Electronics Firms: 1980s-2000

Moving into the 1980s, the Singapore state found that it had the early challenges of widespread unemployment and national survival is less pronounced. Instead, it saw new challenges in labour shortage and the difficulties in raising workers' pay. Thus, 'cheap' and 'value for money' are no longer enough. The state now envisions the ideal Singapore worker as one who possess upgraded skills or who is willing to retrain to handle advanced technology and who contributes to a capital (instead of the previous labour) intensive productions:

In February this year, when the former British High Commissioner, Mr John Hennings, wrote to me if I could officiate at today's opening of Glaxochem Pte Ltd, he gave three reasons which underline the significance of this enterprise. Firstly, he noted that the Glaxochem project is *highly capital intensive* and that this $120 million plant is one of the largest in terms of new investments from the UK. Secondly, it brings in *advanced technology* as the product to be manufactured here is a new proprietary drug known as ranitidine which Glaxo discovered and developed for the treatment of gastric ulcers. Thirdly, the project contributes to the current Singapore effort at *upgrading the skills* of the labour force. Through its training programmes, Glaxochem plans to staff the factory completely with Singaporeans in the near future [my emphasis] (Tan, 1982).

In Tan's speech, he made clear the emphasis the state placed on increasing productivity of workers. Much of this new discourse on increased productivity through skills upgrading and capital investment is found in Japanese semiconductor and electrical firms:

Matsushita Electric Motor (MEM) celebrates its eighth anniversary this year, Today marks its move into its own new factory which will bring together MEM's previous two operations – its components plant in Jurong and the assembly plant in Ayer Rajah – under one roof. More

importantly, it marks the initial phase of the company's expansion plan to increase its production capacity and productivity. I am told your new lines will be automated and the production capacity will be increased twofold. The company's readiness to introduce better technology and production processes is indeed commendable (Lee, 1986).

In the 1980s and 1990s, the ideal worker envisioned by the state is that of an engineer or a skilled technician. In fact, educational policies were adapted to facilitate such mass-production of 'engineer-citizens':

> Government has also recognised that the quality of the labour force is an important factor to improve productivity. Education, training and skills development will remain our key priority, For instance, between 1980 and 1985, the intake of engineers and engineering technicians into the university and polytechnics has doubled. This is to ensure that there is a ready pool of highly trained manpower available (Lee, 1986).

In addition to an engineering-adept workforce, the tiger or dragon economy of the 1990s also necessitate the development of a flexible reserve workforce. In Singapore more generally and the estate of Pandan Gardens more specifically, women who had left the workforce for childbirth and rearing were persuaded to rejoin the workforce. Affectionately known as 'aunties' during my childhood in the estate, these women from my neighbourhood would work three to four hour shift a day at 'the Japanese factory'. I have memories of these aunties shuttling between their family/domestic and factory floor identities. Donning their factory overalls, these aunties transformed into 'factory ladies' careful about the number of hours worked and the kinds of rights and privileges they were entitled to.

'You know *hor*, this one we can bring back from the factory.' Auntie Tan said to my mum, pointing to the plastic cases she is holding, 'you can use this as a pencil case or holder'

My mum did not work in the factory then as my father did not allow her to work in the 'public' realm but my mum enjoyed listening to Auntie Tan's stories about the factory.

'It is simple work. You can do it also. The supervisor will teach u *wor.* Then you just follow *lah*. But you have to be fast hand fast leg *lah*, sometimes I can see your action a bit slow one… but after a while you will be ok.' Auntie Tan said, trying to persuade my mum to join her at the factory, ' but if you join me, then you must train your three kids to take care of themselves more, do more housework and help your mummy ok [Auntie Tan turns to look at me].'

In their domestic realms, they appeared to allow time to drift by as they went about their chores, often working tirelessly around the kitchens. The flexible work provided opportunities for many of my auntie

neighbours to re-enter the workforce. Some returned to childrearing and housework chores fulltime after brief brushes with factory work. Some stayed longer. While the new 'productivity' discourse in the tiger economy of the 1980s and 1990s provided opportunities for women to re-enter the workforce, the drive to mass-produce engineering and vocational/technical talents come at a cost to development of the arts and humanities and disciplines of a more reflexive nature. In the next section, I consider how such shortcomings were exposed in the early 2000s.

Casino Integrated Resorts and the Crafting of New Economy Service Workers: 2000-2011

In the early 2000s, the global subcontracting by Japanese firms that see the Matsushita Electric Motor Pte Ltd set up a factory at 213 Pandan Gardens waned. In 2000, Pandan Garden residents' 'Japanese factory' ceased its operations and the factory building went unused for years till its unexpected revival in 2008. The estate's grocery shops and eateries, that used to thrive on serving factory staff, also went into decline. In 2008, however, the factory complex at 213 Pandan Gardens reopened its doors to Resorts World Sentosa Pte Ltd, one of Singapore's two casinos-in-waiting. Then, the complex was used as a human resource recruitment and training facility. It also doubles up as a logistic facility for the casino. This move sees the factory complex hosting yet another Singapore state sanctioned worker-subject position – the global service worker. Why then are 'cheap labour force' and engineering-adept and flexible production workers no longer good enough for the changing circumstances?

The decision to call for concept proposals for the integrated casino resorts reversed the dominant ruling party's longstanding commitment to a casino ban in the island state. It also went against a tide of objections from religious groups and some sectors of the population. Envisioned to generate a third of its 2.1 billion a year in revenue from tourists, the integrated casino has been positioned as firstly a key tourism development. Framing the decision as a result of changing tourism landscapes, Prime Minister Lee argues in his Ministerial Statement that:

> First, we are losing ground in tourism. Tourism in Asia is growing phenomenally, especially the traffic from China and India. Singapore's tourist numbers are up too, but we see warning signs of problems ahead. Our market share is declining (from 8% in the Asia Pacific region in 1998 to 6% in 2002). Tourists are spending less time in Singapore. They used to stay an average of about 4 days in 1991, but now they stay only for 3 days. In contrast, on average, they are staying for about 4 days in Hong Kong, 5 days in London and almost a week in New York City. We are losing attractiveness as a tourist destination (Lee, 2005).

Singapore, Lee argues, has become too sanitized for a tourism city. Following the delay over the construction of the Singapore version of the "London-Eye", the inability of the hyper-clean and neat budget terminal at Changi International Airport to plug into the hippie circuit of mass budget travellers and the lack of broad-base appeal of the spaceport project, there have not been substantial investments and improvements in tourism infrastructure and product. By contrast, and Lee sums up the regional competition:

> In Asia, Shanghai is full of drive and energy. Hong Kong will open its Disneyland very soon, and is planning a new cultural centre at West Kowloon that is seven times the size of the Esplanade. Hong Kong is talking about building a casino on Lantau, to compete with Macao. In Thailand, Prime Minister Thaksin is likely to move ahead with IRs at Khao Lak in Phang Nga Province. Malaysia is developing the Kuala Lumpur City Centre (KLCC) project, a 40 hectare development which includes the current Petronas Twin Towers. They are also hosting Formula One racing, and Kuala Lumpur is buzzing with tourists from the Middle East (Lee, 2005).

Thus, there is a need to create a tourist attraction (or two!) that is iconic and spectacular, so the city-state can capture the fickle gaze and wallet of the tourists. I argue that the decision to build not one but two world class integrated casino resorts is constituted in the context of creating a world-class service industry the city state long coveted. As Lee points out:

> This is not just a matter of chasing tourist numbers. Many jobs are at stake - in the hotel, food and beverage, retail, taxi, exhibition, and aviation industries. All these depend on tourism traffic. As a Merrill Lynch report observed: 'The EDB has had successes with its initiatives in the areas of biomedical sciences, education, logistics and supply chain management, and financial services. But it is… (the IR project)…that tips investor mindset toward accepting that Singapore is transforming itself into a diversified service-based economy (Lee, 2005).'

The issue of building integrated casino resorts is also meant to be part of Singapore race to be the top in face of competing global cities, particularly Asian global cities:

> The question we have to consider is: will Singapore be part of this new world, or will we be bypassed and left behind? We seek to be a global city, attracting talent from around the world, lively, vibrant, and fun to live and work in. We want Singapore to have the X-factor - that buzz that you get in London, Paris or New York. The ideas to do so are aplenty, but realising them is not so easy. As Mr Philip Ng said in a forum organised by URA recently, 'Singapore is just among the 'wannabes' of sub-global cities' (Lee, 2005).

It also speaks to the city-state's sense of vulnerability and insecurity in not just tourism appeal but as a global workforce:

> We cannot stand still. The whole region is on the move. If we do not change, where will we be in 20 years' time? Losing our appeal to tourists is the lesser problem. But if we become a backwater, just one of many ordinary cities in Asia, instead of being a cosmopolitan hub of the region, then many good jobs will be lost, and all Singaporeans will suffer. We cannot afford that (Lee, 2005).

While this Singapore(an) sense of vulnerability has been explored in the foreign affairs aspect by Micheal Leifer, I argue that this notion continues to shape Singapore's broader tourism and workforce developments and especially so in these recent developments in integrated casino resorts.

Lee's argument for Singapore to become not just a production hub for global products like it was in the past but to become a global playground serving tourists and customers from all corners of the world, has profound effects in Pandan Gardens. Originally created to urgently house workers for the Jurong Industrial Estate, it is today, an ageing town of former factory and blue collar workers, many whom are now retired or continued to work as waiting and cleaning staff for the local eateries in Pandan Gardens or its sister town, Teban Gardens.

Typical of my visits to my childhood and parents place, I was eating my favourite bowl of fishball noodles and drinking my cup of *kopi-O* (Singapore-styled black coffee), when Kee came by and greeted me.

'You put on weight again and you are very fair. Must be good life in Macao.' Kee greeted with a chuckle, 'here, not easy, everything is getting expensive and now GST (Goods and Services Tax) is so high.'

'Don't *kao-peh lah*(less polished way of saying complain in hokkien, a local dialect), your business quite good what. You see so many tables all eating your fishball noodles. *Kaopeh* for what?' I retorted, while noting the irony of leaving a Cantonese place (Macao) and coming back to my childhood place which is originally not a Cantonese-speaking place but surrounded by Cantonese speakers. It was like déjà vu. Sensing my bewilderment, Kee provided an explanation.

'They come for casino one. Training. For a few months. You don't know meh? Casino opening. But *hor* after training, *lagi* no more business. I think they don't have big training all the time. But it is good lah. I hope they always have training, so big, with many people. These are mainly Malaysians from Genting (where the parent company of Resorts World Sentosa is located). Some from Macao and Hong Kong.

So you see they don't speak hokkien like us but speak Cantonese. But now you work in Macao, so Cantonese you no problem lah.' Kee lamented.

Kee is a former driver for the Japanese factory when production was ongoing. With the factory closing, he left 213 Pandan Gardens and switched to running his own fishball noodle stall.

'Yah, Small Lee (Lee Hsien Long) say we must be service economy. So I now serve mah. Now I serve casino people from Malaysia, Macao and Hong Kong. It is ok, I am making honest living.'

While common perceptions for service economy in Singapore resides on high-paying tourism, high-end food and beverage and fancy entertainment surrounding the casino, the case of Pandan Gardens shows that there is another more modest and down to earth side of Singapore's casino tourism development and service economy.

Implications and Conclusion

In this paper, I have described and discussed the changing state-directed labour governmentalities in Singapore and at the factory complex of 213 Pandan Gardens. I have identified three main discursive formations in the history of Singapore labour. First, the Goh-led era that drew upon the politics of the merger and separation with the Federation of Malaysia and the later *Konfrontasi* with Indonesia to create a discourse of worker-citizen for the insecure new country. Goh and the ruling People's Action Party had envisioned that provision of factory jobs to a largely unemployed working class would instil a sense of national identity for a young country whose populace drew from recent migration and who still had strong allegiance to China, Malaysia and India. This mix of practical employment and the use of a political 'Other' is to help ground and govern 'restless' working class. Second, the tiger economy years of the 1980s necessitated a different subject position: an engineering-adept skilled worker in a capital intensive factory that employs advanced technology. With the populace large gainfully employed, the challenge in the 1980s include raising workers' pay without driving investments away. Hence, the PAP government pushed for the creation of more engineering-adept workers and technicians. This dream is materialised in policy through the doubling of engineering courses and student numbers at state-run universities and polytechnics. While this supplied 'quality' labour for the semiconductor and electrical plants, it came with a cost as the arts and the humanities were neglected. A reserve force of 'aunties' were recruited to fill part-time placements in the factories when demand for production exceeds what the fulltime staff could cope. Third, the global downturn and its impact on manufacturing prompted the Singapore state to usher in an era of 'casino-based service economy'. Manufacturing was no longer sufficient to keep Singapore ahead of its competitors. A new worker subject position was dreamt up by the ruling regime – the global service worker. The global service

worker is envisioned as someone who is ready and adept at providing services to not just Singaporeans but to the world. Alongside this new subject position, the spatial dimension changed as well as Singapore was to shift from a elite production base to a global playground for tourists and tourism from the world.

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Paper Title: Lost in Translation: interpreting and presenting Dublin's colonial past

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Introduction

Having experienced deteriorating economic conditions since 2008, Ireland became an increasingly embattled country as 2010 wore on. The arrival of officials from the IMF, the EU, and the ECB in late November brought the crisis to a crescendo, as the true reality of the country's economic circumstances finally became apparent. With job losses, negative equity, cuts in public funding and the age-old curse of emigration mounting, anger, frustration, disbelief and humiliation in equal measure become recurring themes aired in parliament by the opposition, on the streets by protesters and in the media by commentators of every hue. With the perilous state of the Irish economy making headline news abroad in European and international media, at home, the nature of the economic commentary assumed new overtones. As the banking crisis morphed into a sovereign debt crisis, the government became assailed with charges of bringing the Irish sovereign state to its knees, of 'selling out' the nation, and of threatening the state's legitimacy as an independent country. There were references to Ireland's centuries-long battle for independence from England, and to the ideals of the nationalists who had died for the state's freedom.

The fact that commentary and analysis of Ireland's economic fortunes came to be markedly overlain with narratives about sovereignty, nationhood and the state of the republic provides a useful backdrop to the topic under discussion in this paper: post-colonialism and the politics of memory. As a Western European country, an EU member state, and until relatively recently, a rapidly prosperous one at that, Ireland is not automatically thought of as a post-colonial state, at least not in popular discourse. In all likelihood, few Europeans realise that Ireland was recognised as a Republic only in 1949, just over 60 years ago. It had been a free state and a dominion within the British Commonwealth since 1922, but for over 700 years prior to that, it was ruled by England. On the surface, as a predominantly White, Caucasian, Christian, European society, Ireland lacks the obvious geographic and cultural markers that stereotypically signify colonised nations. Indeed, for the younger generations of Irish society who have

grown up in the relative prosperity of recent decades, Ireland's colonial past might be understood as having little contemporary meaning. However the resurgence of colonial-related discourses in the narratives surrounding the country's current difficulties hint otherwise.

This paper seeks to investigate how places deal with the difficult memories associated with colonisation. Specifically, it seeks to investigate how places deal with difficult memories when outsiders, namely tourists, are actively interested in accessing them. This topic has been receiving growing attention in the literature of late, and places associated with political conflict (e.g. Northern Ireland), the Holocaust (e.g Aushwitz), and colonialism (e.g. Delhi) are all examples which have provided useful to researchers interested in unravelling the selective and often highly contested role that memory plays in reproducing contemporary place identities. While there is now an extensive and long-standing literature on tourism and post-colonisation, with few exceptions, there has been very little analysis of Irish contexts in this respect. This paper begins to redress this short-coming. It begins by reviewing relevant literature before moving to discuss the empirical findings of an exploratory study undertaken at Dublin Castle, a site of immense political and historical significance and one of the country's main visitor attractions. Adopting collective memory and representation as a framework, the study's main research objectives are to: identify and analyse what sort of history/ies are being told to tourists about this symbolic site and; investigate the role played by the tour guide, in shaping, narrating and in effect acting as gatekeeper of difficult collective memories.

2. Imagining the Nation: History and the politics of memory

'Like language and culture, history plays a significant role in imagining the nation.' (Zuelow, 2009: 136). A shared past provides a nation with legitimacy, a catalogue of the numerous challenges faced by their ancestors and the ability to recount glorious deeds carried out over time (Zuelow, 2009). There can be no sense of identity for nations or indeed for individuals without remembering (McBride, 2001) as a rich legacy of memories is fundamental to the existence of a nation (Renan, 1990, cited in McBride, 2001). Questions of identity, of nationalism, of power and authority are touched very significantly by memory and its representation (Said, 2000). This 'memory is spontaneous, social, collective and encompassing; borne by living societies, it is permanently evolving like a coral reef, with a cumulative, incremental view of the past' (Whelan, 2003: 97). It is condensed in myth and this collective construction of memory is embedded in its defining narrative (Whelan, 2003). The representation of history through narrative is strongly challenged by historic memory and decisions (whether conscious or unconscious) as to what is remembered. Nora (1996) explains that 'history is perpetually suspicious of memory' (cited in Whelan, 2003: 97) and the way in which national history is evoked and collectively negotiated may differ, as remembering and collective memory are not always consistent and shared.

These '... memories of the past are shaped in accordance with a certain notion of what 'we' or for that matter, 'they' really are' (Said, 2000: 243). They are both particular and universal (Hoelscher & Alderman, 2004) and are strongly influenced by the act of forgetting or 'forgetting to remember' (Devan & Heng, 1994: 267). 'The phenomenon of historical remembering and forgetting are not innocent acts of (mis)fortune but strategic undertakings that streamline the past in ways that are coherent to the present and profitable for the future' (Chang and Huang, 2005: 267). The act of forgetting or of getting history wrong is essential in the making of a nation (Renan, 1995: 145, cited in Legg, 2007).   Memories are not fixed but are changeable in differing contexts and varying situations and are, according to Hoelscher & Alderman (2004), continually unfolding. The way in which memories are formed and valued change as one moves between regions, nations and continents' (Legg, 2007: 457). They are influenced by the pressures of the marketplace and commodification of the past (Hoelscher & Alderman, 2004). Collective memory is not an 'inert and passive thing but a field of activity, in which past events are selected, reconstructed, maintained, modified and endowed with political meanings' (Said, 2000: 251). Memory is, according to Chang & Huang a 'great organiser of consciousness', selectively eliminating undesirable aspects from the past, highlighting favoured events and renders history 'tidy and suitable' (Lowentahl, 1975: 27-28, cited in Chang & Huang, 2005). Collective memory is both unpredictable and central to the maintenance and contestation of political identity (Hoelscher & Alderman, 2004). Agreement that a nation has a common past is one thing; however it is another thing altogether to agree precisely on what that past was (Zuelow, 2009: 136). Representation of the past may be selective as memories differ across different social groups – government planners, business operators, residents and visitors (Chang & Huang, 2005). Consequently '... the art of memory for the modern world is ... very much something to be used, misused and exploited, rather than something that sits inertly there for each person to possess and contain' (Said, 2000: 243). This raises the question not only of what is remembered but how and why? Alderman (2010: 90) explains that 'what is defined as memorable or historically significant is open to social control, contest, and negotiation'. He claims that 'places of memory narrate history in selective ways that not only contribute to the process of remembering, but also the process of forgetting'.   Social agents always reconstruct the past anew in the present, in accordance with their present interests (Dos Santos, 2008). Gross (2000: 77) explains that particular elites, groups and institutions attempt to dictate which values, facts or historical events are recalled, how this information is remembered, and the types of emotions attached to these memories. 'It is this potential struggle to determine what (and whose) conception of the past will prevail constitutes the politics of memory' (Alderman, 2010: 90).

Of particular relevance to this paper is the way in which difficult memories or pasts are remembered and represented. The representation of difficult memories 'poses particular challenges for countries as these events may be: (1) embarrassing to those sponsoring or participating in remembrance, or those being commemorated, (2) emotionally charged due to their association with casualties or other misfortunes, and (3) contested' (Rivera, 2008: 613).   This offers a dilemma for policy-makers as to what aspects of their history should be remembered and what should be ignored. This is an important consideration within a tourism context, as 'tourism can serve as an effective means in reinforcing the legitimacy of nationalist discourses and national identities' (Yu Park, 2011: 523). 'Viewing the past – as opposed to history – as a set of discourses aimed at a particular group (in this case tourists) highlights the suggestion that history is for someone and that the contemporary dominant power élites are most likely to play a significant part in shaping that reality when the target group is ordinary citizens in the guise of tourists' (Lennon & Foley, 2000: 162).

2.1 Tour Guides as Gatekeepers of Memory.

Shaping that reality, in practical terms, is often the task of the tour guide. According to Pond (1993) it is s/he who is entrusted with the public relations missions to encapsulate the essence of a place (Pond, 1993). These '... places do not easily speak for themselves; some way must be found to enable the visitor to grasp what is seen in such a way that an informed freedom of interpretation is possible' (Brett, 1993: 187). In order for this heritage to be understood it must be placed in a narrative and this narrative is always interpretive and explanatory, 'that is further to say that it has been mediated' (Brett, 1993: 187). Guides are of crucial importance in this mediation process, as theirs is the task of selecting, glossing, and interpreting sights (Dahles, 2002). This mediation is more complex in the case of 'difficult heritage', as this type of heritage fails to assert a positive sense of identity and 'is an inheritance that many might wish to disown even while they acknowledge it to be part of their defining history' (MacDonald, 2006: 127). Where 'difficult heritage is addressed, it is quite likely to be implicated in a range of quite complex and even conflicting emotions and responses' (ibid). This results from what MacDonald refers to as its 'double coding of meaning including: that originally written in to the site and the preferred readings that guides attempt to encourage' (MacDonald, 2006: 128). The articulations of these difficult memories are contained within the narratives of guides who depict the past through interpretation and selectivity.

Thus, as Dahles (2002) argues, the role of guides extends well beyond welcoming and informing tourists and is crucial in conveying information, offering explanations, and developing narratives for tourists. Guides are 'cultural brokers ... directors and stage-managers' who 'choreograph tourists' movements' (Edensor, 2001: 69). These 'cultural brokers' ... pivotal role is 'to influence the visitors'

impressions and attitudes, as well as enhance their appreciation and understanding of their surroundings' (Gurung et al. 1996 cited in Dahles 2002: 787). They 'serve as a buffer, insulating many travellers from the difficulties and possibly, some delights of the visited culture' (Gurung et al, 1996: 11-12 cited in Dahles, 2002: 787). They '...provide tourists with a glimpse of what is going on without revealing undesirable aspects. They are highly effective instruments of control, controlling the contact between tourists and the host society as well as 'the images and narratives by means of which the host society presents itself ...' (Dahles ... 787). They are engaged in trying to encode 'preferred readings' and the nature of their engagement may vary, where they are either ardently engaged in subscribing to conveying a particular account, or where they may be less engaged or perhaps even ironic (MacDonald, 2006: 123). Cohen's (1985) notion of the guide as mentor sees the guide as selecting the objects of interest according to their own preferences or taste, their professional training or what they assume is the interest of their party. Alternatively, Cohen explains the guide can act as a pathfinder that leads tourists through an environment in which they lack orientation, pointing out routes and attractions within a defined territory to which they have no access without the guide. These 'guided tours assure that tourists are channelled into the right place at the right time, doing so under the control of someone responsible' (Dahles, 2002: 787). Tours may be performed according to a script, which may not set out exactly what the guide should say but rather the main recommended stops providing a list of key themes for each (MacDonald, 2006: 124).

3.   Heritage and institutional arrangements in Ireland

Before moving to investigate how the debates in the literature reviewed above might have relevance for the Irish case, it is first of all necessary to give a brief overview of some of the key institutional arrangements supporting the management of heritage sites in Ireland. All of the heritage properties in the care and guardianship of the Irish state come under the remit of the Office of Public Works (OPW). It manages, maintains and preserves hundreds of national monuments and historic properties. Interpretation and guiding services are provided at 65 of these sites where 2.5 million visitors are attracted annually. The OPW's remit centres on conservation, preservation and education. The physical care and maintenance of its properties is its key concern. Their presentation to the public is very much of subsequent concern. Generating tourist demand is not a stated objective of the OPW. Indeed the allocation of public funding to OPW sites pays little heed to their individual ability to generate visitor numbers: the budget allocated to Dublin Castle, as an OPW heritage site for example, does not reflect to any marked degree, its performance as a visitor attraction (Moir, personal communication, 2011).

Nevertheless, the OPW actively engages in the task of representing the sites under its care to visitors in the pursuit of developing 'public access'. Tourism statistics show that a very substantial proportion of

these visitors, especially in iconic sites like Dublin Castle are visiting tourists from abroad. Tour Guides are employed and trained by the OPW. Training Guides is an important activity but the focus is mainly on areas like health and safety, standards of professionalism (in terms of e.g. dress code) and visitor service (in terms of e.g. handling visitor questions, ensuring a comfortable tour, etc.). Little training is given in respect of how Guides prepare and present information about a site. The information that is given to visitors is largely compiled by the Guides themselves. When recruiting, the OPW seeks to employ people who are interested, knowledgeable and enthusiastic. Guides are expected to 'self-learn' the knowledge that they need in order to give a tour of a specific site like Dublin Castle. The OPW has invested in publishing various monographs, histories and guides to its sites and related topics and these publications are made available to Guides as sources of information. Supervisory Guides are expected to ensure that Guides use these materials as appropriate to prepare for their guiding role. While there are no systems in place to control or monitor the sort of information that Guides give to visitors, there are informal understandings of what is and is not appropriate: for example, the OPW does not encourage an overly 'academic' narrative, believing that visitors do not want this. Equally, it promotes flexibility in delivery, different groups have different needs (youth, children, specialists, retirees), in addition, it believes that sensitivity to certain historical contexts and situations is required when working with particular types of visitors. In this context, the study reported here is interested to investigate what visitors are told about the historic sites, as well as who decides what they are told?

3.1 Dublin Castle and Ireland's colonial heritage

The political, economic and socio-cultural significance of Dublin castle as a historical site cannot be overstated. Its origins date back to the foundation of the city by the Vikings in 842 AD, as it was here that the Viking invaders first established a settlement. Indeed the city's name comes from the 'Dubh Linn' or the Black Pool of water that once covered what is now the Castle garden. When the Anglo-Norman invaders removed the Vikings as rulers in 1170, they developed this site into what was to become the administrative heart of British rule in Ireland for the 700 year period when Ireland was colonized by Britain. It was here that the British vice-roy, head of the British administration in Ireland, resided. Equally it was the working heart of that administration, as well as being the headquarters of the Royal Irish Constabulary and the Dublin Metropolitan Police force. Located adjacent to the Castle in Ship Street was a military barracks. When Ireland became a free state, but still a dominion within the British Commonwealth in 1922, it was here that the transfer of power took place.

Since then the castle has been in Irish state hands. Today, its key administrative functions continue. Parts of the Irish civil service and state police service are located in the lower courtyard and its environs. Meanwhile, in the Upper courtyard, those parts now known as the state apartments are used

for state business, while another substantial section houses a conference centre used for state purposes. Quite apart from these functions, the castle is operated as a visitor attraction by the OPW, and in 2009 was the 6th most visited fee-paying visitor attraction in the state (Fáilte Ireland 2009), with 158,322 visitors (Fáilte Ireland nd).

4. Methods

The methodology employed involved observation work and two semi-structured interviews with OPW personnel: a Supervisory Guide and an Assistant Principal Officer with responsibility for a number of sites within the city. Data collection took place in Spring 2011 and began with observation work. This involved the researchers partaking in guided tours of the castle as if they were visitors, i.e. they were not identified as 'researchers'. Both researchers took an initial tour, made observations and notes independent of each other and then compared these as a form of control on how the data were being gathered. In addition, each researcher undertook 2 further tours, each at different times and with different Guides. On each tour, the researcher focusing on reading the narrative of the tour. This 'reading' entailed: listening to the verbal detail and verbal emphases detailed both as the obvious 'tour script' and in asides offered in response to questions from tour group members and; noting the Guide's signaling of particular places, material objects, artifacts and symbols. It also involved noting the engagement of the visitor group. This observation work was followed up with interviews with an Assistant Principal Officer within the OPW who acted as Manager of a cluster of heritage sites in Dublin, including Dublin Castle; and with a Supervisory Guide working in Dublin Castle. The key questions guiding the research include: how is Dublin Castle presented to visitors? What stories is/are told about Dublin Castle? Who decides and who constructs the story/ies told? What role does the Guide play in this process? The outlining of the study's findings begins with a discussion of how visitors are generally oriented around the castle site. Focusing on the State apartments, it then deconstructs the narrative of the guided tour.

5. The Castle: Arrival and Orientation

The Castle is located to the south of the city-centre in a part of the city that has a high concentration of both tourist attractions and visitor flows. It is well signposted and lies within a short walking distance of other leading attractions like Trinity College, Christchurch Cathedral and the popular Temple Bar district. Visitor entry to the Castle is possible at two points, through the lower and upper courtyards. Public access to external areas of the Castle complex is generally unrestricted. This is necessary given its many diverse functions, its sizeable working population and the traffic that this generates. In a

tourism context, this means that private tour companies are free to bring groups of visitors onto the grounds of the Castle and to interpret the site for visitors. The OPW has no control over this. In contrast, access to the inside of the Castle is strictly controlled, limited and quite minimal. Access is only permitted in groups accompanied by Guides, and while inside visitors must always remain with the tour. There is no scope for wandering off or for moving around at one's own pace.

The castle is not obviously constructed as a visitor site and upon entry it is not immediately apparent how the visitor should proceed. The Castle is a very sizeable and complex site with many different buildings (marked on a large sign at the entrance to the lower courtyard) serving a variety of purposes. Furthermore, a car park occupies the lower courtyard making orientation somewhat unclear. The ticket office for the Visitor Tour is located in the state apartments in the upper courtyard, but this fact is far from clear for first-time visitors. An indication of where to go is most obviously indicated by a cluster of people waiting around the entrance to the state apartments. On entering the ticket office on the ground floor, visitors are told the time of the next available tour. They can purchase tickets, are asked their nationality and are then requested to wait in the entrance hall. No printed literature/orientation maps of the site are offered. A few books on the Castle lie on the counter in the ticket office and it is presumed that visitors can leaf through them. Tours are given in English, unless a tour group specifically requests a tour in another language. In instances where there is some time to wait until the start of the next tour, the Guide selling the tickets may suggest that the visitor walk back out into the upper courtyard to take a look at one of the several interesting Castle buildings e.g. the Chapel, the Clock Tower, etc. However, this action is at the discretion of the Guide, and in any case, no map is available to help the visitor self-guide themselves through the courtyards to find individual buildings.

Overall, there is a sense that on arrival, the Castle is a site that must be actively discovered by the visitor. It is not constructed as an 'easily read' visitor attraction, rather it is offered as something of a blank canvass which the visitor must figure out, find their way around and make sense of. Its role as a visitor attraction obviously competes with, and can seem overwhelmed by other administrative, political and conference functions. The contemporary Castle functions as a vehicle of the state and can be closed to the public at any time, depending on the requirements of government. The state apartments are used to host state events and to entertain VIPS on official state visits. At the time of writing, they are being prepared for a series of official visits from VIPS that include the Queen of England and the President of the USA. These preparations take precedence over accommodating visitor requirements and mean noise disruption during guided tours and alteration to routine tour routes. State visits themselves can mean the cancellation of visitor access to the Castle.

5.1 Touring the Castle

As already explained, the researchers undertook a number of tours of the Castle site. All of the tours had an over-arching storyline that was broadly comparable. In essence, the storyline was fundamentally a tracing of the evolution of the castle over time. Although the narrative did not follow a chronological pattern, all of the tours commented on: Viking settlement and society from 842 AD onwards; the Anglo-Norman castle built in 1204; the 18th and 19th centuries when the castle was the political and social centre of Dublin, the second city of the British Empire; the early 20th century when Ireland was struggling for independence and; the function and significance of the castle in contemporary society. All tours begin in the state apartments when visitors are led up the Great Staircase to the first floor landing. Here, the Guides began by synopsising the historical evolution of the castle over time: pointing through the window to the site that once contained the black pool of water, the 'Dubh Linn', from which the city gets its name, and briefly tracing in outline, Ireland's 700 year colonization by England, up to its emergence as an independent state in the mid 20th century. While all of the tours adhered to this basic storyline, there was tremendous variety in the emphases attached to particular elements of the narrative. In terms of symbolism, highlights of the narrative at this opening point of the tour were the official symbol of the State – the blue and gold harp - positioned over the main doorway on the landing and; the portraits of the Presidents of Ireland that adorn the landing and the top of the stairs. Thus, all the tours began by clearly asserting the Castle's ceremonial significance as a key marker of identity of the Irish state.

5.2 The social significance of the Castle

Once underway, however, the tours were predominantly historical narratives that were located most frequently in the 18th and 19th centuries. Of the varying emphases that marked the different tour narratives, most prominent was a preoccupation with the Castle's social significance. All of the Guides explained that the Castle housed the viceroy, the monarch's representative in Ireland. The state apartments were built in 1761 for this purpose. As such, visitors learned that the 'Castle Season', during which time the viceroy was in residence, dominated the social calendar of the land. One of the Guides in particular, emphasized the role of Dublin, and of the Castle, in Georgian society. She pointed to the grandeur of areas within the castle, explained how young Irish debutantes would have been presented here, talked about the balls and asked visitors to imagine how glamorous and exciting it all must have been. However, all of the tours took pains to explain the social history of the Castle. For example, the social functions of the different rooms and particular furnishings were explained: the Drawing Room was presented as a place to which the ladies retired after dinner; the firescreens therein served to protect the ladies make-up; while the convex mirrors in the Dining Room allowed the host to survey the conversations of guests. On occasion, Guides broadened the narrative to offer a

commentary on the social composition of society at the time more generally, or to comment, for example, on how inheritance laws worked.

5.3 The Castle as a centre of wealth

The various ways in which the power and importance of the Castle was symbolized was a key theme. All of the Guides pointed to examples of fine interior plasterwork, art work, furnishings and design features (the proportions and orientation of the rooms, for example), some of them produced by leading European artists, architects and designers of the day. All of these demonstrated the various ways in which Castle society was closely connected with contemporaneous trends and fashions prevailing on the Continent. One of the Guides pointed to the neoclassical influences on furnishings and design more generally in the Castle, and explained how they these represented the influence of the Palace of Versailles and the French Court.

5.4 The Castle as a centre of power

The castle's social significance was clearly an extension of its enormous political power. Recurrent references to the viceroy down the ages were prevalent. Direct connections with the monarchy as evidenced, for example, by visits from various reigning monarchs were emphasized, especially in the Throne Room, one of the main rooms on the tour. Visitors learned about the visits of different British monarchs and considerable attention focused on the throne. Each Guide explained how this had been originally built to very substantial proportions to accommodate King George (infamously remembered in the children's rhyme 'Georgie Porgie') but was subsequently redesigned to enable Queen Victoria reach the seat. Visitors' attention was also drawn to the symbolism evident in the crown, lion and unicorn adorning the throne and the entwining of shamrocks, roses and thistles on the very ornate chandelier hanging in the centre of the room.

In general, however, the castle's role in an Irish historical context was largely depoliticized by the Guides. History attests to Ireland having been a most unwilling colony: in the later 18th century the Castle authorities were actively involved in quelling the United Irishmen rebellion; in the mid 19th century it witnessed the national social tragedy that was the Great Famine, yet these political difficulties were very much downplayed, except in one of the tours, where the Guide began by taking visitors into the Viceroy's Private Apartments. He explained how during WW1 these had been transformed into a Red Cross Hospital to deal with British military casualties. One of these rooms is now called the Connolly Room, in honour of James Connolly, who as the guide explained, had been one of leaders of the 1916 Irish rising. Wounded during the 1916 conflict, Connolly had been taken to this

very room in the Castle to be nursed and court martialled by the British for treason. The irony of Connolly having been nursed back to sufficient health to enable him to be transported for execution in Kilmainham Gaol came through clearly in the narrative. This story also came through in one of the other tours. However, this time the Guide related the story in humorous overtones and no attempt was made to put the story in the context of the 1916 Rising.

In general, the figure of the viceroy was painted in neutral or even positive tones: one of the Guides made recurring references to the viceroy as a benevolent figure, explaining how a lot of viceroys bequeathed furniture and other material to the state. At one point she characterized the viceroy as the British monarch's representative in Ireland whose task was to ensure that 'Ireland was behaving itself'. Later on, while interpreting a print showing a viceregal party leaving the Castle on horseback, overlooked by the heads of Irish people stuck on stakes emerging from the castle walls, she jokingly explained that this was what happened when 'Irish people did not behave themselves'. In similar vein, a highly symbolic painting displayed on the ceiling of the former ballroom, St Patrick's Hall was interpreted in terms of its portrayal of Ireland being 'under the care of England'. While the Order of the Knights of St Patrick, whose colours drape the Ballroom / St Patrick's Hall, was explained by this same Guide as being 'a little boost' for Irish people. In contrast, one of the other Guide's few references to the viceroy was to the very last one. He told the tour group that when leaving the castle in 1922, this viceroy took most of the furniture with him, thus leaving the rooms relatively bare.

5.5 The Castle and the Irish state

Dublin Castle is of great symbolic importance in the transition of Ireland from colony into nation. Its association with James Connolly, one of the leaders of the 1916 rising has already been discussed as having been mentioned by two of the Guides. Historically, the castle is well documented as having been one of the key targets for rebels in both the uprisings of both 1798 and 1916, however, this received no mention in any of the tours. It is also the key site associated with the transfer of power in 1922. As one of the guides pointed out, the official ceremony at which the British transferred power back to the Irish took place here. As they went on to explain, it is reputed that the incumbent viceroy, FitzAlan-Howard, complained that Michael Collins, who was to receive the handover on behalf of the Irish Government, was seven minutes late in arriving. In response, Collins is reputed to have said 'you kept us waiting 700 years, you can have the extra 7 minutes'. In the life of the Irish state since then, the Castle remains very significant. As all of the Guides explained, St Patrick's Hall is the site for a number of state ceremonial functions including the inauguration of Irish Presidents, vote-counting in the General election and the hosting of state functions for VIPS.

6.   Discussion

The findings show that while there was one central storyline running through the narrative, the Guides' interpretation and presentation of that storyline varied very noticeably. At one extreme was the Guide whose over-riding effect was to build a picture of Georgian Dublin that was glamorous, exciting and at the heart of all political and social action. In this context, England was portrayed as the benevolent 'carer', with Ireland as the 'dependent' with naughty tendencies. At the other extreme, visitors were given the merest hints of the tensions, conflicts and tragedies that have characterized the relationship between Ireland and its closest neighbour over time. Noteworthy among the findings are the fact that individual Guides were relatively free to shape the narratives that they delivered. Discussions with OPW personnel revealed that Guides openly draw on their own areas of expertise / points of interest in interpreting historic sites for visitors. Hence, Guides with an art history background will tend to draw upon their specialist expertise, and this will clearly differ from Guides whose interests lie in social history, etc. The freedom for Guides to act independently is in effect, permitted by the very hands-off role played by the OPW. As defined by the OPW, the primary role of the Guide is to protect the site. Educating and informing the public about the site's significance is a secondary role (Moir, personal communication, 2011).

Perhaps because of this, the agency does not detail policies on guiding, prescribe scripts or seek to monitor the content and nature of the interpretation offered by its Guides. Nevertheless, it is clear that it condones certain guiding norms and practices. One such norm is that tours must be tailored to meet the perceived needs of different tour groups. Hence, storylines are adapted differently depending on whether the group comprises school children, foreign language students, old age pensioners, etc. What seemed unclear, however, was how the OPW determined what these different needs might be. Kelly (personal communication, 2011) spoke about informally assessing groups by sight on arrival (e.g. might people need to sit down, might English need to be spoken slowly, might the group be on a very tight schedule and so need a 'speeded up' tour). Beyond this, it seems that the OPW has yet to thoroughly investigate the needs of its visitors. Yet, drawing on experience, Kelly (personal communication, 2011) was clear that visitors did have particular preferences. Above all, she was clear that visitors don't want too much academic information and that Guides must guard against losing engagement with their visitors. Language barriers are another issue. While tours in foreign languages are provided on request in Dublin Castle, it is very likely that all tour groups comprise some non-English speaking visitors (this was the case for the 3 tours studied). According to Kelly, this restricts the Guide from developing a detailed, comprehensive narrative.

In addition, it is expected that Guides be well attuned to the sensitivities of the stories associated with their sites. The political significance of Dublin Castle is such that it is associated with numerous potential sensitivities, often of a political nature. In essence, it symbolizes an extensive period of Irish

history when Ireland was oppressed by, and rebelling against, its colonizer England. The difficulties of remembering and retelling this history to outsiders (tourists) are compounded by the immensely close and complicated ties that have for centuries bound the two countries together. Not least of these is the fact that Ireland's largest overseas visitor market has long been the UK. Fifty two per cent of overseas visitors to Ireland in 2009 were from the United Kingdom, and 35% of British holiday-makers at that time were on a first-time visit (Tourism Ireland Limited 2010). The need to be conscious of political sensitivities is thus glaringly apparent, not only from a mercenary perspective, but from a purely human one. For the OPW, it is expected that Guides set aside their own political views and be considerate to these sensitivities (Moir, personal communication, 2011). The findings show that for the most part, the Guides were, as Dahles (2002) has suggested, 'highly effective instruments of control' and 'buffers' protecting the sensitivities of visitors. Nevertheless, there were indications that as agents actively reproducing storylines, they themselves were also in a position to challenge, however marginally, the dominant narratives. This was clear in the case of one of the Guide's narratives studied here. Departing from the script in the Dublin Castle case was made possible by the fact that the Guides here are working from an outline script which, while having an overarching framework, gives plenty of scope for active reconstruction and elaboration.

Discussions with Moir (personal communication, 2011) revealed that plans to re-invent Dublin Castle are imminent and will be implemented before the current tourist season is over. Not surprisingly, in light of the divergence of emphases identified in the castle narratives discussed above, recent OPW surveys have identified that visitors to the Castle emerge somewhat confused as to the story of the site (Moir, personal communication, 2011). The intention, therefore is to re-orient the ordering of the tour more chronologically as well as to open up more important spaces within the Castle in order to reveal greater insights into its history. In addition, the visitor function of the site is to become more pronounced, with plans to remove the car park from the lower courtyard already agreed. There are also further plans to re-house some of the government functions currently in the Castle to properties recently acquired (because of private sector bankruptcies) by the state through NAMA (the National Assets Management Agency). This will improve the presentation of the site as a visitor attraction and enhance opportunities to orient visitors more effectively throughout the site.

The timing and speed at which these plans are being implemented brings to mind Hoelscher and Alderman's (2004) comments about how the valuing of collective memories is influenced by the pressures of the marketplace. Certainly tourism is being prioritized at the moment as part of government strategy to lift the Irish economy out of crisis, and it may be that as the key heritage stakeholder, the OPW will come under new pressure to further develop its heritage services. To date, the OPW has undoubtedly been concerned to control the way in which the historical site of the Castle

is consumed by visitors, both in its relatively limited opening hours and in the guiding norms and practices that it employs to ensure that the interpretation offered is not overly detailed, is inoffensive and somehow suitable to contemporary visitors, many of whom are on tight package tour schedules, or on prescribed itineraries.

7. Conclusions

Dos Santos's (2008) claim that particular power groups present the past in accordance with their present interests is somewhat apparent in the representation of Dublin Castle to its visitors. While the OPW takes a hands-off approach to the tour script at Dublin Castle, their encouragement of a sensitive, flexible and non-academic story line appears to support a rather neutralised or de-politicised narrative. The prevailing narrative of any given tour is controlled by the individual guides. Representations of the castle are selective, as particular guides place different emphases on certain aspects of its past. The narratives and representations are, in a similar way to that acknowledged by Cohen (1985), largely constructed from the guides personal interests or backgrounds. This results in each tour being overlaid with different 'preferred readings' (MacDonald, 2006: 128) that can vary from a romanticised depiction of life in the castle during the 18th and 19th century, a more humorous or ironic depiction of the Viceroys and Monarchs, a focus on the role of the castle during the 1916 Rising or since Ireland became a Free State in 1949. While each narrative may in and of itself appear to be a neutralised account of the past, each story emphasises a particular sense of identity, that identity being determined by the individual guide. In consequence, visitors leave with varying interpretations and understandings of the significance of the castle. The symbolic meanings of Dublin Castle, as a repository of colonial memories thus become somewhat lost in translation. Meanwhile, various aspects of Irish identity remain similarly unrevealed. Of particular relevance perhaps, is the lack of a cohesive interpretation of the evocative and complex meanings of the Castle. Instead there is what might be termed a more 'commodified interpretation' that both reflects the preferences of the guide and their assessment of visitor needs.

The reasons for this and its significance are as yet unclear. What is clear however, is that the study reported here is merely scratching the surface of a topic that is very complex and multi-layered. Thus far, for example, no attention has been paid to the visitors who go to sites such as Dublin Castle. Do questions such as these posed here have any relevance for visitors? Are visitors interested in uncovering the layers of history encasing such sites or are they merely interested in 'selected highlights'? Do they, in any sense want to be able to select their own highlights? These are obvious questions for further research. Specifically in an Irish context, this research has begun to ask questions about the role of the OPW as gatekeeper of the state's historic sites. It is indisputable that as the

guardian of the state's historic sites and national monuments, its main duty of care is protection and preservation. Its budget, allocated and determined by the Department of Finance, is overwhelmingly oriented towards this task. However, should education, access and interpretation play such subsidiary roles? In the face of current economic difficulties, will the OPW come under pressure to re-balance its priorities? All of these questions merit further research.

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Rock Climbing, Transience and Community: 'Dirtbag' as a Performance of Identity

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Abstract

As self-described "dirtbags", a portion of the rock climbing community has dedicated themselves to the full-time pursuit of this sport, spending months to years of their lives traveling and climbing. They live meagerly, on only a few dollars a day, most of which is spent on food and fuel. Most live out of tents, some only a sleeping bag and pack as they hitch rides and share travel expenses and accommodations. Yet, the majority comes from backgrounds of relative affluence, and many have given up significant educational and employment opportunities to explore this recreational and existential pursuit. As described by one former dirtbag, "The point is to gain something physically and spiritually." In some ways they are engaging in drifting or tramping, but their community networks also hint at aspects of backpacking. Meanwhile, their emphasis on existential and even spiritual experiences suggests commonalities with pilgrimage, nature religions, and spiritual journeys. Most broadly, their behavior supports Urry's (1990, 2002) claims that the new leisure class of postmodern tourism is characterized by a descending social mobility. While a passion for climbing fosters a minimalist lifestyle, a quest for experiences motivates their transience. Their narratives, however, highlight moments of self-definition and societal rebellion. Through transient rock climbing, these dirtbags are searching for and performing identities. This paper presents some preliminary findings from research with this community, in particular the online forums of Rockclimbing.com, and suggests that these dirtbags illustrate the significance of performance theory in tourism studies.

Introduction

Alternative sports, such as rock climbing, surfing, or mountain biking, tend to be more participant-oriented than institutionalized, spectator sports such as basketball, soccer, or baseball. Among a number of alternative sports, also known as "lifestyle" sports by participants (Wheaton, 2004) or "extreme" sports in popular media discourse (Wheaton, 2007; Robinson, 2008), can be found highly dedicated, full-time participants. Moreover, many alternative sports have a strong seasonal component, resulting in frequent and continuous travel in pursuit of the activity. While some of these athletes gain sponsorships that support their full-time participation, others choose to support themselves, thus requiring a minimalist lifestyle. Among these latter devotees, a strong sense of identity and community develops. While such recreational pursuits are underexplored in the literature, these transient communities have been identified among surfers and rock climbers in particular, as "surf rats", surfer/climbing "bums", or "dirtbags" (see Chouinard, 2006; Waeschle, 2009; Taylor, 2010). Transient rock climbers, self-identified as "dirtbags", are the focus of this research.

In Craig Stevens' "Confessions of a Dirtbag", the author writes of the lifestyle of this social group:

"A funny thing happens to a person when they find themselves stuck in the elements with no food, no water, and no cash. Whether it's natural instinct that takes over, progressive de-evolution, or a mixture of both, something inside all of us emerges in times of desperation and proves that no matter how long and dark the tunnel may be, there's always a light at the end. Sometimes the end just happens to be tucked away beneath stale bread and moldy oranges. *This is the point at which everyday climbing bums transcend into a new social ranking altogether. Dirtbags.*" (2010: 46, emphasis added)

Despite his melodramatic tone, the author goes on to explain how one can manage to feed oneself on only a few dollars a week, the inessential daily or even hot showers and other modern creature comforts, and the fruits of undertaking such a minimalist lifestyle. But what remains unspoken in his confessions is the voluntary nature of this very self-induced poverty. The majority of dirtbags come from backgrounds of relative affluence, and many have given up significant educational and employment opportunities to explore this recreational and existential pursuit, supporting Urry's (1990; 2002) claims that the new leisure class of postmodern tourism is characterized by a descending social mobility. According to another transient climber, "Dirtbag to me has always meant a sacrifice in life's luxuries to maintain an intense climbing schedule. [...] Poverty is most certainly required, why else would you live like that?" Moreover, Stevens notes that the number of "individuals taking favor to the idea of calling home wherever you decide to lay your head is growing", as dirtbagging, he asserts, "is not based on a need to alienate oneself from society, but instead a passion to seek out new experiences that force us to live completely in the moment, and through that, achieve an entirely new level of appreciation for the simplest pleasures." (2010: 49) In fact, while earlier generations of dirtbags did experience a degree of isolation, or even alienation, that accompanies this continuous travel in pursuit of climbing, the increasing prevalence of global communications technology now helps to keep many in touch with family and friends, particularly as for a growing number of dirtbags a minimalist lifestyle includes a laptop or smartphone.

An analysis of the online community forums at Rockclimbing.com is used to initiate this project, of which subsequent phases will include participant observation, interviews and questionnaires with current and former dirtbags. Rockclimbing.com is the largest and most encompassing website dedicated to the sport, with a member base of more than 100,000. The application of ethnographic methodologies to the Internet enables the "investigation of cross-cultural, multi-leveled, and multi-sited phenomena; emerging constructions of individual and collective identity; and the culturally embedded nature of emerging communicative and social practices" (Wilson & Peterson, 2002: 450). Analysis of this community resource reveals discursive aspects of "dirtbag" as an identity within the larger, diverse community of rock climbers, as well as the motivations, goals, and reflective experiences of this temporary lifestyle, and suggests this identity, as an extension of rock climbing, is highly performative.

The existential motivations, travel patterns, and social networks of dirtbags suggest similarities to several travel phenomena, including pilgrimage, drifting and backpacking. As "pilgrims of the vertical" (Taylor, 2010), they seek out the existential and even spiritual experiences of rock climbing. Their frequent travel between climbing destinations and highly flexible itineraries, as well as ideological influences suggests the drifter as the most common form. And, their sociality and community networks are in line with backpacking. This paper presents the preliminary findings of research focused on these transient rock climbers known as dirtbags, in particular addressing the implications of this temporary lifestyle, or "strategy" as Taylor (2010) describes it, on individual and collective identities. It begins with a review of the literature regarding identity as a construction as well as a performance, particularly as it is related to tourism and travel. This is followed by a brief description of the methodology and its application to the online forums of Rockclimbing.com. Next, the "dirtbag" as an identity will be

examined with specific focus on the significance of rock climbing, society, self-discovery, and community. Finally, some conclusions as to motivations and goals of this transient pursuit are offered, along with a discussion of further research.

Identity

Identity is constructed on the distinctions between the self and the other. But many have also suggested it is also rooted in place (see Paasi, 1997; Sewell, 1999; Graham, Ashworth, & Tunbridge, 2000). Because the act of touring juxtaposes the self and the other in places away from our everyday, tourism is an exercise in identity construction (McCabe and Stokoe, 2004; Morgan & Pritchard, 2005; Oakes, 2006). Because of the structural break from the everyday, Wang (1999) suggests that tourism also offers the potential for existential authenticity, the realization of the authentic self. Through the performance of tourism, Wang (1999) argues, authenticity of the self, as well as relationships with others can be achieved.

Tourism places, suggest Baerenholdt, Haldrup, Larsen, and Urry (2004: 10), "are not only or even primarily visited for their immanent attributes but also and more centrally to be woven into the webs of stories and narratives people produce when they sustain and construct their social identities". Identity is a product not only of metanarratives, such as gender and class, "but also a number of governing narratives by which we continuously (re)locate ourselves in the world" addressing questions "of who we are, of where we as individuals are located, and where and how we locate ourselves" (Morgan & Pritchard, 2005: 32; see also Ricoeur, 1991, McCabe and Stokoe, 2004). Thus, Desforges suggests, "touristic stories are used to present new self-identities" (2000: 927). Noy's (2004a; 2004b) examinations of Israeli youth backpackers' experiences illustrate "self-change narratives" that result from adventurous undertakings, reflect on internal changes, and express realizations of existential authenticity. The performance of these tours amounts to a rite of passage for these youths; narrative retelling continues to utilize this cultural capital as performative of identity (Noy, 2004a; 2004b; Shaffer, 2004).

Shaffer (2004: 139) argues that the backpacker's journey, in particular, "is a carefully choreographed performance of a self" complete with scripts, costumes and props. This focus on the performance of tourism emphasizes agency – the being, doing, touching *and* seeing of tourism (Coleman & Crang, 2002; Baerenholdt et al. 2004; Larsen, 2008). Thereby the performance of tourism places is accomplished by a *set* of discourses and texts, bodies and objects, affects and percepts, technologies and mediums (see Coleman & Crang, 2002; Baerenholdt et al. 2004). Noy's study of backpackers finds that "participation in a touristic practice grants the youths cultural capital (in the form of narrative capital), which actually serves as an admittance right to a subculture, thereby giving them a valid claim for a collective identity" (2004a: 82, see also Shaffer, 2004). This cultural capital is gained through the performance of tourism then expressed as narrative. Personal narratives are performed through their telling (McAdams, 1993; Eakin, 1999). Such a performance, however, requires an audience; as Holstein and Gubrium (2000: 101) assert, "we talk ourselves into being". Likewise, Noy contends, "it is precisely the interpersonal communication of personal narratives that grants the individual self-reflection, on simultaneously psychological and social levels" (2004a: 84). Thus tourist narratives, as a type of autobiographical narrative, are more than just a story about a place and time, but they shift across these dimensions, highlighting certain events and eliminating others (Bruner, 1991; Polkinghorne, 1988; Somers, 1994; Cary, 2004; Chronis, 2005; Rickly-Boyd, 2010). Thus, Noy's (2004a; 2004b) "self-change narratives" illustrate a journey, a journey across space and through time, centered on a journey of self.

For those involved in long-term travel, including tramps, drifters, backpackers, and some pilgrims, it is argued that their touristic narratives extend beyond the retelling of events to the wider scope of the journey. Whereas tourism studies have tended to focus on the destination, the study of pilgrimage has shed more light on the performance of the journey. Morinis (1992: ix) contends, "a true typology of pilgrimages focuses on the pilgrims' journey and motivations, not on the destination shrines". "[T]he essence of the journey is movement" (1992: 12); and thus, he argues, pilgrimage as a term can be applied "whenever journeying and some embodiment of an ideal intersect" (1992: 3).

Methodology

In an age of increasing globalization, accompanied by the growing popularity of social media and networks, communities are being established that span vast distances (Massey, 1994; Hall, 1995). In fact, Hall (1995) questions the very nature of place in community formation. The communicative functions of websites like Rockclimbing.com support such claims. While climbers do meet and perform group identities on the ground, in specific places, the website's forums facilitate community development and maintenance. Many climbers keep in touch and even plan trips via the website, while others have developed friendships that have never extended beyond cyberspace.

Rockclimbing.com is the largest and most encompassing website dedicated to the sport. The website provides information for more than 100,000 climbing routes around the world, articles and media sources pertaining to the sport, gear reviews and ratings, climbing videos, a partner board, and over 30 different forums regarding topics from regional U.S. climbing areas and techniques to memorials and gender dynamics. Forum members create profiles that contain personal information, but are particularly focused on climbing information such as style, skill level, favorite destinations and travel experience, and routes climbed. Thus, their Forum identity is centered on the sport. While one must become a member to participate in forum discussions, they are open to public reading. Therefore, the more than 100,000 registered users of the site do not fully express the expanse of this climbing community resource.

Altheide, Coyle, Devriese, and Schneider suggest "an ethnographic perspective can be brought to bear on symbolic communication in other than 'physical spaces', including information bases and cyberspace." (2008: 135; see also Wilson & Peterson, 2002; Hine, 2008) In fact, Mautner argues, "if it was not for the internet, many representations of reality and social relationships would not be articulated at all." (2005: 813) While the rock climbing community is based in physical, real world actions and relationships, Rockclimbing.com does add elements of community cohesion and extends its social relationships worldwide. Accordingly, analysis of the website's forums provides insight into the social relationships that characterize this sport, particularly the dirtbags.

Discourse analysis as a form of textual analysis prioritizes "the *effects* of a particular cultural text on what an individual may do or think by unraveling its production, social context, and intended audience" (Waitt, 2005: 166). It is a way to examine the outcomes of discourse in terms of perceptions, attitudes, and actions, to identify frameworks through which social knowledge is produced, circulated, and communicated, and to uncover the mechanisms that maintain such social knowledge as "natural" (Waitt, 2005; Phillips & Jorgensen, 2002; Fairclough, 2003). Therefore, discourse analysis tends to proceed with a particular focus on intertextuality – "the way in which meanings are sustained through mutually related verbal, written, and visual texts" (Waitt, 2005: 168).

Analysis of the Forum at Rockclimbing.com began with a search for the word "dirtbag", which resulted in 3433 individual posts. The first step of analysis identified forum conversational threads which pertained directly to "dirtbag", this revealed 52 threads and reduced the number of individual

posts to 1450. The next steps included coding and the identification of themes and sub-themes among the forum discussions, which further reduced the number of viable posts to just 535. This resulted in nine themes – travel patterns, philosophical arguments, spiritual experiences, lifeways, identity, appearance, gender dynamics, community dynamics, and forum dynamics. It is the forum discussions of "dirtbag" as it relates to identity that is the focus of this paper. Because individuals post their own comments to forum discussion threads, quotes from these posts used in this paper are kept as is, including any spelling or grammatical errors, while expletives are omitted but noted. References to individual's comments are cited in terms of the thread number and post number, for example T3P56 represents post number 56 within conversation thread three.

"Dirtbag" as Identity

Discussions of "dirtbags" and "dirtbagging" in relation to identity are of particular focus for this paper. Analysis of the forum threads reveal several sub-themes that work to establish an identity among participants – self and society, transitional life phase, finding self, attitude, and to be a dirtbag (Table 1).

Online Forum Data – sub-themes regarding the dirtbag lifestyle as an identity	Number of posts
Self and society	46
To be a dirtbag	41
Attitude	35
Transitional life phase	33
Finding self	25

Table 1

When Rockclimbing.com users posted about the motivations for a lifestyle of dirtbagging, whether it lasts weeks to months to years, many revealed societal push and pull factors. Although one dirtbag declared, "you can take the dirtbag out of the climber, but you can't take the climber out of the dirtbag"(T14P29), the desire for more focused and frequent rock climbing was unspoken as a motivation for the most part, which among a community of users of a forum at Rockclimbing.com is not surprising as their interest in the sport is what bring them to this online community and a forms a common bond among members.

Individuals' relationships to societal norms and demands were a primary push into the life as well as noted reasons not to pursue it. Several condemned the lifestyle as "over romanticized" (T9P8, T20P11, T51P3), as they argued that dirtbags do not fulfill their societal obligations (T2P20, T2P45, T3P14), particularly as they are not viewed as "productive members of society" (T2P1), in terms of not upholding their "personal responsibility" (T2P38, T2P47). Some even go so far as to equate a dirtbag with a "parasite" (T2P20, T2P47, T3P25, T34P11). As described by one climber:

> "When you take on the dirtbag life style you are rejecting your obligations to soceity while simultaneously benefiting from other's." (T2P131)

Others long for the opportunity, but they note financial constraints (T6P10, T6P28, T32P3) and family responsibilities (T6P5, T6P32, T6P53) that keep them at home and only climbing for leisure.

> "I'd do it if I didn't have children. Without hesitating. " (T6P3)

> "I wish I could drop all the financial responsibilities and just travel and climb." (T6P8)

Yet, it is such societal "norms" that arouse others' daydreams, as well as fuel their continued pursuit, as many do not find satisfaction in their current endeavors (T2P12, T8P1, T29P1, T29P13, T31P17).

> "I admire those of us who can remove themselves from the daily grind and commit to climbing full time while not being a pro or be sponsored by anyone ... those who are dirtbags." (T32P1)

> "Anyone can go get a job and 'contribute to society'; it takes a real man/woman to embrace the ideals of freedom and sacrifice the comforts of financial gain." (T2P16)

> "Every day that I continue to work the 40-40 plan (40 hours a week for 40 years), the draw of the dirtbag gets stronger and stronger." (T6P21)

> "I am feeling pretty much like I'm missing out on the best travelling years of my life to work." (T8P24)

In fact, several identify distinct events that were catalysts to taking this new approach to life, including a serious car accident (T32P6), divorce (T6P15, T6P45), and "painful family changes" (T6P22). Thus, in writing about their motivations many also began narratives of life transitions and self-discovery on the road. "You can find out alot about yourself on the road, you just have to go and look." (T6P33), writes one former dirtbag. Another, aspiring dirtbag, regularly posted on a thread as she came to a decision to quit her job to travel and climb, noting her preparation, both financial and emotional:

> "I'm so looking forward to a simpler life. I'm only 26, but I feel 40. There is so much that I need to leave behind right now, so that I can focus on me. It's my time to be selfish, and I will relish this selfish period for as long as I can. I feel so fortunate to have had this "awakening" at a young age...I can only imagine the basketcase I would be if I kept being miserable for 10 more years. I need to get to know myself, cause I've nearly forgotten who I am. I have been groomed into a corporate lemming, and nearly lost site of what is TRULY important to me." (T8P32)

However, a few make note of the difficulty of returning to a more settled life after this extended period of travel, and turn to this forum for advice (T10P1, T43P1, T46P3) "Maybe there is a proverbial crossroads every dirtbag must face: To join the rest of society or remain at large" (T10P14) Another dirtbag writes a lengthy narrative of his transition out of a Silicon Valley lifestyle through two years of dirtbagging and to his current situation at such a crossroads:

> "But funds got alarmingly low, and sitting out in the desert around J-Tree just a couple of weeks ago I realized that I needed to go back. […] I need to get a job and return to whatever it is most people consider normal. […] The goal stopped being just to climb a lot. I wanted to avoid getting sucked into the whole consumer yuppie [expletive] lifestyle again. […]The thought of sitting in an office all day terrifies me. The thought of having actual responsibilities is mortifying." (T29P1)

Thus, there is a theme among these discussions that such a lifestyle should occur at a certain time in one's life. "Do it while you're young" (T31P7), advises one former dirtbag, and others agree this is best pursued in the transitions of youth (T10P42, T20P22, T37P13). Accordingly, many younger climbers assert plans to take such a trip after high school/ before college (T6P43, T6P55, T6P70, T8P23) or after university (T6P46, T31P5, T43P1, T10P21).

> "Do yourself a favor and go. Defer for a year or go after college but make sure you carve out some purely selfish road time for yourselves." (T6P35)

For those in the midst of this transience, there is a sense of freedom to their narratives (T6P50, T16P27, T31P11). They describe "living in the moment" (T2P44) and the "rush" (T8P33) and "adventure" (T46P1) of not knowing what lies ahead. According to one dirtbag:

> "I have nothing to escape from, just activities and places to enjoy. […] Carpe diem-sieze the day. Live for today, don't let the past bug you, don't worry about the future. Make every day worthwhile." (T6P46)

For those who identify themselves as dirtbags, they speak of the title with pride. A dirtbag "is someone who lives a very frugal existence to maintain their rockclimbing lifestyle, keeping the sport pure and from being corrupted by money." (T3P28) Therefore, to be a dirtbag, for however short or long a time, takes a certain attitude or mind-set, argue those who take up the lifestyle (T3P24, T16P27, T43P9).

> "Part of being a 'dirtbag' is the ability to figure your way through your adventure." (T26P3)

> "If money and material possessions are important to you, this life is not for you." (T6P46)

> "Truth is, there is a huge difference between what is *needed* and what is *desired*. We often confuse these things." (T2P44)

> "life = short, time = limited, climbing = freedom [...] frightening how many lives are lived without risking things for freeing experiences. climbing is in my world freeing. but sacrifices must be made – money, material wealth" (T2P105)

Moreover, it is a "way of life" (T2P93, T11P28, T18P10) accompanied by strong community bonds (T2P24, T20P25, T21P11). Communities develop not only around a common mind-set and goal of intense rock climbing, but it is from these groups that climbing partners are found. Thus, a great deal of trust further solidifies these bonds.

> "… there are communities of like minded people to hang out with. [...] if you stick to "the circuit" of "destination" sites it isn't too hard to find partners." (T6P45)

> "they reject loyalty to the needs of a larger society in the name of loyalty to the much smaller society that holds an obvious place for them." (T2P109)

Those who reflect on this period speak of it fondly, particularly as a period of happiness (T6P61, T10P36, T53P2). Moreover, they describe this period as transitional and life changing. Similar to the "self-change" narratives of backpackers recorded by Noy (2004a, 2004b), these dirtbags gain a new perspective on life which they attribute to this period. In particular, they describe realizations of their adaptability (T2P62, T46P1) and others note they have come away with a better sense of balance in their lives (T10P37, T46P3, T46P4). It is a way to gain life experience (T6P45, T8P24, T31P12, T29P3), as they consider their future reflections on lives lived and possible regrets.

"I've learned one very important thing on this trip... and I think this is fundamentally what I sought out to prove to myself... I don't need any of these luxuries." (T29P15)

"It was dirt poor then, but happy. Hindsight is 20/20." (T8P32)

"When I'm old and on my deathbed reflecting back on my life and any regrets, I know that I will not say, 'I just wish I had spent more time at the office.'" (T6P18)

Shaffer's auto-ethnography of backpacking suggests a sense of authenticity is created in performative ways, as well as in the narrative moments that claim unique or original experience (2004: 157). Overall, reflections and ambitions of the dirtbag lifestyle indicate the significance of this identity as constructive and performative. While for some it is but a short-term "strategy" to maximize engagement with the sport of rock climbing and is thus one component of their social identity, for many others it is performative of their societal values, as rebellious against societal norms. For these more dedicated dirtbags, who spend months to years of their lives in pursuit of this lifestyle, there are expressions of frustration with what they see as consumerism and a lack of appreciation for the moments of life, all of which motivates them to action. They perform the antithesis of what they see as problematic societal norms by taking to the road, dedicating themselves to rock climbing, and thereby living a minimalist lifestyle with strong community bonds and the potential for authentic experiences. In doing so, they discover aspects of themselves which had been unrealized in the everyday life. Thus suggesting, similar to Noy's (2004a; 2004b) and Shaffer's (2004) studies of backpackers, this becomes more about the journey than the destinations and as such functions as a transitional life phase or rite of passage. Their narrative retelling continues to utilize this cultural capital as performative of ever-evolving social identities.

Conclusion

Taylor argues the dirtbag evolved out of a generation of Beatnik climbers who had "developed a novel philosophy, one that simultaneously honored tradition and championed a countercultural quest for authentic experience" (2010: 133). As the original "climbing bums", they pursued a "vagabond life of cross-country climbing and partying" (2010: 134). Yet, he argues, the dirtbags who began to show up on the scene in 1960s are characterized by a "lack of any philosophical agenda. … It was recreation, pure and simple", (2010: 197). This research, suggests, however, it is not that "simple". There does seem to be a philosophical component, as rebellious against what many see as consumerism. In particular, many believe a minimalist lifestyle focused on climbing, as opposed to broader societal norms and constraints, offers the potential for authentic experiences. This may be why so many who choose this strategy describe points of transition, personal conflict, or trauma in their lives as impetus, such as after high school or following divorce. It provides a way for these individuals to connect with themselves, to discover who they believe they are and their place in this world.

There is also a spiritual component, albeit, not necessarily tied to the lifestyle. Very few dirtbags indicate a spiritualism to their transience, but instead suggest that the spiritual experience comes from the act of climbing, in the moments of ascent. Thus, their dirtbag lifestyle facilitates a more frequent and direct engagement with these moments. As noted by one dirtbag, "there is always time to get a way from the regular rigors of society and make a pilgrimage to the rocks" (T2P130). Therefore, the title of Taylor's (2010) book, *Pilgrims of the Vertical*, is indeed quite appropriate. Their lifestyles have strong elements of sacrifice and dedication in pursuit of the spiritual and existential moments of rock climbing, even if their day-to-day lives, as dirtbags, are much less somber. Or, as put simply by one former dirtbag, "The point is to gain something physically *and* spiritually."

This paper presents preliminary results from the first stage of an ethnography of these transient climbers known as dirtbags. Analysis of community forums at Rockclimbing.com reveal complex and layered constructions of dirtbagging as an identity, accompanied by individual's perspectives on society, their existential motivations, moments of self-discovery, community bonds, as well as some negative perspectives on this lifestyle from fellow climbers who are outside of this sub-culture. The second phase of this project will involve fieldwork at a popular climbing destination in Appalachian Kentucky – the Red River Gorge. This is a site frequented by dirtbags, as part of the "circuit", as well as a diversity of climbers because of the various styles of climbing offered in the gorge area. This work will further investigate the dirtbag identity through participant observation and interviews, as well as tease out the performative and discursive components of this sub-culture.

Wilson and Peterson argue that examinations of identity and community on the Internet also require investigation beyond "cyberspace and virtual reality into geographical, social spaces, to address a variety of issues such as the ways in which new participants are socialized into online practices; how [...] identities are negotiated, reproduced, and indexed in online interactions; and how Internet and computing practices are becoming normalized or institutionalized in a variety of contexts" (2002: 454). In particular, very few of the contributors to Rockclimbing.com speak of dirtbagging in the present tense; rather most are reflective or ambitious of this lifestyle. This suggests that current dirtbags are underrepresented on the forums, and therefore, direct conversations with those in the midst of this lifestyle are quite necessary. Moreover, a number of forum contributors express that one involved in dirtbagging would not be active on the Internet, but instead on the road, traveling and climbing. Similarly, others have expressed a frustration with the increasing use of telecommunications technology among the community, as some see this as a social reliance and less of a dedication to the sport and lifestyle. Fieldwork on the ground in a climbing destination frequented by dirtbags will offer a setting for further investigation of the use of technology and its reception among the community, as well as the representativeness of discussions of dirtbagging by forum participants to the intertextuality of this lifestyle.

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The Face of Wine: How Wine is Used to Re/present Self in Public Consumption Environments in the UK

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Abstract

Wine is an alcoholic beverage. It has been made and consumed for well over 8000 years. Originally it may have been the mysterious, drug like quality of fermented grapes that made it so attractive. However as humans began to live in larger groups it became obvious that fermented drinks, such as wine and beer, were often safer to consume than non-fermented ones such as river water. Unlike beer however wine has also acquired a symbolic significance which frequently impacts upon interaction with it. Wine may be used for religious rituals, inclusively to extend hospitality and /or develop friendship and fidelity bonds or exclusively to demonstrate social or cultural capital. Yet wine is such an integral part of lifestyle for most UK adults that many deny buying wine even when they actually do so. A further paradox of interaction with wine is that whilst it is frequently drunk immoderately in private consumption situations it is always seen/ described as a sophisticated aspirational beverage and often used as such in public consumption arenas.

This paper discusses how wine is used to demonstrate self image in physically public consumption environments such as pubs, bars and restaurants and or psychologically public environments made so by the presence of significant others. It considers how gender and situation impact upon wine related behaviours so that wine may be drunk by those who dislike it or refused by those who like it and in some environments, such as restaurants, become the default alcoholic beverage. To choose or not choose wine, sharing or not, the colour, still or sparkling can all reflect the image that the consumer wants to portray to others in that public situation. Understanding these needs helps the hospitality industry to provide a more accurately tailored experience for their customers.

Key Words
Wine, Cultural Capital, Self Image, Gender, Ritual Behaviours, Public Consumption

Introduction
Wine is one of the three major categories of alcoholic beverage, the other two being spirits and beer (ale). They have been made and consumed for well over 8000 years (Charters, 2006).   Unlike beer and spirits however wine has also acquired a symbolic significance which frequently impacts upon interaction with it. Wine may be used for religious rituals, inclusively to extend hospitality and /or develop friendship and fidelity bonds or exclusively to demonstrate social or cultural capital (Barr, 1995: Bourdieu, 1977: Charters, 2006: Demossier, 2004: Ferrarini *et al.*, 2010: Jones, 2007). Yet wine is such an integral part of lifestyle for most UK adults that many deny buying wine even when they actually do so (Ritchie, 2009; 2010). A further paradox of interaction with wine is that whilst it is frequently drunk immoderately in private consumption situations it is always seen/ described as a sophisticated aspirational beverage and often used as such in public consumption arenas.

Public consumption arenas and the resultant public social drinking behaviours (Ritchie, 2009) occur when alcohol is consumed in the presence of others. In the UK this usually takes place in pubs, bars and restaurants (the on-trade) but may also occur in the home when significant others are present, such as during a dinner party or BBQ. The on-trade venue may be stand alone but it may also just be a single part of a larger arena such as a music or sports event or, in warmer climates, be part of a street or beach scape. Thus it can be seen that there are usually a range of different social groups of 'others' being observed and observing the behaviours being displayed in any public consumption arena.

This paper is a work in progress presenting an early stage reflection upon how wine is used to demonstrate self image in physically and or psychologically public consumption arenas. This includes how it has become the default alcoholic beverage in some environments, such as restaurants. The paper

considers in particular how gender and situation impact upon wine related behaviours so that wine may be drunk by those who dislike it or refused by those who like it. The paper considers how wine is often used as a cultural object so that choosing wine or not, sharing it or not, the colour chosen, whether still or sparkling, etc. can both reflect and project the self image that the consumer wants to portray to others in that particular public situation. It will also consider paradoxes between image and actual usage.

The historical/religious development of wine drinking cultures in the UK
Originally it may have been the mysterious, drug like quality of fermented grapes that made wine so attractive. However as humans began to live in larger, particularly urban, groups it became obvious that fermented drinks, such as wine and beer, were often safer to consume than non-fermented ones such as river water (Brook, 2000). In the Mediterranean countries where the vine flourished as an 'original crop', in Greek and Roman, Christian and Jewish cultures wine became a symbol of both life and prosperity (Brook, 2000: Ferrarini *et al.*, 2010) including evolving into an integral part of many religious rites. These cultural interactions were spread as the host empires, whether physical or religious, expanded becoming incorporated into indigenous traditions and cultures.

The UK was and is not (yet) a natural host to the vine for climatic reasons; this is changing as climate changes. However, wine was produced in the UK from Roman times until the Reformation primarily at the behest of other cultures or for religious ceremonies. With the demise of the monasteries in the 16th century, and the proximity of the much higher quality wine regions of France and Spain, commercial wine production ceased in the UK until it was revived in the mid 20th century. Current production is tiny though and at over £11.25 billion annually the UK is the largest wine import market in the world (Keynote, 2009: Vinexpo, 2009).

Since grapes do not flourish easily in the UK whilst wheat and barley do ale (beer) became the national beverage particularly for the common man (Barr, 1995: Brook, 2000). It still is the most heavily consumed alcoholic beverage in the UK although this is decreasing as wine consumption rises (Ritchie, 2009).This change in alcohol consumption habits began during the 1970s and 1980s when wine started to become democratised via its sale in supermarkets alongside other grocery goods (Ritchie 2009; 2010). However in the centuries between the introduction of the vine and wines into the UK by the Romans and the 20th century many ritualistic and or elitist wine drinking behaviours developed which still hold currency and inform our understanding of acceptable and not acceptable wine related behaviours today.

Some of these interactions are common to many cultures particularly those with a strong Judaeo-Christian tradition. For example the Jewish Seder feast which occurs during Passover requires the consumption (or at least tasting) of four glasses of wine with the meal. Within the Catholic tradition wine is an integral part of Holy Communion, the bread and wine representing the body and blood of Christ. Barr (1995), Charters (2006) and Jones (2007) show how the giving and receiving of hospitality, food and drink, is used to develop and strengthen friendship, fidelity and political bonds. These traditions as well as records of Greek, Roman and other early civilisations show how food and wine, wheat, olives and vines have been linked for millennia. Additionally in traditional wine production regions the styles of wine made evolved to compliment and support the local food. All of this has led to a European / Western acceptance of a synergy between food and wine so that wine is seen the 'proper' accompaniment when dining. In the UK this synergy may only be evidenced in public arenas and or for formal meals with people choosing beer or non-alcoholic drinks in private spaces (Seymour, 2004: Ritchie, 2011).

In the UK, as in all human societies, the act of sharing food has both a functional aspect, eating to feed, and a psychological one, sharing food to demonstrate power and wealth; basse cuisine as opposed to haute cuisine (Jones, 2007). This point is discussed by many authors including Bourdieu (1977) and Gibbs and Ritchie (2010). These public meals of necessity required drink to accompany them. As previously discussed, in Europe this would originally have been wine in the Mediterranean countries changing to ale in the more northerly climates. As part of the spread of Roman culture throughout Europe wine became the preferred beverage accompaniment for public dining in the UK (Renfrew, 1993). It reflected both the culture of the dominant power and the wealth and power of the host. This

together with the significant symbolism of its use during religious rites meant that in the UK wine developed an elitist status and beer became the common drink (Hori, 2008). Beer also became associated with heavy drinking, drinking to become drunk, primarily by men in alehouses, the precursors of pubs (Berridge *et al.,* 2007). Brook (2000), Hori (2008) and Ludington (2009) all show that by the 17th century knowing about wine and developing a wine cellar were essential parts of a gentleman's education; they were not part of a gentlewoman's. As Maquire (2010) points out even today those who have and can give actual or symbolic access to wines and their histories are accorded status in society.

Of the wines traditionally consumed in the UK perhaps the most significant/ symbolic was claret. Claret is the British word for red wines from Bordeaux. Not only was claret the preferred wine of most of the aristocracy but the word claret can also be used to signify blood. Communion wines are also usually red. Therefore red wine has a particular significance in traditional UK Christian culture as blood and more specially the blood of Christ. This may explain why red wine is seen as more masculine than a pale white and so a more manly drink. In current UK society a manly man may drink a glass of red wine away from a meal situation and in male company, but not a glass of girly pink (rose) wine (Ritchie, 2009: 2011). This is not true in other parts of Europe. Thus it can be seen that the use of wine was separated out from other forms of alcoholic beverage and interaction with it became gender and situation specific almost from the start of its adoption in the UK.

A Sense of Taste
Kant (2005) considered the meanings of the word taste, both in its gustatory and in its aesthetic sense and how closely they are linked in terms of food and drink. In both senses taste is a subjective sense. Gustatory taste is initially learned in a home domestic environment, overtly to prevent a child consuming something harmful, but subjectively so that the child learns the acceptable behaviours of their social group and is able to demonstrate belonging. As the child develops into adulthood they choose which of the behaviours they observe to adopt; to retain those of their original social group and or to adopt those of others. Most adults have sets of behaviour which vary according to the social group that they are with or aspire to join; family, work, peers etc. Aesthetic taste is acquired and demonstrated in the same way but unlike gustatory taste it has no physical core, its purpose is to publically demonstrate the acquisition of skill or knowledge - socially recognised distinction - often aspired to by others. Its acquisition raises the status of the self in relation to others (Bourdieu, 1977: Kant, 2005). As they and Seymour (2004) and Demossier (2004) point out, food and drink are probably the only objects which can be used to demonstrate taste in the full sense of both meanings.

When Bourdieu (1977) used wine, along with art, as an example of elitist behaviour and the demonstration of cultural capital he was talking about fine wines. Just as he omitted 50% of the adult population of France (women) from his initial study he also omitted the vin ordinaire which was actually and habitually consumed by most French people with most meals at the time. Ritchie (2009) and Kreft and Ritchie (2009) show that it is not uncommon for particular social groups to ignore or deny their actual interaction with alcohol if that interaction is too normal to be significant; for example women may deny buying wine if they buy it during a routine grocery shop (Ritchie, 2009) and Polish males deny consuming alcohol when drinking beer (Kreft and Ritchie, 2009). Whilst this does not invalidate Bourdieu's conclusions in relation to the demonstration of cultural capital via specific wine interactions, it does suggest that he was a victim of his own habitus. Ritzer (2001) suggested that that which has low cultural value is often not observed in academic study. Reflecting this Kreft and Ritchie (2009) and Ritchie's (2009) work suggests that where an object such as wine or alcohol has both a physical as well as symbolic significance if the physical usage is of low cultural importance only the high significant usage is recalled. This may help to explain one of the paradoxes of interaction with wine in the UK, it is frequently used to preload, but always seen/ described as a sophisticated beverage not associated with drunken behaviour (Ritchie, 2009; 2011: Ritchie *et al.,* 2009).

Bourdieu's omission of vin ordinairre shows that wine has developed strong elitist connotations in countries other than the UK and that as well as food having developed two functions within society, basse and haute cuisine, so has wine, the ordinary everyday styles and fine, aspirational ones (Ritchie,

2011). This is reflected in Ritchie's (2011) study which suggests that when publically discussing wine as in a focus group, a higher but socially acceptable price is offered to the researcher rather than the real price paid. This is done by the participant not because they are consciously lying but because wine is frequently used as a public demonstration of self i.e. it is often bought for public consumption and or as a gift; no-one would want to be thought to be cheap by giving a cheap gift. As a result some wines, particularly supermarket own labels, may be best sellers but they cannot be bought for public usage occasions lest they damage the image of the purchaser (Ritchie, 2009: Ritchie *et al*. 2010) by suggesting low effort and so low significance in the purchase.

Physical Factors Influencing Wine Related Behaviours in the UK
Wine is a fermented alcoholic beverage. Its colour, whether red or white, is solely dependent upon the colour of the skin of the grapes used in its production and whether that colour is allowed to leach into the unfermented juice. In champagne it is not, in port deep coloration is often encouraged. What was originally often an accident followed by a technical or aesthetic decision is now frequently enshrined in wine making traditions and regulations becoming part of the essential ideal of that drink. For example in trying to ensure that there were no bubbles in the original wines of champagne the process of secondary fermentation, which enables the production of sparkling wines, was finally understood and the style as we know it developed.

During these development some wines / wine styles have acquired human imagery which impacts upon their significance and how and when they can be consumed. For example internationally champagne is seen as non-gendered and serious whilst sparkling wine is frothy and feminine (Charters *et al.* 2011: Ritchie 2011). In the UK, as previously discussed, red wine is heavy and masculine. This raises the question as to how wine has acquired these attributes which effect how specific wines can be used and by whom in public spaces.

The story of hock wines illustrates a classic loss of cultural status in a wine. Originally hock was simply a British term used to describe Rhenish wines, wines from the Rhine region of Germany, particularly associated with wines from Hockheim. The traditional wines are high quality whites. Because of the climate they are relatively low in alcohol and sweet, medium sweet styles can easily be made. Historically hock was a staple of most gentlemen's cellars; however it was also favourite wine of Queen Victoria's. When this became known it created enormous demand for the wine from the middles classes. To meet demand from the UK market the area that 'hock' could come from was greatly expanded, yields increased and quality decreased. By the mid 20th century in most households 'hock' was synonymous with Leibfraumilch a medium quality, medium sweet wine drunk by young female adults aspiring to look sophisticated. This is a taste and image which those producing the traditional classic wines of the region are still unable to shake in the minds of most of the UK public and is one reason for the decline of German wines in the UK market in favour of 'modern' Australian wines.

The story of port in the UK shows a reverse trajectory. As Ludingdon (2009) points out port was initially adopted by the middle classes because it was cheap and easily available. Therefore according to much academic theory (Bourdieu, 1977: Kant, 2005: Ritzer, 2001) it should never have become the expensive elitist drink that it is seen as today. At the start of the 18th century claret, burgundy, rhenish and champagne were preferred wines of the aristocracy and were bought in vast amounts, thousands of bottles per household, per year (Ludington, 2009). By the end of the century port had a central role in a gentleman's cellar and life; a gentleman's status could be described in terms of the number of bottles of port he could consume in a day and still (appear to) remain sober. There are two main factors that changed the perceived status of port. First, technological advances and enforcement of good practice raised the quality of the wine substantially. This improved quality and raised prices therefore it could be consumed by elite groups. The second factor was political, Britain and France went to war and the British started to loose. The consumption of all things French became unpatriotic. The reason for the British failures was attributed by the press of the day, and so also by the general population, to be caused by an effete government and aristocracy, therefore effete and consumption of French goods became synonymous (Ludington, 2009). Port was the drink of the robust middles classes, the adoption of (a much higher quality version of) their wine was a deliberate attempt by politicians in particular to been

seen as serious masculine heavyweight leaders of the country. Claret however remained the wine of choice for the aristocracy, but in the privacy of their own homes. Today the best Bordeaux wines are amongst the most sought after in the world.

The act of providing a meal, food and drink, for public consumption led to the physical separation of cooking (kitchen) and dining space. During this evolution the kitchen became a private and female dominated space (although chefs were often male) whilst the dining space where wealth was demonstrated became public and male dominated (Jones, 2007). Actis (2003) in his study of representations of male and female spaces for cooking (TV chefs) in the public arena and Bernards *et al*. (2009) in their international study of alcohol abstention behaviours show that gendered stereotypical spaces and acceptable behaviours within those spaces still exist and impact upon acceptable wine related behaviours. In both studies women were shown to have much more domestic and private roles than men. For example the female chefs in Actis' study cooked from 'domestic' kitchens whilst the male chefs were seen out and about gathering and trying food and drink from a range of sources before cooking.

There is one further factor which impacts upon wine usage in public spaces. Savage *et al* (1992) and Ritzer (2001) suggested that those seeking to distinguish themselves frequently use culture and cultural capital as tools through which to express good taste. They suggested that this often expressed itself in a work environment by being knowledgeable about male activities (men still being dominant in high status jobs). Since the democratisation of wine and its incorporation into normal lifestyle Ritchie's works suggest that wine knowledge is now an essential part of this repertoire of cultural capital in the UK. Whilst many women denied buying wine (Ritchie, 2009) men, including those whose drink of preference was beer, frequently took the role of wine buyer for their household in all public situations. In studies amongst young adults in the UK many male participants stated that they would 'need to know' about wine and would grow into it (Ritchie, 2009; 2011); no young adult female participants expressed this view.

Conclusion/ Summary
This paper has reflected upon how some of the human symbolism attached to wine developed in the UK; robust masculine red, sweet feminine white. It also considered how interaction with wine is influenced by classic imitation of an elite figure or social group or adoption by an elite in order to retain their status in the eyes of less cultured but still powerful groups. Finally it indicated how the gendered image of wine still impacts strongly upon behaviours particularly in public spaces: women may buy more wine than men, and may preload more frequently, but these are private behaviours; in public consumption spaces demonstration of wine knowledge remains a predominantly male activity. Maleness or femininity are further demonstrated by the type, colour and style, of wine that is consumed. What is remarkable is how little the classic, gendered, public behaviours roles have changed since they were first adopted in the UK. The full study will reconsider all of these areas in much greater depth including ordinary and elite wine cultures and wine related behaviours in non-meal situations.

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(Im)mobilities of Central and Eastern European female migrants

in (in)hospitable territories

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Abstract

Mobilities and immobilities are inscribed within the fluid and volatile lives of migrants. Continuous shifts and complex interconnections between spatial, occupational, educational (im)mobilities of migrants depend on various social, political, legal and economic factors as well as power relations influenced by gender, age, class and ethnicity, where the mobility of some highlights the immobility of others.

This paper gives insight into the multiple and interrelated mobilities as well as immobilities of female migrants employed in hospitality, and the role of the industry in facilitating or restricting these movements. Based on initial findings from an arts-based Participatory Action Research (PAR) project carried out with a group of Central and Eastern European (CEE) migrant women, the paper explores their interpretations (visual and oral), understandings and negotiations of their (im)mobilities. It argues that a more inclusive, participatory and creative approach towards researching female migrants' hospitality employment experiences leads to a more holistic portrait of migrants' complex trajectories as well as their relationship with hospitality. The paper also makes links between the mobilities paradigm, migration, gender and hospitality, and is situated within the emerging hopeful tourism scholarship paradigm.

Introduction

This paper argues that the multiple and interconnected mobilities and immobilities present in the lives of Central and Eastern European (CEE) female migrants employed in the UK hospitality industry are largely influenced – encouraged as well as limited – by the fluid nature of the industry itself. The paper demonstrates that a more holistic, inclusive, participatory and arts-based approach not only empowers and dynamises participants allowing women's self-reflection, self-representation and increased self-esteem, but also sheds light on female migrants' multiple and interconnected (im)mobilities, evolving identities and understandings as well as uncovering the place hospitality employment occupies in their lives. Applying a participatory and arts-based inquiry towards female migrants employed in hospitality, the paper reveals a more holistic and comprehensive picture of participants as individuals with their unique and complex migrant trajectories compounded of multiple mobilities, and their individual experiences as female migrants from CEE countries.

Forming part of a larger study on the experiences of CEE migrant women in the UK tourism and hospitality sectors, the paper employs the following structure. Firstly, it establishes the interrelationship between mobilities, gender, migration and hospitality. Secondly, it introduces the methodology underpinning the study. And finally, it explores the multiple, fluid and interconnected (im)mobilities of research participants and the role of hospitality in facilitating and/or restricting their movement.

The paper is situated within critical theory, feminist inquiry, action research and hopeful tourism scholarship frameworks, sharing the common ground of being action-oriented, advocating empowerment of those disadvantaged; addressing power relations and social inequalities; and aiming to assist in bringing change (Aitchison, 2005; Esterberg, 2002; Kincheloe & McLaren, 2003). As part of the emerging hopeful tourism scholarship paradigm, inspired by the first Critical Tourism Studies Conference in Dubrovnik in 2005, the paper promotes 'a commitment to tourism enquiry which is pro-social justice and equality and anti-oppression' (Ateljevic et al., 2007:3; see also Pritchard et al., in press) and is dedicated to working 'against the exclusion and occlusion of under-empowered voices in our societies' (Richards et al., 2010:1098).

Contextualising the intersections between mobilities, migration, gender and hospitality

The 'new mobilities paradigm' and 'the mobility turn' in social sciences (Larsen et al., 2006; Sheller & Urry, 2004; Sheller & Urry, 2006; Urry, 2000) challenged the 'sedenterist' and 'nomadic' theories as well as influencing the way we analyse the world's complexities and social phenomena. The postmodern world is filled with multiple and intersecting groups of mobile actors with implications also on those immobile (Hannam et al., 2006). Migrants are part of these: they participate in performing a wide range of mobilities on the one hand, and experience immobilites on the other. Mobility of migrants is an ongoing process, which is unique to each individual, lacks stability and has implications for the inclusion of migrants.

Migrants are mobile actors as they actively and passively take part in and perform multiple mobilities; as they become transnational repeatedly circulating between their country of origin and destination, and beyond; as they perform tourism by travelling locally and globally, physically and virtually; as they re-locate voluntarily or involuntarily; as they make choices and as choices are made for them; as their social, legal, political and economic status continuously evolves; as they undergo upward and downward social mobility; as their identities gradually transform. Yet, they become immobile as they struggle to cross certain – real and transparent – political, social and economic borders and gain access to certain places, services and goods; as they attempt to improve their status; or as they challenge power relations. These '[d]ifferential mobility empowerments reflect structures and hierarchies of power and position by race, gender, age and class, ranging from the local to the global' (Tesfahuney, 1998:501).

Hence, mobilities 'progressively move beyond both geographical borders and also beyond disciplinary boundaries' (Sheller & Urry, 2006:210). According to Blunt (2007), '[a]lthough research on mobilities and migrations cannot be collapsed onto each other, there are many productive connections between them' (p.685). Migration studies are considered by Hannam, Sheller and Urry (2006) as 'crucial to the field of mobilities research' in that migration studies critique 'the bounded and static categories of nation, ethnicity, community, place and state'; highlight 'dislocation, displacement, disjuncture and

dialogism as widespread conditions of migrant subjectivity and 'nomadism''; and emphasise 'the complex interrelation between travel and dwelling, home and not-home' (p.10).

Borders are those places where the mobilities of some and immobilities of others are intensified. The 1st of May 2004 marked a momentous shift in trans-border mobility of the citizens of the eight CEE countries (i.e. Czech Republic, Estonia, Hungary, Latvia, Lithuania, Poland, Slovakia, Slovenia), also referred to as Accession 8 (A8), when on that day they joined the EU. Their accession to the EU lifted the transnational borders giving them immediate unlimited access to the labour markets of UK, Ireland and Sweden. From relatively immobile, limited by the borders, confined to short-term circulatory movements or illegal migration patterns (Wallace, 2002), they became hypermobile and transnational European citizens.

Although CEE countries have historically been countries of emigrants (Okólski, 2009), the consequences of the accession to the EU were to be particularly significant in terms of migratory movements as it began the gradual exodus of new EU citizens towards Western nations. According to the UK Home Office (2009), between 2004 and 2009 there were 989,085 applications approved for Worker Registration from A8 countries, with Polish migrants constituting 66% of the total. These were predominantly young people, with 81% aged 18–34 (Home Office, 2009). However, precise figures are difficult to obtain as the Home Office statistics are based on the Worker Registration Scheme and do not include those who work without contracts or those who resided in the UK pre-2004 (Janta et al., 2011; Tokarzewska, 2006).

Gender is also on the move (Creswell & Uteng, 2008) and women from A8 countries have actively participated in the phenomenon of mass mobilities post-2004, with the male to female ratio of 56:44 (Home Office, 2009). Over many decades, migrant women have been 'sociologically invisible' and 'absent' from migration literature (Morokvasic, 1983:13). They were mentioned only within the framework of the family or within stereotypical representations of migrant women as 'dependants, migrants' wives or mothers, unproductive, illiterate, isolated, secluded from the outside world and the bearers of many children' (Morokvasic, 1983:13). This changed once migrant women entered labour

markets and are since increasingly considered by scholars to have their own migration trajectories. Although still scarce, there is a growing number of publications on migrant women from the New Europe (edited publications include Kindler & Napierala, 2010; Slany, 2008; Slany et al., 2010). The disadvantaged position of female migrants in EU labour markets occupying stereotyped and gendered low paid positions has been also addressed (Adib & Guerrier, 2003; McDowell, 2005; Morokvasic, 1993). Mobilities are, therefore, 'heavily gendered' (Hannam et al., 2006:11). Creswell and Uteng (2008) argue that '[u]nderstanding the ways in which *mobilities* and *gender* intersect is undoubtedly complex given that both concepts are infused with meaning, power and contested understandings' (p.1) as well as being related to 'other formations of power including class, ethnicity and imperialism' (p.4).

Hospitality could be described as both a mobile and gendered sector characterised by seasonality, relying greatly on women and migrant workers, experiencing constant labour shortages and high staff turnover (Janta et al., 2011; Lyon and Sulcova, 2009). Hospitality jobs are often seen as 'low skilled, poorly paid, physically demanding, and viewed as low status' (Janta & Ladkin, 2009:5). Nonetheless, hospitality has become the second top sector for A8 citizens, employing 19% of the total (Home Office, 2009). Lyon and Sulcova (2009) point out a mismatch between A8 migrants' qualifications and hospitality jobs. According to the Equality and Human Rights Commission (2009), A8 migrants are 'overeducated for the jobs they perform – a distinct advantage in industries such as hospitality' (EHRC, 2009:24). Hospitality has provided an 'easy point of entry for migrants seeking work' (Janta & Ladkin, 2009:6), an aspect that has been 'relatively neglected by researchers' (Adib & Guerrier, 2003:414).

Women constitute the majority of those employed in low-paid hospitality jobs: 95% of receptionists, 76% of cleaners, 73% of kitchen and catering assistants, 74% of waiters and waitresses and 60% of bar staff (Equal Opportunities Commission, 2006:24). Guerrier and Adib (2000) highlight the very clear gender segregation in hotel jobs, both horizontal and vertical, with semi-skilled jobs for men, and traditionally constructed roles for women such as carrying out domestic tasks in a paid hotel environment (chambermaids) or delivering emotional labour (receptionists). Hotel work is often 'stigmatized because of its associations with personal servitude' and may be regarded as 'carrying a social taint because of this and thus may be defined as "dirty work"' (Adib & Guerrier, 2003:419).

Pritchard (2004) argues that the tourism industry 'tends to confirm and reinforce gendered roles and relationships and … remains founded on an army of poorly paid women performing paid versions of what has traditionally been constructed as "women's work"' (p.319). Female migrants in hospitality are often 'clustered in the lowest graded work in the hospitality industry' (Adib & Guerrier, 2003:420).

To summarise, the concepts and issues discussed above are interconnected and are key to understanding the multiple, complex and interacting (im)mobilities of CEE female migrants employed in hospitality as well as the significant role of their employment in accentuating these (im)mobilities.

Methodology

Participatory Action Research (PAR) and arts-based inquiry are transformative, emancipatory and empowering approaches that were applied in this study in order to gain a richer understanding of the complexities of CEE migrant women's experiences. By actively involving women and creating space for their voice, the project allowed scope for self-representation, self-reflection, inclusion and visibility as well as the opportunity to generate knowledge.

PAR, with Paulo Freire and Orlando Fals-Borda regarded as key contributors, is participatory and collaborative; action-based and practical; reflexive and critical; aiming to bring change to disadvantaged groups, promote awareness, self-reflection, learning and empowerment; combining research theory and practice; and is inherently flexible hence making each project unique (Barbour, 2008; Dick et al., 2009; Kemmis & McTaggart, 2005; McIntyre, 2008; Reason, 1998). The principles of Empowering Action Research (Hart & Bond, 1995) have also been embraced, particularly the focus on consciousness raising; fluid, open and negotiated membership; bringing 'bottom-up, undetermined and process-led' change where the outcomes and definitions of improvement are pluralist (Silver, 2008:108).

Arts-based inquiry is situated by Susan Finley (2005) within participatory critical action research and the postmodern framework of local usefulness, community involvement and political activism as goals. It is characterised by intertextuality, blurring the boundaries between art and research, redefining the researcher-participant relationship, merging of activist social science and narrative art forms, 'moving people to action' and effecting social change (Finley, 2005:686). Applying art forms in social research

can create 'multivocal, dialogical texts' through privileging participants' voices, their visibility and the complexities of their individual experiences as well as enabling to triangulate 'their voices with cultural texts', argues Maggie O'Neill (2010:98; see also O'Neill & Harindranath, 2006), and thus it can represent a means of 'transgressing conventional and traditional ways of analysing and representing research data' (p.98).

The outcomes of these approaches 'can inform, educate, remind, challenge, empower, and lead to action/interventions', according to O'Neill (2010:227). Yet, these methodologies are rarely used in the UK and are not often included in research methods textbooks other than development literature (O'Neill, 2010). Despite the potential for PAR and/or art-based inquiry to be applied in tourism studies, only a handful of studies have been encountered (e.g. Cole, 2006; Lee et al., 2003; Waser & Johns, 2003; Westwood, 2007). According to Waser and Johns (2003), action research 'seems hardly to have been discussed in the context of hospitality industry' (p.392). This paper shows the potential of the art-based PAR approach for migration and tourism studies in encompassing knowledge creation as well as promoting social justice and enabling participants' and researcher's co-transformation.

Research participants were recruited via both purposive and snowballing sampling. Purposive sampling allows selection of participants 'according to the project's goals' (Cronin, 2008:234) while snowballing sampling tends to be used for obtaining 'samples of numerically small groups such as members of minority ethnic groups' (Sturgis, 2008:179). In total, the group of research participants consisted of eleven CEE migrant women, which is a manageable number of participants in a PAR project: six from Poland, three from Latvia and two from Hungary. Eight women took part in creating their own artworks and the remaining three, due to time limitations or location, did not produce artworks but took part in interviews and other stages of the project. Participants were between 22 and 36 years old, reflecting the overall trend of mainly young A8 migrants (Home Office, 2009). All had lived in the UK at least two years and are or have been employed in hospitality. Their English language skills varied from communicative to fluent spoken and written. Education wise, five arrived to the UK with university education and the remaining six with A-levels. They constituted a mixture of artists (two part-time artists) and non-artists.

A range of qualitative methods was applied throughout the six-month project including: focus group and interview methods; a series of individual meetings focused on preparing the artworks and reflecting on participants' experiences; and artwork elicitation interviews – a method based on photo interview (Kolb, 2008) and photo-elicitation (Collier & Collier, 1986) – during which participants interpreted their artworks and evaluated the project. Employed in various roles across hospitality and tourism, participants often lead hectic and mobile lifestyles, and participation in the project, although challenging from a time perspective, enabled women to pause and reflect on their migrant lives, achievements and look into the future. It was also a part of my journey of transformation. It enabled me to understand my own migrant trajectory (as a migrant woman from Poland who arrived in the UK in 2004 upon graduation and worked in hospitality) and see it within a wider socio-political context, as part of a complex phenomenon of mass mobility from the New Europe.

The application of the arts-based PAR approach aimed to actively engage women in the research process, help them reflect on their migrant lives and dynamise them. The project culminated in eight wonderfully insightful and deeply reflective, multilayered and diverse artworks created by participants, giving insight into their lived experiences, mobilities and their evolving identities. This would not have been possible without their trust and commitment. The artworks were exhibited under the collective name of 'Accession 8 Female Artists' in October 2010 during the West Bristol Arts Trail, a 2-day community event where local artists open up their homes to the public and exhibit their artworks. The exhibition attracted over 200 visitors.

Participation in the project, creation of participants' artworks and their exhibiting gave participants a sense of self-representation, visibility and ownership of their stories. Participants, when asked whether they wanted their given names or pseudonyms to be used in published work, chose for their given names to be utilised expressing their wish to be acknowledged and to retain the ownership of their stories and artworks. Only one participant wished an initial to be used. The assumption about the desirability of anonymity has been challenged by Grinyer (2002) and addressed by Richards, Pritchard and Morgan (2010). The place of anonymity in qualitative research, its challenges and application in practice have been also discussed by Tilley and Woodthorpe (2011) (see also Piper & Simons, 2005).

Departures and arrivals: migrants on the road, in the air, in-between

Photograph taken by Tina

The theme of mobility, the motifs of journey, change and evolution emerged from many artworks and interviews, forming a range of individual trajectories representing interactive and multilayered mobilities experienced and performed by participants. The self-perception of oneself as being in-between, on the road and in transit seems to be inscribed in participants' lives. They arrived in the UK considering themselves temporary migrants, without any specific long term aims or a period of time they wanted to spend abroad. They are open to relocation and experience changes in all areas, in this way embodying the condition of 'liquid modernity' (Bauman, 2000).

This temporality and fluidity is represented in Tina's and Szilvia's artworks. Tina, a 22 year old from Latvia, sets her photograph (above) at a train station – a place in-between, a place of transit, and interprets it in the following way: 'the idea of this road and railway for me represent the idea of migration and the question of going away or staying, all the decisions and choices we make on the way, which I also went through … the road which is both moving away and coming back, all the emotions

and thoughts about it'. Describing her glass artwork (below), Szilvia, originally from Hungary, addresses the feelings of being in-between countries and cultures, and searching for 'new' roots:

> 'It's maybe more about our journeys, travels and that we are in-between. We are not from our country anymore; it's different for us because we don't live in that culture anymore. We live in another country but we are not a part of it either like an English person would be. Maybe it represents travels, journey. I love travelling. For example, the butterfly symbolises for me the freedom but also looking for a place to live, to have roots'.

Glass artwork made by Szilvia

Hospitality constituted an obvious choice for the newly arrived, with easily found low skill jobs and constant labour shortages. However, the continuously changing nature of the sector, further reinforced migrants' temporality and status instability resulting in increased spatial and occupational mobility. Lidia's artwork (below) constitutes an exemplar of shifting and intersecting (spatial, occupational and educational) mobilities in the life of a migrant. This map of mobilities, entitled 'Postcards to my family', represents her frequent spatial movement across the South West over the last six years. It corresponds to Lidia's shifting occupational mobility (both vertical and horizontal, upgrading and downgrading): from 'runner' in a countryside restaurant, waitress in a hotel restaurant promoted to a position of supervisor, temporary catering agency worker and housekeeper, to a waitress in numerous restaurants across Bath and Bristol. Furthermore, it characterises the learning curve in Lidia's life: improving English, writing

her dissertation, graduating from a Polish institution in Hospitality and starting a new degree in a UK university. Lidia's map shows different stages of her migration cycle (e.g. disappointment, enthusiasm, stabilisation). It is a map of a migrant's life experiences and a journey to the transformation of an individual.
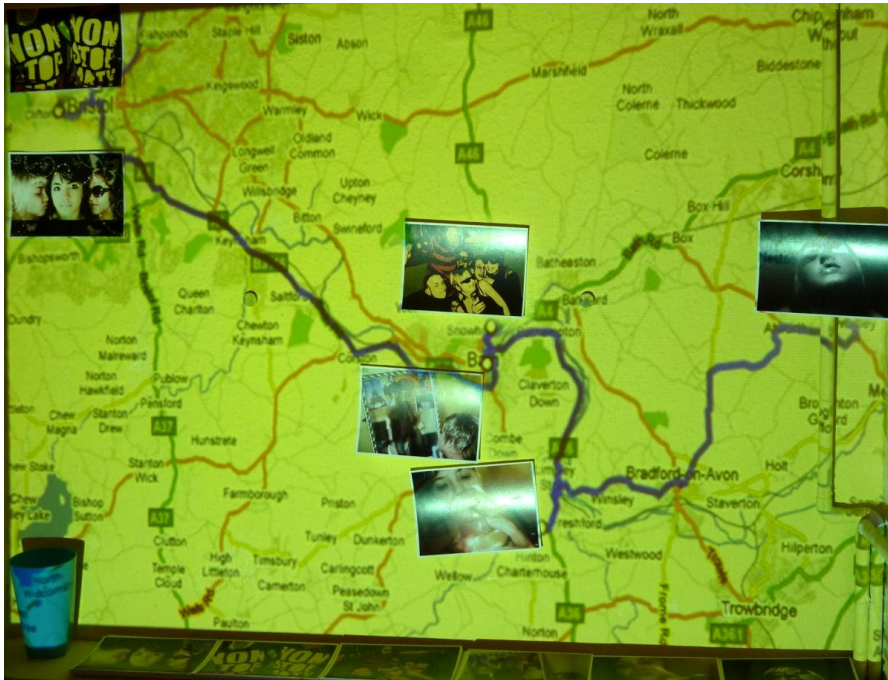
Lidia's map of mobilities

Like Lidia, since her migration, Signe has been on the move. She arrived from Latvia as a 19 year old with basic English and obtained her first job in fish processing in Scotland. After several months, she moved to Dublin and worked in a factory. She decided to fulfil her dream of becoming an air stewardess and successfully applied for a cabin crew position with a budget airline. Soon after, she was relocated to London Stanstead and stayed there for several years. Over the last four years she has worked from their Bristol base flying to a range of European destinations on a daily basis. Not only has she relocated within the UK and Ireland several times over the last six years, but she has also moved between multiple countries nearly every day, crossing transnational borders and being continuously 'in the air'. She enjoys this hypermobility, being a permanent tourist and surrounded by tourists.

The hypermobility of participants was also visible while working on the project: two participants relocated to other UK cities, others changed jobs or graduated from university. Participants' relatively

young age as well as advances in both technology and communication not only enabled but also fostered participants' multiple mobilities. Gaining financial independence was key in this process. Lidia recalls: 'We felt freedom, we earned our first money … even when we worked for the minimum rate, 10K a year and 48 hours a week, it was like heaps of money for us'. The UK minimum wage provided them with a lifestyle with which they were satisfied at that point of their lives and was attractive compared to salaries they could earn back in their countries. In a way, low paid hospitality jobs enabled them to achieve relative financial independence, personal freedom and mobility. They soon became migrant-tourists.

Mobility for leisure: the emergence of migrant-tourists

Participants consider travelling – mobility for leisure – as a key aspect of their lives. Gaining financial independence, experience of living abroad, knowledge of English and living in the era of a relative democratisation of travelling, led participants to discover tourism for themselves. They move not only between their country of origin and the destination country – as it is often perceived – but also between various European (and sometimes non-European) destinations. Several times a year most participants embark on trips across Europe inscribing themselves into culture of holidaying.

For Signe, migration is 'like freedom. In Latvia you can't do the things I'm doing here. I mean money wise. Here, you can do whatever you want. I love travelling. I've been in quite a few places: many places in Italy, Spain, Sicily'. Likewise, according to another participant, in the UK '[i]f you have a lower salary in my country, you can't really do anything. Here you can even travel, buy yourself stuff'. Despite being employed in low paid hospitality jobs, women could afford to travel.

Ironically, these passionate about travelling migrant-tourists are themselves immobile in their working environments. Working in 'transfer points' (Kesselring, 2006) and 'places of in-between-ness' (like hotels or airports), having regular contact with and being surrounded by people on the move, their role is to facilitate the mass mobility of others. Nonetheless, this immobile working environment plays a role in awakening participants' interest in travelling (e.g. hearing stories about customers' trips). By being part of the industry, they also become tourists and perform imaginative tourism. They participate in enabling the mass mobilities as well as being part of it: Signe as cabin crew is on the move and immobile at the same time. She participates in and facilitates the movement of others as well as is encouraged to travel by obtaining staff discounts for flights. Although, according to Hannam, Sheller and Urry (2006), this extensive and immobile network has been created 'mainly for the hypermobile elite' (p.6), participants, who provide for this elite, also utilise these immobile places of transition when on the move.

Therefore, employment in hospitality both mobilises employees by enabling them to gain a relative financial independence and – directly and indirectly – encouraging their leisure mobility as well as immobilising them by placing them within the immobile network of mass mobility and places of liminality. Hospitality also plays a role in encouraging as well as restricting participants' occupational mobility.

Vertical and horizontal occupational (im)mobility

Participants' fluidity and spatial mobility are interlinked with their occupational mobility. The seasonality and flexibility of hospitality employment encourage and facilitate employees' mobility. Their lack of attachment to the 'easy to find and easy to quit' jobs together with other factors (such as

staff turnover, low pay, lack of work contract), have resulted in all participants changing workplaces – voluntarily or involuntarily – at least several times since their arrival in the UK.

Fragment of Natalia's photo reportage

In two pages of her photo reportage (fragment above), Natalia, captured her occupational mobility. She changed her jobs often with both horizontal and vertical occupational mobility (and mix of downgrading and upgrading jobs). She first came to the UK as a seasonal worker in a porcelain factory during her summer holiday (photo 1). After finishing A-levels she came back and found employment in hospitality (represented in photo 2) – first as a housekeeper, then waitress in numerous places across Bristol. Several years later she left hospitality and moved to retail jobs (photo 3). She has now left retail to be a self-employed domestic cleaner whilst gaining new qualifications to become a self-employed therapist.

Kasia's history of relocations illustrates how spatial and occupational mobilities, inscribed in her life, are interconnected. She has been employed in hospitality nearly all of her time abroad since starting her migration journey in London. She then moved to Egypt to work as guest representative for six months. She returned to London to work in the same hotel for one year, before relocating to Bristol, where she spent over five years working in several hotels both in reception and reservations (mostly earning just above the minimum wage and staying in some workplaces only several months). Kasia's mobility has

been partially influenced by her experiences of the relatively unproblematic process of finding employment in hospitality and reflects the nature of hospitality employment. It also illustrates no attachment to her workplace or seeing no advantages of staying in one workplace for an extended period of time. At the time of working on the artwork, Kasia was just about to move to another city and make a new start. She was psychologically 'on the road' at that particular moment and this is manifested in her artwork. Despite her attempts to find employment in a different industry, the first position she found in the new city was as a minimum wage hotel receptionist, which she accepted. Moving jobs and cities, Kasia believes will bring about an improvement in her situation. However, these continuous changes have not resulted in higher wages or better jobs.

On the whole, despite significant occupational mobility within hospitality, it was horizontal rather than vertical. Participants' experiences show that it is relatively easy to move from one restaurant to another or one hotel to another. Yet, their vertical mobility was limited to only certain gendered roles (e.g. moving from housekeeper to waitress or supervisor positions). Limits to vertical occupational mobility within hospitality led to women – seeing no chance of improvement – wanting to leave the industry, with Kasia being one of them. Despite working in hospitality for many years and holding a Masters in Economics, she has found it difficult to get promoted. She did not feel appreciated at work and felt that hospitality did not offer opportunities for women like her, who stay there over a longer period and who once regarded employment in hospitality as their career choice. Signe, who began working for a budget airline as temporary non-contracted crew member, became a permanent employee after six months and then gradually moved from the lowest position in the cabin crew team (number 4) to become a supervisor (number 1). Having achieved that, she sees no further opportunities for promotion and has started to consider moving to another airline. Another participant, who was working as a waitress and then became a supervisor, admitted that after leaving this position, she had difficulties finding jobs because of being overqualified for waitress positions having worked as a supervisor and being a hospitality graduate and at the same time not being able to find another job as a supervisor.

Hospitality, therefore, as well as encouraging and facilitating participants' spatial and occupational mobility, often immobilises them in terms of vertical mobility as the options available for migrant

women are limited to stereotypical and gendered occupations and promotion, although possible, is restricted. It is difficult for women to leave hospitality having only worked in that one industry. It is also difficult to return to their countries with no professional experience gained apart from five years of working in a hotel or restaurant. Participants, therefore, found themselves highly mobile and immobilised at the same time. With little options available, many women end up staying in hospitality shifting from one workplace to another or move to retail or basic administrative jobs, like two of the participants.

Another approach adopted by participants was gaining new qualifications and seeing educational mobility as a life strategy**.** Hospitality made this educational mobility possible. One of the advantages of employment in hospitality is its flexible nature with constantly changing rota and employees working 'mobile' shifts. It is relatively easy to switch between full-time and part-time, reduce hours, swap shifts, work evenings, weekends while attending classes during week. This enabled participants to combine work with studies as all participants had to work while studying to be able to support themselves financially. Two participants came to the UK with the explicit aim of studying having applied before coming and both worked in hospitality while studying. Three women decided to study in a UK university after several years of living and working in the UK (either for first or second degree), two started one-year professional qualifications and others attended various short courses.

Conclusion

This paper explored a wide range of mobilities and immobilities inscribed in the lives of CEE female migrants, with hospitality being a 'mobile' actor in this fluid process and playing an (im)mobilising role in those movements. The application of the arts-based PAR approach allowed the capturing of a more holistic picture of female migrants working in hospitality. Through their artworks participants showed their understandings, interpretations and negotiations of their migrant trajectories. Participants' individual migration patterns and complex stories of mobility emerged both in their narratives of migration as well as their artworks allowing women to self-represent themselves. Participation in the project enabled women to pause and reflect on their lives, giving them an opportunity to evaluate their

experiences and achievements abroad. The discourse of change, re-location and journey is very present in participants' narratives. The concepts of mobility, transformation, being on the road and in-between often emerge in their artworks. Migrants experience them on a daily basis and mobility has become engrained in their lives: lives of transnational migrants, travellers and mobile workers providing tourism services for others on the move, women doing shift work, and continuously shifting between jobs and cities. They have performed and embraced varied fluid roles inscribing themselves into the condition of liquid modernity (Bauman, 2000).

The flexible nature of hospitality encouraged these mobilities allowing participants' to achieve a relative financial independence and facilitating migrants' educational, spatial and occupational mobility. However, this occupational mobility was liminal and limited to gendered and stereotypical occupations and once a certain level was achieved, there were no further opportunities. Those migrants who stayed in hospitality for a longer period and did not see the industry only as a 'transient one, as a stopover to something else' (Janta & Ladkin, 2009:13), were faced with few career prospects and decided to leave the industry. A Women 1st (2010) report on the situation of women in tourism and hospitality addresses significant underrepresentation of women in management, gender differences across occupations, the existing pay gap and an increasing number of women leaving the industry. However, no mention is made about female migrants' or minority women's situation in the industry, who often suffer from double discrimination and work in the lowest positions.

Undoubtedly, in the lives of the seemingly hypermobile group of CEE female migrants, appear immobilities. Although not visible instantly, they are experienced. Hospitality plays a role in enhancing their mobility as well as immobilising them. After several years of living on a 'see-how-it-goes' basis and without forward thinking, they realised that they had partially settled down in the host country; they realised that they do not want to return as they do not belong to their country anymore; they also realised that the experience they had gained working in (often deskilling) low paid hospitality jobs would not help them get a well paid skilled job back in their country. Invisibly and unconsciously they underwent a smooth transition from temporary and undecided migrants to semi-settled migrants who started to

develop roots and think less and less about return but who, at the same time, do not want to spend their lives working in hospitality as waitresses or receptionists.

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From Farm to Tourist's Table - Towards a Better Understanding of Grower-Tourist Relationship in South Pacific Microstates: the Case of Niue

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Introduction

Tourism is considered a key tool for creating opportunities for economic growth in Niue and many Pacific Microstates (WTO, 2006; Milne, 2005). For Niue and other Pacific Microstates that are faced with immense problems in their struggle for economic growth, tourism has the potential to promote agriculture development by boosting the demand for locally grown speciality products and increasing the amount of local food used in the tourist industry (Torres, 2002; MacDonald, 2001, p. 13; Milne and Mason, 2000; Telfer and Wall, 1996; Milne, 1997, 1992). The island nations recognise that it is their unique cultures, locations and natural resources that give them a competitive edge in the tourist market, a distinct profile for promotion and a well-defined focus for the traveller (Ayres, 2002, p. 147; WTO, 2001).

Studies have shown that millions of non-farming persons around the world yearn to make direct contact with farming and rural lifestyles (Adams, 2008, p. 16). There is an increasing interest by the 'new tourist' in 'food culture', organic agriculture and in 'little known' foods and crops (Trunfio et al., 2006; Hashimoto and Telfer, 2006; CTC, 2003, p. 3). The 'new tourist' and opportunities associated with food and culture provide Niue and other Pacific Microstates the option to increase the production of agriculture beyond the subsistence level in order to meet the demand for agriculture-related experiences and ensure the sustainability of tourism and agriculture (Trunfio et al., 2006; Deneault, 2002, p. 1).

The limited promotion and marketing budget for tourism in Niue and its limited accessibility is reflected in the relatively small numbers of tourists travelling to the island, in 2008 there were 4,748 visitors (Hall, 2009; Connell, 2007; De Haas, 2000, p. 168; Berno and Douglas, 1998). The research uses the case of Niue to provide a better understanding of the grower-tourist relationship in Pacific Microstates. The objectives of this paper are to: (i) review the supply of food- and agriculture-related experiences for tourism; (ii) discuss the tourism operators' linkages to growers.

Method

The researcher, with assistance from government officials, identified growers, tourism operators and village councils and organised interviews with them. Semi-structured interviews were conducted with 29 growers (N=29), 34 tourism operators (N=34), and discussions were held with 3 village councils (N=3) in Niue that were planning to offer agriculture and culture-based experiences for tourists in the near future. The researcher travelled to each grower, tourism operator and village council site and organised an appropriate time with them for the completion of the interview in order to 'put a Pasifika face' on the research in the minds of the participants and gain their support and commitment to the study (Anae, 2002). A pen and paper was used to note important points made during the interviews and afterwards the researcher typed up the notes. A tape recorder was not used as the objective was to make the interview as relaxed and informal as possible so that the interviewees can express their opinions freely without any stress or fear.

Difficulties can arise when conducting semi-structured interviews with growers and tourism operators in island nations. The scattered nature of stakeholders on Niue and their prejudiced perceptions related to the researcher's age, gender and background and the fear of sharing information did create initial obstacles in conducting interviews with some of the locals, although after careful explanation of the research's purpose and by having constant support of the government and senior Niueans, this barrier was minimised. Due to the small population size and closely knit society of Niue, the researcher had to be very mindful of 'rumours' on the island, always maintain a neutral stance, and avoid getting involved in the everyday personal lives of locals.

Findings/Discussion

Approximately 80–90% of the total food costs of tourism operators consist of imported food due to the inconsistent supply of local produce. Growers mainly practice subsistence agriculture and the supply of local produce fluctuates throughout the year due to season and weather patterns. The majority ($n=20$) of the growers that sell produce and food at the market or from home sell very little (1–10% of their total sales) to the tourism sector, i.e. to restaurant, café, shop and accommodation operators, or to tourists. The rest of the growers said that between 20 and 50% of their total sales is to tourism operators and tourists.

All the tourism operators use word of mouth to promote local produce and meals available on Niue. The tourism operators that serve food, especially restaurants and cafés but also to a limited extent shops, tour operators and accommodation owners, use small amounts of local produce in their businesses. The types of local produce purchased by operators include root crops, fruits and vegetables such as banana, pawpaw, tomato, cucumber and cabbages, eggs, fish and shellfish and very occasionally pork or chicken.

Tourists very seldom get opportunities to taste local dishes or eat locally grown produce due to limited local food options available at cafés, restaurants and accommodation places. Tourists often complained of not having local fruits for breakfast; for example, the menu at the only Resort on Niue consists mainly of cereals and imported, non-tropical canned fruits such as pear slices and peaches — the hotel very rarely provides fresh local tropical fruits such as pawpaw for breakfast. The remaining accommodation operators mainly provide a complementary pack which contains tea, coffee, sugar, milk and local fruits, depending on availability, to tourists when they first arrive on Niue.

Currently the meals offered by restaurant and café operators lack a range of local dishes — their menus mainly include fish and chips, burgers, panini wraps, salads, sandwiches, meat and vegetable curries, and Chow Mein. Restaurants and cafés are also unable to always provide all the dishes on their menus: dishes offered depend on the availability of ingredients, especially local fish as in the case of fish and chips. The café and restaurant operators said that they provided mainly café-style fast foods and

takeaways as they need to maintain a balance between the availability of ingredients, local produce and fish, the affordability of their menu for customers, especially locals, and their taste preferences, and the fluctuating number of tourist customers. The beverages provided by the restaurants and cafés are mainly soft drinks — again, local fruit juices and drinking coconuts are limited due to irregularity of supply and price. Currently only one café operator provides a local food buffet, on Tuesday nights, and they also offer locally prepared fish and chips on Friday nights - tourists can experience cultural performances as they fill their plates with locally prepared dishes.

Operators that conduct cultural tours on an ad hoc base highlighted that the activities revolved around the local lifestyle such as gathering food from the sea and the bush gardens. One tour operator provides bush-walk tours when there is sufficient tourist interest and numbers. While walking, he shares cultural information and stories with tourists about the use of traditional medicinal and edible plants, techniques of growing crops in the forest, building a temporary shelter, starting a fire, cooking food and survival skills required in the bush.

Currently growers that have small fruit and vegetable stalls along the roadside, located close to the village, very rarely sell local food and produce. The growers lack awareness and information on the types of activities and experiences they can provide for tourists and how they can benefit from the tourism industry. The growers pointed out that the government has not helped them in any way to promote their products and services to the tourism sector apart from the funding to construct and maintain a local market facility.

Recently villages have taken the initiative to provide local food- and agriculture-related experiences for tourists. Two villages (Lakepa and Avatele) have started renovating old school buildings and one (Hakupu) has nearly completed two self-contained units with funding assistance from donors through the government and from Niueans living overseas. Villagers are looking at providing village-based activities when the renovation and construction of the accommodation is complete. In particular, there will be a focus on providing local produce cooked in traditional ways.

Also the villages are working on the maintenance of sea tracks and scenic sites and constructing signposts to historical sites but lack funding from the government. A family from Lakepa village has been awarded funds through the government to establish a botanical garden that will consist of a local natural bush area and fruit trees for interpretive walks and relaxation. Hakupu village has a conservation forest area that has been established and funded by the government and the villagers are planning to develop forest-related activities for tourists. Mutalau villagers said that they have started work on producing locally pressed coconut oil with funds from the government for tourists to purchase. Also government funding has assisted the Mutalau villagers to construct a shade-house to raise seedlings and revive food crops and ornamental plants. These are used in a sustainable land-management project that involves 50 acres of land being developed for farming and for providing agricultural training and skills to youths. The farm can be used for agriculture-related tours and activities for tourists in the future.

Lakepa village has a website that is used to communicate and share information with Niueans living overseas (http://www.lakepa.nu) and they hope that in the future they will be able to upgrade the site to promote their village-based activities and products. 'Show days' are a village-based activity which provide an opportunity for tourists to experience agriculture, food and culture-related activities. On show days villages sell local dishes and handicrafts and exhibit local produce. Opportunities for tourists to experience show days are limited because information is not readily available — tourists on the island seldom hear about village events via word of mouth or receive personal invitation from local friends. Show days can also provide tourists the opportunity to experience cultural performances and traditional sports such as village-style golf, 'slippery pig', and weaving and coconut husking-competitions. The Mutalau village hosts another village-based activity, the 'fishing-day', where tourists can experience traditional methods of collecting shellfish and catching fish such as pole fishing, and canoe competitions. Tourists are seldom aware of this because information is not readily available — currently tourists on the island largely 'stumble' on the activity rather then being able to plan in advance for the event.

Conclusion

The supply of food and agriculture-related experiences for tourists and tourism operators' linkages to growers on Niue are minimal to virtually non-existent. Currently the high proportion of imported food for tourist consumption means that there is a commensurate loss of both foreign exchange and opportunity to expand and diversify the local food-production and processing sectors, including potential employment and income (Sims, 2009; Telfer and Wall, 1996). The failure of growers to cater for the demands of local food required by tourism means that they are missing out on the economic benefits offered by the industry (Berno and Oliver, 2010; Telfer and Wall, 1996; Belisle, 1983). Local food products are a particularly effective means of creating an image of a place because they can be linked to the kind of 'traditional' landscape and farming methods that tourists will 'gaze' upon during their holiday (Sims, 2009; Skuras et al., 2006; Canoves et al., 2004). Recommendation includes the need for growers and tourism operators to strengthen the linkages with each other in order to supply local food- and agriculture-related experiences for tourists.

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Hotels and the Size of their Workers

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Abstract

The idea that workers embody the brand is placing increasing emphasis on the personal and cultural attributes of employees. The drive towards aesthetic labour, which focuses on "particular embodied capacities and attributes that appeal to the senses of customers" (Warhurst & Nickson, 2007, p. 103), has the potential for a new form of discrimination based on appearance, "lookism" (Oaff cited in Warhurst & Nickson, 2007).   With modern Western society's focus on the thin ideal, there are implications for the increasing number of people who are deemed overweight or obese especially in industries such as hospitality, an aesthetic industry concerned with style and appearance.

This paper sought to examine the "face of" 35 major hotels in the business district of Sydney through their online promotional videos, with particular reference to the size of employees. Images of hotel staff were categorized by perceived size, age, ethnicity, gender and occupational role. In total there were images of 112 staff, primarily in front-of-house roles. Of those whose ethnicity was apparent, most were Caucasian. The images were overwhelmingly of slim workers who were under the age of 40. The few who were judged as slightly larger than

the norm were older men in the role of "doorman", exemplifying the "portly" British gentleman in top hat and tails or military uniform opening the door of a 4-5 star hotel. The question arises: are Sydney hotels employing only slim staff or are they presenting only their slim staff as the "face of" the hotel. Whatever the answer, the message portrayed to guests and the existing and potential labour pool remains the same: the brand values slimness. There are moral implications when hotels discriminate either in employment or promotional message.

Introduction

Tourism representations, like all representations, are created, filtered and mediated through cultural and ideological structures (Ateljevic & Doorne, 2002; Pritchard, 2001). Meanings which are produced and consumed by tourism imaging represent certain ways of seeing reality; images reflect and reinforce particular societal relationships which are grounded in relations of power, dominance, and subordination which characterise the global system (Morgan & Pritchard, 1998). Indeed tourism imagery has power to construct norms regarding the tourist experience (Jordan & Fleming, 2005; Morgan & Pritchard, 1998) and *also* those who are employed in the tourism industry. In addition to age, gender and ethnicity, the body size of people in the images has been investigated in a few of the representational studies. If the representation of people in advertising material reflects the image the organisation would like to present, then one can conclude overweight or obese people are not part of that image. A study of 408 images of people in 12 issues of inflight magazines (Small, Harris & Wilson, 2008) found that with one exception all the images of people were slim to medium build. Small and Jordan's (2008) study of tourist images in Australian and British women's lifestyle magazines similarly found that tourists presented in the images were slim build. However, the issue of body size (especially the *obese* body) has not been addressed in any depth in tourism representation studies or tourism studies in general. The exception to the latter is the study by Small and Harris (2009) which examined airline travel experiences of obese and non-obese passengers and airlines' policies regarding obesity and travel.

Most of the studies which have examined representation of people have looked at the tourist, but the workers also represent the image of the organisation. The idea that workers embody the brand is placing increasing emphasis on the personal and cultural attributes of employees. The drive towards aesthetic labour, which focuses on "particular embodied capacities and attributes that appeal to the senses of customers" (Warhurst & Nickson, 2007: 103), has the potential for a

new form of discrimination based on appearance, "lookism" (Oaff cited in Warhurst & Nickson, 2007).   "Appearance" covers many aspects including clothing, grooming, bone structure, hair and eye colour, and body size. With modern Western society's focus on the "thin ideal", body size has become an important component of appearance. Thus, there are implications for the increasing number of people who are deemed overweight or obese especially in industries such as hospitality, an aesthetic industry concerned with style and appearance. Publicity about the suspension of overweight flight attendants in the airline sector clearly indicates that looks are important and reflect "how much customers want their Diet Coke served by someone who looks svelte in a uniform" (jaunted.com, 2011). This paper sought to examine the hotel sector and the representation of hospitality employees, with particular reference to body size.

Research Design

Images of hotel staff in online promotional videos of 35 major 3-5 star hotels in the business district of Sydney were categorised by perceived size, age, ethnicity, gender and occupational role. Critical Discourse Analysis (CDA) (supported by authors such as Fairclough, 1993; Van Dijk, 1984; Wodak & Meyer, 2001) was the method and framework used to analyse the online promotional videos. In CDA, researchers make visible the social construction of all texts and demonstrate the interconnectedness of things (Wodak, 2001). Indeed, as Hannam and Knox (2005, p. 23) concur, discourse analysis "is not just interested in what is within the text itself but also in what has been left out and the 'secret' meanings that are not obvious". According to Wodak (2001, p. 2), as a method to analyse text and media, CDA is especially interested in the relationship between language and power: "CDA aims to investigate critically social inequality as it is expressed, signaled, constituted, legitimised and so on by language use (or in discourse)". Van Dijk (2003, p. 352) describes it as "a type of discourse analytical research that primarily studies the way social power abuse, dominance, and inequality are enacted, reproduced, and resisted by text and talk in the social and political context". CDA has been used in tourism studies to understand the underlying cultural and social meanings and messages that texts (brochures, signs, magazines and guidebooks) may represent (e.g. Cockburn-Wooten, Friend, & McIntosh, 2005; Dann, 1996; Hannam & Knox, 2005) but it has not been used to any great extent in hospitality studies (Harris, Tregidga & Williamson, 2011).

Although there is no *one* way to conduct CDA, for the purposes of this study, we adopted Fairclough's (1993) three-dimensional model for critical discourse analysis approach: (1)

analysis of the text; (2) discursive practice; and (3) sociocultural practice. The first dimension, analysis of the text (the website content), focused on the images of hotel staff through simple content analysis. The second dimension, discursive practice, considered wider issues of how the websites and the images featured are produced, distributed and consumed. The third dimension, socio-cultural practice, involved consideration of these practices enabling richer interpretation of the ideologies supporting the discursive practice. This extended the analysis to the context around the content: the interests, power bases and motivations of the various players behind the images.

Findings and Discussion

Analysis of the text

In total, there were images of 112 staff, primarily in front-of-house roles (31% Front desk; 24% Bar; 15% Restaurant). There were more images of men (58%) than women. Of those whose ethnicity was apparent, most were Caucasian. The images were overwhelmingly of slim workers who were judged to be under the age of 40. Of the 106 staff for whom size could be judged, 91% were evaluated to be a slim build; the remaining 9% were slightly larger. Some of these were older Caucasian men in the role of "doorman" and comprised half of the images of doormen. These "portly" gentleman doormen in British costume of top hat and tails or military uniform reflected the accepted culture found in many 5 star hotels. No image portrayed a person of a size considerably overweight or obese.

Discursive practice

Our analysis considered the question: to whom are these website images speaking? Furthermore, with which employees (including potential labour pools) and customers are the hotels seeking to establish a relationship through the production of these particular images and messages – packaged under their names? It is important to extend analysis beyond the audience of the websites to also critique the "representers"; only then can such analyses reveal underpinning discourses and networks of power (Aitchison, 2000). Hotel websites typically signal a strong brand presence; communicating the values and standards of the hotel while providing information about its products, services and the company itself. The websites also convey an invitation to the public, to join them as either staff or a guest. The design of the website and the images used make clear the type of person that the designers and hotel executives welcome in the hotel (for example, "guests from all continents", or "a multicultural workforce") and who they consider worthy of representing their brand image. The absence of

certain types of people (for example, overweight/obese people) implies that the hotel is not speaking to them; they are not invited or welcome in the hotel.

Sociocultural practices

Our exploratory findings do not explain why there are so few overweight people in the hotel promotional videos. However, contemporary socio-cultural practices provide a context for preliminary discussion about the findings. It is suggested, that to understand the absence of overweight or obese hospitality workers in the hotel images requires an understanding of Western societal discourses on beauty ("the tyranny of slenderness" - Chernin, 1983) and health and fitness, situated within contemporary neo-liberal culture. In both discourses the overweight or obese body is a serious contravention at this historical time when the presentation of the body has become so central to our sense of identity and self (Pritchard & Morgan, 2011). In Western society there is much stigma against those who contravene body-size ideals. Obesity is perceived to be a matter of choice (Hilbert, Rief & Braehler, 2008). Those who are obese are considered to have lack of will power and poor self-discipline (Puhl & Brownell, 2001) and consequently elicit disgust from others (Vartanian, 2010). Burrows (2009, p.130) argues that the "allure of the obesity discourse" is readily understandable in the Western context where it is aligned with neoliberal discourses which emphasise "self-responsibility, free choice, autonomy, the knowledge economy, lifestyle and consumption". Within this context, the association of overweight /obesity with being unhealthy also carries moral "weight" and is thus more than a physical health issue.

In the context of employment, many employers are seeking to create congruence between employee appearance and corporate image, hence, as stated by Warhust and Nickson (2007), only those workers with the right appearance are employed. The drive towards aesthetic labour has a new exclusionary potential, through "lookism". As Oaff (2003, p. 7) states bluntly, "If your gender and your race haven't kept you off the short list, your physical appearance still might". Empirical research conducted over 30 years has found evidence of weight-based bias in the workplace demonstrating that a negative relationship exists between peoples' bodyweight and a wide range of evaluative workplace outcomes (Roehling, 2002; Rudolph, Wells, Weller, & Baltes, 2009; Zhdanova, Baltes, Chakrabarti, Finkelstein, Roehling, & Sheppard, 2007). Reviews of weight-based discrimination (Roehling, 1999; Puhl & Brownell, 2001) found evidence for discrimination at nearly every stage of the employment process, including selection (Klesges, Klem, Hanson, Eck, Ernst, O'Laughlin, 1990), compensation (Baum &

Ford, 2004), and promotion (Boridieri, Drehmer, & Taylor, 1997).   One might expect to find this even more so in the context of the hospitality industry which is an aesthetic industry, concerned with style and appearance, where employees are part of the branding, referred to by Zeithaml and Bitner as "walking billboards" (2003, p.318).

Studies of hospitality employers (e.g. Martin & Grove, 2002) stress the importance of "pride in appearance" as criteria for the hiring of entry-level hospitality industry employees. It may be that employers equate "lack of will power" and "poor self-discipline" (perceived characteristics of people who are overweight/obese) with *lack of* pride in appearance. In other words, if the employee had pride in appearance then he or she would be self-disciplined to maintain an ideal body weight. It may be for this reason that the obese candidate is considered unsuited for hotel work (and absent from the hotel images). Or, perhaps, the job criteria for "pride in appearance" is a smokescreen for aesthetic labour where a perfect environment of marble bathrooms, fluffy towels, king sized beds calls for *perfectly* sized people. Research into weight bias has found that overweight people are seen as unattractive (Harris, Harris, & Bochner, 1982), aesthetically displeasing (Wooley & Wooley, 1979), alienated from their sexuality (Millman, 1980) and of a lower socio–economic status (Sobal & Stunkard, 1989). These characteristics are not likely to represent the image the hotel wants to present.

While the "thin ideal" has traditionally been associated with women, men are becoming more body size conscious. Nonetheless, our findings showed that it is still acceptable for the older male in the role of doorman to be of larger size. Certainly findings have suggested that women are more likely than men to perceive that they have been discriminated against in the workforce and that it is their weight which is the basis for discrimination (Roehling, Roehling & Pichler, 2007).

Conclusion

Presenting an image of hospitality as the domain of thin workers does not reflect the real world where guests and workers are often larger than the "thin norm" portrayed. The image presented in the images is narrow considering that the World Health Organization (2006) estimates that "globally in 2005 approximately 1.6 billion adults (age 15+) were overweight and at least 400 million adults were obese". Statistics show that in many countries obesity rates are accelerating and will "continue to rise" (Sassi, 2010, p. 16). In Australia which has high obesity rates relative to most OECD countries (Sassi, 2010), 72 % of the population are predicted to be

overweight or obese by 2025 (Corderoy, 2011). The question arises: are hotels only employing slim staff or are they only presenting their slim, "attractive" staff, performing front line roles, as the "face of" the hotel. Whatever, the answer, the message portrayed to guests and the existing and potential labour pool is that there is no place for the fat body in public (unless you are a doorman!). We suggest that hotels are not immune from the moral judgements made in other sectors of society of what is, and what is not, an acceptable body size.

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Young British Women and Wine: Pre-loading is Safe Drinking!

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Abstract

Purpose – *This paper forms part of a larger PhD study at the University of Wales Institute Cardiff, entitled Alcohol Related Attitudes, Cultures and Behaviours in Young Adults; Challenging Perceived Wisdoms. The purpose of this work-in-progress paper is to investigate the reasoning behind pre-loading with wine amongst young British females between the ages of 18 and 30.*

Design/methodology/ approach – *Two groups of young female adult alcohol consumers were identified. The participants in group one were aged between 18 and 30 and were either studying at degree level or had completed a degree; the participants in group two were aged between 18 and 30 and had never studied or completed at degree level. 650 questionnaires were completed, 325 in each sample group. Follow up focus groups will be carried out with representatives from each group.*

Findings –*The results suggest that pre-loading is not always an issue related to safe consumption habits, instead it may relate to the issue of personal safety and security. Furthermore, there are distinct differences of gender when the consumption of wine is considered within pre-loading and the public consumption arena.*

Practical Implications – *More, accurate information should be available if personal safety and security of consumers is to be increased within the public consumption arena. The perception that personal safety and security is more important than heavy wine-consumption may be leading to harmful behaviour on the part of young British females.*

Originality value – *This paper produces new insights into current wine drinking behaviours in differing groups of young British female adults aged between 18 and 30. Specifically it compares behavioural norms between graduate and non-graduate populations*

Keywords – Young Female Adults, Education, Wine consumption behaviours, Pre-loading

Paper type – Working Paper

Introduction.

As Ritchie *et al.,* (2009a) identifies, drinking habits are changing, particularly within the female population. One of the more noticeable factors of change is the increase in 'pre-loading'; that is; drinking at home before an evening out. One of the emerging themes from this Ph.D study indicates that the act of pre-loading by women, usually involving the consumption of wine (Ritchie 2007), is not carried out purely with the intention of getting drunk before going out. Instead many saw it as being socially inclusive as well as a personal safety and security measure. The act of pre-loading allowed for the consumption of alcohol/wine which relaxed and invigorated the women at the same time enabling them to enter the public consumption arena and consume only one or two more alcoholic drinks, and in many cases to consume no more alcohol during the night out. When this issue was investigated further it became apparent that this practice was not always intended to help them consume less it was to ensure that their motor skills and judgement were not so impaired that they placed themselves at risk of attack from other revellers or from those in positions of trust.

When carrying out alcohol consumption related research some previous studies (Broadbear *et al.,* (2000); Clapp *et al.*, (2000); Pincock, (2003)) have concentrated on the amount consumed, looking for binge-drinking or anti-social drinking, rather than looking for patterns relating to where and why alcohol is consumed in certain arenas. This research is part of a wider Ph.D study investigating alcohol-related behaviours in young British adults. A particular feature of the Ph.D is an attempt to develop more robust methodological approaches to address some of the data issues surrounding this population. This work-in-progress paper discusses the results of the first round of data collection. It identifies issues of particular wine consumption behaviour in relation to personal safety and security by young female wine consumers in the UK which have not previously been identified.

Contextualising the Ph.D: The basic differences of gender consumption habits

For several years the alcohol consumption habits of young British adults has been a subject of interest for both the academic research fraternity (Graham & Wells, 2003; Hassan & Shiu, 2007; Burkett, 2007; Bellis *et al*, 2010; Ritchie *et al,* 2009a&b) and the wider worldwide media (USA Today 2010; The Mail, 2011; BBC News 2010).   This type of research is partial (Goldacre, 2009) in that it has concentrated primarily on the societal and medical harms brought about by anti-social drinking behaviours and has failed to fully consider the perceived positive outcomes some sections of the young British adult community display especially when considering wine consumption. Over-consumption of alcohol and alcohol-related harm is a serious problem which is being studied by Governments, medical professions and academics such as Richman (2005). Whilst accepting that this is a serious issue it is not the purpose of this research to investigate alcohol-related harms *per se.*

Ritchie (2007) identified differing gender attitudes towards wine purchase and consumption amongst British consumers, in particular those differences that affect the young British adult. Within the public consumption arena the choice of alcoholic drink and the amount consumed is directly related to the masculinity of the young consumer (Fox, 2004; Hunt *et al* 2005). Wine is often seen as a drink not suited to the image of the young male consumer, except where a sit down meal is being consumed (Ritchie, 2007). Females have a much larger choice of drinks as their consumption of "*non-masculine*" drinks is considered acceptable by male counterparts (Fox, 2004). Historically, within the UK, females have been the calming voice of abstention in matters of alcohol consumption. However, whilst Rocha-silva (1996:5) suggested that "*gone are the days when young girls used to cook like their mothers, nowadays they drink like their fathers"* Ritchie (2009) and Pratten & Carlier's (2010) work suggests that this is a rather

simplistic view, instead the empowerment of women within the workforce may be impacting on traditional pub drinking cultures and may well be one of the reasons for the increased wine consumption in public houses and gastropubs (Mintel, 2010). Other research (e.g. Ritchie *et al* 2009b) suggests another factor in both increased wine consumption and potential harms may be related to the size of glasses used and the ABV value of the wine consumed. This is an issue that the wine trade have taken on-board and there is much discussion about how this issue can be addressed (WineAustralia, 2010: Wineanorak, 2011)

What is Safe Drinking?: The paradoxes of pre-loading.
According to Flatley *et al* (2010) young women in the UK reporting being attacked after a night out has almost tripled from the 2000 figures. These attacks are both physical and sexual and most commonly occur in night-time venues and on the journey home. As Hassan and Shui (2007) and Ritchie (2011) discuss, pre-loading is often seen by women as a safe drinking behaviour in relation to personal safety. Although the consumer is euphoric (Olsen *et al.*, 2007: Ritchie *et al.,* 2009a) when they enter the public arena, by drinking very little they maintain and reduce the risks associated with being drunk in a late night venue.

The social inclusiveness of wine (Ritchie 2009, 2011), the sharing of a bottle, means that women see the consumption of wine before an evening out as a socially inclusive act which reduces inhibitions and helps to achieve the "*buzz*" that Olsen *et al* (2007) describe. As Ritchie's (2009, 2011) studies have shown young male adults in Britain typically pre-load on beer rather than wine. Reflecting the work of Olsen *et al* (2007) and Ritchie (2011) pre-loading by young women, particularly on wine, was to share, to reduce social inhibition but also to increase the personal; safety of the participants (Ritchie *et al,* 2009b).

Therefore, there are two paradoxes identified by this resaerch. The first being, as noted above, wine is increasingly seen as a social drink, because of the perceived risk it can be substituted in public social situations with other alcoholic alternatives such as beer and spirits, particularly late at night. There is therefore a separation in the way that wine is perceived: at one point it is a social activity (not really 'drinking' wine); the 'drinking' comes later. This attitude reflects the duality that Ritchie (2009) identified in relation to buying wine with the grocery shop and the misperceptions of alcohol consumption identified in immigrant communities (Kreft; Ritchie, 2009). It may be that wine bought to pre-load is a not-buying, not-drinking private activity. The second paradox is that 'safety' is seen almost entirely in terms of personal safety. As previously discussed, whilst females assume that they are considering their personal safety when pre-loading they may fail to understand the actual number of units being consumed which may lead to alcohol consumption harms, both currently and for the future. A pilot study (Ritchie *et al.,* 2009a (same methodology)) showed that there is almost no recognition of the medical risks being taken. More interestingly, it also showed that women seemed less concerned about these risks, perhaps because they were seen as something for later life and not presently relevant.

Methodology
This Ph.D aims to build on the pilot project with a much larger sample, taking the results of the pilot onboard in both questionnaire and focus group design. The purpose is to investigate in much further depth the perceptions and attitudes of the respondents towards alcohol consumption by using both quantitative and qualitative methods. Corbetta (2003), Greene *et al* (2005) and Saunders *et al* (2008) all suggest that using a mixed-method approach to social inquiry can generate a better understanding than a single-method approach. If used correctly both methods of data collection compliment each other and give validity to the end results

ensuring production of a comprehensive study supporting the theories and recommendations developed. This 'multi-stage sampling' allows for deeper insights into the motivations for the reported consumption habits of the respondent.

Study Design
Results from the pilot study were partially reported in Ritchie *et al.,* (2009 a&b). These initial results have been used to inform the design of the main survey; in particular, ensuring adequate coverage of the study groups. The focus remains on gender differences, and variations between student and non-student populations.

The population sample consisted of 625 females aged between 18 and 30 within the UK. Within this sample there are differing social networks. These networks are based upon employment commitments, level of education, level of personal life responsibility and disposable income. Within the quantitative research was non-probability sampling using the purposive sampling system (Denscombe, 2005). This is defined as identifying suitable places where it is likely possible respondents would be located, such as universities and large employers. To ensure balanced data, students respondents were limited to 25% with post-graduates again limited to a further 25% of the overall respondents, the final 50% of respondents were aged 18 to 30 in work with no academic Higher Education qualifications. Due to the personal nature of some of the questions it was felt that the use of electronic questionnaire systems, such as checkbox, was not appropriate. As discussed by Richie *et al* (2009a) some individuals were deemed unsuitable for inclusion: having children less than 14 years of age living in the family home and pregnant women.

In understanding drinking cultures there is a need to understand the individual's motivations, needs and wants concerning their own consumption and how this may impact upon the research process. Coolican (1999) when discussing an individual's likelihood of giving honest responses to personal questions concerning drug/alcohol use indicates that the need to lie and under-estimate their real motives or usage of certain substances may over-ride any intrinsic predisposition to honesty. However, when considering alcohol consumption, Mason (2004) and Hunt *et al* (2005) suggest that young people are likely to over-estimate their consumption. It is considered that another benefit of multi-stage sampling is that it assists in identification of inaccurate reporting if it has taken place and action can be taken to compensate for this. Pragmatically, it is accepted that it is not possible to eliminate all inaccuracies. The quantitative data was analysed using SPSS whereas the qualitative data will be organised using normal qualitative methods which may include computer based programmes such as NVIVO.

Study one data collection was carried out in September 2010 within six locations throughout the UK: Plymouth, Oxford, Cardiff, Aberystwyth, Manchester and Newcastle, with an even sample distribution within each location. During stage one quantitative research methods were used; both quantitative and qualitative methods will be used in the full data collection. Quantitative research, in the form of questionnaires, was the primary method used as it allowed for a systematic approach to, and analysis of, the information gathered. This will be followed up via qualitative data collection (focus groups) convened from a sample of the participants of the quantitative data collection phase (multi-stage sampling) (Saunders *et al.,*2008) Preliminary results will be available in July 2011.

Conclusion
This work has identified the dual paradoxes of wine drinking amongst women: the perception of drinking/not drinking, and the consideration of safe/not safe. This is an important topic as

government guidelines are based upon some of these same (mis)conceptions. The wider research, of which this is a part, shows that there is a need to better understand the paradox of perceptions of sophistication and the actuality of heavy wine usage amongst young British women. Understanding current consumption habits and the psychological reasoning behind such behaviours may lead to the development of effective information campaigns to assist governments and the wine trade to support the development of moderate drinking behaviours in young female adults. The research to date also shows that there is a need to better understand perception of alcohol consumed, actual alcohol consumed and safe levels of alcohol consumption. It is anticipated that more robust conclusions will be identified as the research continues through the second round of data collection. This knowledge could also form the basis of further work into the development of moderate alcohol-related consumption behaviours and cultures within all young adult populations.

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The Sanitization of Colonial History; the Case of Macau

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The Sanitization of Colonial History: The Case of Macau

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Abstract

Macau was founded by the Portuguese in the mid-16th century and the centuries of Portuguese colonial rule that preceded its handover back to China in 1999 gave it a distinctive character which sets it apart from any other Chinese city. The imprint of the colonial history of Macau is at the root of its attractiveness as a cultural tourism destination. Yet, as argued in this paper, not all the 'colonial history products' of the territory are readily offered to tourists; this seems to apply in particular to some historical events that were confrontational. Through interviewing Macau tour guides, it was found that the sensitive episodes of Macau's colonial history are perceived as not being fully compatible with the 'tastes' of most tourists and that some historical events are intentionally neglected in the interpretation of Macau presented to tourists. While a review of the literature suggests that the colonial history today is sold as part of the tourism product and contributes to tourists' arrival, the majority of informants of this research said that they preferred not to mention at all the colonial history of Macau. This seems to be particularly the case when the audience is from Mainland China, which for the last five years has been the source of the largest segment of visitors.

Key words: interpretation, tour guides, colonial history, Macau

Introduction

The mediation by the tourism industry of the history of territories with contentious pasts has received little attention in the academic literature. Although recently, with the growing interest in studying "dark tourism", some research has taken note of the political manipulation of the historical discourses produced for tourists about the so-called "dark tourism attractions", such as genocide sites, battlefields, burial-grounds and fortresses (Lennon & Foley, 2000; Long & Reeves, 2009; Muzaini, Teo, & Yeoh, 2007; Piekarz, 2007; Ryan, 2007; Teo & Yeoh, 1997), these studies focus nevertheless centers on the overall management, marketing, or tourists' motivational perspectives. Relatively few studies have explored the symbolic interactions between historical discourses and tourists' prior preconceptions of a site and how it impacts the historical narratives presented to the public. A few notable exceptions on colonial and slavery tourism take this perspective (Buzinde & Santos, 2009; Palmer, 1994). Their research loci are places that today belong to the developing world which they were former colonies in the past of today the developed countries and the majority of tourists visiting them are still from these

affluent industrialized countries. This paper offers insight into how historical narratives of a former colonial territory in China, the Macau Special Administrative Region, are constructed, negotiated and reconstructed by the agency in charge of tourism promotion and by the local tour guides.

Information about Macau

Macau is a small city with more than four centuries of history as a Portuguese settlement under colonial rule. Its exceptionally long colonial history did not end with independence as what the case for the other Portuguese colonies; the territory instead reverted to China in 1999. With the inscription of its heritage sites into the UNESCO World Heritage list in July 2005, Macau became better profiled as a cultural heritage destination while it was also at the time gaining a growing fame as the Las Vegas of the East after the gaming concession right was opened to international gaming groups in 2002. The old colonial buildings and historical places, as well as Macanese food delicacies are the main highlights of visitations under the heritage theme. With an area of only 29.5 square kilometers, Macau received some 21.7 million tourists in 2009. Mainland China is the dominant source market, accounting for more than 10 million arrivals (50.5%), followed by Hong Kong with 6.7 million arrivals (31.0%) and Taiwan with 1.3 million arrivals (5.9%). Together, greater China contributes thus more than 87% of all arrivals. In other words, it is mostly the relatively affluent Chinese tourists who visit the former Portuguese colonial territory.

Palmer (1994) documents how a former British colony, the Bahamas, uses its colonial past to promote itself to tourists as a quaint "ex-British" exotic paradise. As will be shown, unlike other former colonial territories whose colonial *history* is highly promoted for drawing tourists, Macau to the contrary, downplays its colonial history. Undoubtedly the Portuguese settlement and the colonial heritage contribute to Macau's cultural legacy and it is at the root of the UNESCO's inscription; yet, as will be discussed below and evidenced from the governmental promotional material and the excerpts from the interviews of the tour guides, it is the multicultural diversity and exchanges that are emphasized and advertised rather than the colonial history.

This paper begins with a review of interpretations of heritage places, subsequently followed by an evaluation of Macau's historical narratives as broadcasted by the government. It then uses primary data derived from thematic interviews with local tour guides to identify what attributes affect the historical narratives of the former colonial territory, particularly, how and why some

historical topics are selected or avoided. In particular whether the guides' selection and interpretation of history differs between tourists of different origins is examined. Since the interaction between the tourist and the historical reality of Macau is often mediated by tour guides, how much and how deeply the tourists will learn about its history depends on what is made known by the guides, although tourists themselves may have some preliminary understanding of the city prior their arrivals and can also use the limited textual or audio-visual depictions available at a few nuclei. The tour guides act as expert informants who are acutely aware of tourists' reactions to various accounts of history.

Macau exercises a relatively strict control over the quality of product knowledge of tour guides. Anyone who wishes to work as a tour guide in Macau is by law required to attend a 180-hour tour guide training program exclusively offered by the governmental agency, the Institute for Tourism Studies, Macau. The program lasts for 5 months and covers the subjects of Macau history, attractions, tourism theory, guiding techniques and first aid. Only the candidates who pass the written and practical exams can become licensed tour guides in Macau and this license is mandatory to exercise the profession. Any licensed guide in Macau is thus competent to present a great deal about the history of Macau. According to the Macau Government Tourist Office, which is the official entity that licenses the tour guides, there were 1,473 licensed guides registered in Macau by the end of 2010.

Literature Review

A review of the academic literature suggests that how historical events and narratives are understood and interpreted depends on two main forces that can be construed to represent the supply side and the demand side in the transmission of information. The supply side refers to the producers of information, who can exercise a degree of filtering before the information is disclosed to the tourists within a destination. Political manipulation is reported in the literature to have a significant role in shaping what the tourist is going to see and hear. For example, Long and Reeves (2008) discuss how political power manipulates tour guides downplaying the large scale genocide and war crimes that the Khmer Rouge committed in Anlong Veng, Cambodia, and presenting instead a culture of peace and reconciliation to the outsiders, focusing on the contemporary situation of the country at the cost of "not commemorating the Cambodia's tragic and painful past" (Long and Reeves, 2008, p.81). Ryan (2007) compares two touristic battlefield sites in Canada and New Zealand, both sites of violent confrontations between natives and Western colonizers. The former is an act of remembrance of the battle; the Canadian government took the initiative to establish a visitor centre to commemorate the

historical event. The latter presents a notion of intentional forgetfulness of the bloody battle which took place between the colonized (the Maori) and the colonizers (the British), due to a nearly complete absence of historical narrative of the event.

Political influence on historical narratives also impacts tour guides' interpretations. In addition to the role as a path finder (Cohen, 1985), the interpreting role that the tour guide plays as a gatekeeper has significant influence on what information is disclosed to tourists or not, that may greatly enhance/limit the depth of the tourists' understandings of the place (du Cros, 2004; Weiler & Ham, 2001). Dahles (2002) notes that the Indonesia government directs tour guides to perform a role of public relations officers to project a positive image of the country by channeling tourists to certain sites and providing information that is politically palatable.

Regarding the demand side, the expectations and wishes of the tourists are the driving forces which also shape the content of tourism products. Some literature draws attention to the fact that in order to better suit the perceived tourists' preferences and their travel agendas, local cultural heritage today is commoditized, resulting in the replacement of real authenticity by staged authenticity affecting both the tangible and intangible (Ashworth & Tunbridge, 1990; Cohen, 1988; Desmond, 1999; Greenwood, 1978; Halewood & Hannam, 2001; Horner, 1993; MacCannell, 1973; Urry, 1990). Particularly in studies that take note of the influence of post-modernity on tourism, scholars have suggested that, with limited travelling time and the expectation to view as much as possible of the destination, today many tourists are actually not so much in quest for authenticity and in-depth understanding, but rather for visual and experiential enjoyment, even though they may be fully aware of the "staging" (Blom, 2000; Desmond, 1999; Nuryanti, 1996). For instance, Muzaini, Teo and Yeoh (2007) present how the Singapore government packages and sells a local historic military fort, Fort Siloso. To meet the perceived tourists' preference for walking through the physical site and getting a taste of military life rather than going into an historical account, "historical depth was seen as of less relevance to the way the site is to be produced" (Muzaini, Teo and Yeoh, 2007). As a result, the presentation of Fort Siloso in Singapore places much of its emphasis on physical restoration, visual displays and technological wizardry, with a lack of substantive information on the role it has played in history.

It is not only the tourists' preferences that influence the depth of the historical discourses, but also the context. Muzaini, Teo and Yeoh (2007) note that the management of Fort Siloso places limits on the display of history at the site in order to avoid controversial stories and they

consciously avoid referring to the invasion by Japan and the resulting bloody siege of the fort for not upsetting Japanese tourists (Muzaini et al., 2007, p. 34). Buzinde and Santos (2009) illustrates that the dominant and preferred readings available at a former slavery site, the Hampton Plantation in South Carolina, conveys the State-endorsed messages, focusing on the elegant living and alleged benevolence toward their African slaves of the aristocratic white masters, the economic importance of rice cultivation at the time and the local prosperity it created, offering thereby to the tourists a pleasurable plantation experience, without touching unpleasant subjects such as slavery, racial issues or the "inhumane manner in which the wealth was amassed" (Buzinde & Santos, 2009, p. 444). The careful filtering and selection of political palatable historical and cultural discourses are in most cases not only for the sake of coping with the State-endorsed messages which serves as the dominant view, but also to create a suitable arena for all tourists, whoever they might be, whatever they might think and wherever they might come from, though exceptions can be found at some dark tourism sites. At the Nanjing Massacre Memorial in China, for example, the management insists on the presentation of non-filtered reports and exhibits documenting the atrocities committed by the Japanese soldiers during the WWII, at the cost of offending visitors from Japan (Fengqi, 2008).

While non-package tourists rely on their own readings and use of visual intermediaries available on-site to understand the historical background of a place, package tourists on the other hand heavily count and depend on information provided by the tour guides (Holloway, 1981; Schmidt, 1979), particularly in places where limited textual readings can be found and when the tourists have little initial knowledge prior the arrivals. The situation of having to mentor tourists whose interests are not 'deep' or who are not much interested in history or culture appears to impact the focus and depth of tour guides' interpretations. In addition to the time constraint which encourages superficiality, the degree of tourists' interest also plays a significant role. Moscardo (1996) notes that there are today both 'mindful' and 'mindless' tourists at heritage sites. While the former are interested in an account of the historical background of a heritage, the latter care little about it and visitation to them is merely an opportunity for photo taking and relaxation. A reasonable conjecture in this case is that the tour guide will have to avoid heavy focus on the historical and cultural context if most of the tourists are "mindless". Block (2002, p. 13) as quoted in Arlt (2007, p. 141), that "when visiting caves in China, colored lights and emperor-style robes make for photo opportunities deep within grottoes … Chinese visitors to Australian caves find them too boring and educational, sometimes leaving after a few minutes". The tour guides interpretation of an historical or

cultural nature may thus be adjusted according to the tourists' manifestation of interest while on-site as well as to the guides' preconception of the needs and wishes of the tourists according to their past guiding experience.

Information Theory

Human interaction involves a process of simultaneous communication in which the context of the message is alternated according to the instant responses between a sender and a receiver upon what and how messages are encoded and decoded (Kendon, 1990). The seminal work of Hall (1980) presents the symbolic interactions of meaning-making between the audience and the crafted messages being conveyed and his semiotic explanation is adopted in this study to explain what historical and cultural contexts are disclosed to tourists in Macau. He notes that there are three ways in which the audience reads or views an encoded message. The first possibility is that there is acceptance of the "dominant-hegemonic view", in which case the audience decodes the message and the message is reconstructed in a way that is confirmatory of the dominant view. Second is the "negotiated view" in which the audience "acknowledge the legitimacy of the hegemonic definition" (Hall, 1980, p. 137), but concurrently decode the message with a preconceived understanding that there exist contradictions. Lastly is the "oppositional view" in which the audience rejects the dominant view and decodes the message with alternative understandings.

Information theory is mostly used in tourism studies to study aspects of how tourist destinations are packaged in textual representations. For instance, Picard (1986) describes how the stereotypical image, myths and history of Bali is manipulated so as to produce the dominant hegemonic view, packaging the country as the last paradise on earth and as the ultimate exotic destination for Westerners. Buzinde and Santos illustrate the dominant view when they present a colonial rice plantation in terms of graceful living, economic prosperity and progress while the oppositional view taken by some tourists constitutes an objection to the over-romanticized history of slavery in America (Buzinde & Santos, 2009, p. 452). du Cros (2004) notes that the main point of the State-endorsed message about the Hong Kong SAR, in addition to its emphasis on modernity, cosmopolitan prosperity and the remains of colonial history, is the uninterrupted bond between Hong Kong and China, with the former 150-year British colonial rule being a mere aberration. Arlt suggests that the Chinese tourists who travel overseas assert a form of racial superiority and, at the same time, are in quest of modernity. As a result, when Mainland Chinese travel to Hong Kong, for instance, "it is for obvious reasons not the 'Suzie Wong' style Oriental flavor in a former British colony which is exotic, but visiting the remains

of Western domination of the SAR, now back in Chinese hands" is the 'why' they are attracted to visit Hong Kong (Arlt, 2007, p. 140). As evidenced in the inbound itineraries, visiting the Hong Kong Handover Square is almost a must-see stop for Mainland Chinese tourists.

It is also important to note that, as a potential countervailing force to the dominant hegemonic view presented by the tourism promoters of a destination, tourists may possess a set of eclectic preconceptions towards the destination before their arrival. These preconceptions are formed of tourists' prior knowledge, expectations, fantasies and mythologies of the designated destination generated from the tourists' culture of origin (Craik, 1997, p. 118) as well as through exposure to the State-endorsed images of the destination as presented in published texts, movies, television promotional material, etc. Those images may not necessarily reflect the truths to be found at the contemporary destination, but make it appear attractive and worth-visiting to tourists (Arlt, 2007; Palmer, 1994). Palmer shows that the tourism promoters of the Bahamas selectively use images of its colonial past and exoticism to promote Bahamas' tourism, projecting a collection of images which are far from the reality of today's Bahamas. The Insight Bahamas Guide (1986, p. 66) as quoted by Palmer comments that "For decades destinations like the Bahamas have been saddled with images of smiling natives, often shirtless, shuffling under limbo bars with frothy fruit and rum drinks to the delight of the world's jet setters. How far from the truth this is!" (Palmer, 1994, p. 804).

The State-Endorsed Message in Macau

A textual analysis of the Macau governmental promotional material covering the Historic Centre of Macau was conducted in order to identify the State-endorsed message as it appears in written material and audio-visual media. The data revealed what kind of historical perspectives are avoided or presented to potential visitors of Macau.

> "The Historic Centre of Macao is a living representation of the city's historic settlement, encompassing architectural legacies interwoven in the midst of the original urban fabric that includes streetscapes and piazzas, illustrating the first lasting encounter between China and the Western world. Starting at A-Ma Temple nestled against Barra Hill, the first zone follows the city's original urban route from the Chinese harbor to the heart of the old Christian city, linking religious, military and civil monuments of both western Chinese concepts …The Historic Centre of Macao is located in an urban context that follows the development of the Portuguese settlement over history… The route reveals Macao's true identity, as the various layers and the sequence of buildings transmit a unique blend of Western and Chinese cultures, with other regional influences, representing Macao's primary function as a regional trade hub… Following the Portuguese settlement in 1557, the city began to expand". (Historic Center of Macau, Macau Cultural Bureau, 2011).

"[Macau is] a city that within a short time had become a major entry port for trade between China, Japan, India and Europe… It also became the perfect crossroad for the meeting of East and West cultures … churches were built, as well as fortresses, which gave the city an historical European appearance that distinguishes it to this day" (Macau Government Tourist Office, 2011)

Perusing the promotional materials indicates that it is the "cultural exchange between the East and the West", "following the Portuguese settlement, the city began to expand" and the city's role as the "very first international trading hub in ancient China" that is being promoted by the Macau government. Not a single reference to "former colony" or "colonial rule" was found in the material released by the government. Although its colonial past is at the root of the cultural legacy of Macau, it appears that only the material remains of the past - architectures, old streets and piazzas - is highlighted; the intangible of the past on the contrary - the history associated with the colonial rule and historical events - is sanitized and reduced to the minimum. Colonialism is always associated with power and superiority of one ethnic group over another (Palmer, 1994). It is argued in this study that the colonial history is downplayed by the Macau government and tourism promoters for the fact that more than 80% of its visitors originate from the Greater China. If Chinese tourists travel overseas in a quest for modernity and assertion of racial superiority (Arlt, 2007; du Cros, 2004; Huang & Hsu, 2005; Nyiri, 2006), then the tourism industry may be reluctant to expose a history of domination of Western powers over the Chinese, particularly now that the territory has reverted back into Chinese hands. It thus explains that the dominant hegemonic view of the history of Macau is not with reference to its long colonial history, but focuses on the less sensitive topics, that is, the cultural diversity and exchanges between the East and the West, which are indeed the tangible remains of its former colonial history. Note that phrases such as "cultural diversity" or "exchanges" present a notion of equality rather than a suggestion of one group of people being dominated by another one, as was undoubtedly the case.

Avoidance of confrontational and distasteful episodes of the colonial times
In Macau, it is generally the case that the colonial history of the territory is not dwelled upon. One of the curators who works for the Macau Museum, which is Macau's 'national museum', commented that "the exhibits inside the museum focus on the cultural evolutions of the city and

the fact that it was due to the intercultural exchange between the East and West, with an emphasis on cultural, religious, economic, technological transformations; the core industries of Macau in the past, the social life and living style of the city are included as well". The curator frankly admitted that "the exhibits do not carry much of the colonial notion; the government does not promote it, for example we do not have a section which exhibits the past governors' portraits or the military history, though you know, this museum was originally the largest fortress in Macau … it is the missing part that one can detect easily if one knows the history of Macau".

Throughout the colonial period of Macau, several serious confrontations took place between the Chinese and the colonial government. The two most dramatic ones were the assassination of the 79th governor of Macau and the "123 incident". Neither event left a physical trace that can be seen today. The assassination of João Maria Ferreira do Amaral, who was governor of Macau from 1846 to 1849, took place in the wake of the ruthless colonial expansion that itself followed the end of the opium war (1840-1842) when China was defeated by the British Empire and weakened. Taking advantage of this situation, Portugal implemented a policy of colonial domination over the Chinese population of Macau. A territorial expansion towards the Northern part of the Macau peninsula was also undertaken; new avenues construction towards the North destroyed Chinese tombs and graveyards. New taxes on land and properties were some of the colonial measures introduced by Ferreira do Amaral. These drastic practices made the governor "one of the most hated men in Southern China" (Lamas, 1998, p. 80).

The assassination of Ferreira do Amaral took place on the 22nd of August 1849. It was a bloody affair: Ferreira do Amaral was slaughtered and his head and hand were cut off by seven young Chinese. The retaliation ordered by the governor's loyal subordinate, Colonel Vicente Nicolau Mesquita, included the destruction of the first barrier gate, which was built by the Chinese government in 1574 and marked the limit of the territory, and the demand to the Chinese government that it delivers the assassins who had fled to China. This dramatic episode is without physical trace today. There used to be full-size equestrian bronze statue of Ferreira do Amaral located in the middle of a piazza in front of the Hotel Lisboa, a must-see landmark second only to the Ruins of St. Paul and the A-Ma Temple; it was removed from Macau in October 1992, seven years ahead of Macau's handover.

Another large scale confrontation took place in modern times, the so-called "12.3 incident" which was a violent confrontation between the local Chinese and the colonial government was

also left without a trace. The statue of Colonel Mesquita, which was originally located at the middle of the Leal Senado Square (another landmark of Macau), was destroyed by Chinese rioters on the 3rd of December 1966. A fountain was then placed as a substitute after the large scale anti-government riot. References of these two confrontational episodes are nowhere to be found in the dominant hegemonic view found in the promotional material, nor (see below) are they mentioned by tourist guides at least when leading a group of Chinese visitors.

Method

The preceding discussion has highlighted the dominant hegemonic 'un-historic' presentation of Macau and its impact on the textual representations released to the public. The following is an examination of the message conveyed to package tourists by the local tour guides, as they describe it themselves. Through the personal connections of the author, 14 licensed tour guides with guiding experience ranging from 2 years to 20 years were invited to participate in this research. The participants included guides for both the Chinese and non-Chinese package tours. Face to face thematic interviews were conducted. Each interview was audio-recorded and lasted for approximately 45 minutes to an hour. A thematic interview is, in the words of Kahn and Cannell, "a conversation with a purpose" (1957, p.149). Patton (2002) suggests that having pre-defined themes related to the research objective will help both the researched and the researcher stay focused during the research process. The main questions were developed for the purpose of yielding insights which address the research objective of what historical discourses are presented to tourists and why. Additional probing and follow-up questions were asked, when a need for them was felt. The main questions which guided the interviews were as follows.

Question One: The last time you guided a group of package tourists, what historical topics did you talk about in your interpretation of Macau?

Question Two: What other topics did you talk about as well?

Question Three: Why did you select those topics?

Question Four: Did you talk much about the colonial history of Macau, such as the colonial domination and the "assassination of the 79th governor of Macau" or the "123 Incident"? Why or why not?

Findings

Historical and cultural Topics Covered by Macau Tour Guides
Overall, the majority of the informants revealed that they typically confined themselves to the State-endorsed message, as described above, abiding to the dominant hegemonic view of

Macau being the site of intercultural exchange between the East and the West. They reported that all the heritage sites are interpreted from this perspective. 'Marieta' said, "The focus of my guiding interpretation is usually cultural exchange. Macau is a cultural city and it is its cultural legacy, its status as a city of world cultural heritage that attracts tourists, in addition to its reputation as a place for gambling". 'Anita' also concurred that tourists today are attracted to Macau either due to the Macau's heritage or gambling. The analysis of the interview notes suggests that while guiding groups through Macau, tour guides confine themselves to the historical background of only a few heritage sites (which are listed in the tour's itinerary) and mostly include the A-Ma Temple and Ruins of St. Paul. Both 'Marieta' and 'Anita' said there are lots to talk about Macau, yet due to limited time available, they would have to select what to talk about, mostly directly related to the history of the sites that they bring along package tourists to visit. The historical discourses about Macau the tour guides communicate essentially include two topics.

The first topic is related to a spot that virtually all package tours visit, the Ruins of the St. Paul church, the most iconic of the cultural sites of Macau. In front of the façade of St. Paul, in addition to giving an introduction to the history of the building itself, some tour guides also talk about the cannons that were shooting from Monte Fortress (located next to the Ruins of St. Paul) at the occasion of the naval assaults launch by the Dutch in 1622. But such a historical event is only talked about if the tour guide receives signals from his/her clients that they are interested. 'Christine' commented,

"It depends on what kinds of tourist you are guiding; if they are from Singapore, Malaysia or Western countries, they are quite interested in knowing the history of Macau, particularly the maritime trade and the colonial history. They will really listen to you, and ask you questions, like whether there had been large scale confrontations in the past. When you tell them about the assassination of Ferreira do Amaral, they will even ask you if there is any thing to remember the event by its location and whether a representation of this governor can still be found. Of course I told them there is nothing. The only statue of the governor in Macau was removed from Macau before the handover. They are also interested to know what "one country two systems" means and how does it really work in Macau. Their responses show that they are interested and so I shall want to tell them more. Chinese tourists on the contrary are not interested at all. You are then de-motivated to continue to talk if they are not interested in listening".

The second topic is the origin of the name of Macau which is associated with the Goddess A-Ma and her temple. 'Erica' explained that "the A-Ma Temple as the oldest temple in Macau,

built long before the Portuguese arrived, exhibit Macau's indigenous religious roots and the ethnic connection with the Chinese culture. It is a place associated with the early Macau maritime trade (A-Ma being a Goddess of the sea). 'Amy' said the historical topics that she usually talks about are: "For the history part, I only talk about the name of Macau, why it is called Macau, the origin of its name is associated with the A-Ma Temple; then I talk a bit about the fact that Macau was a strategic point in China in the 16th, 17th centuries, an international trade hub which connected China to Asia and Europe. Therefore lots of foreign countries would also have liked to have control over Macau which leads me to talk about the Monte Fortress which is associated with the Dutch attack of 1622 and for this reason, there were many fortresses built in Macau afterward".

While it is true that more fortresses were built in Macau after the Dutch attack to better protect the territory against other colonial powers, it is not necessarily true that all the fortresses were built for this purpose. In fact, the fortresses built after 1846 in the Northern part of the peninsula, as well as in Taipa and Coloane islands, were for the political purpose of intimidating China and consolidating the Portuguese's control over Macau. When this fact was pointed out to 'Amy' with the probing question of whether she knew about the different fortification periods in Macau, she admitted frankly that she knew about it but she felt that, "it is better just to talk about the Dutch attack because it is more neutral and it does not concern the colonial expansion, so the blame will not be on the Portuguese or the Chinese, but on a third party … you don't really want to complicate your script or to have arguments with tourists, particularly when you are guiding tourists from China … it helps highlight Macau as an important trading hub that other (Western) countries would like to capture". Amy's response honestly reflects her reluctance to touch upon the colonial dimension and concentrate on the prosperity and cultural exchange that are today the viewpoint encouraged by the government as the dominant hegemonic view of the presentation of Macau.

While most Chinese inbound package tours bring the tourists to the A-Ma Temple, non-Chinese tours instead bring them to another temple. 'Jason', who is a Thai tour guide, explained the reason why tours from Thailand usually visit the Kuan Iam Temple, one of the three oldest temples in Macau located at the Northern part of Macau peninsula, rather than the A-Ma temple. It is because many Thai people are Buddhists and believe in Kuan Iam (Bodhisattva Avalokitesvara) rather than in the Goddess A-Ma being reverend in the A-Ma Temple. In addition to the religious aspect, 'Jason' added that "it is also the venue of the signature of the 'unequal treaty', the Sino-American Treaty. I think it is somewhat offensive to the Chinese

tourists as it symbolizes a humiliating episode of the history of China; they may not like it very much, because it involves a form of 'losing face'. As far as I know, Chinese tours are usually not brought to this Temple; I think it is also easier for Chinese guides to interpret the A-Ma temple rather than the Kuan Iam temple; at least they don't need to talk about the Treaty. But to Thai tourists who do not have the concerns of the Chinese ones, the Kuan Iam Temple is just part of an historical event that took place in Macau".

The participants' comments reveal that tourists originating from different countries appear to have various degrees of interest for the interpretations of the history of Macau and this, as a result, shapes the context disclosed by the tour guides. The fact that the Chinese tourists are much more interested in seeing sights or displays rather than learning about the history and culture of the destination appears to be in line with some previous studies indicating that Chinese tourists are uninterested in receiving deep historical discourses about a site; but they care more for things that can be seen and for being given photo opportunities (Arlt, 2007; Nyiri, 2006). As a result, the tour guides' interpretations of Macau's history appear to vary in length and depth according to signals given by tourists. 'John' explained that he was told by his clients not to talk too much about the history, but to give them instead time to freely wander around the site around Ruins of St. Paul. He recalled, "I once tried to talk about the importance of Macau in the maritime trade and talk about the Fortress; they simply told me that there was no need to talk too much. What they wanted was to be given the time to take photos of the Ruins of St. Paul. To them, the Ruins of St. Paul and other buildings are merely location for photo opportunities, to prove that they have been to Macau. They are not interested in their history or the one of Macau".

'Peter' concurs that Chinese tourists are only interested in shopping, seeing new casinos venues and taking photos. He said, "I don't talk much about history as Chinese tourists do not care about the history of Macau. They are not interested; if you talk too much, they will find you boring and will want to walk away. [Then what do you talk about?] Usually what I say about the Ruins of St. Paul is that the church burned down three times and I describe shortly the mixed-culture features on the façade, where you can find both Catholic symbols and Chinese characters. They just want to take some photos in front of the Ruins of St. Paul and the A-Ma Temple, as a proof that "I have been to Macau". When asked what topics other than the history of Macau would interest Chinese tourists, 'Peter' replied: "They are much more interested in knowing about mythical stories, auspicious gimmicks or folklore traditions associated with winning money in casinos. Such topics will interest them more, but not history; so in practice,

one better talk about something that will interest them". The participants' comments reveal the reality that they actually say very little about historical matters and only if they feel that their audience is interested. In order to secure a certain degree of interest from the tourists, they tend to take the entertaining path.

Oppositional View versus Dominant Hegemonic View

According to the comments of 'Jason' and 'Christine', it seems that non-Chinese tourists are more receptive to learning about the colonial history of Macau. Both 'Derek' and 'Emily' as English speaking guides expressed the consensus that their clients are interested in knowing about the past of Macau which enables their interpretations to cover a wide range of topics without much filtering and limitations. They cover a variety of subjects, including: the important role that Macau played in maritime trade between the 16th and 18th century, the city walls and fortresses that were built to safeguard the city, the religious and cultural influences on Macau people's faith and customs. The episodes of colonial expansion and the transition period to the Handover are also covered. 'Derek' recalled, "Once I told my Australian client that today's Macau Museum is the substantially transformed Monte Fortress and he asked me why the government did not keep the fortress as it was and make it a thematic fortress or military force museum so as to preserve this important testimony of the colonial past of the city".

In fact, the trivialization of the colonial history is sometimes detected by foreign tourists who have no reason not to be neutral toward it (visitors from Portugal are very rare). 'Emily' shared a similar view, to the effect that foreign tourists on the one hand appreciate the preservations and aesthetic value of Macau's cultural heritage buildings, but on the other hand, actually notice that the colonial history is missing and that it is not presented for tourists to gaze upon, particularly after their visit in the Macau Museum. Emily recalled that a Spanish client once commented that "it is the Portuguese settlement and the colonial history which induced all kinds of cultural exchange and advancement in Macau. Ironically it is this large component that is missing from the museum". The oppositional view that Macau's history is not only a matter of intercultural exchanges, but that it is rooted in the Portuguese history of colonial territorial conquest, with many episodes of conflicts with China and with the local Chinese inhabitants, is thus sometimes noted by tourists, although appear not to be noted by the Mainland Chinese ones who do not care to acquire the knowledge of the historical facts that is necessary to take a view different from the dominant hegemonic one.

Given the fact that 87% the visitors to Macau come from Greater China, the tour guides caution that, if any account of the colonial history of Macau is to be given, only information which is not sensitive should be released. 'A Lin' recalled a complaint from a Chinese tourist that she received a few years ago when she talked about the colonial history on the shuttle and that she mentioned about the assassination of the governor as a dramatic historical event which took place in the past colonial times. The tourist ended up accusing her of not being patriotic and even filed a formal complaint with the Macau Government Tourist Office. 'A-Kun' frankly admitted that he does not talk about the colonial history of Macau because,

> "it is not the colonial history that Macau is famous for; it is the intercultural exchange which took place in Macau. Plus, the colonial past is not easy to interpret, you don't want to take sides, there were lots of sensitive issues, such as the conflicts and riots that took place. Once you start to talk about these, you inevitably have to give your perspectives, you also have to be careful with the wordings you use in order not to have potential arguments with your tourists".

'Lance' shared a very similar view and expressed that, "Today, tourists come to Macau because of the cultural richness of the city; this is also what the government promotes. There is no need to tell tourists the complicated part of the past of the city, you talk about something light, easy to be 'digested' by everybody. You know if your interpretation does not fit the taste of tourists, you may even get yourself into troubles. So we just talk about something light, easy and happy".

In addition to the perceived need to 'play it on the safe side', 'not to get into trouble', 'not to have arguments with tourists', to 'please the tourists and adjust to their tastes' are other consideration which seems to affect the guides' interpretation of historical matters. 'A-Chio' commented:

> "I seldom talk about the colonial history or the historical drama, such as the assassination of Ferreria do Amaral in front of Chinese tourists. If I really run out of topic or if they ask me, then I will tell them about it, but usually [the Chinese tourists] don't; of course if they really ask, I will tell them how the Portuguese forced the Chinese and that we were subjugated. Tell them that we are actually very happy for the fact that Macau reverted to China, and say so to please them. Some guests said that they thought that even after Macau and Hong Kong were handed over, their people are not patriotic to China and they said we dislike and discriminate against them. So they would be surprised to hear that we Macau people are happy about the handover. I will emphasize that it is the case and that after the handover; Macau's economy improved and so did public security. Then they will feel proud and will become friendlier with me; of course that will be easier for me to sell them things".

The comments of 'A-Chio' appear to indicate a desire to please his Mainland Chinese tourists partly to create a friendly atmosphere and make it easier for him to generate commissions for him when he mentioned "easier to sell them things" (from the shops where he brings the tourists during the tour). Yet, 'A-Chio' said he would take a different stance, a more neutral stand and not to take side if he is guiding non-Chinese tourists. He explained,

> "But if I talk to tourists from Malaysia or Singapore I will tell them according to what is in the text books, which is that Ferreira do Amaral is a governor assigned with such a duty to exercise colonial power in Macau after China fell from the power in the opium war. [*Why?*] ..because I will not bear the risk of being accused of not being patriotic or generating unnecessary disputes with tourists, they are not Chinese and so it is safer and I can tell them both sides of the story. I think it is important to let the foreigners know both sides of the story, to give a more complete picture, as I don't know when will be the next time they come. If I tell them an incomplete story, they will forever misunderstand something important about Macau. But of course you have to be sure that it is 'safe' to tell".

Overall, the informants' comments reveal that guides are aware of what the dominant hegemonic view of the history of Macau is, as well as what the oppositional view is. Yet they are willing to interpret along the lines of the dominant view for the ease of mediation and avoid mentioning sensitive historical topics which may generate "unnecessary disputes" or even result in a complaint from tourists of they will be the ones to bear the consequences. As discussed earlier, tourists come to a destination with a set of various preconceptions and, to a certain extent, a satisfactory tourist experience is built upon whether their actual experience at the destination matching these preconceptions. Under the circumstance that most tourists do not have much prior knowledge of the colonial history of Macau (which is also not encouraged or promoted by the local government, which further limit the possibility for outsiders to know about this layer of the history of the territory), the tour guides tend to downplay it and conform to the dominant hegemonic view presented by the government.

Conclusion

This study sought to understand the interaction between historical narratives and tourists' preconceptions in the context of guided tours in Macau and how it impacts the historical narratives presented for consumption as part of the tourism product. In particular, it examined

what particular historical discourses are held or inhibited in the Macau tour guides' mediation. While many of the former colonial territories belong to the under-developed world and tend to make use of their colonial past to recruit tourists from the affluent countries, the Macau SAR, as a highly developed cosmopolitan city, presents the opposite extreme in which colonial history is largely downplayed; only the intercultural exchange between the East and West is celebrated and promoted. The exceptional case of a Special Administrative Region in China provides a specific examination of how colonialism-tourism is packaged and displayed in the context of China and how it is consumed by the Chinese affluent, issues not examined in the literature. The sense of racial superiority of Mainland Chinese tourists (Arlt, 2007; du Cros, 2004; Nyiri, 2006) as well as their selective cultural interests seems to have a significant influence on the tour guides' selection of what topics to include in their guiding scripts. This phenomenon seems to be due to the fact that the majority of the package tourists come from Greater China and find references to the past colonization of even a small Chinese enclave unpalatable and offensive to their ethnic pride.

The sanitized un-historic 'cultural exchange' dominant hegemonic view of Macau is the one promoted by the government. When it comes to tour guiding, according to the guides themselves, the Chinese tourists tend to accept - and even demand - this dominant un-historical view while the tourists from other regions are more interested in the colonial history of the territory. The tour guides are quite aware of the fact that they have to tune their mediation to the audience that they are addressing. Because of risk-aversion, tour guides in Macau tend to avoid references to past colonial conflicts but are willing to present the colonial history of Macau if occasionally pressed by their audiences. Reference

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[i] Sustainable development was defined there as "development that meets the needs of present without compromising the ability of future generations to meet their own needs" (WCED, 1987, p. 8). Sustainable tourism (development), which draws upon WCED (1987), is described by the World Tourism Organization (WTO, 1997: 30) "meets the needs of present tourists and host regions while protecting and enhancing opportunity for the future. It is envisaged as leading to management of all resources in such a way that economic, social, and aesthetic needs can be fulfilled while maintaining cultural integrity, essential ecological processes, biological diversity, and life support systems". Mowforth and Munt (1998) offer a trenchant critique of sustainable tourism, while others point to modernist notions of "progress" (embedded in intrumental notions of economic growth, and rhetoric of 'balance', etc. – see Peterson, 1997).

[ii] We are using a standard citation scheme for Kant's Groundwork here.