Tourism and Visual Culture, Volume 2

Methods and Cases

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Tourism and Visual Culture, Volume 2

Methods and Cases

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Peter Burns
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Introduction

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Volume 1 of this two-part work set out the case for tourism as '. . .part of the mass-mediated, post-industrial, postmodern society that has spawned tourists who seek instant gratification in the dreamscapes, landscapes, ethnoscapes, and heritagescapes created and provided by the tourism sector. . .'. In this sense, as Hollinshead (1999: 7) puts it with uncharacteristic clarity, 'tourism, often unsuspectingly, matters'. While tourism and the study of tourists have become a mature and discrete area of multidisciplinary study, there remains something of a struggle about finding suitable research instruments, methods and strategies to adequately capture and do justice to data. On the one hand, simplistic visitor arrivals or other statistical measures have no capacity to communicate the complex flavour of tourism as it infuses the cultures of both visitors and the visited. On the other hand, it has never been the intention of detailed qualitative studies of a particular micro-destination to create generalizations for wider applications. If the idea of research and publication is to create and disseminate knowledge, then a broad approach must be taken that encourages innovation and develops methods that allow nuanced descriptions of social phenomena (including travel and tourism) beyond the merely descriptive.

The idea of the senses, and especially the visual sense, being central to tourism is captured by Alain de Botton's thoughts about the corporeal act of being a tourist being overwhelmed by visual power:

> I stood on the corner of the Calle de Carretas and the Puerta del Sol, an undistinguished half-moon shaped junction, in the middle of which Carlos III (1759–88) sat astride a horse. Was a sunny day, and the crowds of tourists were stopping to take photographs and listen to guides. And I wondered, with mounting anxiety. What I was to do here, what I was to think?
>
> (de Botton, 2002: 108)

De Botton's thoughts about 'the art of travel' describe the confusion that sensory overload can bring about and reflect Urry's view that 'the centrality of the gaze to the tourist experience mirrors more generally the privileging of the eye over the other senses' (2003: 3). Lucy Lippard sets out to re-conceive tourist 'scapes by examining ways in which artists respond to environmental, cultural and political issues surrounding tourism.

> Across the [US] towns devastated by capital flight, technological shifts, or union busting make spectacle of themselves, desperately framing and reinventing their histories to make a picture appealing to those who might buy a hamburger, T-shirt, suntan lotion, Indian jewellery, a plastic seagull, a shell ashtray, or a boat ride. . . Everybody has to go someplace, so they can come here.
>
> (Lippard, 1999: 6)

Lippard's views feed into the assumptions underpinning both Urry's (2003) and Buzinde *et al.*'s (2006: 712) notion that tourism is 'a collection of idealised images which circumscribe the boundaries of experience and essentially direct the tourist gaze'. There are also distinct synergies with Selwyn's claims that in the:

> intellectual landscape [of social analysis], a much wider variety of social groups may find it possible to represent 'their' histories. In short, singular national history, 'scientifically' represented, is giving way to multiple histories, based on locality, class, gender, ethnicity, and so on, represented in multiple ways.
>
> (Selwyn, 1996: 5)

Thus the arena is set for qualitative methods to generate understanding and insight into the complex praxis of tourism. This volume addresses one particular aspect of qualitative research: visual methods. Just as technology has brought about significant changes to our daily use of (and exposure to) images, pictures and photographs, so these same technologies have enabled far wider access and ability to use visual methods in research. As Douglas Harper says 'images put a face on statistical data, but what do they add beyond that?' (2005: 748). Well, he provides some answers. He talks about images contextualizing, 'subjectively connect[ing] the viewer to the argument' (Harper, 2005). But here he goes on to say that images are 'secondary to the text' and are just being used as illustrations: '[t]he visual dimension is not integrated into the research' (2005: 749). What Harper calls for is 'sociological thinking [that] emerges directly from images rather than reinforcing and elaborating on word-based thinking' (2005: 749).

Tourism as a topic for visual studies has a rich but chaotic and somewhat accidental history. In a sense, the pace of these excursions into tourism has been forced by discipline-based scholars (most often anthropologists and sociologists) rather than subject-based academics. The result is that oftentimes tourism scholars find themselves following advances in our field rather than leading them.

The purpose of the present book is to provide detailed methodological examples that underpin the visual concepts provided in Volume 1. Aimed mainly at the tourism scholarly community, the intention is to build research capacity in visual methods by demonstrating their use and value in advancing knowledge and understanding of tourism beyond business and economics. Picking up on Hollinshead (1999) again:

> individual managers, developers, researchers in tourism and travel quickly engage in small and large games of cultural, social, environmental and historical cleansing, as they promote and project some socio-political universes and chastise or omit other possible contending worldviews.

What he is getting at is that part of that game playing involves choice, and, given that tourism is a largely visual phenomenon, these choices often involve still and moving images, graphics and other visual ephemera. What is left in and left out shifts from a matter of aesthetics to that of power. This power of visual images is something that is of great interest to social scientists. As Grady (2001: 84) points out, 'Quantitative sociologists have long known that the clearest way of organizing material is to lay tables and charts out in a sequence and then write an account that explains what is in each one, beginning with the first and ending with the last.' He goes on to say that 'the same applies to maps, photographs and film clips.' Grady makes much of ensuring that images are not used merely to illustrate a point. (Indeed, he says that treating images in such a way 'devalues the very thing that makes the image important as data, which is the simultaneity of the relations that exist between the various elements represented in the frame' (Grady, 2001: 86–87)).

> Mere illustration simplifies complex subjects, trivializes events and issues, and may induce a cognitive passivity that precludes the exercise of analytic reason. But used as a source of data, which must be assessed judiciously, examined carefully, and interpreted thoroughly, images provide a kind of material that encourages analysis.
>
> (Grady, 2001: 89)

In so far as tourism is concerned, Gillian Rose's admonition that 'we need to learn to interpret visual images because they are an important means through which social life happens' (Rose, 2007: xiii) becomes crystal clear when her thought is juxtaposed with Franklin's (2004) description of tourism as a 'relentless

force' that is 'reordering society' – a point made in the introduction to Volume 1 and repeated here.

Taking a general idea from anthropology, visual research can loosely be divided into two categories: participatory and researcher-generated data. Research tools for the former include visitor-employed photography (MacKay, 2004), such as giving disposable cameras, photo-elicitation, overseeing mind-mapping exercises, film diaries, problem-tree analysis and, one supposes, even self-generating responses within social networking spheres such as Facebook. The latter (researcher-generated material) draws on more traditional approaches, such as documentary film-making and photography. But, even though these may be familiar, Rose (2007) indicates that more understanding must be gained into the processes of analysing made media (she is talking mainly about photographs) as opposed to found or searched-for media. Behind both categories is the idea of creating, observing, reviewing, organizing and analysing visual data in order to communicate insights and outcomes in the scientific and public domain. Challenges that remain (as with most data that are not strictly quantitative) are how to manage the interpretative processes, the role of reflexivity and ethical issues (though Harper (2005) makes brilliant short work of the latter!).

Organization of the Book

The 17 chapters that make up this book can be divided into four separate but interconnected methodological categories: semiotics/symbolism; visual sociology/photo-elicitation; image analysis for destinations and marketing; and visual ethnography.

Semiotics/symbolism

Mary Scott's chapter on tourist art in Yucatán (Mexico) uses a wealth of visual data to create new insights and some strong conclusions about the comparisons between finely made carvings replicating the skills of the Mayans to hastily carved hybrids from cheaper materials designed for a wider audience. The images in this chapter include an artist as well as the artefacts, thus making a very symbolic connection between hosts and guests. In complete geographical contrast, Anja Saretzki uses her contemporary visual data on the Berlin Wall and environs as a means of making sense of how tourists 'read' Berlin. The images are startling in their appearance and create something of a cognitive dissonance as the 'anti-fascist protection rampart' morphs into the global urban landscape of graffiti and architectural detritus. In this chapter, the visual and textual data are treated as equal: semiotics making sense of the symbolism. Susan Ashley takes us from the streets into the seemingly calm world of the museum in her chapter on 'envisioning heritage'. However, as we soon learn, there are unintended visual impacts from an exhibition at the Royal Ontario Museum on 'The Underground Railroad: next stop freedom'. The chapter highlights the sensitivities of planning such an exhibition and the difficulties encountered while trying to make textual interpretations of icons, objects and histories of marginalized minorities. Ashley talks about how the normative reference point (the default setting if you will) for museums in western culture is for the 'authentification and mediation of heritage'. Her chapter highlights the danger of curators being beguiled by new technology and efforts at new museum practices while not paying full attention to 'really understand[ing] the visual processes behind heritage mediations [and] the whole area of "representational processes" and "minority cultures"'. Elmira Djafarova and Hans-Christian Andersen's fascinating chapter of visual metaphors in tourism advertising is concerned with the visualization of tourism and travel images via the metaphorical patterns in advertising. It is based on the idea that growing competition from new information technology devices, legislation in advertising and tourism, and growing global markets put more pressure on advertisers to attract new consumers. What we learn from Djafarova and Andersen's chapter is that semiotics, through qualitative content analysis, helps to identify the patterns in the use of metaphors, which in turn sharpen our understanding of tourism representation. This is a reflection of increased levels of competence and experience of tourists in reading and interpreting images as part of a tourism advertising discourse. They go on to say that changes in the sociocultural

environment can affect the ways in which metaphors are used by advertisers to visualize tourism products. Valentina Anzoise and Stefano Malatesta introduce us to the visual and tourist dimensions of Trentino's borderscape. Drawing on the politics of boundaries and borders, they use visual evidence in the form of photos and brochures to relocate a locality from the usual global discussions back to its local borderscapes. The images are treated as data, and a hybrid approach is used 'to understand a field of social reality where highly codified images have a strong impact on people's perception'. Finally, Fusco and Lombardi take an unusual approach to the economic history of a touristic arena by claiming that 'visual research is fundamental to understanding the Campi Flegrei' (a regional park with volcanic and archaeological features situated to the west of Naples in southern Italy). Their use of a variety of visual evidence drives home the history of the area and its importance (and rise and fall) as a site of leisure mobility. The visual data in this chapter help identify a number of traditional themes/rhetorical conventions (topos) that link classical and 20th-century histories.

Visual sociology/photo-elicitation

The four chapters that make up this section each take a particular tourist space to mobilize and test the method: Breda (the Netherlands), Venice (Italy), St David's peninsula (Wales), and Hadrian's Wall (England). The first of these, Christa Barten and Rami Isaac's chapter, 'The Use of Visual Products in Relation to Time–Space Behaviour of Cultural Tourists', sets out ways in which cities can enhance their visual products (advertising collateral, tourist maps, etc.) to enrich the visitor experience through identifying visitor space preferences and analysing behaviour (frequency and length of time spent at attractions, including information sites). The chapter develops insights into how tourists assemble the essential elements of a day trip in quite different ways. The next chapter, by Paolo Parmeggiani, is functionally and intellectually rooted in visual sociology. Taking Venice as its central case, the author relies on a multi-method approach, combining both still and moving digital image making followed up with photo-elicitation interviews. Linking his own fieldwork to Baudrillard's theory of simulacra and simulation, Parmeggiani makes the point that with the 'endless chain of visual meta-productions' we are all semioticians now. Nika Balomenou and Brian Garrod's chapter on volunteer-employed photography (VEP) takes a powerful but underused and undervalued research technique. Indeed, there is a growing body of scientific evidence to suggest that participatory photographic techniques such as VEP allow complex meanings to be conveyed and permit study subjects to express their views more efficiently and effectively. They argue that this is because the medium of photography is more sensitive to the multidimensional nature of place experiences than is written text or the spoken word. On this basis, this visual method was used to investigate tensions between locals and tourists in the touristic area of St David's peninsula in the Pembrokeshire Coast National Park in west Wales. The growth of tourism in the area has led to there being a ratio of 143 tourists to every resident, and this has created tensions between the locals and tourists. Local people were asked to photograph aspects of the park that give them a sense of attachment to place. They were also asked to attempt to capture aspects of the area that they did not particularly appreciate. Tourists, meanwhile, were asked to take photographs to illustrate why they chose to visit the park. They were also asked to take photographs of aspects they did not particularly appreciate if they happened to come across them. Participants were asked to keep photo-diaries and to describe what aspects of the park they would change if they were given the opportunity, as well as to explain why. Balomenou and Garrod end with an overall critique of the methodology used. Victoria Bell looks at how people approached taking pictures of Hadrian's Wall. While fully acknowledging their limitations, Bell draws up a typology of photographic motivations as they gazed on this 'iconic historical landscape'. She uses a combination of reflexive photography and the photo novella (concepts that are explained in the chapter) to enable the research participants to create narratives of their experience. Such auto-elicitation approaches have great value in tourism research and provide at least one of the means by which touristic

activities, performance and behaviour can be analysed, theorized and hence generalized.

Image analysis for destinations and marketing

Visitor destinations do not simply evolve. Most do not start out as tourist venues, but as economics, colonial guilt and immigration propaganda (i.e. attracting British and Irish immigrants) put pressure on what was then Van Diemen's Land, Tasmania has over 130 years' experience of using and manipulating images for place promotion. So the stage is set for Marian Walker's chapter on Tasmania and the use of tourism image concepts to explore the connection between identity and tourism. Her chapter demonstrates, via an original use of a tourism systems approach, the potential for tourism image as an approach to history and for 'uncovering holistic evolutionary aspects of tourism' by understanding images as 'social transcripts'. Albertine van Diepen and Elke Ennen make the point in their chapter that there is a continuing need to ensure that destinations do not lose their appeal for visitors. Landscapes, symbols, pasts and stories are potential resources for commodification. Van Diepen and Ennen suggest that this process plays a key role in the development of destinations as resources are transformed into marketable products. Cities select from the range of resources at their disposal, each with its own connotations, and attempt to construct an appealing and marketable visitor destination. Although the connection with the locality is often embedded, this is by no means necessarily the case. Their chapter identifies the symbolic meaning arising from three types of destinations: namely, city beaches, skating rinks and Easter and Christmas markets. They conclude that resources can be taken out of their original context without any loss of popularity. Perhaps this reduced context-boundness even adds to the popularity of visitor destinations. Iis Tussyadiah's chapter reminds us that destination marketers have always used mass media to communicate notions of tourism experiences to the general public and that images have been the bedrock of such activity. Images help define and direct tourism experiences for potential travellers. However, aside from representations promoted by the official destination marketers, tourists can also get a representation of tourism experiences from images shared by travellers on personal online travel galleries. Her study finds similarities and differences between images used by destination marketers and images shared at the visit and post-visit stages by travellers and, most importantly, analyses how visitor-generated images provide value for their audiences. Tussyadiah suggests that visitors represent differentiated and specialized experiences through their images. Finally, for this section of the book, Gökçe Özdemir takes a more traditional approach to analysing destination brochure images for Istanbul. Quantitative content analysis is demonstrated here through the categorization of 162 images found in brochures. From this visual method, Özdemir is able to demonstrate the endeavours of the brochure producers (including the national tourism organization) in marking and making the destination conform to the tourist's stereotypical image of history and blue skies.

Visual ethnography

Three chapters make up the final section of the book. Ethnography has a long history of using visual methods as a main activity (such as in ethnographic documentaries) and of using still and moving images as visual data in a multi-method approach to fieldwork. However, more often than not, the focus is on indigenous populations, or populations at risk, sometimes even inadvertently stepping into the zone of voyeurism. Nissa Ramsay, however, chooses to investigate the seemingly banal activity of souvenir shopping, revealing a rich source of evidence that enables her to use the touristic topos of 'just looking' to move the tourist gaze debate somewhat further. Her videos (in which she looks beyond content and into aesthetic value) 'evoke how the meanings of objects are negotiated through their material qualities by tourists and sellers within particular encounters'. Such researcher-produced visual data add to our ability to gain insight into the relationships between seller and buyer, host and guest, Us and Other. Laura Gemini and Giovanni Artieri describe a complex visual project carried out by the Research Lab

for Advanced Communications (LaRiCA) at a popular family leisure park. They used visual methods, in this case photo-elicitation of family groups, to investigate the notion of collective identity. Following a relatively new theme in anthropology (Malaby, 2008), some of the focus is on 'play', which is of great interest to tourism scholars. Their research demonstrates that visual methods employed within an ethnographic framework can add to the 'thick descriptions' required to gain nuanced understanding of everyday life and play. The final chapter in the book, by Ranjan Bandyopadhyay, turns our attention to the compelling area of touristic representations and destination image making. However, rather than investigating this phenomenon through the lens of marketing, Bandyopadhyay takes inspiration from May Louise Pratt's seminal paper 'Imperial Eyes' (1992) to locate contemporary media practice in their colonial/postcolonial contexts. Using visual data to enrich reflexive fieldwork, Bandyopadhyay tells of alienation and Othering as being rife in a space where, allegedly, 'the fun never stops'.

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1 Examining the Messages of Contemporary 'Tourist Art' in Yucatán, Mexico: Comparing Chichén Itzá and the Puuc Region

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Introduction

'Tourist art' is a touchy subject for art historians, since traditional art historical methodology has largely omitted this form of visual expression from its discourse. Because it is produced for audiences outside the framework of the dominant 'art world' and with the intention of being sold, tourist art is not considered 'high' art, and is even relegated to the category of 'non-art'. However, works such as Nelson Graburn's *Ethnic and Tourist Arts* (Graburn, 1976) and Ruth Phillips and Christopher Steiner's seminal *Unpacking Culture* (Phillips and Steiner, 1999) have helped to change such attitudes, since their collections of essays seriously discuss the aesthetic value and cultural significance of tourist arts from an art historical perspective. Building on these, and related studies by scholars such as Bennetta Jules-Rosette (1986), Larry Shiner (1994) and Quetzil Castañeda (1996), the goal of my current fieldwork and research is to reconsider the issues of 'high' and 'low' from a different perspective and treat tourist arts and the concept of the souvenir as worthy subjects of art historical investigation. Not only do tourist arts communicate important messages about the changing nature of a group's cultural identity, many ethnic crafts and souvenirs display fine craftsmanship, mastery of technical skill and complex subject matter, which elevate them above the quality of other mass-produced keepsakes. Such markers of quality, using a western model of the term, permit them to be viewed outside the realm of traditional handicrafts and be investigated along with other sculptural works typically considered 'high' art.

To properly explain the meaning and value of tourist art, Jules-Rosette argues that the criteria associated with conventional aesthetics (in the western sense) or the more recent 'ethnoaesthetics' are unacceptable models (Jules-Rosette, 1986: 57). She contends that because the production and consumption of tourist arts reveal a special relationship between the artist and his audience, an 'aesthetics of communication' must be used, rather than models based on formal analysis (Jules-Rosette, 1986: 57). With this in mind, this chapter will focus on the woodcarvings currently produced and sold in the Maya archaeological zones of Chichén Itzá and the Puuc region of Yucatán, Mexico, which represent technical refinement, innovation and high quality in terms of their craftsmanship, design and materials used. Subject matter, source imagery, artistic influences, style and the artistic processes of the artisan-vendors will be considered in order to better understand the aesthetic significance of the woodcarvings created in these growing centres of cultural production.

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Background

A brief description of the two areas in question will help to introduce some of the major factors that characterize the nature of tourism in each cultural centre as well as the response by their respective art markets. The Puuc region, which is located in the hill zone of the north-western part of the Yucatán Peninsula, for instance, is associated with several well-known ancient Mayan archaeological sites, such as Uxmal, Kabah and Sayil, but, due to its rural surroundings and distance from popular resort destinations like Cancún and Playa del Carmen, it does not attract typical 'surf 'n' sand' vacationers (A. Escobedo, personal communication, 7 July 2006). Therefore, individuals who come to the Puuc region generally have an acute interest in its history and archaeology and often form part of tours guided by scholars or archaeologists affiliated with universities or other institutions, the most elite category of tourism, according to Adolf Ehrentraut (1996: 17). Although such tourists also visit Chichén Itzá, its location on the northern plains of the peninsula permit it to cater more readily to day tourists travelling from Cancún or the other east coast beach resorts. These tourists' interest in the site is largely secondary to other vacation activities. Understanding the different nature of the tourist audiences is crucial because the woodcarvings and other handicrafts sold in the respective areas are adjusted to appeal to consumer preferences. In this respect, Jules-Rosette argues, that, since the 'quality' of the art object depends on the structure of the art market (comprised of a certain type of buyer), it is not entirely based on the artist's idea of aesthetics or self-expression, but is rather determined by his perception of consumer tastes through his knowledge of what sells (Jules-Rosette, 1986: 43–44, 47–48).

Findings

With this basic understanding of the different art markets and their buyers in mind, we will first consider the Puuc region. Puuc woodcarvings are high-quality and finely executed wooden replicas in cedar of ancient Mayan stelae and lintels, or imagery from ceramics or pictorial manuscripts such as the Dresden or Madrid codices. According to Graburn's categories, Puuc carvings might be considered either 'commercial fine arts' or 'souvenirs', though they do not fit comfortably into either category (Graburn, 1976: 5–6).[1] They might further be classified, within Jules-Rosette's (1986) system, as belonging to the art markets of the curio trade or gallery system,[2] owing to their high quality, but here again their narrow buying audience of archaeologists, scholars and other individuals with an interest in Mayan studies makes them difficult to place (Jules-Rosette, 1986: 43). It should be noted that, like their buyers, Puuc artisans are also knowledgeable about the history and meaning of the ancient subjects they copy for the following reasons: (i) their

[1]Graburn defines commercial fine arts as those objects that 'adhere to culturally embedded aesthetic and formal standards' though they are 'made with eventual sale in mind' (Graburn, 1976: 6). Souvenirs, for Graburn, are produced when the potential for economic gain 'override[s] aesthetic standards, satisfying the consumer becomes more important than pleasing the artist' (Graburn, 1976: 6). Puuc woodcarvings exhibit characteristics of both of these categories, which makes them particularly hard to place. For instance, although the woodcarvings are a new art form and not a continuation of ancient sculptural traditions, Puuc artisans preserve the formal qualities and standards of the original monuments in their modern reinterpretations, which aligns the carvings with commercial fine arts. However, like the souvenir, some Puuc artisans also purposefully adjust their carvings based on consumer tastes. For example, despite the two missing upper corners of Pakal's sarcophagus lid from Palenque, Chiapas, Jesús Delgado Kú of Kabah fills in the missing information in his reproduction of the monument, based on tourist preferences.

[2]Jules-Rosette proposes four categories of tourist art production: (i) the village market; (ii) the 'conventional' urban market; (iii) the curio trade; and (iv) the gallery connection (Jules-Rosette, 1986: 43). Of these, Puuc carvings seem to lie somewhere between the curio trade and the gallery connection, since Puuc carvers rely both on individual commissions and on the sale of pre-made carvings for sale in gift shops at Puuc archaeological sites. Moreover, a number of the artisans have exhibited their work in local and regional galleries or public venues by winning local competitions or through connections with various art dealers.

Fig. 1.1. Reproduction of the 7th-century ruler Hanab Pakal by Miguel Uc Delgado of Santa Elena, Yucatán. Original image from the sarcophagus lid found within the Temple of Inscriptions at Palenque, Chiapas, c. AD 683. Uc Delgado has reversed the orientation of the ruler to face right, instead of the figure's original orientation facing left. Carved cedar. Photo by author, 2006. A photograph of the original stone carving can be seen in *The Blood of Kings: Dynasty and Ritual in Maya Art* by Linda Schele and Mary E. Miller.

privileged position as on-site artisans gives them access to the knowledge of resident scholars and archaeologists; (ii) their work as either part-time or full-time guides of their respective or other Mayan archaeological sites; and (iii) their self-education on Mayan history and the monuments they carve by reading principal texts on Mayan art and archaeology by scholars such as Michael Coe and Linda Schele (W. Vázquez, personal communication, 15 March 2007).

The replication of ancient subject matter promotes a strong identification between the Puuc artisans, who are Yucatec Maya, and their ancient Mayan cultural heritage. Puuc artisans take great pride in their work (Shiner, 1994: 229),[3] and they seem to convey this to their audience through their fine craftsmanship and careful attention to detail. Graburn commented on a comparable commitment to craftsmanship in other tourist arts by noting that not only are artisans proud of their work but they also affirm to their foreign buyers that 'We exist; we are different; [. . .] we have something that is uniquely ours' (Graburn, 1976: 29). Contemporary reproductions of ancient monuments might seem to contradict this idea of 'uniqueness', but it is important to recognize that the Puuc artisans don't consider their carvings to be rote copies. Instead, they feel they actively reinterpret, reinvent and revitalize the ancient forms through their choice of materials, artistic process and signature carving style (Fig. 1.1).

Following June Nash, this 'new creative synthesis', i.e. modern interpretations of ancient forms, is possible because of foreign interest in civilizations of the past, which translates into thriving art markets due to the commoditization of art and culture (Nash, 1993: 18). While

[3]Shiner asserts, 'the artisans from small-scale societies who produce this art [i.e. tourist art] have their own aesthetic standards and take pride in their skill and innovation' (Shiner, 1994: 229).

having some adverse impact, this commoditization should not be viewed only negatively. A generation ago and without the economic revenue that tourism provides their communities, individuals would not have had the option to work as artists because of the need for manual labour (in the form of farming and construction work) to sustain communities. Denise Fay Brown, however, believes that the commoditization of a culture for a specific consumer market 'will have devastating impacts on the indigenous peoples and cultures of the region' (Brown, 1999: 301). She argues that tourism guidebooks and promotional materials fail to educate tourists about cultural differences and meanings present in contemporary Mayan communities and rather promote the idea of the Maya as 'exotic', and their culture as 'mysterious' (Brown, 1999: 301).

Perhaps in response to this 'exoticizing' of their culture, but also as an effort to appeal to more buyers, much of the imagery and subject matter of Puuc woodcarvings tends to come not from local Puuc sites but from classic Mayan lowland sites located hundreds of miles away. Such imagery, specifically representations of rulers and gods in ritual scenes, enforces popular beliefs about Mayan culture held by cultural outsiders, namely that the Maya were a mysterious, ritualistic people obsessed with blood sacrifice and warfare. It follows that the occurrence of classic Mayan imagery among contemporary Puuc woodcarvings outnumbers ancient Puuc subjects for several reasons. First, artisans make what sells, which tends to be the highly detailed and naturalistic representations of rulers from stelae, lintels and other dynastic monuments from Palenque and Yaxchilán. These more mimetic depictions are preferable, since visitors from Europe or the USA, who are accustomed to traditional western representational styles, may not fully appreciate the more geometric and expressive imagery found on buildings and monuments at the Puuc sites. Following Cecelia Klein, since figures from Palenque and Yaxchilán generally exhibit correct proportion, curvilinear forms and naturalistic poses, artisanal replicas of the figural reliefs from these sites can be more easily understood in western terms (Graburn, 1976: 17; Klein, 1988: 44).[4]

Secondly, Jesús Delgado Kú, a Puuc artisan from Kabah, suggests that certain subjects may be more popular than others due to tourists having seen the originals in various museums around the world. Such may be the case with some of the Yaxchilán lintels, which are currently housed in the British Museum (J. Delgado Kú, personal communication, 18 July 2006). Delgado Kú observes that, for these individuals, what counts as 'Maya' art is what they have already seen in the museums and will therefore interest them more than imagery with which they are not familiar (J. Delgado Kú, personal communication, 18 July 2006).[5] A third factor may have to do with the subject matter itself. For instance, some of the Yaxchilán lintels display scenes of blood sacrifice, a ritual that is not practised in the west and thereby exoticizes the ancient Maya (Fig. 1.2). Such practices are pictured in the widely read magazine *National Geographic*, which frames how this and other ancient cultural practices reinforce the popular image of the 'Mysterious Maya' (Hervik, 1999: 169).

Early 19th-century explorers to the Mayan region, such as John Lloyd Stephens, romanticized the ancient Maya as a lost civilization, since many elite aspects of their culture were destroyed by the earlier 'collapse' of their Mayan elite society during the Late Classic period, and what remained of it was further diminished during the Spanish conquest (Watanabe, 1995: 33; Evans, 2004). Peter Hervik points out, however, that later scholars, such as Sylvanus G. Morley, still believed that the modern Maya had little to offer to our understanding of the ancient culture, but he promoted the idea that 'racial continuity' linked the modern Maya to their ancient predecessors, i.e. their physical appearance and facial features (Hervik, 1999: 182, 185). Though

[4]Paula Ben-Amos, a contributor to Graburn's (1976) volume in 'A la Recherche du Temps Perdu: On Being an Ebony in Benin' (pp. 320–333), further states, on p. 129, 'Tourist art. . .operates as a minimal system which must make meanings as accessible as possible across visual boundary lines [. . .]'.

[5]Of course, tourists could also have seen these monuments in general-interest books or exhibition catalogues without having travelled to international venues.

Fig. 1.2. Reproduction of lintel 17 from Yaxchilán, Chiapas by Ángel Ruíz Novelo, Labná, Yucatán. Image shows Bird Jaguar IV and one of his wives, Lady Bala-Ix, engaged in auto-sacrificial bloodletting to celebrate the birth of a son c. AD 752. Certain elements, such as the framing device and woven mat upon which the figures sit, have been embellished and other features omitted, such as basal glyphs, from the depiction of the original monument. Carved cedar. Photo by author, 2006. A photograph of the original lintel can be seen in *The Blood of Kings: Dynasty and Ritual in Maya Art* by Linda Schele and Mary E. Miller.

more recent scholarship has demonstrated areas of cultural continuity, John Watanabe contends that to romanticize the modern Maya as a continuation of their pre-Columbian ancestors is to discount everything that occurred in between – the Spanish conquest, colonial oppression, modernization – and thus paints a distorted picture of their reality (Watanabe, 1995: 34).

In light of this, it is interesting to note that some Puuc artisans actually promote the idea of a 'living culture' and their connection to the past by sharing bits of their indigenous heritage and knowledge of Mayan history with potential buyers. Delgado Kú, for instance, likes to converse in Maya with the other guides at Kabah, a marker of his indigenous identity, to attract buyers. Watanabe states that speaking a Mayan language doesn't necessarily define what is 'Maya', but it does differentiate Mayas from Hispanic non-Mayas and helps them to transmit their cultural identity to outsiders (Watanabe, 1995: 33). Along these lines, Delgado Kú even likes to teach visitors a few Mayan words or phrases to take back with them, to enhance their cultural experience and possibly to impress their friends. Following Hervik's notion regarding *National Geographic*'s tendency to portray a culture based on its audience's understanding of it (Hervik, 1999: 171), Delgado Kú's technique does little to promote a true understanding of

contemporary Mayan culture to cultural outsiders, but his efforts help to secure a sale if the buyer doubts his heritage and thus the object's 'authenticity' as the artistic product of a 'real Maya'. Of course, as Graburn notes, the problem is that the more often that stereotypes are perpetuated by cultural outsiders and are not corrected or clarified by cultural insiders, there is a risk that members of the local group 'may come to believe the same things about themselves or their past as the outside world does' (Graburn, 1976: 19).

These questions of identity and authenticity are further complicated owing to an ever-increasing interconnectivity made possible by mass-media sources, such as television, print media and the Internet, which have facilitated Puuc artisans' access to broader world art traditions. Angel Ruíz Novelo, for example, has a small newspaper clipping of a Graeco-Roman head above his workbench at Labná, which he uses as inspiration for his work. In this way, Ruíz Novelo and other Puuc artisans blend elements of western and non-western art styles in a kind of transcultural approach to art-making. Similarly, Wilbert Vázquez of Muna is very interested in 20th-century European art styles, such as cubism and surrealism. As a part-time woodcarver and full-time tour guide throughout the Maya region, Vázquez has access to a broader international clientele and so acts as a kind of gallery dealer by representing other artisans from his hometown. While he continues to sell the work of artisans who specialize in more traditional reproductions, he is especially interested in those who push the boundaries of conventional 'Maya' representational systems, as is evident in the carvings by Renán Salazar. Salazar's Maya-inspired profiles seem to metamorphose into one another, a style that is reminiscent of Dalí's famous clocks (Fig. 1.3).

While some would argue that such deviation from the actual representation of ancient monuments compromises the integrity of the current art tradition, Larry Shiner argues that, by assimilating western styles and notions of art,

Fig. 1.3. Carved cedar sculpture of Maya-inspired profiles by Renán Salazar, in the collection of Wilbert Vázquez of Muna, Yucatán. Date unknown. Photo by author, 2006.

artisans have found a 'creative response to the realities of the present cultural and economic situation' that characterize their societies (Shiner, 1994: 229). Similarly, Graburn suggests that the changes made to an existing tradition are as real to the contemporary artists as older styles and innovations were to their ancestors, so such changes should not detract from the nature of the tradition itself (Graburn, 1976: 13). In this respect, perhaps it is the idea of 'tradition' that poses the problem, since, as Shiner notes, such notions are what elevate the 'unspoiled primitive' and lament any changes to the norm and consequently lead to the 'denigration of the actual producers in today's small-scale societies [. . .] as they struggle for economic survival' (Shiner, 1994: 232).

As mentioned, while more extreme forms of innovation are present, as is the case with Salazar, most Puuc artisans strive to replicate ancient Mayan monuments or manuscript images, though they reinterpret the forms and figures through their artistic process and personal carving style. In most cases, the 'artistic licence' taken with respect to the traditional depiction of an ancient monument is usually minimal, but may include the addition of a framing device, omission of certain glyphs or oversimplification of hatch marks and other textural details present in the original (see Fig. 1.2). This close imitation of the original monument may be explained by the fact that the principal buyers of Puuc woodcarvings, described earlier, generally know the ancient monuments well enough that they prefer faithful reproductions and consequently place high standards on the souvenirs that they intend to purchase. Miguel Uc Delgado, an artisan from Santa Elena, commented that he tries to adhere as strictly as he can to the original monuments because buyers who have seen them in museums or at the sites like to compare the original with the replica (M. Uc Delgado, personal communication, 16 July 2006). Graburn touches on the idea of monument reproduction, even when using different materials, with his notion of 'archaism', or 'ethnic retrenchment', in which artists purposefully mimic earlier styles of their culture's recent or ancient past in response to a threatened identity (Graburn, 1976: 21, 25). Accordingly, Delgado Kú stressed the importance of creating a figure 'that can preserve [the imagery of] an original Maya stela for many years' (J. Delgado Kú, personal communication, 18 July 2006), which may also explain why cedar is the material of choice in this area, since it is a long-lasting and durable wood.

The artistic process varies among the Puuc artisans, but generally adheres to a basic four-part procedure that includes a preliminary sketch, initial carving of large areas, secondary carving of high-detail areas and final sanding and polishing. The carving is executed by hand with traditional woodcarving tools, but tools for sanding vary by artist. For instance, Delgado Kú prefers to use natural materials for the final sanding and polishing (Fig. 1.4). He keeps all of his materials on display at Kabah outside the gift shop hut and close to the park's entrance. His small table provides little room to work and is susceptible to the frequent downpours that occur during the summer months. Thus, his outdoor workshop probably serves more as a marketing strategy to advertise his own work.

Curious tourists can watch him 'work' and ask questions about his carvings while he performs a live demonstration that, like his woodcarvings, is available for tourist consumption. Moreover, witnessing a local Yucatec Maya artisan creating the carvings by hand within an ancient Mayan archaeological site adds to the work's authenticity in the viewer's mind and, in a way, packages the culture along with the product (Nash, 1993: 12).

Building on the fieldwork initiated by Quetzil Castañeda (1996), I have observed that the working methods, marketing techniques and subject matter of woodcarvings made by artisans working at Chichén Itzá differ considerably from those of the Puuc artisans. In general, the artisans at Chichén are acutely aware of the necessity to sell, so competition among vendors at the site is intense. Conscious of the fact that visitors will have many options in purchasing a souvenir, artisans strategically adjust their displays and locations to appeal to the largest number of passers-by. If you stop and talk with the artisan-vendors, they might tell you that they grind all of their pigments by hand from berries and seeds, and that they collect all the wood they carve from trees they chop down themselves ('Juan', personal communication,

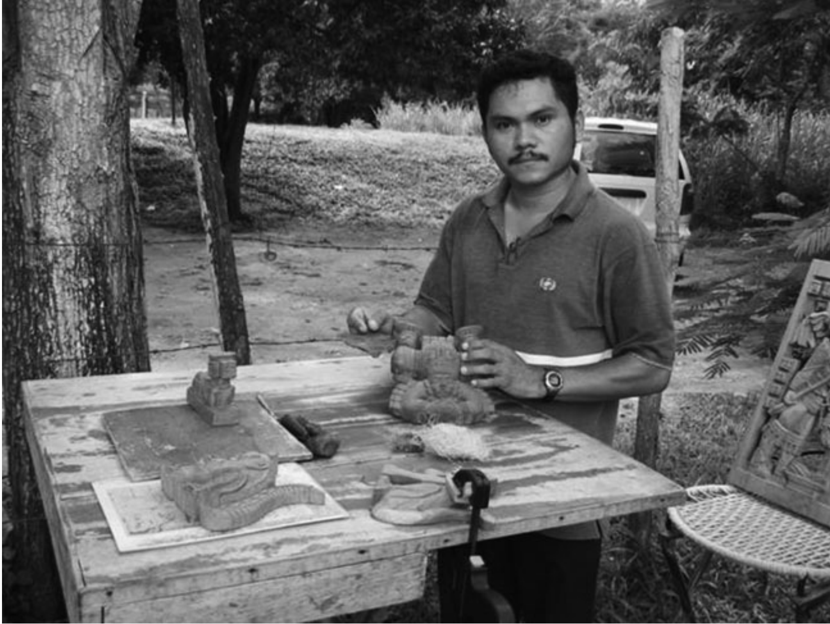

Fig. 1.4. Using natural materials such as sisal and the coarse leaves of the k'opte tree, Jesús Delgado Kú polishes a woodcarving at his workbench at Kabah. Photo by author, 2006.

1 July 2006).[6] This is a similar, if not more extreme, version of the perpetuation of the 'Mysterious Maya' narrative discussed above, which is used strategically for the marketing of their products. However, where visitors to the Puuc region may find such 'close to nature' accounts dubious, visitors to Chichén Itzá, I would argue, are more likely to believe, if not sympathize with, the vendors and their daily struggle to make a living, because these tourists are less knowledgeable about the details of Mayan culture past and present.

A closer look at the materials and style of typical carvings at Chichén reinforces the idea that these forms and images reflect the tastes of the 'day-tripper' type of tourists who visit the site, vacationers whose interest in the archaeology and history of Chichén Itzá often seems to be secondary to bar-hopping and beach-going (A. Escobedo, personal interview, 7 July 2006). According to Brown, guidebooks package Chichén Itzá and other popular tourist attractions within the 'Maya world' as 'an appealing experience' and 'a visit to the extraordinary', an irresistible excursion to complement and enhance a week of fun in the sun (Brown, 1999: 296, 299). Consequently, Chichén Itzá's artisans adjust the materials, prices and appearance of their carvings to appeal to the tastes and preferences of this type of potential buyer. For example, the materials tend to be soft woods, like balsam and acacia, which expedite the carving process for the artisan and permit quick turnover rates, as well as help to ensure a reasonable profit margin. Cedar, the harder wood used by Puuc artisans, is used less frequently at Chichén because of its lower availability and resulting higher cost. Workshops in nearby towns such as Pisté and

[6]'Juan', one of the artisans with whom I spoke at Chichén Itzá (personal communication, 1 July 2006), told me that he uses only fruit- or plant-based materials for his paints, like pumpkin or mango seeds, and that he personally gathers all the wood that he uses. Both claims are questionable, since the physical properties of the paints were more similar to acrylics than to plant-derived pigments and since balsam, acacia and cedar wood planks are readily available at local lumberyards.

Yaxcabá serve as manufacturing centres for the cheaper, more rudimentary masks and idols sold on site as kitschy souvenirs, mass-producing the carvings in an assembly line fashion (J. Tuxill, personal communication, 27 November 2006). Additionally, marketing techniques at Chichén Itzá are more aggressive than those of the Puuc artisans. Chichén artisans take an active role in attracting customers by shouting rehearsed English phrases such as 'You like? For you, one dollar!' and approach visitors with an armful of carvings in tow. This invasion of the viewer's space is intimidating but often results in a successful sale.

Stylistically, most Chichén carvings tend to be simplified, geometric and technically less refined, thus differing considerably from the more naturalistic carvings of the Puuc region. Additionally, some of the cheaper, mould-made items are made to look old through the use of varnishes or other staining techniques, exemplifying Graburn's notion of 'archaism' (Graburn, 1976: 21, 25). Most Chichén carvings comprise numerous types, including Mayan gods, architectural monuments and sculptures indigenous to Chichén Itzá, máscaras (masks) and variants of the Aztec calendar stone. Differing from the Puuc region, artisans at Chichén Itzá do not strive to replicate specific monuments found at ancient Mayan sites. Instead, and particularly in the case of the máscaras (discussed below), details are sacrificed in favour of imagery that combines some of the best-known features of Mayan, Aztec and other pre-Columbian monuments, producing interesting reinterpretations and syntheses of form and meaning. In the resulting hybrid forms, individual components lose their original significance, but together they take on new meaning by creating a simulacrum of genuine cultural encounter in the context of a modern global society (Baudrillard, 1995). It is these hybrid images that I feel represent the highest category of handicrafts at Chichén Itzá in terms of their quality, refinement, complex design elements and semiotic messages, so my discussion here will be limited to this type.

The most common type of hybrid object is the máscara, a composite image. Smaller, cheaper versions are mass-produced by using less expensive materials and techniques (e.g. plaster moulds or soft woods), while larger máscaras are among the most costly woodcarvings sold at Chichén, generally being made from cedar, and they are also the most finely carved, with lively forms and innovative designs (Fig. 1.5).

Fig. 1.5. Carved cedar hybrid máscaras (masks) from Chichén Itzá showing complex design elements and variations of different component images, including a chacmool, Maya month glyphs and a cargador or 'load-bearer'. Photo by author, 2006. Illustrations and photographs of these elements can be found in *The Blood of Kings: Dynasty and Ritual in Maya Art* by Linda Schele and Mary E. Miller.

Typical máscaras feature a basal frontal mask with hollow eyes and a gaping mouth. Although difficult to pinpoint, possible sources for this image may include Teotihuacán 'funerary' masks or Mexica copies of these masks (see Pasztory, 1997). The mask is crowned by a towering headdress, which usually consists of three to five different component images. This image cluster often combines the best-known aspects of Chichén Itzá with an iconic example from elsewhere in the Maya region, which is then frequently coupled with an abbreviated version of the Aztec calendar stone, a central Mexican pre-Hispanic monument (see Pasztory, 1983). In this hybrid form the individual components lose their significance as unique entities, but their fusion helps to redefine the symbols of Mayan or, more generally, Mexican pre-Hispanic culture in a modern global context. Furthermore, they function as the nexus of transcultural exchange that international tourism promotes.

I asked the Chichén artisans about the hybrid mask images and their appeal among potential buyers. They told me that tourists want to buy one of everything, i.e. representations of all the famous images they have seen on their trip: the Castillo, a chacmool, the maize god, a feathered serpent, etc. However, most people either don't have the financial resources to buy one of everything or don't have enough room in their suitcase to take them all home, so the máscara provides the solution by combining all of the elements into one image ('Juan', personal communication, 1 July 2006). These and other hybrid images become a kind of 'super-metonym' for the region, in which the knowledge of the meaning of the individual pre-Columbian elements is no longer of much import. What is important is that the hybrid becomes a seemingly ultra-authentic cultural commodity, since it is made by Mayas and can be interpreted by the buyer as representing several aspects of Mayan culture.

One of the most interesting hybrid images found at Chichén Itzá was the composite Maya–Aztec calendar (Fig. 1.6). The Maya had a working calendar system that consisted of both a ritual and agricultural calendar, and glyphic references to this appear in texts as 'calendar round' statements (Coe, 2005; Sharer and Traxler, 2006). However, the 'gearwheel' visual diagram that most contemporary Maya scholars use to illustrate the mechanization of the calendar round wasn't conceived of until 1954 by J.E.S. Thompson (Thompson, 1954). Conversely, the Mexica–Aztecs of central Mexico devised a kind of cosmic diagram that is commonly referred to as the 'calendar or sun stone'. This colossal stone disc served as a permanent record of the Mexica creation myths, specifically the destruction of the previous four 'suns', as well as the divine sacrificial origin of the current 'sun', embodied by the deity Tonatiuh (Pasztory, 1983: 170).[7] Given that the Maya and Mexica–Aztec civilizations were separated not only by considerable distance but also by substantial differences in language, culture, belief systems and their periods of florescence, the juxtaposition of the Maya and Aztec 'calendar' images seems problematic. A local artisan told me that visitors to Chichén generally don't know the difference between Maya and Aztec; they simply see the Aztec calendar stone as representative of pre-Columbian culture, in a sense standing in for all the pre-Columbian cultural groups ('José', personal communication, 1 July 2006). I asked him if the fusion of the two calendars would cause them to lose their meaning and he said that it might, but the combination provided 'something for everyone' ('José', personal communication, 1 July 2006). When I asked Alfonso Escobedo, a tour agency owner and operator from Mérida, about what motivates artisan-vendors at Chichén to make hybrid images like these, he had a simple response: 'It's money' (A. Escobedo, personal communication, 7 July 2006).

Interestingly, the Aztec calendar stone has become something of a national symbol of Mexico today, used by travel agencies and other businesses in advertisements internationally and sold as merchandise throughout the country. This literal appropriation of indigenous symbols by the ruling majority, or 'borrowing of identity' as Graburn terms it, is a strategy used

[7]For a more detailed discussion of this monument, see R. Townsend (1979) *State and Cosmos in the Art of Tenochtitlán* (Dumbarton Oaks, Washington DC) and A. Caso (1958) *The Aztecs: People of the Sun* (University of Oklahoma Press, Norman, Oklahoma).

Fig. 1.6. Hybrid Maya–Aztec calendar showing Aztec sun stone circumambulated by Maya month glyphs. Mould-made from lime plaster and 'antique' varnish. Photo by author, 2006. A photograph and illustration of the original Mexica–Aztec sun stone can be found in *Aztec Art* by Esther Pasztory. Illustrations of the Maya month glyphs can be found in *The Blood of Kings: Dynasty and Ritual in Maya Art* by Linda Schele and Mary E. Miller.

to intentionally distinguish nations that were once colonized from their European motherlands (Graburn, 1976: 29). However, whether intentionally or not, by finding or forcing a common identity, the ruling class often ends up strengthening stereotypes associated with the historically oppressed and colonized minority, which in turn reinforces racial and social inequalities (Watanabe, 1995: 30–31). The presence and appropriation of the calendar stone in this example, however, as a symbol of pre-Columbian culture at a Maya archaeological site, seems to be less about a borrowed identity and more about a market that is aware of its buyers' desires and the limits of their knowledge of Mayan culture.

Conclusions

As we have seen, the tourist arts produced by both Chichén and Puuc artisans should be celebrated as art forms that 'boldly assert new cultural synthesis and meanings' and are valued for their achievement in 'reaffirming [a] positive form of cultural expression' (Jules-Rosette, 1986: 56). These artisans tailor their marketing techniques, artistic style, artistic process and the choice of subject matter and materials to the preferences of their principal buying audience, whose character depends on the location of the archaeological zone in relation to other major tourist attractions, such as coastal beach resorts. Finely carved replicas of ancient Mayan stelae and manuscript images, geared to appeal to a specialized cultural tourism market, dominate the repertory of Puuc carvings, while more hastily done though dynamic hybrid and conceptually complex objects, in many cases made from cheaper materials, characterize Chichén handicrafts. Additionally, artisans from both regions distinguish themselves in order to appeal to tourist buyers, though competition among artisans is greater at Chichén Itzá, where the number of carvers on site far outweighs those working in the Puuc region. In both regions, however, the nature and structure of the art market are what mediates between the artist and his audience, and the intended and perceived meanings of the objects for sale (Jules-Rosette, 1986: 56). Following Graburn, the woodcarvings assert the maker's identity through the display of the most positive or perhaps romanticized aspects of his heritage either in the work itself or by the actions he performs before his consuming audience (Graburn, 1976: 31). In

both cases, in addition to whatever pleasure and pride they take from making these sculptures, local artisans seem to recognize that by purchasing a woodcarving, the tourist, whether more or less discerning, seeks to gain proof of his 'authentic' encounter with an indigenous culture through the possession of a unique, handcrafted, tangible object made by an actual Maya in an actual Mayan archaeological site.

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2 Medialization of Touristic Reality: the Berlin Wall Revisited

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A tourist visiting Berlin usually does not intend to just experience the city as it is today. Tourists frequently come to Berlin looking for traces of the past, and for most visitors this means an interest in recent history. So travellers look for remnants of a divided city: the Berlin wall is the main object of interest. No other example of architecture in the world is as closely associated with the cold war, the division of west and east. At the same time, its fall marked the beginning of a new era. In the newly reunified Germany of the early 1990s, the top priority was to destroy the wall as quickly as possible, to facilitate the melting of East and West Berlin. No one thought about preserving the wall or parts of it as a memorial. The primary goal was to eradicate all traces of the division. It is understandable that no one mourned the loss of a structure perceived by most as a prison. But the more the wall was dismantled, reduced to rubble, chipped off by wall peckers (people using a chisel and hammer to claim chunks as mementos of the wall) or auctioned off in complete sections as art, the more its disappearance began to be seen as a deficit.

The wall's symbolic significance to German history became a topic of discussion, leading to the realization that it was a memorial worth preserving and protecting. It was granted the status of a kind of topographic remembrance, an 'unintentional memorial' (see Riegl, 1982 for more on this term). And it is still a topos of Berlin's historic landscape that invites discourse. Not until the summer of 2006 was it decided to create an 'overall concept of remembrance of the Berlin wall'. The purpose is to determine what to do with the remainders of the wall scattered around Berlin and how to honour the victims of the East German border politics (see Wefing, 2006). The border strip in the inner city evolved more and more to a clearly broken memorial landscape, characterized by memorial rituals and political acts as well as by touristic practices.

So traces of the wall are still visible, the border installations that were erected around West Berlin by the East German government in August 1961 as an 'anti-fascist protection rampart'. The border was more than just a wall. It was a wide, complex structure to prevent the citizens of East Germany from fleeing, including a front-line wall (the 'wall' facing the west), ditches, patrol lanes, light strips, guard towers, stretches of dog runs, tank barriers, signal fences and a so-called 'hinterland wall'. This imposing installation has been dismantled, but there are still quite a few convincing remnants and traces left. However, their significance to the border installations is not always immediately evident (books of pictures from Hampel and Friedrich, 1997; Petro, 1991; and Feversham and Schmidt, 1999 offer a good overview of the before and after of the wall).

In addition to the clearly visible remains of the wall, there are secondary traces, such as

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Fig. 2.1. Painting on the west side of the Wall (1985).

Fig. 2.2. Wall remnant Liesenstraße (fallow land near the suburban train, 2006).

Fig. 2.3. Marker project concerning the course of the wall in front of the Brandenburger Tor (2006).

those left by operation or demolition of the structure. The void that was left by levelling of the wall and that still appears foreign in the cityscape can also be viewed as a component of a 'monument' (Schmidt, 2002: 67). It is easier to find these traces today than it was 10 years ago.

In the ensuing period, several wall monuments have been created, and multiple marker projects have occurred (e.g. an Internet overview of the preserved remnants of the wall by the Berlin monument agency or biking tours offered by the ADF/German biking association; Küpper, 2006). The guide *Wall Remnants – Wall Traces* by Axel Klausmeier and Leo Schmidt (2004) offers a detailed overview of the course of the wall and its functioning. The Berlin senate committee for city planning assigned the authors the task of compiling all of the preserved vestiges and traces of the wall. However, there is still no 'wall museum' in the sense of a central place of remembrance and explanation. Instead, the dispersion of the remnants is the primary element of the memorial topography. The benefit of this is that it is better suited to the magnitude of the structure and its distribution throughout the city, and it leads to reflection on the authenticity: to experience the wall where it was and to pay tribute to its victims where history actually unfolded.

When the tourist follows the tracks of the wall though the Berlin of today, the experience of authenticity becomes a multifaceted encounter. Assuming that we face reality not only when we see things but when dissonant experiences occur, we need not focus on the question of the essential being of the real (Karpenstein-Eßbach, 2004: 171). We can rather concentrate on the problem of which relationship we have with reality or which relationships can be established with the experience of the world of the Berlin 'wall', a place of remembrance as conveyed by the media – in this case via official memorial policy or tourism marketing. Different characters of reality and different types of authenticity are revealed to the observer of the wall. These concepts will be analysed in this chapter with the aid of the reality terms stated by Blumenberg (1969) and the thoughts on the authenticity debate offered by Wang (1999).

Let's begin our tour of the wall at Checkpoint Charlie. Checkpoint Charlie was a border checkpoint manned by the Allies. One crossed from downtown Berlin (in the East) to Kreuzberg (in the West). After the wall was erected,

Fig. 2.4. Former 'Checkpoint Charlie' (2006).

this was the only checkpoint where Allied forces, diplomats and foreigners could cross the border. Today Checkpoint Charlie is a collection of memories. There is a reconstructed guard booth used by the western Allies in the 1960s, a reconstructed sign stating in several languages, 'You are leaving the American sector', and various stands offering East German, Soviet and wall paraphernalia. And there is the so-called 'Haus am Checkpoint Charlie'. The museum was built by a private initiative in 1963. It contains a collection of testimonies all about the construction of the wall, from the fate of single East German refugees to vehicles modified to conceal fleeing persons. There are displays on tunnel projects, artwork on and about the wall and relics of the East German regime. The place is of great historic significance: it was here that the American tanks and the Soviet army stood across from each other, ready to shoot, when the disagreements between the Allies escalated in October 1962.

For the visitor, the realness of this place is apparent. At the moment of presentation, the real is so convincing as to be indisputable. Blumenberg refers to this first figure of reality comprehension as the *reality of present evidence*. It rests on the ancient comprehension of reality. The human mind glimpses an idea and immediately and definitively assumes himself to be viewing the most recent, ultimate reality. But at the same time he knows that the sphere of empirical–sensory conditions was not and cannot be such a reality (Blumenberg, 1969: 10–11). The production of a historic place is tangible owing to the number of souvenir vendors and the massive touristic marketing. An example of this is aspiring actors posing in East German police uniforms in front of the guard booths, having their pictures taken with tourists for a euro. Residents and victims' associations have already branded this show as Disneyfying a memorial and have taken legal action (Müller, 2004).

But, in the antique sense, this difference does not lead to a division of the consciousness of reality. There is no room for the insinuation of an illusion. Reality as an immediate evidence includes the current recognition and acknowledgement of the most recent reality, because it is focused on seeing the way in which one sees oneself. For the tourist, it can be expressed as a formula: 'I see/experience it, so it is real.' Such a view of reality may initially seem naive, but it is

Fig. 2.5. Actors posing with tourists at 'Checkpoint Charlie' (2006).

reflected in the discussion of the authentic tourist experience and in the idea of so-called existential authenticity (Wang, 1999: 351–352). Authentic experience is recognized as intersubjective and linked to an activity, and it is considered to be detached from the authenticity of the viewed object. Thus it is no longer tied to supposedly objective authorizations, but instead feeds on the spontaneous experiences of touristic settings – as Moscardo and Pearce's (1986) study of historic theme parks in Australia describes. Because of its past and its popular charge, Checkpoint Charlie evidently has a stronger emotional effect on the visitor than other remnants of the Wall, which at first are perceived as rigid and do not tell a tale until they are assigned markers (Wefing, 2006). This emotionality provides the tourist with immediate evidence, making Checkpoint Charlie a place to authentically experience wall history.

If a tourist is interested in delving deeper into the history of the division of Berlin, he can proceed to the documentation centre on the Berlin wall on Bernauer Straße. This is a place where one can take a serious and differentiated look at the wall and the meaning of the border for the people then and now.

A mediating authority acknowledged by the visitor as an expert on such a perception of reality, the museum's curator, assures the visitor that the displayed objects reflect reality. Blumenberg (1969: 11–12) refers to this second reality as *guaranteed reality*. This reality is more or less the beginning of modern philosophy. In the Middle Ages, it was God who, as the third level of jurisdiction, controlled the relationship of humans to reality and provided a guarantee for the reliability of human recognition. This scheme fundamentally eliminates the possibility that there could be a trait that identifies the given as real. In the history of ideas, such constructs have long been transcended, but they turn up again in the discussion of the meaning of authenticity as Trilling (1972: 93) defined it for the museum. The curator as mediating authority certifies for the tourist the authenticity of the presented wall history. Whereas emotionality determines the perception of authenticity at Checkpoint Charlie, an objective authenticity is conveyed from an official source on Bernauer Straße. One could also say: 'This is what the border installations really looked like. We as experts can attest to this.'

The tourist who visits this cultural heritage is provided with an objective authenticity in

Fig. 2.6. Documentation centre on Bernauer Straße (2006).

terms of absolute facts. However, this contradicts the understanding of authenticity as a social construct. Authenticity is not a quality inherent in the objects. Rather, the perception of authenticity depends on the viewpoint of the visitor, on his knowledge, his beliefs, his preferences (Wang 1999, 351–352). It is also influenced by the interpretive dominance over the object, which always represents only the immediate result of a conflict-filled process. So monuments as such are devoid of meaning. Without a reference to time, place or the visitor, they have no meaning based solely on their shape. They cannot be deciphered without the associated symbolic practice (Tacke, 1995: 18). The perception of their authenticity and thus their relationship to reality are dependent on the context. Blumenberg (1969: 12–13) refers to this third form of reality as the *realization of a coherent context*. Remnants of the Berlin wall are brought into a new context of meaning and create an individual authenticity for each tourist. This kind of authenticity does not ask for assurance, but comes each time to a coherent update. This is particularly apparent when, wandering through Berlin, one happens upon fragments of the wall that are not part of a ritualized commemorative practice or that have undergone artistic alienation. A good example of this is the so-called East Side Gallery near the Oberbaum Bridge. There is a section of hinterland wall, at 1.3 km the longest stretch that remains intact, in the form of a front-line wall. The structure faces the Spree river to the west and Mühlenstraße to the east. This vestige of the wall was painted by various artists from around the world in the spring of 1990; since then, much of the 'official' artwork has been sprayed over with unofficial, spontaneous graffiti. This led to the belief that the wall and the illustrations should be preserved. In 2001, a section of the painted wall was painstakingly restored, and an association was founded to protect the East Side Gallery. At first glance, the area surrounding the wall appears inhospitable. Garbage piles, makeshift structures and construction are the dominant theme. In addition to its appeal to sightseers, the location on the river makes the area the ideal setting for summer beach parties and other events. And right next to the wall remnant there is a bar.

When the reality of this section of the wall is contemplated, the observer suddenly wavers between different versions of the structure that accentuate the procedural. And this is where

Fig. 2.7. East Side Gallery (2006).

Blumenberg's third reality comes in. While reality as evidence is based solely on the present moment, and the understanding of reality, with the aid of mediating authorities, always refers back to a past reason, guaranteeing reality, the *realization of a coherent context* must be comprehended procedurally. Reality is understood as the result of a realization, as a successive reliability that forms itself, a reliability never absolute and final but dependent on every future. Elements can occur in this reality that may devastate the previous consistency. This means that things previously considered to be acknowledged can be reclassified as unreal at any time (Blumenberg, 1969: 12–13). The creation of a coherent context is essential to the perception of reality. Unlike a guaranteed reality – the recognizable is already confirmed by the authority – new things can appear without arousing suspicion. The new sparks interest. It means a new development or update of the old, forming a new coherent context. There is not just *the one* reality in this sense; instead all subjects have their own reality. This aspect of a perspective position – Blumenberg (1969: 13) refers to the 'confirmation value of the experience that takes place in the intersubjectivity' – means that other experience contexts than those known can never be ruled out. Instead, ideal communication communities in the sense of Habermas are formed by contextualization and decontextualization processes with new impetus (Karpenstein-Eßbach, 2004: 176). These include the tourist *communitas* mentioned by Wang, referring to Turner's work on liminality (Wang, 1999: 364–365). A characteristic of such communities is the shared touristic experience in which they experience an interpersonal authenticity that is existential. The experience, culminated in the intersubjectivity, as a relation to reality stresses not only the social construct of authenticity. When Blumenberg (1969: 13) emphasizes that, in this sense of reality, the ability to partially experience something in the world can never rule out other experience contexts and subsequently other worlds, the reliability of a perspective position when glimpsing reality becomes clear. Whereas the tourist from his vantage point can emotionally experience Checkpoint Charlie as an activity-bound, existential authenticity, as a real illustration of the past, critics see only a Disneyfied place and a commodification of history that has nothing to do with history – or, more precisely, with their

history. An essential element is always the opportunity to create a coherent context.

However, such a process is not boundlessly possible. Whereas contextualization has no limits and is inconsistent, the context as such becomes a problem. Blumenberg (1969: 13–14) refers to *reality as incompliant with the subject*, as completely unavailable, something that does not let itself be manipulated to subordination. Rather because of its overwhelming entelechy, this reality becomes a *factum brutum* to the observer, and the observer can no longer imagine that it evolved from a constructive process of conceptuality. Such a reality is based on the experience of resistance. Reality is no longer linked to one's own experience. It suddenly crumbles around the observer as the unexpectable. Sections of the wall appear in places where they do not really belong, such as in a shopping centre. The awareness for reality in this case becomes instinctive: instead of reflection, it triggers a reflex in which a moment of the suspicion of an illusion is inherent: Is this image being conveyed to me real or is it a simulation? Is this remnant of the wall real or is it a fake? Suddenly authenticity is always questioned at this level of reality. The type of authenticity inherent in the object is no longer questioned; the reality principle is now the issue. Baudrillard (1976, 1978) follows this path to the end: he characterizes our present by replacing the old reality principle with a simulation principle. The real disappears when it is replaced by signs of the real and doubled. It becomes hyperreality or is eliminated from the process as a malfunction. This malfunction can be equated with Blumenberg's unavailability and thus with the *factum brutum* of the diagnosis.

Such an experience of reality, one that is discordant with any form of reality, disconnects thought from reality and transfers it to the sphere of unobtainable experiences of the observer with himself (Blumenberg, 1969: 14). The shock of reality as something unobtainable and discordant makes the observed object devoid of meaning. The code for deciphering the object is

Fig. 2.8. Wall remnant, displayed in the shopping centre Galeries Lafayette (2006).

missing. The supposed monument is simply an illusion. For tourist promotion of cultural heritage, which the Berlin wall is increasingly considered to be, this causes a problem: the more the cultural heritage is contextualized and decontextualized, the more complex is the question of the reality it represents. To what extent does a tourist observer perceive a monument as true and when does he feel he has been transported to a hyperreality beyond a cultural heritage experience?

Cultural heritage always represents something past, something to be remembered. That is why it is marked as cultural heritage. Representation in the sense of a performance, a portrayal or a substitute for a missing something is closely linked to the act of recognition (and thus the perception of reality), and it is to some extent equated with it (Scheerer, 1992: 790–791; Hall, 1997: 16–17). Like authenticity, representations are constituted, meaning that they are contingent and also disputed. So they not only convey an image of reality, they are also part of the construction of reality (Binder, 2001: 178–179). Cultural meanings that can or should be decoded by the observer are manifested by representations. To those involved in the process of producing cultural touristic offerings, the fundamental decipherability more or less represents a subject for negotiation: which past or how the past is to be perceived by the visitors to the cultural heritage can be controlled to a certain extent. The aspect of the disputed figures is here: Which interests are linked to the creation of cultural representation? Is the most precise adaptation to the prevailing opinion of an elite of historians in the foreground, one that guarantees a reality in the way that the documentation centre Berliner Mauer does? Or is the main goal the most (economically) successful promotion? Binder (2003: 260) refers here to a ‘symbolic occupation’ of the location, when she asks: Who is going to tell why and, specifically, how about a place and its history? The current situation at Checkpoint Charlie can be used as an example for these conflicts (Müller, 2004; Binder, 2005: 195–196). The Disneyfied production of a commodified history concurs with a city marketing strategy to create unmistakable local products but collides with the interests of victims’ association and affected residents. The colourful and unthreatening atmosphere proclaims a kind of decontextualized message of the ‘victory of freedom and democracy’, while the opponents of this marketing strategy would rather direct the visitor’s gaze towards the horrific border regime and its victims.

If one looks at those to whom these strategies are directed and their search for authenticity, one could agree with Kirshenblatt-Gimblett (1988: 61–62) that the cultural heritage provides only a representation of authenticity. This representation can become a fake in the course of increasing commodification, a fake based on the original but flexibly integrating socially desired modifications. This poses the question: Does such a postmodern game with authenticity not ultimately result in complete abandonment? Does the past not become arbitrary? The geographer Lowenthal (1992: 184) once suggested that the term authenticity be put to rest and that we should rather speak of the illusion of authenticity. This version would mean that a fake could provide better insight into the past: it would not be tied to an idea of authenticity that can never be changed over time (Lowenthal, 1995). In our present-day lives, we can never see with the *eye* of the past. Our *eye* is controlled by memory, which then grants the past a place in the present. But memories cannot be called up objectively. They are highly subjective and selective. They are reconstructions of the past that are always subjected to forgetting, suppression and distortion (Schacter, 1996). So the representation of cultural heritage as a pristine rendition appears disputable, but, as has already been demonstrated, this plays a minor role in the perception of authenticity. Framing a topic with the proper context (often emphasized with emotion) is often more effective than the scientific documentation intended to guarantee reality when it comes to more easily making the past a part of the present in the eyes of the tourists. However, if the context is not suitable or does not offer a resolution, the opposite can occur. The highly praised and frequently visited exhibit ‘Topography of Terror’ offers a good example: it is located in the excavated cellars of the Gestapo headquarters at the intersection of Niederkirchnerstraße and Wilhelmstraße. Directly next to the exhibit, there is a 200-m-long section of the wall listed for preservation. It is not specifically labelled

Fig. 2.9. Wall remnant at Niederkirchnerstraße – part of the 'Topography of Terror' (2006).

and the exhibit does not make mention of it. Particularly foreign visitors tend to remark: 'I didn't realize that Hitler built the wall, too.' Suddenly the atrocities committed by Nazis are blended with East German history (Feversham and Schmidt, 1999: 140).

So the context is an essential element of the presentation and promotion of cultural heritage. The post-tourist, as characterized by Feifer (1986) or Rojek (1993), can handle the resulting realities. He/she accepts that there are different realities that correspond to different authenticity experiences. In regard to the problem of the culture tourist, the question must be posed whether such a 'post-cultural tourist' is even desirable. The process of postmodern decontextualization and recontextualization always involves the risk of losing the ability to connect. Examples have demonstrated this. The complexity of a cultural heritage artefact such as the Berlin wall, with its constant evolutions and movement of sections as well as its transitions between an object of history and one of art, is favourable to such processes. But, on the part of those responsible for monuments as well as the culture tourism promoters, the question is: Which reality is the right one (in an exaggerated sense)? Does that which is perceived in the respective context as real and authentic represent the actual history that is intended to be represented? Does a shift in context intended to improve touristic promotion result in an unintentional shift in representation? The idea of culture tourism is ultimately based on the idea of conveying cultural heritage, but, if its representation loses the ability to connect with history, the cultural heritage becomes unavailable, a 'cultural malfunction'. It becomes devoid of meaning as a monument for the culture tourist. It is relegated to a mere backdrop. Even if it can be agreed that the Berlin wall is ultimately a text and that there is more than one version of it (as quoted by Feversham and Schmidt, 1999: 15), this version is still linked to certain contexts in a culture tourism sense. When the contexts become random, the past becomes random, and the culture tourism that thrives on the past feels itself *ad absurdum*.

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3 Vision, Translation, Rhetoric: Constructing Heritage in Museum Exhibitions

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Museums are important public sites for the mediation and experiencing of 'heritage' in western cultures. As authoritative sites, what is presented and what is not can have a major impact on how a society sees itself and how outsiders such as tourists perceive that society and its heritage. But recent exhibitions have demonstrated that minority groups do not see themselves adequately represented in museums. The museum community has acknowledged, in theory, the need to change this, but current exhibition practice continues to unconsciously reflect hegemonic and exclusionary perspectives. This chapter will explore how museum exhibitions, as rhetorical visual communicative media, continue to favour dominant, established western, gendered and colonial visual tropes. Attempts to transform exhibit practice have included the use of new visual media forms that are considered more inclusive of, and accessible to, broader publics. But exhibits persist in functioning as rhetorical texts anchored in the contexts and processes of their production and reception. Insights into the political nature of the communicative practices underlying the production and consumption of museum exhibitions are revealed in a particular public exhibit about African–Canadian heritage entitled 'The Underground Railroad: Next Stop Freedom', at the Royal Ontario Museum in Toronto in 2002. Created using a consultative committee of African–Canadian non-experts, the exhibition told a non-mainstream story, employed visual technologies not normally found in history museums and attracted ethnic visitors who rarely set foot within museum walls. The present study looks closely at the negotiations, translations and fixations enabled throughout the process – in the exhibition pre-planning, in the design process, in the employment of a unique exhibition technology/media to communicate the message and in the reaction of the public to the intended and unintended messages presented by the exhibit form. Drawing on written objectives, planning minutes and scripts for the display, a semiotic analysis of the visual impact of the exhibit and visitor reactions, this chapter compares what planners envisioned and what was actually experienced. Translations engendered by visual design practices and rhetorical effects intrinsic to the fixed nature of museum representation significantly altered the intended communication. The chapter concludes by offering insights that may mitigate these political difficulties inherent in museum heritage exhibitions.

Museums and Visual Rhetoric

Museums have long been considered in western culture as public sites for the authentication of heritage (used here to describe the legacy of the natural and human world that society wishes to

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pass on to future generations). Museums convey their view of that heritage by displaying material objects and interpreting them through primarily visual media. In postmodern western culture, the role of museums is changing to reflect new ways of looking at the world. How the institution should change is debated in museological circles, questioning not only modes of mediation but also the museum's very role as authority in matters of heritage. Non-dominant players demand that the contemporary museum respond to criticisms of gender, class and racial bias by opening up the process of representation (see Ball, 1995; Clifford, 1997; Bennett, 1998). The difficulty here is that, while bias has been admitted in theory, in practice many institutions and museum professionals continue to do business much as they always have, not considering how the act of displaying is an act of power. Yet authority is exercised throughout the process of planning museum displays by controlling the planning agenda, focusing on textual communicative strategies and using rhetorical visual display techniques that embed fixed ways of looking at the world.

The museum exhibition is a supremely visual medium. It is devoted to the social and cultural practices of showing, looking and seeing (Hooper-Greenhill, 2000). But looking at an exhibition is not a simple matter of perception. While those doing the presenting embed a complexity of meaning, a complexity of meaning is also read into the viewing, depending on the looker. Treating museum exhibition as visual discourse allows the analysis of the communicative relationships between presenter and viewer. But I argue that what is being presented drives the discourse more than the meaning-making desires of the viewer. The museum exhibition primarily renders a rhetorical function. In its position of authority, the museum sets the agenda for the audiences to follow and focuses its attention on making sure the audience understands the message. For local and tourism audiences, the museum is trusted as an authentic, responsible source for information (Kirshenblatt-Gimblett, 1998; Muise, 2008). Enshrined with this authority, the institution offers a spectacle of truth, communicating human meanings, values, identities and relationships, chosen and frozen within exhibitions. This authoritative presentation carries with it the implication of a communicative relationship that is one-way. A central authority determines what gets discussed at exhibit planning meetings, how the theme is framed and positioned, what media are used, which objects and visuals are shown or not shown, as well as how the content is expressed in written texts.

Some museums have tackled these notions of authority, representational bias and power relations by examining and altering the practicalities of how they go about their business of exhibiting. The new self-consciousness has resulted in the creation of new displays or the improvement of old ones. Some museums offered audiences a view of their inner workings – collecting, curating and display techniques – either through new shows entirely devoted to museum practices or by rendering curatorial decisions transparent in existing displays. Many ethnographic exhibits have been expanded or created to cover neglected subject areas and their political contexts and to give voice to subaltern cultures. In addition, following Clifford, attempts have been made to situate museums as sites of cross-cultural exchange through conversation rather than exhibition. In practical terms, the latter move has meant changing the very nature of exhibits by using the collections as mediators in cross-cultural contacts within the museum space or by drawing non-dominant groups into the exhibit planning process, with radical results in methods of exhibiting. These changes in practice are not easy, as the following examples demonstrate.

Katz (1992) describes a Centre for African Art exhibit in New York entitled 'Art/Artifact'. This show set out to demonstrate how curatorial and exhibition practices 'stage' the world in a political context. The centre used four different settings to exhibit objects from Africa: an art gallery, an art museum, a natural history museum and a 'curiosity room'. Each setting established a different – and loaded – relationship between the objects and their representation, revealing a museum's non-innocent role in foregrounding certain objects and not others, removing artefacts from their context or smoothing over the story in order to present a more coherent message. Katz notes that in each setting the style of exhibiting revealed a Barthesian mythologizing, 'removing an object or practice from its context and positioning them as trophies frozen in time'

(Katz, 1992: 499). Riegel (1996) offers insight into an attempt by the Royal Ontario Museum in 1989 to mount an exhibit on the neglected subject area of colonialism. The exhibit, called 'Into the Heart of Africa', was condemned by the public and the media for its seemingly colonial attitude of representation and had to be withdrawn. The ROM had mistakenly assumed that the introduction of new 'content' would broaden their representations, but had not considered the underlying visual impact of their exhibit techniques. Social anthropologist Julie Marcus (2000) also studied exhibits on non-dominant cultures developed at the Museum of Sydney. She found that, despite deliberate attempts to be inclusive of an ethnic minority, in this case Aboriginal Australians, and to tell a story that avoided dominant narratives, the underlying organization and visual framing of the display used by the museum curators had the opposite effect. Their use of specialist visual display techniques served to direct readings and exclude meanings. She concluded that visual strategies employed by museums are never free from the exercise of power and inevitably reproduce dominant narratives; an admission that the choice, organization and design of exhibit media carry messages other than 'content'.

Riegel's and Marcus's findings underscore a key point about exhibit production: that unless attention is given to all parts of the communication process – including production, content and reception – the end product might have uncertain results. Thus merely changing the content of an exhibit, for example the inclusion of minority cultures, will not change hegemonic outcomes if the conditions of production and reception are not also changed. Clifford (1997) uses the example of a Native American exhibit at the Portland Museum wherein the idea of 'exhibit' itself is totally changed by the Native Americans who developed it. The museum artefacts in this Tlingit cultural display became secondary props to the central objective of communicating ritual culture. Atmosphere, vocalizations, actions and relationships were the central presentation here, reinforcing Clifford's view that the representation of culture is more than the display of its objects. The key visual concept was to modify the very idea of 'exhibit' to suit the cultural context being portrayed – perhaps bringing to the fore whether the objective of the medium is an official history or a collective memory. In the case of the Sydney Museum, a more careful exploration of the visuality of the display and selection of an appropriate format to suit the telling of the Aboriginal story was warranted. Bennett supports Clifford's new direction for museum displays, writing:

> It will be only by experimentally tinkering with these aspects of museum display that the days of the 'expert as showman' can give way to new forms of expertise that, in facilitating a less hierarchical exchange of perspectives, may allow a renovation of the museum's earlier conception as a conversable civic space that. . . functions across the relations between different cultures. This it must do if it is to be of any value at all.
>
> (Bennett, 1998: 370)

To Bennett, the spectatorial authority that offers an objective view of the world should give way to differing positionalities within a process of two-way communication. The museum then becomes a public place where citizens of different social and cultural groups exchange views. This he concludes should become the core value of the postmodern museum.

Museum Exhibition and Visuality

My overarching interest here is how non-dominant cultures can have access to the museum as a site for identity formation and expression, and, by implication, sidestep or subvert the museum's tendency to visual rhetoric. Institutions, and scholars, do talk about how to make museum programmes and exhibits more inclusive of all segments of society by encouraging under-represented visitors such as ethnic audiences and teaching them museum literacy skills. The implication is that audiences must possess museum literacy to understand how to use and read exhibitions. Translation is viewed as one part of communicating to ethnic audiences or non-native speakers. But also intrinsic in the notion of literacy is the idea that an original message must be translated from one 'language' to another in order to accommodate the more naive meaning-making by receivers. Museums also perceive translation as a necessary step

to render expert curatorial knowledge more simply for public comprehension – and visual representation is sometimes seen as a simpler, more readily understandable communicative form (Gregory and Miller, 1998). The idea of literacy, being able to read, is broadened to include visual literacy – being able to read and interpret images or visual phenomena and to decode the rhetorical messages embedded there.

This concept of museum literacy can be compared to Bourdieu's (1993) concept of acquiring cultural capital, i.e. the accumulated cultural knowledge that confers power and status within society. Museums have grasped this idea of Bourdieu's and embarked on a mission to enable those without cultural capital to understand and use what is presented in museums by teaching them how to understand. But inherent in this notion of literacy is that what is being said is: In order to participate we will translate to simplify it for you, but you must learn our language and our rules to share the insider knowledge that our privilege/expertise allows us to innately understand. The end result of this is that, even as the museum relinquishes control over the content of exhibits, it remains firmly in control over how it expresses that content.

Museums are still speaking *for* the public using exhibitionary media aimed *at* the public, who tend to be conceived as mass consumers or differentiated as target markets – a totalizing idea that is still exclusionary even if everyone were to acquire 'museum literacy' skills. How is it possible to open up this one-way communicative process to negotiation by many complex parties instead? This question of dialogic process is still being debated by scholars (for example, Clifford, 1997; Gregory and Miller, 1998; Ashley, 2003). I offer here some insights into how museums are going about changing the rhetorical approach to exhibiting. To use a literary allusion, think of typical museum exhibits as non-fiction – the rational, discursive use of objects grouped in thematic chapters to illustrate western concepts of science, progress, history and identity. Now think of what would happen if exhibits were framed as poetry or debate or song or even idle conversation. The way one perceives the content changes dramatically depending on how it is expressed. Then museums might offer audiences something quite different. Artistic transpositions between different media have been shown to open up new ways of knowledge translation and dialogue (Busse, 2005).

But despite their inherent visual quality, typical exhibits still rely extensively on the reading of words as their communicative strategy: large titles, smaller panels, labels on objects. When an exhibit is designed, getting the text right, and reading and rereading copy, is a primary focus of exhibit revisions. But the reliance on words has caused trouble in the museum business – what happens when audiences don't want to read, might not be able to read, might speak a different language or might understand textual strategies in a different way from you (Butler, 1999; Marcus, 2000)? The Royal Ontario Museum's 'Into the Heart of Africa' exhibit was a superb example of the problems inherent in this non-fiction approach to exhibit-making. Violent protest erupted in the African–Canadian community over the perceived racism of that exhibition. Researchers have shown that 'Into the Heart' got into trouble because of the text strategies it used, choosing ironic text that failed to communicate irony to viewers. 'Quotation marks' around baldly racist statements were either not seen or not read or misunderstood (Riegel, 1996). But there was an even more important problem with this exhibit – visually, it featured a host of photos, graphics and audio-visual materials that quite obviously conveyed more to audiences than the tiny written texts, and those visuals overwhelmingly embedded racist allusions. One colonial-age engraving, for example, blown up as a graphic, depicted a British officer thrusting his sword into a Zulu man with its original caption 'Lord Beresford's encounter with a Zulu'. So 'Into the Heart of Africa' possessed a double literacy problem – both textual and visual.

The Underground Railroad Exhibit

'The Underground Railroad: Next Stop Freedom' (UGRR), installed by Parks Canada at the Royal Ontario Museum in 2002, tried to move away from the 'non-fiction' approach and into prose. Or perhaps it should more accurately be described as oral storytelling, transcending the reading of words altogether. For the first time, a

committee of African–Canadians was asked to plan the exhibit. Their objective was to dispel myths about the underground railroad and insert their story, their heritage, into the overall narrative of Canadian history. The dynamic of negotiation that went on in the committee reflected many agendas. This project was highly symbolic for all committee members. It was their shot to get their story on the stage. How to frame the story – in a celebratory way or a more gritty fashion – was a major decision the committee had to face from the beginning. Many wanted the tone of the show to reflect the pain and hardship of the underground railroad story. But, in the end, a positive, celebratory point of view was adopted and one committee member quit the group over the issue.

Instead of a traditional exhibit, the committee chose a unique multimedia approach called an 'object theatre' to convey a personal narrative. This was a bold, non-traditional approach that used an interplay of audio, video projection, theatrical lighting effects, sets and artefacts. The siting of this kind of experiential theatre in the venerable old museum was subject to some criticism, as it was seen as inauthentic, shallow, Disneyland – not real or truthful but a simulacrum. And yet, from the audience's point of view, it was engaging, inclusive and kept most of them attentive – in their seats for 25 min. This is no mean feat since the average museum viewer uses the hunt and peck method, spending about 30 s at the average exhibit case (Beer, 1987).

The storyline for the exhibit told of African–American ex-slaves who settled in urban areas such as Toronto. The exhibit looked at the story of these new Canadians as seen through the eyes of Deborah Brown, a real woman who fled slavery in Maryland in the 1850s. The presentation was more emotional and involving than a traditional museum exhibit. As with cinema, the viewer, sitting in the dark, engaged with the narrator Deborah Brown, a life-sized video projection. Her narrative was supplemented as attention was drawn to other parts of the stage – focused lighting on artefacts, voices, film – all keeping the audience interest. Interviews with audience members showed that this narrative approach connected on a visceral level, as did the use of a black female narrator, Deborah Brown, whose costume and use of colloquial language conveyed a sense of authority – the feeling that this was a true history of a real person.

But now we need to step back a little bit farther and think about the effects of this aura of authenticity. The use of a consultative committee and an engaging theatrical style did offer a more dialogic approach to the content of this exhibit. But, after a visual analysis and interviews with audience members, I found that these best intentions were undermined by the visual communication going on in the exhibit. Despite the words of the story, visual cues offered different, sometimes unintended meanings. To arrive at this conclusion I looked at settings, objects, characters portrayed, images, inherent effects of media and the positioning of the audience in relation to the exhibit. Emmison and Smith (2000) in *Researching the Visual* argue that this kind of visual research must be seen as an essential component of mainstream social science research traditions. They point out that 'issues of visibility, mutual interaction and semiotics as they relate to objects, buildings and people as well as to the study of images' (Emmison and Smith, 2000: ix) can offer a wealth of data and insights into social and cultural processes. Further, they maintain that 'public institutions can provide excellent research sites for visual researchers interested in exploring power, ideology and discourses through the analysis of displays, pictures and texts' (Emmison and Smith, 2000: 122). Applying their broad road map for the analysis of visual culture, it is possible to derive insights about the communicative impact of the UGRR exhibit on several levels and to compare those effects with the stated intentions of the exhibit planners.

Emmison and Smith rely upon Roland Barthes' levels of signification to look for traces of power and discourse in museum objects and settings. Using Barthes' system of analysis on this exhibit entails several stages. It looks at the denoted meaning of the exhibit – the informational story the exhibit planners and consultative committee agreed was intended to be communicated (within the limitation that in describing the denoted message some connotation invariably enters into the process). The connoted meanings are also inferred, i.e. the symbolic coding intended by the producers, the sum of which Barthes would call the 'rhetoric' of the exhibit (Barthes, 1991). Both the denoted

and connoted meanings imply that the audience possesses sufficient tools or the correct socialization or 'literacy' to interpret those meanings. Barthes also posits a third level of meaning, that of unintended signification or obtuse meaning, which 'seems to extend beyond culture, knowledge and information' (Barthes, 1991: 44). It is this level of meaning that offers rich fodder for the interpretation of the visual – it can be seen as representing either the producer's unconscious use of visual cues or the observer's culturally induced reading of the visual cues. It must also be understood that, as Barthes admits, 'the number of readings of the same lexia. . .varies according to individuals' (Barthes, 1991: 35), i.e. the readings offered here are only an example of possible interpretations. But by applying his techniques to the UGRR exhibit some insight is introduced into the ways in which visual cues offer a range of different, unintended meanings in museum settings. It enables observations to be made about desired, unconscious and actual discourse on power and representation in this exhibit planning process and some clues to the negotiations that went on behind the scenes in the consultative committee.

The UGRR exhibit took a storyline approach, which correlates to Barthes' 'denoted' level of meaning, but added an interactive element through the object theatre media. In Parks Canada's interpretive objectives for the exhibit, several key message-related goals were set, which were directly addressed by the content of the exhibit. These included the need to 'counter myths regarding the UGRR; emphasize the contribution and participation of the Black community, women and people's individual power; enlighten the public on the importance of the social and historical impact the UGRR had on the psyche and development of Canada; sensitize the audience to the Black experience' (Department of Canadian Heritage, 2000). The goal, then, was to tell the 'real story' of the black immigrant's experience in Canada. While the exhibit employed a strong story narrated by Brown and illustrated with film clips and artefacts to convey the first-level informational message, the producers wanted to introduce symbolic meanings on the connotative level. These reflect the objectives to 'sensitize' the audience to the black experience and 'enlighten' the public on the impact of the UGRR on the Canadian psyche (Department of Canadian Heritage, 2000). The symbolic positioning was a crucial point and subject to a great deal of debate by the consultative committee. The intent of some members was not to frame Canada in a complimentary light but to cast the accomplishments of black immigrants in a positive manner – two very different positions. On an informational level, the written text for the show gives a factual, relatively real account of life for the ex-slaves and of those who succeeded in Toronto. But, on both the symbolic or connotative level and the unconscious or third level of signification, a different perspective can be read, which celebrates Canada welcoming poor immigrants to its shores and their utopian 'good ol' days' life in Canada. The use of a black female narrator, Deborah Brown, for example, whose costume and use of colloquial language symbolically evoked the reality of the refugees' life, but who was clearly well-settled in Canada, conveyed the right message for most of the committee. She would lend credibility and visual impact to the text – the idea of actually seeing a black woman in period dress would be strongly symbolic of the idea that blacks even lived in Canada in that period.

Two other symbolic connotations were used. The underground railroad is, in itself, a travel and journey metaphor, in a sense indicating a progress to new heights, new perspectives and new worlds. The travellers on the slave 'train' to Canada were seeking a new, improved place in the world. A second metaphor symbolizes Canada, the destination of their journey: the North Star. The large visual title at the entrance to the exhibit uses the Little Dipper superimposed behind a ragged cluster of escaping slaves – indeed an early title for the exhibit was 'Following the North Star'. Deborah says in the opening sequence:

> We stole away in the black of the moon. We didn't take nothin' just a hatchet and some bread in a sack. We walked til I about give out. When my legs couldn't go no more we laid by 'til starlight. We knew the North Star, how it would lead us out of slave country.
>
> (UGRR programming script, 2003)

The Little Dipper/North Star is also described in African colloquial terms as the

'drinking gourd'. The sound track features a recurring song 'Follow the Drinking Gourd' that will 'carry us to freedom', linking the idea of hope and freedom in Canada.

The casting of Canada as a symbolic site for refugee freedom, connoted by the North Star metaphor, is directly linked to one of the interpretive objectives, to instil a 'sense of personal connection to the stories of Black immigrants and refugees' (Department of Canadian Heritage, 2000). The notion discussed in planning meetings was to go beyond the symbolism and make non-black audiences self-identify with Brown's story, i.e. to see themselves in her place by appealing to their own ancestry as immigrants or refugees. The committee felt that audiences would not connect with Brown's story in a real way, therefore with the reality of the black ex-slave's life, unless they were able to identify personally with the immigrant story. Thus the underlying connotation of the storyline was seen as refugees in Canada, a story that would be symbolic for all Canadians and convey the 'Canadian psyche' aspect of the message. In fact, early drafts of the script included a whole segment at the end where faces of new Canadian immigrants would connect the dots between Brown and today's immigrant experience. This heavy-handed denotation was rejected for a connotative level of message implied by the narrator addressing the audience as participants in her story and in this way removing her position as 'Other'.

While understanding the UGRR presentation on a denotative and connotative level assumes that we have arrived at the preferred reading of the production, it is the third level of meaning, which involves an analysis of the *unintentional* visual impact of the exhibit, which shows how alternative readings might occur. It is here that we look for things not said or items not intended or meanings formed in different ways, which reveal much about the possible effects of the show on audiences. There are two aspects to this – the unconscious view brought by the designers, derived from the design elements and media used, and the cultural view carried by the receivers, who interpret what they see, or, to borrow terminology from Stuart Hall (1980), the unconscious effects of encoding and the unconscious effects of decoding. Several levels of visual cues were used.

Visual cues for any exhibition start before the visitor even arrives at the door. One could argue that the largest visual form at play is the architecture of the institution itself: that through its form people begin to construct some idea of what that museum's message will be (Emmison and Smith, 2000). The visual impact of the Royal Ontario Museum is sublime: an imposing limestone structure with huge entrance doors and impressive lobby strike the first-time visitor with awe, wonder and intimidation – the sense of authority is clear. But then visitors had to travel from the entrance rotunda and through several imposing galleries and hallways to an escalator down to reach the UGRR exhibit space in the basement of the museum. The unstated message that was uncomfortably felt by the consultative committee when they were shown this space was, as one member put it, 'stuck in the back of the bus again'. Undeniably, this is exactly the impact of the siting of the exhibit on visitors, but in a way possibly bringing the average visitor into the head space of the underground railroad refugee – out of place, unfriendly, uncomfortable.

This contrasts profoundly with the atmosphere planners designed for the exhibit itself. The UGRR presentation was shown continuously with a 5-min break in between. Audiences entered the theatre in that break and got a sense of what the show entailed through its stage setting. The stage used simple pioneer furnishings; muted, natural colours and rustic materials; and soft light levels. A picket fence separated the audience from the stage. Folk music, 'Follow the Drinking Gourd', was sung in the background as viewers waited for the next show, and a single spotlight highlighted a small cluster of objects – a scarf, an axe and a drinking gourd. There was no visual clue as to what would happen next, since the props on stage do not clearly spell out the nature of the exhibit, but the setting was obviously theatrical, preparing the viewers for some style of theatre presentation. The setting for all filmed sequences also reflected the pastoral rural atmosphere: a pioneer home, furnishings and costuming were used to set the stage in a very theatrical way. The effect of this pioneer atmosphere brings to mind Bennett's characterization of a typical folk museum, wherein a nostalgic view of an 'old-fashioned' past is presented, which avoids harsh political realities or urban

settings (Bennett, 1995). The use of a rural setting rather than an urban one was curious, since the stated objective of the show was to draw audience attention to the urban Toronto story of the refugees. This idealized visual setting conflicted with the story of hardship told by Deborah Brown on screen and softened its impact. If the design of the stage had been a poor city St Johns Ward street, more characteristic of the ex-slave experience, the story might have been set in a different, less positive light. So it appears that the tempering of the 'real' story of the UGRR began with its setting.

The selection of objects and elements placed on display involved decisions related to the objectives of the planning team and the storyline to be portrayed. In some cases, the reality of acquisition is economic or happenstance – in this exhibit a 'shopping list' of preferred items was drawn up and researched, but there is a lack of artefacts because of the tight budget. The objects in the exhibit were seen as supporting the message, rather than a collection of important artefacts driving the message. The choice and placement of each element on the stage demonstrates the significance of framing. The objects selected to frame the story clearly emphasize the positive viewpoint. Significant in their absence were any objects related to enslavement. Centre stage, for example, was occupied by a vintage printing press framed by portraits of two black intellectuals who did well in Canada and a picture of the governor who pushed for liberal slave laws. There are no material signs of the struggle for freedom or evidence of the difficulties of life blacks faced in Toronto. Instead the objects and images of 'successful' blacks carry an unconscious indication of the status of European technology and financial success.

The visual impact of the form of media chosen to convey the message is complex and on many levels. The object theatre is not simply a series of sign panels, or a film, or a collection on display. It is, in fact, more like a theatre performance with added cinema, sound and directed lighting. While the inherent effects of this medium are numerous, a number of key observations can be summarized. The medium was originally designed for use in technology museums to achieve sublime 'shock and awe' effects using large artefacts such as locomotives or military machines. Control of the environment is key in this technology, by dominating the senses, by showing objects life-size and in three dimensions, and by immersion in an environment – a strategy deemed by Dicks as 'holding the gaze' (Dicks, 2000: 215). The UGRR object theatre performance was like a sound and light show where 'shock and awe' effects in a controlled environment are key. Through the use of diverse voices and shifting focus from narrator to artefacts to photos to film characters and sequences, the object theatre directs the eye of the viewer and keeps them enthralled. By dominating the senses, by showing objects life-size and in three dimensions, by immersion in an environment, audience attention is arrested. Bukatman describes this form of media as a direct successor to older museum techniques such as the panorama and the diorama, which incorporated visual realism and simulated motion, lighting and sound to place the audience within an environment and say 'you are here' (Bukatman, 1995). The audience is also drawn into a sensation of reality through dialogue with the attentive narrator, Deborah Brown, who seems to address them as individuals. Thus the medium lends itself to two major visual impacts: an attention-grabbing enthralment and an immersive conversation – what Bukatman describes in cinema as incorporating both the exhibitionism (visual) of the musical and the narrative (verbal) genres. Given these two effects, the audience not only gave the UGRR presentation its undivided attention but left the theatre with a sense that this story was authentic.

The visual impact of the images used in the theatre, including film, archival and display graphics, and still photography, was complex. Several general observations will be summarized here. The interspersed use of moving images and stills carries the most obvious visual impact – motion attracts the audience attention more than stills. The tempo visibly slows down with the use of archival illustrations, and audience engagement starts up again when film clips, with dynamic cuts, pans and close-ups, are used. Unfortunately, archival graphics are used to illustrate some important points, such as the life in Africa before slavery and the life of blacks during slavery. The result was a moderation of the impact of the dramatic life changes. On the other hand, filmed re-enactment scenes

focusing on Deborah's escape catch the audience's imagination at the beginning of the show. But, as suggested by the artefacts chosen for the presentation, the 'pioneer village' tone of the other film clips of Deborah's life in Toronto communicated pastoral contentment. Much of the imagery about blacks in Toronto is about the successful people, with Deborah emphasizing people getting rich. The detrimental aspects of life in Canada seem framed in terms of politeness. The end result communicated by the images, then, was that blacks did well in Toronto, a perception one visitor dismissed as a 'whitewash' of living conditions for blacks in Toronto at the time.

The viewer's relationship with the narrator, Deborah Brown, was pivotal. She was positioned as an old black woman, intended to connote sympathetic refugee female. She was depicted as non-threatening to white women and non-sexual to men. Most visitors were generally willing to accept Deborah as a teller of authentic stories. Others, however, were infuriated by her depiction. One observed, 'Deborah Brown – reinvented, fictionalized and caricatured'. The cosy, well-dressed pioneer image of Deborah Brown contradicted some of the words she spoke – visually the reality of extreme hardship on the underground railroad and in Toronto simply did not come across.

It seems this exhibit has the effect of *creating* myth through the objects selected, the images used, the form of the technology, the theatrical narrative style and the focus on the grandmotherly figure. A new mythology of the noble black settler might be said to have replaced the old stereotypes. If one takes a closer look at the subject position of narrator Deborah Brown, one might discern a more troubling identity – that of a kindly *white* pioneer grandmother. Audience members place themselves beside her, on the front porch, and through that 'physical' experience of this non-threatening woman, unconsciously position her in a personal and familiar way. Was this the unconscious intention of the exhibit planners, who were trying to tone down this exhibit for white audiences or bending over backwards to remove the 'Other' stigma? Katz pointed out that 'we cannot evade the fact that representation is at the core of the ethnographic project and that even "when the subaltern speaks" in our texts she or he is speaking through us' (Katz, 1992: 501). Rather than depicting black refugees as having a different culture, they are instead displayed as white people with black skins and a strange accent. The accent was a bone of contention with some visitors because it seemed so out of place. Perhaps it interfered with their envisioning of Brown as a white grandmother figure. Ball (1995) also warns in his study of performative ethnicity that ethnic identities and lived experiences are routinely constructed into homogeneous performance (or display) for the consumption of spectators in postmodern tourism. The implication is that whites routinely construct a 'safe' image of the ethnic Other for performative consumption. Anthony Shryock (2004) goes further, detailing how ethnic cultures themselves use performative, in-public identities to legitimate strategic versions of identity. He develops the idea of 'mainstreaming', where immigrant communities create 'self-conscious cultural display' or public representations demonstrating to external audiences how they are 'successful' (Shryock, 2004: 296). This may be the case with the story of the UGRR – a performance of 'safe' black culture that minimizes or places in the distant past any negative political overtones and uses a narrative theatre style that immerses the audience and convinces them that the story is authoritative.

Conclusion

This particular exhibit demonstrated the dangers inherent in trying to develop new museum practices before we really understand the complex visual processes behind heritage mediations. Museums must think hard about how they are opening up representational processes to minority cultures. If the terms of inclusion imply that others must acquire museum literacy skills and employ translation practices inherent in visual design techniques, then the unique voices offered by other cultures will be stifled and the potential of creating dialogic opportunities will not happen. The underground railroad project offered a more dialogic approach to the planning and creation of an exhibit, a non-traditional technique of exhibition was attempted, and a new mix of audiences was attracted. But at the same time, while the

museum tried to open up dialogue about process and techniques of representation, this exhibit ended up communicating new mythologies. The rhetorical effect of the exhibition media seemed to continue because of a lack of attention to visual effects. The object theatre, through its cinematic and theatre effects, developed intricate and intimate relationships with audiences, which carried embedded problems that, in this case, were interpreted by some visitors as a 'whitewash' of the lives of real people. Museum exhibit planners need to study more closely the unconscious visual and experiential power of their exhibit media. The object theatre did allow a more performative and emotive medium of communication. As long as exhibit planners take a closer look at the medium's drawbacks, can decipher its signs and utilize its relationship with audiences, this style of exhibit has strengths to offer. Otherwise, even though the process of planning museum exhibitions becomes more accessible or democratic, the effects of how things are represented will negate this.

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4 Visual Images of Metaphors in Tourism Advertising

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Introduction

Researching tourism via visual devices enables much deeper comprehension of the social phenomenon of tourism. Language use can be seen as a part of visual representation. For the purposes of this study, metaphor as a language device is explored to identify its functions and concerns in the visualization process of tourism images through print advertising. Metaphor is perceived as a device enabling the visualization of the intangible features of tourism (Lakoff and Turner, 1989; Freeman, 1995; Dann, 1996; Santana, 2004; Ang and Ching Lim, 2006). Being a linguistic device does not exclude the metaphor from the ability to draw visual pictures and frames in tourists' minds. The aim of this study is to explore the contribution of metaphorical patterns to the representation of tourism images in print advertising. The focus of this chapter is on print advertising as metaphor and is analysed from a linguistic point of view. It investigates metaphor within the context of advertising and aims to distinguish the tendencies in the metaphorical use of tourism advertising.

The Study Context

Consumers are often influenced by images presented, whether by visual or verbal characteristics, in advertising. One of the ways to distinguish the qualities of intangible product is achieved through metaphor (Ortony, 1993). For the purposes of this chapter, metaphor is defined as a figurative device determining the links between objects with a different nature (Hawkes, 1984; Cook and Gordon, 2004). For instance, in the advertisement 'Mexico is a dreamland', the advertiser induces the reader to extract similarities between two different objects (Forceville, 1996). It is hard to define tourism as one particular product or service, and this makes it even more attractive to play with its visual representation via advertising language. Creating visual meanings, metaphors enhance imagery in tourism advertising (Ang and Ching Lim, 2006). According to Ang and Ching Lim (2006), the tourism product is a symbolic product type which is consumed for visual gratification and for the purposes of fun; thus its representation needs a greater deal of clarity.

Advertising is an important element of tourism product representation. Bojanic (1991) says that advertising is an effective means of improving tourism visual representation. Gonzalez and Bello (2002: 53) argue that 'tourism is a service with its unique nature, thanks to its chief characteristics', which makes it more challenging for the advertisers. Tourism is an intangible and risky purchase from the tourists' point of view (Hudman and Hawkins, 1989; Loda *et al.*, 2005). Prospective tourists shape their

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views and opinions of tourism upon abstract images of the advertised product. Morgan and Pritchard (2000) argue that consumers are becoming more competent in their market choices. Thus, tourism advertisers have to keep presenting new products to more demanding tourists, to ensure the success of their business. As tourism and travel activities vary, advertisers in turn need to be more sophisticated and creative in their choice of techniques and tools to influence readers' opinions (Krippendorf, 1987; Morgan and Pritchard, 2000).

A vast amount of research was conducted into marketing of various destinations in relation to the visual, as much marketing in tourism is designed to attract tourists to a particular destination (Phelps, 1986). Santos (2004, 2005) explores the way marketers picture Portugal. Her research into visualization of Portugal by mass media has primarily focused on the ideological implications of advertising messages. MacKay and Fesenmaier (1997) examine aspects of the promoted and perceived images of destinations. They argue that the pictures of destinations not only create the images of tourism product but also present qualities, values and concepts of potential tourists. Cohen (1995) explores the images that marketers use to attract tourists in the British Virgin Islands and he analyses the differences and similarities in images perceived by tourists and residents in the destination. Literature review shows that the subject of the visual is important in tourism research. However, research into language use as a part of the visual has not been conducted (Cohen and Cooper, 1986). Hence, this study attempts to explore the use of metaphors as a visual component in tourism representation.

Functions and qualities of metaphors within the tourism advertising context range from aesthetic to information based (Djafarova and Andersen, 2008). Tourism language controls through the signs communicated to tourists (Dann, 2003). Some argue that tourism advertising via language creates and supports tourists' experiences and images (Urry, 1990; Hughes, 1995). Harrison (1997) says that tourism language is flexible and differs in its approaches from one type of tourist to another.

Tourists refer to tourism as the whole experience, not as the product. Representing the tourism image as a dream is often the case in advertising (Dann, 1996; Hudson, 2008). Therefore, the audience is left to interpret the abstract notion of 'dream' in their own way, the way they relate it to themselves, to their ideas, experiences and background. Metaphors can give visual enjoyment and this accounts for the use of this style by advertisers, e.g. a metaphor of an ocean, assumed to be a positively evaluated stimulus and to mean 'freedom' (Scott, 1994).

A text can be recognized as an advertisement without any prior knowledge that it is one, even though advertisements tend to appear where they are expected and the knowledge that something is an advertisement might help an audience to understand it. However, leaving the metaphorical interpretation of the message to the reader might be considered as disfavour as it could cause derivation of misleading and confusing visual images which do not reflect a reality. This brings back the issues within the consumers' awareness in the tourism and travel industry. It is a fast-growing industry where consumers demand more information on the visual of the holiday. Thus, the question put forward is: How representative is the metaphor as a visual device of the tourism product? No distinction is made between tourism products and tourists' specific types (e.g. gender, age, social status, etc.), as the purpose is to apply a linguistic approach to tourism research, specifically looking for linguistic features in the visual of tourism. Print advertising is a sufficient and the most suitable type of material to provide an insight into metaphor as part of the visual representation of tourism.

The Study Methodology

A methodology is a set of rules on how to conduct research, including methods of data collection and analysis. The interpretivist standpoint determines this set of research rules, building the structure and process of this research. In an interpretivist approach the researcher presumes that reality is subjective and mentally constructed by individuals (Crossan, 2003). A method, on the other hand, consists of 'the tools for data collection and analysis' (Jennings, 2001: 34). The theoretical perspective underpinning this research is

interpretivism. Crotty (1998) argues that the theoretical perspective provides a context for the research process and methods employed.

This study deals with the construction of the social meanings in the language of advertising. Language is vital in the social construction of the reality (Kress and Hodge, 1979). The appropriate epistemology explains 'how we know what we know' (Crotty 1998: 3). The epistemological stance adapted for this work is that of social constructionism. It is known as a research epistemology that is based on the meanings constructed by individuals from their experiences. These meanings are built on the objects surrounding individuals and the context within which they have been constructed (Denzin and Lincoln, 2000). Language in the form of text, or any other form, is the way individuals construct the reality. Language on its own is 'symbolic' (Tietze, 1998: 10).

Qualitative content analysis of advertisements is conducted in this study. The method of content analysis can be described as a system of processes for collecting and establishing unstructured data into a standard form that allows the researcher to make inferences about the particular features of the text (Berelson, 1952; Krippendorff, 1980; Weber, 1985).

In order to explore the representation of tourism images through metaphors, qualitative, exploratory research was undertaken. This was achieved first through a qualitative content analysis of a sample of print advertisements related to tourism and travel areas. Having identified relevant patterns in the literature, qualitative research was then used to generate information in relation to patterns constructed by metaphors in tourism advertisements. At the initial stage, the frequency rate of figures of speech was estimated, in order to increase the validity of the content analysis and to determine the significance of the figures of speech. To achieve the objectives of this research, a content analysis of advertising in various print publications was carried out comparing two time periods, the 1970s and 2005.

A non-probability convenience sample is used in this research (Saunders *et al.*, 2003). Advertisements were collected from tour operator brochures, newspapers and magazines. Non-probability sampling techniques are appropriate in this research, as external validity is not required. While quantitative research strategies pursue generality, qualitative approaches explore and explain complexity (Neergaard and Ulhøi, 2007). In terms of generalizability, qualitative studies are characterized by a dependence on context and by the fact that they do not seek to be representative of a larger universe. They do not generalize across time and space (Neergaard and Ulhøi, 2007).

Two hundred individual adverts were selected from various British print publications where tourism advertising could appear: national newspapers, general interest magazines, women's magazines and tourist brochures. Tourism advertising was collected from the following publications: Thomas Cook, Thomson, STA Travel brochures, *Vogue*, Ocean Village, Explore, and Cornwall.

Analysis identified that 15% of the selected advertisements from 2005 employed metaphors in their messages. Although this is a small sample, it is representative of the limited variety of metaphors in tourism advertisements, and it is enough to review the trends within the language use. At this point of the research, it is necessary to explore beneath the surface to ask deeper questions about how the metaphors are communicated to tourists (Bryman and Bell, 2003). This stage is influenced by the researcher's experience and background as a linguist.

Within the category of advertisements, each metaphor is distinguished from its context and classified into common themes. Themes build the relations between the multiple meanings in the categories, which means that they connect the most frequently used meanings together (Graneheim and Lundman, 2004). In Table 4.1, the main themes extracted from the advertisements are illustrated. This table summarizes the notions that express and emphasize tourism images in advertising. Codes in Table 4.1 signify the meanings and the actual words in patterns that express the themes of the abstract (concept-based) and the tangible (object-based) (Djafarova and Andersen, 2008). To clarify, objects such as 'heart of Asia' in the metaphorical use are interpreted abstractly, but in reality they are tangible objects. Table 4.2 illustrates examples of the identification process of the themes from the meaning units, where meaning units are the advertising messages. Condensed meaning units are the metaphorical phrases

Table 4.1. Coding scheme of the themes (adapted from Djafarova and Andersen, 2008: 300).

Category	Metaphor	
Themes	Concept-based	Object-based
Codes	Glamour	Heart of Asia
	Coast of dreams	Jewel of the Balkans
	Magic of reindeer	Emerald
	Licence to thrill	Crown
	Spirit of Columbus	Pearl of the Orient
	Beach-bum heaven	Rhythms of the Caribbean
	Lara Croft territory	Ice and fire
	Part of our soul	Spice island
	Eternal spring	Jewel in the crown – Emerald
	Little England	Bridge between two worlds
	Exotic	

Table 4.2. Derivation of the themes from the meaning units.

Meanings unit theme	Condensed meaning unit	Condensed meaning unit interpretation of the underlying meaning	
Coast of dreams New Quay. . . Where	New Quay is a place of dreams	Your dreams come true in New Quay	Concept-based
Sri Lanka isn't known as the pearl of the Orient for nothing	Sri Lanka has the qualities of a pearl	Sri Lanka is beautiful, pure and natural, like a pearl	Object-based

derived from the meaning units. The condensed meaning units are interpreted according to the context of advertisements (Djafarova and Andersen, 2008). Selected advertisements with the use of metaphor have been analysed in relation to its contribution to the actual message and representation of tourism images. These tables illustrate the process of interpretation of metaphors within advertising.

Findings and Discussion

Concept-based and object-based themes comprise the images of tourism, by which is meant all the general meaningful images of the tourism experience that can be derived from the interpretation of the individual metaphors. For example, the image of a paradise destination is determined by the interpretation of such metaphors as 'scenes of splendour', 'dream voyage', 'fascination', 'beautiful', all of which refer to experiences out of the ordinary, expressed in terms of one or more abstract concepts. Thus, the metaphors placed under 'concept-based themes' can only be interpreted in terms of the images based on the concept, not on a single attribute. The images built on the concept are abstract. On the other hand, the images derived from the object-based themes are attributes, physical notions.

Whether we consider a metaphor to be concept-based or object-based depends on the degree of abstraction implied through the metaphor itself. Object-based elements are operationalized on a scale that includes items perceived through the senses, such as sight or touch. These themes include notions such as

'pearl', 'queen', 'gold' and other attributes that are represented by physical visual objects.

The metaphor consists of the different qualities that provoke changes in the tourists' opinions on the advertised product (Elgin, 1993). Burke (1966: 462) suggests that 'the metaphor, while full of images, ironically shows a certain linguistic lack', which needs consideration.

Concept-based notions normally reduce the information content of the idea and retain only the information that is relevant for a purpose of the context. By interpreting concept-based notions, readers can understand and create much greater visual images of the tourism products (Kendall and Kendall, 1993). Concept-based notions can be the hardest to understand and visualize but provide a wider spectrum of ideas within a condensed message. The imagination and processing abilities of the reader are significant factors in deriving the intended meanings of the metaphors in the form of abstract ideas. For instance, the notion of a 'dream' comprises many different sub-themes of the tourism attributes, such as climate, culture and many others. The choice of these sub-themes depends on the context and the communicators.

Different types of metaphors are used to attract readers (Scott, 1994). Metaphors have been used more extensively in advertising related to the destination than in any other types of tourism-related products or services. This can be explained by the functions that metaphors fulfil in the language and the aims of advertising in relation to destinations.

Destination image is important in the consumer decision-making process (Pike, 2004). Potential tourists make the choice of the destination first before they decide on a choice of other tourist services and activities (Lickorish and Jenkins, 1997). Sussmann and Unel (1999) argue that the tourism product is a set of experiences identified with a destination and marketed through images of that place. This link between tourist and destination is what makes image an essential part of marketing (Gallarza *et al.*, 2002).

Metaphors are valuable in destination image building (Dann, 1992). Image metaphors are prevalent in tourism advertising. By image metaphors, Tietze (1998) means metaphors that explicitly link different objects by comparing their qualities. They express abstract meanings that are otherwise inexpressible. For first-time visitors, the metaphorical picture of the destination can help to decrease the aspect of unfamiliarity. For example, in the advertisement for the long-haul destination Sri Lanka, 'Sri Lanka isn't known as the "Pearl of the Orient" for nothing', the advertiser compares the holiday destination with a pearl and emphasizes that the similarities are recognized and the reasons for that are obvious. Image style is used in the advertising message of tourism products and can be expressed successfully by metaphors in creating the destination image (Hudson, 2008).

The more abstract is an idea which is expressed by the metaphor, the more subjective the ideas and opinions of the consumer would be about the image of the advertised product, whether it is an image of the destination or any other attributes. Image is always subjective (Gallarza *et al.*, 2002; Morrison *et al.*, 2002). Image always corresponds to an idea about perceptions, and not everyone has the same perceptions of the image.

The functions of metaphors demonstrate how helpful they are to advertisers, especially in building the destination images. Nevertheless, the issues of misinterpretation might arise when metaphorical patterns do not explicitly express the intended visual images of tourism. Ang and Ching Lim (2006) argue that products expressed by metaphors are less honest than non-metaphorical representations. Ang and Ching Lim (2006) say that metaphors also reduce the sincerity of the symbolic products, in which they include the tourism product. Ring (1993) finds that the choice of a suitable metaphor in the context of advertising is a challenging task for the advertiser as he/she has to ensure that this metaphor communicates the qualities of the product in a correct manner. Concept-based metaphors require more processing effort for the reader to derive the intended meaning.

Phillips and McQuarrie (2002) argue that communication of the metaphors is made more successful through anchoring (the follow-up explanation of metaphor) in the advertisements. The degree of this anchoring would depend on the type of metaphors used. In the case of abstract (concept-based) metaphors, more anchoring is expected in order to allow the reader to make the right assumptions of the meanings.

Phillips and McQuarrie (2002) argue that advertisers can use metaphors to avoid the responsibility of picturing the real images of tourism and making the readers extract their own meanings. Metaphors might not always be successful as they can be misinterpreted, misunderstood or have no actual informative visual account unless enough information is provided, particularly in relation to abstract notions that are hard to visualize.

The fact that tourism is an intangible product and that tourists are becoming more sophisticated can cause more misinterpretations in metaphorical use of advertising language. The abstract (concept-based) images derived from metaphors do not fully contribute to the understanding of intangible tourism products if not enough follow-up explanation is provided. Object-based metaphors can be more beneficial when addressing sophisticated tourists. They are easier to interpret as they express certain objects that do not require extra processing effort from readers. Concept-based metaphors can only be adequately interpreted and used for visualizing tourism products if the advertiser produces sufficient contextual effects and explains the intended meaning of the communicated metaphor. Current trends in tourist behaviour – their expectations that destinations live up to what the advertisement promised – dictate that the representation of the visual in tourism advertisements is required to correspond to the needs and wants of potential tourists.

Advertisers use metaphors based on concept-based ideas that need more additional processing effort for the interpretation because these provide a wide range of ideas within a small space. No matter how much processing effort is required to understand any metaphor, its interpretation depends on the initial assumptions the reader holds about the advertised product. In their turn these assumptions depend on more personal processing abilities of the reader. These abilities are dictated by the knowledge the readers possess about the object and their general abilities to recover the information. Therefore, the main interpretation of the metaphor is determined by the readers' background, attitudes and general knowledge. This interpretation also depends on the degrees of abstraction that metaphors convey.

People's expectations grow, and as they become wealthier they require more choices of holiday experiences (Leiper, 2004; Lee and Johnson, 2005). Tourists become more competent and therefore require more information about the intangible product of tourism (Kandampully, 1997). Print advertising still stands out among other types of the medium. However, it is becoming more difficult to attract potential tourists just with the use of words. Competition from various types of information technology might threaten print advertising in future (Arens *et al.*, 2008). Therefore, today words used in print advertising should include different creative devices to attract the attention of modern tourists with their higher expectations. Arens *et al.* (2008) also point out that advertising has been criticized for lack of honesty as more ambiguous meanings are involved. Frechtling (1987) says that advertisers should be careful not to give too many promises, as they will have to respond to complaints if they do. Although the amount of complaints has reduced, tourism is still among the industries with the most complaints.

Conclusions

Tourists require more information to be able to visualize tourism, not just fun and eye-catching use of words with abstract meanings that they are required to derive themselves. Print advertising is competing with contemporary techniques of media that can visualize tourism experience. Metaphors can do this by providing more distinctive visual images, which are used in object-based metaphors. Advertising should not confuse but contribute to the representation of the visual in tourism. More people travel today and their awareness of the product and their rights are growing. If many years ago the use of metaphors in representing tourism would succeed in any case (object-based or concept-based), today advertisers need to be more careful if they want to meet tourists' needs. The argument states that metaphors alone will not do addressing tourists today justice. Calling an island a paradise does not exactly state particular qualities and benefits of this island. Metaphors are able to contribute to framing a

visual world of tourism, though, for its best result in communication with potential tourists, more clarity is necessary. The potential of metaphors in tourism visualization is evident and recognized but it should not be seen in isolation from the overall trends in tourism and the travel industry.

What can be established through this work is the fact that, although metaphors remain useful in tourism advertising, for their aesthetic and semantic strengths, their use has to be controlled, in order to avoid unnecessary ambiguity. There is thus a paradox in the use of metaphors in tourism advertising: their strengths are also a potential weakness. Their inherent playfulness carries with it a danger of misinformation and misinterpretation. The aesthetics of advertising language are constrained by the fact that advertising has to provide communication that is as precise as possible.

Further work can be conducted to test the assumptions made in this chapter against empirical data, to find out whether the assumptions can be generalized. This study contributes to theoretical and methodological concepts within tourism visual depiction via the metaphorical use.

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5 Visual and Tourist Dimensions of Trentino's Borderscape

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Introduction: Borders and Political Landscape

Boundaries, as a number of authors suggest (Kolossov and O'Loughlin, 1998; Newman, 2003; Raffestin, 2005a), are a focal subject in the contemporary study of political geography. 'In a variety of formats and intensities, boundaries continue to demarcate the territories within which we are compartmentalized, determine with whom we interact and affiliate, and the extent to which we are free to move from one space to another' (Newman, 2003: 123). These observations justify an analysis of the persistent geopolitical action played by boundaries in all their forms, even if some geographers define space as de-territorialized and borderless (Paasi, 1996) and regions only as elements of a global network.

In fact material and non-material limits[2] are meaningful sources of information for reading the structure of territories (Raffestin, 2005a) and for understanding its social, political, eco-systemic and historical relationships. Boundaries interact strictly with the process of landscape creation; this is the reason why some political geographers, during the last decades, have worked on the idea of 'borderscapes' (Minghi and Rumley, 1991; Paasi, 1996). Our methodological approach was framed by the geographical category of 'landscape', as discussed by Claude Raffestin (2005a) in his work on territory and representation. He defined territory as the result of human action on the environment, but he specified that, without an aesthetic gaze and a consequent narrative representation, territories could not carry on a process of 'landscape creation' (Raffestin, 2005b). Boundaries leave landmarks (material and non-material) on landscapes, immediately related to their own geopolitical function. These landmarks become objects of human perception (primarily visual) and are also the subject of political representation. In many cases, especially during the 20th century, these elements have passed through complex processes of redefinition. Their own meanings changed following the aims of the dominant geopolitical power.

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[2]Raffestin defined 'the limit' as a political category that includes the concepts of border and boundary (Raffestin, 2005a).

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This redefinition process concerns both a functional transformation and a geopolitical narrative. In fact it refers not only to the relationship between historic particularities and territorial imagery but also to the creation of a peculiar 'political landscape' in which the plans for territorial promotion play a decisive role. We defined (Malatesta, 2006) this process as '*semio-stratificazione*' (signs stratification) and considered it as one of the most interesting ways to understand the relationships between landscapes and geopolitical action. The main aspect of this process is the persistence of some elements, material and immaterial, directly referable to their geographical, military and geopolitical functions. In many cases in Europe, during the 20th century those elements went through a complex process of redefinition, which crossed well-defined historical moments (see The Autonomous Province of Trento and the Field Research). This historical evolution, driven in the various phases from very different political intentions, does not cancel the structure of the semantics of borderscapes, even when important national and international historical events occur. However, this evolution can change the symbolic function of these semantics.

The Autonomous Province of Trento and the Field Research

Trentino is an autonomous province in the north-east of Italy. It is part of the Euroregion Tirol–Südtirol/Alto Adige-Trentino, a well-known example of transborder cooperation covering many areas, especially education and tourism policies. This alpine region also represents a crucial gate inside the TEN-T project (Trans-European Networks for Transport). The historical cartography of this province (Department of Geography, University of Innsbruck, 2004) relates the substantial continuity of Trentino's southern boundaries. Considering the political changes and the landscape-writing processes of these areas, for instance by reading the numerous signs left by First World War events, we can associate Trentino's boundaries to different notable geopolitical events.

The southern limit of Trentino, for centuries *finis terrae* of the Asburgic Empire and, from 1919, the administrative border for three different Italian provinces, has developed a decisive function in the composition of the local landscape. Although having lost its secular international value, it has preserved an important role in the geographical image of these valleys. We focused our analysis on two different areas: the valley of the River Chiese (south-western border) and the highlands of Folgarìa and Lavarone (south-eastern border).[3] This contribution refers to field research aimed at the study of the semantics of the human signs left during the 20th century on these regions.[4] As we will discuss, one of the main hypotheses is that in these regions the process of *semio-stratificazione* is strictly connected with the political function carried out by the local boundaries.

During the last 100 years Trentino's borderscape has crossed four different historical moments: the phase of preparation for the First World War (1890–1915); the war, also considering the conflict events and the following annexation to the Italian kingdom (1915–1920); the fascist period; and the institution of Trentino as an autonomous province. Each phase has left several signs (stratified and still visible) on the local political landscape, such as military paths, forts, war cemeteries, monuments, trenches and changes in the local toponymy. In these last decades, which stand out for the great economic investments in the tourist market, all these elements have played the role of key landmarks. In fact, local establishments have started a process of redefinition of the meanings of these signs.

The next section presents a reflection on how local establishments, such as municipalities, the province, cultural associations and APT (local tourism councils), have used visual signs related to Trentino's borderscape as sources for local territory promotion and development. The following sections explain how we used this repertory of images as a meaningful support for

[3]Today those regions correspond to the administrative borders with the provinces of Brescia and Vicenza.
[4]*Il Trentino tra vecchi confini e nuove identità,* carried out with the financing of Cassa di Risparmio Trento e Rovereto.

photo-elicited interviews, in order to understand how people (for the key actors chosen see 'Discussion of the Result of the Interviews') perceive and interpret the presence of these visual signs on their territory.

Representation of Trentino's Borderscape

Several recent contributions have proposed the centrality of the visual dimension in tourism (Feighey, 2003; Burns, 2004). Tourist publications (guides, maps, posters, road signs and leaflets) are clear examples of this centrality. They are often composed of iconic and textual objects, such as maps and landscape descriptions, that exploit the traditional 'ocularcentrism' of the geographical narrative (Toal, 1996; Rose, 2008).

The Irish geographer Gerald Toal defined the cartographic and the other descriptive forms of knowledge 'that took the name of geography in the early modern period' (Toal, 1996: 2) as nothing else but political tools. Considering the meaningful connection among local policies, tourism and territorial promotion, we can argue that this statement is still valid. For example, tourist publications are one of the most widespread tools through which municipalities and tourism councils are able to inform people about their political action on the territory. From this perspective the visual language of this promotional material becomes a part of the geopolitical narrative. In fact, visual elements (such as symbols, pictures and iconographies) show the creation of specific political landscapes directly on the map.

In a previous contribution (Malatesta, 2006) we discussed the linkage between material signs and dominant geopolitical powers on Trentino's borderscape. We explained how the geopolitical narrative of this *semio-stratificazione* seems to have been shaped by two different rhetorical figures: the hyperbole and the antithesis. In the second part of our field study we carried out this analysis considering the tourist publications edited by the local Consortia and APT. In this section we present a synthetic example of this analysis, underlining the correspondence between the rhetoric of the material signs and the visualization of their iconic forms.

We selected two maps representing the same part of the territory, because 'a map conveys at a glance a whole series of generalizations [. . .] and the comparison of two or more maps of the same region [. . .] may be both suggestive and critical' (Mackinder in Toal, 1996: 106). The first one we chose is an international tourist map used by many European excursionists: the *Wander-, Bike- und Skitourenkarte* by Kompass Ed. (Fig. 5.1). The second one is a local thematic map reproduced on posters, leaflets and guides, but also often printed below the road signs in the highlands of Folgarìa and Lavarone (Fig. 5.2). Thus, we propose two maps in order to show how the local promotional products are strictly connected to the representation of the political narrative of Trentino's borderscape.

Both Figs 5.1 and 5.2 are tourist maps edited for hikers, bikers and skiers. The Kompass cartography includes only the geographical elements that can be useful for these types of use. It shows paths, contours, wagon tracks, cable cars, sky tours and climbing trails. There are no symbols referable to the local landscape characteristics. In contrast, the 'Il fronte delle fortezze' map has been built as a visual representation of the regional borderscape. The hyperbolic use of images can be seen in the second map, which reminds us of the role played by the First World War as an actor in the landscape creation process. For example, the cartographer drew the border between Trentino and Veneto as the Austro-Italian front line (*prima linea Austro-Italiana*); furthermore, the few secondary roads and the few wagon tracks (few if we observe the Kompass map) are important only because they lead to several commemorative monuments, such as boundaries and memorial stones (*cippi*) or military cemeteries (*cimitero militare*). We can notice that all those monuments are marked with evocative iconic symbols.

The other fundamental rhetoric figure we argued in our previous work was the antithesis. There are two famous tours in the highlands of Folgaria, Lavarone and Luserna: the *Sentiero della Pace* (the Path of Peace, for hikers) and the *100 chilometri dei forti* (100 kilometres across the forts, for bikers). They pass across the signs left by the First World War. The map shows how all these signs, and consequently the semantics of the regional borderscape, have changed their symbolic functions from places in conflict to

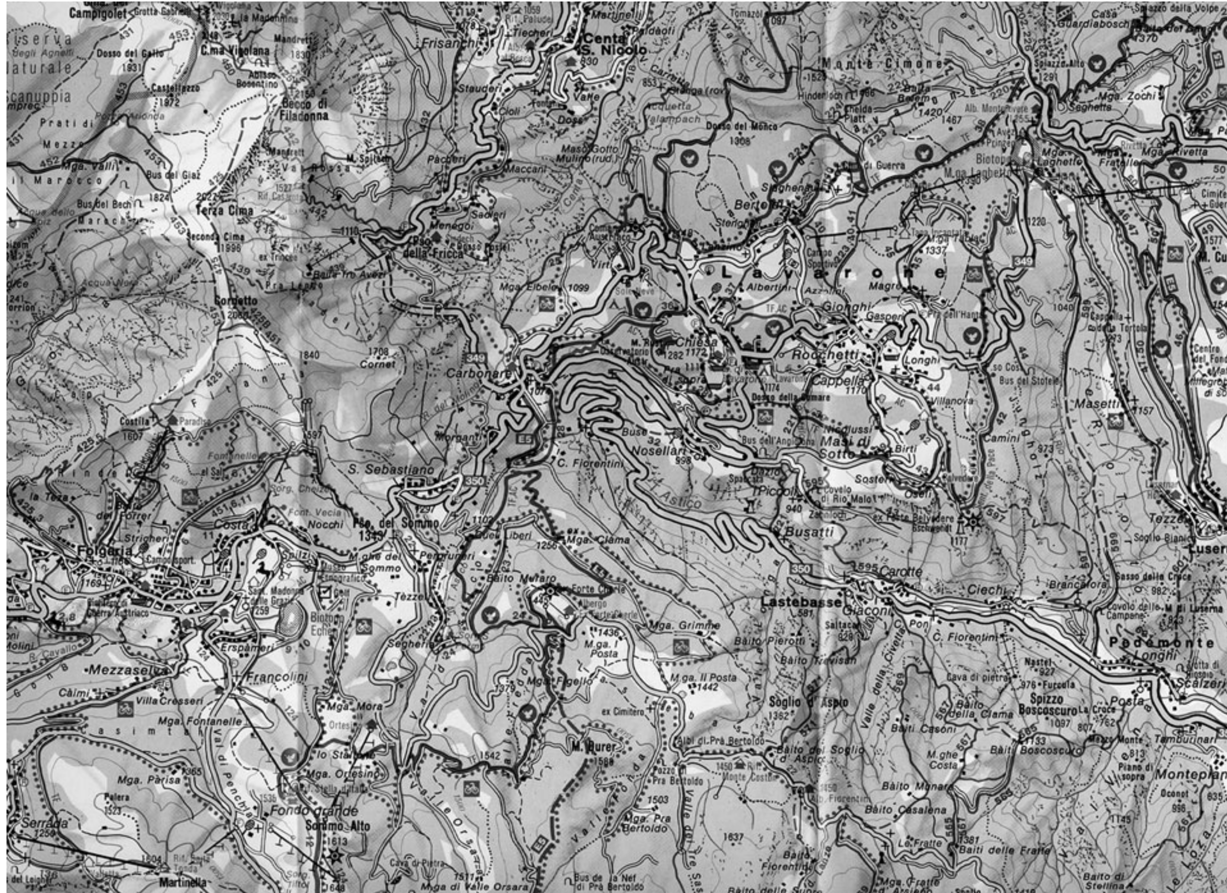

Fig. 5.1. The *Wander-, Bike- und Skitourenkarte* by Kompass Ed., n 101.

Fig. 5.2. *Il Fronte delle Fortezze* (the line of the Austro-Hungarian forts). An example of a thematic map edited by the local tourist councils.

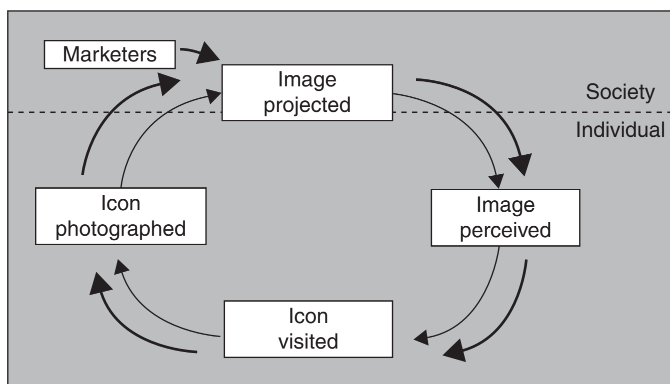

Fig. 5.3. The circle of representation for the tourist destination image (Hall, 1997: 1).

networks of peace and spaces for cultural exchanges. In fact, especially in the summer, thousands of Italian and Austrian tourists visit the highlands. The images of the trenches and of the Italian and Austro-Hungarian forts (there are ten forts in the highlands), for decades symbols of the defensive nature of these boundaries, through their representation on the map, have become fundamental key landmarks of a new tourist space.

Visual Indicators of Borderscape

Using a grounded theory methodology, we first started with a photographic observation of the signs on the field. The paradigm of this methodology is both qualitative and interpretative and conducted on the basis of an empirical and inductive approach (Glaser and Strauss, 1967; Strati, 2001). Briefly, we carried out this research making a constant comparison between the elements of the different categories, entrenched in the two different areas we focused on; successively we integrated categories and their properties, delimiting the theory. After the first hypothesis, we quickly understood that the relationship between Trentino's borderscape and tourist promotion was extremely close.

Media makers, tourist and cultural operators and local administrations select, structure and shape not only what is photographed (Jenkins, 2003) but also what can be potentially photographed. As Emmison and Smith (2000) say, the point is that 'social life is visual in diverse and counterintuitive ways' (Emmison and Smith, 2000: IX). Thus, as they argue, we have at least four kinds of visual data: two-dimensional visual data (images, signs and representation); three-dimensional visual data (settings, objects and traces); lived visual data (a built environment and its uses); and, finally, living forms of visual data (bodies, identities and interaction). All of the data can become part of the 'circle of representation' (Hall, 1997; Jenkins, 2003), which involves the projection, perception and perpetuation of certain photographic images in tourism (Fig. 5.3).

Generally speaking, a sign is defined as something that stands for something else; and photographs are very peculiar signs, since they bear an iconic resemblance to the reality they represent. Furthermore, the meanings of images are actively built by all the actors involved[5] and by the sociocultural contexts they are embedded in and influenced by (Banks, 1995; Faccioli and Losacco, 2003). Moreover, the visual code is weaker than the verbal one; consequently images are polysemic, which means they have different

[5]Here we refer to the relationship between the producers of images, the image itself and the subjectivity of the observers.

meanings and allow different interpretations. Furthermore, the gaze, which is a certain way of seeing, is historically, socially, culturally and geographically constructed and 'specific' (Rose, 2001). Even Simmel (1908), a hundred years ago, in a famous passage from *Soziologie*, wrote that, among the five senses, the eye is the only one to have a sociological function, and other contemporary authors, such as John Berger (1972) and Martin Jay (1988, 1993), underline the centrality of vision to contemporary western life. Jay talks about vision as the master sense of the contemporary era (Jay, 1988) and of 'ocularcentrism' (Jay, 1993). In this research the importance of visual dimensions is due not only to the simple consideration that the border is built and materialized on the territory through visual elements but also to the deeper consideration that its outline declination in the landscape is constituted by an interaction of perceivable signs, material products and immaterial artefacts.[6] The territory is full of figures, not only visual, which stand for narratives and behaviours. The centrality of images in this fieldwork comes from the precise intention to integrate geographical methods of research and socio-visual ones.

Now that we have somehow explored the potentiality of the gaze and the visual data, we can come back to discussing the means and methods we adopted. The pattern of any research needs to pass through methodological phases: clear definition of the abstract concepts; articulation of these concepts into different aspects and dimensions; and construction of empirical indicators of the dimensions considered. These indicators will lead the research, the data gathering and the further analysis. For this research we assumed that visual indicators (Mattioli, 1986) could be the best ones. In any research we cannot observe a concept directly; the only thing we can do in social research is to find indicators, which are simpler and more specific concepts. Basically, they allow us to carry out a direct observation, because they stand in an indexical relationship (or semantic representation) to general concepts (Corbetta, 1999) and that which they represent. Banks (1995) underlines that they are still a representation of reality and not a direct encoding of it.

Furthermore, in addition to general characteristics of indicators, such as validity, reliability, comparability and sensitivity, in the case of visual indicators we must also consider the degree of iconicity (Mattioli, 1986). Actually, the iconicity of an image is closely connected to the content validity; it is a 'measure' of its capacity to reproduce reality. Thus, after the identification of the dimensions referable to Trentino's borderscape, such as the consequences of historical events, the political celebration, the marking out of the border and the increasing of the value of the historical heritage, for each one we selected images taken in the field that constitute their visual and observable indicators: (i) war relics; (ii) war cemeteries and other memorial signs; (iii) toponymy; (iv) boundary signals (flags and road signs); (v) reconverted artefacts; and (vi) cultural events promoted in local museums or other cultural places (Cole, 2004). Such a multiplicity of marks, referable to the ongoing human action of building and rebuilding of borderlands in different periods (Paasi, 1996), had to be ordered, not only chronologically but also considering their function. Consequently we prepared a pattern of photo-elicitation interview. For each one of the indicators we used one or two photographs, and we made a pretest to see if the number and order of photographs were effective and efficient, which means it was working properly for the research purposes.

Photo-elicitation Interviews: Theory and Method

Photo-elicitation interviews are a variation of semi-structured interviews based on images instead of verbal and defined questions. For the reasons expressed above, this approach enabled us to successfully extract information from people, but also to provide a means of verification and to allow the roles of the researcher and the subject to be reversed (Smith and Woodward, 1999). But this is not simply another method or means that enriches the research. One of the peculiarities of images is that they are extraordinarily polysemic; people read them

[6] For a definition of the expression 'immaterial artefact' see Cole, 2004.

on the base of their background, their experience, their culture, the place where they live. Moreover, images offer a non-linear, holistic vision, something that verbal language could never depict. Obviously, decoding an image is difficult, and they are difficult to adapt to a standardized data gathering. However, these characteristics enforce the heuristic capacity of visual data and allow the researcher to access the individual and collective imaginaries of the interviewees. Schwartz (1989: 151–152) adds that interviewees generally respond to photographs 'without hesitation. By providing informants with a task similar to viewing a family album, the strangeness of the interview situation is averted'; and the Colliers (Collier, 1979; Collier and Collier, 1986) underline that photos used in this way were invaluable since 'picture interviews were flooded with encyclopaedic community information, whereas in the exclusively verbal interviews, communication difficulties and memory blocks inhibited the flow of information' (Collier, 1979: 281).

We have chosen to follow four operative steps:

- The first step consisted of the recognition of Trentino's borderscape marks that can be referable to the dimensions and indicators previously identified (and explained above).
- The second one consisted in the visualization of these signs (using photography, rephotography and repertory images).
- In the third step we focused on this visual repertory, which has been used as a support to 'privileged witnesses' (key actors) during semi-structured interviews. The aim was to study the writing processes of Trentino's borderscape in relation to the geographical image elaborated by the population of this region. We have chosen to adopt a hybrid method that mixes the techniques of behavioural geography (such as analyses of mental maps and qualitative interpretation of personal stories) and two techniques from visual sociology: photo-elicitation interviews and photographic documentation in the field.
- In the end, these signs were reinterpreted considering the results of the previous three steps, which are: categorization, visualization and comparison with the private geographies of the mind and the collective imaginaries (for the reasons expressed above, tourism institutions and public administrations are important agencies to create a certain imaginary of the area, especially for outsiders and post-war generations).

Rosalind Hurworth (2003) highlights what the main advantages are in photo-interviewing. Very briefly, it can: challenge participants, provide nuances, trigger memories, lead to new perspectives and explanations, and help to avoid misinterpretations by the researcher. Furthermore, she adds, this technique can be used at any stage of the research, provides a means of 'getting inside' a programme and its context, bridges psychological and physical realities, allows for the combination of visual and verbal language, assists in the building of trust and relationships, produces unpredictable information, and promotes longer, more detailed interviews in comparison with verbal interviews. Finally, it provides a component of multi-methods triangulation to improve rigour and form a core technique to enhance collaborative/participatory research and needs assessments, and also for this reason it is preferable to conventional interviews for many participants.

From the very beginning of our fieldwork, CT and APT (tourist councils) were good sources of information on the two areas we were investigating; then spending nights and having meals in both the areas gave us the possibility of meeting a lot of people who gave us many indications or suggested where to ask for further information. Some of these people have been contacted again and interviewed as privileged witnesses. The specificity of this kind of semi-structured interview is that it is a tool to understand social reality in depth and to access people's perspectives; the answers are not standardized and the pattern of questions is not rigid. Therefore, also, the results cannot be homogeneous and can be fairly difficult to compare; however, for this approach, experiences and autobiographical histories are more revealing than general considerations gained from a survey on a representative sample. This is absolutely the case in photo-elicited interviews.

Let us turn to the kind of people we interviewed. Basically we were interested in these

profiles: (i) cultural operators (from museum directors to librarians); (ii) employees of local tourist councils; (iii) members of the local administration (mayors and councillors); (iv) teachers; and (v) local entrepreneurs (especially the ones working in tourist-oriented services, such as restaurants, B. & B. etc.). As we said before, on one hand we were interested in people providing a certain representation of these territories (such as tourist operators and public administrators) and on the other hand in people who perpetuate (or not) these kinds of representations (such as cultural operators and teachers).

A last methodological note is needed. To test the photo-elicitation method and to enhance a collaborative/participatory research, at the end of each interview we asked, 'Which one of all these photos do you think is the most representative of the topics that emerged in this interview?' and 'Do you think we missed something? What else should we have photographed?' The answers have been fairly interesting. Most of the interviewees answered the first question indicating visual signs that are already icons of the area, such as the fort or a military cemetery; but it is interesting that others answered indicating images showing reconverted artefacts or advanced ways of promoting the area and its cultural places and events.

> This one[7] [. . .] that gives the idea of what can be. It is the most innovative approach. This is the most intelligent and actual way to tell these facts. The other one showing the didactic purposes is the classical way, with conferences and so on. It is OK, but the challenge is to find new ways to tell the facts in an original way, also visually.
>
> (Tourist operator, APT Folgarìa)

The Construction of the Tourist Image

Before going further in the analysis of the interviews, it is useful to quickly examine the processes that are undergone in the construction of a tourist image, since many authors centre their theories on the 'tourist gaze' and on the idea of a 'tourist consumption' that is primarily visual (Urry, 1990). First, a place that is tourist by nature does not exist. A tourist space is an image, the image tourists have of it and the one offered by holiday organizers (Miossec, 1976); consequently, a tourist place looks more and more like its image, and we need new conceptual tools to study and interpret it (Minca, 1996). Secondly, the seeing of an image, says Rose, 'always takes place in a particular social context that mediated its impact. [. . .] These different locations all have their own economics, their own disciplines, their own rules for how their particular sort of spectator should behave' (Rose, 2001: 11). Thirdly and broadly speaking, tourism is a matter of perception. The media used for tourist promotion (from brochures to websites) pursue two main aims: first, try to make a place be perceived as a tourist place, in order to transform it into a tourist place, and, secondly, make it be perceived in a certain way, usually according to the tourist fashion of the moment (Bagnoli, 2006).

In fact, Jenkins (2003: 305) writes:

> the old cliché of a picture being worth a thousand words — has never been truer than for the promotion of places as tourist destinations. Visual images are a powerful component of tourist destination marketing; photographs of scenery, landmarks and icons dominate all forms of tourism promotion, from travel brochures and television commercials to Internet advertisements.

Every medium has a different role in shaping travel patterns, but, with today's fascination with visual forms of media, it seems that this influence is expected to go on growing.

It is definitely clear that literature, new evocative toponymies, tourist guides (which are specifically addressed to tourists), and also postcards, souvenirs and – last but not least – cartography (where certain elements are selected and others not) contribute to the construction of tourist images and tourists' mental maps (Gould, 1966).

> Until 80–90 years ago we were Austro-Hungarian citizens, which means we have a German tradition that 'runs' after us. Here, the exotic

[7]The picture shows a group of students during a school trip along the *Sentiero della Pace* (the Path of Peace).

aspect of the German world is touristically valuable, it pays! I guess you noticed that the typology of the new building is similar to the Tirol–Südtirol architecture. [. . .]

Actually, in the '60s there have been new toponymies invented, such as the Light Blue Waterfalls, the Health Fountain, etc. that I am now trying to cancel and substitute with the original Cimbric toponymy, since I am interested in territory. First of all because it is an operation of historic honesty and then because it is more appealing for the tourist to find an ancient name, with ancient origin instead of any new name which aims to invent a situation that happened or not. [. . .]

To name a street Österr. Schwarzes Kreuz (Austrian Black Cross), first of all is connected to Forte Belvedere, but it is a elaborated tourist operation; it was decided by the ex-mayor of Lavarone, who is the President of the Forte Belvedere Foundation and of the Tiroler Kaiserjeger company [See Fig. 5.4.]

(Tourist operator, APT Folgarìa)

All these elements of popular culture, 'made meanings, or representations' that structure people's behaviour and depend more and more on 'a scopic regime that equates seeing with knowledge' (Rose, 2001: 3) are a matter of concern for cultural studies as well as for political geography, in particular for the ones adopting the approach of critical geopolitics (Toal, 1996; dell'Agnese, 2005). Moreover, the experience of tourists is becoming more and more multisensory. A wider number of tourists are starting to look for 'authenticity' and for a sort of experiential tourism, as is well expressed in this interview:

Many families come who tell us they have been up in the mountains, and that they have also found a piece of a relic. It is nice for us, and we spend hours listening to them. [. . .]

These are students from the elementary schools. [. . .] First they were brought here to the museum and afterwards up to the trenches near the fort, but it was a quick visit. Then we were asked if, in addition to the visit to the museum, we could do a metal detector activity. You go up in the mountains with the metal detector along with a hoe and the students go crazy about it! [. . .] I think they will remember it for the rest of their lives. [. . .] Sometimes you see them digging in the ground with their

Fig. 5.4. Lavarone. Third visual indicator: toponymy. 'To name a street. . . It's a fulsome tourist operation' (photo by Stefano Malatesta).

> hands. In my opinion, it is useful because you memorize better and you retain a clear memory, an emotion.
> (President of the War Museum in Bersone)

In the next sections we are going to discuss and analyse the interviews we made.

Discussion of the Result of the Interviews

We have interviewed 30 key actors,[8] divided into five categories:[9] employees of local tourist councils, cultural operators, members of the local administrations, teachers and owners of traditional restaurants or bars. The following analysis is mainly focused on the answers of the first two categories, because, in our opinion, they are the richest in information, in order to understand the relationship between Trentino's borderscape and tourist promotion.

First of all, we presented photographs of some notable elements referable to the production of the local geographical image, not connected with tourism necessarily. During the interviews we never mentioned the terms 'limits' or 'boundaries', nevertheless all the interviewees recognized boundaries as geographical institutions.

> In fact it [Forte Corno] will be very important in regard to our tourist package dedicated to the Great War.[10] This is a *border region* so, as you know, we have these forts: there is Forte Corno, Forte Larino, which is down here in Lardaro, and there should be Forte Cariola on the other side of the valley, but they destroyed it.
> (Tourist operator, CT Lardaro)

> We have seven Austro-Hungarian forts here. [. . .] We are, we were, a *borderland*.
> (Tourist operator, APT Folgarìa)

> There is a sort of pride, because we are a 'special province'. I believe that when you put banners and flags on the boundary between your province and another one like Veneto – which is not a foreign one – it means that you want to mark a difference! [see Fig. 5.5.]
> (Tourist operator, APT Folgarìa)

> My grandfather fought in the Great War, but the large part of the local inhabitants fought in Galicia because the Austrians were afraid of desertions, because they [the local inhabitants] lived here, on the boundary, and they knew their territory very well.
> (President of the War Museum in Bersone)

As we already explained in 'The Autonomous Province of Trento and the Field Research', the limits are actors of the local *semio-stratificazione*, and they continue to define the spaces where people move and live and the places they imagine and create. During the interviews we verified that the local inhabitants have a profound knowledge of their own territory, and we noticed that this knowledge is based on various elements of the local borderscape. Moreover, these human signs are key landmarks for private stories:

> When we were children we used to go there every day. The structure of the fort was fascinating, then we, I mean the organizers of the war museum, used to go there to see if there was still something, and what the war was like.
> (President of the War Museum in Bersone)

And they are also key landmarks for the public geographical image:

> This is certainly in Trentino! This is Cesare Battisti.[11]
> (President of the War Museum in Bersone)

> For example, Lavarone has always been associated with Forte Belvedere or with its lake. When you say Forte Belvedere immediately you think: 'Lavarone!' [. . .] Forte Belvedere

[8]*The Behavioural Geography* (Bianchi and Perussia, 1985) established a number between 30 and 60 privileged witnesses as the proper range to study environmental perceptions and to analyse the representation of the private geographical image.
[9]Each category included six privileged witnesses.
[10]Italians often use the expression 'Great War' referring to the First World War.
[11]Cesare Battisti (1875–1916) was one of the protagonists of the Italian irredentism. His figure was one of the cornerstones of the geopolitical narrative during the fascist period.

Fig. 5.5. Folgarìa. Fourth visual indicator: boundary signals. 'It means that you want to mark a difference!' (photo by Valentina Anzoise).

> represents the line of the Austro-Hungarian forts and that is the way we promote it. Belvedere is the Fort of Lavarone, that's all!
> (Tourist operator, APT Folgarìa)

It is clear that the main historical events of the past century are considered an important part of the wider process of 'landscape creation'. On one hand, this is because of the material signs left on the territory:

> Those signs remind us of our history, because our villages were evacuated during the war. [. . .] For example, in Trento the war passed around. I mean, maybe fathers or sons went to war. [. . .] Instead, here they were forced to evacuate, mothers with children, grandfathers and grandmothers, everyone abandoned their villages. [. . .] When they came back they found their villages destroyed, burnt. This was the 'front line'!
> (President of the War Museum in Bersone)

> Here is the war! We have three military cemeteries here; this is the greatest one, even if all the fallen have been transferred together with the 11,000 soldiers to the Rovereto cemetery or together with the 52,000 to the Asiago one. Here we have three military cemeteries. The most interesting thing is that those cemeteries picked up all the small war cemeteries of the area. If you go all around the border you will find several areas where there were little cemeteries with the signs of the graves and the exhumations.
> (Tourist operator, APT Folgarìa)

On the other hand, it is because of the immaterial and symbolic signs:

> Slaughenafi? It is a village in Lavarone! Do you wonder about the name? Did you take this photo because you think it was a strange name? The derivation is German, but they have always had German names. The reason

> is that these villages were in Austria once. Even in Folgarìa they have villages with German names; they were in Austrian territory, that's all!
>
> (Tourist operator, APT Lavarone)

> About the local toponymy; there are some interesting things to say, because we have different kinds of toponymy: the so-called 'victory toponymy', I mean the one between the two world wars, when the Italians came here and changed all the names [. . .], afterwards we had fascism [. . .], finally the modern toponymy came. . .
>
> (Tourist operator, APT Folgarìa)

Finally, we noticed that Forte Belvedere (regarding the highlands of Folgarìa and Lavarone) (Fig. 5.6) and Bondo's Monumental Cemetery (regarding the valley of the River Chiese) have become symbolic signs that represent the whole local borderscape in people's minds.

> Forte Belvedere, first of all, represents the strongest cultural sign of our territory, considering it as both a tourist potentiality and part of the historical heritage. Because [. . .] for the outsiders it represents the First World War. [. . .] We have many brochures and documentations on it that we distribute. When we speak about the forts and the Great War, we always have Forte Belvedere on the front cover, because we bet on it as an image. Recently, we are directing our efforts also on the so-called 'history trekking', a project together with the city of Rovereto and the Valsugana valley.
>
> (Tourist operator, APT Folgarìa)

> Forte Belvedere is the only one still standing after the First World War; now it is a museum. After the Buonconsiglio Castle in Trento, it is the most important museum we have in Trentino.
>
> (Tourist operator, APT Lavarone)

> The cemetery! This is important! This is the Monumental Cemetery in Bondo; many books

Fig. 5.6. Forte Belvedere. Sixth visual indicator: cultural events promoted in local museums. (Source: Fondazione Forte Belvedere.)

Fig. 5.7. Bondo. Second visual indicator: war cemeteries 'If I think about the Cemetery I see our valley' (photo by Valentina Anzoise).

> have been written on it. [. . .] If I think about the Cemetery, I see our valley. It is in Bondo, but it is a monument of the whole valley. [Fig. 5.7.]
>
> (President of War Museum in Bersone)

The profound connection between tourist promotion and the different signs of Trentino's bordescape has been confirmed by various meaningful discourses carried out by the local key actors. A first consideration is about the visual dimension that is outstanding. As we argued in the first sections, the tourist councils recognize the force of iconic elements that show signs of the local borderscape:

> There is an association working in Bondo and in Breguzzo[12] that collects movies and photos about the Great War. [. . .] That is very important because it is a way to arouse curiosity and to attract tourists.
>
> (Operator, CT Lodrone)

> Lavarone invests a lot of money for the exhibitions in memory of the Great War. Since there is Forte Belvedere, every year they organize an exhibition. [. . .] This is the last exhibition; I appreciated it very much. It was so touching! They linked pictures and private stories of the soldiers [. . .], when an exhibition is touching that means it has reached its goal.
>
> (Tourist operator, APT Folgaria)

In particular they use World War I as the main 'brand' of their cultural landscape:

> In my opinion that is the most interesting point. For example we have a promotional programme based on the Great War. We created tourist packages; we try to translate our cultural heritage into a commercial resource. [. . .] We organize guided tours all around the war signs left, [. . .] a large part of the tourists are interested in [. . .]. When you organize a conference on World War I, you can be sure that it

[12]Two villages in the valley of River Chiese.

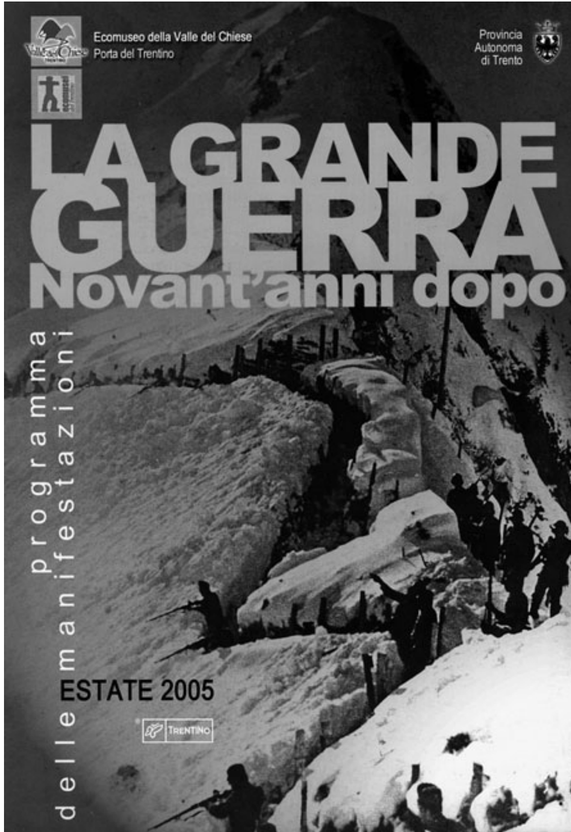

Fig. 5.8. Sixth visual indicator: cultural events promoted in local museums. (Source: BIM Chiese, Provincia autonoma di Trento.)

> will be a great success! It may be because the Great War is still alive in the popular imaginary [. . .] World War I is far, but it is still an attraction! When we organize the guided tours we find a lot of visitors interested in the places where the events happened!
> (Tourist operator, APT Folgaria)

> I guess that it could work! [. . .] If they arrange a good path and think about proper advertising, it could be a great attraction for tourism.
> (President of War Museum in Bersone)

In the first section, we discussed the antithesis between the original function and the redefinition of the meanings of some signs. Considering the answers given by the tourist operators, this opposition seems to remain misunderstood. It is clear that the aim of organizations like the Forte Belvedere Foundation and the War Museum in Bersone is to transform the war memories into a universal heritage and the material relics into places for new cultural exchanges (Fig. 5.8):

> The war is far away and we hope it will never come back, but all those elements are part of our land. These exhibitions remind us about the war and tell us 'don't forget it happened!'
> (Tourist operator, CT Lardaro)

But in certain cases the cultural and tourist operators admit that visitors are not interested in this message at all; they just want to enjoy their tourist experience:

> The aim is to create a path passing through all the cultural signs of our land,[13] but maybe the

[13]The tourist operator is talking about the advertising of the *100 chilometri dei forti* (100 kilometres across the forts).

> visitors don't perceive that intention. The reason why they come here is not the name of the path or its meaning; they come here because it is a wonderful cycling trail.
>
> (Tourist operator, APT Lavarone)

> I don't know if they understand the message, I mean the message of peace in a land that has known the war. I don't know if this message works; I think they come here because it is a wonderful walk!
>
> (Tourist operator, CT Lardaro)

Conclusions

A last consideration: in both the regions we studied, the close connection between historical heritage, and, of course, the images of this heritage on the local borderscape, and tourist promotion is a recent trend that people seem to perceive and be aware of, as has been confirmed by the answers given by the interviewees who have been asked when administrators and local people started to become interested in the recent local history.

> We have been here since 1990, but the Province started taking care of us only 5 years ago. We have been underestimated for a long time. Then they noticed that many tourists came here and. . .
>
> (President, War Museum in Bersone)

> Since 1986. Only after the Path of Peace had been built [Fig. 5.9]. Then people started wondering 'Is it true? Do we have monuments here?'. Actually the forts have always been visited. There have been postcards of them since the '20s, and after the war, because they were undamaged. [. . .] So, they have always been considered monuments, but their value has never been increased for this reason. Now everybody looks at their homeland and they notice that they have the forts and old mills.

Fig. 5.9. Luzern, Luserna. Fifth visual indicator: reconverted artefacts: the Path of Peace. 'Cultural tourism has developed only during the last decade.'

> Cultural tourism has developed only during the last decade; tourists come here not only for the good air and the nice landscape but also because they are curious. . .
> (Tourist operator, APT Folgaria)

To conclude, we can say that, even if sometimes the polysemy and the weakness of the code of images can turn the images into data that are difficult to analyse and interpret, in this research, adopting a hybrid method and visual techniques helped us to understand deeply a field of social reality where highly codified images have a strong impact on people's perception. Furthermore, tourism itself is increasingly a visual experience carried on by different visual practices that would have been difficult to study with more standardized tools.

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6 The Campi Flegrei: a Case Study[1]

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Visual Research on the Campi Flegrei: Connecting Past and Present

Visual research is fundamental to understanding the Campi Flegrei. It brings into focus a rich and singular historico-archaeological palimpsest of identity (Bauman and Vecchi, 2003) and environmental specificities. All of this implies, however, a rediscovery of the territory and of its interpretations, of the visible signs that symbolize and characterize the area, which have, from a semantic point of view, been covered and disguised by the weight of history.

That history is an ancient and transitory one, as are other Mediterranean histories: to traverse it means being drawn to archaeology, to the culture of *otium*, to the evolution of medicine and pharmacology, to the topos of seaside and thermal-spring bathing, to cultural heritage, and to exotic and metahistorical representations of the Mediterranean ethos. The Phlegraean saga is symbolized by the Roman military ports of Lucrino and of Miseno, the commercial port of call of Puteoli, the Flavian amphitheatre, the imperial and hot-spring villas of Baia, the Greek city of Cumae (today known as Cuma), the Greek settlements on the island of Ischia,[2] a store of myths and of literary references, its artefactual heritage, the volcanic crater Solfatara and the Macellum (a marketplace also known as the Temple of Serapis). Dominating everything, there is a restless and regenerating volcanism that for centuries has accompanied a feeling of Dionysian corporeal enjoyment of the Phlegraean Fields.

The Campi Flegrei or Phlegraean Fields are found in the south of Italy on the Mediterranean coast just north-west of Naples.[3] They are a volcanic space in evolution. At least 24 volcanic structures, including craters, are present in the area. The phenomenon known as bradyseism causes the level of the land to rise and fall over time, slowly yet visibly.[4]

The Phlegraean Fields – literally ‘burning fields’, from the Greek *phlegraios* signifying ‘ardent, that which burns’ – are dotted with gaseous and hydrothermal phenomena and

[1]Translated by Stéphane Fournier. This article is the fruit of shared reflection; none the less, Idamaria Fusco is the author of paragraphs 2, 3 and 6, while Giovanni Lombardi is the author of paragraphs 1, 4, 5, 7 and 8.
[2]These are probably the most ancient settlements of the *Magna Graecia*.
[3]The Campi Flegrei include some neighbourhoods on the periphery of Naples, the hinterland municipalities of *Quarto Flegreo*, and the coastal municipalities of Pozzuoli, Bacoli and Monte di Procida.
[4]Literally ‘slow land movement’. For a concise description, see the web site of the National Institue of Geophysics and Volcanology – Vesuvian Observatory (http://www.ov.ingv.it/campi_flegrei.html).

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offer diverse habitats, landscapes and seascapes within a relatively small territory, which includes the three Phlegraean islands of Procida, Ischia and Vivara. And still, when viewed as a whole, their visual dimension has a recognizable physiognomy, thanks to an extraordinary mix of history and nature, and a touristic imagery that has given continuity and sense to their representation: a scenario that for centuries has encompassed, attracted or repelled settlements and visitors (for a documentary study see Lombardi, 2004: 60). For its complexity, and for the way it is intensely experienced by its populations, the Phlegraean area can be read and studied as a conceivably unique experiential space (Fig. 6.1).

One aspect of the attractiveness of the Campi Flegrei or Phlegraean Fields[5] is their touristic dimension. 'Tourism', of course, includes many things and is enriched by a diversity of approaches. Generally, it is understood as a modern phenomenon. Certainly, tourism is a process that has extended through time: it has historical persistences, periods and contexts, as the evolving usage of the term 'tour' over recent centuries reminds us. In substance, tourism penetrates historical and cultural questions, the significance of globalization and the environment (Holden, 2004), as well as social behaviours and subjective experiences. Each of these perspectives has its own internal coherence, but all of them refer to a phenomenon that is not completely or comprehensively described by business logic (Barucci and Becheri, 2006), economic clichés, trite political marketing or celebrations of the grand tour.

The imagery of Phlegraean tourism – which is connected to concrete historical processes – has been imbued with all of these elements. We will describe how these processes and elements are part of the representation of the Campi Flegrei and how the visual dimension identifies and expresses such complex realities.

Complex Profiles: the Palimpsest and its Imagery

The Campi Flegrei is a palimpsest continually rewritten by nature and human intervention. The historico-archaeological heritage is stratified, sloping down from the bunkers of the last world war to Roman thermal bath complexes situated among contemporary houses, descending to the submerged villas and Roman port infrastructures – sunk into the sea along with the ancient coastline – to the most recent discoveries of submerged military material, and much more (Figs 6.2–6.4).

The atmosphere of impermanence that permeates Phlegraean life has been translated into engravings, paintings and literary images of the grand tour: they are persistent and efficacious representations, a sort of visual recognizability that blends historic vestiges, undersea landscapes and sulfurous backdrops of a geological era.

In fact, volcanism marks the rhythm of the deep breathing of the Campi Flegrei, modifying its morphology and its human settlements. This phenomenology is not remote in time. The volcanic eruption of Montenuovo ('new mountain') occurred in 1538 – just a moment ago in geological terms. It should also not be undervalued from a historical viewpoint: the volcano erased the village of Tripergole, with its Roman and medieval buildings, redesigning the coast. Today, it dominates Averno Lake and Lucrino Lake; at its foot, submerged in the sea, we find the ancient Roman port Portus Julius and other ruins (Figs 6.5 and 6.6).[6]

Bradyseism has modelled the Phlegraean area, changing its coastline as well as its anthropization, altering the visual dimension. This has occurred over the centuries, including recently. From 1970 to 1972 and from 1982 to 1984, it lifted the level of the land a total of 3.5 m. The Solfatara crater continues its uninterrupted activity, but it is also possible to observe smoke transuding from the roads, crumbling the asphalt. Hot water and gases bubble up here and there from the sea floor, punctuating the natural and archaeological undersea scenery. In an interplay of continuous regeneration, volcanism has more than once smothered the unfolding saga of the Campi Flegrei: an indissoluble marriage that intertwines history and nature.

[5]Also spelled 'Phlegrean' (and occasionally 'Flegrean').
[6]The volcanic cone has a height of about 130 m and a base of 1 km.

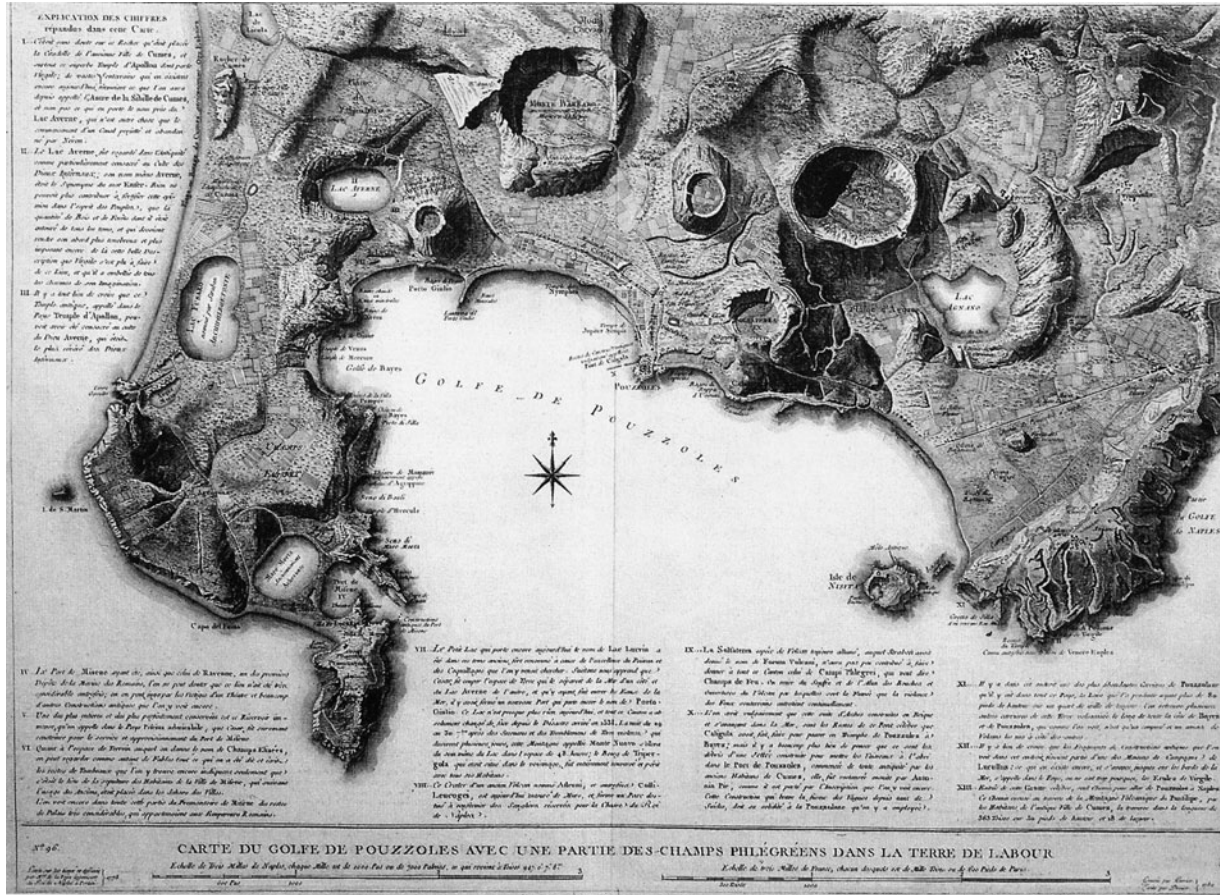

Fig. 6.1. Map of the Gulf of Pozzuoli and part of the Phlegraean Fields (Carte du Golfe de Pouzzoles avec une partie des Camps Phlégréens dans la Terre de Labour, in J.C.R. de Saint-Non, *Voyage pittoresque ou description des Royaumes de Naples et de Sicile,* Paris, 1782).

Fig. 6.2. Underneath Bacoli: the so-called Piscina Mirabile ('marvellous pool'), a system of subterranean Roman cisterns (photo: Giovanni Lombardi).

Fig. 6.3. Changing symbols: a Second World War bunker now used as a storage space by farmers (photo: Giovanni Lombardi).

Fig. 6.4. Next to inhabited homes: the archaeological park of Baia (photo: Giovanni Lombardi).

Fig. 6.5. A complex scenery: the inhabited volcano of Montenuovo; at its foot, the saltwater lake of Lucrino and the thermal-bath centre Stufe di Nerone ('The Stoves of (Emperor) Nero'); in the background, another crater; to the right, the sea of the Gulf of Pozzuoli (photo: Giovanni Lombardi).

Fig. 6.6. Submerged archaeological heritage in Baia, by courtesy of Alfredo Cetrangolo.

Fragments of a History, Slices of an Image

The Greeks settled on the volcanic island of Ischia and founded the coastal city of Cumae; traces of Mycenaean culture have also come to light from time to time. Much of the Phlegraean territory is rich in constructions and monuments – such as the thermal baths distributed between Baia and Pozzuoli (Amalfitano and Medri, 1990; de Caro and Gialanella, 2002); the Flavian Amphitheatre (the third largest in Italy after the Colosseum and that of Capua, holding 20,000 people); the Roman villas; the imperial edifices; and the ruins of the ports of Lucrino and Miseno (which hosted the imperial fleet, merchant ships and stocks of war material).

The Roman world, senatorial and imperial, has been explained in a wide range of literature. Above all – and especially through the poet Virgil's *Aeneid* – it provided symbolic universes and narratives that would enter into the imagery of tourism in subsequent centuries, as did the myth of the Sibyl. In the first genuine manifestations of tourism, visitors deciphered the Campi Flegrei by searching for historical signs as well as pretexts for myths and the oneiric, dreamlike dimension: these instances of mythologizing, already reinforced during the 16th century under the Spanish government through the revival of literary themes, have demonstrated a surprising persistence and are still a dominant element in tourist-related communications.

After the era of Roman greatness had passed, literature concerning the Campi Flegrei described nature as an untrustworthy and restless being which prevails over civilization and over humans: the historiography of the ancient social and political protagonisms of the Phlegraean coast was buried in its own protracted Dark Age. In that same period, however, there is the narration of a renaissance of thermal bath culture, exalting its thaumaturgic aspects in literature, in poetry and in the techniques of medieval as well as modern-age medical schools. The Swabians, the Angevins and the Aragonese came to Naples: the Phlegraean Fields were a place for healing, a destination to be reached by royalty as well as the common people – a tradition symbolized by Pietro da Eboli's *De Balneis Puteolanis* (*c.* 1212–1221), by the presence of Emperor Frederick II in 1227, and by the foundation of the hospital at Tripergole by King Charles of Anjou in 1299. This heritage was even metabolized within the religious culture, resulting in the promotion of curative baths for

the poor from Neapolitan hospitals, inaugurating a tradition of solidarity that lasted until the last century. Finally, in the name of tradition, the curative dimension that had been advocated and practised in those centuries burst into the touristic imagery of the 1800s.

This attractive and unpredictable reality flanked the capital of Naples, the most populous city within the Habsburg system and the third largest in Europe. Two main passages led to the Phlegraean coast from Naples: one by sea and the other via a long tunnel known as La Grotta – literally 'the cavern' – which had been excavated by the Romans and later enlarged by the Spanish. It was so in the time of Goethe's travels in Italy. The alterity or other-worldliness of the Campi Flegrei was exalted by these two passages and their accompanying qualitative contrasts: once 'beyond the cavern', diverse and vibrant tonalities seemed to appear.[7] In this sense, the attraction of Campi Flegrei reached its apex in 1538. Then the earth shook. On 28 September, the sea retreated from the beach. The crater lake of Averno, the thermal baths of Lucrino, the village of Tripergole, the hospital, and Cicero's academy were all situated there. The following day, a volcanic mouth opened and began to erupt. By 1 October, Montenuovo – the 'new mountain' – was smoking on the Gulf of Pozzuoli. The court of the viceroy witnessed the spectral scene from a nearby hill. Later, Pedro de Toledo sought to revive the territory by conceding privileges to the city of Pozzuoli. Finally, in 1571, Pedro Afán de Ribera constructed the coast road – still an essential thoroughfare today – to facilitate access to the Phlegraean area.

These traces of history are not distant; rather, they are present in the minds of the people who live in the Campi Flegrei, and they are present in a skyline that serves as a perennial evocation, whether from the viewpoint of the imagery and narratives of tourism or from the viewpoint of identity: water and fire; history and nature – impressing, attracting and curing (Figs 6.7–6.9).

Fig. 6.7. Crowds enjoying traditional seaside bathing on the coasts of Montenuovo and Lucrino (photo: Giovanni Lombardi).

[7]The Phlegraean area acquired by the city of Naples is still called Fuorigrotta ('outside/beyond the cavern').

Fig. 6.8. Seaside bathing on the edge of a partially submerged crater on the coast of Bacoli (photo: Giovanni Lombardi).

Fig. 6.9. Water and tufa (tufaceous volcanic rock): coastal scenery of Miseno (photo: Giovanni Lombardi).

Bye-bye, Grand Tour!

Much has been written about the images and testimonies of the grand tour, images that changed during the 19th century. While the landscapes didn't change, approaches did: the touristic gaze reinvented the region of Campania. Ancient thermal bath sites were restored,[8] buried cities came to the surface, and archaeological experience (significantly, the excavations of the Flavian Amphitheatre of Pozzuoli initiated in 1839), as well as museum development, took form and achieved official recognition. Socially well-placed and well-educated women, diplomats, artists, tourists and businessmen called on ministers of the Bourbon government in Naples – the Bourbons governed the Kingdom of the Two Sicilies until 1860 – wishing to see 'secret' museums, as well as monuments and historical vestiges. Some came from the royal courts of Europe, but many visited the diplomatic representations in Naples for practical and work-related reasons, and resided in new and well-equipped hotels for business people. At the same time, landscape painting offered romantic and oneiric portrayals, proposing enjoyability and physical immersion imbued with an exotic Mediterranean ethos in which the sea was captivating and yet domestic. By that time, there were 'bourgeois' approaches. Thus, while Italy was constructing its own unification, the travel industry was including new package tours, in particular those of Thomas Cook & Son for the English public: the Campi Flegrei together with Naples, Sorrento, Mount Vesuvius and the Gulf islands (Dawes, 2003).

During the last years of the 1800s and the first of the 1900s, Naples was above all an ex-capital rethinking itself: there was a flood of projects and social transformations, and notions about models of tourism development took shape.[9] However, the political and economic powers viewed the Campi Flegrei in another way. The expansion of Naples undermined the relationship between the people of the Phlegraean Fields and the sea. Industrialization appeared like spots on a leopard. In the 1880s, the firm Armstrong of Newcastle founded a shipyard and factory in Pozzuoli for the construction of warships and armament.[10] The year that symbolized a turning point was 1904, however, when large steel-making plants were established in Bagnoli – Bagnoli is an ancient toponym that indicates thermal baths – the most touristic of the Phlegraean suburbs of Naples. At the end of the 19th and the beginning of the 20th centuries, approximately 70,000 'foreigners' visited Naples; the thermal spa sector received 500 or 600 seasonal visitors in the area of Bagnoli alone. Three thousand tourist sector workers were registered at the beginning of the century, and for the opening of the 1901 summer season, there were 472 hotels and inns of every kind, of which 90 were of first and second class; also, there were 86 restaurants and trattorias (Corona, 2000). Wedged in among tourist establishments, heavy industry covered over thermal springs and beaches and disrupted the scenery (Fig. 6.10). The construction of new port docks also brought changes to the scenery and meant a qualitative leap forward in the destruction of the archaeological heritage on the sea floor. Despite all that, as well as the appearance of cholera in 1910 and the industrial dismantlement linked to the end of the Great War and to Italy's colonial experience in Libya, the attractive capacity of the Campi Flegrei – wrapped in a protective touristic imagery – was not erased.

[8]See *Provincia di Napoli, Comune di Lacco, Bagni Termo minerali,* State Archives at Naples [ASN – Archivio di Stato di Napoli], Ministero Interni, inventario II, busta 7175; *Provincia di Napoli Comune di Pozzuoli, Bagni e stufe di Nerone, idem*, busta 3675, fascicolo 7174; G. Marseglia, *Storia – Le 'Stufe di Nerone'*, in *Bollettino Flegreo*, III s. (1998) 7, pp. 57–63; M. Mendella, *Sulla storia della restaurazione delle terme comunali d'Ischia*, in *Bollettino Flegreo*, 1, ns. VIII (1986) 2, pp. 127–135*,* 1860–1906, ns. VIII (1986) 3, pp. 186–196; O. Negri, *Piccola guida di Pozzuoli e dintorni*, D. De Falco, Napoli, 1883.

[9]Among the proposals that found consensus was 'Naples: Big Hotel and Big Museum', supported by entrepreneurs and administrators who tended to associate tourism with a modern industrial economy.

[10]*Lo stabilimento Armstrong*, Tipografia Trani, Napoli, 1894.

Fig. 6.10. Surreal contrasts: Bagnoli and the Phlegraean Fields as seen from Naples (photo: Giovanni Lombardi).

While industrialization did in fact wear down the traditional touristic image of the Campi Flegrei, it also triggered processes of social and economic development that translated into new approaches: even factory workers went to the seaside.[11] The social composition of the Phlegraean tourism of the 1900s would open a new and interesting chapter. Approaches were often a mixture of the popular and the aristocratic – a recurring theme in Neapolitan culture – but also included social corporativism: there were beaches for families of army officials beside beaches reserved for the navy, special conditions for railway workers and civil servants, and showcase seaside resorts for high society on display next to beaches visited by everyone. To be concise, during the half-century that went from the 1880s up to the advent of fascism, the leisure and wellness industry took a leap forward in quality and opened up to the masses. The Cumana railway, inaugurated in 1881, as well as the electric tramways, opened up to tourism Phlegraean localities that had been previously unreachable for more visitors.[12] In the tourist sector, companies were renovated and professionals were recycled. Seaside and thermal spring establishments became places for a new kind of sociability. They included services, the first architectural solutions in concrete, and publicity that competed with the most well-known European tourist facilities (Lombardi, 2006: 240): shows and performances,

[11]The industrialization of this area was a subject of burning debate and political dispute in Italy during all of the 20th century, as the deindustrialization presently on course is today.

[12]The coast railway line encouraged seaside bathing, thermal bath culture and the archaeological tour. Today, in a modified context, those very same railway tracks, although an essential means of transport, constitute a deep scar on the landscape and a barrier between the inhabitants and the sea.

celebrations and other festivities, lotteries, society events, conventions, and mineral waters for bathing as well as drinking, all resulting in important socio-economic spin-offs. The hydrotherapy facilities and the healthy climate of the Campi Flegrei became well known in the context of medical and health practices,[13] encouraged by the Royal University of Naples – which was at the forefront of some health disciplines in the 1930s – as well as by the Chamber of Commerce of Naples: both influenced tourist behaviour by combining scientific activity with efficient communication. Some establishments – often built on piles extending over the coastal rocks – offered both seaside and thermal bath activities; moreover, the thermal bath culture and the mild climate extended the high-season tourist peaks.[14]

Fascism: Touristic Images and the Rhetoric of the Regime

Fascism harnessed tourism as it did other aspects of life. It regulated professions, tour guides, the hotel trade, prices, educational projects and the movement of persons. In the Campi Flegrei, those were hard times for people who worked in 'submerged' (non-tax-paying) hospitality, for farmers and fishermen (who had improvised for centuries, often in questionable ways), for tourist guides, for temple custodians and for those who transported or sold souvenirs.

Fascism also exalted the topos of the Roman Empire. Within the context of this cultural and propagandistic climate, the visual dimension of the Campi Flegrei expressed the greatness of Rome with immediacy and efficacy. This visual dimension was buttressed by a Latin literature which acted as a narrative glue for the imagery of tourism and the rhetoric of the regime: the majesty of the historic ruins and the great thermal baths was accompanied by the unceasing emergence of archaeological finds and ruins, all in the context of craterous as well as marine and lacustral landscapes that evoked symbols of mythology linked to higher destiny: Hades, the *Aeneid*, the *Odyssey* and much more. Territorial symbols were translated into a continuous evocation of the past. This evocative climate certainly encouraged the visitor to live the touristic experience through an immersive dimension that was quite singular, visible and impacting – as it still does today (Fig. 6.11).

To understand how historical particularities and touristic imagery provided a visual framework for this area and explained its touristic development, it is necessary to examine the millennial saga of hot-spring spas in the Campi Flegrei. In fact, the psychophysical health cult proudly displayed by the regime echoed the Roman ethos of the prosperous and wholesome *Campania felix*. During the 1930s, spas founded on millennial hot springs were in full operation. Some used mineral mud taken from the Solfatara crater – then considered to be a health centre – for mudbath treatments. Constructed in a craterous hollow that had been drained in 1870, the thermal spring baths of Agnano – an elegant Liberty-style complex realized in the spirit of a *ville d'eaux*

[13]Of interest – in newspapers such as *Il Mattino* – the current affairs journalism of that time discusses events such as the XIII National Congress on Hydrology, Climatology and Physical Therapy, held at the thermal bath complex Castellammare in September–October of 1921. Other periodicals of interest include: various issues of *Emporio Puteolano. Gazzetta settimanale di Pozzuoli e suo circondario* (a news-sheet published from the mid-1880s onwards); *Il Movimento sanitario. Giornale di politica sanitaria, medicina ed igiene sociale, notizie ed interessi professionale e di medicina pratica* (various issues from the first two decades of the 1900s); and *Il progresso sociale del Mezzogiorno. Periodico d'igiene e previdenza, idroclimatologia e lotta antitubercolare* (published during the 1920s).

[14]For the maritime concessions granted by the civil–military authority for ports of the Maritime Administrative Division of Naples (Capitaneria di Porto – Comparto Marittimo di Napoli), see *Foglio degli Annunci Legali della Regia Prefettura*; for details on individual establishments, see Lombardi, G. Lombardi (2004), *Identità e patrimonio culturale: per una storia del turismo in area flegrea*.

Fig. 6.11. The lake in the crater of the volcano Averno. Once a Roman port, in antiquity the lake was considered to be the entrance to Hades, a place of gaseous manifestations and traditionally the residence of the Sibyl. On the left, the ruins of a Roman thermal-bath spa and the slopes of Montenuovo. In the background, a succession of sceneries: the Mediterranean Sea, the Aragonese Castle of Baia, and Miseno (photo: Giovanni Lombardi).

in a *belle époque* setting – achieved recognized excellence. At the Second Health Congress for the Health Industry, the thermal bath complex Terme di Agnano received awards for their hot-spring mineral water and mud, and received a gold medal for their drinking water (for images and a clear reconstruction see Mangone, 2001: 105).

There were establishments outfitted for theatrical, musical and cinematographic shows – it would be hardly necessary to mention the importance and the development of cinematography in those years – often with very modern construction and hygienic standards. They were spaces for social relations that were reinterpreted in order to organize and educate the masses. Regime propaganda promoted seaside holiday camps, hot-spring and seaside bathing establishments, and climate health spas. 'Joyous departures' of children of the working classes for Phlegraean seaside holiday camps were announced, as well as 'the fervent work of the regime' in favour of Phlegraean tourist localities.[15]

[15]'La festosa partenza dei bimbi del popolo per la colonia marina "Belfiore" a Lucrino', *Il Mattino,* XLIII, n. 160, 7 July 1934, p. 6; 'Norme per la concessione dei bagni' in *La voce di Napoli*, XVI, n. 797, 8 May 1934; '*La fervida opera del Regime per la rinascita dell'isola d'Ischia'*, in *Roma,* 3 July 1934, XII, p. 6; see also: Alberto Consiglio, 'Napoli balneare' in *La Voce di Napoli*, XVI, n. 813, 10 September 1934, year XII; and 'Diecimila figli del Popolo alle colonie marine e montane della federazione fascista Bagni' in *La Voce di Napoli*, XV, n. 764, 28 August 1933, in which the extensive touristic resources of Naples were linked with the development of communications and means of transport.

Signs of Disintegration

This Phlegraean mosaic, including its tourism-based physiognomy, has, like every mosaic, its own internal coherence, even though it is made up of diverse realities. The Phlegraean communities live shoulder to shoulder, but their social fabric, dialects and customs change from one municipality to another, all within a relatively small space. Then there are hidden ties – about which there is a shortage of studies but about which we have gathered information by carrying out fieldwork and semi-structured interviews according to precise sociological requisites[16] – which connect the Phlegraean communities of Pozzuoli, Baia, Bacoli, Cuma and Monte di Procida with other localities on the Tyrrhenian coast of Italy, including some Neapolitan suburbs and neighbourhoods For an explanation of grounded theory, see Glaser and Strauss (2006): there are exchanges between fishermen and farmers, and gatherings on the occasion of religious festivals,[17] as well as reciprocities linked to seafaring activities such as the construction and outfitting of boats, the buying and selling of goods and materials, and working 'on steamships' (*sui vapori*) – links that become visible through forms of micro-economics as well as kinship relations established through marriage.[18]

A second aspect to consider is the military use of the territory. In and of itself, this is nothing new for the Campi Flegrei, especially when we remember that this area has hosted the Imperial Roman fleet, and Spanish and Aragonese fortifications (such as the majestic Castle of Baia, which was used during World War I for holding Austro-Hungarian prisoners), as well as Bourbon and French military installations. Under fascism, there was a remilitarization of the area, accompanied by the occupation of territory, mostly by the navy – and this without taking into account war-industry installations, of special mention the Italian torpedo factory in Baia. In fact, in a certain sense, Baia, Bacoli and Miseno became frontier places. Troops destined for Africa were quartered there, during the colonial experience as well as during the Second World War (Fig. 6.12).

A third element worth highlighting is that the political power began to view the Campi Flegrei as a material reserve or resource bank, as a place to be exploited. Heterogeneous interests converged on the Phlegraean Fields, conditioning both the territory and the human presence. While archaeological excavations were relaunched, construction works that were diametrically opposed to the recuperation of classical-era heritage were carried out in the name of progress. In 1925, the state railway

[16]This refers to research carried out with attention to semantic variety in cultural heritage within a framework of 'grounded theory', as part of the project *Mediterranea Myths and Sea* ('MMS – Med My Sea' is funded by the ERDF – European Regional Development Fund – as part of the European Union 'Archimed' initiative (2000–2006); the overall aim of MMS is to promote the sustainable development of tourism by enhancing the cultural identities and resources of note, particular to various Italian and Greek localities.

[17]These religious festivals have often been 'dusted off' in order to create tourist events. In general, they are characterized by empty and anonymous repetition, without any serious attempt to revisit and reinterpret tradition. In contrast, until just a few decades ago, during the festival of the *Annunziata* (a name for the Virgin Mary after the Annunciation) in Pozzuoli and the festival of Saint Anna in Bacoli, in which many people participated, ancestral rites, religiosity, farm-life cycles and the return of the fishermen from their seasonal fishing expeditions all created spaces for reciprocal identification, moments of encounter and social reconciliation, both within the host community and in relationship with other communities.

[18]*Med My Sea* (see n. 16) and the project proposal *The Mediterranean Network of Parks for the Submerged Archaeological Heritage – (Parkéo)*, within the EU Community Initiative Programme Interreg III B Archimed, and with the following leading partners: Institute for Studies on Mediterranean Societies (ISSM) – National Research Council (CNR), the Region of Campania, CoNISMa (National Inter-University Consortium for Marine Sciences), Sea Superintendence (a body of the Heritage Unit of the Region of Sicily), ΝΟΜΑΡΧΙΑΚΗ ΑΥΤΟΔΙΟΙΚΗΣΗ ΗΡΑΚΛΕΙΟΥ (Prefectural Authority of Heraklion, Crete, Greece), ΔΗΜΟΣ ΜΕΘΩΝΗΣ (Municipality of Methoni, Peloponnese, Greece).

Fig. 6.12. The saltwater lake Bacoli (also called Maremorto or 'the Dead Sea'), once a Roman port. On the right, the coastal inlet of Miseno. In the background, the Gulf of Pozzuoli, Naples and Mount Vesuvius (photo: Giovanni Lombardi).

company literally cut through the most ancient and second smallest Roman amphitheatre in Pozzuoli.[19] The possibilities for rock and stone extraction then led to capital investments, extraction pits and quarries, and ship landings near the locations of built heritage. Transport ships raked over the archaeological heritage of the undersea Roman ruins with their anchors and keels. This exploitation indelibly redesigned Phlegraean scenery above and below the sea, and was apologetically justified by fascist industrial organizations as a return to tradition: the use of local stone with sandy soil from Pozzuoli to make 'Roman cement' (or *cementum baianum*) (Fig. 6.13).[20]

The aspects just mentioned are important because they have resulted in a loss of clarity to the visual dimension of tourism in the Campi Flegrei. It is not only a matter of the dying out of the images of the tourism of the 1800s and of the grand tour, but rather of the first signs of processes of fragmentation of the territory and of the exploitation of its resources, which involved diffuse alterations of the ecosystem and of the tourist's image of the Campi Flegrei.

[19]It is significant that few Phlegraean inhabitants have ever heard of this amphitheatre, even though it is still visible (it is difficult, however, to distinguish it among the proliferation of other territorial signs on and near the site, such as railway tracks and houses); most importantly, however, it does not form part of the collective visual construction of the Campi Flegrei.

[20]The professional union of engineers, the fascist industrial organizations of southern Italy, and the National Federation of Marble all qualified the rock and stone material in the Phlegraean area as a fundamental and inexhaustible resource for construction and maritime works such as ports; for more detail, see Lombardi, 2006.

Fig. 6.13. Seaside bathing on the beach in Baia, in the company of industrial archaeology and a castle (photo: Giovanni Lombardi).

A New Period?

It was wartime: the Italians ceded precious age-old sites to the Germans, who then occupied them and transformed them into garrisons. Baia, Miseno and Monte di Procida literally formed a powder-keg peninsula, with depots and galleries stuffed full of munitions. Military sweeps – with arrests and forced conscriptions – were common. In retreat, the *Wehrmacht* devastated military, civil and industrial sites, such as the torpedo factory Silurificio di Baia. Tourist structures were also hit. The quartering of soldiers, first German and then Allied, damaged what was left. Heritage sites such as the Castle of Baia – today the Archaeological Museum of Campi Flegrei – were mined by the Germans. Some sites were saved by the courage of a few who interceded to prevent destruction or who cleared away mines, while others were saved through acts of understanding between enemies constrained to share the same territory.[21]

Despite post-war difficulties, there was a clear intention to recover. In 1946–1947, the buried remains of the Flavian Amphitheatre came to light. In 1948, the Union of Manufacturers of Naples confirmed the destruction of an entire economy: in the previous decade, 20% of the national tourist volume had flowed through Naples, often exceeding the movement of tourists through Venice, Florence or Rome: the city had been a natural hub for transatlantic travellers as well as for those for whom Naples had been the starting point for travelling up the Italian peninsula. The beauty of the area – both natural and man-made – along with its geological

[21]The thermal bath spa Terme Puteolane of Pozzuoli was saved by the solidarity of a German official who set them on fire rather than mining them, with the intention of allowing an immediate intervention after the troops had left.

singularity had acted as a great tourist magnet.[22] Then the war froze tourism. Prestigious hotels were destroyed; what was requisitionable was requisitioned; historico-artistic heritage was devastated; and living conditions were brought low.

In the Campi Flegrei, few tourist complexes reopened. The Solfatara crater had been reduced to a historico-scientific and phenomenological attraction.[23] What was left after the bombings of the splendid architecture of the thermal bath resort Terme di Agnano was amputated in 1968 to provide space for an inappropriate modern construction. Seaside tourism led the way – inexpensive and immediate – in representing the desire to enjoy life again. Photographs from the 1960s show ancient sites with simple amenities taken by storm by the population; they also show tourist attractions for the well-off and foreigners, who had returned to combine the sea with climatic and historico-cultural enjoyability (Figs 6.14 and 6.15).

In the meantime, Naples expanded in leaps and bounds – in a largely unplanned way – and the conurbation of Naples developed the highest industrial concentration of the region.[24] The bradyseismic (movement of the earth related to

Fig. 6.14. The Solfatara crater today: mineral mud holes, a fumarolic lunar landscape, and the crater campsite (photo: Giovanni Lombardi).

[22]From the preparatory notes for a report on tourist installations in the Parthenopean area, prepared for the visit to Naples of US Ambassador James David Zellerbach, who was head of the Italian commission of the ECA (Economic Cooperation Administration) from 1948 onwards. For more detail, see the Historical Archives of Enel at Naples (*Archivio Storico Enel di Napoli*), F 20/6, various; and Lombardi, 2006.

[23]Home to sulfur and alum quarrying since the Middle Ages, the Solfatara has been a military firing range; a family garden; a source of sulfurous spring water for hospitals and mineral hot-spring mud for various thermal bath establishments; the location of a volcanological observatory built by the German volcanologist I. Friedländer; an area used for research on water, botany and medicine; a place for thermal baths during the 1800s, with a small hotel; and it is still one of the most singular and noteworthy realities in the area.

[24]Today, the Region of Campania has almost 5.8 million inhabitants, with more than three million concentrated in the Province of Naples. It is one of the most populated – and most densely populated – regions of Italy.

Fig. 6.15. A postcard: the crowded coast of Pozzuoli in the 1960s. The protected swimming area shown here was turned into a landfill during the 1970s with waste mud from the steel-making industry in Bagnoli.

volcanic activity) crises of 1970–1972 and of 1982–1984 displaced the population of the Campi Flegrei in different ways and at different times. These changes disarranged the image and the substance – the identitary mosaic – of the Campi Flegrei. Until the end of the 1970s, the nature–culture mix had metabolized the symbols of modernity. Phlegraean populations had been accustomed to living with crises, but now politicians and economic interests became more involved in influencing the outcomes of the emergency. It was a time of expropriations and displacements, particularly for the population of Pozzuoli. In the hinterland of Pozzuoli, in the area of Monteruscello, new construction totalled 20,000 rooms: many people there had been uprooted from their traditional coastal lifestyles, from the social symbols that were theirs and from their relationship with historical sites. For details on relevant social and identitary outcomes, see Mantile (2004: 60) (Fig. 6.16). Depopulated historical sites such as Rione Terra in Pozzuoli – a medieval toponym whose origin is found in the seafarer's usage of the term 'terra' – 'land' as in opposition to 'sea' – fell into a state of grave abandonment. Meanwhile, in the Gulf of Baia, boats and rubbish were abandoned here and there on top of submerged ruins that were among the most important of recent archaeological finds.

Local culture played an evident and important role: it was handicapped by submissiveness, by a sort of 'interiorized non-involvement' encouraged by socio-economic processes that tended towards exclusion, and by connivances that were facilitated by the unravelling of the social fabric as well as by the consequent reduction of the willingness to rebuke behaviours that were damaging to the community. The choice of environmental policies negatively affected the quality of coastal seawater as well as the quality of water in the coastal lakes: Fusaro, Bacoli, Lucrino and Averno. All were threatened by the disposal of polluting substances and by waste-water discharges carried out by the local municipalities, with effects on the health of the local populations that went far beyond the terms of what could affect tourism. The culture and practice of thermal bathing were relegated almost exclusively to the island of Ischia.

Codes of behaviour regarding the use of space changed. An idea of 'consumption' of territory arose, of occupation–conurbation, with an implicit erasure of relevant territorial

Fig. 6.16. Living with Bradyseism. Antonio Causa's photo, 'Pozzuoli, Republic Square at the beginning of the 20th century', by courtesy of Sergio Causa.

symbols: spaces were used for extraction pits and for waste disposal, beach concessions awarded to private parties limited free public access to the coast, and uncontrolled construction was rampant. These approaches tended to fragment touristic imagery. Paradoxically, everything was justified by a sort of banalizing ideology of touristic development that lacked comprehensive vision and resulted in short-term investments and speculative activities. It was a 'governance' which produced aporiae such as the protection of submerged archaeological heritage in parallel with the construction of thousands of boat moorings in those same marine spaces, the attempt to open rubbish dumps inside volcanic craters and the proposal to locate an incinerator in the craterous hollow of Agnano – where tourism is linked to thermal bathing and to the curative properties of thermal vapour inhalation.

Such processes have undermined the projection of the Campi Flegrei as a place for an immersive and multiple tourist experience made up of sea, hot springs, nature and history, all steeped in a sensuality made up of colours, gastronomy (with fishery and agricultural products of high quality) and smells (not only typically Mediterranean fragrances but also the sulfurous smells recurrent in Phlegraean contexts).

However, there have also been important concrete initiatives going towards the mending of this torn fabric. In 2002, the Regional Park of the Campi Flegrei was established. That same year, the Submerged Park of Baia was formed, with a status similar to that of a protected marine area.[25] In Pozzuoli, the archaeological finds and restorations under way in Rione Terra were of such quality as to prelude the constitution of a new archaeological park. In the area of Quarto, a kilometric line of constructions and

[25]This historico-archaeological area comprises part of the coasts of Bacoli and of Pozzuoli. Among these ruins, animal and plant species live in symbiosis with the volcanic environment and its underwater manifestations.

finds was uncovered along the ancient Roman road Via Campana. Underwater investigations proceeded, bringing to light the ancient coastal strip of the Roman era, averaging 400 m in width, which had been sunk by bradyseism. Of particular interest, this archaeological heritage is located at a depth of only a few metres and is observable from the surface of the sea (Scognamiglio, 2003: 67).

To uphold these positive realities, there is an effort coming from many sides to recompose a touristic imagery and a visual dimension of the Campi Flegrei. It comes primarily from below, from the milieu of young people, where a kind of counter-narration can be observed with respect to the signs of degradation and of anomia, a narration that reproposes images and narrative tonalities that truly belong to the history of tourism in the Campi Flegrei. In this sense, a kind of virtuous narrative mystification is winning back these places for tourism. This 'mystification' is a distinctive characteristic of the Phlegraean tradition, in which the oneiric dimension of myth and the restless interweaving of culture and nature have been at the heart of its imagery.[26]

Final Considerations and Reflections

Naturally, many reflections are possible. However, it should be underscored that touristic imagery and the visual dimension together create a 'habitat' of touristic experience, which is almost a hermeneutic space in and of itself. The 'immersive' role that visitors are elicited to interpret in their encounters with the Campi Flegrei is an essential part of this habitat. Touristic experiences and tangible encounters have recently highlighted how a kind of image restitution is proposed in the context of relations between tourists and the host community: the inhabitants – the Phlegraean people – who are seen by the tourist as the keepers of a forgotten and unspoken heritage, are solicited to assume positive identities in response to expectations, all of which takes place in the context of a dynamic involving recognition of reciprocal alterities.[27] Beyond that, intergenerational participation has evidenced a desire for more social cohesion among the local participants in these experiences, with concrete exchanges of knowledge, images and narrations: a fundamental aspect when discriminating processes of transmission of cultural heritage and of immaterial heredity are considered.

It is difficult to define the Campi Flegrei as a touristic locality on the basis of econometric values. But it is evident – and the fundamental contribution of visual research highlights this – that the Phlegraean Fields have demonstrated an extraordinary attractive capacity over the centuries and that they are a part of that phenomenon of modernity which – even as we debate its different facets and nuances of meaning – we call tourism.

Tourism – understood in a broad sense as a cognitive space that is propositional, identitary and relational – still remains a potentiality in the Campi Flegrei of today, something not yet profoundly tried and tested – a tourism upon which might depend not only immediate economic interests but also an idea of human development, of identitary development, of visual redefinition (Fig. 6.17).

For tourism to become a concrete and communicative experience, it now appears necessary to construct a pluralistic and culturally equipped context, a context not only spatial but also qualitative and inclusive, in which tourists, touristic imagery, the complexity of places and their histories, as well as the local populations (with their attitudes and limitations) fully participate.

[26]The 'Cave of the Sibyl' is an example of the mystification that has formed an integral part of touristic imagery, a toponym attributed to two separate sites and to which centuries-old identifications are attributed: in reality, both sites were tunnels used as military fortifications and for troop movements in Cumae, and from Cumae to Averno Lake. Another example of mystification is the pseudo 'Tomb of Agrippina' (Agrippina was the mother of Emperor Nero, killed on the orders of her son, with the assistance of the freed slave Aniceto and the commander of the fleet of Miseno): in reality, this site was the odeum of a Roman villa.

[27]Naturally, this implies the need for a deeper reflection on codes of behaviour in the context of tourism.

Fig. 6.17. Tourism and sustainability: an opportunity to rethink development. The refuse crisis of Naples, a view of the Castle, and boats moored over submerged archaeological ruins, which form part of a protected marine area (photo: Giovanni Lombardi).

Fig. 6.18. The singular Temple of Serapis. In the background, signs of anomia: the Cumana railway, traffic ramps and buildings that intrude upon this precious archaeological site. On the columns, traces of bradyseism, with markings left by molluscs indicating the sea levels of other eras (photo: Giovanni Lombardi).

Fig. 6.19. A panorama of Miseno: on the right, the crowded beaches of Miliscola; on the left, the 'Dead Sea' (photo: Giovanni Lombardi).

Moreover, the phenomena of degradation that we have observed, and which have been constantly verified, have occurred within a cultural framework of justification, of silence regarding consequences or of ignorance – in sharp contrast with processes of genuine recuperation, improvement and development that have taken and continue to take place in the story of the Phlegraean Fields, carried forward in response to articulated cultural expression and with a communicative perspective, that is, in a context of opening up to relationship (Fig. 6.18).

Essentially, this unique space forms part of a Mediterranean tradition, an experimental space in which humans, history and nature can meet in singular ways: a fundamental dimension for understanding tourism, visuality and its roots in the Campi Flegrei (Fig. 6.19).

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7 The Use of Visual Products in Relation to Time–Space Behaviour of Cultural Tourists

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Introduction

The core of this chapter shows the relevance of time–space behaviour when trying to understand the behaviour, motivations and the experience of cultural tourists within a city. Since many cities have seen the benefits of cultural tourism, many city walks and historic miles have been produced. Unfortunately, these routes are often no more than a list of sites and stories that are not put in any perspective. Cultural trails take the visitor by the hand from one site to another, without any reference to the importance, consequences or impacts of these sites on local history. If one is lucky there is a story added to the city walk, but, because of the large variety in the specific sites, this is often hard to do.

In this chapter the authors will give a short overview of time–space behaviour research in general and time–space behaviour research that has been conducted in the city of Breda in the Netherlands. The results of the research in Breda will be compared with the existing city walk published by the local tourism office. Image and illusion in the material will be compared with the reality, in order to find out in what way cities can enhance their visual products while taking into account the time–space behaviour of their visitors.

Cultural Tourism and the Importance of Time–Space Behaviour

The interest in culture has grown to such as extent that it has become a factor of economic significance to many destinations in Europe. Many regions and destinations are on the move or would like to be on the move to develop cultural and heritage-based tourism. These destinations think that cultural tourism is the future market growth. At its simplest it could provide a use for the large amount of historic fabric that is currently underused in many such tourism destinations (see Chapman, 1999: 262 on Valletta). Because of the increasing importance of culture in contemporary society, together with the increasing importance of tourism as a facet of the economic base of post-industrial cities, there is a need to adopt strategies of promoting cultural institutions and heritage in an effort to attract tourism (Whitt, 1987).

Identification of the Tourist-created Complexes

Tourists and recreationalists do not use the various possibilities in a given area at random. The various elements of a tourist recreation product

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are combined according to knowledge, images, preferences and actual opportunities (Dietvorst, 1994a). To the visitor the amenities appear to be related to each other and are required to be near each other; the whole is more attractive than each separate amenity. These group-specific combinations of spatially related product or attractions and facilities are called 'complexes' (Dietvorst, 1993). The actual time–space behaviour of a tourist forms an expression of the tourist recreation complex. In a tourist region or city, a variety of tourist recreation complexes can be identified because each visitor links museums, restaurants, shopping facilities, theme parks and so on in a unique way to form a coherent but spatially differentiated whole – coherent in this case for the individual visitor, but this is not always true for the producer. The tourist recreation complex is a spatially differentiated whole and it has different scales. Depending on motives, preferences and capabilities, tourists tend to combine several attractions and facilities during their holidays. Within spatially concentrated attractions and facilities, a variety of tourist complexes can be identified, as mentioned before, because visitors and tourists are linking the museums, the restaurants, the shopping facilities and so on, according to their own preferences and knowledge, into a coherent but spatially differentiated whole. Van der Heijden and Timmermans (1988) state that, for a total group of tourists, different opportunities, locations and attractions are more important than a repetition of behaviour. They label this as variety-seeking behaviour. The kind of activities chosen and locations visited might also vary for different tourist groups, e.g. young families or nature lovers. Each person will create their own specific complex.

Time–Space Analysis of Tourist Behaviour

Analyses of the dynamics of tourists' complexes as defined earlier require the use of time–space analysis of the tourists' behaviour. Time–space relationships have a fairly long tradition in geographical research. The ideas put forward by Hägerstrand are primary in this respect and can be considered as a 'physicalist' approach to society (Thrift, 1977), an appreciation of the biological, ecological and locational realities that force constraints on human activities.

Other researchers have consequently complemented this constraint-oriented approach with a more choice-oriented one (Floor, 1990: 3–6), making use of time-budget analysis. Activities are considered as the results of choices. According to Chapin (1974), motives and preferences, time–space opportunities and time–space-related contexts influence specific choices, which are realized in concrete activities. In fact the two approaches mentioned do not exclude each other and in practice a mixture of these two approaches would be most appropriate. Thrift (1977: 6) argues that basic assumptions in developing time–space analysis of tourist behaviour are:

- The indivisibility of a human being. Time spent at a specific location cannot be spent elsewhere at the same time.
- The limited availability of time to spend on a specific day.
- The fact that every activity has a duration and that movement between points in space consumes time.
- The limited packing capacity of space.

The way in which people make their choices depends upon: (i) their motives, preferences and experiences; (ii) their images and opportunities estimations; and (iii) their material resources, including transport. The vision that human beings are indivisible is essential, and a used location not only has coordinates in space but also in time, and neither an escape from time nor its storage is possible: 'jumps of non-existence are not permitted' (Blaas, 1989). The tourist in this case determines each day or moment what the next activity will be and is led by the structure or landscape elements of the spatial context. Everyone interprets and uses this information differently. The structure is the same but the experiences differ depending on personal characteristics and possibilities. Thus, during their stay, tourists move around a region, visit different attractions and undertake several different activities, behaviour which provides them with a specific tourist experience. To develop and sustain a sound tourist opportunity structure in a tourist region, it is important to examine tourist behaviour. It

is important to know not only the types of tourist that visit a region/city but also the places visited and for how long, the routes followed if possible, the kind of activities undertaken, the reason(s) for the visit, motivations and experiences (Chardonnel and Van der Knaap, 2002).

Analysing Flow Patterns and Time–Space Behaviour

In order to determine and analyse activity patterns in a region, it is necessary to examine characteristics of the tourist (spatial movements, social background, preference, motivation, perception, information used and means of transport), tourist time–space analysis behaviour (movements, visits, time and budget spending, product element clusters) and the formed tourist recreation complex itself (the spatial physical and social combination and chaining).

Dietvorst (1993) described several methods that can be used for analysing time–space behaviour. These are as follows:

1. By using principal components analysis patterns, revealing 'visitor preferences spaces' can be explored. The result of principal components analysis gives combinations of visited elements, and by comparing these patterns with visitor characteristics more insight is gained in existing tourist recreation complexes.
2. By using network planning in combination with geographic information systems (GIS), real world conditions can be converted into models (Dietvorst, 1993). GIS in land-use planning gives the opportunity of adding possibilities for a translation of the real world into a model world.
3. Besides the application of operations research, networks can also be analysed using mathematical graph theory. The classical example of this in geography is its application by Nystuen and Dacey (1961) in their analysis of telephone interaction to determine a regional hierarchy. Their method is suitable to analyse flows of tourists in order to discover underlying hierarchical structures within tourist recreation complexes.
4. If the researcher has at their disposal the flow of data for a sequence of periods, Markov chain analysis is very appropriate for describing the process of change within a tourist recreation complex (Dietvorst and Wever, 1977). The comparison of several calculated so-called transition matrices is extremely suitable for tracing the tendencies of change in the system observed. Unfortunately, however, one seldom has the opportunity to make use of these techniques of analysis because of a lack of adequate data on a regional or local level.

Having discovered the significant tourism and recreation complexes in a specific region, their qualitative strengths or weaknesses must be ascertained. One of the main objectives in managing tourism or growth and recreation complexes at a regional level is to ensure the continuity of the tourist and/or recreation region as an attractive area for potential visitors and tourists. Ensuring continuity in terms of maintaining the market position and market share, or even improving the relative market share, is a crucial issue and fundamental in the process of strategic planning, and in particular in terms of cultural tourism planning and product development strategies. A well-known procedure for this is the SWOT analysis (strengths, weaknesses, opportunities and threats). Many methods are available in the literature for examining the SWOT elements of tourism and recreation complexes. However, most of them are little more than wild opinions. SWOT was developed for product positioning; thus it can only refer to relative SWOTs compared with competing products, most initiated and invented in the context of marketing management at the level of the company, factory or corporation. Economic geographers have attempted to switch or change the typical management and/or marketing methods to more spatially relevant methods (De Smidt and Wever, 1984; Ashworth and Voogd, 1987). The concepts of the 'product life cycle', of the 'positioning strategies', of Ansoff's 'product/market expansion grid' and finally of 'portfolio analysis' have proved to be useful in developing more spatially oriented analytical tools. For the analysis of the weak and strong points of entire tourism and recreation complexes in a specific region it would be appropriate to use a combination of product life cycle and portfolio analysis. Positioning

strategies and/or the Ansoff model could be useful for determining the set of strategy choices for future development.

Clearly, a tourist region does not offer a single product but rather an abundance of product elements, each with a particular life cycle. It would seem more appropriate to use portfolio analysis for a more detailed analysis of the qualitative status of the various product elements within a tourism–recreation complex. Portfolio analysis can be applied to the region as a whole or part of it; i.e. it can be used for a comparative analysis (Dietvorst, 1993) of the competitive position of each of the tourism and recreation complexes in a region and also for an analysis of the weak and strong points within each of the complexes distinguished.

The last phase in the planning process for tourism and recreation complexes in a specific region is the selection of product development strategies. Of course, these strategies (Dietvorst, 1994b) have to be shaped and produced for different spatial levels, and eventually each should be matched with the results of the portfolio analysis of the different tourism and recreation complexes. At a regional level, the general direction of future development is chosen from a set of alternatives. Generally speaking, it is possible to start from two essential types of global strategy as follows.

Strategies determining the direction of future development:

- Expansion strategy.
- Consolidation strategy.
- Restrictive strategy.

Strategies focusing on the character of the tourism and recreation product itself:

- Choices for strengthening the particular regional identity of the tourism and recreation product.
- Choices for consolidating the existing natural resources.
- Strategy for the development of elements important to obtaining a position in the international tourism market.

There may actually be more strategies, but these are the most important ones. It is essential to realize that it is not necessary to select only one strategy for the whole city or region in question. The goals and the restrictive conditions may make a spatially differentiated policy desirable. The central statement or argument is the continuance and improvement of the spatial quality. These strategies are also applicable to the field of cultural tourism in terms of product development and determination of the direction of future development, once the behaviour, motivation and preferences of tourists visiting cultural sites are uncovered.

Case Study: Breda

The behaviour of the consumer of heritage in the historic city is known only in outline (Ashworth and Tunbridge, 1990). Some comparative information has been assembled on the length of stay, accommodation choice and crude estimates of expenditure, but how the customers actually use the historic city and its facilities in terms of the spread and intensity of use remains largely unknown. For cultural and heritage tourists it can also be asked how tourists use the city and its facilities in terms of visits to cultural sites and objects.

The method

The survey in Breda took place at a variety of attractions and locations, which actually made it quite difficult to differentiate completely the time–space behaviour of various visitors. However, the survey took place in Breda in the autumn holiday break (only in the southern part of the Netherlands) in October 2005. The survey was carried out to reveal the time–space patterns of visitors in general and especially of those who visit cultural sites and attractions. Besides, this survey contributes to our understanding of the movement patterns of the tourists. The questionnaire consisted of three parts:

1. The first part contains some questions on place of residence, the main purpose of the visit to Breda, using the ATLAS Research Project on Cultural Tourism standard questionnaire, which attractions and which other merchandising or restaurant points were visited, which sequence, how much time was spent on each attraction.

2. About the rest of the day: what are you going to do for the rest of the day in Breda?
3. The socio-demographic aspects of the visitor.

These last part questions also used the ATLAS questionnaire approach. This is indeed useful in terms of explaining the operationalization of the survey instrument, because, by using questions from a ready-tested questionnaire, the need to pretest the items in a total new questionnaire is reduced. For the analysis of the time–space behaviour of visitors in Breda city, SPSS (Statistical Package for the Social Sciences) was used. Because there were too many variables, although it is technically possible to detect the complete individual time–space path, it was very difficult to form significant time–space-related tourist complexes out of the large variety of individual time–space paths. All the survey participants were interviewed by students of the NHTV University of Professional Education of Breda, the Netherlands. All types of visitors to the surveyed areas/location were asked to fill in the questionnaire. All the results have been transferred to the SPSS computer software and were studied further based on the results of the computerized data. All the questions have been coded and the code-book created.

In total, 193 respondents were interviewed, of whom 9% came from abroad and 17% lived in the region of Breda. The other respondents were living in the rest of the Netherlands. Only 28 respondents spent the night in the city; the others were day trippers. When asked about the main motivation or purpose of their current trip to Breda, 42% of the respondents mentioned a cultural event/festival. A considerable number of participants did say shopping (27.2%). Regarding the cultural event as a main purpose, this had to do with the photo exhibition that was held in Breda museum in that period (October 2005). According to the Continu Vakantie Onderzoek [Continuous Holiday Research] (2004) held in 2003, the most important motivation for visitors to visit Breda was shopping (63%). Of the cultural visitors, half were male and half were female.

The average time spent at the Tourist Information Office (VVV) was 10 min; at the castle the respondents spent, on average, 19 min, at the museum 66 min, in the church 15 min and at the béguinage 17 min. This is the average length of stay by those visitors who have visited these attractions/sites in Breda. In smaller cities such as Breda, the total length of stay is better measured in hours and at individual sites in minutes. There is no reasons to assume that the average 4–6 h of stay of holiday excursionists in Valleta (Mangion and Trevisan, 2001) or 2.5 h in Delft (Ashworth and Tunbridge, 1990) is exceptional. An individual heritage museum, building or site, however important, will hold the attention of visitors only briefly, unless it can be linked to other heritage catering or shopping attractions. That is the case of Breda as well.

When looking at the age of the respondents if visiting the city because of culture, the majority were older than 49 years (72.8%).

Besides visiting cultural sites and/or events, visitors and tourists did more activities that same day. Participants were asked what they planned to do for the rest of the day in Breda. Below are the answers to this question.

Visiting the VVV (Tourist Information Office)	6 times
Kasteelplein	15 times
Breda's museum	14 times
Begijnhof	19 times
Winkelen (shopping)	22 times
Grote Kerk (church)	106 times

It is possible to classify some groups of people or visitors according to their purpose of visit and the activities that they will do in Breda. When segmenting on activity, the cultural-focused visitor plans to do the following: shopping, go to a café or restaurant, make a visit to the church (Grote Kerk), VVV, Breda's museum, Kasteelplein, and then the Begijnhof.

According to Chardonnel and Van der Knaap (2002), in their comparative case study of time–space movements in recreational areas in the French Alps and the Dutch national park Hoge Veluwe, visitors connect locations and amenities in different ways, while most of the visitors visit the same locations and amenities, but not necessarily in the same order. This could be the same in this case study. Visitors to Breda connect different locations and amenities in different ways and in a different order.

These are only the activities that respondents intended to do during the rest of the day in

Breda. However, many participants did not have any concrete idea of what they were going to do exactly in the whole day in Breda. There were some answers such as 'We will look around and maybe visit some interesting places we find.' Others were specifically coming for the photo-expo exhibition and they were going to wander around. In certain cases, it is assumed that individuals decide about their activity pattern at one point in time. In reality, however, individuals may decide about different aspects at different points in time. For instance, the detailed schedule for the afternoon may depend on the outcome of activities scheduled in for the morning, so that decisions about the afternoon are taken at some later time (Ettema and Timmermans, 1997). Based on these findings of the survey in Breda, there are several hypothetical visits that can be produced in Breda. The intention of presenting these visits is to make clear that different time–space paths are possible and that the analysis of the time–space behaviour of tourists is extremely important in validating the strong and weak points or elements of a tourist recreation product in a given area or a city.

Time–space paths of individual visitors can be very different. Modes of travel are actually not mentioned, but in this case it is assumed that it is always on foot, especially in the city centre. The model in Fig. 7.1 is based upon time–space behaviour that started at the railway station, followed directly by a visit to the Tourist Information Office (VVV) for 5 min, then a walk through the park, a visit to the restaurant De Colonie for 45 min for coffee and apple pie, a visit to the Begijnhof, then a visit to the church (Grote Kerk), but the church was closed, then continuing with walking in the inner city, having a cup of coffee, including a lunch at one of the restaurants, and then walking back in the direction of the railway station.

Of course, these initial results could be extended by many others, to reflect the significant tourist types and the different tourist complexes: tourists linking a variety of products, facilities and attractions in a unique way to form a coherent but spatially differentiated whole.

When comparing the time–space behaviour in all its complexity with the expected behaviour of visitors, a different picture emerges. In this case, the expected behaviour is a cultural city trail, called 'Strolling through Breda'. The image and presentation of the city itself is quite different from the image visitors have. Whereas the city regards its tour as a comprehensive whole, visitors do not seem to agree, or they ignore it and pick out the activities and visits they want to do.

Strolling through Breda

> The city of Breda is located in the southern part of the Netherlands and its history goes back to the early days of the 12th century. It started as a fishing village and became a small market town in which the harbour had a very important role. In the 14th century Breda became a royal residence. After the completion of its fortifications in the 16th century, the town developed into an important economic centre. More than six times the town was captured.
>
> (Tourist Information Office, Breda, 2005)

The cultural city tour (in Dutch: *de historische kilometer*) can be bought at the VVV and costs €2.5. In 33 pages the tour is explained in three different languages. The brochure guides tourists through one part of the city and focuses only on its main attractions (the line on the map in Fig. 7.2).

The main points of interest according to the trail are:

- Nassau Baronie Monument: fountain, unveiled by Queen Wilhelmina, commemorating the investiture of Count Engelbrecht in 1405.
- Valkenberg: a park; a former falconry that was changed into a garden in the 17th century by the Kings of Nassau.
- Outside view of the castle built by Count Hendrik III of Nassau. Renaissance style, now Royal Military Academy.
- Kasteelplein: castle square with statue of King Willem III.
- Huis van Brecht: stately houses of prominent citizens.
- Spanjaardsgat: the place where Breda fell into Dutch hands after the Spanish conquest with a Trojan horse kind of trick.
- Vishal: 14th-century fish hall.
- Grote markt: market square.
- OLV kerk: 15th-century church.

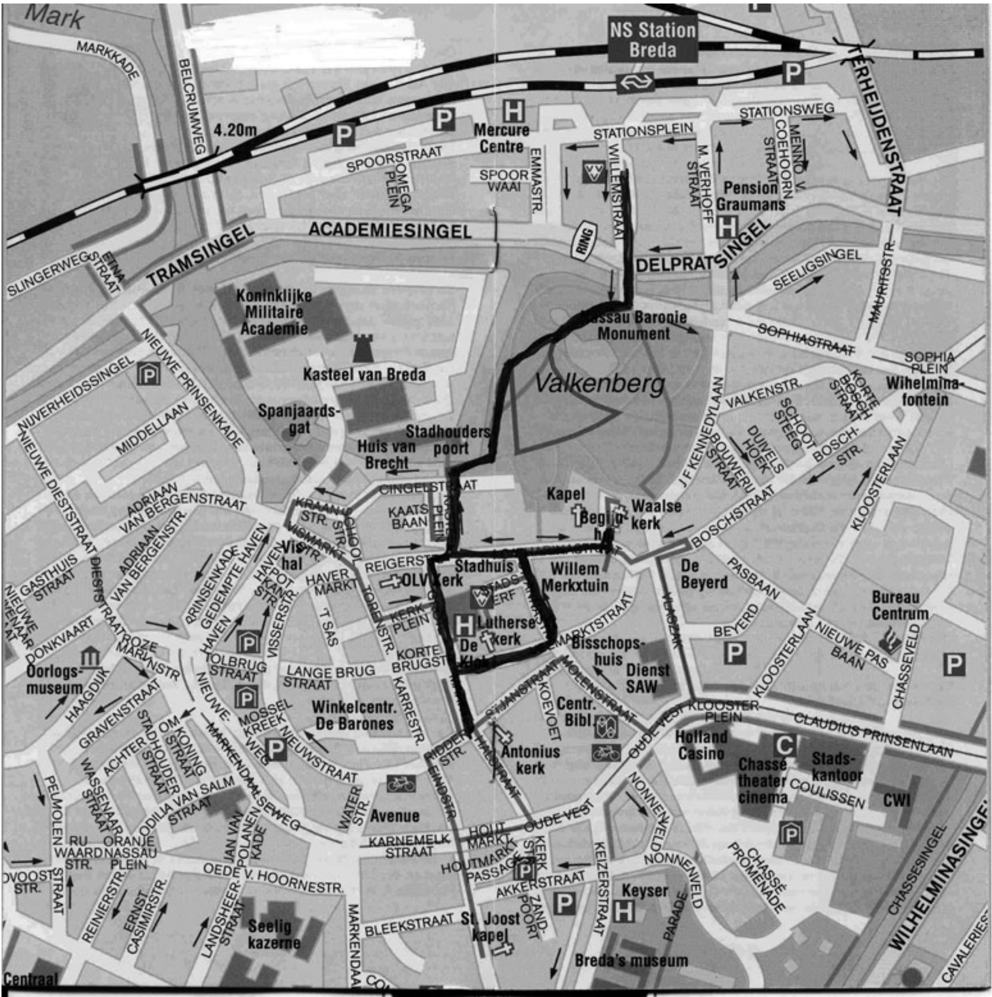

Fig. 7.1. Activities (Tourist Information Office, 2005).

- Stadhuis: city hall, 1767.
- Begijnhof: béguinage.
- Holland casino: refectory of monastery.
- Breda's museum: art collection.

As you can see in the list above, there are not that many special sites in the city that might attract many visitors. However, some individual sites, such as the church, Spanjaardsgat and the béguinage, can be considered as small jewels. Within the tour, all attractions are considered to be individual sites, whereas it is obvious that many of the places are related to each other. With the two main attractions, the church and the Spanjaardsgat, it would be rather easy to create a storyline, based on the history of the Netherlands and the place Breda had in it.

When comparing the sites cultural visitors to the city of Breda do visit and the ones that are on the cultural tour, it is obvious that there are some differences. Our research shows the church is the most visited place, which is, among other things, influenced by the fact that the tower of the church can be considered as a landmark. The results also show that some sites

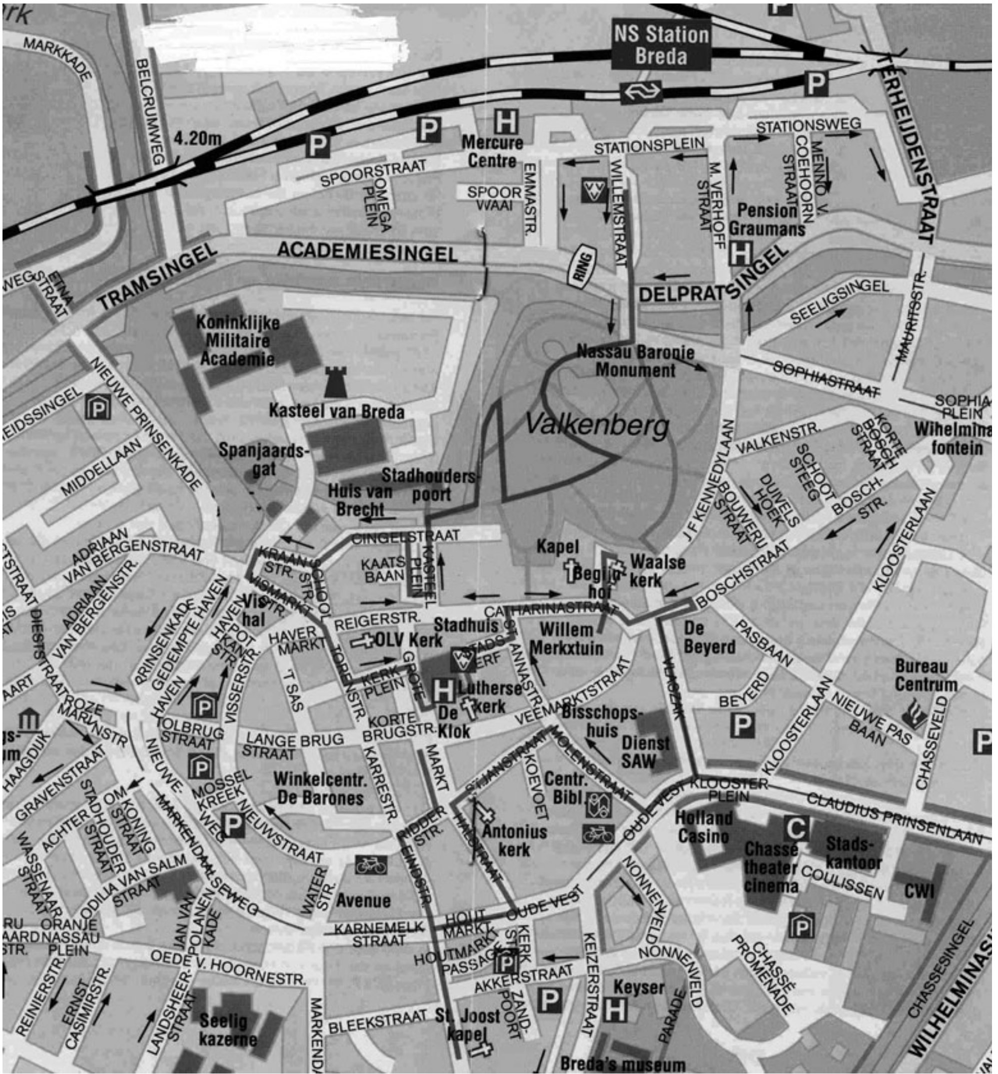

Fig. 7.2. City trail (Tourist Information Office, 2005).

in the tour (for example Gemeentehuis: municipality) are not visited at all. As learned from the time–space research, visitors move and behave in their own way in their own time, but their behaviour can be influenced through knowledge, preferences and time.

The factor knowledge is much neglected in the cultural trail. Besides the shallow information in the brochure, there is hardly any easily accessible information on the attractions. Visitors have to buy the small guide. Neither the trail nor the information can be found on the website of the tourist information centre. No effort has been put into making visitors curious, trying to broaden their knowledge or putting the given information into a context. The sites do have a small information panel (for the cultural visitors this information is already known). The route of the cultural trail is not the most logical route to take for new visitors (see route in Fig. 7.1). The streets are not all attractive or visually logical. There are no signs placed or panels with suggested itineraries.

The survey shows that cultural visitors like to do some shopping. For the shopping visitors, the tourist information has a separate city walk. In reality, the routes are much alike, but the information given is different.

Conclusion

This method allowed us to examine the behaviour of tourists visiting cultural tourism sites and objects in the city centre of Breda. There is very little known about how visitors actually behave in terms of space and time spent. Despite the fact that spatial movement is crucial for tourism and recreation, attention to this phenomenon is normally restricted to the analysis of static visitor numbers. One important aspect to mention here is that the behaviour of tourists who visit cultural attractions and sites will be different from those visitors/day trippers who consume cultural sites and objects.

The case study presented of tourist behaviour in Breda shows how tourists assemble the essential elements of a day trip in quite different ways. The time–space behaviour of visitors is crucial in determining the weaknesses and strengths of an urban or regional tourist product. As we have seen, tourists combine various activities and things to do and to see in a region. Most importantly, here, is that in order to develop and manage tourism properly, specifically in the case of cultural tourism, there is a need to understand the behaviour (how they actually behave) of tourists visiting cultural sites and attractions. Cultural sites and attractions are consumed differently by different tourists. So the management of cultural sites and attractions should understand the way cultural tourists consume these attractions and objects. The supply side of the market has to cope with the very different wishes and expectations of very different user groups. Even the behaviour of specific individuals is not constant during a certain time. The needs and wants and the behaviour of the markets are in constant change, and there is a need to understand these changes in order to be able to develop and manage tourism products, attractions and sites accurately. The way visitors/tourists connect different locations and amenities is also very different. The paths that are followed are not identical. While most visitors may visit the same locations and amenities, it is not necessarily in the same order.

Tourists assemble the elements of their visit in different ways, and policy makers don't take this into account. The tourism product in our case study (the city trail) takes the group of cultural visitors as a whole, which leads to visitors who don't use many of the sites and attractions the city has to offer. When aware of the diversity of the behaviour of its visitors, cities (policy makers and tourist information centres) can create products that influence the behaviour of their visitors. One of the benefits will be that visitors enjoy their stay and are willing to stay longer and/or spend more money. A good information system (with signs, pictures, ideas and suggestions) gives visitors the information they want or need, and can trigger them to visit some other sites or to expand their knowledge. Only then can the city of Breda promote itself as a destination for a cultural visit.

Limitations

Some limitations in this research were that some visitors were surveyed at the beginning of their day in Breda, which did not deliver any useful information about what they have actually already seen or visited in Breda. The majority of participants did not have any concrete idea about their planning for the rest of the day in Breda and what particular sites and attractions they were going to visit. It is assumed that an activity schedule is executed exactly the way it is planned. However, it is likely that individuals change their original schedules if they encounter unexpected situations or circumstances that prohibit the execution of the original plan or if they encounter unforeseen opportunities. In this case, the answer of many participants was: 'We will walk around and see what interesting places we are confronted with.' Of course, visitors who have been to Breda before have knowledge of the city and will have totally different plans and different behaviour on what to do and to see compared with those visitors who have not been to Breda before.

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8 Integrating Multiple Research Methods: a Visual Sociology Approach to Venice

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Introduction

This chapter introduces the preliminary findings from qualitative research in progress about tourism in Venice. Venice has always been a hugely significant tourist destination. Images of the city are seen worldwide. Although cultural, recreational and touristic activities are mostly visually oriented, there have been few studies about this issue. The objective of our research is to document and analyse the social practices and activities of tourists (how they visit the city) and the visual representations of Venice (the icons of this city). We rely on a multiple-method approach, combining photographic and video fieldwork based on grounded theory with interviews with residents and tourists about the meaning of their behaviours using the technique of photo-elicitation. The first part consists of research about touristic activities using video and photographic techniques and research on visual signs in an urban context. The second part of this research involves photo-elicitation interviews and focus groups to collect the subjective opinions of tourists and residents and to determine their implicit and explicit knowledge about images of Venice. We analyse visual material produced by tourists and proposed by cultural industries and mass media, focusing on content, styles and meanings.

The purpose is to document and analyse social practices among tourists and residents and to consider visual representations of Venice in the cycle of production and iconic touristic consumption (Urry, 1990b; MacCannell, 1999). The questions and hypotheses that trigger our curiosity and sociological imagination concern what and how tourists see, what they would like to see, what they expect to see and how they are conditioned by their imagination. For example, how do visitors approach the iconic and cultural capital of the city? What negotiations are there among inhabitants (residents, workers, institutions) and tourists about images of Venice? What practices of production, communication and visual consumption take place?

This research is still in progress; some parts, such as the content analysis, are just in the beginning stages. The first partial results include qualitative analysis of around 1000 photographs, 4 h of video, some unstructured texts (transcriptions of focus groups and conversations) and 30 interviews authored with the collaboration of master's degree students in languages and technologies of new media at the University of Udine.

We believe that documentation of the social practices of visitors and the elicitation of the subjective meanings of visual, cultural and symbolic references will allow for a better understanding of motivation and touristic activities in Venice (Davis and Marvin, 2004). Our hope is that a visual sociology analysis will help to identify items and to generate ideas for a policy that will achieve more sustainable touristic development of the city.

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Methods

This research follows visual sociology, which is concerned with the visual dimensions of social life. We can describe the methods used by classifying them into two principal approaches: sociology 'with' images and sociology 'about' images (Van Leeuween and Jewitt, 2001). When we adopt the approach of visual sociology *with* images, we take photos, film people or collect pictures from a website; this allows us to get data and information about the use of urban space and to document, analyse and understand the behaviours and social performances (Coleman and Crang, 2002; Bærenholdt *et al.*, 2004) of tourists and residents (Quinn, 2006). On the other hand, sociology *about* images focuses on the meanings of the images produced, shared and consumed in the touristic circuit. In this case, visual sociology *about* tourists' photos (or postcards, paintings, souvenirs, video or weblogs) is mainly focused on the subjective interpretation of the images through interviews or focus groups.

Three methods are used in this research: photographic shooting scripts, content analysis and photo-elicitation within the theoretical framework of visual sociology. The reason for integrating various approaches is based on the notion of method triangulation for seeking convergence across methods (Patton, 1990). Researchers in social and human sciences increasingly choose this approach: it employs strategies to collect, analyse and merge both qualitative and quantitative data (Cresswell, 2003) within the same research project or programme of research.

The first method is shooting scripts. Basically, this refers to a list of questions the researcher has to answer by making pictures. This interesting technique is described by Charles Suchar (Suchar, 1997) and is based on the grounded theory (Glaser, 1967) approach. Suchar (1997) argues against the use of pre-existing concepts: the researcher should try not to 'illustrate concepts' (a very common attitude in taking pictures), be open to disconfirmation of his previous ideas, try to discover new concepts, and formulate theories.

The process is cyclic and mixes induction and deduction. In inductive reasoning, we begin with specific observations and images. We then detect patterns and regularities, formulate tentative hypotheses to explore, and finish by developing some conclusions or theories. Informally, we call this a 'bottom-up' approach. On the other hand, deductive reasoning moves from more general concepts to more specific information. This is called a 'top-down' approach. With the shooting scripts technique, we develop ideas from images; therefore, the researcher's hypotheses arise from these concepts, which photographic fieldwork and visual evidences of images should confirm, disconfirm or modify.

The analytic process of taking coding categories from data (rather than from preconceived theories) is a peculiar strategy of this method. The theory is defined as the relation among categories, and it starts inductively from 'visual units' through 'open and axial coding' (Glaser, 1967).

To gather data, the photographer starts doing a photo inventory and defines some abstract categories from these 'units of meaning'. This process consists of comparing pictures repeatedly and giving them labels or keywords according to developing ideas. Visual data are interpreted through the identification and possible coding of themes and concepts to build explanations. The following groups of similar descriptions are noted and coding categories are set.

During the early stages, categorization must be flexible and should be done according to the logging of new data, because, as Howard Becker states (Becker, 1974: 12), the analysis is continuous and contemporaneous with the data gathering. Usually, the researcher looks carefully at his/her images and finds something that he/she might previously have ignored. This orients his/her next observations, and new photographs are taken. What he/she finds in the new images directs new 'category-building' and rearranges the previous categories. The old photographs must be sorted again according to new concepts. The categories we coded in our early stages of research on Venice were: replica, couple, to take picture, to look at picture, to point at, to visit, search with map, landscape, tourist, family, bridge, souvenir, mask, backstage, gondola, interview, shop, channel, image, painting, print, sign, poster, postcard, mass culture, pigeons, worker, photographer, seller and stallholder. Later, we developed these concepts according to more abstract categories and the results of other techniques.

Content analysis is the second method we used. This is a quantitative research instrument used for systematic and intersubjective

descriptions of communication content and for making inferences by objectively identifying specified characteristics of messages (Krippendorf, 1983).

According to Phil Bell, visual content analysis is a 'systematic, observational method used for testing hypotheses about the ways in which the media represent people, events, situations and so on. It allows quantification of samples of observable content classified into distinct categories. It does not analyse individual images or individual "visual texts"' (Bell, 2000: 17).

It is not easy to define explicit and reliable categories because the images are polysemic: they have multiple meanings, which vary across readers. Further, 'the principal difficulty confronted by researchers wishing to conduct a comprehensive content analysis is to define unambiguously both the variables and the values, so that observers (usually called "coders") can classify represented content consistently (reliably)' (Bell, 2000). In our research, we decided to quantify the relative frequencies of particular classes of images currently found in some web sites concerning people, monuments, situations or events in Venice. The frequency of keywords could describe the relevance of these different subjects (churches, bridges, masks, gondolas and so on).

Stock photography has a central role in the process of cultural production of images in the global market.

> Stock photography is a global business that manufactures, promotes and distributes photographic images primarily for use in marketing promotions, packaging design, corporate communications and advertising. The industry is currently dominated by a small number of multinational 'super-agencies' based in the USA and Europe.
>
> (Frosh, 2003: 627).

Therefore, many of the images we see in the mass media (which help build our imaginary views of a subject) are bought and sold by these companies. We planned to start quantitative analysis of Venice's most famous and relevant subjects using data from some stock photo sites. Here, a researcher can find all images concerning a specific topic (such as place name) because the submitted photos are organized using tags (keywords or terms assigned to an image or other piece of information). In these databases, we will examine large amounts of media content using statistical methods: content analysis reduces the complexity of media coverage as it brings out the central patterns of the content.

The third method, photo-elicitation, refers to the use of photographs to provoke a response in an interview (Harper, 1984, 2002; Heisley and Levy, 1991). Images allow us, through interviews, to discover the different values that tourists and residents ascribe to the images and to discern social and cultural differences (Collier and Collier, 1986). Using photo-elicitation rather than considering the image itself as a source of data takes advantage of an image's polysemic value for gathering statements and distinct points of view by triggering meanings for the interviewed people. Showing and talking about pictures help create a rapport between the researcher and the interviewees. A list of photos creates a semi-structured interview schedule for inhabitants and visitors, stimulating respondents' memories and bringing out points of view.

We also planned to use photo-elicitation as a method for collective interviews following the focus group method, a form of qualitative research in which a group of people are asked about their attitudes, beliefs and desires about images. Questions are asked in an interactive group setting where participants are free to talk with other group members (Morgan, 1988).

There is also a new technique, which we think will gain importance in the future, called 'geotagging'. 'Geotagging' is the process of adding geographical identification data to digital photos. Most photos taken are geotagged; the files created by digital cameras include a header with available tags for geographic coordinates (latitude, longitude and many other parameters concerning the acquisition of that photo). The researcher can record a continuous, time-stamped track of his location with a global positioning system (GPS) device, which saves track logs or photo waypoint lists. He/she can then calculate the photo coordinates comparing time information: special software automatically determines photo coordinates by comparing each photo's date and time with the date/time information in the GPS logs. The software writes the latitude, longitude, altitude and photo direction to the image's headers to permanently embed the location data in the actual image.

The resulting table can be pin-mapped in any geospatial view with thumbnails of the images.

With this method, the place where the picture was taken is mapped. We analysed the frequency of images taken by tourists and uploaded to Flickr, a popular web site for users to share personal photographs. In this online photo-sharing database, users can enter the coordinates where the photo was taken. These photos can then be called up directly from the Google Earth web site, which combines maps, satellite images and other information on many parts of the world with the geotagged images.

In this way, we can research the images taking into account the geographical position of the subjects, make inferences about the characteristics of various places throughout the city, and observe people's uses of public space and tourists' preferences for specific areas.

Images of Venice

In the transition from industrial to post-industrial society (Inglehart, 1998), many cities try to use their cultural capital (Bourdieu, 1984) to develop new opportunities. The urban area of Venice changed from the industry to the service sector, using cultural capital as a resource for its economic growth (Sacco *et al.*, 2006). Its worldwide touristic reputation is long-lasting because of its continuing art tradition (paintings, theatre, photography (Zannier, 1985) and cinema), which has reinforced its visual representation in popular culture. Today, the increasing number of tourists attracted by its fame is causing some trouble. In the post-war period, only 500,000 tourists per year visited Venice; by the mid-1990s, there were 7–8 million arrivals (Montanari and Muscara, 1995). In 2007, there were 19 million visitors. The mass tourism is difficult to manage. Residents are forced to live outside the city centre because of higher prices; the city has a negative demographic trend and an ageing population, and residents' complaints about overcrowding and dirty streets increased as the tourism industry blossomed. All these elements make the socio-economic situation difficult (Costa and Manente, 1996; Sacco *et al.*, 2006). Our hypothesis is that there is a connection between the spread of Venice's touristic image and a non-sustainable tourist industry (Davis and Marvin, 2004), which seems to be cannibalizing Venice.

The fuzzy relation between images and tourism is often proposed as a characteristic of postmodernity (MacCannell, 1999; Mirzoeff, 2002). Contemporaneously, both photography and tourism are devices for consuming images (Chalfen, 1979; Sontag, 1979; Urry, 1990a, 1995; Taylor, 1994; Burgin, 1996; Crawshaw and Urry, 1996). Some scholars describe Venice today as a city 'theme park' (Minca and Oakes, 2006). The question emerges: is Venice becoming a sort of postmodern visual theme park?

The Spiral of Representation

> Recent studies by Harvey (1989), Zukin (1991), Britton (1991), and Munt (1994) emphasize that cultural capital is not only a means of personal distinction, but can also be an attribute of place. In order to attract investment capital and the spending power of the middle class, regions now differentiate themselves by emphasizing the aesthetic qualities of material commodities and services that represent symbolic capital.
>
> (Richards, 1996: 271)

This cultural symbolic system is built by travel guides, postcards, brochures, Internet sites, film images and trip reports; these are just some of the visual products that contribute to creating the image of the city. These and other images are used by tourism promoters or mass media to describe the destination, as well as to set rules about what ought to be seen (Koshar, 1998).

There is a circle of production, circulation and consumption of images, a 'spiral of representation' (Jenkins, 2003). This phenomenon begins before the tourist leaves home. It starts with the pleasure of anticipating the trip, forming personal expectations and mental images based on travel guides, postcards, web sites, documentaries and photos made by other tourists. A synthesis occurs in the imagination, merging subjective ideas and images from mass media. As Urry points out, 'anticipation is constructed and sustained through a variety of non-touristic practices, such as film, TV, literature, magazines, records and videos, which construct and reinforce the gaze' (Urry, 2002: 3). This is a central phase (Costa, 1989) in forming personal expectations, and the mental image is a fundamental

criterion in the tourist's choice of destination (Tapachai and Waryszak, 2000). Once the destination is reached, the evaluation has to somehow confirm, by subjective comparison, the image the tourist had (Pearce, 1982; Pearce and Stringer, 1991; Ryan, 2003). The tourists seek, as Urry said, conventional images and predeterminate ways to see their destination (Urry, 1990a). In the end, the tourists, caught in this cultural circle, reproduce the same images in their personal photographs, perpetuating iconic symbols of Venice. Today, new media (digital photos, photography blogs and TV channels about travel and tourism) contribute to bring into the media sphere an increasing number of images produced by visitors, tourists, experienced video fans or 'Kodak people'.

Tourism as Picture-hunting

For Urry, tourists perform 'semiotic' activities, seeking prearranged signs, conventional local images and predetermined ways to see their destination (Urry, 1995). The photo is often a tool to confirm such pre-vision and provides a role for the tourist (Bruner, 1995). Applying the shooting scripts method, we noticed that, in Venice, the frequency of taking photos is very high. The main activity of tourists could be described as, metaphorically speaking, 'image-hunting' (Fig. 8.1).

Both hunting and tourism require skills, knowledge about the new environment and bravery in coping with an unknown culture or landscape. In travelling, as in hunting, people have to show their value. They have to search for and detect tracks and signs of animals or monuments, prey or gastronomy, dens or hidden and authentic attractions. As the hunter holds his gun, aims and shoots, the tourist points his finger and directs the attention of his friends ('Look at that!'), showing what 'must be seen'. If in a safari, the prey is a trophy to exhibit back home, which testifies to our competency and value, in a tourist journey, the tourist's prey is pictures. These photos should often include the tourists themselves, to prove that they have really been there. Images show that they attained the status of 'having been' there. In doing so, they symbolically mark the new territory,

Fig. 8.1. Taking pictures in San Marco Square.

demonstrating their power and good taste by reaching that beautiful landscape. At the same time, pictures must exclude other tourists, to show the authenticity of the place, which is supposed to be uncontaminated by mass tourism.

Furthermore, the common custom of choosing and sending postcards is a ritualistic element of the holiday experience. The majority of postcards sent home help extend the tourists' special experience to friends, relatives and other viewers, and, through this transaction, to mark the status of the senders (Edwards, 1996). These images are part of an exchange between tourists and those who have remained home: the photos, once shown by personal or mass media, shape and reinforce the collective imagination about the identity of Venice.

We agree with the claim that touristic promoters and mass media use the same subjects, not only to describe the destination but also to set rules about what ought to be seen. 'Images reflect the individual's perceptions of the characteristics of destinations. Destination images are important since they permit tourists to generate a set of expectations about a place before that place is actually experienced (Metelka 1981)' (Coshall, 2000: 85).

Fame and Simulacra

According to Jean Baudrillard (Baudrillard and Poster, 1988), in the postmodern age, the simulacrum (hyperreal copy) precedes the original. For him 'it is no longer a question of imitation, nor duplication, nor even parody. It is a question of substituting the signs of the real for the real' (Baudrillard and Poster, 1988: 166). Therefore 'the distinction between reality and representation breaks down because of the proliferation of mass-produced copies. The item's ability to imitate reality threatens to replace the original version.'

The fame of Venice has produced many replicas around the world. The appeal of the original Venice is so strong that its representations are produced not only as photographs, but also as three-dimensional replicas (Figs 8.2–8.4).

Fig. 8.2. 'Venice' in Nagoya, Japan.

Fig. 8.3. ‘Venice’ in Las Vegas.

Fig. 8.4. ‘Venice’ in Tokyo.

It is astonishing to see how 'The Venetian' in Las Vegas, Venice in Tokyo or Nagoya, Japan, or the replica of the Palazzo Grassi made by the Kitaichi Glass Corporation in Otaru (Sapporo-Hokkaido) are indistinguishable from the original. But they are more than similar: as Baudrillard points out, these replicas are even better because the simulacra summarize the best symbols of the imaginary Venice in miniature, in a 'fast show'.

During an interview in Venice, we asked a gondolier if tourists expect him to sing: 'They always ask for that, because that is the image of a gondolier, especially because in the movies gondoliers always sing.' 'And do you sing?' 'No, I mean, some of us do, others don't. I prefer to explain something about the history of Venice rather then singing a song, also because I cannot sing in tune. . . Eh, eh. When you tell them that you don't sing, they say: "Las Vegas is better!"' 'Maybe you don't know that in Las Vegas there is a famous hotel named The Venetian and inside they recreated the image of Venice, and inside there is a gondola with music. They compare the image of the gondolier with what they see there. Most Americans do.' 'Las Vegas is better.'

Venice's Demographic Decay

Venice's fame made it the most important destination among heritage cities in Italy. One of the consequences of mass tourism is the demographic decay of residents. Since the 1970s, Venice has transformed its economy from industrial (chemistry, steel industry, shipbuilding industry, harbour) to touristic. The Venice region tourist trade generates a reported $17.3 billion per year. Every day, an average of 50,000 tourists arrive; this figure climbs to 150,000 visitors during peak times. Unfortunately, two-thirds of these do not stay overnight: they are called 'bite 'n run' tourists. This type of tourism has a heavy impact on the city, because it is difficult and expensive to plan and organize services like public transportation with ferries or rubbish collection.

A newspaper reports on the condition: 'Every year in Venice 1500 residents move away, to free themselves from the unbearable strain of typical masks made in China and caps made in Pakistan and from an economic trend which is destroying the city's value, changing it into an amusement park. . .' Many politicians and opinion leaders think this trend of mass tourism is non-sustainable for the city.

From the grand tour to nowadays, this touristic destination has been used for a wide range of personal purposes, including the acquisition of cultural capital. The grand tour was a travel itinerary for aristocratic and upper-class European gentlemen that flourished from the 17th century to the 19th century. The primary value of the grand tour was found in the exposure to the cultural artefacts of antiquity and art. The most common itinerary in Italy included Turin, Milan, Florence, Venice, Rome and Naples. Many people still visit these cities today, but the conditions are different (Fig. 8.5).

A shop owner told me in an interview: 'Tourists from China and Japan: here in the morning full of them, but they arrive, five minutes, and run away; they have their own schedule, take a picture and hurry; they don't stay longer; they have ten minutes to see the church, twenty to see the museum, ten to go in another place.' These tourists are seemingly not interested in cultural heritage but in collecting the icons of that culture.

There is long-established stereotypical imagery about Venice, which leads to a 'prepackaged' experience (Debray, 1996). Further, the touristic industry functions to 'identify what things and places are worthy of our gaze. Such signposting identifies few touristic nodes. The result is that most tourists are concentrated within a very limited area' (Urry, 1995: 139; Berzins and Powell, 2003). In our research, evidence of this concentration can be seen in the map on Flickr, a popular web site for users to share personal photographs. It is easy to see that most of the 127,033 pictures uploaded to this site (all geotagged with geographical coordinates in Venice and statistically symbolized by a red pinpoint) are concentrated in the central area along San Marco Square, the Rialto Bridge and the Accademia Bridge.

In short, the problem with Venice as a touristic destination is its overpopularity, which overcrowds a relatively small area of the city. This is done by mass tourism, the primary goal

Fig. 8.5. Souvenirs – bags with the itinerary of the grand tour.

of which is to hunt for visual markers of 'having been there' as quickly as possible. What was once, during the grand tour, the acquisition of cultural capital has nowadays been transformed into collection and display of icons of that culture.

Heritage, Arts and Fame

The relationship between this city and the sea is one of the city's most peculiar and distinctive characteristics. From its founding in 697 to the 14th century, Venice was indisputably the leading European sea power: it was called the 'Queen of the Seas'. Its sea consciousness is still expressed in the symbolic marriage ceremony of the doges with the Adriatic. Its buildings emerging from the water have always been one of the most remarkable and peculiar surprises to visitors.

The first Venice guidebook was written in 1581 (Sansovino, 1581); this book of directions for travellers, with much information about monuments and historical sites, has since been republished several times. But perhaps much of this city's fame comes from the masterpieces of artists who worked there or portrayed the city. The most influential painters in the iconography of Venice were Bellini, Carpaccio, Mantegna, Giorgione, Veronese, Tintoretto, Longhi, Guardi and Canaletto. In past centuries, they made Venice one of the most well-known cities in Europe through their paintings, drawings and engravings. Yet they also contributed to the creation of visual stereotypes. For example, Canaletto (1697–1768) depicted many famous *vedute* of Venice, highly detailed paintings of the cityscape and other vistas on canals, bridges and public ceremonies. A large number of his pictures were sold to Englishmen on their grand tour. The fashion with which he painted his native city became popular in England and among tourists, and he and the Guardi family actually started to create a market around *vedutes* and cityscapes. His paintings have always been notable for their accuracy: he used the *camera lucida*, which is a light, portable optical device, as a sketching aid, enabling him to reproduce even the tiniest detail of the buildings or the boats depicted. For this reason, we

Fig. 8.6. Picture stallholder.

can consider him a 'photographer *ante litteram*'. Without a doubt, he had a strong influence on the iconography of Venice, and his subjects are now part of the archetypes of our visual imaginary about this city. Nowadays, if we visit art galleries near San Marco Square, we can find the same subjects and a similar style (although it may be more ordinary and colourful) in many contemporary paintings made for the touristic market. Stallholders in the streets sell imitations of his paintings, and the same is true for postcards (Fig. 8.6).

Of course, other arts contributed to spreading the fame of Venice. In literature, for example, it is interesting that descriptions of Venice frequently begin with the positive (Platt, 2001). Many authors described its architecture, beauty and social life. The most recent (particularly Thomas Mann) pointed out its decay, binding the aesthetic experience of Venice to romanticism, still a strong connotation of touristic imaginary (Fig. 8.7).

This cultural influence can also be found in films: many locations are in Venetian buildings, along canals or in the little *campielli*. The same process, through the logic of remediation (Bolter and Grusin, 2003), also involves new media. For example, a high-definition satellite TV channel called the Venice Channel broadcasts 'Venetian art, handicrafts and design in our globalized world'. Its promotional video says:

> Venice Channel. Essence of Italy, Essence of Life. The first international high-definition television channel dealing with the Italian lifestyle. Venice is much more than a destination: it is the world icon of the Italian lifestyle. A priceless combination of the values of art, beauty, history and life envied and dreamed of by all.

Tourists' Flow and Floods

After the fame of Venice has attracted tourists to this 'Meruailouse Site' (Platt, 2001), what do they actually do? We analysed the way tourists visit the city with the shooting scripts method. We documented tourists' performances, taking pictures and filming how they use public and private spaces, what they observe, point out, indicate and comment on, and how they relate

Fig. 8.7. A couple on the vaporetto.

to the city. We can describe their performances as a flow along some city routes. There are about ten touristic paths, which are inundated by a mass of people going from the railway station to the Rialto Bridge, San Marco Square and back. Most of these narrow streets are lined with tourist shops. These routes are almost compulsory; otherwise, it is easy for a foreigner to get lost in the urban labyrinth of *calli*, *campielli* and *fondamenta*. Fortunately, on every corner there is some road sign to direct the flood.

The touristic tide varies according to the month, day of the week and hour of the day. It rises at eleven in the morning, starting from the railway station and Piazzale Roma, peaks at about two in the afternoon, and finally starts flowing back at five in the evening. When we asked a gondolier the differences between foreign and Italian tourists, the answer we got was: 'The only difference is the time of year, because every nationality predominates over the others in a specific period: for example, now there are Chinese and Japanese people. During the carnival we are overrun by French. . .every period of the year has its own' (Fig. 8.8).

Tourists travel not only on foot but also by water bus (the so-called vaporetto) along the Canal Grande. This ferry is public transportation, essential in a city without cars: it is a substitute for a bus. The vaporetto is also used by residents, but unfortunately they complain about the crowd. Some days, it is impossible to get on. City officials decided to reserve one line for residents only; they opened a new water-bus line that did not allow day-trip tourists.

A newspaper reports opinions about the water bus: 'It's an extra service for residents who are forced to bear the brunt of mass tourism,' said Mayor Massimo Cacciari. About 60,000 people live in the city's historic centre. 'It's evident that tourism is growing,' the mayor added during an interview on the line's maiden voyage. 'If people want to come to Venice they can come, but we have to allow residents to live better.' Marcello Panettoni, general director of the Venice transport authority, said the new line

Fig. 8.8. The tourist flux.

was a response to citizens' complaints that the hordes of tourists cramming on to water buses, with luggage in tow, had been leaving residents stuck on dry land. 'They are our habitual clients; we have to cater to them above all,' he said, referring to the residents. 'For people who live and work in Venice, better transportation had become essential.' 'We get packed like sardines, and then fights break out,' Ms Vio said. 'That's if you manage to get on.'

These criticisms reveal an aspect of resident–tourist relations usually hidden in the background. In interviews, we found that residents try to avoid tourists, especially for mobility issues; they use different paths. Thus, the visitors very seldom get to know real Venetians, except the workers of the tourism industry.

Tourists as Sign-hunters

What do tourists search for in Venice? Walking along the streets or sitting on the ferry, people show one another monuments and other remarkable things. It is essential for tourists to visit the 'must see' monuments or landscape, even for a short time, because 'symbolic sites are foci around which the mnemonic devices of travel narratives and photography are structured' (Edensor, 1998: 141).

The most common activity for tourists as sign-hunters is to take photographs. They look for famous buildings and monuments, canals, narrow channels and bridges, gondolas, pigeons and any other symbol of Venice they can take a picture of.

Which images are made by the tourists and which are the themes and styles? We have begun a content analysis of pictures found on web sites but cannot draw definitive conclusions yet; we know that the gondola is probably one of the most well-known icons of Venice. The gondola is no longer used by residents, but it is still the best visual marker and a good trophy of 'authentic' Venice. It is a conventional and old touristic symbol; for example, we found a

Fig. 8.9. A couple ask for a picture by a gondola.

picture of it in a poster from 1928 by Ermanno Bacci, made for the Italian National Touristic Board. Therefore, the gondola, the ideal place for couples in love, the best conveyance during a honeymoon and the most romantic boat to visit narrow channels, is one of the most photographed items (Fig. 8.9).

Many tourists search for souvenirs, the symbols of the identity of a place. Often these represent one of the most famous buildings. Landscapes and *vedute* are also incorporated in knick-knacks such as mugs or crystal balls. According to a number of shops, one of the most common souvenirs is the mask. It is interesting to note that, initially, the mask was used to hide the person who wore it. The goal was to preserve one's anonymity. The painting *The Ridotto in Venice* by Pietro Longhi, done in 1750, provides an example. The masks used during those carnivals were very simple, painted only in black or white; today, masks are colourful and extremely decorated. Nowadays, the mask's function is the opposite: it is a means to be noticed and admired. In some handicraft shops, you can find very decorated masks. Sometimes, there is a blending of signs. We photographed a mask that crossbred the normal 'mask' with mouldings that pretended to represent an 'antique' style and with a painting of the landscape of the Grand Canal and Salute church. These ornaments with mixed style tried to represent a synthesis of the identity of Venice (Fig. 8.10).

According to our interviewees many tourist-photographers are in a hurry. We filmed many of them reaching a place, asking to be photographed by a friend or by another tourist, and leaving the place immediately afterwards. The interaction with the place seems to be very short and superficial: the landscape is essential, but the city is like the façades on a studio backlot. There is no relation with the local residents of Venice.

Provisional Final Considerations

As mentioned earlier, this is research still in progress, and the content analysis and photo-elicitation research has not been completed. Visual sociology has proved to be a successful discipline for investigating the relationship between images and tourism.

Fig. 8.10. Masks in a shop window.

Fig. 8.11. A tourist takes a picture of his family by souvenirs.

Fig. 8.12. A sign banning photos of masks.

In this research, we found that there is a stage between the phases of industrial society and the postmodern age depicted by Jean Baudrillard in his book *Simulacra and Simulation* (Baudrillard, 1994). Here, tourists collect signs that are not 'first-hand representations', such as a souvenir or a photo of people masked during the carnival. In other words, these signs are not a direct representation from the original source. Tourists have started to collect 'second-hand representations' of signs, which are representations of representations, such as photos of souvenirs or a photo of a shop window with symbols of Venice: in short, 'meta'-representations (Figs. 8.11 and 8.12).

Unfortunately, we argue, the meta-representations are images taken out of their initial historical and cultural context. These signs easily lose their meaning (which is connected with the real Venice, its history, buildings, monuments and people) and enter the realm of a touristic idea of Venice, created by icons and symbols of the collective imaginary. We think this is a new strategy of visual consumption in our postmodern and visual culture, but the value of the city's heritage gets lost in this endless chain of visual meta-reproductions. The tourist as sign-hunter collects meta-representations, a phenomenon that makes tourism more and more virtual and Venice more and more like a visual theme park.

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9 Using Volunteer-employed Photography: Seeing St David's Peninsula through the Eyes of Locals and Tourists

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Introduction

Volunteer-employed photography (VEP) is one of a range of participatory research techniques which focus particularly on the visual dimension of a person's experience, be it of the place where they live or somewhere they are visiting, of a special event or of their daily routine. VEP has close similarities with another technique, known as photo-elicitation, with which it is often confused.

Photo-elicitation is widely considered to be a dynamic and useful tool for social research and it seems to have appealed to many researchers over the years. In photo-elicitation interviews, the researcher typically presents the interviewee with photographs of the interviewee's own world and uses them as prompts to discuss issues of interest to the researcher (Jenkins, 1999). It allows insights and understanding to be gained that could well be missed or may not even be discernible using other methods (Banks, 2001).

Emmison and Smith (2000) note that photography has been employed as a technique of psychological research. One such approach they term 'autophotography'. The difference between autophotography and photo-elicitation is that with autophotography the person taking the photographs is not the researcher but the research subject, who thereby participates directly in the study. The subject is also charged with the task of interpreting the photos to the researcher (Emmison and Smith, 2000). Zillier and Rorer (1985) used an autophotographic approach to investigate shyness, where it was found that shy people are less likely to include other people in their photographic representations of themselves. Clancy and Dollinger (1993), meanwhile, used autophotography to examine sex-role differences. Some of the outcomes of this study were that men were more likely to take photographs of themselves, whereas women tended to take family-oriented photographs, photographs of groups of people and activities (see Emmison and Smith, 2000). Autophotography has also sometimes been employed in ethnographic research. For example, Prosser (1998) cites the work of Worth and Adair (1972), who taught Navajo Indians how to operate a video camera and asked them to record some of their traditions and rituals in order to represent them accurately. Crang (1997) also mentions an example in which the British Broadcasting Corporation (BBC) gave video cameras to individuals to make their own video logs under the umbrella of the *Picture Post*/*New Society* reportage tradition (Keighron, 1993).

In view of the central importance of photography in tourism, and the close links that are recognized to exist between the two, it seems only reasonable for researchers to apply photographic techniques of this kind in a tourism

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context. According to Crang (1997), 'The possibilities of using film (be it still or video) to help understand the processes by which the people engage with and make sense of the world, in tourism in particular, seem significant.'

While the term 'autophotography' has often been used in psychological and ethnographic research, this term is not widely understood outside these disciplines. Tourism researchers, therefore, have often adopted a similar technique but called it by a different name. Among the most common terms used are 'visitor-employed photography', 'resident-employed photography', 'reflexive photography' and 'self-directed photography'. In order to avoid confusion therefore, the term 'volunteer-employed photography' (VEP) will be used throughout this chapter as a catch-all for such techniques. This terminology makes more sense: in all cases the approach involves the use of photography by people volunteering to take part in the study. Moreover, the term is generic and thereby transcends disciplinary barriers. It would be clumsy to use a technique called 'visitor-employed photography' in psychology, where the participants may not be visitors at all but perhaps hospital patients or prisoners. At the same time, the term 'autophotography' seems to imply that the photos are of or about oneself. This may well be the case in psychological or ethnographic applications of the technique. However, arguably the term would seem much less applicable in a tourism application, where participants are being asked to photograph external features such as pleasing landscapes or interesting museum exhibits.

What is Volunteer-employed Photography?

VEP is an experience-recording technique, where the participants of the study are each given a camera and are asked to take photographs according to a particular task that has been set for them by the researcher. The participants are requested either to explain why they have taken each photograph to the researcher in an in-depth interview after the event or to take explanatory notes when taking the photographs, putting them into a photo-diary or photo-log.

Haywood (1990: 25) considers the VEP technique to be highly appropriate to the tourism context, believing that photographs 'reveal something about us – how we see and interpret the world and the people and places in it, and all the meaning and associations we conjure up'. A number of other researchers have also indicated a considerable potential for the VEP technique in tourism research. Yet there have been very few practical research projects adopting the VEP approach. Rare exceptions include Garrod (2008), MacKay and Couldwell (2002, 2004) and Groves and Timothy (2001). It is apposite, therefore, to consider what principal advantages and disadvantages VEP has as a research tool.

Positive aspects in the use of VEP

One of the problems identified in social research that may be a source of bias, and is also blamed for making the participants want to 'please' the researcher, is the so-called 'power relationship' between the researcher and the participant (Prosser, 1998: 102). However, it can be argued that, in the case of VEP, the asymmetry in power between the researcher and the participant that is usually an issue in other research techniques may actually be greatly reduced (Loeffler, 2004). The participant is empowered in the VEP study, as he or she is the one who defines the issues that will be captured in the photographs and will be analysed in the interviews or the diaries. This means that the participants are able to address precisely the issues that interest them, instead of being expected to reflect on those issues chosen by the researcher. Additionally, when talking about perceptions of places and experiences, it is more revealing to ask the research participants to identify issues that are most important to them, rather than the researcher having to guess, make assumptions or even use secondary data to identify them. Loeffler (2004: 539) highlights the fact that the respondents are the ones to determine what precisely will be photographed. They take 'the leading role and make full use of their expertise'. Participants are telling their own story and have greater control over the research process, as they are the ones who decide what to photograph (Markwell, 2000).

Similarly, Taylor *et al.* (1995) note that VEP is a way of 'capturing without reshaping' the natural environment. VEP clearly has important conceptual strengths in terms of the way in which participants are empowered to steer the research process and to enable their expertise, experiences and knowledge to be drawn out.

Some commentators argue that one of the major weaknesses of photographic methods is the potential for subjectivity to enter the research process, and this is one of the reasons why some researchers in the social sciences hesitate to trust, let alone use, photographic methods (Prosser, 1998). VEP enables participants to express their particular points of view, experiences and biases, which the researcher then interprets and draws conclusions from (Loeffler, 2004). Such data must surely be biased. Yet arguably this feature is one of the strengths of VEP rather than one of its weaknesses. VEP seeks to capture participants' perceptions, understanding and feelings about an area, activity or experience, and these can only be different for each participant.

Another topic touched upon by many visual researchers is that photography is less restrictive than most other media of communication. Indeed, participants in VEP studies often indicate that words were not sufficient to explain their opinions or experiences (Loeffler, 2004). Carlson (2001, cited in Loeffler, 2004) mentions that photographs have the advantage of reflecting emotions better than spoken or written words. VEP is thus sensitive to the multidimensionality of people's opinions and experiences.

Additionally, VEP asks people to do something they may have never done before, which requires a commitment from them and probably a considerable investment of time. Those who agree to take part in the study thus tend to feel involved in the research process. That way, participants feel that they are able to make their own personal contribution to the objectives of the study, for example in deciding how a wilderness area should be managed (Haywood, 1990; Taylor *et al.*, 1995). It has been argued that novel, quirky and intriguing research methods can more easily engage the 'increasingly sceptical participants' (Haywood, 1990; MacKay and Couldwell, 2004). This also argues in favour of the use of VEP. Even though participating in a VEP project can take up a significant amount of the volunteer's time, a number of researchers have commented that participants generally enjoy the experience (Cherem and Traweek, 1977; Haywood, 1990; MacKay and Couldwell, 2004).

Even though the first groups of researchers who used VEP considered it to be a useful technique, with potential for extensive future use, they were sceptical about the logistics involved. Where regular 35 mm cameras were used, there was always a risk of not getting the cameras back. Early disposable cameras were also quite expensive to buy, while the photographs were generally only in black and white and generally of poor quality. More recently, however, the cost of disposable cameras has fallen considerably, making it possible to use a large enough sample of participants to render the technique replicable (Cherem and Driver, 1983).

Weaknesses of the VEP method

Researchers who have used VEP have identified some weaknesses of the technique. In this section, the proposed weaknesses of VEP are separated in two categories: conceptual and practical. The practical issues depend largely on the way each research team decides to apply the technique, whereas the conceptual issues have more to do with the VEP approach as a whole, highlighting a number of proposed theoretical weak points in the technique.

Conceptual issues

The first and probably most widely discussed issue with VEP is the level of commitment required from its participants. As Markwell (2000) highlights, this kind of study requires a certain degree of commitment on the participants' side. Chenoweth (1984) notes that the method can be obtrusive as it requires people to undertake a task which involves quite a lot of time and effort while they are on holiday (Chenoweth, 1984; MacKay and Couldwell, 2004). People might start off with the best intentions but neglect their task after a while (personal communication with St David's Tourist Information Office staff).

It can be argued, nevertheless, that the high level of commitment required by the participants might not be the only reason why those

who are initially very keen to get involved might not actually complete the task they have been given. It is impossible for the researcher to have complete control of the project, no matter how clear the instructions he or she gives. For example, it is difficult to avoid influences from other members of the party (Haywood, 1990; MacKay and Couldwell, 2002). People that are asked to participate and are members of a group often find themselves to be receptors of advice from other members of the group, advising on what to photograph and what to leave out, advice which is sometimes difficult to ignore. In some cases, people understand the importance of VEP studies but they are not keen camera users. Much as they might want to participate, they might feel intimidated by the process of taking photographs. They might not want to draw attention to themselves and therefore do not use the camera as often as they would like to (Haywood, 1990). Furthermore, cameras act like badges, identifying people as tourists. Some participants may be actively trying to avoid that label (Haywood, 1990).

Another issue that is often raised is that the researcher might create a kind of bias by asking participants to take 'meaningful' photographs. Because of this, the participant might be in pursuit of 'significant' photos (Loeffler, 2004). Participants might feel obliged to see the world around them in a way they would not do were they not participating in the study (Chenoweth, 1984). One way around this problem could be for the research team specifically to address the issue and ask the participants to behave as they would if they were not participating in the research. However, this is much more easily said than done.

Last but not least, researchers have touched on the potential problem of participants either actively or subconsciously replicating the images that made them decide to visit the area in the first place, for example scenes and panoramas they have seen in brochures and on postcards (Loeffler, 2004). Whether participants are influenced by the preconstructed images they have of a place is an open question. However, a number of researchers have worked on this particular aspect of tourism photography and some argue that people use photography to prove that they have visited a destination (Markwell, 2000; Urry, 2002). Preconceived images may therefore play some kind of role in determining the photographs participants take for the VEP study.

Practical issues

A number of practical issues have been identified by researchers using VEP, and these are considered important in that they could potentially introduce some kind of bias to the study. Taylor *et al.* (1995) argue that the fear of losing the equipment initially limited the application of the VEP technique to fairly controlled settings such as loop walks. Indeed, resource issues are a negative aspect that a number of researchers have mentioned. These include the costs of camera purchase, film development and mailing costs, as well as the data-entry and processing costs associated with the sheer volume of data that can be created through VEP (MacKay and Couldwell, 2002, 2004). Furthermore, some concerns are expressed that some scenes or subjects might not be photographed as they may be inaccessible (Taylor *et al.*, 1995). Events might not be captured because of the challenging environment, the limitations of the equipment or the nature of the activity (Haywood, 1990; Loeffler, 2004). Climbers can be considered as a good example for this point; it is difficult to climb, admire the view and juggle with a camera at the same time. Some areas that might be important for the tourist experience, such as some museums and art exhibitions, limit or even ban the use of cameras (Haywood, 1990). Another issue, which is raised by Taylor *et al.* (1995), highlights the fact there is always a finite number of exposures in the cameras that are handed out and this might act as a kind of bias in the way scenes or subjects might be selected. People might save exposures for something interesting they might see later. Others have suggested that biases may be introduced to the VEP process through the 'juggling' that participants need to do as they take photographs with their own camera, take photographs with the VEP camera, and possibly also write their photo-diaries, all while they are on the move (MacKay and Couldwell, 2004).

There are also some disadvantages associated with VEP which may be related to the way in which the research team has chosen to apply the technique. For example, Haywood (1990) notes that, because the participants in his study

could only keep the camera for a single day, it was likely that they only visited one site and their photographs only illustrated one particular theme. In the case of Cherem and Driver (1983), limitations were felt to occur because of the nature of the activity the participants were engaging in; the participants were canoeists, who may be travelling fast in one direction and there was always the danger of a ducking for either the participant or the photographic equipment (Cherem and Traweek, 1977; Traweek, 1977; Cherem and Driver, 1983). Markwell (1997) used photographs that students had already taken while on a trip abroad. The difficulty with this approach was that the students anticipated having to pay for the development of their own films, so they may have taken fewer photographs than they would have done had the researcher been paying for the film development.

The list of weaknesses of VEP seems long. However, there are some points that need to be made in order to ensure that the method is considered objectively. The first is that all the researchers who used the technique concluded that this method is underutilized and they recommend further investigation of its potential. The second is that a significant period of time has elapsed since some researchers have used the technique (Cherem and Traweek, 1977; Traweek, 1977). Subsequently, there have been technological advances that have reduced the cost of cameras and photographic development, making the use of the technique much more cost-effective.

St David's Peninsula: an Introduction to the Area

According to the National Park Management Plan 2003–2007 (PCNPA, 2003), Pembrokeshire Coast National Park (PCNP) is the only coastal national park in Britain. The park has a coastline of 299 km (186 miles) and has been designated primarily for its coastal scenery. It includes seven Special Areas of Conservation, three Special Protection Areas, one Marine Nature Reserve, six National Nature Reserves, 75 Sites of Special Scientific Interest and 80% of its coastline is designated as SSSIs. It also includes 257 Scheduled Ancient Monuments, 1019 listed buildings and 14 Conservation Areas. More than 1.2 million visits were made to the area in 2004. Pembrokeshire Coast National Park attracts many walkers, as the coastal path

Fig. 9.1. St David's Cathedral, St David's, Pembrokeshire Coast National Park. © Nika Balomenou.

is designated as one of 15 national trails in England and Wales.

At the same time, the park suffers from a number of socio-economic weaknesses. As described in the National Park Management Plan 2003–2007, 21% of the population in Pembrokeshire receives a key social security benefit, whereas the UK median is 12%. Additionally, the employment rate is 61.4%, compared with 73.5% for the UK. Average gross weekly earnings are 70% of the national figure.

Narrowing the focus down, St David's peninsula received more than 500,000 visitors in 2006 (personal communication with Tourism Information Centre staff), while no more than 3500 people live on the peninsula. This means that there are 143 tourists to every resident. Local income is largely dependent on the tourism industry. Informal interviews with residents suggest that more than 54% of the houses in St David's are holiday homes. This creates problems such as inflated house prices, which leads to local people being unable to buy properties in the area. In addition, a tools factory closure in the area in December 2006 affected more than 50 families as more than 50 jobs were lost.

It is clear from the data given above that tourism is a very important source of income for the local economy. It is also evident that there is plenty of potential for conflicts to arise between locals and tourists, and between local people and the planning authorities.

Case Study of St David's Peninsula: Method

This is the first research study to use VEP in a tourism planning context, with both user groups – locals and tourists – asked for their input. The study is unique in that it has been designed with the specific objective of feeding into the planning process.

Three pilot surveys were undertaken in July and August 2006. Each involved a random sample of ten tourists. Every fifth person passing in front of the researcher outside the Tourist Information Centre in St David's was asked to participate. If the fifth person was a member of a group, the member of the group whose birthday was next was asked to participate. Depending on the person's answer, the researcher either noted their approximate age and other obvious details, such as if the person was a member of a group and if they were on holiday with friends or family, if the person refused to participate, or explained what the study was about and proceeded to a short semi-structured interview. Some of the data gathered through this interview were demographic and some related to people's perceptions on planning issues, as this study is mainly concerned with the planning issues that arise from the research. After the interview, the researcher provided the participants with a research pack that comprised a bag, a folder, a coded camera, a coded photo-diary, an explanatory letter and a pen. There were also planning-related questions in the photo-diary. For example, having recorded that they had taken a photograph, participants were asked to identify the main feature of the photo and whether the photo conveyed a positive or generally negative connotation for them. If, on the one hand, the meaning was considered to be positive, participants were invited to suggest what would spoil it for them. If the photograph was considered to convey a negative meaning, the participants were invited to suggest what would improve the situation.

The purpose of the first pilot study was to see if the material put together was user-friendly and if it worked well in the field. The researcher asked the participants to return the camera and photo-diary to the Tourist Information Centre staff. Eight out of ten participants returned their camera and photo-diary.

The photo-diary, questionnaire and information letter to participants were adapted after observations made by the researcher and the participants were taken into account, and this modified questionnaire was then used in the second pilot study. The participants were asked again to return the camera and photo-diary to the Tourist Information Centre staff. Eight out of ten participants returned their camera and diary.

The changes to the questionnaires, diaries and letters of the first pilot study were considered successful, so the only change to the third pilot survey was the return method: a stamped and addressed envelope was included in the participants' research packs. Five out of ten participants returned their cameras and diaries within 2 weeks of the day the pack was given to them and two

more participants replied within 6 weeks. It was therefore decided for the main study that the researchers would be asked to return the cameras and diaries in drop-in boxes; if they found that difficult to do they would have to send their cameras and diaries back at their own expense.

The sampling period for the main survey was the middle to the end of August 2006 for the tourists and the middle to the end of September 2006 for the local people. The reasoning behind this decision was that August is in the high tourism season in the area, so more tourists could be recruited during that period, taking into account that VEP is a rather time-consuming method. Locals were approached in September, as this is far less busy a time for most of them than the three summer months; however, it is not so long after the hectic summer period that they will have forgotten what the area looked and felt like when the tourists were around. Also the weather is almost the same, so the photographs would not be significantly different. The photographs will undergo content analysis, so it is very important to make sure that this can be done blind, which means that the researcher should not be able to tell when and from whom the photographs were taken.

After 2 weeks of intensive sampling for each category, 145 cameras were distributed to tourists and 54 cameras to locals. The response rate was 78% for the tourists and 45% for the locals. The time spent interviewing each tourist was approximately 24 min. Presently, efforts are being made to recruit more locals, in order to obtain a similar-size sample.

It was decided that the data would be coded and stored in NVIVO 7, a software package that allows ‘flexible interrogation and analysis without losing sight of the individual. You can compare and contrast perceptions, accounts or experiences; search for patterns or connections; and seek explanations internally within the data set’ (NVivo, n.d.: 7). NVivo allows data to be input and coded so that connections can be identified between different kinds of resources, such as questionnaires, interviews and diaries.

Preliminary Indications

Following an initial examination of the data set, it seems that the quality of the responses is very rich. The photos, in conjunction with the interviews and the photo-diaries, will provide a high-quality data set, which will be able to demonstrate the utility of VEP in informing about planning issues and disputes.

Most of the participants who returned their cameras seem to be happy with the number of photos they were asked to take. A number of participants actually used the whole film to take photographs for the project. However, a large number of the sample did not take 12 photographs. There are comments made by participants that maybe ten photographs would have been easier to take and make comments on. It also seems that the digital photography option should be considered. The participants in the case study were given 27-shot disposable cameras with a built-in flash. This means that upon their return, the cameras had to be sent away to be developed. It was observed that not all the photographs were usable. In some cases, especially in night shots, the participants were not always using the flash. In other cases, it seemed that the participants thought that they had actually taken a photo, and noted it in the diary, when they had not.

The general feeling of enjoyment and commitment to this kind of study has been identified in the literature by a number of researchers (Haywood, 1990; Taylor *et al.*, 1995; Schuster *et al.*, 2004). This proved to be a very strong motivation in recruiting volunteers to this study, as a large number of participants commented on the enjoyment this project offered and wished the research team luck for the results of the study.

Even from a brief initial examination of the data set, it is evident that there are some very important planning issues, and these are raised by both groups. These include issues such as commercialization, the factory closure in St David’s, scenic beauty and its importance for tourists and locals, wishes for the area to remain unspoilt without too many tourists and the desire of local young people aged between 16 and 29 to move to a bigger city with more job opportunities, and they are difficult to ignore.

The most evident planning issue that arose, however, was the problem of second/holiday homes. This issue was mentioned by local participants many times, with close to 70% making

comments on second homes. Moreover, this was the major reason why it proved extremely difficult to recruit local participants. During the design process, it was decided that, from a list of the residents, 300 would be randomly chosen and approached in order to be asked to participate. It was also decided that, if one person on this list was not at home, the next door would be knocked at. However, this decision resulted in a fortnight of door-knocking without impressive results. This did not surprise the locals when they were asked for their advice on this issue, as they were convinced that this is due to the large number of second homes in the area.

Conclusion

From the indications arising from an initial examination of the data set, as well as from the literature review conducted, it is possible to conclude that VEP has considerable potential as a tool for examining planning issues. According to the literature, as well as the experience of the researcher, there are indeed some evident drawbacks in using VEP. However, VEP also has clear strengths. In particular, the technique has the potential to empower people to demonstrate how they feel about important planning issues. It enables tourists to show why they have chosen to visit a certain area and to explain why they would not repeat their visit. It also enables the local community to demonstrate what gives them a sense of place and what they actually do not like about it and would like to see changed. Clearly there are grounds to suggest that VEP should be considered an effective planning tool in areas where conflicts between user groups arise and need to be addressed effectively.

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10 Visual Methodologies and Photographic Practices: Encounters with Hadrian's Wall World Heritage Site

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Introduction

Many people, both individuals and organizations, are involved with Hadrian's Wall, including policy makers, management practitioners, small businesses, residents and, of course, tourists. How people perceive Hadrian's Wall depends on their relationship with the Wall and the surrounding area, and thus they have individual experiences of living, working and visiting the Wall. Photo-elicitation methods allow the participant to describe the significance of Hadrian's Wall and their personal expectations, experiences and encounters, thus creating a narrative through the presentation of their own photographs. The visual methodology facilitates exploration into how people approach taking photographs and how they responded to taking photographs as part of this research, creating a typology of photographic practices.

This chapter discusses a typology of photographic approaches and practices that has been constructed as a result of this study (Bell, 2008). Owing to the individual and changing nature of experience, Sharpley (1999) warns against creating a typology of tourists, suggesting that a typology is static in space and time. This research, however, looks at how people approached taking part in the research, and a typology has been created to illustrate the many ways that people – tourists, residents and workers – took photographs of Hadrian's Wall. A typology is a useful way of summarizing the ways that people approached this research and should not be seen as a definitive guide to people's photographic motivations. As Suvantola (2002: 63) states, 'Typologies describe practices rather than types of people.'

Hadrian's Wall is an iconic historical landscape and as such it is important for tourism in northern England. It is unique for its archaeology and international heritage, hence its World Heritage Site status since 1987. The Wall crosses the north of England from Wallsend (just outside Newcastle upon Tyne) in the east to Bowness on Solway in the west. Hadrian's Wall was built in AD 122 under the orders of the Roman Emperor Hadrian and took approximately 10 years to complete. It has disappeared in some places: under buildings, beneath roads or recycled to construct later buildings in the vicinity of the Wall, such as Lanercost Priory in Brampton, Cumbria.

Hadrian's Wall is inherently linked to history and archaeology, and this is one of the main reasons for people visiting the area. However, the landscape of Hadrian's Wall is also central to its appeal as a tourist destination. The Wall runs through (among other things) spectacular countryside, urban conurbations and industrial landscapes. The central section of the Wall is probably considered the most dramatic, with the Wall running along the top of the Whin Sill scarp. This is the most visited section and is

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very popular in representations and images of the Wall for the promotion of the area.

The next section discusses the methodology used for this research, first using images and disposable cameras, followed by a description of the empirical data collection. The chapter then moves on to the typology of photographic practices and an explanation of each of these, and concludes with a discussion of the research findings.

Visual Methodology

Using images in this research

There are many ways of using visual data, in this case photographs, within the research process. In its simplest form, photo-elicitation is a technique whereby photographs are used within an interview to reveal further understanding of the interviewee's opinions than would be gained by interview alone. Traditionally, the photographs used in photo-elicitation have been those produced by the researcher and are used to encourage and increase collaboration between the researcher and the researched. Douglas Harper's (1987) *Working Knowledge: Skill and Community in a Small Shop* is a good example of how photo-elicitation can be used to great effect in a collaborative study with the participant.

However, this research uses a combination of reflexive photography[1] (or autophotography, see Cook and Crang, 1995) and the photo novella[2] (Hurworth, 2003). The technique, similar to that used by Beilin (2005), is designed to enable participants to create a narrative of their experience of Hadrian's Wall through visual representation, by encouraging participants to 'talk through' their photographs by either putting them into themes and categories of their choice or providing an account of why they took the photos they did, whichever method they were most comfortable doing. Putting the photographs in themes and categories helped to define what the participant experienced and what their perceptions were of Hadrian's Wall. Thus, the interviews were driven by the participants: they were free to decide how they wanted to proceed with the interview and what they talked about (Heisley and Levy, 1991).

Distributing cameras and using participant-generated photographs gave respondents the opportunity to get involved in the research. This offered more power and depth of thought to the participant than interviewing alone. The research created active participants. It was participants' personal experiences of Hadrian's Wall, through their own eyes and in their own words. As Pink (2001: 28) states, it was an opportunity to display 'different types of knowledge and intentionality for the photographer'. It was also a way for participants to express and inform their opinions and produce collaborative knowledge (Pink, 2006). Furthermore, the methodology forces the researcher (and the participants) to be reflexive, which in turn generates a richness of interview and depth of understanding through the presentation of the produced image.

Using disposable cameras

Participants were not using their own camera but consciously using a disposable supplied to them for research purposes. One argument could be that participants should have used their own camera. However, this would have changed the nature of the research for several reasons. First, by using a disposable camera, participants were limited to a maximum of 27 pictures. Secondly, if selecting pictures from a digital source the participant would be more likely to choose pictures for their aesthetic value when the object of the research was to discuss experiences and encounters. Hence, while the disposable camera is technically limited, it produces a snapshot in time that cannot be altered. The picture-taker

[1] A technique whereby the respondent takes the photographs and then describes the meanings behind them.

[2] A method of photo-interviewing whereby participants construct a narrative from photographs that they have taken to describe their everyday experiences and explain the significance behind the pictures.

has consciously taken the photos knowing they were going to discuss them at a later date. They may have had an initial idea of what they were going to discuss when they took the photo or they may have thought about it on receipt of the photographs. However, this does not mean that people did not take pictures for their aesthetic value. By looking through the lens they are considering a possible vision. The dramatic landscapes of the central section of the Wall lend themselves to 'picture postcard' photographs. Thirdly, there could have been even less direct contact with participants if the photos were digital, and, while this may not necessarily be a negative point, the change in dynamics would have altered the research. The direct contact aided my research: by talking face to face with participants I was able to convey to them the purpose of the research and distribute the camera; thus they had a point of personal contact. Finally, not everyone has, or has access to, a digital camera: participation in the research was accessible to all those who were willing (Beckley *et al.*, 2007).

Camera distribution

All participants were provided with a disposable camera and asked to take photographs of their experience of Hadrian's Wall. Each participant was given the same instruction: 'Take photographs of your choice about your experience of the Wall.' If they asked 'Anything in particular?', the answer was 'No, anything you like that represents your experience of Hadrian's Wall.' This also included the number of photos taken; they were not required to complete the film if they did not wish to. If they agreed to take part by taking photos and talking about their photographs at a later date, they were given a camera with a stamped addressed envelope and their contact details taken. Each camera was numbered so that when it was returned the participant could be identified. This number is used in the analysis of the data as a means of identification within the discourse. The participants were not given any time limit in which to take their photographs. This depended on them and their link with Hadrian's Wall. Visitors on a day trip obviously had a time limit; others were more flexible. The timespan of picture-taking was between 2 days and 6 months.

The photo-interviews

The photo-interviews were in two parts, with the first part led by the interviewee talking through their photos, using themes, categories and/or building a narrative, as discussed above. The second part of the interview is the focus of the discussion here. In this part of the interview participants were asked explicitly about the process of taking the photos, taking part in the research, how they approached taking the photographs, and why they took the pictures that they did. Some of these questions prompted further open discussion by a number of participants. As Pink (2001: 68) suggests, 'Ethnographers should be interested in how informants use the content of the images as vessels in which to invest meanings and through which to produce and represent their knowledge, self-identities, experiences and emotions.' Thus, all participants were asked about the process of taking the photographs and how they felt about taking part in this research.

It is thought here that, while some of the photographs taken by participants may, on the surface, seem to be very similar, the meanings and values for that image contrast widely (Harper, 1994). The photograph is very personal to the individual but also requires a verbal narrative to add depth to its meaning. Without an individual's explanation about the reason and importance of an image to them, it is completely open to interpretation by the viewer (Albers and James, 1988). Lippard (1997: 55) suggests that 'The snapshot is the personal photographic equivalent (or support) of the local narrative.' However, this local narrative needs the accompanying words to put it in context.

A Typology of Photographic Practices

Photographic approaches

This section is a discussion of participants' approaches to taking part in the research, in particular the way they approached taking photographs, resulting in the creation of photographic

Table 10.1. Typology of photographic practices.

Approach	Description
Sharing knowledge and local knowledge	A participant keen to share their knowledge through seeking out both the unusual and everyday aspects of the place that might not be experienced by the 'average' visitor.
Family album	Taking photos of the family, putting themselves in the picture, locating themselves in place to 'record days out': the family gaze.
Happy snapper	The participant took the photos as quickly as possible, with lots of pictures taken on the same day, mostly of limited range.
Reproducer	A participant who is reproducing a picture that they have already seen, either professionally or otherwise. Prior production reinforces the idea that this is a legitimate photograph to take and take away.
Sightseer	Tourist on holiday taking photos of the landscape or site that they are visiting to keep for posterity, or as C18 said: 'It helps me remember what it felt like to visit a place.'
Documentary: routine and management (functional)	This encompasses a wide range of managers who took photos to reflect such things as management issues, practical management and monitoring of areas and sites for management purposes; pictures from a work point of view.
Archivist	The participant took photos to record the landscape, any changes to that landscape and points of particular interest that the photo-taker wanted to document.
Photographic technicality and composition	Emphasis here was on photographic merit; the aesthetic of the photograph.
Direct response to research/researcher	As C29 states, 'Well, I tried to think of what would be of interest to you because of what you are studying.'

practices (Table 10.1). Participants' approaches to taking the photographs varied widely. This was expected. Some people said that they took similar pictures to those that they would normally do; others took pictures of an object or structure; others wanted to convey a specific agenda to the researcher; and some took them for aesthetic reasons. Most were a combination of all these with differing emphases. It may seem like an obvious point to make, but the pictures taken by participants were also dependent on locational factors, such as where they were given the camera, where they were visiting or where they live or work – also, if a visitor, the duration of their stay. One thing all the photographs have in common, whatever the subject, is that they were all personal to the photographer.

It should be noted that, even though efforts were made to minimize any influence by the researcher, that influence cannot be ignored. Although participants were left to decide for themselves what they wanted to take pictures of, they were inevitably influenced by the research and the researcher in some way. From the time when they were given the camera, they became part of the research. They were aware that they were part of a study and this has ultimately influenced their photographs. However, people did take pictures of what mattered to them regarding their encounter with the Wall, photos of things they would have been inclined to take regardless of the research, with one specific difference: they were aware that they would be talking to me about why they took the photos at a later date (Beckley *et al.*, 2007).

Photographic practices

People's motivations are rarely one-dimensional: they usually have several overlapping reasons or perceptions of events, details and ideas. This section categorizes participants' photographic practices, accepting that, on most occasions, these were varied and for several different reasons. As discussed above, the construction of a typology is to describe the practices of phototaking in this research rather than describe the types of people that participated (Suvantola, 2002). The broad categories that have been generated are summarized in Table 10.1; an explanation of each approach follows.

Sharing knowledge

C14 works at a site along the Wall. He came to work on Hadrian's Wall 6 years ago by accident – 'I never really settled in any one job' – but now considers the preservation of the Wall to be more important than earning his living:

> Preservation then education and the job definitely comes last it really does [. . .] the employment side of things, it's important to me obviously because it's a job but it's not the be-all and end-all, and if I was to lose this job through some of the, for whatever reason, this might close down or something like that; the preservation would be more important than me being able to work here; that's basically it.

He explained his approach to taking the photos:

> [T]he day I took the shots at Housesteads[3] I tried to look at things from a different point of view for most of it; some of it I knew was going to be personal; the shots along the milecastle etc., they were personal to me because I happen to love that particular view. Erm some of the other shots were 'I know I'm going to take this photograph because it's a hidden piece that people don't tend to see', so that was why I took those shots. Some of them were opportunistic, the gate across the hole in the Wall, and I think you can probably say that for pretty well all the shots I took. [pause] [. . .] But there are a handful of shots in there where I was trying to see things from somebody's eyes other than my own, or as if it was the first time I'd been here.

C14 said that he thought about what he was going to take pictures of before he used the camera and said, 'I sort of viewed it; it was an opportunity for me to put something back, to be able to express to somebody else, almost like a fellow colleague as it were, why I do what I do and why I enjoy doing what I do.' C14 considered the taking of photographs as a way of explaining to an associate why he does his job, what makes it special, why he continues to do it and things that he is passionate about. It was an attitude of sharing his continuing knowledge of the Wall with someone, things about the site that a regular visitor would not know. C14 believed that it is through sharing this knowledge that he can most influence the future of Hadrian's Wall and sites like it, encouraging others to appreciate it and to get involved. He explained:

> I've left this one [photo category 'education'] until last, quite accidentally; education as far as the Wall itself is concerned is very important [. . .] education to me means not just telling the kids what the Romans did 2000 years ago, it's telling the kids what the Romans did 2000 years ago and then what we have left is important and what we have left has to be maintained, and hopefully some of these children will grow up to follow my example, as it were, and get jobs within that umbrella, be it archaeology, be it on the sites like these or whatever.

C14 displayed a genuine affection and affinity for Hadrian's Wall and used the photographs to illustrate both personal and professional meanings of the Wall to him. The importance of sharing his knowledge of the Wall with visitors (including the researcher) was evident, with his approach to this being almost an ambassadorial role.

Local knowledge

C08 is a volunteer on the Hadrian's Wall Path National Trail. As part of their work the volunteers take photographs of their allocated part of the trail for monitoring purposes. They also take photographs of anything that is wrong along the trail so that it can be addressed: 'If we've taken a photograph of some erosion or something that's happening we'll send those off.' Thus C08 could also be an example of documentary photo-taking, which is addressed below. These two categories are closely linked: those involved in the management of the Wall displayed high levels of local knowledge. C08 is also an amateur photographer and said about Hadrian's Wall:

[3]Housesteads is an excavated Roman fort in the central section of the Wall.

Fig. 10.1 'I had to include it (twice in fact). Such a hard place to photograph (the best place is from the road but there are no stopping places and no path) and you need the lighting just right to make it look good. At other times from this point you wouldn't even notice it' (source: C08).

> I've been taking lots in the sense of just the views and the lighting, because it's just different every time you go. I've noticed nearly all of my photographs are looking east and I realized that was because obviously by the time we get up there the sun is over that way and the lighting.

C08 demonstrates great insight into the area where she lives and volunteers. Her photos are of more unusual shots of the Wall, of known locations taken from diverse angles (Fig. 10.1). They show changing light and atmosphere that is only possible if you are a regular visitor to the Wall, at different times of day and throughout the year: 'I hadn't realized until I moved here that the sky could be so many different shades of blue at the same time.'

Family album

C15 was a visitor to the site where C14 works. She said that her approach to taking the photos was no different from usual: 'It was just normal pictures for us.' However, she then went on to admit: 'We were worried, that's why we started taking some without anybody on because we thought I wonder if she really wants them all with us on! [. . .] I'm afraid to say we prefer the pictures of our children!' (Fig. 10.2). This reveals that C15 and her family were conscious not only that they were taking pictures for the researcher but also that the importance for her is capturing moments of her family in place rather than the place itself, and to then keep these as memories: 'I mean I've got scrapbooks that I will put this into now.' C15 took photographs that concentrated on the family in the location rather than taking pictures of the destination itself. This is what Haldrup and Larsen (2003) call the family gaze. The photographs produced become a tangible memory for the future and are representative of public and private family relationships.

Happy snapper

C33 was one of the participants who explicitly admitted: 'I'm a happy snapper me, but I think

Fig. 10.2. '[O]ne of the more boring ones' (source: C15).

I sort of thought about what I was doing before I did it, you know, took them for specific reasons [. . .] but I took them quickly.' Whilst C33 did take a lot of pictures of similar things on the same day, she had also taken time to think about what she wanted to convey about her experience of living and volunteering in the World Heritage Site. She took a relaxed approach to taking the pictures.

C25's photographic experience was more implicit; the photographs told a story of their own. C25 took only 12 pictures, and it was evident that they had all been taken on the same day, in a short period of time. While C25 may not have explicitly stated this in the interview, the photographs were all of her view at one point in time from her farmhouse door. Lack of time could be a major factor in this, as she rarely gets to leave her thriving bed and breakfast business: 'I just have no time [. . .] At the end of the day what am I working for, I can't do anything, I can't go anywhere [. . .] I've never walked this Wall, but I feel like I have because all the visitors tell me all about it.' However, C25's photos are still representative of her experience of living along Hadrian's Wall. They show that she rarely gets any time to herself because she is too busy catering for visitors to the Wall and that her knowledge of the Wall is built by visitor experiences.

Reproducer

While C22 said that taking the photos was 'part of my everyday routine' (see 'Documentary: routine and management' below) his pictures also included familiar sights/sites along the Wall. People take pictures of familiar places and objects as reference points (Relph, 1976). For example, in the central section of the Wall the nicks and gaps in the landscape lend themselves to being photographed, and with milecastle 39 in one of these gaps it frames a good photograph of both the landscape and the monument (Fig. 10.3). C22 also took a photograph of Sycamore Gap. This is featured on promotional material for the Wall and has become famous for its connection to Hollywood and the 1991 Kevin Costner film *Robin Hood: Prince of Thieves*. C22 said of it: 'This picture, you're probably sick of the sight of them ones!' He took the photo so that he could explain the problems that the National Park Authority has with tourists stopping on the military road to take a picture of the tree (Fig. 10.4). In fact, only two other participants took a picture of Sycamore Gap. C38, a

Fig. 10.3. 'This is Milecastle 39 just along from Sycamore Gap the tree' (source: C22).

Fig. 10.4. '[Y]ou're probably sick of the sight of them ones!' (source: C22).

visitor and volunteer, explained the symbolic importance of taking a photo of Sycamore Gap:

> It's Sycamore Gap, or as me and my son keep saying Costner's Gap, because that's where Prince of Thieves, when Robin Hood came he got off his boat didn't he, climbed over the white cliffs of Dover or something, then strode to Hadrian's Wall very quickly, and then carried on to Nottingham! [. . .] And every time we look back and say 'There's Costner's Gap we've got to go there', and this year we actually

Fig. 10.5. '[I]t's a pretty non-picture but actually it means a lot the fact that it's Costner's Gap' (source: C38).

> went to it, because I got some really good pictures of Sycamore Gap. So that's what that is; it's a pretty non-picture but actually it means a lot the fact that it's Costner's Gap (Fig. 10.5).

These 'reproducer' photographs are good examples of how memories are created based on conspicuous consumption: the taker has been to a place that is familiar through promotion and photographic representation of place. The central section of the Wall, particularly between Housesteads and Steel Rigg, was the place that encouraged people to take familiar images of the landscape. None of the visitors explicitly admitted that they had taken images that they were familiar with from other sources. Images of a place are socially constructed and used in tourism marketing to create a specific image of place that influences tourists not only in choice of destination but also, consciously or not, with some of the photographs they take themselves (Gali Espelt and Donaire Benito, 2005).

Sightseer

C41 put his photos into eight categories, in priority order. The most significant pictures were of the site that he visited (Vindolanda) and the scale of the site, the 'work in progress' – the excavations, and the bathhouses, which hold a personal interest for him (Fig. 10.6). C41 said that he took the sort of photographs that he would normally take. However his analysis of them shows the impact that the research had on him, reflecting on his experience of a family visit to the Wall:

> I just took the sort of pictures I would normally take and looking at these as a collection, you know my wife and daughter probably sort of thought 'Oh no it's Dad again with his camera again taking landscapes and any old bit of rubbish!' and then a bit of interest, because when I go round these sites, you know, the things that interest me are completely different to what [my wife and daughter] find interesting.

So C41 took similar pictures to what he normally would on a family holiday, but by taking part in the research he revealed a heightened level of reflexivity as to how and why he had taken the photos and, more significant for him personally, a reflective view of their holiday experience at Hadrian's Wall.

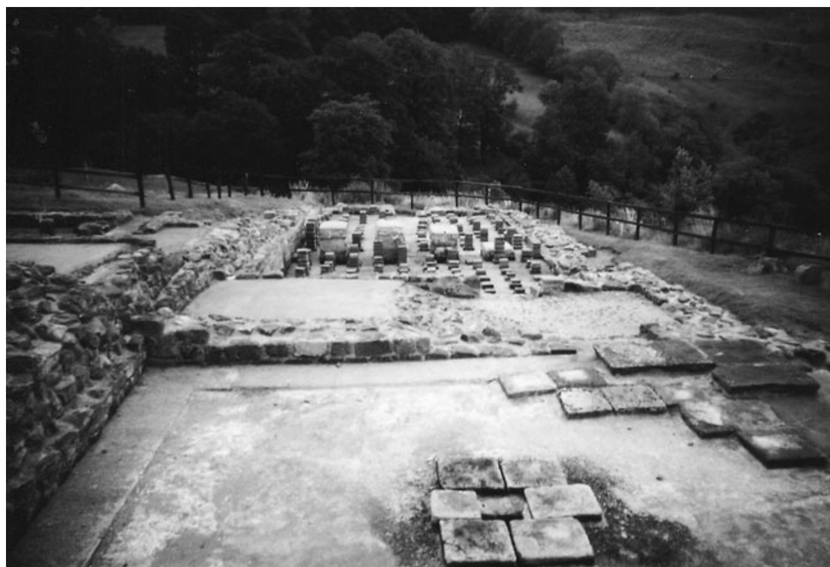

Fig. 10.6. 'I don't know why bathhouses fascinate me but this idea of having heating under the floor is probably something from my school days, but what fascinates me about these places is around the technology' (source: C41).

Documentary: routine and management

The condition of the footpaths and general wear and tear on the Hadrian's Wall Path National Trail and the Hadrian's Wall landscape is monitored using fixed-point photographs. Also, some of the managers and National Trail volunteers monitor their own section of the Wall using photographic data (discussed previously in 'Local knowledge'). This had an impact on the way they approached taking photos for the research. For instance, the National Park rangers routinely take photographs for monitoring and management purposes. While those spoken to said that they took some pictures with the research in mind, one of them also explained the day to day importance of photographic data for their work:

> We carry cameras with us; [another ranger] carries one, I carry one, and just it always has been. I mean, I'm a keen photographer so I've always had a camera with us. [. . .] What you asked us, me and [another ranger], to do is what we're doing all the time anyway, so it wasn't as if I had to go out there and take pictures of this, this and this, because it's part of my everyday routine (C22).

For others who are involved in practical work along the Wall,[4] taking photographs of their experience of Hadrian's Wall was a bit more difficult for several reasons: they forgot to take the camera out; they had their hands full working and were unable to take a photograph; or the type of work that they do. For example, when C23 was asked how she approached taking the photos she said:

> I suppose what happened was like when loading the wool I thought 'Oh I must take that camera and do something with that camera' [laughs], and because all I was doing was doing the scribing [for the wool bales] you know I could easily manage it, not like I had my hands dirty; all I had was a pen and a clipboard, and so having got that far you sort of, well just try

[4]For example, a farmer, a bed and breakfast provider, an English Heritage employee, a National Trust employee.

Fig. 10.7. '[L]oading [the wool bags] up on to the wagon to take them into the wool board in Carlisle' (source: C23).

> and pick something that looks like you'll get it in the picture (Fig. 10.7).

When asked what photos were the most significant, she replied, 'What isn't there really is working with the sheep, which is what I spend more time doing, but I didn't take [a photo] because I was working with the sheep! [laughs]'

Archivist

C44 was visiting Vindolanda and Housesteads with his wife and teenage grandson. He is a retired accountant and has been visiting Hadrian's Wall for over 50 years, beginning with a sixth-form school trip. He is an amateur historian and is the chair of a local history society. His pictures were taken with his historical interests in mind, were not prioritized and he had only taken 12 pictures, for which he offered an explanation: the family had spent longer at Vindolanda than they anticipated and unfortunately this left little time at Housesteads. To add to this, C44 left the camera in the car, remembering when he was halfway up the hill to the fort and, because of time restrictions on their visit, did not go back and get it. C44 explained his choice of shots:

> I am taking it trying to capture the historical impact of the site as well as a geographic one. In general I don't take family portraits; I tend to take things because it's something of interest that I want to be able to remember; it's the thing that triggers my memory then, but also I take photographs of things sometimes I don't quite understand so I can find someone and say 'what do you think about this?' [. . .] In those circumstances I would take several shots of that from different angles, measure it up and then find someone who might be able to satisfy my curiosity. [. . .] Because most people take photographs to stimulate their memory at a future date [. . .] I would have brought those back with me and I will do anyway during this next 10 weeks when we're on this [historical debating society] and we're talking about after the Romans; you know I may well flash one or two of these there (Fig. 10.8).

Photographic technicality and composition

Two participants in particular reviewed their photographs in terms of their composition: C12 and C16. They demonstrated this to differing degrees. C12 showed a good deal of understanding of the research and expressed his thoughts and perceptions of living

Fig. 10.8. 'I am taking it trying to capture the historical impact of the site as well as a geographic one' (source: C44).

along the Wall. C16 illustrated a much more technical approach to taking his pictures, even though he was using a point-and-shoot disposable camera.

C16 explained his reasons for taking the photographs were twofold: pictures of the Roman engineering and structure, what he referred to as 'architectural images', and the photographic composition of these photos. All but one of his eight categories of photos centred on 'architectural images'. The other category was number four in his prioritized list and titled 'landscape/setting', which he had chosen 'to show the areas in which the sites were built'; thus it was still linked to his ideas about engineering and structures. C16 could also be described as an archivist. He took pictures of what interested him – the structures at sites – and used his knowledge of photography to frame the pictures and explain to the researcher his thoughts on the successfulness of the composition of the photo (Fig. 10.9).

C12 revealed that, being an amateur photographer, he was wary of using the camera, and he compared how he normally takes pictures to how he approached the research, and when I asked him about how he felt taking the pictures he replied:

> Well I think there was something about the fact that it wasn't my camera and, you know, I've got posh cameras; so because it wasn't my camera I didn't know what it would do. I use digital, so I think what I usually do, and I take photographs [clicks fingers to illustrate constant picture-taking] when I'm sparked by something, but I think I felt a sense of 'oh I've got to use this', so it wasn't as spontaneous as it might have been, and if I was going to take one camera out I wouldn't have taken this one, if you know what I mean! So, in a way, I think if I hadn't have been a person that took photographs that would have been a much more effective tool than it has been, if you know what I mean.

So C12 thought that the fact that he regularly takes photographs with a high-specification digital camera was a disadvantage to the research. What would he have produced if he had used his own camera? What sort of pictures would he have selected? Would they have been more creative? Because as he states below, for him, being involved in the research concerned communication and response rather than aesthetics. He then went on to say how he was surprised at the quality of the photos that the disposable camera produced and that the most notable part of the research for him was the

Fig. 10.9. 'I like the way the eye is channelled towards the background' (source: C16).

process of thinking about and taking part in a reflective study of this kind:

> I didn't know what [the camera] would do; I didn't think it would take as good photographs as it has; I take pictures with a different camera. But I think the whole thing of you and me, us talking at the Wall conference,[5] and then the photographs and then you know me thinking about it and then this meeting we've had. I've found that helpful just in terms of making me more aware of the place, and I think that I'm more aware. So there was something about, I think that because it wasn't going to be the aesthetic value of these pictures that is important, there was something about being used to illustrate something, trying to capture something almost behaviourally rather than aesthetically, if you know what I mean, and that was an interesting way of thinking about taking pictures, in order to communicate something. So I was aware that I have a luxury when I take my own pictures that they are just for me [chuckles]. I take what I like and I don't care if no one else knows what they're about [laughs].

This illustrates the personal implications for C12 about taking photographs. For him, photos have both a material and a symbolic value. He revealed that for him taking photographs is a private pastime and that he takes pictures for himself without thought of explaining them to someone else. This is in contrast to Gotham's (2002) ideas about displaying status and capital through conspicuous consumption; however, it is still the accumulation of cultural capital. C12 is more used to sharing his thoughts through his poetry, and it was a novelty for him to share his photographic meanings with me.

Direct response to research

Two participants, C11 and C29, admitted that they took photographs with the research or the researcher directly in mind. C11 was walking the National Trail with a friend for charity and was given a camera at Segedunum. He took 28 photographs of various places along the Wall, including the Vallum,[6] the Wall, and associated ruins

[5]We initially met in April 2006 at the 'Writing on the Wall' conference, which was a culmination of a 5-year creative writing project for Hadrian's Wall.

[6]In fact, C11 was the only other participant, apart from C14, that took pictures (two) of the Vallum, the earthwork, rather than Hadrian's Wall or other brick structures associated with the Wall.

such as milecastles, turrets and the Mithraic temple at Brocolitia, along with pictures of the landscape. Five of his photos were of interpretation boards along the Wall, to locate themselves in place for the researcher. He admitted that he took photos of 'All the places that we thought would interest you.'

Discussion

The reflexive nature of this visual research method is an effective way for participants to contemplate their experiences and then build a narrative about their encounters with Hadrian's Wall. For some, for example C12, their attachment became clearer and stronger through this reflection (Beckley *et al.*, 2007). By using the photograph, a material object, as a prompt, participants are able to lead the interview and discuss in depth their experiences and knowledge behind and around the image. Photographs can link people together and create memories, both shared and personal, and can trigger forgotten thoughts. Further, from the discourses of participants talking about their experiences, it is possible to construct a typology of how people approached and took photographs for this research (Table 10.1). Most participants' photographs could be categorized in more than one style. However, although all photographs taken were to a certain extent personal to the taker, participants were conscious that they were to be discussed at a later date with the researcher to convey their experience of Hadrian's Wall. It is evident that, although response rates were good, levels of involvement in the research varied widely. However, even the sightseer disclosed that through using the visual, or the gaze, it is possible to evoke other feelings by engaging with the image and reflecting on the practice of taking that photograph. It was the narratives accompanying the pictures that revealed the embodied encounter with Hadrian's Wall.

People take photographs on holiday. The methodology that has been employed here can be used in many ways, not least for furthering understanding of people's production and consumption of tourist sights/sites and looking beyond the photographic gaze. The typology illustrates this well; it has been useful for looking at how people approached participation in this research and can be used and developed further when examining photography in the research process.

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11 From 'The Dunghill of England' to 'The Jewel of the Commonwealth': Using the Concept of Tourism Image to Explore Identity and Tourism in 19th-century and Early 20th-century Tasmania

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> Wherever we are not known we are despised. Our own account of ourselves is pretty sure to be thought not the worst. Too long the [Anti-transportation] League has said it was the colony. The apathy of the public allowed its boast to pass current. That time has gone, we trust, forever. But much mischief has been done already. It will take time and trouble to remove the impression.
>
> (*Hobart Town Advertiser*, 22 January 1853)

Introduction

In the first half of the 19th century, the British penal colony of Van Diemen's Land possessed an image problem. From settlement in 1803, the name Van Diemen's Land was associated in the minds of many people, both in the British Empire and around the world, as a sink of immorality, depravity and sin. In 1855 the citizens of Van Diemen's Land changed their name to Tasmania, in the hope of not only changing their image but of also signalling a new beginning to the world, which would separate them from their origins as a gaol and the connotations associated with this. They wanted to present a new view of themselves and were intent on redeeming their past and manufacturing a new identity. As John West, the island's first major historian, noted in 1852, the name 'Tasmania is preferred, because "Van Diemen's Land" is associated among all nations with the idea of bondage and guilt; and, finally, because while Tasmania is a melodious and simple sound, "Van Diemen" is harsh, complex and infernal' (West, 1852: 4). But images and ideas live on. They live on in people's minds and they live on intergenerationally. While this was the first major move that this society made consciously to develop and project a new image, a name change is not enough to alter entrenched views. It does take time and trouble to remove impressions. How was this change to be effected?

This chapter argues that, in Tasmania, a vehicle tailor-made for the purpose of removing and creating impressions was found in tourism promotion and that, once discovered, this vehicle was used constantly for image manipulation and development by various interested bodies and individuals who, in some way, stood to benefit. Consequently, over the 130-year period between settlement and the eve of the Second World War, Tasmanians vindicated themselves of their image

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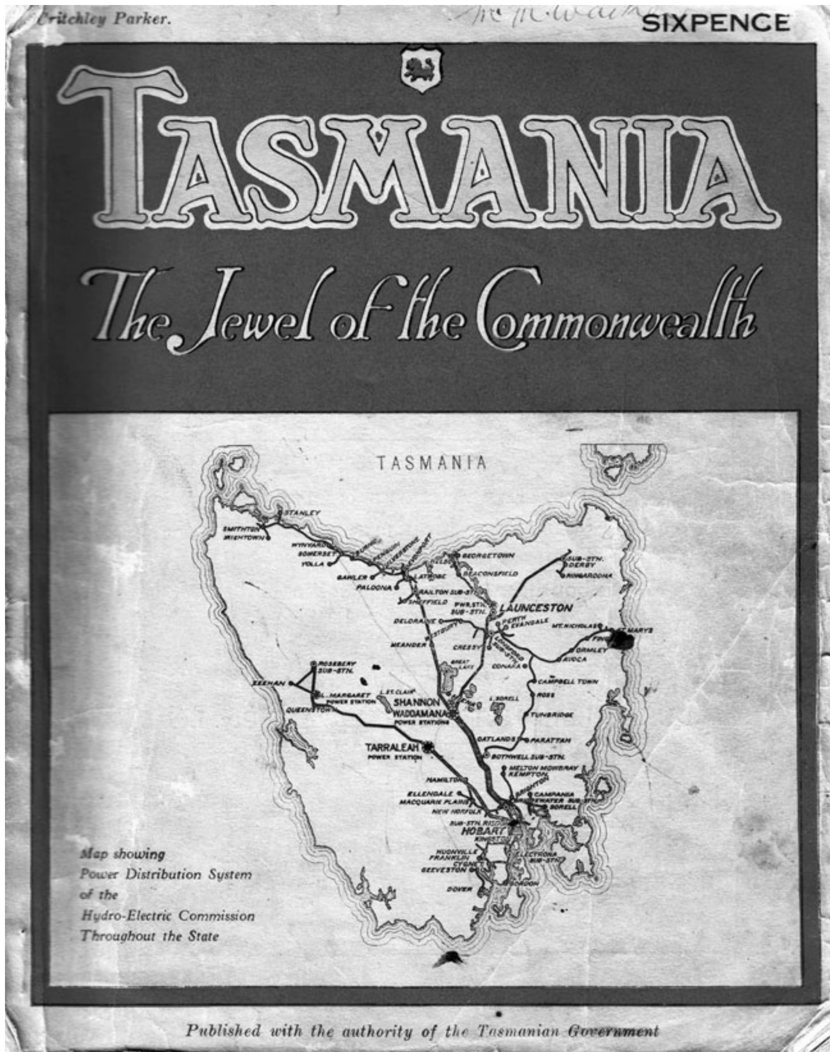

Fig. 11.1. Publisher and Tasmania aficionado Critchley Parker entitled his 1937 publication *Tasmania: The Jewel of the Commonwealth* after a slogan much used by Tasmanians to identify themselves between the two world wars. The epithet indicates how far Tasmanians had psychologically travelled from their penal colony image as the 'Dunghill of England' in the early 19th century to their reinvention as honourable, progressive citizens of the British Empire just before World War II.

as 'The Dunghill of England' and celebrated their worth as 'The Jewel of the Commonwealth' (see Fig. 11.1).

This evolutionary change, it is argued, was largely effected through the use of images projected first in immigration propaganda and then in tourism promotional material. It is suggested that these images, expressed through tourism epithets and logos such as 'This Other England', 'The Sanatorium of the South', 'Appleland' and 'Tasmania the Wonderland', were both projections and reflections of contemporary mentalities and identities, and are therefore revelatory of social identity in the host community over time.

This chapter contends that tourism images possess significant potential as historical sources for historians exploring the connection between tourism and identity because of the inherent meaning that they contain. It purports to show that the concept of tourism image, largely overlooked as an approach to tourism history in mainstream tourism historiography, offers considerable potential for contributing insights into how tourism develops in specific host communities. To explicate this argument, the chapter will discuss how tourism images can be understood as social transcripts. It will then discuss the usefulness of the concept of tourism image as both an analytical tool and an approach to tourism history. Last, by illustrating how the concept of tourism image yielded insights into the development of tourism and contemporary notions of society, culture and identity in Tasmania, Australia's smallest island state, it will demonstrate how historians might use this tool as an approach to tourism history in other tourism destinations. First, however, it is instructive to discuss some definitions.

Tourism Images as Social Transcripts – Keys to Identity

Epiphany of the usefulness of the concept of tourism image lies in the contention that, from both a sociological and historical perspective, tourism images can be understood as social transcripts. Social transcripts can be understood as discrete repositories of ideas that move through time, acting both as absorbers and as purveyors of contemporary ideas, ideologies and mentalities that develop both consciously and subconsciously within the collective community (Walker, 2008: 25–26). Essentially they are vehicles of public memory embedded with their own narrative and depth of meaning. Although social transcripts manifest in a myriad of ways, they are particularly revealing when discerned through tourism promotional material. When tourism images are understood as social transcripts and treated with historical methodology and techniques, they reveal rich repositories of source material for historians to explore the connection between society, culture and identity and tourism development.

It is important to emphasize that the central underlying premise of this argument lies in the notion that the quest to attract tourists in any host community is inextricably linked to internal notions of identity. This is because the very act of consciously developing and fostering tourism in any host community demands from that society some articulation of how they 'see' themselves (Walker, 2008: 17–18). When host communities become cognizant of the potential of tourism, this articulation begins to be expressed in community conversations through a variety of different mediums. For the historian, this process produces rich caches of source material with which to interpret change over time and the evolving relationship between host community notions of identity and nascent tourism development.

In Tasmania, for example, where image development played a complex sociological role owing to the island's unique and remarkable beginnings, source material revealing of the connection between identity and tourism development is particularly abundant. Government documents, private papers, published reports, newspapers and magazine articles all reveal enlightening insights when interpreted through the prism of the concept of tourism image. This chapter contends that this approach to tourism history might also be fruitful in obtaining insights into the connection between tourism, society and identity in other tourism destinations (Walker, 2008).

The Concept of 'Tourism Image' as an Approach to Tourism History

For historians the usefulness of the concept of tourism image as an approach to tourism history lies in its potential for ameliorating the difficulty of attempting to write about tourism holistically, while simultaneously adhering to the traditional historical conventions of narrative, description and analysis. Three problems have undoubtedly deterred many general historians from writing about tourism holistically in the past, contributing to what Page described in 2006 as an 'imbalance in Tourism Studies away from historiography' (Page, 2006: 1074).

The first problem for any historian foraying into tourism history is the difficulty of defining tourism and making sense of its parts. Without a clear understanding of tourism, as a field of enquiry, the application of historical techniques, methodology and analysis is challenging. A definition is required to underpin the work so that parameters are clearly defined and contained. Local Tasmanian historian, Peter Boyer, pointed to this problem over a decade ago when reviewing a book published on Tasmanian 'convict tourism' history. He commented:

> There's a funny thing about this business called tourism, the more you look at it, the less tangible it becomes. Unlike other industries, it doesn't have a clear product, like building ships or manufacturing paper or making a subdivision, or even managing conferences. If you ask anyone involved in its component parts – running a travel agency or a motel or a ship or selling souvenirs, that sort of thing – what they do for a living, they are more likely to tell you that they're a travel agent or they run a motel or a ship or sell souvenirs than that they are 'in tourism'.
> (Boyer, 1997: 37)

Boyer questioned why so little work had been done on Tasmanian tourism history when 'tourism is the island's major employer and revenue-earner, as its department has long been so keen to remind us' (Boyer, 1997: 37). He reflected that 'the study of the history of tourism remains a neglected infant . . . as if historians, too, have been unable to take it seriously, or to grasp its many parts and make sense of them' (Boyer, 1997: 37).

Although tourism history can no longer be said to be a neglected infant – with the publication of numerous books and articles over the past decade as well as the establishment of an International Commission for the History of Travel and Tourism – Boyer's comments still stand with regard to the perennial problem of defining tourism. For the historian, grasping tourism's many parts and making sense of them are essential. The historical conventions of narrative, description and analysis demand a clear working definition.

Although the matter of defining tourism will always, to some extent, be discipline-focused, a general consensus appears to have been reached among social scientists from different disciplines in recent years that, although tourism is indeed complex, it is also a phenomenon that can accurately be defined as a 'system'. This means that it operates as a 'group of interrelated, interdependent and interacting elements that together form a single functional structure' (Weaver and Oppermann, 2000: 458). This definition offers considerable potential for use by tourism historians.

In 1979, New Zealand geographer Neil Leiper described tourism as a system comprising five interdependent core elements, consisting of a dynamic human element (tourists), three geographical elements and an economic/commercial element (a tourist industry) (Leiper, 1979: 390). The three geographical elements incorporated the tourist-generating region, i.e. where the tourists come from; the tourist transit region, i.e. where they stop off on the way to and from their destination; and the tourist destination region, i.e. the host community. The economic element incorporated the various industries that contribute to the tourism system, such as transport, accommodation and hospitality, and the dynamic human element comprised the 'tourist'. Each of these components interacts with the physical, social, cultural, technological and political environments to produce what is essentially 'the tourism system'. While Leiper's definition was, and still is, in many ways complex, what it makes immediately clear is that virtually everyone is implicated in the tourism system, as a tourism stakeholder, a member of a host community or simply as a tourist themselves.

This revelation has obvious advantages of inclusion for the historian but also raises the second problem that challenges tourism historians: how to manage the almost infinite number of sources that are available for interpretation, especially when viewing tourism as a system. As Australian tourism historians Jim Davidson and Peter Spearritt pointed out in their work on Australian travel and tourism history, the sources for tourism history 'are to be found at all levels of government and in the records of transport operators, accommodation providers and small businesses – from kiosk proprietors to commercial sanctuaries' (Davidson and Spearritt, 2000: 379). Historians wanting to benefit from the advantages of writing tourism from the point of view of a 'system' must address the perennial historical challenge of selecting which sources to consult in order to

portray an accurate picture of the past. Defining tourism as a system has potentially enormous advantages for the historical project because it enables the historian to incorporate a broad range of people and institutions into the research. However, it also raises the problem of finding a suitable approach that is capable of both organizing the almost infinite number of sources available when viewing tourism as a system while simultaneously limiting them.

This then leads to the third problem historians must address in writing tourism history: the problem of approach. For tourism historians wanting to write tourism history chronologically, in order to incorporate a holistic narrative, a comprehensive approach sophisticated enough to contain the narrative must be found. This approach must also be able to cope with the myriad sources that are available for interpretation. What, then, is an approach to tourism history that qualifies?

This chapter argues that the concept of tourism image, as an approach to tourism history, has the potential to ameliorate all of these problems. Not only does it allow the potential for uncovering holistic evolutionary aspects of tourism but, because tourism images can be understood as social transcripts, such an approach also offers the potential for considerable textual depth. This is because of the 'reach' of the concept of 'image' within the tourism system and because of the way tourism images intersect with the entire tourism system. Put simply, 'the host community develops the image, the tourist origin region sells the image, the tourist transit region benefits from the image, the travel industry exploits the image and the tourist buys the image' (Walker, 2008: 27).

By telling the story of tourism development and promotion using the concept of image, it is possible for the historian to penetrate contemporary mentalities and identities not always available using other approaches and still be able to employ the traditional historical techniques of narrative, description and analysis while accessing and incorporating a broad range of sources. Moreover, by allowing for chronological narrative in tourism history, the concept of tourism image also provides textual depth by incorporating psychological motivation for the development of tourism on the part of the host community.

Tourism Images and the Connection between Tourism and Identity

Central to this analysis is the idea that the connection between tourism and identity can be discovered through exploring the connection between the image that a country presents of itself and the reality of the place as it is. On an abstract level this might be described as the difference between truth and reality. The paradox with tourism, however, is that, while truth and reality are abstract concepts, tourism as a system is not. Yet the paradox persists because, although tourism is underpinned above all by consideration of commercial imperatives, there is a psychological dimension to tourism, without which it would not exist. This is why the concept of 'image' is so important in the travel industry and in the wider arena of tourism itself – a point worthy of further discussion.

The first point to make about the concept of image in relation to tourism is that it is, in fact, the concept of image that differentiates tourism from the travel industry. Put simply, the travel industry works with or without images, since people travel for a variety of different reasons that have absolutely nothing to do with the image of their destination. Tourism, as a phenomenon, on the other hand, is intricately bound up with the concept of image. As William Gartner pointed out:

> Since tourism products are an amorphous mass of experiences, produced and consumed simultaneously, with no opportunity to sample the product prior to purchase, the images someone holds act as a surrogate for product valuation.
>
> (Gartner, 1996: 456)

Gartner's point encapsulates the central point about image in relation to tourism. When holiday clients approach a travel agent, visit the Internet or approach any other distribution point to either discuss or book a holiday, they are not actually discussing or buying a product that they can taste, smell, touch or carry away with them. What they are buying is an 'idea' in their head. The distribution point of the travel product acts as a conduit to this idea, just as other tourism promotional material does. The image, therefore, has enormous power in influencing the destination choice of potential tourists. Although

Gartner may have suggested this at the end of the 20th century, the underlying premise still holds true for tourism in the 19th century or, for that matter, any time prior. Only the mediums of information have changed.

The concept of 'image', however, is itself complex. Scholars and writers talk about it in different ways. In this analysis, when I talk about the concept of image I talk about it not just in a one-dimensional sense as, for example, a photograph of a palm tree fringing a white sandy beach, although this comes into it. I invoke it at a much deeper level. I subscribe to the meaning of image that influential 20th-century economist Professor Kenneth Boulding articulated in his seminal book *The Image*, published in 1956. In this sense, image is understood not only on a one-dimensional level but also as a concept in the sense of a social transcript. 'The image', says Boulding, 'is built up as a result of all past experience of the possessor of the image. Part of the image is the history of the image itself' (Boulding, 1956: 6). This elucidates why the *Hobart Town Advertiser*, in the quote at the beginning of this chapter, was at pains to point out the difficulty of 'removing impressions'. Impressions have a history. They are invested with ideas that inform the image. Boulding further makes the point by suggesting:

> The mind of man is a vast storehouse of forgotten memories and experiences. It is much more than a storehouse, however. It is a genuine image affecting our conduct and behaviour in ways that we do not understand with our conscious mind.
>
> (Boulding, 1956: 53)

The essential part about this meaning of image is that it is not static but dynamic. It is, in fact, a transcript passed down from one generation to another.

Boulding explains that 'in primitive, nonliterate societies the transcript takes the form of verbal rituals, legends, poems, ceremonials, and the like, the transmission of which from generation to generation is always one of the principal activities of the group' (Boulding, 1956: 65). In modern, technological societies, however, the transcript is more sophisticated, involving the camera, the tape recorder and the computer. Nevertheless, despite the advantage of technology in purveying the transcript, 'we are still, however, unable to record touch, taste and smell. We have no direct means of transcribing sensations, emotions or feelings except through the crowded channels of symbolic representation' (Boulding, 1956: 65).

In this chapter the meaning of image is understood in the context that Professor Kenneth Boulding articulated. It is understood as a social representation of unconscious desires and understandings: 'The basic bond of any society, culture, subculture or organisation is a "public image", that is, an image the essential characteristics of which are shared by the individuals participating in the group' (Boulding, 1956: 64). When we talk about the concept of 'image' as a social transcript, then, we can see that the concept of image is not as simple as it seems. Images are always informed by and invested with ideas that themselves are the product of memories, myths and mores. This conceptualization of 'image' has considerable ramifications for the history of tourism when using the concept of image as an approach to tourism history.

In 1972, landscape architect Clare A. Gunn conceptually pioneered a considerable amount of literature on the tourism image formation process relevant to this chapter. Gunn theorized that the image formation process could be divided into two essential levels: induced or organic (Gunn, 1972). In his view, organic images emanated from sources not directly associated with any development organization. They could be formed from news reports, films, newspaper articles and other unbiased sources of information. On the other hand, induced images could be formed through the marketing or promotional efforts of a destination area or business.

Gunn's conceptual ideas on the image formation process can be appropriated to illuminate tourism history. For the purposes of this discussion we will substitute the terms holistic image for organic image and tourism image for induced image. When we talk about a holistic image of a place, we are talking about an image that can form in people's minds regardless of tourism advertising. Such images develop from a wide variety of sources, such as news accounts, export advertising and word of mouth. They also derive and evolve from historical ideas, myths, memories or any number of preconceived imaginings. The resulting image or images may be either positive or negative, since

by definition a holistic image incorporates all aspects of a place, both good and bad.

Tourism images, on the other hand, are invariably positive and can therefore present a very different image of a place from that which might be described as truth. Gartner, invoking Gunn, explains that 'the underlying difference between an induced image and an organic image is the control that people in the destination area have over how the image is presented' (Gartner, 1996: 461). It is this issue of control that makes using the concept of tourism image in tourism history exciting. The concept of image reveals myriad motivations for why host communities have represented themselves in the way they have. Clearly, the gap between a tourism destination's holistic image and tourism image provides clues to notions of identity in the host community as well as how and why tourism in that destination has evolved. Research undertaken on the evolution of Tasmania's tourism image testifies to this hypothesis.

Insights into Culture, Identity and Tourism in Tasmania

It took the Tasmanian host community three generations from settlement to really become conscious of the difference between an organic image and an induced image and the social and economic possibilities of the latter. By the 1870s, when Tasmanians took the initiative to articulate Tasmania's tourism image from within the colony by producing the first tourist guidebook (Meredith, 1871), the colonists began to comprehend that tourism images could be employed to manipulate perceptions of their identity held by outsiders. Previously, despite the best efforts of various individuals and groups – most particularly immigration agents – who sought to portray Tasmania in the light in which the colonists wanted to be seen, the island's dark, holistic image continued to shadow Tasmanians. Consistent with modern theory concerning the difficulty of removing 'stigmas' (Goffman, 1963; Link and Phelan, 2001), the image was corroborated by early witnesses and travelling observers to such an extent that it assumed mythical proportions. Numerous examples in the primary sources illustrate this.

For example, when Methodist missionary the Reverend Benjamin Carvosso visited the island in 1820, he wrote an account of Van Diemen's Land which the editor of the Missionary Notices of the Foreign Mission declared could only be read 'with interest and commiseration by all those whose hearts are overflowing with love to God and his creatures' (Missionary Notices, 1821: 51). Carvosso reported, 'If ever there was a people carried captive and "lying in the bond of iniquity", surely we may affirm it of most of the colonists of the island' (Missionary Notices, 1821: 51). Although 'the island has several very excellent harbours' and many inland districts 'contain the richest soil imaginable' and 'every comfort of life may soon be obtained from the island in the greatest abundance', within the religious state of the colonists there existed 'a state of ignorance, misery and sin' (Missionary Notices, 1821: 51).

Another Methodist missionary, the Reverend William Horton, who visited Van Diemen's Land the following year, corroborated Carvosso's comments. Despite having heard prior reports of the moral and religious state of the colony, Horton was frequently grieved at the depravity and profaneness he witnessed daily:

> Adultery and drunkenness, backbiting and blasphemy, are sins, which prevail to an awful extent amongst rich and poor, male and female, bond and free. With these are inseparably connected idleness, dishonesty, malice, quarrelling [and] misery. Almost every tongue has learned to swear, and, among the lower classes, every hand to steal.
>
> (Missionary Notices, 1822: 313)

Horton concluded that 'Satan enjoyed over the hearts of the people in general, an undisturbed reign' (Missionary Notices, 1822: 313).

The views of Carvosso and Horton were by no means isolated accounts. Throughout the first part of the 19th century, in every imaginable medium, many other observers related similar observations. Hence, against a background of such rhetoric, it is not difficult to understand why 19th-century Tasmanians experienced a natural desire to improve their image on the world stage.

This chapter argues that Tasmania's holistic image, expressed by outsiders as 'The Dunghill of England' and understood locally as 'the

hated stain of convictism' (Reynolds, 1969; Walker, 2008), was so negative in the early years of settlement that the colonists felt compelled to pursue various avenues to eliminate it from their lives. One such avenue found the colonists seeking to solve their image problem by identifying with four positive themes that provided a stark contrast to the connotations attached to the island's image as 'The Dunghill of England'. These positive themes centred on ideas inherent in the concepts of Englishness, nature, fertility and climate. Within these themes were contained ideas about natural theology, the divinity of nature, the sublime and the beautiful, the picturesque, the impact of climate on health, the hope for a better life, and especially the desire for recognition and respect within the world community. Such ideas intersected not only with the ideas and sensibilities that the settlers brought with them to the island but also with their reactions to the Tasmanians' landscape. Hence, through identification with the associations and comparisons so readily made with England, the grand and picturesque scenery, the island's rich fertility and the salubrious climate, a distinctive homeland tradition developed that both reflected and expressed a developing Tasmanian identity.

The championing of the ideas and themes within this homeland tradition was undoubtedly a reaction to the holistic image of Tasmania with which the settlers had to contend. Arguably, identification with this homeland tradition represented a form of resistance expressed both consciously and subconsciously within the Tasmanian community. Whereas the island's negative holistic image included myths about the nature of penal colonies, the activities of various infamous bushrangers and the controversial interaction between the settlers and the Tasmanian aborigines, this homeland tradition contained contrasting ideas accentuating respectability, goodness and the 'divine'. All of these ideas were obviously much more saleable ideas to present to the world at large. Given the level of investment in this homeland tradition, its subsequent transmission down the generations is not surprising. Neither, therefore, is its appearance in later tourism promotional material.

When the benefits of tourism began to be understood by the Tasmanian host community, the island's middle class bourgeoisie civic elite comprehended that tourism images had the potential to ameliorate Tasmania's traditional holistic image on the world stage. In 1893, when the colony's Premier, Henry Dobson, inaugurated the Tasmanian Tourist Association, the first institutional body to foster tourism on the island, the transcripts inherent in Tasmania's homeland tradition soon became evident in tourism promotional material as Tasmanians used them to project their preferred identity to the world (Walker, 2008). Subsequently, by appropriating and projecting ideas inherent in their homeland tradition, Tasmanians effected a transition from their image as 'The Dunghill of England' in the first 50 years of settlement to the image of 'The Jewel of the Commonwealth' by the eve of World War II. Through this process, Tasmanians vindicated themselves of their original holistic, painful self-image, with its legacy of psychic shame, and came to terms with their past, their future and their identity.

The Concept of 'Tourism Image' in Tasmanian Tourism History

To demonstrate how tourism images can fruitfully explore the connection between tourism and identity, it is instructive, then, to examine in closer detail the evolution of Tasmania's tourism image. Although all Tasmanian tourism images chronologically overlap, they each possess their own narrative and depth of meaning, depending on which contemporary ideas they emphasize. It is salutary to note that refracted versions of these images are still being projected in Tasmanian tourism in the present day.

The evolution of tourism in Tasmania until World War II can be identified in three stages. These three stages roughly follow important political and technological events in Tasmania. They can be described in terms of 'Memories, Dreams and Inventions', a play on Carl Jung's autobiographical memoir (Jung, 1995), which pays homage to his idea of the collective unconscious and inner desires, which provide the motive for identity building in all host communities (Walker, 2008).

The first stage, 'Memories', represents the period from settlement to the 1860s, when the demise of transportation and the advent of

self-government saw Tasmanians anxious to attract the 'right' kind of settlers by promoting the four prominent themes with which they had begun to identify. These themes – Englishness, nature, fertility and climate – contained inherent social transcripts, which formed the basis of Tasmania's peculiar homeland tradition. Within these themes were embedded the social transcripts expressed and projected in what today we would call 'logos' or 'slogans' but which then were understood in terms of 'epithets' such as 'This other England', 'Gem of the Southern Seas', 'The Garden of the South', 'The Sanatorium of India' and 'The Sanatorium of the South'.

It is argued that the images projected through these labels became so entrenched in the Tasmanian psyche that they provided Tasmanians with a significant 'sense of place' (Walker, 2008). Such labels permeated emigrant guidebooks, colonial handbooks, newspaper articles and private correspondence to such an extent that, by 1868, when publisher Frederick Algar published his colonial handbook on Tasmania, he advertised this tradition to the world:

> Tasmania – truly called the 'Granary of the Australias', the 'Garden of the South', the 'Sanatarium of India' – with a climate whose summer equals that of London – whose winter is not more severe than the south of France – whose Autumn possesses two months more growing weather than England – with an equal fall of rain throughout the year – a freedom from malaria – a bright and clear atmosphere – and the English aspect of its towns and villages and cultivation – offers great advantage to persons seeking health after a residence in warm climates, and to families wishing to avoid the burning heat, danger and discomfort of summer in the neighbouring gold-producing country of Victoria, from which is distant only twenty-four hours steaming.
>
> (Algar, 1868: 4)

When the railway age began in Tasmania, new developments in the travel industry heralded a second stage in the evolution of Tasmania's tourism image. This stage can appropriately be called 'Dreams'. From 1870 to federation, Tasmanians appropriated images from around the world as the travel industry, fuelled by new modes of transport and communication technology, seemed to offer tourism as a new means of Tasmania's economic salvation. For the bourgeois middle class in particular, tourism came to be understood as both an 'economic' and a 'psychological' saviour. As the importance of fostering the tourist traffic seeped into a Tasmanian consciousness, Tasmanians sought ways to express their identity, already deeply grounded in the scenery, soil and climate, into a context that was both acceptable to themselves and recognizable by the world.

During this period, Tasmanians experimented with such labels as 'The Italy of the Southern Hemisphere', 'The Ceylon of Australia', 'Switzerland of the South' and 'The Playground of Australia'. Such labels betrayed ideas of economically buoyant host communities richly benefiting from the fruits of tourism success. While Tasmania did not have a monopoly on these images, for many Tasmanians they held a peculiar resonance as they distanced themselves from their past and dreamed about what was possible in the future.

In 1871 artist and writer Louisa Anne Meredith edited *Walch's Tasmanian Guide Book*, the first tourism guidebook emanating from the colony. Meredith quoted acclaimed travel writer John Martineau to invoke Tasmania's homeland tradition. On a visit to the island in 1867 Martineau had declared that Tasmania was so fertile that it was, indeed, the 'Capua of the Australias':

> Snow scarcely falls except to ornament the summits of Mount Wellington and the distant ranges of the uninhabited and almost unexplored west coast. The frosts are seldom fatal even to the tenderest plant. . . . English trees, flowers and fruits, flourish with a rare luxuriance, side by side with pines from Norfolk Island and New Zealand. Geraniums blaze out in huge pink and scarlet masses, growing in almost wild profusion. . . . Fruit follows fruit so fast under the early summer sun that apples ripen almost before strawberries are over. It is in such profusion that it lies rotting on the ground for want of mouths to eat it.
>
> (Martineau, 1869: 68; Meredith, 1871: 8)

Such images were completely in harmony with the aspirational desires of both the socially conscious Tasmanian middle class, of which Meredith was a member, and the fledgling Tasmanian tourism lobby.

The third stage of the evolution of Tasmania's tourism image spans the period from

federation until the eve of World War II, when Tasmanians finally began to work earnestly to close the gap between their holistic image and their tourism image. This period can justly be called 'Inventions', when Tasmanians, cognizant of rapidly increasing technology and communications around the world, sought ways to enhance their existing tourism image and identity. Despite their obsession with 'progress', however, this period saw tourism labels emerge such as the 'Anglers' Paradise', 'Tasmania the Appleland', 'Tasmania the Wonderland', 'The Paradise of the South' and, finally, 'The Jewel of the Commonwealth', which were all refractions of Tasmania's homeland tradition.

From the 1920s to World War II a peculiar kind of Tasmanian exceptionalism emerged, as Tasmanians sought to prove to the world their worth as moral and worldly citizens. When John Watt Beattie, Tasmania's official government photographer, gave a lecture to the premiers of Australia at the Town Hall, Hobart in February 1905, he declared:

> In the brief space of time allotted to me for this evening's performance I shall endeavour to vindicate as far as I can, the assertive title of my subject – 'Tasmania the Playground of Australia'. I have made use of that title because of my honest conviction of its accuracy and my enthusiasm in the furtherance of the interests of what to me is the 'fairest place on God's earth'.
>
> (Beattie, 1905)

By 1937 newspaper proprietor Critchley Parker, describing Tasmania in his government-sponsored guidebook, went further:

> Undoubtedly it [Tasmania] is a tourist's paradise. To those with 'seeing eye, the hearing ear, and the understanding heart' lovely pictures are presented of delightful beauty spots where hills glow and the lambent sea whispers, and 'the full world rolls in a rhythm of praise'. All that is typical in sight, sound and scent may be seen in this favoured State, whence one is impressed also by the feeling of limitless beyonds of sea and land, and the sense of man's inseparable union in the whole. . . . Infinite longings stir the heart for Tasmania is an altar of ecstasy.
>
> (Parker, 1937: 36)

These longings came about, according to Parker, because:

> The first men and women who bravely and yet altogether unconsciously participated in the making of Tasmania were those hardy, peerless pioneers who, leaving their fine and often cultured English homes, valiantly faced the discomforts and dangers of long voyages in small ships to give their offspring wider scope and a better chance to become useful citizens.
>
> (Parker, 1937: 42–43)

For Parker, 'Thus has Tasmania come into her own, befitting a queen properly understood and appreciated' (Parker, 1937: 43). With this last image, Tasmanians finally relinquished their psychosocial position of 'shame' as 'The Dunghill of England' and celebrated their honour as the 'The Jewel of the Commonwealth'.

Conclusion

This chapter has argued that by employing the concept of tourism image to write tourism history important insights in society, culture and identity can be discerned. This chapter suggests that, as has been the case in Tasmania, using the concept of tourism image can uncover social and cultural complexities as well as notions of identity and its relationship to tourism not always detected in more traditional approaches to tourism history.

In 1988 historical geographer John Towner articulated some methodological issues in the field of tourism history that touched on 'the form and nature of the source material . . . as well as a variety of approaches' (Towner, 1988: 47). Towner concluded that 'closer links' needed to 'be forged between scholars in history and the social sciences when examining the history of tourism'. He thought that 'a greater awareness of approaches in the two fields would have beneficial results. The quality of research within tourism history would be greatly enhanced, and an essential temporal dimension would be added to the whole field of tourism' (Towner, 1988: 57).

Since Towner's article, tourism history has, as discussed earlier, become more prevalent, but as Page articulated in his review on the contribution of recent historical work in tourism research 'what is clear is that there has been a limited involvement of tourism academics in

historical analysis' (Page, 2006: 1075). This chapter has intimated that one reason for this is because, as Page articulated, 'the evolution of tourism, its rapidity of change and continuities in specific processes of development exhibit considerable complexities' (Page, 2006: 1074). In other words for tourism academics tourism history is challenging to write.

Clearly, tourism history is difficult to write from a holistic perspective for social scientists without a grasp of the conventions of history as a discipline, but it is probably even harder to write for historians who do not have a clear understanding of social scientific concepts of tourism. This chapter has argued that models and frameworks borrowed from the social sciences, such as 'tourism as a system', can aid the historian in writing tourism history. However, historians still need to adopt conceptual tools that will allow for tourism history to be written holistically and with greater textual depth. This chapter has argued that the concept of tourism image offers one such conceptual tool. Perhaps if used more widely, as an approach to tourism history, it could encourage historians to redress the imbalance in tourism studies away from social scientific perspectives to a greater emphasis on temporal concerns, with all the added dimensions and illumination this offers.

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12 The Construction of Destinations – Symbolic Meanings for Destinations and Visitors

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Introduction

Michel van Erp's 2006 documentary 'Nederland Pretpark' (The Netherlands as an amusement park) gives some idea of what Dutch people do in their spare time and of the lengths that cities will go to in order to bind visitors to them. A host of events and festivals take place all over the Netherlands and probably elsewhere: from Christmas markets to artificial beaches, from skating rinks around churches to culinary weeks, and from gay parades to welcoming *Sinterklaas*. In their leisure time, people frequently make a point of visiting a particular destination. The amount of free time that we have has fallen over the past 30 years (SCP, 2006), which means that leisure time is becoming increasingly valuable. People are prepared to pay a high price for a scarce commodity like leisure in the form of quality time. On average, a quarter of the household budget is spent on leisure (SCP, 2004). At the same time, people's willingness to pay a high price means that they place higher demands on just how they will spend that time (Ennen, 2006). Increasingly, people derive consequence and meaning from the way in which they spend their free time. As such, leisure has become a scarcity and luxury.

Our society was long dominated by production, but during the last couple of decades gradually the consumption society has arisen. Although consumers spend a considerable amount on luxury products, the acquisition of such goods satisfies consumer desires less and less. Increasingly, consumers are concerned with deriving an identity when buying goods and services. In addition to traditional products, they are looking for more subtle products with which to demonstrate who they wish to be. After all, traditional luxury goods are now within reach of ever-larger groups. In contemporary, western-oriented society, there is an increasingly marked tendency for the term 'luxury' – long the preserve of a small elite group – to acquire other connotations. Luxury no longer means owning the most expensive items possible; it refers instead to things that cannot be expressed in terms of money, such as having enough time to spend with family or good friends (Ennen, 2006). Just how you spend your free time is much more at issue than the price paid for the experience. And it is through leisure activity, more than through work and career, that people distinguish themselves from one another.

For cities too, it is useful to distinguish themselves more clearly from each other. Increasing globalization has led everywhere to inner-city reprofiling and 'eventization'. In their struggle for investment and economic vitality, cities are obliged to compete in order to place themselves on the map. So as to distinguish themselves from their competitors, cities must therefore market their identity in order to lure and hold on to today's highly mobile consumers

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and capital. Cities are seeking to create and promote 'a sense of place', often by making use of specific attributes, whether this be a historical event, a national monument or important buildings, geographic location or a particular landscape (see also Lowenthal, 1985; Walsh, 1992; Larkham, 1996).

But do visitor destinations have strong roots in the city? Is a sense of place dependent on the particular local resources or can cities just choose an identity and construct visitor destinations within that context? This chapter attempts to scrutinize the extent to which visitor destinations are contextualized for sustained success. In terms of the commodification process, three visitor destinations are then analysed in order to answer the following questions: What resources are these commodifications based on? How are these resources interpreted? Who are the interested parties and target groups? And what constitutes the binding power of destinations? The chapter is structured as follows. Section two looks at the different roles of events and festivals for cities. The third section explains the commodification process, paying particular attention to the 'embeddedness' of visitor destinations. Section four discusses three examples of destinations that can be called commodification products – namely, city beaches, skating rinks and Easter and Christmas markets. The final section draws conclusions about the meaning of these commodification products for cities and for visitors.

Urban Spaces as Visitor Destinations

In recent decades, cities have increasingly become places of consumption. These days, every city has a centre with a similar assortment of shops, a mega-cinema, conference centre, museum and theatre. Judd and Fainstein (1999) have referred to these as 'a mayor's trophy collection'. Many, but not all, of these facilities are located in the city centre, thereby setting their stamp not only on the use value of the inner city but also on external phenomena. Big-name city builders and architects are called in to design buildings, streets and squares that will give the city centre its own identity. Because of the immense importance attached to atmosphere, town centres change into 'dreamscapes of visual consumption' (Zukin, 1991: 21). Recently, there has been a call for greater attention to the leisure industry's power to determine identity in the context of urban design (VROM Raad, 2006). Small towns and rural areas are profiting disproportionately from the quest of those providing consumer facilities, among other things because of the lack of good inner-city locations elsewhere (Selby, 2004). This partly explains the trend towards homogenization in what cities offer as visitor destinations. Despite the high investment costs (including social investment), shopping centres, theatres and mega-cinemas are built and inserted into the cityscape, even though established planning indicators and realistic expectations about visitor numbers suggest that they may not be profitable. The spread of this centre-building process and its products has contributed to increasing convergence of the functionality and appearance, and therefore the visitor's experience, of city centres.

In addition to the physical facilities for recreation created in urban spaces, there are a multitude of events, spectacles, concerts, festivals and special markets that attract visitors. Although perhaps less physically implemented in the urban space, such visitor destinations are no less important for urban identity. They profile a city and constitute an important meeting place for both locals and outsiders. Besides commercial visitor destinations, non-commercial visitor destinations, such as free accessible events, spectacles, festivals and special markets, distinguish themselves in various ways from the 'mayor's trophies' referred to above. First, they have a different dimension in terms of time and space. They are of short duration, lasting from several hours to several days. There is often a fixed cycle, sometimes weekly (e.g. markets), sometimes by season (e.g. fairs), but usually annually (e.g. funfairs). As a result, they occupy public space only temporarily and, although frequently held in the city centre, they are separate from the physical layout of the city. Secondly, these visitor destinations demand different physical and financial investments. The physical investments mainly concern provisional adjustments, applied in the public space, such as podiums and stands, music facilities, crush barriers and safeguards. The required events permit clearly defines the exact location or area. Financial support is spent on the marketing of the event. The investments

are usually borne by the combined interested parties, such as the council and local businesses, and they can mount up. Thirdly, the owner of the visitor destination is not immediately obvious. It is often a public–private cooperative venture that decides both the target groups and the aims of the destination. Smaller places also have a specific comparative advantage when it comes to organizing events: they are smaller in scale, the destination is more accessible, and there are fewer competing interests to be served. Finally, perhaps more than the hardware trophies, the temporary events usually aim to attract local residents for visitors. Although the spin-off often exceeds the local and adds to profiling the city to the outside world, they have, in any case, a profound local meaning and character. The literature places a strong emphasis on the economic importance of the different forms of ‘urban entrepreneurial display’ (Quinn, 2005). While there is no doubt that the investment power and visitor appeal of the destinations on offer are important for cities and places, their social, cultural and symbolic interests should not be underestimated. In particular, visitor destinations, as temporary, small-scale and low-capital-requiring events, can work to have a unifying effect for the municipality, business and the local population, and for the locals themselves. Events provide an opportunity for cities to present, promote and strengthen their identity. But, for local residents and businesses as well, events can be an instrument for displaying themselves, for exhibiting and promoting their current activities. Events also offer citizens an opportunity to take part in local activities. It is by no means always municipal bodies that initiate or organize such events, but rather local groups or businesses that take the lead. In this way, visitor destinations can be seen as the bearers of the social and cultural capital of a place.

The Construction of Destinations

Visitor destinations can range from historic city centres, theme parks and sporting events to shopping centres, health-care boulevards (*zorgboulevards*) and railway station localities. Visitor destinations, however, do not simply evolve but are constructed. The construction of visitor destinations is a means for cities to distinguish themselves and to attract visitors and capital to their territories. Regardless of type, all visitor destinations must possess certain additional elements to safeguard the performance, to regulate the visitor streams and to sustain the pull for a longer period of time. Besides being educational, provocative and inspiring, arousing curiosity and having an emotional impact on visitors, they should be customer-oriented (Schouten, 2003). Ennen (2007) has added the element of safety. While attracting many visitors simultaneously, destinations develop management strategies to regulate visitor flows. Only with these qualities can destinations develop into places that attract, and continue to attract, visitors.

Visitor destinations have in common the provision of a tourist experience. Urry (2002) understands the tourist experience as a result of the distinction between the usual and unusual: the ordinary part connects the visitor to the destination as it familiarizes and is in keeping with people’s common ground, whereas the extraordinary offers the unexpected and unknown occurrence that catches the fancy of people for a new experience. Urry delineates six ways that constitute the joining of the ordinary and extraordinary: a unique object (the Empire State Building; Big Ben); typical signs exemplifying a certain section (American skyscrapers); unfamiliar aspects of the familiar exposing ‘realistic’ settings of the past (the open-air museum in Enkhuizen, the Netherlands); ordinary life in unusual contexts (the Anne Frank home, Amsterdam); apparently ordinary signs that intrinsically signify the extraordinary (exposed ordinary attributes of a famous person); and, finally, and most interesting for our study, familiar activities in an unusual physical environment. An example is a mountain climber on a skyscraper. As climbing is usually positioned in natural mountain areas and accomplished in solitude, climbing on and amidst skycrapers draws many spectators to the urban district. This type of tourist experience uses connotations from another context to strengthen the extraordinary of the visitor destination.

The commodification process plays a key role in the construction of destinations. Commodification is usually referred to as the process in which something with a primarily social

significance in the past is now presented above all in economic terms. Commodities that were formerly consumed free of charge now come with a price tag, for example the use of natural parks. Natural parks are collective goods that used to be free of admission but now charge fees more often than not. Pine and Gilmore (2000) refer to a commodity as a basic need people have, and that increasingly has been provided by something that has added a certain value to the till then common, thus previous, way of need fulfilment. An example is the commodity of shelter. In the first half of the 20th century the question mainly was whether or not people found shelter; the quantity of the commodity was most important. Since the 1960s it was no longer only a matter of a roof above one's head, but also some additional housing qualities have become important, such as a caretaker or the neighbourhood quality. More recently, habituation is increasingly perceived as something that provides an experience. Besides the functionality of the house and the services that come along, dwellings have become part of people's identity. The outlook and connotations of one's house now provide the dweller a symbolic value. In similar terms, leisure is a commodity; more than merely the availability of leisure, it is what people accomplish in their leisure time and how it meets the requirements for symbolic value.

Ashworth and Tunbridge (1990) describe the commodification process as one in which a resource is transformed into a marketable product. They see landscapes, symbols, pasts and stories as resources for commodification. In developing an attractive product, a clear selection is made from the whole range of the available resources in order to create visitor destinations (see Fig. 12.1). By selecting a resource to commodify it as a visitor destination, this resource is in effect being interpreted, i.e. certain meanings ascribed to the resource and connotations associated with it are being valued, cherished and chosen above others to have it transformed into an appealing and marketable product. Construction of a destination, then, is more about the selection of resources and how the selected is interpreted than about present original artefacts. 'The deliberate actions of protection, maintenance, repair, restoration and reconstruction all involve choice as to what is to be treated, as well as in what quantity and where' (Ashworth and Tunbridge, 1990: 24). Thus, during the selection stage, competition and conflict regarding the quality and precise substance of the resources are at stake. So what eventually is produced as a visitor destination can be explained by selection due to political will and financial resources to conserve rather than the intrinsic importance of the artefacts themselves. For instance, out of a rich history, an old town has a large variety of resources (periods of time) to select from, finding the right connotations and creating the appealing and marketable product.

More than the transformation of other resources or the interpretation of the resource into other products, the expectations of the particular transformation of this chosen resource into something appealing and marketable are high. Ashworth and Tunbridge (1990) have framed this process within the perspective of heritage. Usually, a pure and accurate relationship with the local or regional setting is aspired to, to ensure the successful, enduring continuity of such visitor destinations. An example is Stratford-upon-Avon, UK, Shakespeare's hometown. Throughout the city, many remnants that commemorate Shakespeare's life and work are conserved and visitable. Stratford has almost become synonymous with its famous writer-inhabitant. Similarly, Amsterdam, the Netherlands, relies heavily on the relics of its glory and wealth, largely attained during the 17th century. Detachment from original resources is assumed to cause problems in interpreting the resources properly and clearly and to create only temporarily successful visitor destinations.

A comparison with the residential sector, however, shows that products created through the commodification process may become

Fig. 12.1. The commodification process (adapted from Ashworth and Tunbridge, 1990).

detached from the original resources. The design of the new housing development of Brandevoort in Helmond, the Netherlands, for instance, has drawn much criticism from leading architects, because the houses are replicas of canal houses from another period entirely (the 17th century). The design of Brandevoort uses resources from other contexts; it is a commodification product that stands entirely alone. In the eyes of many who live there, however, it is a continuing success story: they enjoy living there; Brandevoort's design means a lot to them, and they pride themselves on being residents (Ennen, 2004).

Most extremely, a visitor destination can be produced without any reference at all. Elaborating on the commodification process, we can say that, to an increasing degree, it is not only visitor destinations but visitors themselves that are being marketed. A visitor's experience of a place is affected by the presence of others. We already observe this in the planning of the visit by potential visitors. Dann's (1996) analysis of images in tourist brochures reveals that the depiction of people is designed to tempt potential visitors to the attraction or place. Three-quarters of all photos analysed feature people (either visitors or locals). By far the most frequently promoted type of holiday is what Dann calls 'Paradise Confined', showing only tourists. People who work at the attraction or who in some way do not clearly belong to the visitor population are not depicted.

The deployment, or visualization, of visitors in the marketing of holidays and destinations is not relevant for all destination types. The attractiveness of natural landscapes and nature reserves quickly diminishes as more people set foot there (Glasson *et al.*, 1995; Pearce, 2005). Furthermore, exhibitions or historical buildings are valued for what is on display, and the experience is inherently independent of other admirers visiting at the same time. However, if too many visitors attend an exhibition at the same time, this hampers the undisturbed viewing of heritage objects, thereby reducing satisfaction with the visit. There are nevertheless destinations where the commodification of other visiting consumers is profitable, at least in principle. This applies, for instance, to restaurants, theatres and concerts, where numbers are restricted to the number of available seats and are therefore regulated. An empty hall detracts from a visitor's initial decision, but, once the hall starts to fill up, the visitor's experience is generally enhanced. More people are able to enjoy what is on offer without, once admitted, having to fight for a seat.

Typical tourist destinations, such as theme parks, special markets, festivals and town centres, as a whole show a parabolic relationship between the number of visitors and visitor satisfaction. If there are few visitors, the absence of other people engenders a vague sense of disquiet. This rapidly diminishes as soon as others arrive. However, satisfaction turns to dissatisfaction if the volume of people means that there is not enough room to view the location and if access is impeded. Therefore, the success of the commodification of consumers varies according to the type of destination and the number of visitors.

The experience of visitor destinations utilizes connotations like 'conviviality', a feeling of solidarity and the inherent popularity of the choices made. The resource is the public itself, and the resource underpinning the crowd-puller no longer matters necessarily. The destination has become detached from the resource. In that sense, visitors to markets are akin to 'disaster tourists' who go out in search of amusement.

Destination Products

Although a visitor destination can, in principle, be everything, it must derive its identity from something. Where original, identity-bearing resources are lacking or are deemed to have insufficient appeal, experimentation might occur, with the development of products despite the lack of local resources. The result is a commodification product – the visitor destination – utilizing the connotations of the original resource to which that resource owes its popularity. This section analyses three of these created visitor destinations as commodification products: city beaches, skating rinks, and Easter and Christmas markets. These three types of destination each have in common a limitation in terms of time (no more than a few weeks per year) or space (a square, a street, or part of the town or town centre). This limitation makes them easier to survey

and helps us to fine-tune the research questions underpinning the hypothesis in this article – namely, that the original resource of a visitor destination has no impact at all on how people experience and are bound to that destination. Information is mainly obtained from websites.

City beaches

With the closing-off of the Zuiderzee, Amsterdam has long ceased to lie on the open sea. Nevertheless, the city has recently acquired three actual beaches (*strand* in Dutch): Blijburg, Strandzuid and Strand West. And in both Rotterdam and Maastricht you will find Strand aan de Maas, and in Amersfoort you can enjoy water and sand at Zandfoort aan de Eem. Maastricht actually has a second artificial city beach, immediately outside the city boundary. And, in Groningen and Dordrecht, they are busy discussing whether, and if so where, to create an artificial city beach.

That is to say, communities no longer have to be situated on the coast in order to have a beach. Transporting quantities of sand to a body of water is usually the first step towards creating a beach. The construction of beach cafes is another vital ingredient. The design and decor of these establishments are carefully tailored to suggest sand and water, playfulness and fluidity. This is expressed in fundamentally simple, light-coloured interiors, with furniture made from untreated timber and with a chaotic interplay of elements. Outdoor deckchairs and sun umbrellas add to the sense of being at the beach, a feeling that is further enhanced by the many activities organized in recent years at various sea-beach locations: beach volleyball tournaments, games for children, barbecue parties, musical and theatrical performances, and special dining events. Although these activities of themselves have no link with beaches, they are increasingly becoming associated with beach life because of their highly successful introduction at sea-beach locations in recent years. Thanks to many of these initiatives, city beaches seem to have become entertainment venues, especially for the younger to middle-aged age group. These beaches do not appear to target specific sectors of the population, however. At least, recommendations like 'the perfect hang-out for young and old' (Rotterdam) or 'the whole family' (Maastricht) seek to entice a larger group than just visitors from the urban entertainment sector.

Most city beaches are found at peripheral locations on, or even beyond, the city fringe. This is true of all three of the Amsterdam city beaches and of Amersfoort, whereas the second Maastricht beach – also called Dagstrand Oost-Maarland – is even further outside the city. Stadsstrand aan de Maas, in both Maastricht and Rotterdam, is located in the heart of the city and in close proximity to the existing entertainment area. Although the beaches themselves often occupy public space, it is exclusively private businesses that exploit these visitor destinations. For some, the venture has come about through full consultation and with the support of local authorities, while for others this has happened in the face of opposition. The development and management of the two beaches on the Maas have been welcomed by both cities. 'City of Maastricht delighted with Stadsstrand' was the headline for the council's press release when the beach opened in 2005, and the Rotterdam beach website features a declaration of support from the council. Blijburg in Amsterdam is more of an outsider; despite its success, it has been forced to move to a nearby location and is now having difficulties extending its permit.

City beaches vary in the extent to which the product incorporates the sea. We should distinguish here between the 'beach' and the 'beach cafe'. A few city beaches occupy public space and are therefore accessible free of charge. This is the case with Blijburg, and with Strand aan de Maas in both Rotterdam and Maastricht. Although the beach cafes do have opening hours, sometimes linked to the season, the beaches themselves are large enough to provide a beach experience outside these hours. This is not the case with Zandfoort aan de Eem and with Strandzuid and Strand West in Amsterdam, which offer no beach experience without a visit to a cafe. The beach experience is expressed in the cafe decor – even without sand around. Only the cafes represent 'beach life' all by itself, and, once the cafes are closed, there can be no beach experience. The beach south of Maastricht is a third type of city beach. As with the free beaches, it offers a wide range of beach

features but it shares a characteristic of the second type – namely, that the area and the beach experience cannot be accessed and experienced free of charge. All in all, it is an amusement park. You pay an entrance fee (€6.50), which entitles you to use a range of facilities, such as canoes, water bikes, bouncy castles and a variety of playground equipment.

City beaches are places of relaxation that make use of associations with the sea without that resource itself being present. The beach is a commodification product removed from its original spatial context. The vast waters of the sea are reduced to a river or lake. Although you will invariably hear the sound of the surf when accessing the website, for the rest the sea – the original resource – is all but forgotten. The interpretations of the sea as the original resource have now become the connotations on which a new product is based: beach, sand, sun, play, meeting people, freedom and a degree of chaos. While some city beaches make extensive use of sand to spatially interpret and support the character of the beach, others have removed even this element from the product and rely solely on the beach-cafe atmosphere.

Skating rinks

Whereas city beaches, as products of the commodification of the sea, are located and developed outside their original spatial context, the skating rinks that are springing up everywhere on urban squares are commodification products as well. For the most part, these visitor destinations are placed outside their time context. Winter cold is the resource, and fun on the ice and nostalgic skating pleasure are the connotations used to make the skating rinks a success, even if there has been no period of frost.

While it is true that this winter experience is almost exclusively offered during the winter months, the dimension of time has been abandoned. In fact, people attach so much value to the connotations of fun on the ice, relaxation, mixing with others and nostalgia that the product, enabled by technical facilities, can discard its time frame. Riho, the company that installs and maintains skating rinks, also reveals that the product is disconnected from its seasonal origins. It says that it will receive even more orders for skating rinks in the years ahead: 'Unless of course we finally get a decent period of frost' (Friesch Dagblad, 2005).

Many Dutch towns and cities now have such skating rinks: Arnhem, Bergen op Zoom, Capelle a/d IJssel, Den Helder, Dordrecht, Ede, Leeuwarden, Maastricht, Middelburg, Vorden, Workum, Zutphen and Zwolle, to name just a few. Large cities like Amsterdam, Rotterdam and The Hague even have rinks at different locations. These rinks differ not only from natural ice but also from regular skating rinks as well. First, most charge no entry fee. Secondly, the sites where the rinks are located usually function as squares, so that the rinks are in fact continuing to play their role as winter gathering places. The scale is also considerably smaller. Thirdly, they are open for only a few weeks, in contrast to the regular rinks, which open from mid-October to mid-March. The link to the Christmas period is interesting. As well as the anticipated increased public interest during this period because of the school holidays, there is a connection with Christmas itself, a festival in which snow ('white Christmas') and nostalgia have always played a key role. We see this too in the 'peripheral activities' that occur around the urban skating rinks and which tie in with Christmas: a Christmas tree on the ice and Christmas music from loudspeakers. The typical, nostalgic emotion evoked by the chill of winter is further enhanced by the provision of refreshments at most rinks. Often, *koek* and *zopie* (traditional Dutch expression for cake and hot chocolate), the typical refreshment at natural ice rinks, are available, and sometimes *glühwein* as well. In addition to skating and fun on the ice, a host of activities are offered on and around the urban rinks: ice-dancing contests, sledge racing, ice shuffleboard, disco skating (Ede, Valkenswaard), children's games, culinary tastings, stamppot buffets (Middelburg) and talent quests (Dordrecht, Gemert-Bakel).

Easter and Christmas markets

Many towns and cities throughout the Netherlands and elsewhere are familiar with Easter and Christmas markets. These events, which have less of an urban association than artificial beaches

and skating rinks, have also found their way to villages and rural areas. Institutions and (groups of) residents can take part in Easter and Christmas markets in various ways: as visitors, as organizers and as vendors. The religious basis (the Easter and Christmas mass) probably accounts for this nationwide spread and for a large input from locals. After all, church and religion generally enjoy a smaller following in urban areas.

Nevertheless, religion – which we can regard as the resource for Easter and Christmas markets – has almost ceased to play any meaningful role in the staging of these events. The interpretation of the religious festivals takes the form of an extensive range of activities, with a particular emphasis on connotations of new life, nostalgia, fellowship, family life, home and conviviality. A prominent place is occupied by food and drink and a host of attributes that people can buy to express Easter and Christmas at home. Other characteristic features of markets that express the Easter and Christmas festivals are the musical accompaniment, performances, workshops on decorating your home and on culinary arts around the 'theme' of Easter and Christmas, and exhibitions.

The range at Easter markets includes countless items for making Easter decorations at home, a wide range of activities on the theme of eggs (from painting, drawing and colouring eggs to displaying your home-made attempts), Easter bread, and the Easter bunny handing out Easter eggs. If possible, Christmas markets offer an even broader range: every conceivable ingredient for making Christmas decorations at home and for decorating the Christmas tree, ready-made Christmas decorations, lighting in all shapes and sizes, candles, books, Christmas chocolate, Christmas confectionery, Christmas bread, chocolate milk and *glühwein*. Here too there are often workshops on making Christmas bouquets (*kerststukjes*). Christmas music – often 'live' with a local choir and/or ensemble – is an essential ingredient at Christmas markets. It is in the choice of music that the religious dimension still resonates most clearly. Also seldom absent is Father Christmas, ringing his bell loudly and shouting 'ho ho ho'.

We can distinguish between town and countryside in terms of venues for Easter and Christmas markets. Larger cities hold these markets outdoors on the traditional marketplaces and other squares, while in the countryside they are often held on country estates (Landgoed Zuylenstein, Landgoed Oostbroek) or inside premises owned by local shopkeepers (Haarlo). The time at which markets take place varies a lot. Easter markets are held on the weekend before Easter (Palm Sunday) (e.g. in Nieuwkoop and Haarlo), on Good Friday (in Enkhuizen, Goes) or on Easter Sunday and Monday (Nijmegen, Gorinchem). Most Easter markets are for a single day, while some are two-day events. Christmas markets cover a much longer

Table 12.1. Ranking of destination products.

Product	Estimated number	Original resource	Connotations used	What's missing?	Creations
City beaches	< 10	Beach	Sea, sand, sun, playing, relaxation, meeting people	Sea, seasons, waves, the sound of the surf	Artificial sand, sun umbrellas, heated terraces, sport and play, eating and drinking
Skating rinks	40–50	Winter cold	Skating, ice, nostalgia, family, meeting people, camaraderie	Cold, natural ice	Artificial ice, refreshment stalls, music
Easter markets, Christmas markets	40–50 >100	Christian tradition, reflection	New life, conviviality, nostalgia, peace, handicrafts	Religious basis	Eating and drinking, items for making home decorations, music, performances

timespan, with the earliest starting in November and the later ones continuing until 25th December. Other events based on the theme of Christmas take place between Christmas and New Year. Some Christmas markets last one day, but many are of several weeks' duration.

Table 12.1 ranks the three destination products under discussion according to their estimated number in the Netherlands, the original resources, the connotations used and the products created.

Conclusion

Recent years have seen an increase in visitor destinations that are in some way unrelated to their cultural and geographic context. In view of the spread and popularity of these events across the country, they would appear to be satisfying the wishes of both providers and consumers. This chapter has used the commodification process as an instrument for broadening our understanding of the connection between these visitor destinations and the original resource on to which they are grafted. We have reviewed three visitor destinations – namely, city beaches, skating rinks, Easter and Christmas markets – and visitors themselves.

We have shown that the identity of these events is only partially linked to the original resources in terms of time, place or content. Artificial beaches provide sand, beach and relaxation, even though the sea is nowhere in sight; skating rinks provide nostalgia and fun on the ice, despite the lack of a frosty spell; and Easter and Christmas markets trigger emotions of nostalgia and reflection but appear to have been detached from their religious origins. We may conclude that embeddedness is not a prerequisite for the successful organization of these events and for successful visits to these destinations. Resources can be taken out of their original context without any loss of popularity. Perhaps this reduced context-boundness even adds to the popularity of visitor destinations.

More so than the resource, the product itself appears to be what shapes identity. By allowing space for events, cities can express their identity. In this way, they profile themselves vis-à-vis entrepreneurs and visitors (locals or outsiders). Visitors in their turn are attracted to these destinations because they satisfy a need – the desire for leisure-time activity in which they can express who they are and what they like. This is enhanced by buying, or being given, tangible items to be taken home as a trophy and souvenir to mark the event. The leisure-time experience thus serves the process of social distinction. This experience – the symbols, the stories and the landscapes – are expressions of the collective 'symbolic capital', to use Bourdieu's term (1984).

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13 Destination-promoted and Visitor-generated Images – Do They Represent Similar Stories?

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Introduction

Photographic images are very important to create and communicate the image of tourism destinations to potential travellers (MacKay and Couldwell, 2004). MacKay and Fesenmaier (1997) point out that photographic images not only present the destination '. . .but can also communicate attributes, characteristics, concepts, values, and ideas' (p. 538). According to Urry (2002), photographic images might present 'miniature slices of reality'. In some sense, images act as surrogates for tests of potential tourists' experiences, a framework for the planning of a trip.

Beeton *et al.* (2006) argue that destination marketers have been using mass media to negotiate notions of quality in tourism experiences to the general public by promoting images. In these circumstances, images help define and direct tourism experiences to potential travellers. Mass media typically try to promote images signifying the previously established representation of a destination to assure resonance with their audiences. As a result, these representations of tourism experiences are repeatedly *recycled* or *reconstructed*. Jansson (2002) explains this phenomenon as 'spatial phantasmagoria' in tourism, which is linked to imaginative hedonism (Campbell, 1987), where potential tourists engage in the representational realms of various socio-spatial information sources (Selwyn, 1996; Jansson, 2002, 2007), including literature and photography. This mediation process results in the practice of *scripting* (Jansson, 2007): the media provide potential tourists with a *script* for the trip, with particular common-sense performances to take in differentiated settings (Edensor, 2001). In this sense, destination-promoted images act as normative representations of tourism experiences.

However, destination-promoted images are not the only pictorial information that tourists can access prior to, during or after the actual visit. The practice of tourists' image sharing has emerged with the advent of new media and technology. McCabe and Foster (2006) claim that a tourist has a narrativistic attitude. Tourists communicate their memories of visiting different places and meeting different people through stories as representations of their lived experiences. Brown and Chalmer (2003) argue that the camera is the most successful tourism technology. The use of digital cameras is becoming more popular recently, because tourists can conveniently take unlimited pictures any time and anywhere and review the results immediately (Yang *et al.*, 2007). With the use of digital cameras and computers, tourists can easily store, manage and share their pictures with a wider audience through blogs or photo-sharing websites, enabling others to find detailed and differentiated ideas and samples of tourism experiences. Within the context of the practice

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of scripting, Jansson (2007) notes this phenomenon as a trend of increased personal scripts. With the new media, tourists have greater opportunities to compose, and enable audiences to engage with, more specialized and detailed personal scripts of tourism experience. These personal scripts are potentially different from the normative representations of tourism experience promoted by destination marketers.

Although there is rigorously framed conceptual research (e.g. Edensor, 2001; Jansson, 2007), empirical study analysing the trend in representations of tourism experiences (and destinations) influenced by the new media and technology is scant. Drawing on the concept of mediation (Jansson, 2002, 2007; Beeton *et al.*, 2006) and scripting (Edensor, 2001; Jansson, 2007), this study applies a content-extraction method in an attempt to identify similarities and differences between images used by destination marketers and those shared by tourists at the visit and post-visit stages, and, most importantly, to identify the values created by the shared images for audiences in tourism settings.

The Roles of Images in Experience Mediation

It is argued that tourism experiences are becoming increasingly mediated (Jansson, 2002; Beeton *et al.*, 2005; Jennings and Weiler, 2006). Jennings and Weiler (2006) assert that tourists often engage with others (i.e. personal and non-personal elements) to mediate their tourism experiences in the process of constructing knowledge. These personal and non-personal elements, the mediators, become essential for creating and delivering high-quality tourism experiences. Among personal mediators are tourists (i.e. travellers who help mediate other tourists), service providers, governments and local communities; non-personal mediators include signs, street furniture, design and settings.

Based on the temporal dimension of the tourist experience, mediators of tourism experiences exist not only at the experiential phase (i.e. on site) but also at the anticipatory (i.e. planning) and the reflective (i.e. recollection) phases (Tussyadiah and Fesenmaier, 2009). Jennings and Weiler (2006) suggest that mediation is largely associated with information provision. The process of mediation involves gathering, storing and disseminating information throughout the trip. Mediating tourists at the anticipatory phase may involve information provision for trip planning. An example of an on-site experience mediator is a professional tour guide, who is responsible for linking tourists to attractions, facilities and hosts. Finally, tourists at the reflective phase can also use memories of past experiences as mediators.

Mediating tourists at the anticipatory phase implies influencing tourists' decisions, including destination selection. Information provided at this planning stage is vitally important to influence perceptions and notions of destinations. As pointed out by Gallarza *et al.* (2002), researchers have recognized the importance of destination image at the destination selection stage, especially when previous actual visitations are absent. Recent studies attempt to conceptualize destination image as a mental construct developed by a potential tourist on the basis of two interrelated components: perceptive/cognitive evaluations and affective appraisals (Fakeye and Crompton, 1991; Baloglu and McCleary, 1999; Beerli and Martin, 2004). Perceptive/cognitive evaluations relate to individuals' knowledge or beliefs; affective evaluations relate to individuals' feelings towards or attachment to destinations. The combination of these two components generates an overall image relating to the evaluation of a destination. While the affective image is typically determined by personal factors, Beerli and Martin (2004) suggest that information sources, including media and advertising, are major determinants that influence the cognitive image. MacKay and Fesenmaier (1997: 540) state that '[s]ince tourism is uniquely visual, photographs are considered paramount to successfully creating and communicating the image of a destination'. Furthermore, they argue that visuals in destination promotion aid destination evaluation, since the destination as a tourism product is processed as imagery rather than by actual attributes. As a result, it is argued that photographic images are effective marketing tools to induce perceptions, fantasies and imagery (Campbell, 1987).

The use of photographic images for destination promotion naturally involves projecting positively evaluated images to potential tourists

(MacKay and Fesenmaier, 1997). Conceptualizing the context of imaginative hedonism, Campbell (1987) asserts that marketers portray images and representation in the media to create daydreams and fantasies in order to intensify (tourism) consumption. Correspondingly, Jansson (2002: 441) proposes three spaces of tourism experience – landscape, socioscape and mediascape – arguing that the mediation process through images creates new potential for mobility in mediascapes, which also involves the naturalization of images and fantasies of foreign landscapes and socioscapes. The process of image naturalization is associated with the interpretative connections between images and tourism consumption, e.g. portrayal of old historic buildings may imply heritage appreciation. Projected images from destination promotion affect potential tourists through the creation of fantasies about a destination and the hypothetical structure of the tourism experience; they also lead to the creation of expectation and desire for image verification (Adams, 1984).

The development of the Web 2.0 platform (a platform with participatory architecture that enables an interactive and democratic interface, which allows users to add content easily and participate in the online community) and other personal portable technology has generated co-creation and production of destination representation on the Internet. Jansson (2007: 9) explains tourists' new media use from the approach of a dialectical relationship between encapsulation and decapsulation: 'An ideal type of encapsulation is theming, in which the design of settings [. . .] revolves around a particular symbolic denominator.' Decapsulation might occur for different reasons, such as socio-material or symbolic processes. Jansson asserts that a collective sense of decapsulation can occur when a particular destination continuously fails to meet the media-produced expectation and desires of tourists. Decapsulation can also be caused by subversion of spatial representations, when photographers other than destination marketers portray an alternative view of a destination that disrupts the consistency of promoted images. In conclusion, the use of new media to share photographic images of a destination can either intensify the themes and tourist rituals promoted by destination marketers or blur the touristic quality of the promoted brand.

Based on the literature, this study analyses the contents of photographic images promoted by destination marketers and shared by tourists to confirm the following concepts:

- Destination-promoted images communicate consistent notions of positive tourism experiences.
- Visitor-generated images represent detailed, personalized and specialized scenarios of tourism experiences.
- Visitor-generated images might represent alternative views of tourism destinations that could disrupt the consistency of high-quality tourism experiences derived from promoted images.

Content Extraction: an Alternative to Visitor-employed Photography

Previous works analysing photographic data in tourism settings typically utilize a photo-based approach called visitor-employed photography (VEP). VEP places cameras in the hands of participants, and has primarily been used to assess visitors' perceptions of places and subsequent representation of their tourist experiences (Stedman *et al.*, 2004). This approach is popular among leisure researchers because of its benefits, as described by Haywood (1990): photography: (i) is an enjoyable, familiar activity to tourists; (ii) helps to sharpen observation; (iii) helps to identify specific important locations; which (iv) gives clearer ideas regarding liked or disliked elements; and (v) facilitates comparisons between places.

MacKay and Couldwell (2004) utilize VEP to elicit and assess tourist destination images at a heritage site. The researchers analyse the visual (photographs) and descriptive (diary) data provided by the participants. The researchers found three major subject themes in the photographs (infrastructure, animation and personalization) and two underlying rationales for the photographs taken (aesthetics and nostalgia). The researchers argue that the results provide initial support for the usefulness of VEP to generate images of a tourist attraction. Furthermore, they suggest utilizing the visual data to compare visitor-determined images with destination-determined images.

Stedman *et al.* (2004) utilize resident-employed photography, a modified VEP that places the camera not with visitors but with the host community, to analyse local elements that foster place attachment among permanent residents of high-amenity areas. The researchers utilize the triangulation approach; they analyse the content of photographs resulting from VEP based on a post-VEP interview process with the participants. They argue that the results reveal a complex relationship between ecological and sociocultural factors in place attachment. A recent similar research by Stevenson and Inskip (2007) uses first-year undergraduate students to take pictures of London, analyses the content of the pictures and interprets the meaning of the city for the photographers.

MacKay and Couldwell (2004) argue that VEP is a favourable technique, as it provides highly visual records of what best captures the visitor's image of the site. However, there are challenges associated with VEP: visitors/participants managing more than one camera if they bring their own; the cost of cameras, developing and mailing; and the sheer volume of pictures/data generated (MacKay and Couldwell, 2004). Owing to the increasing popularity of digital cameras and online personal photo galleries among tourists, there are vast amounts of travel-related images posted on the Internet. These online images will be valuable as a data source to analyse how tourists represent destinations and their tourism experiences. The online visitor-generated images are comparable to the VEP-acquired visual data because of their unprompted nature. Online photo galleries typically provide features that enable users to give titles, descriptions and tags for each picture they upload; they also enable viewers to give comments on the pictures and thus create online discussion communities. Therefore, it is possible to triangulate the content of image data with the users' descriptions and viewers' comments associated with them. Analysing online image data to assess tourist-generated representation could overcome the logistic and resource-based problems associated with VEP.

Despite the growing potential of utilizing online image data, tourism research on visitor-generated pictorial data is scarce. Govers and Go (2005) analyse online image and text data to assess the projected image of Dubai (United Arab Emirates). The study was conducted with data provided on private, semi-government and government tourism organization websites to find out how the tourism sector projects the image of Dubai to potential tourists. However, their research does not utilize the generic representation of Dubai as a destination from the visitor's perspective. As suggested by MacKay and Couldwell (2004), it is important to provide a practical and theoretical foundation to 'integrate visitor-perceived image with destination-promoted image in a meaningful way' (p. 394). This study utilizes image data available online to compare and contrast visitor-generated images (on personal photo galleries) and destination-promoted images (on destination marketing websites) to draw a better understanding of organic representation of destinations and tourism experiences.

Methodology

Data collection

This study utilizes official image data (as destination-promoted images) and visitor-generated image data. The official image data were selected from photo galleries of the Greater Philadelphia Tourism Marketing Corporation (GPTMC) website (gophila.com), resulting in 412 samples. The photo gallery consists of 16 sub-galleries, each with a different theme: 'accommodations', 'dining and nightlife', 'events', 'gay-friendly Philadelphia', 'general scenic and aerial', 'historic sites', 'holidays', 'king-sized celebration', 'museums and attractions', 'neighborhoods and towns', 'performing arts groups and venues', 'public art, parks and gardens', 'Rocky's back', 'shops and markets', 'sports, recreations and the outdoors', and 'tours and transportation'. There are some overlaps within the categories: some pictures were displayed in more than one category (e.g. the 'museums and attractions' section has many pictures in common with 'historic sites' and 'Rocky's back', since shooting of the film 'Rocky' took place at the Art Museum). Only one of the pictures displayed in multiple albums was included in the samples. The pictures were taken in the Greater Philadelphia area, which includes Bucks, Chester, Delaware

and Montgomery County. Based on the description provided for each picture, this study includes all pictures directly linked to images of the Philadelphia area (e.g. pictures of the Philadelphia skyline taken from Camden, New Jersey were included in the samples).

Visitor-generated image data samples were collected with purposive sampling by conducting a tag-based search on Flickr (www.flickr.com). The data collection was performed using multiple criteria. First, a tag-based search was conducted using these keywords: 'Philadelphia', 'Philly', 'Phila', 'trip' and 'travel'. Images having one or more combinations of the keywords in their titles, descriptions or tags were included in the sample. Secondly, all irrelevant images (i.e. pictures having a 'Philadelphia' tag but not taken in Philadelphia) were excluded. The data collection on Flickr was conducted on 7 December 2006, resulting in 652 samples.

The analysis procedure

A series of image content analyses were performed to gain in-depth understanding of how Philadelphia as a tourist destination was represented by the organization and visitors. Rose (2001: 56) defines image content analysis as an analysis 'based on counting the frequency of certain visual elements in a clearly defined sample of images, and then analysing those frequencies'. The main purpose of the image content analyses in this study is to find the motifs and themes of the pictures. The steps of image content analysis in this study follow the semantic categorization by Yang *et al.* (2007), which includes regional, local and global semantics, and the framework of Sternberg (1997) and Govers and Go (2005), which involves identification of actual objects, identification of arrangement and identification of contextualization (see Fig. 13.1).

The first step was to divide the photo region into several local photo regions, generally associated with the visual semantics of the photos, including background and foreground. Yang *et al.* (2007) propose a simple block segmentation to capture the visual semantics in local photo regions. There are ten photographic regions proposed: one centre region, four corner regions, two horizontal regions, two vertical regions and a whole photo region. Examples of photos categorized into this regional segmentation are illustrated in Fig. 13.2. Regional categorization gives a foundation to analyse the objects that are focal points of a picture and aids in the process of contextualization of images.

In the next stage, a list of predefined low-level features/objects was created, based on their appearance in the pictures. The list was created in SPSS and was measured to analyse distribution and frequency of the features. Correlations between these features were then calculated to identify the arrangement of low-level features in the pictures; the features having positive correlations often appear together and vice versa. Based on the arrangement, some local concepts were merged together to generate a higher-level semantic (global concept). As an illustration, if low-level features such as 'light', 'street' and 'car' positively correlated with each other, it can be concluded that these low-level features often

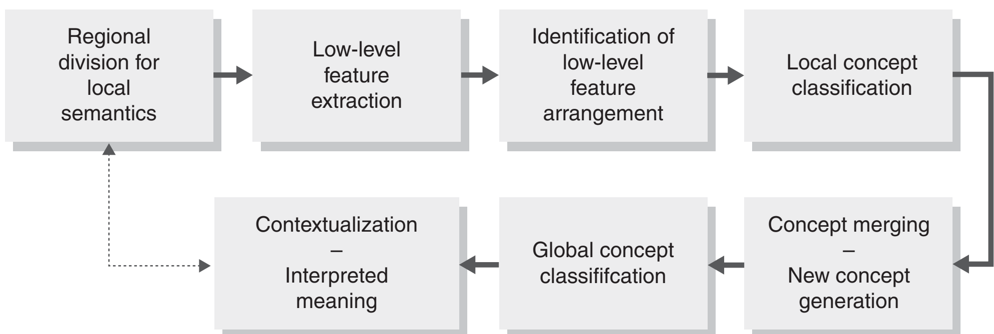

Fig. 13.1. Procedure of the image content analysis.

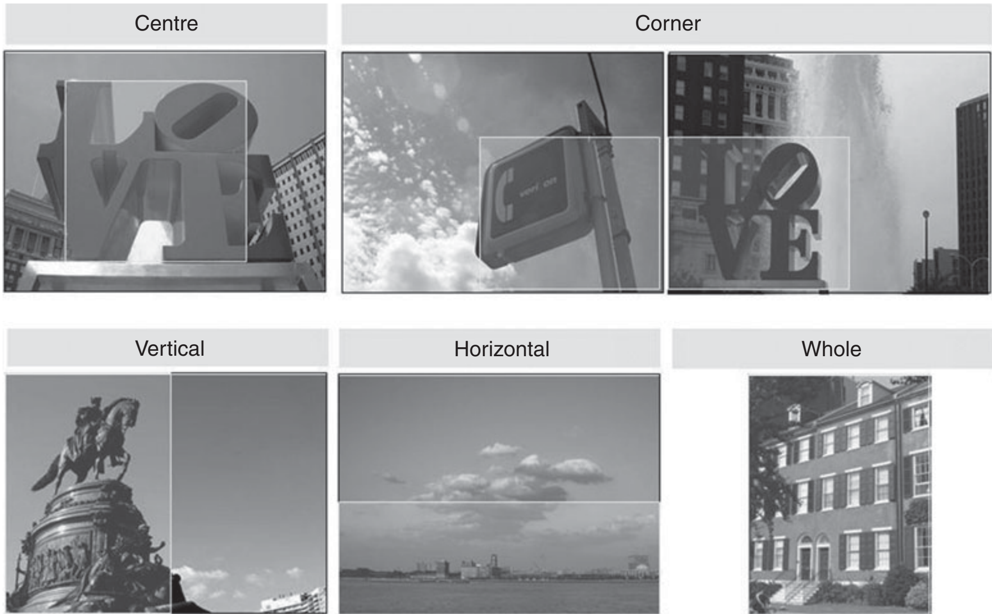

Fig. 13.2. Regional semantic extraction (source: www.flickr.com).

appear together in a picture and thus, can be merged together into a higher-level semantic, such as 'streetscape'. The arrangement of high-level semantics in a photo is then used to extract global concepts such as 'historic sites' or 'architecture'. Extraction of global concepts is followed by identification of context in the pictures to identify the focal theme. Flickr enables users to give titles, descriptions and tags to a picture. This textual information is also analysed to interpret the narratives of the pictures.

Results and Discussion

Regional semantics

The images on GoPhila galleries mostly focus on the centre region (30.3%), followed by the horizontal region (26.9%), the vertical region (23.5%), the whole region (14.3%) and the corner region (5%). Similarly, most of the visitor-generated images focus on the centre region (34.6%), followed by the whole region (27.4%), the vertical region (17.6%), the horizontal region (11.8%) and the corner region (8.5%). The division of regional semantics helps to understand better how photographers place the focal theme of the images and give context to each theme.

To understand the differences between the projected images on GoPhila and the visitor-generated images on Flickr, Fig. 13.3 illustrates the comparison of images of one major attraction at a historic site in Philadelphia, the Liberty bell. Comparing these images of the same attraction enables us to pinpoint easily the differences in the regional semantics of images resulting from different selections of focal appearance, foreground, background and angles. The projected image sample has the Liberty bell as a focus (with a very clear appearance) in the centre region, with the Independence Hall building in the background. Ten out of sixteen images posted by visitors have the Liberty bell as a focus; seven images place the bell in the centre region; two out of the seven images have the exact same background as the GoPhila image. However, in three images (V2, V4 and V6), the bell was placed in the vertical region, with tourists as background. In image V3, the bell was placed in the centre region but taken from a different angle, with tourists as background. The

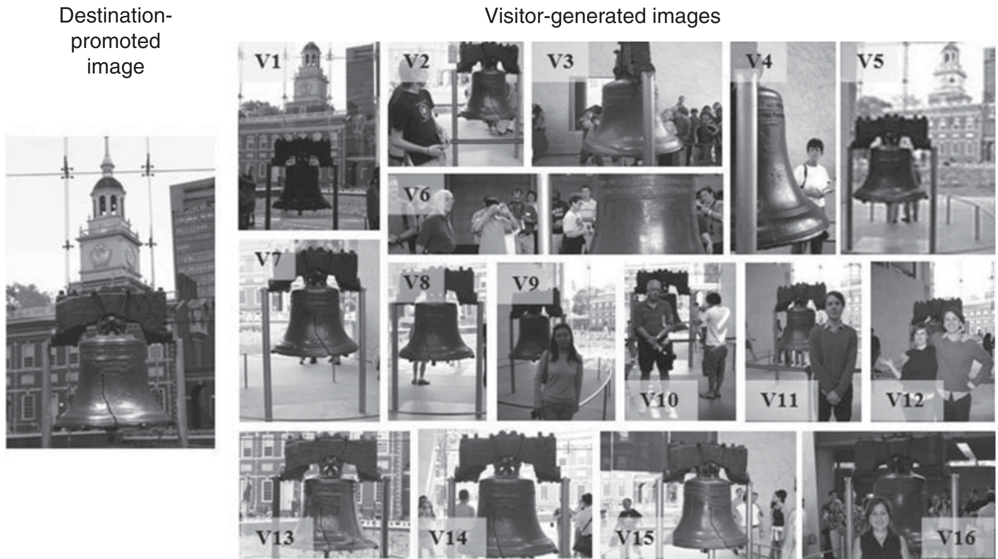

Fig. 13.3. Images of the Liberty bell: regional semantics comparison (source: the Greater Philadelphia Tourism Marketing Corporation and www.flickr.com).

difference of those images from the mainstream reflects the creativity of the photographers as well as the contextualization of images. The other visitor-generated images portray the bell as a background, having tourists as the focal appearance, hence suggesting the performance of 'touring the bell' as a focal point and the Liberty bell as the context.

Apart from the attraction sections, major differences in regional semantics between the projected images and the visitor-generated images were also found in the image collections of 'neighbourhood and towns', 'general scenic and aerial' and 'dining and nightlife'. While most of the projected images place the focus in the centre regions, many visitors place the focal appearance in the corner or vertical regions.

Local concepts (low-level semantics)

Low-level features were extracted from the GoPhila and the visitor-generated image samples. Several predefined local concept families with low-level features were listed, and the local concepts having less than 1% frequency were removed from the analysis. Nineteen local concepts were extracted from both image samples (see Table 13.1). Among the highest frequency of local concepts found in the GoPhila images are 'building' (44.7%), 'people foreground' (39.6%), 'people background' (37.6%), 'tree' (33.5%), 'interior' (31.8%), 'sky' (27.4%) and 'lights' (22.8%). On the other hand, the highest frequency of local concepts found in the visitor-generated images are 'building' (45.3%), 'interior' (32.4%), 'sky' (28.4%), 'people foreground' (24.6%), 'tree' (23.1%), 'sign' (19%) and 'people background' (17.1%).

Despite similarities in the local semantics between the projected images and the visitor-generated images, several differences were identified. The projected images have higher frequency in the facility- and service-related features such as 'food and drinks' compared with the visitor-generated images. Within the local family of 'streetscape', although the frequency of 'street' in the images on GoPhila is higher than on Flickr, the frequency of 'car' is lower. This can be an indication that the destination organization is trying to portray the ideal condition of the city infrastructure with little or no traffic, which will lead to a positive image. On the other hand,

Table 13.1. Extracted local concepts (low-level semantics).

GPTMC (GoPhila) (N = 412)		Flickr (N = 652)	
Keywords	Frequency	Keywords	Frequency
Human		*Human*	
People foreground	163 (39.6%)	People foreground	160 (24.6%)
People background	154 (37.6%)	People background	111 (17.1%)
Structure		*Structure*	
Building	184 (44.7%)	Building	282 (45.3%)
Bridge	14 (3.4%)	Bridge	12 (1.8%)
Statue	58 (14.1%)	Statue	88 (13.6%)
Sign	77 (18.7%)	Sign	123 (19.0%)
Flag	25 (6.1%)	Flag	44 (6.8%)
Stairs	18 (4.4%)	Stairs	40 (6.2%)
Sky		*Sky*	
Sky	113 (27.4%)	Sky	184 (28.4%)
Cloud	38 (9.2%)	Cloud	56 (8.6%)
Plant		*Plant*	
Tree	138 (33.5%)	Tree	150 (23.1%)
Grass	50 (12.1%)	Grass	29 (4.5%)
Streetscape		*Streetscape*	
Street	70 (17.0%)	Street	83 (12.8%)
Car	37 (9.0%)	Car	87 (13.4%)
Night scene		*Night scene*	
Lights	94 (22.8%)	Lights	52 (8.0%)
Indoor		*Indoor*	
Interior	131 (31.8%)	Interior	205 (32.4%)
Water		*Water*	
Water	57 (13.8%)	Water	40 (6.2%)
Food and drinks		*Food and drinks*	
Food and drinks	54 (13.1%)	Food and drinks	48 (7.4%)
Animals		*Animals*	
Animals	17 (4.1%)	Animals	21 (3.3%)

visitor-generated images portray the streetscape as is, revealing the true condition of the city. There is a significantly high percentage of the appearance of people as both foreground and background in the GoPhila images, indicating that the destination organization attempts to portray the experiential image of Philadelphia as a tourist destination.

Feature arrangements and concept merging

The extracted low-level features were analysed to find the arrangement of each concept within the images. Several local concepts having positive correlations (i.e. often appearing together in one image) were merged together to form a higher-level semantic (global concept). The feature arrangement and concept merging of the GoPhila and the Flickr images are illustrated in Fig. 13.4 and Fig. 13.5, respectively.

The GoPhila images are richer in low-level features (local concepts), indicated by the higher number of positive correlations among the local concepts (i.e. a higher number of local concepts appear together in one image). Figure 13.6 illustrates this fact, comparing an image of the City Hall from GoPhila with some of the visitor's images from Flickr. The destination-promoted image frames the City Hall with its surrounding (i.e. building, streets, lamp posts along the street, etc.), while the visitor's images capture (and portray) the building (or part of the building) with only one or two additional local concepts (i.e. building and sky). Since the projected images are typically taken by a professional

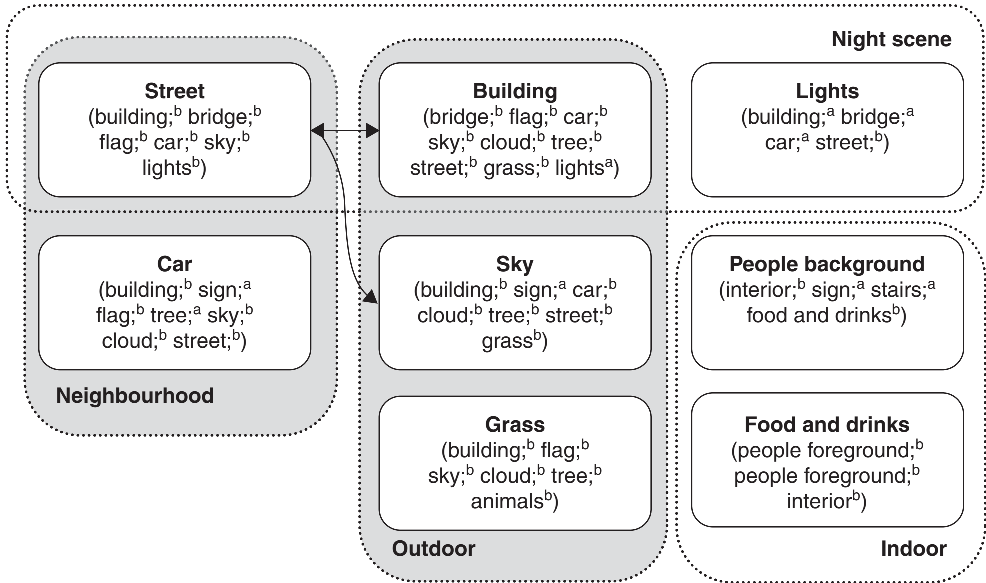

Fig. 13.4. Feature arrangement and concept merging: GoPhila images. ([a]Correlation is significant at the 0.01 level (2-tailed); [b]correlation is significant at the 0.05 level (2-tailed).)

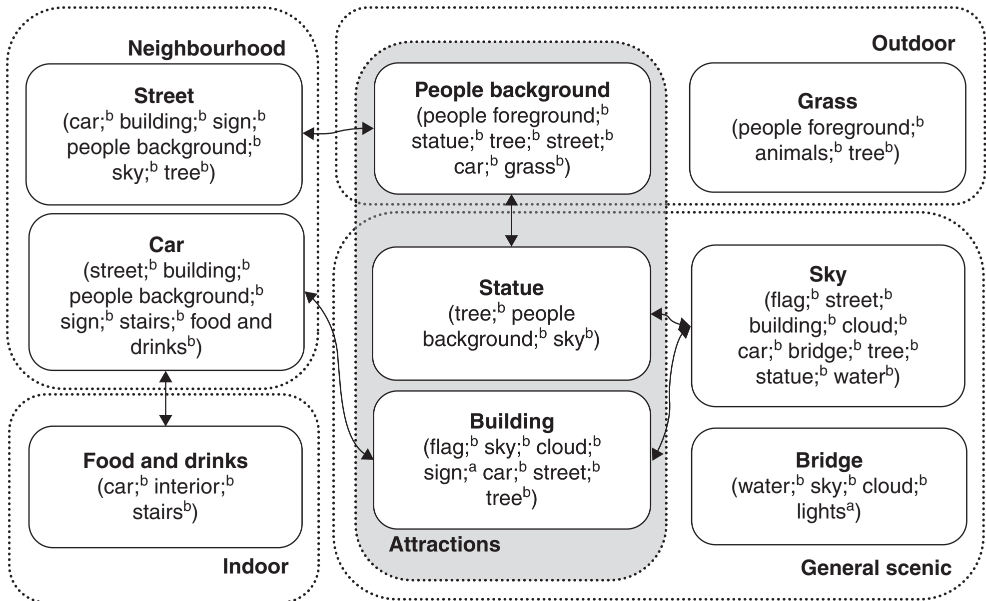

Fig. 13.5. Feature arrangement and concept merging: Flickr images. ([a]Correlation is significant at the 0.01 level (2-tailed); [b]correlation is significant at the 0.05 level (2-tailed).)

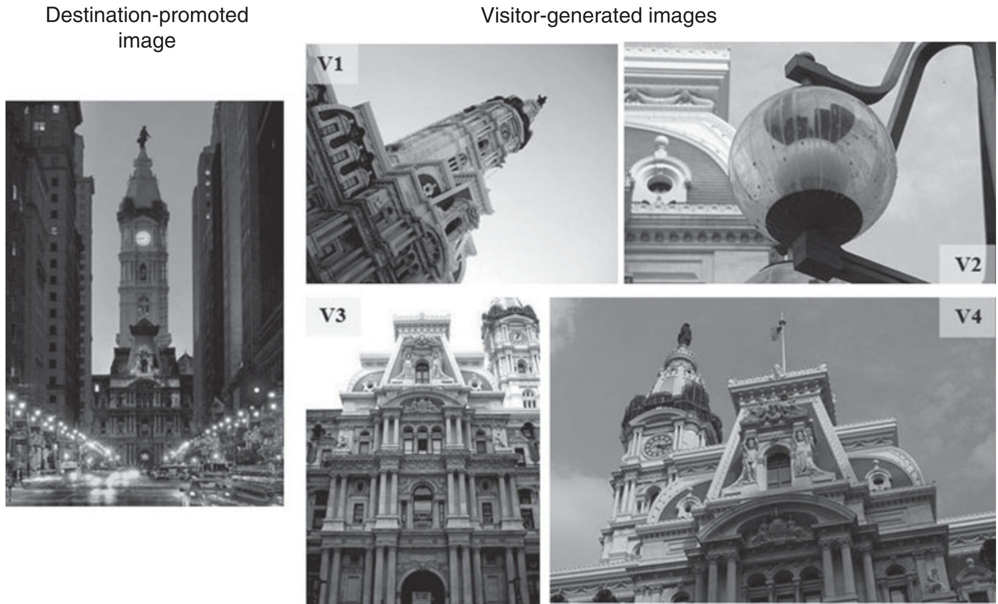

Fig. 13.6. Images of the City Hall: comparison of concept arrangement (source: the Greater Philadelphia Tourism Marketing Corporation and www.flickr.com).

photographer, most of the images contain more objects compared with the images taken by tourists. Furthermore, since the projected images are taken and published for promotional purposes (i.e. to deliver a positive image of the city), they are made richer in details compared with the visitor-generated images.

Based on the correlations among local concepts, there are four emerging global concepts identified among the GoPhila images: 'neighbourhood', 'night scene', 'indoor' and 'outdoor'. Meanwhile, five global concepts were identified among the Flickr images: 'neighbourhood', 'general scenic', 'indoor', 'outdoor', and 'attraction'. Based on the concept arrangement, the GoPhila image of City Hall in Fig. 13.6 can be categorized into 'neighbourhood', 'outdoor', and 'night scene'; while the visitor's images are categorized as 'attraction' because of the iconic sense of the building that is presented in the images. Even though the GoPhila galleries are classified into different themes, there is a high degree of similarity between images within the same category and between categories. The reason for portraying images with similar themes (e.g. similar local concepts and regional semantics) is to ensure a consistent notion of the quality and image of the destination. These similarities were reflected by the identification of less-but-broader global concepts within the GoPhila images. On the other hand, the generic images taken by the visitors are more varied in content (i.e. with more variety of objects overall, although with fewer objects appearing together in one image) and presentation. Therefore, there are more global concepts identified in the generic images.

The appearance of 'tourists' in both the GoPhila and the Flickr images mostly occurs in the indoor settings and is closely associated with 'food and drinks', which indicates the experience of tourism services. The themes of 'general scenic' and 'neighbourhood' in the Flickr images share similar characteristics with the GoPhila images. However, the GoPhila galleries have a considerable number of images within the 'night scene' concept, which was not found in the Flickr images. Taking night scene pictures requires special tools and relatively high photography skills. Tourists might also schedule tours during the day or simply enjoy taking pictures during the day more than at night.

Contextualization and interpreted meaning

The gallery categorization on GoPhila marks the clear contextualization of the photos. Each image is characterized by the theme of the gallery it belongs to. On the other hand, contextualization must be given to the Flickr images based on the regional, local and global semantics as well as the interpretation of the image meaning. Generally, the images can be categorized into five different contexts: attractions, facilities/services, general scenic, events and self (i.e. tourists). The images on GoPhila have strong associations with attractions, facilities/services and events, with some highlights in general scenic. On the other hand, the visitor-generated images on Flickr represent more of self, attractions and general scenic. Based on the contexts of their images, the Flickr album owners can be categorized into site-centric and self-centric photo editors. The site-centric editors feature a number of attractions and general scenic shots of Philadelphia, while the self-centric editors focus on expressing their self-images and tourist experiences to the viewers. For tourists, the images are the proof of 'being there', the documents of the trip.

Drawing on the results of image contextualization and the categorization of album owners, it can be concluded that visitor-generated images have two important intertwined dimensions: informational and social. In other words, audiences exposed to these images can retrieve information about the particularities of the products (i.e. the destination and tourism activities it can afford) and simultaneously 'interact' with the album owners. Since the visitor-generated images are usually arranged in a set or album based on their temporal sequences, an individual image is a fragment of a tourist's narrative; it can be viewed as a piece of information that will complete the story of experience when it is tied with all other images in the same contexts. Additionally, since tourists add personal cues and perspectives to these images, audiences are not only able to relate socially to the album owners but are also able to build a cognitive understanding of the personalized nature of the trip.

One important aspect of analysing visitor-generated images is to discover the appearance of negative images of the destination or the overall tourist experience. A small number of images (less than 1%) portraying deserted buildings with broken windows or unclean subway stations were found in some of the Flickr albums. Other negative images are from a demonstration in Independence Square, which is a main tourist district. Some photos of old and odd objects from around the city (such as bricks, rails, chains, etc.) were also found among the images. However, since the objects were presented artistically, they might not be perceived as negative images.

While some of these pictures are tagged with the keyword 'travel', most of them are highly positioned as artistic works, which are associated with photography as a tourist activity and not so much with the experience of place in general. This type of picture, however, cannot be interpreted as an alternative view of the destination. By producing and sharing these pictures, visitors may be trying to share their personal achievements (i.e. the accomplishment of being able to produce artistic photographs in the context of a tourist site), which can be viewed as a personal and social dimension of sharing. Additionally, visitors may also try to show their social networks some interesting spots in the city where people can capture these arty pictures, which in practice are often referred to as the sites of 'Kodak moments'. This, in turn, will potentially create a new set of spatio-temporal justification for travel and provide different scenarios or scripts for potential visitors.

Concluding Remarks

It is argued that destination marketing organizations have typically used similar types of images to communicate notions of the tourist experience to reinforce the desired image in the minds of potential travellers. This hypothesis is proved by the findings of this study, which indicate the similarities of images provided on the GoPhila photo galleries within the same category (sub-gallery) and between categories (sub-galleries). On the other hand, based on the high similarities in regional, local and global semantics, it is also evident that some tourists tend to reproduce the same types of images projected to them at the pre-visit stage, resulting in continuous reproduction of destination representation. However, this study discovered that, even though there are

some visitor-generated images that are identical to the projected images, most visitors represent the destination differently, based on their personal perspective and experiences, by communicating the meaning and context of pictures to viewers. Destination-promoted images are richer in details of objects and arrangements, but visitor-generated images are richer in contextualization and meaning, and in personal knowledge, belief and experience. This result supports the second hypothesis, suggesting that, even though visitor-generated images are largely fragmented, they communicate more detailed and specialized scenarios of travel when they are presented as a set.

Since the process of picture-taking for the purpose of promotion usually involves professionals and has no limitation of space and time in taking the pictures (i.e. time, location and features can be arranged), the destination marketer can produce high-quality pictures portraying objects in their best condition. By displaying these photographs on their websites, destination marketers try to expose the ideal conditions of the city, which will lead to a positive evaluation. On the other hand, visitors have space–time limitations in the activity of picture-taking; the quality of the experiences and, in turn, the pictures depend highly on the particularities of the visit (e.g. weather). Therefore, visitor-generated images tend to reveal a conditional view of the city, which is differentiated or specialized, based on the actual visitation. Consequently, they are important to communicate a differentiated notion of tourism experiences to potential tourists. This result does not support the third hypothesis; the fragmented and conditional nature of the visitor-generated images does not contribute to the disruption of the promoted images; it creates differentiated scenarios that enrich the informational nature of the sharing practice.

The trend of production and consumption of images by tourists suggests the magnitude of the use of the Internet as a medium to provide and share information in the process of mediation, especially for tourists at the anticipatory phase of experience. For potential visitors, searching for information on the Internet enables them to get differentiated images on the same media and compare them side by side to evaluate the destination. For the destination marketers, images posted by visitors on CGM should be viewed as complementary to the destination-promoted images in terms of creating an overall image of the city and the tourism experiences it can afford.

Destination marketers can incorporate visitor-generated images on their websites to support tourists' needs for sharing – for instance, by creating a Web 2.0 platform or links to Web 2.0 sites on their websites, thus allowing visitors to retrieve, store and disseminate destination-related information and build social networks.

One limitation of this study comes from the method: this study utilized image content analyses, which are quantitative in nature, to interpret image data that are rich in qualitative and cultural significance. To overcome this limitation, this study triangulated the content analyses with a qualitative interpretivist approach to deduce the image meaning from textual descriptions about the pictures. This study was conducted without direct interaction with the visitors. Hence, it has no influence on the behaviour of the visitors and the quality of the data. However, a further study involving visitors' intervention might potentially be able to get richer stories for contextualization. Further studies can be done to analyse the characteristics of the visitors, e.g. to find out if visitors from different nationalities and cultural backgrounds represent a destination differently. This will be valuable to help destination marketers understand how to represent destinations to different market segments.

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14 Photographs in Brochures as the Representations of Induced Image in the Marketing of Destinations: a Case Study of Istanbul

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Introduction

Considering the intangibility and the international competitiveness of destinations, image is the chief element in the decision-making process of potential tourists. Therefore, destination image is communicated to potential tourists by many methods, but the most efficient routes of communication in marketing are visual. Brochures that communicate the benefits, both economic and psychological, and the salient geographical and historical features of the destination still have a paramount role in marketing the destinations, although usage of the Internet by potential tourists for collecting information is rapidly increasing. Destination experience is the sum of many products and services, and attractive photographs of the destination reflecting this experience help the tourists to pretaste the product. The use of photographs in the brochures is expected to position the uniqueness of the destination in the minds of the tourists. The concept to be adopted in the photographs of the destination depends on the type of tourism that the destination offers. Therefore, a knowledge of the most important features of a destination and the characteristics of potential tourists who are being targeted certainly guides the destination marketers in photographing the specific mood and atmosphere of the destination that are promoted in the printed brochures.

Istanbul is a spectacularly picturesque city, located at a historically strategic point that bridges two continents, Europe and Asia, divided by the stunning Bosphorus. Great importance has been placed on Istanbul, or Constantinople as it was previously known, because it served as the capital of the Rome Empire first, then as the capital of the Byzantine and Ottoman Empires, in that order. Many historical treasures can be found in Istanbul, such as fortresses, palaces, mosques and churches, which are the heritage remnants from these three great empires. The most important sites can be listed as follows: the Hagia Sophia, the Topkapı Palace, the Blue Mosque, the Basilica Cistern, the fortresses of Anadolu Hisarı and Rumeli Hisarı, the Church of Hagia Irene, and the Maiden's Tower. The cultural remains of many ancient civilizations are in harmony with both Turkish culture and modernism. It was this wealth of culture in Istanbul that led the Council of Ministers of the European Union to select Istanbul as the European Capital of Culture for the year 2010, along with two other cities in Europe. In this study, the contents of the Istanbul brochures printed by both the Istanbul Convention and Visitors Bureau (ICVB) and the Ministry of Culture and Tourism have been analysed, and the Istanbul marketing

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strategy of these brochures is discussed. The Ministry of Culture and Tourism is a government ministry in the Republic of Turkey, the office of which is responsible for culture and tourism affairs in Turkey. The ICVB is a non-profit and non-party organization, working in close coordination with the Ministry of Culture and Tourism. The main responsibilities of the ICVB include designing and implementing strategic marketing campaigns to enhance the reputation of Istanbul after due consideration through meetings, incentives and conferences with ministry officials.

The Concept of Destination Image

Tourists who have not previously visited the destination generally have limited information (Echtner and Ritchie, 1991; Um and Crompton, 1992; Beerli and Martin, 2004), and they are mostly dependent on the image of the destination while making a decision (Fakeye and Crompton, 1991; Baloglu and McCleary, 1999; Tasci *et al.*, 2007). 'Image' as a term consists of both cognitive/perceptual and affective components (Baloglu and Brinberg, 1997; Baloglu and McCleary, 1999; White, 2004), which embellish feelings or auras (White, 2004). In psychology, 'image' tends to refer to a visual representation, whereas the concept of 'image' is more holistic in behavioural geography and includes all the associated impressions, knowledge, emotions, values and beliefs of the individual (Jenkins, 1999). According to Tasci *et al.* (2007), a destination image is an interactive system of thoughts, opinions, feelings, visualizations and intentions towards a destination. Thus, the image represents the destination as embedded in the mind of the tourist and gives him/her a pretaste of that destination (Fakeye and Crompton, 1991), which can influence potential tourists to consider the destination as a favourable choice in their decision-making process.

The term 'image' can be seen as an umbrella construct for different products and services (Mossberg and Kleppe, 2005). As Baloglu and McCleary (1999) have proposed, the elements that influence destination images are multidimensional. Gallarza *et al.* (2002) also suggest that four features identify and describe the construct of an image: it is complex in nature (it is not unequivocal), multiple (in elements and processes), relativistic (subjective and generally comparative) and dynamic (varying with the dimensions of time and space). Um and Crompton (1992) indicate that, in the early stages of selecting a destination, the import of an image is a major indicator in predicting the destinations that evolve from an initial consideration set to a late consideration set. The concept of destination image is significant because, when shaped correctly, it enables the target markets to give preference to a specific vacation destination over other similar destinations (Yüksel and Yüksel, 2001). Although it is not possible to control all the elements intervening to form the image of a destination, it is possible to manipulate some of them, such as advertising, public relations, organizing tourist information offices, advising travel agents and tour operators, and developing promotional instruments (Bigne *et al.*, 2001).Tourism destinations therefore try to create or influence a destination image through these marketing/communication tools (Gartner, 1993; Beerli and Martín, 2004).

Overall competitiveness of a destination is determined by both price and non-price factors (Dwyer *et al.*, 2000). Additionally, Yoon and Uysal (2005) suggest that appropriate attractions and activities of the destination should be allocated and delivered to tourists to enhance the competitiveness of the particular destination. Interest in the product and a desire to purchase the offer must be stimulated through both text and illustrations that clearly depict consumer benefits and competitive advantage (Getz and Sailor, 1993). Competitive positioning is 'the art of developing and communicating meaningful differences between the tourism offerings of a region and those of competitors serving the same target markets' (Baloglu and McCleary, 1999). It is important to be aware of the factors that determine the competitiveness of the tourism industry. As Dwyer *et al.* (2000) conclude, it is useful for both the tourism industry and government to understand the weakest and the strongest points relative to the competitive position of a destination.

Murphy *et al.* (2000) argue that the importance of 'atmosphere' to a tourism experience is tied to the perception of a destination image; as such, the image thus becomes the sum of associations and pieces of information connected with a destination, which can include multiple

components of the characteristics of the destination and personal perception. When tourists encounter incoming information under a destination label, they can compare it with typical images held in their minds (Tapachai and Waryszak, 2000). In the absence of actual visits, destination images are formed through induced agents. The images that result are perceived as touristic products and, as with all products, have a set of attributes associated with them. Touristic product complexity is high owing to the impossibility of trying out the product before purchase. Therefore, the attributes associated with the image of the product as shaped by induced agents become crucially important in the decision-making process involving a destination (Gartner, 1989). The result of Awaritefe's (2004b) study suggests that the foreign tourist requires comprehensive information on the nature or attributes of all environments of the destination, both natural and cultural/historic, in their destination visit objectives.

The attractiveness of a travel destination reflects the feelings, beliefs and opinions of an individual about the perceived ability of a destination to provide satisfaction in relation to his/her special vacation needs (Hu and Ritchie, 1993). As the push factors of the individual reach a certain level, the tourist begins to evaluate destinations that will satisfy his/her wants and needs that are not met in the current environment. The desirable attributes of a specific destination are those external stimuli that create its pull factors. For a given destination to be selected, its pull factors must meet the needs that underlie the push factors driving the tourist (Josiam *et al.*, 1998). Therefore, pull factors can be defined as those that attract people to a specific destination once the decision to travel has been made. They include tangible and intangible cues of a specific destination, such as natural and historical attractions, food, people, recreation facilities, and the induced image of the destination, which pull tourists towards achieving their needs of particular travel experiences (Uysal and Hagan, 1993).

Pictorial Displays in Destination Image

Some of the studies about photography are focused specifically on visitor-related photography (Haywood, 1990; Markwell, 1997; MacKay and Couldwell, 2004), whereas other studies consider brochures (Hem *et al.*, 2003; Molina and Esteban, 2006), postcards (Burns, 2004; Yüksel and Akgül, 2007) and the Internet (Govers and Go, 2005). Many studies about photographs have concentrated on different subjects, such as pictorial representations of an ethnic/racial minority in promotion of the destination (Buzinde *et al.*, 2006), photographs presented in promotional materials for gender-related images (Sirakaya and Sonmez, 2000), and photographs of landscapes representing the destination (Fairweather and Swaffield, 2002). Pictures not only present the product (destination) but also communicate the attributes, characteristics, concepts, values and ideas associated with the destination (MacKay and Fesenmaier, 1997). Visuals in advertising are mostly used to strengthen the text in promoting intangible products such as tourist destinations, to create an attractive impression and generate a pleased sensation. Brochures are important tools that are used in destination marketing to influence the buying behaviour of tourists.

Brochures represent a type of induced image that destination marketers communicate to the tourists. Gunn (1972) explains the induced image as a destination-determined image that reflects the actuality of the destination (MacKay and Fesenmaier, 1997). Baloglu and McCleary (1999) indicate that both the attributes of the destination and the motivations of the tourists should be understood and considered by marketers to influence the effective evaluations of destinations directly. Therefore, the themes of the brochures should be developed such that the destination image is effectively created and maintained by appealing to the motivations of potential tourists. However, some of the researchers argue that the attributes and benefits determine the choice of a destination (Laws *et al.*, 2002). Because tourism is uniquely visual, photographs are considered paramount to successfully creating and communicating the required image of a destination (MacKay and Fesenmaier, 1997). The visual response of consumers to advertising material is of considerable importance to tourism destination marketers (Walters *et al.*, 2007) because photographs can influence the decision-making process of tourists while choosing a destination

for travel. Photographs are widely used in the promotion of a destination, and they are considered as influential tools that can attract potential tourists.

Postcards have attracted only limited attention as creators of images and as destination marketing tools, such as in the studies of Markwick, 2001; Burns, 2004; and Yüksel and Akgül, 2007. Postcard images relate to particular motivations and desires that are associated with both the social structure and the associated ideological discourses that dominate in a specific historical context (Markwick, 2001). Postcards can generate effective images, which in turn results in positive attitudes towards specific holiday destinations (Yüksel and Akgül, 2007). Often, the captions accompanying these postcards use the discourse of discovery and both express and encourage the growing desire of cultural tourists to explore behind the scene (Markwick, 2001). Postcards include just photographs, but brochures additionally include written textual information about a destination.

Tourism destination marketers seek to establish, reinforce or change images (MacKay and Fesenmaier, 1997). Marketers acknowledge the importance of non-verbal communication that occurs through symbols, social and physical cues, and structure of the environment (MacKay and Fesenmaier, 1997). In fact, the visual format (creating a sense of wonder) has more importance than other variables (Molina and Esteban, 2006). The messages of the tourism industry are typically very visual (Dann, 1996; MacKay and Smith, 2006). In fact, over 75% of the contents in most brochures are pictorial (Jenkins, 1999). Pictorial stimuli are better recalled and affect the beliefs and attitudes related to a brand/product, both positively and negatively (MacKay and Fesenmaier, 1997).

Advertisements are symbolic representations of attractions (Hem *et al.*, 2003), and the brochures should respond to the fundamental needs of a tourist and provide all necessary information that influences the choice of the tourist among alternative destinations. A brochure is a type of printed promotional material designed to communicate with existing or potential tourists (Molina and Esteban, 2006). Holiday brochures sell a product. However, they also try to sell something more valuable: images of the local population. Holiday companies provide an individual with a set of cultural, social, political and economic assumptions, from which anybody can assemble both reality and fantasy. The association of people, objects and ideas in advertisements does not exist independently of the tourist; they are provided to him/her as tools to create and discover himself/herself (Uzzell, 1984). Visual tourist destination images are a type of 'text' used to 'represent' the world. In this context, the term 'text' is used broadly beyond the printed page, to include paintings, maps, photographs and even landscapes. Whereas all texts imply certain meanings, these meanings are not fixed and depend partly on the reader and his/her interpretation (Jenkins, 2003). The combination of both visual and written texts intends to enrich the experience of the tourist, and the photographs should be carefully chosen to generate the desire to purchase the product. The significance of brochures cannot be underestimated, in spite of the increasing dependence of tourists on the Internet. In this sense, marketers seek to create effective brochures in terms of content, format and design.

It is evident from the foregoing discussion that the determination of whether brochures are adequate for tourist needs, whether they contribute to destination image formation and whether they have an influence on destination choice are important (Molina and Esteban, 2006). Studies about the contents include both the text and the photographs that convey the necessary message. Photographs should create the impression of inviting tourists to experience the destination in terms of its salient features. On the destination website, there is unlimited opportunity to include any photograph or a photo gallery on the related page of the website. However, the printed medium is limited by the number of pages in the brochure or catalogue, along with the additional constraint of budget.

Impressions can be acquired in many ways, including advertising and promotion, news accounts, editorial stories in magazines and conversations with acquaintances (Gartner and Hunt, 1987). Messages received through mass media (advertising) could be verbal (oral or written) and/or visual in nature (MacKay and Smith, 2006). Because the messages are mostly visual in tourism, so are the destination advertisements. Pictures not only

present the destination but also communicate the attributes, characteristics, concepts, values and ideas relative to a particular destination (Smith and MacKay, 2001). This power enables the photograph to signify or convey appropriate messages to the viewer through many of its pictorial characteristics (Markwick, 2001). Non-verbal cues and visual reinforcement have been suggested to produce superior learning and to be more persuasive than verbal cues (Stewart *et al.*, 1987; cf. Smith and MacKay, 2001). Markwell (1997) also states in his study that photographic images help form expectations of the tour in the pre-travel stage. According to Hem *et al.* (2003), managers of tourism destinations should consider the specific attractions that need to be focused on in their marketing campaigns and the manner in which these should be presented with respect to the selected photographs They should also include good-quality photographs that are easy to remember (Molina and Esteban, 2006). The photographs should also match the contents of the text to support and promote the image of the destination. A reflection of the reality can be observed in the photographs on brochures, and it facilitates the enhancement of expectations about the destination.

Image Representation Study of Istanbul

Public authorities in charge of tourism development currently assign great sums of money to posters, brochures and videos (Molina and Esteban, 2006). Within the tourism and hospitality industry, brochures represent a standard communication tool. They are considered to be almost a necessity for destination areas and individual businesses or attractions, especially by the many public and non-profit agencies that wish to promote their facilities and sites as tourist attractions (Getz and Sailor, 1993). Brochures that manage to form an image have a format based on visual aspects (Molina and Esteban, 2006). Undoubtedly, modern tourism is dependent on the photographic images that form the bulk of tourism brochures and other similar marketing tools (Markwell, 1997). Tourism imagery, the image that the photographs symbolize, assists in creating and maintaining the positioning of the destinations. The aim of this case study is to examine, with respect to a content analysis, the photographs presented in brochures of Istanbul that are printed and distributed by the National Tourism Organization of Turkey (Ministry of Culture and Tourism) and the ICVB for promotional purposes. Although individual tourist businesses print and distribute their own brochures in consonance with the tourism marketing strategies, the above two authorities are responsible for marketing Istanbul as a tourism destination. The brochures used in the study can be obtained and are distributed free of charge at tourism fairs to both potential tourists and intermediaries. As the study aims to investigate the image of Istanbul that is attempted to be communicated through the photographs, the written textual parts of the brochures have not been analysed.

Photographs included in the marketing material for tourism destinations should represent rich tourism experiences and reflect multisensory, fantasy-oriented and emotional cues (Govers and Go, 2005). According to Burns (2004), visual images in multiple forms are used to promote products, cityscapes and landscapes, and, uniquely in the case of tourism, material culture and social structures in the form of lifestyles and daily routines of the people. Instead, if the brochures show pictures that display the old-fashioned aspects of the destination, people may be left uninterested and may perceive the stimuli in a negative manner (Molina and Esteban, 2006). The perceptions of a destination are always subject to change, and photographs have a great influence on the perceptions. Accordingly, marketers tend to use photographs that illustrate the most popular and unique attractions and facilities of Istanbul, which are the landmarks that can best represent the destination.

Tourism marketers and planners can use the photographs as actual depictions of the urban areas that generate interest, enthusiasm and general goodwill (Haywood, 1990). Pictures are an established medium for inducing imagery (MacKay and Fesenmaier, 1997). The findings of the research by Hem *et al.* (2003) imply that evaluations of photographs in the advertisements by potential tourists may influence their intention to visit a destination. Consequently, photographs used in brochures should stimulate the imagination of the tourists

(a)

(b)

(c)

Fig. 14.1. a. Leander's Tower; b. Bosphorus; and c. Dolmabahce Palace (source: Ministry of Tourism and Culture, Turkey).

and create wonder in their minds. Therefore, it is important to explore the photographs of the destination presented in brochures to understand the image that is induced by the destination marketers of Istanbul.

The attractiveness of the destination is considered to be composed of the pull factors, such as natural resources, cultural values, historical sites, special events, local traditions and facilities, which motivate the tourists to travel to that specific destination (Awaritefe, 2004a). For instance, portrayal of natural scenery may imply experiencing nature; portrayal of landmarks and historic sites may indicate heritage appreciation. However, inclusion of people in advertisements may suggest active social interaction (MacKay and Fesenmaier, 1997). The sensation of an interesting and wonderful place should be created when image generation is the main objective (Molina and Esteban, 2006). The old cliché of a picture being worth a thousand words has never been truer than for the promotion of places as tourist destinations. Visual images constitute a powerful component of destination marketing; photographs of scenery, landmarks and icons dominate all types of tourism promotion – from travel brochures and television commercials to advertisements over the Internet (Jenkins, 2003). Photographs are considered to be very valuable communication media by reflecting the visual information and experience of the destination that supports the desired image. Photographs in brochures that are specifically designed for promotion of destinations should reflect the most appealing and unique attributes of a destination, because they are restricted by limitations of pages and space. In this sense, differentiation is the foremost consideration in destination marketing, and it is a way of constructing the desired image.

The destination experience is the net result of consuming many tourism-related or nonrelated products and services. To detail the experiences that tourists might have at a destination, there is a categorical need to describe them particularly in a marketing context. The departure point of this study is that 'photographs are the visual components of advertisements, which can reflect the image of a destination'. It is not an easy task to differentiate a destination by photographs. The photographs should represent a uniqueness that can make a destination stand out from its competitors. Destinations involve many components, and there are tourism enterprises and additional attractions that tourists can benefit from. Given the importance of attractions as the main pull factors that attract potential tourists to a destination, it is important to choose appropriately the photographs that can have the power to make a sensation and entirely and refreshingly represent Istanbul.

Choices about unknown destinations are perceived to be risky, and the outcome of the decision is always ambiguous before the actual travel. As a result, more research about the destination is necessitated to reduce the uncertainty and to avoid unfavourable consequences that the outcome of the decision can result in. Brochures form one of the important marketing media that destination marketing depends on to reach out and communicate with prospective tourists. Although the Internet can be considered a threat to print media, destinations widely use brochures as a marketing medium. Advertisements through brochures make the potential tourists aware of the destination or develop their knowledge about the facilities in the destination and motivate the tourist for a visit. Destination authorities use alluring photographs to create an inviting atmosphere. Tourists tend to compare the attractiveness of the destinations with other alternatives, and therefore the destination marketers try to create an image that can be distinct from its competitors. The brochures include photographs of the many types of attractions, which encourage people to visit the destination.

Because the representations of 'image' have been explored, the visual construct in the brochures is the focal point of this study. Photographs develop competitive advantage, and the imagination of the tourist is also an essential part of the image formation process. Moreover, the symbols of the destinations are the unique landmarks of a destination. As Best (1997) states, photographs are the absolute guarantees of their referent destinations. Table 14.1 lists the results of the content analysis according to the pictorial image representations of Istanbul. There are 162 photographs, which have been analysed in terms of their content.

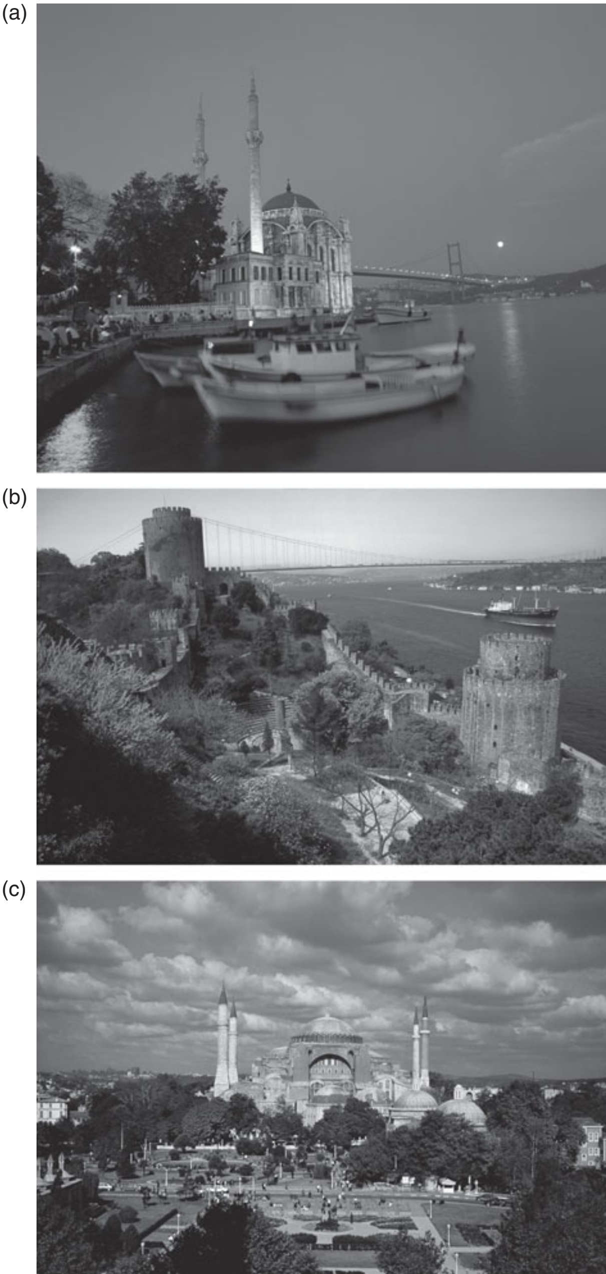

Fig. 14.2. a. Ortaköy; b. Rumeli Fortress; and c. Hagia Sophia (source: Ministry of Tourism and Culture, Turkey).

The 15 categories used in this study for analysis of the photograph content (as listed in Table 14.1) have been identified on the basis of both previous studies on related subjects (Jenkins, 2003; Govers and Go, 2005; Hunter, 2008) and the unique characteristics of the destination, Istanbul. For instance, in addition to the category of historical attractions, which includes palaces, pavilions, monuments, historical ruins, fountains, fortresses and towers, mosques have also been included. Because mosques (places of worship for Muslims) reflect both history and

Table 14.1. Content analysis of photographs in brochures advertising Istanbul.

Category	Frequency	Percentage
Historical attractions	46	26.0
Arts and culture	28	17.2
Scenery	21	13.0
Mosques	17	10.5
Tourism enterprises	11	6.8
Bazaars	8	5.0
Cuisine	8	5.0
Meeting and conference facilities	6	3.7
Streets	4	2.5
Architecture	4	2.5
Artefacts	4	2.5
Shopping	4	2.5
Events	3	1.9
Sports	1	0.6
Natural/physical landscapes	1	0.6
Total	162	100

religion, they have been categorized individually. On the contrary, historical bazaars peculiar to Istanbul, such as the Grand Bazaar, one of the oldest covered markets in the world, and modern shopping malls are categorized separately in this study. It is also observed that there are many photographs of the Bosphorus, and they are categorized under the head 'scenery'.

Hunter (2008) identifies beaches as natural landscapes in the typology of tourism representations by space among other similar spaces, whereas Jenkins (2003) classifies beaches as physical landscapes. In this study, a beach is classified as a natural/physical landscape. However, objects such as carpets, jewellery and others are classified as artefacts, whereas paintings, sculptures, ceramics and glass objects are categorized under 'arts and culture'. The rationale behind classifying them together is the difficulty in distinguishing them from each other. Photographs of museums, concerts, ballets, operas and other events are categorized independently of the 'arts and culture' category. Events can be either the main reason for travel or an additional activity that the tourist can participate in while at a destination. The option to play golf in one of the four golf clubs in Istanbul, with a photograph of a person playing golf, also entices prospective tourists in brochures of Istanbul.

Furthermore, architecture is an essential part of the tourism destination Istanbul. There are representations of various types of architecture, such as specimens belonging to the Roman (Column of Constantine), Byzantine (Hagia Sophia, Hagia Irene, Basilica Cistern, etc.) and Ottoman (Eyüp Sultan Mosque, Topkapı Palace, Dolmabahçe Palace, Ortaköy Mosque and Grand Bazaar) schools of architecture. One of the popular symbols of Istanbul is the well-known Maiden's (Leander's) Tower, located in the Bosphorus Strait. In the arts and culture category, there are museums such as the Istanbul Archaeology Museum, the St Irene Museum, and the Turkish and Islamic Arts.

Tourism enterprises include hotels, bars, cafes, restaurants and so forth. Destinations involve many components, and there are various tourism enterprises and attractions that tourists can benefit from. Given the importance of attractions as the main pull factors of a destination that attract potential tourists, it is important to choose the best attractions that can have the power to create a gratifying impression and represent Istanbul. Cuisine is another crucial element of the destination product, and it can foster the development of cultural tourism. Hjalager and Corigliano (2000) imply that the inclusion of food in marketing and management of tourism appears to have increased considerably over the past few decades. Du Rand and Heath (2006) suggest that destinations with an attractive/unusual/unknown cuisine should consider using it as a branding tool. Food is used as an appealing eye-catcher in brochures, videos and television programmes (Hjalager and Corigliano, 2000). Turkish cuisine has a unique and well-known taste around the world, and it is one of the most attractive aspects additionally offered in Istanbul. According to Quan and Wang (2004), food consumption can be converted into a tourist attraction, using it as a peak touristic experience or as a supporting consumer experience.

Conclusions

To gain the attraction of viewers and tourists, marketers use the most fascinating and exciting

photographs in brochures, catalogues or on the official websites of the destination. These communication tools, both textual and visual, provide brief information about the main attractions of the destinations. The visual information they provide is expected to match the needs of the target markets, although the interpretation of a photograph by one tourist may be different from another. The intention of the two types of destination marketing organizations, governmental and non-governmental, in using photographs within printed brochures is that pictorial displays can successfully create and communicate alluring images of Istanbul and reinforce the appealing image by visualizing the places that are worth visiting and experiencing, such as the palaces, mosques and other attractions. Photographs, acting as image makers, in the above-mentioned brochures, provide tangible cues for the experience that Istanbul offers.

From the tourist point of view, they need evidence that can guarantee their enjoyment during their travel, and the risks that they undertake are linked to the destination itself. Destination is the sum of many products, and it is not easy to create a wholesome impression of the whole product with the photographs. Both photographs and text in the brochures can assist in visualizing the destination in the minds of the potential tourists. The photographs of the destination represent the experience that tourists can enjoy by consuming the amalgam of tourism products, which satisfy their needs, wants and expectations. The first impression of Istanbul is related to its historical past. When the themes of the photographs are studied, it is evident that Istanbul is trying to position itself within history, culture and arts, in addition to its unique location as a bridge between Asia and Europe, by stressing the amazing Bosphorus intensively in all its brochures.

In fact, Istanbul has been assigned as the European Capital of Culture for the year 2010 because of its wealth in culture and arts. This event is associated with the uniqueness of the destination, Istanbul, and its international marketing activities. This will also lead the destination marketing managers to act in a sustainable manner to preserve this invaluable denotation considering its cultural heritage and to develop its destination products apropos of the historical and cultural assets. It is clear that having such a denotation will contribute to the promotion and branding of Istanbul as a popular tourist destination. The case study shows that the pictorial elements of the brochures are derived from a reflection of the many civilizations that flourished in Istanbul. It is crucial for destinations to impress people and create a strong motivation to travel. The photographs profile Istanbul as 'historically dynamic', which is also the slogan for Istanbul assigned by the ICVB. The message that is conveyed by Istanbul is that tourists can have the unique opportunity of experiencing a time travel to the above-mentioned three civilizations during their visit to Istanbul.

Photographs also assist the tourist in understanding the induced image better in comparison with written text, because they provide visual information that is easy to perceive. The photographs analysed herein are mostly attractions related to either a place or an event and represent the fundamental characteristics of destination Istanbul, aiming to attract tourists. The marketers embrace and appreciate the motto 'colourful, different photographs make destinations appear more attractive than text'. Therefore, the photographs generally portray the historical places, in combination with the blue sea and the blue sky. Destinations strive to enhance their images by using these brochures to outwit their competitors and influence the decision-making process of tourists in the international tourism market. The significance that is expressed by the photographs to present and induce a concrete image of the destination is the focal point of the study. Destination image attributes are determined by the marketer, such as the landmarks that have to be focused on in the photographs and so forth. The attractions or the attributes of a destination should have paramount importance with reference to the cultural, historical and/or natural resources, thus adding to the attractiveness of the features. Any destination-related feature has an effect on the image-formation process of a destination. Therefore, the quality of the photograph, including clearness, light, harmony of the colours, the apt angle that the photograph is taken from and the right time of the shot, improves the ability of photographs to capture the attention of potential tourists.

It has been observed that the brochures of the ICVB only include photographs of meeting and conference facilities, in addition to private tourism enterprises. It is clear that the bureau mostly focuses on meetings and conventions in the context of destination marketing. Conversely, the brochure of the Ministry of Culture and Tourism does not include any of these features. It can be said that the ICVB devotes interest particularly to business travellers, whereas the national tourism organization specifically concentrates on the leisure traveller.

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15 Rematerializing Tourism Research through Visual Ethnography

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Introduction

In this chapter I discuss how visual ethnography can help understand the significance of material culture within tourism. I do so by analysing two videos of tourists shopping for souvenirs in a curio market in Swaziland (Southern Africa). These videos evoke 'how all types of material, intangible, spoken and performed narratives and discourse are interwoven with and made meaningful in relation to social relationships, practices and individual experiences' (Pink, 2006: 7). Rather than analysing these videos in terms of their representative content, I consider their aesthetic value within ethnographic research. I begin in this chapter by considering the significance of materiality to tourism studies and outline the methods adopted as a way of researching this. I then focus on the value of visual methods within ethnographic research attentive to materiality. Tourists often explained that they were 'just looking' whilst shopping, performing particular routines and rhythms of walking through the markets. The videos evoke how these practices of shopping involved habitual and sensual interactions which privileged the unique aesthetic and physical qualities of objects. They highlight how 'just looking' is constitutive of the *doing* of tourism, where touristic consumption is not a straightforward act of appropriation but involves a complex set of interactions with objects and sellers. The final section of this chapter draws upon video material to analyse how discourses and materiality are interwoven within tourism encounters. I conclude by discussing the productive value of visual methods as they reconfigure our understanding of materiality and tourism visualities.

'Rematerializing' Tourism Research

Following the dominance of Urry's (1990) *The Tourist Gaze* and MacCannell's (1976) writings on authenticity within tourism literature, the significance of objects within tourism has been limited to their symbolic and discursive roles (Morgan and Pritchard, 2005; Haldrup and Larsen, 2006). However, a great deal of work in tourism studies is now exploring how the 'doing' of tourism involves 'an intimate and complex relationship *with* tourist sites, heritage buildings, museum artefacts, art gallery objects, souvenirs and postcards, cameras and videos, food and drinks, tickets and passports, planes and trains' (Franklin, 2003: 101). While a great deal of tourism research has recognized the importance of narrative as a way of making meaning in tourism (Stewart, 1992; Bruner, 2005; Morgan and Pritchard, 2005), this recent work has begun to shift from a focus on the linguistic and discursive meanings of tourism representations towards the mundane materialities that are

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constitutive of tourism practices. Haldrup and Larsen (2006), for instance, consider how cameras are integral to performing the role of a tourist. Other work also explores the role of sand and sea (Obradoh-Pons, 2007), walking boots (Edensor, 2000) and photographs (Crang, 1997) in enacting embodied tourist practices. By engaging with the various relations and overlaps between tourism and the everyday, this broad body of literature evokes how tourism is constituted through objects, decentring the human agency of tourists (Sheller and Urry, 2004; Crang, 2006; Edensor, 2007).

There has also been a proliferation of recent literature exploring the material culture of tourism. Lury (1997), Morgan and Pritchard (2005), and Love and Kohn (2001) all explore how souvenir objects entangle tourism experiences within everyday spaces of the home. Any object, therefore, has the capacity to perform the role of a souvenir as long as 'its physical presence helps locate, define and freeze in time a fleeting transitory experience and bring back into ordinary experience something of the quality of extraordinary experience' (Gordon, 1986: 135). This literature tends to focus on the narrative significance of souvenirs for tourists, but in doing so suggests that these objects are constitutive of tourism practices and experiences. Some work is also beginning to explore how the meanings and form of souvenirs emerge through a negotiation of production and consumption processes (Jules-Rosette, 1986; Hitchcock and Teague, 2000; Causey, 2003). However, tourist souvenirs are often conceptualized as 'surrogates of human relations and representations of identity' (Ateljevic and Doorne, 2003: 124) or according to their capacity to inspire narrative remembering in the home (Stewart, 1992). This understanding implies that culture and identity are fixed and unchanging, ready to be objectified through tourism and souvenirs as a product of this (Coleman and Crang, 2002). Extending these insights, it is necessary to address the sensuous immediacy of objects as they become entangled in tourism practices, in order to understand the complex ways in which meaning is made. Souvenirs might then be recognized as integral to the 'doing' of tourism while away and at home, rather than simply its 'baggage' (Phillips and Steiner, 1999; Crouch *et al.*, 2001).

Following Souvenirs

This chapter is based upon a 3-year project that explored how objects were produced, marketed, sold and purchased as souvenirs in Swaziland (Southern Africa), as well as how souvenirs were displayed, used and kept in tourists' homes across the UK. This research process is known as 'follow the thing', which involves ethnographic research in multiple locations to consider how the lives of producers and consumers are connected (often unknowingly) in complex ways through specific objects (Appadurai, 1986; Marcus, 1995; Cook, 2004). However, this research process was adapted to be open to the possibility that any object could potentially become a souvenir. Equally, the status of objects is always subject to change and they often do not perform the role of a souvenir, for instance when they are left forgotten on a shelf in tourists' homes or when they are not sold and remain displayed in the marketplace. Rather than following specific souvenirs, ethnographic research was based within the sites of souvenir production and consumption.

Swaziland was chosen as a focus for this research because of the size and diversity of its souvenir industry, as well as its significance to tourists. Although tourists typically only spend a few days in Swaziland as part of a broader tour of South Africa, Swaziland was known for its craft. As *The Lonely Planet Guide to South Africa, Lesotho and Swaziland* (Fitzpatrick *et al.*, 2004: 20) explains, 'Swaziland's crafts are top-notch and another way to step into the culture.' While there were many established tourism activities, tours and excursions in Swaziland, these predominantly involved shopping for souvenirs. In Swaziland, 56 tourists were directly involved in this research through a combination of in-depth interviews and 'accompanied shopping trips'. Tourists were recruited in their accommodation or while shopping in any of the three tourist markets and six souvenir-producing companies in Swaziland. Tourists ranged in age (from 18 to 80) and in type, travelling by a backpacking bus service, public transport, small group tours, large tour buses and self-drive tours. These all followed very similar tour routes through South Africa and Swaziland, reflecting what Cloke and Perkins (1998) describe as the 'socio-spatialization' of tourism activities. In the UK, 13

follow-up in-depth interviews were undertaken with some of the tourists recruited in Swaziland. These took place in tourists' homes and lasted from 1 to 3 hours. They explored how the meanings surrounding souvenirs had developed through their incorporation into the home (Miller, 2001). A further month was also spent in Swaziland carrying out 22 in-depth interviews with a variety of people working within the souvenir industry, from market vendors to managers of companies, to woodcarvers. Elsewhere I have written about the broader findings of this research according to how tourist souvenirs and materiality might be conceptualized (see Ramsay, 2009). For the purposes of this chapter, however, I will focus upon research undertaken with tourists in Swaziland. Before doing so I will discuss the role of visual methods within tourism studies in general and in my research specifically.

Visual Methods and Tourism Research

Tourism researchers have tended to analyse *found* visual images produced for touristic consumption, 'reading' these as text and equating images with discourse. Visual images are then interpreted through their ability to fix, freeze and frame the world (Lury, 1997; Feighey, 2003). Given the critique and tensions surrounding *The Tourist Gaze* it is perhaps unsurprising that video methods are avoided by researchers. However, video methods have proved particularly helpful in other disciplines. In ethnomethodology, for instance, video is used as a way of recording how talk occurs in social settings and as a way of analysing the social organization of language. Video is useful in this context because it shows how people interact with each other and express emotions in ways which cannot be accessed through interview transcriptions of talk alone. Given the interest in the performative nature of tourism, video methods might also be well positioned to research the habitual routines which constitute the *doing* of tourism.

Visual methods might therefore be adopted as part of a reflexive and participatory research process, acknowledging how visual imagery is always situated, partial and subjective (Heath and Hindmarsh, 2002; Laurier, 2004). Furthermore, when analysed reflexively, it is possible to maintain a sense of how objects emerged as meaningful within particular events. The issues surrounding visual methods therefore lie in their *analysis* rather than their *practice* within research (Kindon, 2003; Pink, 2006). Researcher-produced videos with tourists can therefore evoke how tourists' practices of shopping are performative and sensual encounters, as I will continue to discuss throughout this chapter.

During the course of 3 months' ethnographic research with tourists in Swaziland, I created 15 videos whilst undertaking 'accompanied shopping trips' with tourists. The small number is in part because it took a while to feel comfortable with filming. I was well aware of the critiques surrounding visual methods and did not want to distance myself from tourists or those working in the souvenir industry. However, after a month of ethnographic research in Swaziland I felt I was missing something. Video and photography were very much part of tourists' shopping practices and it felt awkward not participating in the same practices. I therefore began to ask tourists and sellers whom I had got to know well or who seemed particularly interested in participating in my research if I could film them. This process was helped by using a digital photography camera (rather than a video camera) to create the videos. Although the images were not particularly high quality, the camera was small and unobtrusive and had a neck strap, making the whole situation more comfortable. I only filmed for parts of purchasing trips and often focused upon purchasing decisions for about 5 min at a time. Tourists and sellers took little interest in me or the camera while I was filming, and in many ways it gave me a role within encounters. The neck strap also meant that I could become involved in purchasing decisions and contribute to discussions surrounding which objects to buy, rather than solely filming as an external viewer. I therefore developed my use of video methods as the ethnographic research progressed to fit the context. The videos created in this research were therefore an evidentiary form of visual note-taking within ethnographic research exploring tourists' shopping practices (Crang, 2003; Law, 2004). I wrote a synopsis for each video and transcribed any conversation, incorporating details of the objects and interactions involved. However, when analysed as part of a wider ethnographic research project they also enabled a

form of 'visual thinking' or retrospective fieldwork (Pink, 2006). Watching these videos made connections with my personal experiences of accompanying tourists shopping for souvenirs on a daily basis for 3 months. They evoke a sense of the ordinary and repetitive nature of this tourism practice, something which tourists often described as 'just looking'.

Just Looking

Ezulwini Valley market is the largest and main tourist market in Swaziland. It is a couple of minutes' walk from three major hotels or a short bus ride from backpackers' accommodation, making it a key site to visit for the majority of tourists who visit Swaziland. The first thing that strikes you about Ezulwini Valley market is its sheer length: it looks to extend almost as far as you can see, with over 100 box-like stalls, all in one long line beside a major road (Fig. 15.1).

Objects adorn the shelves, display tables, walls, front and back of each stall, filling every available gap while still offering tourists enough space to walk through. A typical stall is approximately 2.5 m (8 ft) wide, 3 m (10 ft) deep and 2 m (7 ft) high, and in any one stall there might be batiks, paintings or fabrics hanging from the ceilings, jewellery fixed to the walls and carved soapstone objects (statues, animals) on the tables. There is likely to be any combination of wooden salad bowls, grass woven mats, key rings, T-shirts, beadwork, wooden sculptures, carved giraffes, chairs and tables, drums, masks, wire- and metalwork. However, tourists often found the choice and variety of objects for sale as souvenirs overwhelming, complaining the market was too long, too hot and that everything looked the same. I wrote in my own research diary, echoing a comment someone had made earlier that day, 'if I see one more souvenir. . .' However, the unfinished sentence is the key here, for tourists continued shopping, as did I with them. This is highlighted by Chris and Georgie, two tourists who were visiting Swaziland for 3 days as part of a month-long backpacking tour of South Africa. They explained that they were intending to buy a gift for their friends, Gemma and Alister, and were thinking of doing so in Swaziland. However, on the day I accompanied them to Ezulwini Valley market, they explained why they were 'just looking':

> NR: Are you going to buy a present for your friends today?
>
> CHRIS: I'm not sure to be honest. I mean if we see something we really like for a good price

Fig. 15.1. Ezulwini Valley market in Swaziland (photograph taken by the author).

> we'll buy it, but we've been to quite a few markets already and it's pretty much all the same really, so I think we'll wait until later on in our trip to buy anything. So I guess we're just looking and trying to decide what to get them
> (Chris and Georgie, backpacking tourists, purchasing trip, Swaziland, November 2006)

While shopping within the markets in Swaziland, tourists did not just 'gaze' upon the extraordinary, but instead involved a familiar and mundane process of 'just looking' (Crang, 2003; Pink, 2006). Tourists would spend a few hours in Ezulwini Valley market, slowly walking along the front of stalls and stopping every so often to look inside at the objects for sale, particularly when encouraged by sellers, routines which were therefore integral to the practice of 'just looking'. However, when tourists discuss how the market is full of the same objects they have seen for sale before and probably will again, it is necessary to question further what is happening in their practices of 'looking' and why this is significant. The answers to these questions only began to emerge when watching videos produced during ethnographic research.

The following extract from a transcript of a video taken with Chris and Georgie during their trip to Ezulwini Valley market demonstrates their practice of 'just looking'. While shopping they settle upon buying a small wooden bowl to give to their friends and yet they continue 'just looking'. The video begins in a stall with numerous wooden bowls displayed alongside each other, as the couple compare which they should buy:

> GEORGIE: How much is this? [she indicates one of the bowls to the seller]
> SELLER: This one is 80.
> GEORGIE: OK.
> SELLER: This one is 35.
> GEORGIE: OK.
> SELLER: This one is 55.
> GEORGIE: Are these the same?
> SELLER: Yes but this one is 50 rands.
> GEORGIE: OK.
> SELLER: A good price for you; I'll give you a special price.
> CHRIS: That's quite solid wood Georgie.
> GEORGIE: Oh yeah it is. It's quite nice.
> CHRIS: I think I prefer this colour.
> GEORGIE: Yeah.
> CHRIS: Feel the weight of that.
> GEORGIE: What's this one got on it, a lion, buffalo, elephant, rhino and I imagine a leopard. . .Are these separate? [Salad serving spoons]
> SELLER: These are separate; they are 45.
> CHRIS: Oh, OK. Thank you.
> GEORGIE: What do you think for Gemma and Alister?
> CHRIS: Yeah that's small enough.
> GEORGIE: Shall we get that one?
> CHRIS: I'm not really sure; I'm gonna keep wandering; we can always come back.
> (Georgie and Chris, backpacking tourists, Ezulwini Valley market, Swaziland, September 2006, extract from video created by the author.)

During this encounter Georgie and Chris are faced with deciding which of numerous similar wooden bowls to purchase (Fig. 15.2). The video highlights how this decision takes an extraordinarily long time and involves a continual process of picking up, moving and examining objects. This practice provides a way of gaining information on prices, without committing to making a purchase, potentially helping the bartering process. However, it also highlights the uncertainty provoked by multiple similar objects, which then provoke attempts to notice and articulate their unique qualities. For Chris and Georgie this involves feeling objects in order to compare their colour, solidity and carving patterns. Shopping in

Fig. 15.2. Wooden bowls for sale at Ezulwini Valley market, Swaziland, September 2006 (video still created by the author).

this sense involved looking at, picking up and comparing objects rather than solely focusing upon purchasing, where tourists wandered past stalls until they were distracted by specific objects (or a seller).

This video therefore highlights how the process of 'just looking' involved complex practices of interacting with objects through touch as much as sight. Tourists invested a great deal of time and energy into recognizing the unique variations between objects, rather than noticing them because they were particularly different, unusual or extraordinary. This is demonstrated as Chris and Georgie stand back from, move towards, pick up and put down these objects. Their similarity provokes indecision, and Chris decides they should keep wandering rather than choosing between the objects in front of them. The video highlights how objects have an overwhelming presence, which makes it difficult to recognize their uniqueness. The consumption of souvenirs is therefore not a simple act of visual appropriation, commodifying, appropriating and simplistically stereotyping the world (Urry, 1990). Instead the meanings of souvenirs emerge through a negotiation between tourists and the materiality of objects, as well as their association with other stories, people and events. In this context the process of 'just looking' helps single out souvenirs from the mass of standardized objects for sale in the marketplace (Littrell *et al.*, 1993; Steiner, 1999; Moreno and Littrell, 2001; Goss, 2004).

After filming this purchasing event, Georgie and Chris decide to purchase a wooden carved box rather than a bowl as a present for their friends. However, in a later interview Georgie and Chris explain their purchase based upon the quality of the carving, the price and its suitability as a gift for their friends. Like many other tourists, the long process of shopping, looking at other objects, researching prices and indecision did not feature as significant when they explained why particular souvenirs were chosen to represent their holiday. It is for this reason that the videos are insightful as part of an ethnographic

research process, because they allow meaning to emerge from, rather than being imposed upon, objects. They exposed a gap between what people said and what they did, suggesting that there was something more to these objects than being a simple memento. Analysing video material therefore makes it possible to recognize the presence of objects, rather than overlooking their significance according to their souvenir or gift status. It is necessary then to consider further how and why the unique material qualities of objects became meaningful to tourists.

Video 2: Buying an Egg-shaped Carving (see Figure 15.3)

The following narrative was constructed from video material and ethnographic notes (Swaziland 2006).

Naomi is 24 years old and has spent the past year travelling around the world after finishing her university degree. I accompanied her to Ezulwini Valley market, acting somewhat as a tour guide, as she had never taken public transport before. Although apprehensive, Naomi said this was a liberating experience, particularly having only travelled on organized tours before. On the bus journey, Naomi explains how she cannot buy much in Swaziland because she has no room in her rucksack after travelling for a year. However, she also tells me how she loves going to markets to look round and see what's being made, particularly because she loves 'African art stuff', which is beautiful and different, as well as interacting with market sellers.

After walking through the market for an hour or so, we both stop to admire some statues at the front of a stall, and Naomi notices a large oval soapstone carving, which she picks up (see Figure 15.3). The owner of the stall, Moses, had already taken part in my research and upon seeing us approaches and asks how we are. He introduces himself to Naomi and asks her how long she thought it took him to carve the object she is holding. She guessed a day or two but wasn't that sure and admires how beautiful the carving is. At this point I begin filming as Naomi explains 'I really like that. . .I think its just like something that would draw you in, you'd go like, what, it's got holes in it.' I agree that it is 'really nice' and 'quite different from the normal soapstone carvings you see'. Moses explains how the soapstone was sourced from the mountains in the north of Swaziland and points out the fine details he has carved. He also explains how he stains the soapstone by making a fire to heat the stone and then applying brown shoe polish. We both then go inside the stall with Moses and look at his other carvings as he explains the differences in detail between them. Naomi decides to buy the egg-shaped carving and Moses asks for 100 Rands (approximately £8.50) and she agrees to pay this price. He wrapped the carving in newspaper and a black plastic bag and Naomi gave him the money and I stopped filming. We carried on talking for another 5 min before continuing to walk along the market. On the bus journey home Naomi commented, 'I really liked him; he was really good fun.'

During this encounter the aesthetic qualities of the soapstone carving become particularly significant. For instance, Moses points to different details of the object as he describes his carving technique, indicating that it is handmade and the significance this might have for Naomi as a tourist. Naomi demonstrates her appreciation of the carving's 'unique' qualities when she comments, 'I really like that. . .I think it's just like something that would draw you in, you'd go like, what, it's got holes in it.' I discussed earlier how the similarity and repetition of objects sold at Ezulwini Valley market was overwhelming for tourists searching for unique objects. Extending these insights, the apparent mass production of souvenirs creates a certain 'authenticity anxiety' for tourists, undermining their unique qualities (Steiner, 1999; Belk, 2001; Morgan and Pritchard, 2005). Handcrafted objects are often valorized by tourists and academics as the hallmark of 'authenticity' because they embody 'traditional' production processes (Campbell, 2005). The value of the souvenir, as Susan Stewart (1992: 135) discusses, lies in its 'material relation to that location'. It is particularly pertinent in this purchasing event that the handmade is given significance as Moses encourages Naomi to appreciate the unique qualities of his carvings. Moses's jokes and interactions encourage Naomi to spend more time in his stall and influence her decision to purchase a carving, thereby interrupting the process of 'just looking'.

Fig. 15.3. a. Naomi and Moses looking at soapstone carvings, Ezulwini Valley market, Swaziland, September 2006. b. Moses's egg-shaped soapstone carvings, Ezulwini Valley market, September 2006 (video stills created by the author).

This video therefore conveys how meanings might emerge through objects and their materiality in subtle ways within purchasing events. While a great deal of research addresses how souvenirs and tourism more broadly draw upon stereotyped imaginaries of place, less is understood about how discursive rhetoric emerges through everyday practices (Jules-Rosette, 1986; Cook *et al.*, 2000; Rabine, 2002; Notar, 2006). Haldrup and Larsen's (2006) notion of 'practical orientalism' is useful here, which they use to explain the translation of hegemonic discourses into everyday practices, so that they enter into 'the habitual spaces of ordinary experience' (Haldrup and Larsen, 2006: 277). Drawing upon Said's (1978) discussions of orientalism, they highlight how western imaginaries of 'Other' people and places are reproduced in everyday life through unconscious interactions and practices. This is also apparent in the interactions between Naomi and Moses, where a shared understanding that souvenirs purchased in Swaziland should be handmade is enacted. Furthermore, Naomi's appreciation for 'African art stuff' designates 'Africa' as a social category, and, although she does not describe any specific object as 'African', she evokes how this has a particular aesthetic form and quality, which she will encounter in the marketplace. However, this video also evokes how Naomi and Moses negotiate the handmade as a unique skill, personalizing the souvenir and its 'story'. Extending Haldrup and Larsen's (2003) work, it is possible to suggest that souvenirs play an active role in creating imaginaries of 'Africanness' rather than simply objectifying them. As such, the video highlights how tourists 'look' and interact with souvenirs and begins to evoke how meanings and discourses emerge through this process. These

insights have since informed my analysis of data gathered in both Swaziland and the UK, opening up the scope for further consideration as to how the discourses surrounding touristic consumption are negotiated *through* and *with* the materiality of souvenirs.

Conclusions

Visual methods, like souvenirs, have been criticized within academic literature for their evidentiary and objectifying nature (Pink, 2006). However, this chapter has shown how thinking through the materiality of objects and the visual in synthesis might help reconfigure our understandings thereof. They allow the various material aesthetics of souvenirs to be recognized as significant in and of themselves, before they are narrated by tourists as their souvenirs from 'Swaziland'. While video was not a central component of this research, it was particularly useful in revisiting the embodied experiences of shopping with tourists. Watching these again after completing this research evoked how and why the mundane activity of 'just looking' was significant to tourists. This is as much a sensual practice as it is visual, and involved differentiating between and acknowledging the uniqueness of various souvenir objects.

The process of 'just looking' therefore revises any notion of the 'tourist gaze' as an act of visual appropriation (of images) or consumption (of discourses) in tourism. These videos evoke how the meanings of objects are negotiated through their material qualities by tourists and sellers within particular encounters. Here, touristic consumption involves a complex set of interactions between objects, sellers and tourists. Video methods therefore have the potential to offer a more nuanced understanding of tourism encounters and the complex, processual and contingent ways in which meaning is made and remade. While these are reliant on discourses of authenticity and the 'African' nature of souvenirs, the tourists' search for unique objects among a mass of objects that 'all look the same' indicates that these discourses are not fixed, stable or fully defined but are subject to negotiation through objects. By attending to the processual and elusive ways in which meanings are made and discourses materialize, these videos suggest that tourists' search for the unique might redefine how their imagination of 'Africa' is objectified, particularly as innovative sellers respond to this.

In this chapter I have shown how researcher-produced images offer a useful approach to understanding modern tourism practices, helping to anchor the embodied sensory experiences of everyday life. However, video methods are useful here because they are interwoven with the theoretical and methodological premises of this research and have developed with both of theses (Pink, 2006).They offer a partial, subjective and fragmented process of looking with the tourists in this research. It is therefore important to analyse video alongside ethnographic research, as well as addressing the interplay between filming and viewing, method and theory, there and here, subject and object. This chapter concludes that the creation and analysis of visual data within tourism research offer a rich insight into the ways meaning is made. Paying attention to tourist encounters highlights how these are caught up with various aesthetic materialities. Overall it is possible to recognize how souvenirs are not simply the material culture of tourism but are constitutive of and integral to tourism practices and experiences.

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16 Images of Beauty and Family. Contemporary Imagery at Aquafan

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Introduction

This chapter reports on visual research conducted by LaRiCA (Research Lab for Advanced Communication, Faculty of Sociology, University of Urbino 'Carlo Bo') at Aquafan, one of the most important Italian aquatic parks and considered to be one of the favourite leisure and travel destination by young people and families.

According to the sociological and anthropological traditions (Sorkin, 1992; Bryman, 1995; Augé, 1997; Ritzer, 1999), Aquafan can be considered as a privileged point of observation of social dynamics, in which individuals experience different forms of life – such as beauty, family, friendship, aesthetics, etc. – which structure identity and the ways that functionalize them for being useful to other spheres of life.

This research will use sociological analysis in understanding Aquafan as a place devoted to leisure time, a destination of summer tourism and as one of the tourist places occupying a privileged position in the evolution of Italian mass tourism.

More precisely, this study demonstrates: (i) modes through which individuals and social groups find opportunities to test complex identity processes; and (ii) that new collective representations suitable for modernity and its communicational trends can be built.

The Study Background

Everyday and creative practices of consumption, the world of leisure (Dumazedier, 1993; Corbin, 1995; Mothé, 1998), and the ways of staying together in different forms of contemporary communication can be usefully seen in such places as theme parks. In these places we can observe, first of all, the complex dialectics between global and local (Featherstone, 1990; Anderson, 1991; Appadurai, 1996; Beck, 1997; Luhmann, 1997).

Parks represent a global logic of entertainment based on forms of imagery spread by mass media. Just think about cinema, a medium that, thanks to its audio-visual convergence, has let everybody daydream – as Edgar Morin (1962, 1995) was able to describe in his classical works on that theme – and see those dreams materialized. In particular, amusement parks embody the world of fairy tales, games and childhood. Nowadays parks are places where turning everything into a show, even a technological one, has reached more and more sophisticated levels, and where the aesthetics, just like the attitude of people towards forms and visuals, has been characterized for many years according to the criteria of the digital video culture (Darley, 2000).

In relation to this global logic of the communication, and inside this same logic, these

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parks may also take on the characteristics of the places where they were built, taking into consideration the peculiarities of their areas, history, culture and imagery and their collective representations. In the context of the tourist industry and the competition inside the same social tourism system, it is important to activate the processes of the offer differentiation. As stated above, the standardized trend of production – and therefore in our case the spread of parks – has always to be associated with innovation and individualization, i.e. with the ability to create novelties: making a place attractive both for its general connotation, like for other similar places, and for the particular aspect.

There are many cases of this approach in Italy. For instance, Miniature Model Italy is one of the first examples of the kind: a small-scale version of the 'boot of Italy', with its regions, its towns and cities, and its most famous monuments, the ones which are a must in a short but intense sightseeing tour. Another one is the park devoted to Pinocchio, the most famous Italian fairy tale, which is at Collodi in Tuscany; and finally Aquafan itself, with its slides named after regional dialects, and so on.

These typical examples let us understand the relationship between global and local forms, which characterizes many phenomena that we can observe today and lets us describe the thematic and amusement parks in terms of individualism and a new form of tribalism (Maffesoli, 1988), body languages and mass languages (Rockwell and Mau, 2006), cultural industrial logic (Horkheimer and Adorno, 1966) and vocational consumptions (Abruzzese, 2000).

Entertainment places represent the development of the modern and contemporary society: the show of the Great Universal Exposures; the technological progress, the new ways to look at the world and to get inside it; to develop individuality, the modern ideology of the laissez-faire and the concept of mass at the same time. This is the context where the cultural industry develops, that is to say the reproduction in series of the cultural products that must be innovative and standardized in the new logic of the market (Morin, 1962). What we can see today is, on the one hand, the expansion of the dynamics of the modernization and, on the other hand, the emergence of new culture, communication and consumption modes, which concern individual tactics (De Certau, 1980).

In modern society leisure time – and in it the tourist and entertainment places – is the ideal context for people to express themselves and to define social relationships, even the family ones. In this study we try to understand how in these leisure parks we can also see some of the emerging themes of contemporary society and the ways in which individuals experience the world. In short, the study background of this work has to be found in the correlation among leisure time, tourist gaze and forms of the modern and contemporary imagery. In particular our interest was, agreeing with the client (the management team of Aquafan), to investigate at Aquafan two different contexts of the society and its imagery. Our first subject was beauty, i.e. an undisputed value of the society of the image. Secondly, we observed family, a social system in continuous evolution, and its representations.

Methodology

Beauty and the representation of the family are visually remarkable phenomena (Curry and Clark, 1981) and therefore visual sociology has been considered the most proper methodology to observe these two different objects. Pictures, and other kinds of visual products, such as video for example, allow communication between observer and observed, between the researcher and subject. Pictures enable comparisons between different gazes and opinions, beginning from a common base of reflection. In this sense, the techniques of interview – native image making and photo-elicitation – characterize visual sociology as a non-directive method and allow the application of an important theoretical choice, based on the phenomenological approach by Edmund Husserl. This approach is characterized by the empathy between observer and observed, and the interviewer always tries to pay attention to interviewees without prejudice, that is to say in an objective manner.

The research at Aquafan, carried out in July–August 2005, involved a group of people composed of over 50 interviewees aged from 17 to 50 and divided into two groups. The first group, taken from the visitors to Aquafan, was

asked to take pictures of their 'own idea of beauty and family'. The team gave them digital cameras, which Sony gave to Aquafan, for those people who kindly took part in this project and for this reason got a free entrance ticket to the park. After developing the photos in the Kodak shop in Aquafan, the team interviewed the first group. After first processing of the data, the team drew a series of visual indicators about beauty and family and made an outline to interview the second group.

For the second series of interviews also, this time with photo-elicitation, the method was to let the interviewees choose those stimuli closer to their sensibility and let them express their attitudes and opinions in non-directed ways, according to the principles of the qualitative use of visual sociology.

Another important and particular aspect of this method was the opportunity to work in real time and with a concurrence of time (development of the photos and following interview) and space, according to an immersion-like dimension. Both the person who took the photos and the interviewee are in that context; they live it as a performance space and they reflect upon it in visual and cognitive terms. The interviews took place near a stand where people were allowed to pose alongside one of the swimming pools in full swing (swimming, games, dances). In other words: everything happened in the same sensory context where the leisure experience was going on.

Findings and Analysis

Thanks to the interviews analysis, the research team could make some useful reflections to map out the changes of scenario, which we would like to explain as follows.

Beauty

The first interesting and unexpected result concerns the definition of beauty. The interviewees, in fact, told the research team that today beauty means, first of all, living the experience of beauty.

This deals with being together with other people, having fun, physically sharing the same place without knowing one another. This aspect came out even before the aesthetic criteria (based on the body), which nevertheless may be seen in Aquafan and were also embodied in some of the interviewees. Beauty is therefore 'the wish to physically share sensations' (as a male interviewee D., aged 54, said). The others are not invisible in the crowd but mingle with us and are present, visible and perceivable. It is the language of the multitude, where being together is not imposed by a particular event but follows the choice of being there, participating without a precise goal: 'living a beautiful experience' (an interviewee, F., aged 20, said). It is 'being together for being together', R., aged 40, said.

Beauty, which still refers to the aesthetic canons in the public imagination, brings to mind another value in the interviewees' words: the body as a relationship, a way to communicate with the others. Not necessarily a tanned, strong-muscled, fit body but a 'simple' medium of communication. And this deals with a 'natural' wish not only of the young of being together but also of the adults, who enthusiastically take part, alone or inside the family, in the collective experience (Fig. 16.1).

When an aesthetic dimension comes out of this background, it takes the form of an 'artificial simplicity'. This is an aspect focused on, above all, by male interviewees. Beauty means, therefore, building the simplicity, a sort of invisible make-up. If we had to use some metaphors to clarify this concept, we could say that it is an idea of beauty connected with a lipgloss and not with a lipstick, connected with an accessory instead of a jewel.

This seeming simplicity depends on the fact that in order to communicate ourselves we have learned techniques and strategies coming from the media. The media, in fact, with their fictional works, with publicity, etc., have made familiar to us, as we'll see later, the idea that artificial and natural go together (Fig. 16.2).

Another aesthetic dimension comes out from the interviewees and concerns nature as a place of beauty. Nature considered as 'pure beauty' (D., male, 54 years), as 'emotional beauty, which leaves you breathless (V., female, 24 years), which lets you 'into a dream' (N., male, 17 years). This idea of beauty is not really connected with a 'natural' nature but is based on

Fig. 16.1. The language of multitude: beauty as an experience to feel.

Fig. 16.2. A naturally built-up beauty: from the lipstick to the lipgloss.

an imagined nature, where human intervention is not considered as a problem: well-arranged small gardens, artificial tropical beaches and a mountain stream flowing along polycarbonate rocks. It's a kind of beauty where genuineness is no longer a problem, because the genuineness of the experience is, once more, what really matters (Fig. 16.3).

Family today

Today, when we speak about family we often think about an ever-changing reality (Luhmann, 1982; Dizard and Gadlin, 1990; Giddens, 1990). We have to take into consideration the new and different conformations that today's families may have, keeping their value unchanged. Family is still seen as the original landmark for people. As a young interviewee said: Family is the main point. Even if we don't think like that, it is still a landmark' (G., female, 17 years). In other words, the value and the role of the family institution as an essentially close world are proved right and perhaps grow stronger. As a result, the most important change concerns family behaviours. People find and

Fig. 16.3. Naturally artificial beauty.

Fig. 16.4. Unrestricted childhood: playing families.

Fig. 16.5. Everyday fathers.

experiment with new times and ways to live as a family. If the traditional one was the place where its components' lives and cares were materially guaranteed, today's family, which has certainly not abandoned these dimensions, seems to get a new conformation in a multifunctional context. Leisure management is one of the most important of these functions. Nowadays, parents and children look for and find, without great difficulty, time and ways to play together. This happens in a world that doesn't feel like losing its childish and playful dimension. The family and affective bonds strengthen during the spare time by doing things together (Fig. 16.4). Therefore, playing and education are no longer considered opposite and competing. Duty and pleasure can coexist.

Important consequences in the behaviour of today's families come from claiming this right to play. Children, both babies and kids, no more prevent adults from having fun, but they are potential playmates. As an interviewee said: 'Children always want to have fun with their parents, but parents have fun with their children too, otherwise they would not do that' (R., male, 40 years). Nowadays, fathers seem to be, perhaps even more than mothers, more confident than in the past, and it's really on public occasions, like in Aquafan of course, when fathers show their new attitude, in the name of a more and more manifest role, interchangeability (Fig. 16.5). Another interviewee said: 'It reminds me of my child and my husband, because they are together all the time. They play together in the water' (To., female, 40 years).

In conclusion, never-ending transformations in families apparently don't change what families still represent as institutions (Fig. 16.6).

Fig. 16.6. First of all the family (with a capital F).

Conclusions

A place devoted to tourism, to fun, to games can be an effective place for observation of society and its imagery. In the peculiar kind of 'eterotopia' (in the sense expressed by Michel Foucault, 1994) such as an entertainment park – therefore a closed context, separated from the surrounding territory, whether from the point of view of what it contains or from functions that it develops – we are even more able to delineate a changing scenario beginning from two important themes of communication: beauty and family.

Aquafan's tourists' gaze – through the produced images and the dialogue with the researchers – sheds light on the communicative and performative role (as a peculiar kind of experience) of the contexts of leisure time.

From this study – and beginning from two very different themes concerning us all – emerges the chance to deal with these places as very fertile contexts of investigation: not only and not so much from the point of view of the entertainment and consumption of leisure, by now a topic taken for granted, but beginning from the consideration of these as contested places in which to observe trends of social semantics (Luhmann, 1980), i.e. to the ways in which society and individuals are represented, in which they negotiate and they define, at least partly, their own values.

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17 'You Can Do Anything in Goa, India.' A Visual Ethnography of Tourism as Neo-colonialism

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Neo-colonialism is the worst form of imperialism. For those who practice it, it means power without responsibility and for those who suffer from it, it means exploitation without redress. In the days of old-fashioned colonialism, the imperial power had at least to explain and justify at home the actions it was taking abroad. In the colony those who served the ruling imperial power could at least look to its protection against any violent move by their opponents. With neo-colonialism neither is the case.

(Nkrumah, 1966: xi)

The old Golden Horde. . . was a nomadic, non-monetary people which threatened the settled urban civilizations of Europe. Today the pattern is reversed. Tourists come from the industrialist centres but, this time, it is they who are fanning out through the world, swamping apparently less dynamic societies, including the few pre-industrial ones which still remain. In the past, it was the great commercial centres of the world like Constantinople and Vienna which were threatened. Today, it is the Nomads of Affluence, coming from the new Constantinoples – cities like New York, London, Hamburg, or Tokyo – who are creating a newly dependent social and geographic realm: the Pleasure Periphery.

(Turner and Ash, 1975: 11)

. . . the persistence of neo-colonial domination in international and interethnic relations is undeniable. The colonialism that is still with us is expressed in a plethora of crude and more subtle acts, nasty jokes and pervasive inequities. . .

(Mills, 1991: 16)

Introduction

Some tourism advocates claim that international tourism may be the panacea to many problems experienced in developing regions. However, various authors have reported that international tourism in developing regions actually carries more negative social, economic and ecological impacts than anticipated (Burns and Novelli, 2008). One emerging area capturing increasing attention in the realm of tourism impacts in developing regions is the dynamic and controversial process of touristic representations and destination image making. Destination images influence the decision making of potential tourists and their levels of satisfaction in the event that they decide to visit the destination. In international tourism, this has typically involved promoting developing countries with images of the primitive Other, which contrast with the modern and inauthentic lives of developed industrialized societies (MacCannell, 1976; Cohen, 1993). According to previous research, promotions of developing country destinations get portrayed as devoid of problems, primitive, sensuous, untouched, unspoiled, paradisaical and stagnant (Britton, 1979;

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Cohen, 1993; Silver, 1993; Hutt, 1996). As Said (1979: 308–309) claimed:

> The Oriental is given as fixed, stable, in need of investigation, in need even of knowledge about himself. No dialectic is either desired or allowed. There is a source of information (the Oriental) and a source of knowledge (the Orientalist). In short, a writer and a subject matter otherwise inert.

Mary Louise Pratt (1992), in her seminal work *Imperial Eyes*, argued that these touristic representations are inherently associated with the practices of colonization. These assertions have been substantiated by authors who recently pointed out that tourism representations of the Orient as the west's exotic, timeless and authentic pleasure periphery are embedded with a colonial discourse that perpetuates the west's hegemonic exploitation of the Orient (Echtner and Prasad, 2003; Bandyopadhyay and Morais, 2005; Bandyopadhyay, 2009). For example, the popular tourist guidebook series Lonely Planet (Mc-Adam, 2006) portrayed Goa, India's top tourist destination, as follows:

> There is never an end to fun in Goa.
>
> [In Goa] moonlight nights are favourites to bring out the party animals. . .
>
> Spend any time trying to figure Goa out, and you will get no closer to a tangible answer. Instead, surrender to the spirit of susegad – of relaxing and enjoying life while you can – by simply accepting that Goa is not so much a state of India but a state of mind. . . a state of simply 'being'.

The power of western tourism discourse that combines narrative and spectacle to represent India as 'timeless' and 'west's pleasure periphery' is unmatched. Thus, the powerful western tourists take control of spaces (Foucault, 1976), whereas the natives at these tourist destinations continue to play their roles as waiters, massagers, prostitutes, beggars, etc. The construction of developing world destinations as 'Exotic Other' for western tourists has been well documented. However, apart from a few valuable contributions (e.g. Palmer, 1994; Sturma, 1999; Burns, 2004; Maoz, 2006), scholars have failed to study how tourism acts as an instrument of imperialism in these destinations. Thus, to attend to this significant lacuna in tourism research, this study uses visual ethnography conducted in Goa to explore how western tourists, persuaded by fantasies created by hegemonic tourism narratives and of 'imperialist nostalgia' (Rosaldo, 1989), make tourism a new colonizer. Indeed, as the Lonely Planet guidebook (McAdam, 2006) describes, 'It's better in Goa!'

This study also reaffirms that 'the camera does not lie' (Albers and James, 1988), and emphasizes the importance of photography in tourism research. Although several authors have commented on this importance, photography within tourism research remains underused, despite the growing importance of visual communication in the political, economic, social and cultural fields. What identifies as the 'tourist gaze' is central to tourist experience, emphasizing the privileging of the visual through photography. However, in tourism research, as Garlick (2002: 290–291) said, discussions of the importance of photography 'have generally given precedence to either the interaction between tourists and 'nature' or the environment, or to tourist photography as part of the quest to capture socially constructed "sights" to which tourists are directed by semiotic "markers"'. Moreover, tourism scholars have mainly focused on 'found images', first identified by Albers and James (1988). As Feighey (2003: 77) eloquently notes, 'The considerable theoretical and methodological space between *researcher-found* images and *researcher-created* images potentially offers tourism scholars opportunities to establish alternative approaches to vision and visuality in tourism.' Although photography has been increasingly used as a research tool in cultural anthropology by authors such as Ruby (2000), Banks (2001), El Guindi (2004) and Pink (2001, 2004), in sociology by Emmison and Smith (2000) and Pole (2004), in geography by Rose (2001) and in cultural studies by Hall (1997), it has mostly remained an underutilized methodological tool in tourism. Scholars have lamented that tourism researchers have not paid attention to the study of photographs, 'since the visual plays such a crucial role in the production, practice and performance of tourism' (Crouch and Lubben, 2003 cited in Pritchard and Morgan, 2003: 119). While commenting on this issue, Feighey (2003: 80) emphasized his concern that in the recently published *Encyclopaedia of Tourism* (Jafari, 2000) the words

'visual' or 'visuality' did not appear in the index, and Veal's (1997) *Research Methods for Leisure and Tourism* completely ignored the possibilities of image-based research. Feighey (2003: 82) aptly concluded, 'If researcher training in tourism studies seems to lack any real appreciation of the potential contribution of visual evidence in tourism research, the issue of dissemination is even more fraught with obstacles for the image-based researcher.' However, recently, there have been some notable studies from scholars understanding the visual in tourism (authors in Crouch and Lubben, 2003; Haldrup and Larsen, 2003; Burns and Lester, 2005; Larsen, 2005; Palmer and Lester, 2007).

Doing Visual Ethnography: 'The Camera Doesn't Lie!'

Visual ethnography for this study was conducted in Goa, the most popular tourist destination in India. Goa, a former Portuguese colony, is a small coastal state (it has a coastline of 106 km, of which 65 km consists of sandy beaches) some 400 km to the south of Bombay, with a little over one million inhabitants. The Portuguese ruled Goa for over 451 years, and the state was finally released to India in 1961. Tourism as an economic activity in Goa can be traced back towards the end of the 1960s, when western hippies discovered its northern untouched beaches lined with palm trees, its laid-back and rural atmosphere, warm hospitality of the local people, and easily found drugs at cheap cost (Routledge, 2001; Saldanha, 2002; Breda, 2005). Especially in the village of Anjuna, life then 'centered on taking drugs, swimming in the nude and listening to rock music' (Odzer, 1995 cited in Saldanha, 2002: 44). In the mid-1980s, with the establishment of charter flights, a tourism industry developed in former fishing villages such as Calangute and Baga. Since then tour operators have been packaging Goa as a 'tourist's paradise' and 'the place where only hedonists come!' Two and a half million tourists visit Goa annually. However, the tourism boom in Goa has resulted in the number of visitors far exceeding the number of residents and also the region's carrying capacity. Recently environmentalists and several NGOs (non-governmental organizations) have vehemently criticized the promotion of tourism in Goa.

In three consecutive years (in 2005, 2006 and 2007), the author spent 3 months of participant observation among western tourists (both packaged tourists and backpackers) in the tourist enclaves of Goa during three spells of fieldwork in India, each spanning 1 month. In these tourist enclaves, tourists are cut off from social contact with the local population and are protected from perceived offensive sights, sounds and smells of the local destination (Edensor, 1998). Thus, '*tourism enclaving* refers to a process of the spatial and social segregation of tourists from residents' (Schmid, 2008: 105). This chapter focuses on fieldwork undertaken in three such enclaves – the beaches of Baga, Anjuna and Vagator, all in Goa, India.

The data collection methods used in this study, combining visual technique (self-directed photography) with qualitative methods (interviews), brought many benefits to the research processes. The study is based on four photographs taken by the author – photographs were chosen for this study as the cliché that a picture is worth a thousand words is believed. As Sontag (1978: 88) said, 'Photographs are evidence not only of what's there but of what an individual sees, not just a record but an evaluation of the world.' Also, 30 semi-structured in-depth interviews were conducted with tourists, lasting from 30 min to 1 h. The interview questions related to the tourists' thoughts and feelings about their touristic experiences in Goa. Ten interviews were conducted with British tourists (five aged 20–25, and five aged 50–60), ten with German tourists (five aged 20–30, and five aged 40–50), and ten with Israeli tourists (aged 20–25). Ten local Indians were also interviewed. The author established contact with these tourists by residing at several of the enclaves. While interviewing, the author was open about his research and national identity and about his dual role as both a tourist and researcher. All western tourists agreed to be photographed and all interviews were taped and transcribed.

In Fig. 17.1, two British men can be seen playing racquetball and one of them is naked. The author had no difficulty in getting agreement to take their photograph; in fact, one of them said, 'Take as many photographs as you want.' They were curious about the author

Fig. 17.1. British men playing racquetball.

Fig. 17.2. British women enjoying the sun.

taking their photograph and asked, 'So you Indians travel a long distance to see us naked, right?' Interestingly, while the author was taking their photograph, a local Goan looked surprised and commented, 'It's not a big deal; they play naked racquetball in Goa every day; it's British culture.'

The tourists' 'don't care' attitude towards Indians emphasized their superiority and imperial mentality to the primitive helpless locals. Tourists reiterated, 'This is Goa! You can do anything!' This supports Maoz (2006), who found similar attitudes in Israeli backpackers visiting India, where her fieldwork identified some post-imperialist and postcolonialist patterns of behaviour, demonstrating a sophisticated and subtle conquest. Maoz (2004) describes how the backpackers describe themselves as *ha-kovshim* or conquerors.

Figure 17.2 shows two young British women enjoying the sun being topless. They were served by an Indian child in the nearby beach restaurant, who was frequently bringing the women juices and beers. When the author approached the women to ask permission to take a photograph, they graciously agreed. After the photograph was taken, one woman mentioned, 'Hope this photograph will be your "trophy" back home.'

Tourism scholars have commented on 'the photographer's *eye*' looking for 'primitive people' due to the west's enduring fascination with

Fig. 17.3. Foreign tourists' playground.

primitive life as a way of recovering 'paradise lost'. As Price (2000: 68, cited in Palmer and Lester, 2007: 94) illustrated, 'Photography. . . became an important adjunct of Imperialism, for it returned to the Western spectator images of native peoples which frequently confirmed prevailing views of them as primitive, bizarre, barbaric or simply picturesque.' The attitude of tourists in Fig. 17.2 is also in contrast to the tourists of O'Rourke's film *Cannibal Tours*. For example, in the film, a village elder in Papua New Guinea mentioned, 'We sit here confused, while they [tourists] take pictures of everything. . . we don't understand why these foreigners take photographs.'

In Fig. 17.3, several foreigners are seen to be enjoying their time at the beach. All are scantily dressed. In the author's 1-h observation, the tourists were not at all bothered with local Indians staring at them; instead they seem to be proud. One tourist claimed, 'Look at those stupid Indians, covering themselves from head to toe on this hot day.' Another tourist stated, 'You know, we are Israelis, real macho guys. . . but I have to admit, you Indians are a bunch of very gentle people. . . you let us do in your country whatever we want.' This supports Pritchard and Morgan's (2000) assertion about the western masculine gaze, which feminizes the local Indians and sees them as powerless. However, there is also a different gaze here: Crawshaw and Urry (1997: 179), McGregor (2000) and Urry (1990) all refer to the 'tourist gaze' associated with the power that tourists activate against locals by gazing at them. In this case, there is a 'reverse gaze', which is also helpless as the power still remains in the hands of the tourists.

Figure 17.4 shows the entrance to a German bakery. This place is crowded with German tourists of all kinds – couples, solo male/female tourists, backpackers. The owner is German but the waiters are Indians. Within a few minutes of the author's entry to the place, the author was asked to leave as he was not German. While leaving the author heard someone shouting at him from a distance, 'Go and get lost. . . this is German Goa.' Thus, these tourists have created a permanent enclave for themselves, where 'only Germans' were allowed. Thus, the powerful western tourists not only take control of spaces (Foucault, 1976) but also possess the places that they visit. This supports Shepherd

Fig. 17.4. German bakery – only Germans are allowed.

(2003), who, while commenting on 'tourist desires and pleasures', suggested that a large segment of tourists believe (despite their imperial attitude) that they are ethical and have no impact on a place or local people.

Conclusion

This photo-elicitation study (with the added dimension that the photographs were also taken by the author) emphasizes a need for tourism researchers to have greater regard for visual evidence in their work. As discussed in the context of four photographs in Goa, foreign tourists take control of different beaches by establishing their 'colonies', for example 'British beach', 'German beach', 'Israeli beach', where they get their native food ordered from menus written not only in English but also in German and Hebrew. These tourists are not necessarily interested in understanding locals and their culture, rather their quest for authenticity is towards having instant pleasure. Most of these tourists had virtually no interest in or awareness of Goa as a place in transition (similar to other towns that are growing fast in contemporary India). Tourists come and go but the enclaves remain stable colonies (Maoz, 2006); moreover, in accordance with Westerhausen (2002) and Maoz (2006), some of these tourists have settled around these enclaves permanently and opened restaurants and shops.

According to Huggan (2001: 178), 'Exoticism's utopian rhetoric serves as tourism's protective smokescreen, allowing the industry to promote and market the myth of innocuous pleasure.' Thus, the tourism industry insistently promotes 'slices of the past' (Uzzell, 1989) to portray India as the west's pleasure periphery. What better than India to provide western tourists with their 'mythical Utopias'? So it can be argued that colonialism is still pervasive in the 21st century. As Shohat and Stam (1994: 104) argued, modern tourism creates a 'kinetic sense

of imperial travel and conquest, transforming [modern tourists] into armchair conquistadors, affirming their sense of power while turning the colonies into spectacle for the metropole's voyeuristic gaze'. At these destinations, 'the subalterns cannot speak! (Spivak, 1985). But this is a denial of human dignity – what about human ethics, which include the values of equality? It is important for more empowerment of Third World destinations and communities.

There are limitations to this study. The major part of the data analysis in this study related to four photographs. It is argued that when a picture is taken at face value, the appearances contained in that picture are subject to numerous interpretations considering who produced and views the picture. Moreover, future similar studies may provide further valuable insights if the visual ethnographer is from a First World country.

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