conference PROCEEDINGS

3RD INTERNATIONAL RESEARCH FORUM ON GUIDED TOURS 4-6 APRIL 2013, THE NETHERLANDS

Edited by Dineke Koerts & Phil Smith

NHTV Breda University of Applied Sciences

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of the 3rd International Research Forum on Guided Tours
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INTRODUCTION

The International Research Forum on Guided Tours (IRFGT) is a mobile platform initiated by academics in Sweden, with its first biannual Forum held at the University of Halmstad in 2009. From the very beginning IRFGT aimed to bring together academics and practitioners and over its three Forums (at Halmstad, in Plymouth in 2011 and most recently at Breda in 2013) has broadened its invitation to academic researchers, students, tour guides, educators, artists, performers, designers of audio and GPS tours, story tellers and others to discuss – and experience together – the past, present and future of guided tours, both in the "real world" of the streets, museums and heritage properties and in "virtual realities".

The Forum, in both its initial form and subsequent development, has been driven by the intuition that guided tours are an under-researched yet highly important and multi-facetted phenomenon in the world of tourism. By approaching these practices from multiple viewpoints, IRFGT aims not only to open to scrutiny the remarkable diversity of tours, but also to locate their meaning and significance more precisely and richly through debate, contestation, sharing and mapping.

NHTV & IRFGT 2013

NHTV Breda, The Netherlands, is a University of Applied Sciences with a strong international focus and more than 7,000 students from over 60 countries. NHTV has been training Tour Managers & Guides since 1991. NHTV hosted the 3rd edition of the IRFGT from 4 till 6 April 2013 to further build on IRFGT's foundations laid in Halmstad, Sweden, where the first IRFGT took place from 23 till 25 April 2009 at Halmstad University and Plymouth, United Kingdom, where the second Forum was held from 7 till 9 April 2011 at the University of Plymouth. IRFGT 2013 was organised by:
Marise van der Eijnden, NHTV, Breda
Dineke Koerts, NHTV, Breda
Nour Alokaily, Oxford Brookes University
Ilja Kok, NHTV, Breda
Phil Smith, University of Plymouth
Newways, NHTV's student company

GUIDED TOURS

The conditions for tour guiding today are ones in flux. The effects of globalisation, the unevenness of the accelerations and redistributions of mobility, the digitization of information, political instability and change in popular tourism areas, economic crises, new communication technologies and developing genres and techniques within guiding practices all add to an uncertain, challenging and adapting field for guides.
Whether in a defensive response to, or inspired by, new technologies, guiding seems to be diversifying. The idea of a 'conventional' or 'orthodox' tour is increasingly hard to sustain given the imaginative innovations and pragmatic adaptations at work across a wide range of guiding. Nevertheless, guided tours and tour guides are often portrayed in a stereotyped and anachronistic manner in popular and journalistic media (while more nuanced and surprising portrayals do occasionally emerge and are in need of recognition and affirmation); yet, at present, there is neither a sufficiently voluble nor influential academic discourse around guiding to change outdated or illusory attitudes and narratives. Part of IRFGT's agenda is to help develop and strengthen a sophisticated response to these challenges.
IRFGT welcomes interdisciplinary approaches to these issues, particularly given the multiple forces at present bearing down upon the circumstances and expectations around

guiding. Issues of sustainability are increasingly key to debates around guiding as much as other aspects of tourism. The basic forms of a tour remain attractive to many tourists as a commodity or service to be purchased as part of a more general touristic experience; but they are also increasingly attracting artists, performers and activists as vehicles for their activities. Alongside the commercial tours are free or cheaper tours run by young people for young people, tours led by homeless people, tours made up of interactive social actions, political interventions and public-spirited gestures. The bounding of what constitutes a tour has stretched and is perhaps even coming apart in places. IRFGT has encouraged its participants to stay abreast of these broad developments, while welcoming close empirical enquiries and ethnographic researches that test these developing narratives against events in the field. The increasing variegation of guiding is an encouragement to a close examination of tours as events that are actively produced as much as they are final products that are offered and consumed.

For many tour guides, new information and communications technologies may appear to pose an employment threat, even an existential threat to guiding itself. Yet, there seems to be little if any dropping off of enthusiasm among tourists for the unique presence, reflexivity and responsiveness of guides in the present and in the flesh. IRFGT has welcomed accounts and analyses of the uses, meanings and limitations of apps, maps, audio-tours and other devices impacting on guiding both through their direct, licensed and informal, use on tours and also through indirect effects such as changes to the ways that guided groups, influenced by expectations about, or practices of, information gathering and accessing now consume or respond to guiding. Researchers and teachers of guides have already begun to note and analyse the effects of these developments upon the working lives and potential career paths of tour guides.

Given the increasing importance that many of the managements, consultancies and directorial staff of heritage organisations now place on visitor experience, at times prioritising it above the conservancy of things, there is a challenge not simply to add a study of interiority and subjectivity to that of the exterior factors of guiding. There is also a challenge to examine those internal elements in respect of how they are changing or are changed by that managerial, commercial and bureaucratic interest and pressure.

Tour guiding has probably never operated in so volatile a field as today, given the intensity of travel, changing political conditions, population movement, and technological innovations. The role of the IRFGT is to continue to respond flexibly and open-mindedly to these challenges, acknowledging that its participants and audiences have much to gain through our respect for different approaches, inclusive subject parameters and an innovation and flexibility of thinking to match those of guiding's changing circumstances and of guides' responses to them.

IRFGT 2013 PROCEEDINGS

IRFGT 2013 was a testimony to the current volatility of the field of guided tours. Over the course of three days 28 speakers - academics, tour guides, artists, entrepreneurs - from different corners of the globe discussed many of the issues raised above as the program - printed below - demonstrates. The contributions also show that different methods and approaches, anchored in different methodologies, can be applied in researching guided tours: from literature reviews, participant observation and reflexive experiences to interviews and questionnaires in various forms and combinations. The 19 contributions printed in bold have been submitted for and are published in these Proceedings. They are briefly introduced here:

IRFGT 2013 was opened by **Betty Weiler**. In her key-note speech she notes that travellers currently are looking for experiences that are not only enjoyable and memorable but also meaningful, making a difference in their own lives and/or helping sustain the environments and communities visited. She looks into tour guiding's contributions to sustainability,

finding that it has focused mainly on ecological sustainability while there is still much to be learned, particularly with respect to economic, social and cultural sustainability.

Next, **Phil Smith** outlines how a journey through a variety of guiding practices and performance-like guided tours finally led to "counter-tourism": a strategy where a tour's performance-like and transformational qualities are handed over to its consumers to tempt them to make their own performance-like trajectories through heritage and other tourism spaces. **Hugues Séraphin's** paper describes the contribution of tour guides to destination understanding and image. He focuses on Haiti via an analysis of the roles performed by several tour guides in a travel book by Ian Thomson, "Bonjour blanc, a journey through Haiti", and their impact on Haiti's image. **Ben Waddington** recounts the genesis and delivery of the first staging (in 2012) of the Still Walking Festival in Birmingham. The festival originated from his frustration with the lack of guided tours in a large post-industrial city with a long history. The 16 events which were programmed changed the relationship of many participants to their city. **Barbara Lounder** discusses how in recent years artists in Nova Scotia, Canada, have challenged and provided alternatives to the dominant narratives of a constructed Scottish heritage (that is referred to in critical writings as "tartanism"). In many cases they employed the guided walking tour as a method.

Guided tours and technologies are addressed by several authors. **Kris Darby** looks at ways in which technology can be utilised within the guided-tour model. He describes how psychogeographic exercises, in conjunction with applied theatre and the use of C&T technologies, contributed to the development of a guided tour web platform used by young people. **David Smith** highlights the interactive multimedia project "Sediment" which explores the layers of Victoria Park, Bristol, and the community that surrounds it. Projects such as these can provide an opportunity for community groups to create guided tours and take a fresh look at a physical space with which they may be unfamiliar or sometimes take for granted. **Gabriela Ilies** explores the meaning of virtual tour guiding products for small towns and villages in general and for Maramures Land, Romania, in particular. Since communities like these generally suffer from a lack of funds to develop these kinds of products which involve a lot of research, cooperation with universities could be a solution. **Ondrej Mitas** argues for the use of positive emotion measurement techniques in tour guiding contexts. With the importance of emotions in the (guided) tourists' experience now well established, he suggests that a comprehensive emotion assessment could give a more profound picture of a tour's success than simplistic consumer behaviour constructs such as satisfaction.

Areej Aloudat indicates that the daily contacts which tour guides have with the tourists during the actual consumption of the tourism experience, their involvement in tourism itineraries, and their contacts with most of the tourism stakeholders make them an important source of tourism performance data, something which has hitherto been largely ignored by the industry. **Anita Zátori** focusses on tour providers in Budapest offering different types of tours - standard sightseeing tours, alternative sightseeing tours, hop-on hop-off type of tours and incentive tours. She discusses whether the employment of experience centric management tools to enhance the tourist experience is influenced by the type of tour offered.

Diverse communities are attracted to guided tours as **Branislav Rabotić** demonstrates when he takes the reader into the world of the Dobročinstvo travel agency of the Serbian Orthodox Church. Are we looking at religious tourism here? Observations during a guided tour to four monasteries revealed that this specific tour was more educational and cultural than religious in character, a form of secular rather than religious pilgrimage. **Kaspar Wimberley** introduces Stuttgart Arttours, established in 2011 to provide an alternative to the commodification of the city experience. A series of walks and experiments was developed in which the traditional expectations of a "city tour" were redefined and subverted with the tourist becoming an active participant, rather than a passive recipient.

The second day of IRFGT 2013 ended with a panel on the past and guided tours. All three contributions are included in this volume. **Miguel Brito** presents a study on tour guides working at Sintra National Palace, near Lisbon. The results of a questionnaire held under these tour guides uncover the facts and fiction in their stories, the emotions they convey and their ability to motivate tourists to participate in other guided visits, amongst others. Next **Marko Gams** takes the reader to Velenje, Slovenia, where several organisations are developing a thematic guided tour of heritage and values from the Yugoslav era. This causes strong emotional responses, with a part of the public nostalgically reminiscing the "good old times" and others being strictly opposed to commemorating symbols of the "totalitarian system". Continuing this journey through a communist past, **Dineke Koerts** discusses tourists and tour guides in 1950s-1980s China. "Communist hospitality" and the presence of the ubiquitous tour guide-cum-interpreter made it possible that most of the Western visitors returned from their journeys with the feeling that the Chinese had made great strides towards socialism and a better society.

The final part of these Proceedings consists of three contributions presented during the last day of IRFGT 2013 which was set aside for discussing the life and work of tour guides. **Ann O'Connor** points out the importance of risk perception management training for adventure activity guides; she presents a four stage training strategy to aid them with the complexity of risk perception within the context of commercial adventure tourism activities. The question of quality assurance and regulatory mechanisms in tour guiding is analysed by **Rosemary Black**. She discusses several mechanisms for improving and developing the performance of guides, such as awards for excellence, licensing, professional associations, codes of conduct, professional certification and training and education. Finally, **Wilja Siebe** reviews the changing role of tour guides in a continuously shifting environment - with the tourism market in constant flux, consumers getting older and originating more and more from non-Western countries, and technology's influence on tourism on the rise - and the impact this has for their practical professional lives.

We hope you will enjoy this diverse collection of papers. Finally, we would like to thank all contributors for generously sharing their insights, approaches, and contribution to the development of the International Research Forum on Guided Tours.

Dineke Koerts
Phil Smith
Correspondence Address:
koerts.m@nhtv.nl
philip.smith@plymouth.ac.uk

Review Committee

The papers published in the Proceedings of the third IRFGT have been reviewed and selected for their original contribution to a growing multi-disciplinary body of knowledge related to tour guides and guided tours. They present empirical, logical, historical, critical and cultural evidence in broad support of IRFGT's view that guided tours and tour guides are a multi-facetted phenomenon in the world of tourism which can – and should – be studied from multiple and diverse perspectives. The review committee consisted of:

- Marise van der Eijnden, Lecturer, Academy for Tourism, NHTV Breda University of Applied Sciences, Breda, The Netherlands
- Dineke Koerts, Lecturer, Academy for Tourism, NHTV Breda University of Applied Sciences, Breda, The Netherlands
- Dr. Ondrej Mitas, Manager Research, Academy for Tourism, NHTV Breda University of Applied Sciences, Breda, The Netherlands
- Nour Okaily, PhD Researcher, Oxford School of Hospitality Management, Faculty of Business, Oxford Brookes University, Oxford, United Kingdom
- Phil Smith, Associate Professor (Reader), School of Humanities and Performing Arts, University of Plymouth, Plymouth, United Kingdom

Program IRFGT 2013

4 - Guided tours & technologies

5 - Managing & measuring the guided tour

6 - Guided tours for different communities

7 - The past and guided tours: facts, fiction and interpretation

Keynote

TOUR GUIDING AS A TOOL FOR SUSTAINABLE TOURISM

From Memorable to Meaningful: Tour Guiding as a Tool for Sustainable Tourism

Betty Weiler, PhD
Southern Cross University, Australia
Email: betty.weiler@scu.edu.au

Abstract
More travellers are now looking for experiences that are not only enjoyable and memorable but are meaningful, i.e. experiences that make a difference in their own lives and/or help sustain the host environments and communities visited. This paper reviews research on tour guiding's contributions to sustainability, finding that it has focused mainly on ecological sustainability and that there is still much to be learned, particularly with respect to economic, social and cultural sustainability. There is some evidence of interpretive guiding fostering understanding and valuing of sites, influencing and monitoring visitors' on-site behaviour and fostering post-visit attitudes and conservation behaviour. The paper points to the need for more research into the antecedents of and pathways by which tour guiding improves the sustainability of sites, tourism businesses, communities and destinations.

Keywords
sustainability, interpretation, interpretive guiding, understanding, attitudes, behaviour

Introduction

Over the past few decades, considerable practitioner and academic energy and expertise have been devoted to making tour guiding more enjoyable and memorable for visitors. A great deal has been learned about how to best connect with, entertain, involve, provoke and inspire visitors, in order to create a better visitor experience, make it memorable, and improve levels of satisfaction, loyalty and positive word-of-mouth advertising. But at the end of the day, is this enough to sustain and grow the demand for guided activities and to attract and keep good guides in the field? Perhaps more importantly, how can and does tour guiding help sustain the businesses, communities, cultures and environments that rely on tourism for their survival? This paper is about the links between tour guiding and sustainability.

Sustainability is a somewhat contested term. More than two decades of thinking about sustainability, sustainable development and sustainable tourism have led to a wide range of definitions but also a more sophisticated understanding of these concepts. The World Tourism Organisation defines sustainable tourism as "tourism that takes full account of its current and future economic, social and environmental impacts, addressing the needs of visitors, the industry, the environment and host communities" (WTO 2013).

In keeping with this definition, an examination of tour guiding's contribution to sustainable tourism must incorporate not only ecological and economic outcomes, but social and cultural dimensions as well (Hughes 1995; Weaver 2006). These outcomes (see column 1 of Table 1) can range from enhanced understanding and appreciation of the natural and cultural environment, to reduced negative environmental impacts, to increased social and community benefits, to greater respect for local culture, to improved economic prosperity. Whether at the site, business, community or destination level, quantitative indicators of

sustainability that are easy to understand and economically and technically feasible to measure are the most useful (Vereczi 2007). However, establishing such indicators for the range of desired outcomes presented in column 1 of Table 1 can be difficult.

Table 1: Potential areas of contribution of tour guiding to sustainability

A selection of sustainability outcomes	How tour guiding can contribute to meeting sustainability outcomes
Improved understanding of natural and cultural values	Enhancing visitors' understanding and valuing of communities, cultures and environments
Increased economic prosperity of local businesses and communities	Influencing visitors' behaviour enroute and at destinations
Increased social benefits to / engagement of local communities	Influencing visitors' behaviour enroute and at destinations
Reduced production and responsible disposal of waste	Influencing and monitoring visitors' behaviour enroute and at destinations
Reduced use of water and energy	Influencing and monitoring visitors' behaviour enroute and at destinations
Protected / improved quality of environmental conditions (e.g. water, soil, air quality)	Influencing and monitoring visitors' behaviour enroute and at destinations Fostering visitors' post-visit attitudes and behaviours
Protected / improved biodiversity conservation of the destination	Enhancing visitors' understanding and valuing of communities, cultures and environments Influencing and monitoring visitors' behaviour enroute and at destinations Fostering visitors' post-visit attitudes and behaviours
Greater respect for / enhancement of culture, heritage, and/or traditions	Enhancing visitors' understanding and valuing of communities, cultures and environments Influencing and monitoring visitors' behaviour enroute and at destinations Fostering visitors' post-visit attitudes and behaviours

SOURCE : Adapted from Choi & Sirakaya (2006), Moore et al. (2009), and Tonge et al. (2005)

The contributions of tour guiding to sustainable tourism are rarely given more than lip service. One explanation for this may be that many aspects of sustainability such as the improved economic, environmental and social outcomes listed in column 1 of Table 1 are viewed as being controlled by other stakeholders and largely beyond the influence of tour guides. Thus, isolating the contributions of tour guides (column 2 of Table 1) to these sustainability outcomes can be problematic. For example, protected area managers and local and regional government authorities, not guides, usually control tourist access and activity via licensing, zoning, regulations, and law enforcement, and can restrict when, where and how tours operate. Other government agencies legislate, regulate and restrict (such as through pricing) the use of renewable and non-renewable resources by the tourism industry. These laws, policies and practices often have a more direct, observable and measurable impact on sustainable tourism than tour guiding practices. At some destinations, indigenous people have a say in the physical, economic, social and cultural bounds within which a tour may operate. For example, they can limit or prohibit access to restricted sites, require the engagement of local guides or suppliers, specify the conditions on the use of indigenous stories and photo-taking, and require payment for other services and privileges extended to tourists by local communities (Howard et al. 2001). Finally, tour operators can contribute in important ways to sustainability (or unsustainability), for example, in the decisions they make about mode of transport, group size, accommodation and the use of local suppliers, leaving limited options for what an individual guide can do. The guiding profession, let alone an individual guide, may thus feel relatively powerless

to make a difference in contributing to the sustainability of a particular tour, business, community, destination or environment.

> ***Travel agents, hoteliers, tour [operators] and vendors constrain tourists' movements, behaviours and even thoughts .... All these service providers contribute to customers' satisfaction or dissatisfaction [and to sustainability], whereas tour guides often face the brunt. (Prakash, Chowdhary & Sunayana 2011: 66)***

Notwithstanding these limitations, in the context of any guided tour whether nature- or culture-focused, on land or water, at a wildlife park or museum or on a multi-day tour, it is the tour guide more than anyone else who has the greatest opportunity for face-to-face contact with the tourist and thus both the delivery of sustainability messages and the monitoring and influencing of visitor behaviour. Thus, as early as 1992 (Jacobson and Robles, 1992), scholars were espousing the importance of tour guides in sustainable tourism. Since then, Weiler and Davis (1993), Thomas (1994), Cole (1997), Haig and McIntyre (2002), Ham and Weiler (2002), Weiler and Ham (2002), Kayes (2005), Ormsby and Mannle (2006), Boren et al. (2007), Henning (2008), Randall and Rollins (2009), Huang and Weiler (2010), Skanavis and Giannoulis (2010), Jensen (2010), Weiler and Kim (2011), Hu and Wall (2012), Pereira and Mykletun (2012), and no doubt others, have described tour guides as key to achieving the goals of ecotourism, sustainable tourism and/or sustainable development.

Vereczi (2007) suggested that indicators of sustainable outcomes by guides might include tourists' evaluations and measures of satisfaction of their tours. Such a conservative and narrow conceptualisation of the impact of tour guiding on sustainability outcomes is, unfortunately, all too common. An aim of this paper, therefore, is to present a more comprehensive conceptualisation of the potential and actual contributions of tour guiding practice. As suggested in column 2 of Table 1, these contributions may be captured under three dimensions:

Dimension 1:	Enhancing visitors' understanding and valuing of sites, communities, cultures and environments,
Dimension 2:	Influencing and monitoring visitors' behaviour, enroute, on-site and at destinations, and
Dimension 3:	Fostering visitors' post-visit pro-environmental and pro-conservation attitudes and behaviours.

While some may argue that these dimensions are neither exhaustive nor mutually exclusive, they provide a useful framework in which to present, using empirical research published to date, evidence of the contributions of tour guiding to sustainable tourism. The next section of the paper presents the findings of research within each of these dimensions and illustrates the use of (a) interpretive guiding, (b) communication of messages, (c) role modelling, (d) enforcement, and (e) persuasive communication to achieve these. Theoretical explanations for why and how tour guiding can achieve these sustainability outcomes are discussed elsewhere (Weiler & Kim 2011), and the antecedents and mechanisms (e.g. the relative effectiveness of specific guiding techniques) that foster sustainability outcomes are also beyond the scope of this paper.

Evidence of sustainability outcomes from tour guiding

While the rhetoric of tour guiding's contribution to sustainability has been pervasive in the literature since at least Jacobson and Robles (1992), demonstration of guides

achieving such outcomes is less evident. Beginning with Moscardo (1998), a considerable number of studies have claimed and in some cases sought to demonstrate the impacts of interpretation and, more recently, tour guiding on constructs such as visitors' knowledge, understanding, beliefs, attitudes, feelings, behavioural intentions and behaviours. Indeed, there have been a number of bibliographies (National Association for Interpretation 2003; Wells et al. 1995), critical reviews (Ham & Weiler 2006; Marion & Reid 2007; Munro et al. 2008) and even meta-analyses (Zeppel 2008; Zeppel & Muloin 2008) undertaken on the outcomes of interpretation. Largely due to logistical and measurement challenges, most studies have focused on unguided or self-directed interpretation, but a growing number are focussing on the relationship between face-to-face interpretation/tour guiding and sustainability (Ballantyne, Packer & Hughes 2009; Zeppel & Muloin 2008). Many of these studies suffer from flaws in research design, most notably that they report high levels of tour participants' pro-conservation understanding, attitude and behaviour on-site or post-visit as a result of interpretation and tour guiding, without controlling for the presence of these pre-tour. As Beaumont noted more than two decades ago, many participants on such tours may already have attitudes and behaviours that are pro-sustainability, and thus tour guides and others may simply be "preaching to the converted" (Beaumont 1991:317). Nonetheless, a body of empirical research is now starting to emerge, building a picture of tour guiding's contributions to sustainability.

Dimension 1: Enhancing understanding and valuing

Regarding dimension 1, it should be noted that there are many published studies reporting knowledge and attitudinal "benefits", "change" and "impacts" as a result of interpretation and guiding activities. As already noted, almost none of these include pre- and post-measures of these variables, and those that do tend to measure knowledge gain or general attitudes, for which there are no known associations with sustainable tourism outcomes (Ballantyne, Packer & Hughes 2009; Zeppel & Muloin 2008). There is no theoretical reason why factual knowledge gained as a result of an interpretive talk or guided activity will impact on an individual's understanding and valuing of the site and its resources, let alone impact one's on-site or off-site behavioural intentions and actions in ways that promote sustainability. The link between general social or environmental attitudes and specific behaviours is also often weak.

In addition, until recently there has been a lack of measurement tools that go beyond visitor enjoyment, satisfaction and factual recall, to capture visitors' understanding and valuing of nature and culture. Recent success in the development and testing of self-reported measures by Weiler and Ham (2010), has led to the availability of an instrument for measuring and comparing sustainable tourism outcomes across sites and experiences. Their validated multi-item self-report instrument can be used to assess the impact of interpretive guiding on elaboration (a 5-item scale), connection (a 4-item scale), and caring (a 3-item scale), which collectively measure understanding and valuing nature and heritage. For example, a study of 288 visitors to an Australian zoo sought to assess the extent to which the interpretive guiding made them think (elaborate), helped them connect (found it relevant and meaningful) and made them care (nature appreciation) (Weiler & Smith 2009). The respondents were all visitors to a relatively new, state-of-the-art lion exhibit and were exposed to messages delivered by experienced and trained interpretive staff about the difficulties faced by lions that live outside reserves, particularly when they come into contact with humans. Each visitor was exposed to interpretation delivered via up to three different media (a static display, a zookeeper talk, interaction with a volunteer guide, an encounter with a guide engaged in role-play, and a behind-the-scenes tour with a zookeeper/guide), all aimed at helping visitors to understand the lions, their habitat and the threats to their survival, and to connect with and value the species and its environment

(dimension 1) and thus are associated with sustainable tourism outcomes. Mean ratings on all three scales were consistently higher for visitors exposed to greater numbers of interpretive media, suggesting that greater levels of interpretive guiding result in higher levels of sustainable outcomes.

Another study, using parallel self-reported measures of 285 Chinese visitors who were guided around an Australian heritage site for up to two hours by a bilingual, bi-cultural interpretive guide, found somewhat lower but still positive mean ratings on elaboration, connection and attitude toward heritage preservation (Van Dijk & Weiler 2009).

These findings suggest that (a) interpretive guiding can and does impact visitors' understanding and valuing of nature and heritage, at least based on self-reporting, in ways that are theoretically associated with sustainable tourism outcomes. However, the measures described here relate to the outcomes as perceived by visitors, and do not assess the extent to which tour guiding actually impacts a visitor's understanding of a site's natural and cultural values and thus contributes to sustainability. More direct and observable measures of understanding, beyond the overly simplistic 'factual recall' that has dominated earlier interpretation research, and measures of visitors' valuing of nature and heritage, are needed in order to assess the actual impact of interpretive guiding.

In a study that involved observation and interviews with 32 local guides from 5 different regions in rural Madagascar, Jensen (2010) reported that local guides were able to enhance understanding and social interaction and thereby moderate the negative effects on communities that can come from stereotyping. In addition, positive effects such as self-esteem building among community members were observed as a result of "visitors' interest in their traditions and lifestyles framed within a socially relaxed atmosphere where community members were happy to share their thoughts and knowledge with their guests" (p. 627). Jensen further argues that as a result of being employed as guides, interviewees gained the trust of the village chief and local residents, which in turn made them more motivated and empowered to practice sustainable tourism themselves. Ormsby and Mannle (2006) and Kohl (2007) also similarly note the contribution of tour guides to social capital and capacity-building, outcomes that are highlighted in the tourism literature as being closely associated with sustainability (Weiler & Ham 2002). Pereira and Mykletun (2012: 81) comment on the potential role of guides in "engendering an appreciation for local products" and assisting local artisans in producing goods that meet visitors' expectations. Similarly, Jensen (2010: 628) also sees greater potential for guides as contributors to sustainability, posing the question: "Can local guides develop their middleman/honest broker roles further into some form of managerial role within a sustainable development strategy?"

Another recent study by Henning (2008) looked in particular at the degree to which tour guides communicate about local and regional sustainability issues and practices of land managers, tourism operators and governments generally. This qualitative study in Banff National Park (Canada) included participant-observation of the same guided hike on six separate occasions along with interviews with several of the participants, park staff and other stakeholders. The commercial guide conducting the walk was found to be highly successful at communicating the park agency's sustainability practices such as habitat preservation and restorative efforts (including past mistakes) and environmental consequences for the park and the wider environment. The environmental messages of the guide were well received by tourists who described the content of the tour with "awe, respect and gratitude at the work being done" (p. 190). Those interviewed could articulate

specific conservation messages and actions, and some outlined how these connected with and translated into action in their home countries.

Similarly, in a particularly comprehensive and innovative study of Masoala National Park in Madagascar that included 135 semi-structured interviews and several months of participant-observation, Ormsby and Mannle (2006: 279-280) were able to document impacts on understanding and valuing by both visitors and local residents:

> ***Guides provide a valuable service by explaining the park's goals to visitors and community residents .... The guides also ... influence park perceptions through their presentation of park information to visitors and to communities through which visitors pass when trekking in the park. By explaining to local residents [that] tourists are coming "to see nature" and the potential [environmental] benefits from visitors [via a weekly hour-long radio program], guides also play an integral role in ecotourism success through encouraging conservation ....The guides also play an essential role in making connections with people in the villages and directing tourists' money to the peripheral areas of the park.***

Dimension 2: Influencing and monitoring on-site behaviour

With respect to dimension 2, the use of (b) communication messages and (c) role-modelling by guides as tools to influence on-site behaviour are perhaps easier to identify and inventory than the guide's impact on tourists' understanding. For example, during the time in which a visitor is under the influence and eye of the guide, messages and actions that can lead to negative impacts (e.g. trampling vegetation, picking flowers, collecting shells, feeding wild animals, harassing wildlife, taking photos of locals, buying products made from threatened species) can be heard and observed, as can messages and actions that lead to positive impacts (e.g. appropriate disposal of waste, picking up litter, keeping pets on leash or out of natural areas, respecting local culture and traditions, and buying products made by locals).

In a very early study in this vein, Cole (1997) reported that anthropologists acting as tour guides at one of two island case study regions in Indonesia were able not only to outline appropriate behaviour in relation to a small host village, but also explain the reasons for the "do's" and "don'ts". By comparing tourist behaviour and resident responses in the two case studies, the researcher concluded that a high level of compliance (in some cases leading to unexpected positive impacts) by the tourists and a low level of negative socio-cultural impacts were due to the presence and actions of the guides. Jensen's (2010) study cited earlier of local guides in Madagascar also found that guides played an important role in educating tourists about the villages' traditions, norms, taboos and appropriate behaviours, and that the guides' presence "may have had a reassuring effect on the villagers"(pp 624-25).

In contrast, research by Armstrong and Weiler (2002), in cooperation with Parks Victoria in Australia, found that guides employed by licensed tour operators in national parks could be doing much more in the way of delivering messages relating to sustainability outcomes. Participant-observation and audio-recording of guide commentary on 20 guided tours found that 17 of the guides delivered only 107 individual messages related to Parks Victoria's goals. In relation to the length of the tours (many were full-day tours) and the amount of commentary, this is a very small number, with only a handful of messages conveying minimal impact messages. Kayes (2005) study of guides in Bocas del Toro, an island destination in Panama, replicated Armstrong and Weiler's methods and found

that most reef-based guides delivered little information and virtually no environmental messages.

Randall and Rollins' (2009) study of kayak tour guides in a marine national park in Canada also found that visitors perceived guides to be performing poorly in communicating environmentally and cultural responsible behaviour via minimal-impact messages, in comparison with what they expected. Finally, Pereira and Mykletun (2012), in their study of 36 tour guides in the Brazilian Amazon, found little evidence of the guides communicating environmentally responsible messages or acting as environmental role models. Indeed, they observed guides role-modelling inappropriate behaviours to tourists. These studies rely on assessing what the guide says or does, or in some cases visitors' perceptions of these, rather than assessing the actual on-site behavioural responses of visitors. Littlefair (2003) argued that monitoring actual change in visitor behaviour is the ultimate goal of sustainable tourism as it identifies "what people do, rather than what they say they do" (p.38). In recent years there have been a number of studies that have evaluated communication interventions designed specifically to foster responsible on-site behaviour. These have tended to focus on the use of self-directed interpretation such as signs (Brown et al. 2010; Curtis et al. 2010; Hughes et al. 2009), although there has been some success in researching the influence on visitors' on-site behaviours as a result of face-to-face or guided interpretation (Ballantyne, et al. 2009; Howard et al. 2001; Littlefair & Buckley 2008; Marion & Reid 2007; O'Neill et al. 2004; Widner & Roggenbuck 2000). Some of these involve (d) enforcing sustainable tourism practices via monitoring and regulating problem on-site behaviour and its impacts (also dimension 2) (Moscardo 1998; Roggenbuck 1992; Littlefair 2003). It is acknowledged that visitors tend to perceive a tour guide as an authority figure, and thus behave in a more responsible way when the tour guide is present (Littlefair 2003). Indeed, several studies have shown the successful impacts of tour guiding in reducing the level of non-compliant behaviour as well as illegal on-site behaviours that were unintentional (e.g. off-trail hiking, wildlife feeding and littering) (Littlefair 2003; Howard et al. 2001; Orams & Hill 1998; for further review, see Marion & Reid 2007). While many of these studies have relied on visitors' self-reports of how the guiding impacted their behavioural intention or actual behaviour, a few have actually observed on-site behaviour such as reducing damaging behaviour on coral reefs by divers (Medio et al. 1997), reducing removal of petrified wood (Widner & Roggenbuck 2000), reducing noise, reducing off-track walking and increasing pro-environmental behaviour such as picking up other people's litter (Littlefair & Buckley 2008).

It is a more complex research issue to go from measuring visitors' on-site behaviours to assessing the impacts or consequences of visitors' on-site actions or non-actions on sustainability, since the impacts can be cumulative and long-term. Boren et al. (2007), however, through observation and comparisons with a control group who were unguided, were able to conclude that the presence of a guide both during land-based seal-viewing and swim-with-seal programs had a significant impact on reducing both the non-compliant behaviour of the tourist and avoidance behaviours of seals.

Dimension 3: Fostering post-visit attitudes and behaviours

The post-visit take-up of environmentally and culturally sustainable behaviours such as on future walks or tours, let alone pro-environmental behaviours in other contexts, is largely unknown. While there have been a number of studies (see, for example, reviews by Zeppel and Muloin 2008) that have suggested that tourists who are exposed to environmental messages report higher levels of pro-conservation behaviour, as already noted these may be simply a case of more environmentally-conscious tourists self-selecting these kinds of tours and experiences. Indeed, both Armstrong and Weiler (2002) and Kayes (2005) found

that, on guided tours where pro-environmental attitudinal and behavioural messages were largely absent, tourists expressed disappointment in the lack of environmental messages given by the guides. Other recent studies reveal that visitors welcome these sustainability messages (Ballantyne et al. 2009; Smith et al. 2010) and, as in Henning (2008) discussed earlier, view them as enhancing their tourist experience.

There has been only a limited amount of systematic research examining the impact of the (e) persuasive communication of tour guides on tourists' post-visit attitudes and behaviour (dimension 3), for example, in support of wildlife conservation. A theme-driven communication campaign developed for Lindblad Expeditions passengers in the Galapagos Islands (Powell & Ham 2008) resulted in significant increases in passenger donations to the Galapagos Conservation Fund (GCF). This campaign consisted primarily of persuasive messages that were developed and delivered to passengers via onboard interpretive panels, tour guide commentaries at various islands, evening debriefings, and pre-visit information sent to passengers prior to their departure. The campaign was found to have increased stated behavioural intentions to donate money to support Galapagos conservation (as compared to pre-campaign donation levels), both at the end of the tour and post-visit (Powell & Ham 2008). Such results do suggest that persuasive messaging via tour guides and other interpretive media can indeed contribute in positive ways to the post-visit behaviour of visitors and thus potentially to sustainable tourism.

As compared to the use of a communication campaign to which visitors were exposed for a full week, other studies report much lower levels of post-visit behaviour change. Stamation, Croft, Shaughnessy, Waples and Briggs (2007) found that 6 to 8 months following a whale-watching tour, there was no overall change in the performance of environmental behaviour among tour participants. In Smith, Broad and Weiler's (2008) study focusing on post-zoo visit behaviour, only a small number of visitors who said they intended to undertake a pro-conservation behaviour following a targeted communication campaign actually had done so in the three months after their visit. Changes that require effort such as volunteering are particularly unlikely (Zeppel & Muloin 2008).

In preparing this paper, a range of empirical research on tour guiding's contributions to sustainability was reviewed that previously had been reported only in a piecemeal fashion. In doing so, notable gaps in research were uncovered relating to guides' contributions to sustainability, especially with respect to socio-cultural and economic sustainability. Of course, the employment of local guides is a sustainability outcome in and of itself, especially in an economically depressed region or a developing country. Income, job security, and the achievement of personal ambitions by these guides all potentially enhance the economic sustainability of a tourism destination or region, and thus the natural and cultural resources upon which the industry depends. There is growing evidence of the impact of tour guiding on pro-environmental messages and behaviour for sustainability outcomes. Overall, however, research to date suggests that the tourism industry may be falling short of harnessing tour guides as agents of sustainability, and that research is also falling short in assessing and explaining these relationships.

In summary, while valuable research on interpretive tour guiding has been and continues to be undertaken, much more objective, verifiable evidence is needed in order to isolate the contributions of tour guiding to sustainability outcomes.

Implications for research and practice

In addition to the various studies reviewed in this paper, Weiler and Kim (2011) further the effort of consolidating tour guiding research to date and articulating a research agenda

for tour guiding and sustainability, by presenting a number of theories that can be and have been used to explain and strengthen the sustainability outcomes of tour guiding. They present a framework as a basis for future research directions that includes relevant theories, research designs and approaches.

Some avenues for further research noted by Weiler and Kim (2011) include an examination of interpretive guiding's impacts and outcomes across different audiences and cultures. There is considerable potential for misunderstanding of tour guiding communication with respect to appropriate environmental and cultural behaviour, regardless of whether this is communicated verbally or role-modelled and whether or not it is in the native language of the visitor. Moreover, the diversity of visitors' ethnic and cultural backgrounds in many tour guiding contexts makes it difficult to control mediating variables and identify the direct impacts of tour guiding on tourist behaviour. In particular, there is a need for research that examines how sustainable tour guiding might vary for developing versus developed countries and for differing host populations, cultures and destinations.

The extent and pathways by which interpretive guiding improves the economic viability and competitiveness of a business, local community or destination and the social and cultural benefits to local communities and regions have not been investigated. Indeed the antecedents of and pathways by which guiding contributes to any aspect of sustainability, i.e. why and how guiding does and does not foster specific sustainable outcomes, has been virtually ignored in research on tour guiding. Moreover, few guides have a sufficient understanding of research to facilitate their involvement in assessing the outcomes of their own guiding. Many tour guides also lack sufficient knowledge and training about sustainability.

Longitudinal research, or at least a longer timeframe in which to measure cause-and-effect of guiding, is needed, as some of the impacts that are most important to sustainability may require an incubation period and/or post-tour reinforcement (Hughes, Packer & Ballantyne 2011). Of course, as the period of time increases, the potential for extraneous variables such as exposure to additional communication from sources other than tour guiding grows, confounding the findings of any one individual study.

Conclusion

There is evidence of growing numbers of travellers who are looking for experiences that are not only enjoyable and memorable but are meaningful, i.e. experiences that make a difference in their own lives and/or help sustain the host environments and communities visited. A sense of meaning is important for guides as well, helping them to see their job as a sustainable career rather than as a stepping stone to something else.

Harnessing the potential power of a guide's face-to-face communication for sustainability outcomes requires continued efforts to explain and improve tour guides' capacity to impact visitors' thoughts, feelings and actions. The fact that the jury is still very much "out" with respect to exactly how and to what extent tour guides and guiding contribute to sustainability is not good for either tour guiding or for tourism generally. Individual guides are robbed of a sense of importance and meaning in what they do, which may well work against their valuing of themselves, their work and their commitment to guiding as a career. The lack of evidence of links between tour guiding and sustainability also reinforces the stereotype and resulting complacency with which much of the industry regards tour guides and guiding. This in turn limits efforts to fostering quality guiding, which in turn entrenches low levels of training, unsophisticated recruitment practices, and inadequate remuneration and other employment benefits needed to attract and retain high-performing guides.

In conclusion, there needs to be shifts in both research and industry practice before both the contribution of interpretive guiding to sustainability and the shift from memorable to meaningful experiences delivered by tour guides can be elevated from rhetoric to reality.

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Section 1
WHAT IS A GUIDED TOUR?

The volatile virtues of the guided tour – live performance and the journey to counter-tourism

Phil Smith
University of Plymouth, Plymouth, United Kingdom
mytho.smith@btopenworld.com

Abstract
This paper describes how breaking from a strict demarcation between 'standard' and 'misguided' tours, along with an appreciation for the latent disruptive and unstable qualities of the tactics of the 'standard tour', lead to the development of a dispersal of these tactics, in a new form, to the consumers of these tours. The making of these tactics into a 'new form' involves a double movement of exorcism and spectral return discovered during the making of a 'mis-guided tour'. When the findings from this tour are wedded to an appreciation of the qualities of a 'standard tour' and the 'chorastic' potency of heritage tourism space in general, the pieces come together for a dispersal of *détourned* tactics – through handbooks, online presence and Youtube videos (http://www.youtube.com/playlist?list=PLA2F359FC07A49A44) – to ordinary, agentive tourists: 'counter-tourism'. The paper argues that, at each stage along the way, live performance plays a crucial role in the various developments.

Keywords
live performance, guided tours, counter-tourism, 'mis-guided tours', 'standard tours', détournement

Four years ago, at the First International Research Forum on Guided Tours in Halmstad, I presented a paper that set out to fashion a model for a 'standard guided tour'; for those tours provided by licensed civic volunteers and professional, commercial and institutional guides. I contrasted this model with another for those tours usually practiced by independent artists, activists, activist-entrepreneurs or performers; subversive, aesthetic or comic tours that tend to contradict, oppose or stand to the side of a 'standard tour'. I called this second model 'the mis-guided tour'.

None of the commercial or institutional tours I have attended since 2009 has given me cause to change my general characterisation of 'standard' tours. I continue to witness tours that are episodic in narrative, segmented into thematic parcels, tend to privilege description over interpretation, value the past over the present, are apparently unaware of themselves as performances and indifferent to their own constructedness, and while, mostly, admirably conscientious about standards of research and information transfer, are often careless of the symbolism and productive significance of their routes, form, style, gestures and costumes.

Very different tours share these qualities; for the 'standard' model is not a touchstone for the competence or otherwise of the guides concerned. I have attended witty, revelatory, well-organised tours (a tour of Somerset House, London, in 2011 stands out in the memory) that share the same general characteristics with semi-inaudible, baffling, semi-hostile commentaries from inexperienced guides (equally memorably represented by a tour of a former tin mine at Speedwell Cavern, Castleton [UK] in 2012). No matter

whether conscientious or opportunistic, these tours tend to be driven by their terrain rather than their interpretative narratives, are generally indifferent to how their performance itself creates meaning, and more often than not end abruptly once their circuit has been completed with limited drawing together of themes or folding back of their earlier parts. Equally, those dissident or aesthetic tours attended in the last four years more or less conform to the 'mis-guided' model.

Despite these repeated confirmations of the shared qualities of the tours modelled, however, I have found it necessary to revise my 2009 modelling. Since giving my Halmstad paper, certain experiences while making, performing and reviewing a number of new 'mis-guided tours' (particularly 'Exe-Pedition' in 2009, 'Water Walk' in 2010 and 'Aldwych Walk' in 2011), supported and challenged by critical and theoretical influences from within Tourism Studies, have led me to add a new model for guiding to the two described above. This new model is for the handing over of guiding-skills to the guided, for reconfiguring the role of the guide for a new kind of information transfer, and for transforming tourists into performers.

Morte Point Mis-Guide, 2009. Photo: Steve Mulberry.

There are different and equally valid ways of telling the story of this new model's emergence (this is perhaps not so surprising a statement coming from a 'mythogeographer' [Smith, 2010] with a commitment to the principle of multiplicity). Elsewhere I have told this story as a methodological experiment (Blichfeldt & Meged, forthcoming), and as an investigation of the spatial and geographical qualities of heritage sites (in numerous seminars), but here I will address that part of this story that is driven by live performance.

The evolution of a new model began when I started to re-think my ideas about the relationship between 'standard' and 'mis-guided' tours; not a re-thinking of the definitions themselves, but rather of the relationship between them. This was prompted by Jane Widtfeldt Meged's 2010 doctoral thesis in which she directly challenged the 'sharp dichotomy between a "standard tour" and a "Mis-guided Tour"' made in my Halmstad paper, describing how she had

> ***observed critical guides on "standard tours" reflecting with tourists on sensitive subjects, and other guides who immersed the tourists in the performance and even made them sing. (Meged, 2010: 217)***

Throughout her thesis Meged provides numerous examples of tactics that overlap both models; hers is a compelling argument.

Shortly before my engagement with these criticisms, my performance practice had been moving more towards a hardening of my position. In 2009 I performed a mis-guided tour – 'Exe-Pedition' – around the former medieval West Quarter and Quayside areas of Exeter (UK) for an audience of local mixed-race families as part of a larger project delivered by the creative arts company Blazing Tales. In attempting to engage with questions of diversity and mobility around this 'historic' space and their muting within a homogenising local history discourse, I felt that I had lost some of the playfulness of a 'mis-guided tour', conceding a multi-layered and entwined structure to something more episodic and segmented, and, as in a 'standard tour', had prioritised information-transfer over a multiplicity of other possible elements.

I sought to respond to what I felt to be a 'slippage' the following year, when, with my colleague from the Wrights & Sites site-based artists collective, Simon Persighetti, I was invited to create a tour around a very similar route to 'Exe-Pedition'; this time for an art gallery audience. For this tour, entitled 'Water Walk', I enthusiastically took up Simon's early suggestion that we make a very simple tour with the minimum of commentary and that at our stopping points we perform mostly silent actions and secular rituals related to the various historic uses and significances of water on the route. This seemed a good antidote to what I had felt to be my unintentional slide towards a 'standard' commentary-heavy tour.

In the event, 'Water Walk' was, indeed, mostly silent and action based. However, we preceded it with a lecture at our starting point (the fifteenth century White Hart Hotel), where, dressed in matching blazers with custom-made breast-pocket badges, pointing sticks, and folders of research text, we listed in some detail the historical information and doubtful 'local legends' that we would not be relaying as commentary during the walk, performed all the pointing we would not be enacting on the walk, and described the jokes and personal anecdotes we would not be telling. We then stripped ourselves of blazers, sticks and folders, and led the tour mostly in silence.

A mis-guided tour on Exeter's 'Historic' Quayside. Photo: Kristofor Darby.

I might have given little further thought to this walk. During the tour and on immediate reflection, it had felt like an eccentric one-off event that might have charmed and amused its audience, but was of little wider significance. However, I was monitoring 'Water Walk', along with eleven other of my 'mis-guided tours' created over a two year period (2010-1) for doctoral research at the University of Plymouth (UK); I had recruited a 60-strong panel of volunteers and these were invited to the tours and those identified as attending were then invited to respond by questionnaire or email and describe their experiences. Two significant, shared responses emerged from 'Water Walk' responders: firstly, despite our 'renouncing' of our guiding roles and abandonment of various props and costumes, the participants were very clear that we still performed the roles of guides, though in a spectral and hollowed out form. Secondly, while the responders generally noted that (in common with responses to other walks) a multiplicity of unexpected meanings and hidden narratives about the route had emerged, causing the participants to re-think their understanding of the site of the tour, a number of the responders also became self-aware of the personal process by which they were constructing their sense of 'history' and 'heritage' from this multiplicity. This self-conscious production did not show up in responses to the other monitored 'mis-guided tours' and, therefore, seemed to be related to the tour's unique (among tours monitored for this research) 'double movement': first, the travestying and exorcising of guiding tactics and, then, their return in spectral or 'transparent' forms.

I had previously described such a 'transparency' in a particular, restrained and subtle approach to the performance of site-specific theatre, contrasting it with the 'equally valid) florid 'camouflage' effect of a multiplicity of layers and baroque detailing:

> ***['transparency'] explicitly privileges the site over, even against, the performer. Transparent performance is analogous to a domestic slideshow, where photographic images are projected onto the most convenient wall, revealing both the images and the cracks in the surface onto which they are projected. Here the performer follows the site as its own score, moving according to its physical contours rather than psychological or narrative objectives. Rather than draw focus to themselves, the performer leaves a trace.... (Smith, 2009: 162)***

In 'Water Walk', the travestying of the customary tactics of guiding, an act 'against' ourselves which left a spectral 'trace', had not only privileged the site over the performance of its interpretation (at least for some of the participants), but had also rendered those participants' processes of interpretation and meaning-construction transparent to themselves.

While such 'transparency' might at first appear to be at odds with multiplicity (the key 'mythogeographical' principle driving my making of 'mis-guided tours' [Smith, 2010: 113]), it is in tune with a conceptualising of multiplicity as an elegant rhizomic system (a non-hierarchical super-connectivity) rather than as a simple accumulation of layers:

> ***The multiple must be made, not by always adding a higher dimension, but rather in the simplest of ways, by dint of sobriety, with the number of dimensions one already has available – always n – 1 (the only way the one belongs to the multiple: always subtracted). (Deleuze & Guattari, 1987: 7. Original emphasis.)***

More by luck than foresight, Simon Persighetti and I had stumbled upon a generalizable double movement of subtraction and return that not only generated and sustained a multiplicitous understanding of a site's meanings, but (at least for some participants) made transparent the construction of that multiplicity for its co-constructors.

These different elements – travesty/exorcism and spectral return, transparency and the sustenance of multiplicity, the self-aware construction of meanings – began to come together in a new model for guiding, when, in 2010, at the first annual meeting of my research panel volunteers I heard for the first time what some of the volunteers were doing in response to my tours. For some of them described how they were re-walking the routes of my tours, mostly with family or friends, and recounting or re-performing elements from these performances. I had certainly aspired to the dispersal of the performance tactics of my guiding, but I had imagined that this would be to other performers, activists and the more adventurous guides of 'standard' tours. Here, under my nose, however, was a different model: for a guiding that dispersed its tactics to its visitors/audiences rather than to other guides.

Mis-guiding with my volunteer panel members. Photo: Kristofor Darby.

Such a democratic dispersal of guiding to its consumers chimed with the idea of the 'agentive tourist', dominant now within Tourism Studies, but that had once emerged as a reaction against an influential Marxian-miserablist strain (almost relishing the apparent alienation of others) in 1960s and 1970s Tourism Studies which tended to portray a passive, often duped, tourist at 'the centre of his strictly circumscribed world... [his] sensuality and aesthetic sense... as contained and restricted as they are in his home country' (Turner & Ash, 1975: 90-1). The idea of an 'agentive tourist' challenged the idea of the passive consumption of an inert space. Instead, sites of heritage (and other tourisms) were now more likely to be described as

> ***arena[s] in which the meanings are contested not just at an abstract level, but through the active involvement of the consumer as a reflexive agent. (Meethan, Anderson & Miles, 2006: xiii)***

In such spaces, 'at least in part... constructed and signified by the tourist' (Crouch, Aronsson & Wahlström, 2001: 254), the agentive tourist chooses from a 'plethora of tourist roles, experiences and meanings, and attitudes' (McCabe, 2009: 34). Rather than passively consuming and reproducing representations, such agentive tourists are capable of taking up 'reflexive and ironic positions in relation to signs and the significance of the non-visual means of [their] … engagement with space' (Crouch, Aronsson & Wahlström,

2001: 255). They can engage in 'an active construction of a personal narrative' (Wearing, Stevenson, & Young, 2009: 49) in relation to

> ***narratives that are created around specific sites and specific forms of tourist activity... created, picked up, modified and incorporated into the narratives of self-hood that we all weave around our lives. (Meethan, et al., 2006: xiii)***

The 'guided' of my 'mis-guided tours' had slipped easily into the roles of guide and performer as parts of that 'plethora of tourist roles' on offer to them generally in tourism space. They had done so without any direct coaching and without apparently considering themselves to have taken up a role in contradiction to those of visitor, consumer, audience or tour-participant.

In May 2011, I prepared a 'mis-guided tour' of the Aldwych, London for members of the Arts and Humanities Research Council network project 'Reflecting on Environmental Change through Site-Based Performance'. Informed by Jane Widtfeldt Meged's challenge to any sharp distinction between 'standard' and 'mis-guided' tours, I came to appreciate in the practice of my preparations, 'rehearsals' and performance just how many of the key de-familiarising properties of the 'mis-guided tour' were already latent in the tours of the 'standard' model. These properties include guides following the physical 'logics' of their routes rather than a historiographically meaningful narrative sequence (Edensor, 1998), adopting site-specificity at a loss for any other organising strategy, the various 'seductive strategies' of the guides such as rhetorical strategy and strategy of intimacy (Meged, 2010: 109-110), compartmentalisation (manifested in the stops and starts of the tour, its 'rhythmic landscape' [Jonasson, 2009: 45]) and an opportunistic flexibility that 'tangles' with the production of ideology when, without a non-topographical logic, narratives are arbitrarily juxtaposed by the exigencies of the route and mimic the mechanics of ideology's reproduction (its adaptations to an existing logic).

During my Aldwych Walk performance – in which I engaged with freemasonic imagery, a royal back entrance to a theatre, my mother's terminal illness, the historical graveyard setting (now a basketball court) of the death of Dickens's fictional Lady Dedlock and a literal beach ('strand') beneath the pavement of the Strand, during which I handed around huge amounts of hair acquired from a local hairdressers and presented a wedding present (stone bookends made from bomb-damaged parts of the Houses of Parliament) to an about-to-be-married member of the audience, and ended with a procession through the drenching fountains of the Somerset House quad – I made explicit to my audience how I was drawing upon the de-familiarising affordances of the tactics and 'seductive strategies' (Meged, 2010: 109-12) of a mainstream tour and then subjecting them to travesty and transparent-return as crucial parts of my détourned performance of a tour; détournement being the re-use of moribund art forms and media through adaptation, juxtaposition and disruption to new ends (Debord & Wolman, 1981: 14-20).

Aldwych Walk, 2011. Photo: Stephen Bottoms.

The possibility of the re-use and re-cycling of apparently conventional, normatizing, ideologically inscribed and manipulated materials suggested to me that there might here be at least parts of the means to democratically disperse from guide to guided; a repeatable, even emergent, process. Here perhaps was a way to broaden access to those affordances in mainstream tourist space that have been described as a latent 'chora' by Stephen Wearing, Deborah Stevenson and Tamara Young (Wearing et al., 2009). Comparable to 'transparency', the concept of 'chora' (of a space between being and becoming) here characterises certain spaces as transitory, temporary, potential and notional terrains of transformation, resistant to commercial exchange and obligations to reciprocal gifting, and evasive (rather than absolute or violent in dissolution) of identities and hierarchy. The potency of mainstream tourism behaviours and 'standard' guiding tactics in the context of a 'chorastic' space of tourism signalled the possibility that the principles of 'mis-guidance', rather than being necessarily restricted to specialised events practised by a few committed alternative guides and their audiences, might instead open up to détournement the entire field of guided tours (with a hypothetical extension to heritage tourism in general). Rather than a subversive disruption from outside of the mainstream, this suggested possibilities for an immersed practice disrupting and détourning from within.

The very tactics that in 'Water Walk' we had sought to travesty, exorcise and hollow out (the stopping and starting, the pointing, the personal anecdote, the joke, the arbitrary factoid, the firm directing of the gaze, the display of symbols of historiographical authority, and so on) were now shown to possess a certain latent subversiveness, besideness, travesty, playfulness, subjectivity, volatility and exaggeration. Rather than bringing in new, specialist elements (or claims to greater truth or insight for a mis-guided commentary; though in some cases a mis-guide might be challenging official discourses or seeking to uncover hidden or silenced ones), the point was to take existing, commonplace and accessible elements and change their context: frame, fore-front, hollow out, exaggerate, heighten, and so on. In other words to openly perform the disparate elements of heritage tourism, subjecting their practice to certain non-specialised conditions of live performance, which through a self-awareness of performance-like production (already demonstrated among some participants in 'Water Walk')

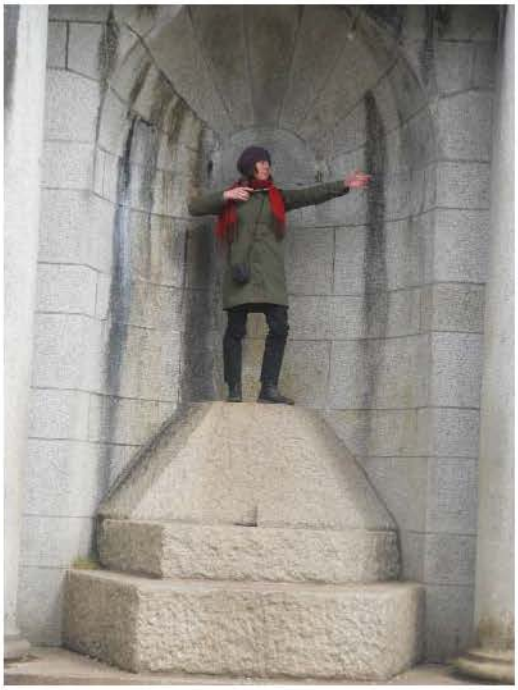
> ***[has] the potential for change in its very moment of delivery.... need[s] to be experienced... via, for example, the body of the performer, the physical context of its venue... results from conscious or deliberate decisions; and... [its] 'text' or 'blueprint' is repeatable (although necessarily alterable when actually (re) presented). (Mock, 2000: 3)***

An 'agentive tourist' could take advantage of this overlapping of the existing elements in a tourism site (texts, objects, expected or conventional behaviour) with liveness and mutability, enabling a flexible engagement on 'local stages' of heritage where 'tourist performances escape the normative narratives and rituals' (Edensor, 1998: 13), while at the same time being sufficiently 'repeatable' for the purposes of their redistribution.

Just as I had understood my experimental live performances of 'mis-guided tours' as ones made for sites that are continually reproducing and performing themselves in complex dramaturgies that incorporate actors, scripts, signs and objects, I could now apply the same understanding to a détourned version of a commonplace tourism visit. Not as active interventions against inert representations of the dominant discourses of heritage or as performance-visits to sites representing fixed pasts that any dynamic intervention would necessarily disrupt, but:

> ***instead of seeing places as relatively fixed entities, to be juxtaposed in analytical terms with more dynamic flows of tourists, images and cultures... to see them as fluid and created through performance. (Coleman & Crang, 2002: 1)***

By engaging with places of heritage tourism as 'events... [not] fixed, if ambient, container[s]' (Coleman & Crang, 2002: 10), then such an eventness of place, and any performance-like visit to it (which is already a constituting part of it), could become a self-conscious production of affordant means to changing the qualities of both site and visit.



Counter-tourism at the Ashton Memorial folly, Lancaster (UK), 2012. Photo: Phil Smith.

So it was by bringing together the double movement of travesty/exorcism and spectral return, the self-awareness of meaning production and the conditions of live performance (the self-consciousness and self-reflexivity of a performance artist rather than the techniques of an impersonator or of an actor playing a psychological character) that I arrived at the idea for 'counter-tourism': a performing of the heritage site visit by everyday but 'agentive' tourists armed with tactics that had first been drawn from mainstream tourism behaviours and practices and then détourned as if for the performance of a 'mis-guided tour'.

In 2012 I published 'Counter-Tourism: The Handbook' and 'Counter-Tourism: A Pocketbook' (both Triarchy Press, Axminster) which consist mostly of tactics for an agentive and détourned heritage site visit. These tactics include collecting stains, dusting, measuring one's companion's pulse during a visit, assuming the role of detective to address a site as a crime scene or the role of a psychiatrist with the site as a patient, keeping a diary of visits but as someone else, conducting a dialogue with a portrait, and so on. In 'Counter-Tourism: The Handbook' the reader is given the opportunity to try more complicated tactics that require some preparation (for example, creating a silent and covert guided tour within an official tour by providing, unseen by guide or other visitors, things to hold, taste or smell for a companion during the official tour as a commentary on, or complement to, the tour), performative interventions (such as writing one's own Code of Conduct for a site or re-enacting the very recent past at Living History events) and open infiltration of the institutions of the heritage industry itself. In each case the tactics, simple or complex, are versions of practices already in place; so, for example, the 'tour within a tour' is adapted from the kinds of visitor behaviour on guided tours described by Jane Widtfeldt Meged as 'tourists' tactics' (Meged, 2010: 61-4).

Counter-tourism: searching for a stream on the site of Scott of the Antarctic's childhood home. Photo: Mark James.

The intention of counter-tourism's tactics, interventions and open infiltrations is to seize upon a phenomenon described in Laurajane Smith's research into tourist visits to English country houses ('stately homes'). From interviews with visitors, she identified the motor for those feelings of authentication and validation experienced by many visitors as lying not in any historical narrative, but in the visitors' experience of the visit itself. In her interviews with tourists it was the visit, rather than the material site or any discourse around it, that the tourists identified 'as "authentic", as it provoked feelings and emotions

that were seen as "real" or genuine and that helped people feel "comfortable" about their social experiences, social position and values and their sense of community' (Smith, 2009: 41).

Rather than exposing and denouncing this as a crass negation of scholarship or as a belittling of shared cultural property (as I might well have limited myself to prior to my exploration and growing understanding of the volatile virtues of the tactics of 'standard' guiding and visiting), the tactics, interventions and infiltrations of 'counter-tourism' – in tune with the respect for 'standard tour' tactics finally realised in my 'Aldwych Walk' – seek to recruit this privileging of the visit itself. The tactics are provocative devices for encouraging visitors to excessively over-perform their visit-privileging (and thus crudely fore-fronted, self-conscious and potentially reflexive) time spent at heritage sites, as a means to fore-fronting and addressing these visits' muffling of historical narrative and their anaesthetizing of their sites' vital materiality and accidental surreality.

Accidental surreality. Domme, France. Photo: Phil Smith.

My intention in appropriating the mechanics of the visit is to draw its practitioners onto those shifting grounds that Raymond Williams has identified as 'changes of presence', lying somewhere between the personal and the social, that appear prior to their 'exert[ing] palpable pressures and set[ting] effective limits on experience and on action'. These grounds for a kind of prologue to change are described by Williams as 'elements of impulse, restraint and tone... affective elements of consciousness and relationships: not feeling against thought, but thought as felt and feeling as thought' (Williams, 1977: 131-2). For 'counter-tourism' these mutable grounds might be visitors' feelings of 'peace and quiet', of immersion, of collective security, of awe or acquisitiveness or the impulse to collect and 'conserve' experiences. Counter-tourism's tactics are intended to engage with and resist those moments when such feelings assume the condition of structures (coherent sets of relations with their various parts) that produce or reproduce ideological relations in heritage sites – such as subservience, compliance, passivity, imagined-integration, commodification, homogenisation or identity formation. 'Counter-tourism' is the attempt to create a model for such a deferral of affect, seeking a kind of 'plateau' (a 'region of intensities whose development avoids any orientation towards a culmination point or

external end' [Deleuze & Gautarri, 1987: 24]), an uncanny excitement that is neither resolved nor punctured, but sustained so that the visitor is challenged by her or his own pleasure, appetite, humility or peace; an agitation by emotional means, by a destabilising ecstasy or jouissance (Kristeva, 1982: 9).

Just as I used live performance as a means (along with critical and theoretical tools generated by the Tourism Studies community) to interrogate the qualities of guided tours through an active 'Practice as Research', so I have also used live performance elements in tour guiding (its overlapping of prepared texts, objects and rehearsed actions with liveness, spontaneity and mutability) as grounds for a flexible engagement on chorastic 'stages' of heritage with a pre-ideological heritage practice that is, with provocation, capable of escaping 'normative narratives and rituals' (Edensor, 1998: 13). This is informed by an understanding of where live performance connects to a 'performance of everyday life' (the self-conscious or un-self-conscious reiteration of certain scripts or scores in quotidian situations) and I have drawn upon Erving Goffman's pioneering descriptions of acting simultaneously as actor and audience as an affordance for developing performance-like explorations in everyday life, have fore-fronted his front stage/back stage binary (Goffman, 1971: 114-40) as useful as a disruptive and constructed demarcation (rather than as a description of the structure of the essential performance of self), and, more aggressively, have rejected his 'definition of situation' as a necessary part of the production of coherence and instead sought out incoherent situations in heritage, and have proposed a willed *in*credulity (rather than the 'tact' of a willed credulity [Goffman, 1971: 222-7]) as part of my hypersensitizing of agentive visitors (actor/spectators) in heritage sites.

Rejecting any strict demarcation between live performance and the performance of everyday life, and adopting Diana Taylor's proposal that 'we learn and transmit knowledge through embodied action, through cultural agency, and by making choices. Performance... function[ing] as an episteme, a way of knowing, not simply an object of analysis' (Taylor, 2003: xvi), the 'counter-tourism' toolkit (the publications, 31 micro-films of tactics made with filmmaker Siobhan Mckeown uploaded to YouTube [http://www.youtube.com/playlist?list=PLA2F359FC07A49A44] , a website [www.countertourism.net] and a presence on social media) is designed to immerse its users in performance-like encounters with heritage sites, transferring their experiences and insights by re-performing those encounters with and to others. This extends the kind of ethnographic presence I had found necessary for preparing 'mis-guided tours' that – in performance and preparation – functioned as 'embodied knowledges… disseminated experientially through presentations to and interactions with other people' (Mock & Parker-Starbuck, 2011: 20). So counter-tourism becomes a repertoire that 'enacts embodied memory: performances, gestures, orality, movement, dance, singing... acts usually thought of as ephemeral, nonreproducible knowledge' (Taylor, 2003: 20), a democratic site-performing that is 'transmitted through a nonarchival system of transfer... [for] if performance did not transmit knowledge, only the literate and powerful could claim social memory and identity' (Taylor, 2003: xvii).

Conclusion

This paper has outlined a journey from a variety of guiding practices and performance-like guided tours to a model for the animating and handing over of those tours' performance-like and transformational qualities to their audiences/visitors. According to this model, the agentive tendency of general tourists is triggered and magnified, arming visitors with tactics which are first taken from 'standard tours' and mainstream tourism practices and then *détourned*. What this paper does not discuss, but implies, is a new 'information transfer' role for tour guides, both 'standard' and 'mis-guided', as performance provocateurs

and intellectual-armourers of visitors who will then make their own performance-like trajectories through heritage and other tourism spaces.

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Section 2
TOUR GUIDES, DESTINATION IMAGE & DESTINATION DISCOURSE

The contribution of tour guides to destination understanding and image. The case of Haiti via an analysis of: 'Bonjour blanc, a journey through Haiti'

Hugues Séraphin, PhD
Faculty Business, Law and Sport , The University of Winchester, United Kingdom
hugues.seraphin@winchester.ac.uk

Abstract

'Bonjour blanc, a journey through Haiti' (Thomson, 2004) is considered by many writers and literary critics as the best travel writing about Haiti as it makes the readers want to go there, makes them feel as if they had actually been there and most importantly gives them a better understanding of the place, notably due to the fact that Ian Thomson takes the readers into areas of Haiti that no other modern writer has bothered to explore. Under many different aspects Ian Thomson can be considered as a 'virtual' tour guide. When he went to Haiti in 1990, Ian Thomson hired professional tour guides. All the information included in his travel writing (history of Haiti, history of particular areas of the country, information about particular people, etc) are derived from explanations provided by professional tour guides and also by the locals who are to some extent 'tour guides'. In a country like Haiti with such a rich and complicated history, having a tour guide is a 'must' in order to be able to decipher the codes required to understand the true nature of the destination, its people and interpretations of heritage.

Not many academic papers have been written about Haiti as a destination (Séraphin, 2010 2011, 2012, 2013; Dore 2010; Thernil, 2004; Théodat , 2004; Dupont, 2003; Bénédique et al., 2010). This article contributes to the body of meta-literature by focusing on a redefinition of the 'job description' and 'person specification' of tour guides in destinations kept away from tourists and how they contribute to the destination understanding and image.

In order to understand the contribution of tour guides to the destination understanding and image, this paper proposes an analysis articulated around three main parts: First, a literature review on tourist guiding and destination branding image. Then a research methodology section where the role of tour guides in *'Bonjour blanc, a journey through Haiti'* is analysed as well as the impacts on the image of the destination. The third and last section entitled: *'Talk the talk, walk the walk'* discusses the approach the tour guide should have when talking about the destination.

Methodologically, this article builds on the academic critical literature on Haiti, tour guiding, travel writing and destination image and performance. As a primary source, it directly uses *'Bonjour blanc, a journey through Haiti'*. In terms of approach, this paper adopts an inductive and exploratory approach.

The first outcome of the paper was to find out that the political situation in Haiti has reinforced the Originals/Pathfinders function of the guide to turn it into a bodyguard function. The paper then highlights the fact that the profession of tour guide can only exist

properly if some specific criteria (internal and external to the profession) are met and that the actual tour guides in Haiti at the moment are the locals. Last but not least, it has been pointed out that the ethics of the profession can be challenged by customers' wants and needs.

Keywords
tour guide, Haiti, image, travel writing, evolution, standard-guide

Introduction

The development of the tourism industry is now one of the main priorities of the Haitian government. One of the benefits of the tourism industry for destinations all academics seem to agree about is job creation (Cooper & Hall, 2008). Tourists when they visit a destination want to discover more about the place (Cohen, 1985). Gaining an understanding of the host's culture is therefore an important determinant of visitor satisfaction (McDonnell, 2001). The tour guide plays a pivotal role in this satisfaction. Part of the role of the guide is to help tourists find meaning in what they see (Reisinger & Steiner, 2006) and to facilitate cultural understanding of the host culture (McDonnell, 2001).

Investigating the profession of tour guide in Haiti is particularly interesting because the destination has been through different phases in terms of tourism evolution. Haiti used to be the most popular destination in the Caribbean in the 1940s-1960s. Then under the Duvalier dictatorship (1957-1986) the destination became one of the less visited islands in the Caribbean (Séraphin, 2011). Because of the image and lack of governance of the country (Roc, 2008) this situation remained beyond the dictatorship period of Duvalier. The 2010 earthquake has even made things worse in terms of image of the destination and also in terms of preventing the country to develop as a destination (Séraphin, 2010). Since the appointment of Stephanie Balmir-Villedrouin as Minister of tourism, Haiti seems to be 'back on track' as a tourist destination. Because of the ups and downs of this destination, it would be interesting to investigate the impact(s) on the profession of tourist guide. If the performance of the destination has an impact on the role of tourist guiding, the profession could be regarded as being reflective of the evolution of the tourism industry.

Prakash, Chowdhary and Sunayana (2011) argue that according to the context of a destination and the stage of the tourism development the destination there is an impact on the tour guides' job. Among these are the working environment and challenges from within the immediate tourism context. Haiti as a destination is quite a challenging context for the tour guide to work in. For instance, Rabotic (2010) argues that throughout the 2500 years the job has been existing, the role of the tour guide has changed from escorting visitors through an unknown area to a form of cultural mediation. In Haiti, because of the political situation, the 'job description' of the tourist guide has followed the trend, but the 'escorting' dimension of the job remains prevalent even today. How can therefore this prevalence of the 'escorting' dimension of the tour guide profession in Haiti be interpreted?

Using *'Bonjour blanc, a journey through Haiti'* (Thomson, 2004) as a case study, in other words, an in-depth exploration of particular context adopting a mixed methods' approach (Hammond & Wellington, 2012) our objective is to show that the tour guide sector of a destination and in our case, Haiti, can be a reflexion, even an allegory of the tourism sector of the destination. The paper is structured around two key questions. First, what does it actually mean to be a tour guide in Haiti (or any destination with a similar 'profile')? Second, in terms of brand image of the destination, where should the tour guide stand? Shall the guide 'tell' about the destination as it is or shall he 'tell' the destination as he would like it to be?

Johnson (2011) explained that there is a strong positive relationship between human capital development and economic growth. Dore (2010) has highlighted the lack of training and courses available in the tourism sector in Haiti. He also pointed out the development of courses and training in the sector as being important for the sustainability of the sector. The findings of this paper are supposed to assist the Haitian government in terms of what should be included in the content of the training for tour guide provided by the Ecole Hoteliere d' Haiti.

The paper has three parts: First, it reviews the extant literature on tourist guiding and destination branding image. Then a research methodology section where the role of tour guides in *'Bonjour blanc, a journey through Haiti'* is analysed. The third and last section entitled: *'Talk the talk, walk the walk'* discusses the approach the tour guide should have when telling about the destination.

Literature review

For many destinations the development of the tourism industry is entwined with the development of the role of tour guide. Because a high quality service is expected from those tour guides, training courses are put in place (Reisinger & Steiner, 2006). Once qualified, tour guides serve four major functions: (a) ensure that tourists reach their destination and return safely (b) interacting and socialising with tourists (c) facilitating interaction among tourists and with the environment (d) transferring detailed information either correct or fake (Cohen, 1985). For Ap and Wong (2001), the tour guide has mainly an interpretive function that can be split into the role of mediator which entail leading the tourists to their own conclusions and letting them learn instead of telling them how to think and feel about their experiences. This interpretive function of the tour guide identified by Ap and Wong (2001) contributes to the quality of the experience of the tourists (Moscardo, 1998).

The literature gathered seems to put the tourists in a position of dependency on the guide to have a good experience. However, for Holbrook and Hirschman (1982), the tourist is not only a 'consumer' but equally a 'producer'. In other words, the quality of the experience of the tourists does not rely totally on the shoulder of the tour guide. The functions of the tour guide described by Cohen (1985) and by Ap and Wong (2001), are functions that are not only endorsed by the professional tour guide but also by the locals, meaning the professional tour guide is not the only one capable of enhancing the experience of the tourists. Those two points will be developed in the following section of the paper. Steiner and Reisinger (2006) share the author's view that tourists are capable of interpreting the alien worlds they visit but also that authentic tourism that is to say an individual and personal experience that contribute to one's sense of identity and connectedness with the world (Reisinger & Steiner, 2006) can contribute to a great part of the visitor experience. The tour guides are therefore not the only one contributing to the image of the destination.

According to Gartner (2000), the destination image can be defined as "the attitude, perception, beliefs and ideas one hold about a particular geographic area formed by the cognitive image of a particular destination" (Gartner, 2000, p. 295). The image tourists have of a destination is based upon information acquired either by induced agents, generally controlled by sources external to the individual such as advertisements; organic agents that are acquired through personal experience and are normally the most trusted source of information and autonomous agents which are media sources or popular culture such as films or documentaries. Gartner (1993) also adds that the size of the destination also plays an important role in its image. The smaller the destination image is, the more likely its image is going to be based on its political situation. It is the case of Haiti.

When it comes to the Caribbean most people think about sunny, white beach paradise islands, colourful cocktails and lively music. It is all about selling a certain image to attract tourists (Roessingh et al, 2008, p. 21). However, because the region is very diverse, not all the islands here are "vested in the branding and marketing of paradise" (Sheller, 2004, p. 23). In fact, Haiti on the other hand is variously branded as an unsecure destination (Higate & Henry, 2009) and as a place where the worse is always likely to happen (Bonnet, 2010).

In this paper we won't go as far as Heidegger (1996) by suggesting that tour guides in their current incarnation might be largely superfluous in authentic tourism. We are acknowledging in this paper the key role of the tour guides in the experience of the tourists. But we are also suggesting that the role of the guide is not central in the experience of the tourists. The locals are in this paper considered as pivotal in the tourists' experience. The following section of this paper examines the role of the tour guides in the particular context of Haiti.

Research, findings and discussion

Methodology

In order to uncover the role of tour guides in the context of Haiti and their actual impact on the experience of tourists, this section is going to use narrative analysis and adopt an inductive and exploratory approach. As mentioned earlier in this paper, *'Bonjour blanc, a journey through Haiti'* (Thomson, 2004) will be used as our main source to analyse the role and impacts of tour guide. Thomson used a mixed method to collect the information about the tourism sector in Haiti. In terms of approach, Thomson adopted an ethnographic approach. He spent most of his time in Haiti with the locals. It is from the locals that he got most of his information (either observations, structured and semi-structured interviews, discussions). The information collected is also derived from literature (books about the history of Haiti).

Overview of 'Bonjour blanc, a journey through Haiti'

In many instances Ian Thomson can be compared to Tintin and his novel to one of Hergé's stories. Both Tintin and Ian Thomson are reporter/journalist, both travelled in a destination with military dictatorship, both journeys were fraught with problems and accidents and last but not least Hergé and Thomson provided well detailed information about the destination visited in their writings. Rapidly the journey itself becomes a key topic of the adventure. *Bonjour blanc, a journey through Haiti'* can be defined by the journey Ian Thomson's accomplished. In many respects, Ian Thomson's journey almost illustrates the concepts of adventure tourism. Although he travelled all over Haiti, Ian Thomson rarely visits popular local tourist sites or areas (with probably the exception of Jacmel). However, as an unconventional travel writer would do, he visited many places which appear to have huge potential to become tourist attractions. Ian Thomson spent most of his time interacting with locals who were either Haitian born (Enoch, the guide; Richard Morse, owner of the Hotel Oloffson; etc.) or foreigners who have been living in Haiti for a long time (Aida from Italy and owner of the cafe Napolitan; Eleanor Snear, American born and head of the Haitian-American Institute; etc.). He even befriends with some of them. So, his universe can be described as cosmopolitan. Overall and based on Woodside and Megehee (2010) we can say that '*Bonjour blanc, a journey through Haiti'* is a good travel writing:

a. The book weaves a lot of information
b. The book gives a vivid insight
c. The story in which life is relatively in balance, with terrible disaster, where balance is sometimes restored
d. Opposing forces - Thomson expressed many times contradicting or even mixed feelings about and for Haiti and the Haitians.

e. Deals with fundamental conflicts between subjective expectation and cruel reality or display the struggle between expectation and reality in all its nastiness
f. Looking behind the mask – As mentioned earlier, this journey through Haiti appeared like a quest for the 'Grail'. The 'Grail' for Thomson is the quest of the true nature of Haiti. To find the object of his quest he went all over the country talking to different people as did Rasselas in his quest to the recipe to happiness. At the end Thomson achieved his objective because his book is a remarkable achievement giving wonderful vignettes from Haitian culture and history beyond CNN's reach.

The tour guide in 'Bonjour blanc, a journey through Haiti'

Our hypothesis is that there are two types of tour guides: On one hand, the professional tour guides (who perform a communicative function which involves transferring detailed information and interpreting attractions, sites and experiences) Smith (2010) refers to as 'standard guide'; on the other hand, the locals. The importance devoted to the two guides is very limited. Moreover, the way they are depicted is not very flattering. In the first phase of our narrative analysis we are going to analyse the context in which the guides appear and how they are depicted by Ian Thomson. So doing, we are going to create three tables. The first one is going to include the four major functions of a tour guide indicated by Cohen (1985). The second one is going to list the challenges tour guides face (Prakash et al., 2011). The table will be populated using '*Bonjour blanc, a journey through Haiti*'. The third table summarises the image of the tour guide in Haiti.

Table 1 Major functions of the 'Professional' tour guide in Haiti

Function (F)	Description	From	e.g.
F1 (Originals/ Pathfinders)	Perform primarily the instrumental function. Their task is to ensure that tourists reach their destination and return safely. They select the route and the attractions and make them accessible to tourists	Michael	*I'm a guide, see. And you should never – never – be walking around Port-au-Prince like that on your own. It's dangerous. There's a siege, you understand'* *'You need a guide' wheedled Michael. 'For protection, understand?'*
F2 (Animators)	Perform the social function by interacting and socialising with tourists, being friendly, listening and respecting their preferences	Enoch	*I liked Enoch: He was a big man and very black, of great dignity. He had the most infectious grin; Everything to Enoch was a joke*
F3 (Tour Leaders)	Facilitate interaction among tourists and with the environment	Enoch	*The chef was initially suspicious. Enoch explained that I had come as an anthropologist in search of my polish roots.* *The inhabitants of this village were considered hostile and suspicious. 'But we will manage' Enoch laughed*
F4 (Professionals)	Transferring detailed information and interpreting attractions, sites and experiences	Michael	*'That's all Voodoo stuff'* *'But you get good information here. It is a macoute bar'*

Table 2 Perceived challenge 'Professional' tour guides face in Haiti

Challenge	Description (quote)
People do not trust tour guide	*'He stood contemplating me with an expression that was half amused and half sardonic. I was dreading this.*
Limited knowledge	*'I'm English, not American'. This caused some confusion. 'So you live in New York? Returned Michael* *'England?' Michael cast me a quizzical glance. 'England where?*
Poor payment for the job	*'I am not a bad guy. I am just hungry. So you won't mind if I have some of that chicken, no?'* *I paid off Michael – We haggled violently over the fee*
Can do little to ensure security of tourists	*'I'm a guide, see. And you should never – never – be walking around Port-au-Prince like that on your own. It's dangerous. There's a siege, you understand'*
Guide show little respect to tourists	*'I don't need a guide' I protested. 'You need a guide, understand?'*
Illegal guide	*'The guide described himself as an 'unemployed mailman' – Michael* *Enoch, a guide who worked at the Oloffson*
Inability to meet expectations of tourists	*'I'll take you to the Roxy'* (Brothel)
No decent entertainment	*Casino or brothels (Roxy, Mon premier amour, Club Zodiac, El Caribeno, etc.)*
Local public/anti-social elements do not treat tourists properly	*The current political unrest which made it dangerous for me to investigate Cazales on my own. The inhabitants of this village were considered hostile and suspicious.*
Poor connectivity with other areas with tourism potential	*The road to Cazales is more a bridle path, criss-crossed here and there by streams which churned the route to mud.*

Table 3 Archetypes of the tour guide in Haiti

Guide	Story gist	Description (quote)	Brand examples
Michael	Have a seductive speech but his appearance is repulsive	*'I am not a bad guy, you understand. Now listen to me, Mr Yankee'*	The beauty and the beast
Michael	Bring a positive and negative message at the same time	*'I'm a guide, see. And you should never – never – be walking around Port-au-Prince like that on your own. It's dangerous. There's a siege, you understand'*	Kevin Costner and Whitney Huston in 'Body guard'
Michael	Voodoo priest 'Ougan' linked with the possibility of destruction of evil; the bad dude	*The man was terribly tall and thin, with sharp cheekbones and an aquiline curve to the nose*	Gargamel (Smurf)
Michael	Humour, non-conformity and the element of surprise	*'I'm English, not American'* *'So you live in New York?'*	The blonde girl

Michael	Potential to identify vulnerable preys	*'I'm not a bad guy. I'm just hungry. So, you won't mind if I have some of that chicken, no?'*	Twitty and Sylvester
Michael	Use his knowledge and wit at his advantage to manipulate his victims	*We began to walk, Michael and I, along the Carrefour road, a red light district which at night apparently teems with thieves and ghouls*	Ripley
Enoch	Purity, nourishment and motherly warmth	*I liked Enoch: He was a big man and very black, of great dignity. He had the most infectious grin; Everything to Enoch was a joke*	(black version of) Mother Theresa
Enoch	Fortitude, courage and victory	*'But we'll manage'. Enoch laughed behind the wheel of his battered Ford. 'We will get there in the end'*	Crocodile Dundee
Enoch Michael	Jack of all trades (master of nothing)	*'The guide described himself as an 'unemployed mailman' – Michael* *Enoch, a guide who worked at the Oloffson*	Zorro/Don Diego de la Vega

Results and discussion

The first important outcome of the above analysis was to find out that the political situation in Haiti has reinforced the Originals/Pathfinders function of the guide to turn it into a body guard function. For a tourist it appears to be almost insane to go out in Haiti without a tour guide. Both guides, Enoch and Michael, despite the fact they have been described totally differently by Thomson agree that a guide is a 'must' for a tourist in Haiti (see tables 1, 2, 3). The necessity to have a guide is at no point presented as a way to be able to interpret the new context of the tourist but always for security reasons:

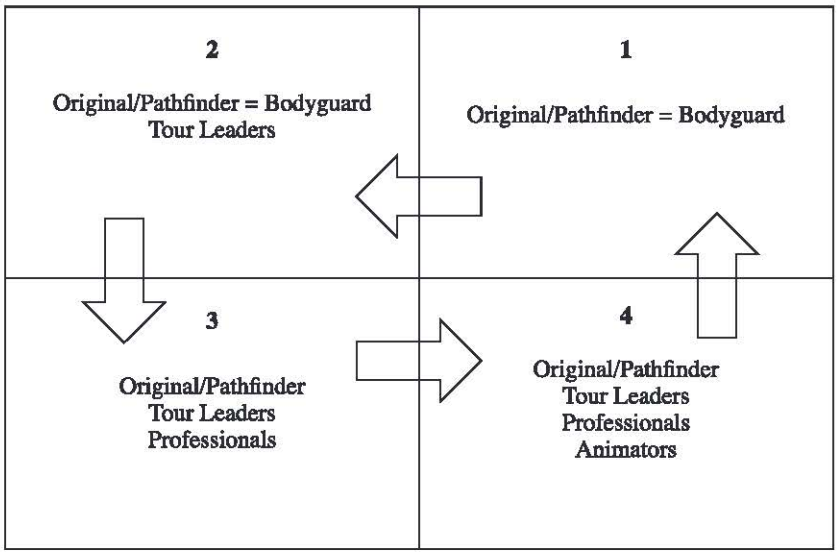
> ***'You should never – never – be walking around Port-au-Prince like that on your own. It's dangerous. There's a siege, you understand'***
>
> ***'You need a guide' wheedled Michael. 'For protection, understand?'***
>
> ***The inhabitants of this village were considered hostile and suspicious.***
>
> ***We began to walk, Michael and I, along the Carrefour road, a red light district which at night apparently teems with thieves and ghouls***

Haiti is depicted as an unsecure destination (Higate & Henry, 2009) and as a place where the worse is always likely to happen (Bonnet, 2010). Because of that, the function of the guide has to adapt the socio-political situation of the destination. In other words, the functions of the tour guides are reflective not only of the tourism performance of the destination but also of the political situation of the destination. In Haiti, the functions of the tourist guide can be ranked as follow:

F1: Originals/Pathfinder (Bodyguard)
F2: Tour Leaders
F3: Professionals
F4: Animators

The functions of the tour guide in Haiti can be summarised as follow in table 4:

Table 4 Matrix of the evolution of the functions of tour guide in instable destinations (like Haiti)



Degree of instability of the destination (1= dictatorship/civil war/etc to 4=stability/ beginning of democracy)

The main difference between our research and Cohen's (1985) is based on the fact that the latest only provided four key roles to the tour guide. We are acknowledging those four roles but we are adding the fact that those four roles can be ranked according to the political situation of the destination (we are also adding the fact that some of those four functions can change once again according to the political situation of the country). This paper brings more specificity to Cohen's (1985) research.

The second important outcome of this paper was to find that the profession of tour guide can only exist properly if some specific criteria (internal and external to the profession) are met (see tables 2, 3):

1. Political stability, therefore a positive image of the destination (Hai & Chicks, 2011)
2. Well structured tourism product (Cooper & Hall, 2008)
3. Commoditisation of the profession

The third important outcome of this paper was to find out how little importance was given by Thomson to the profession of tour guide. The travel writing is made of 20 chapters. The tour guide only appears in 2 of them (Michael in Chapter 3: 'Paris of the gutter' and Enoch in Chapter 5: 'The white black men of Europe'). The locals:

- Aida (Italian owner of the Cafe Napoli)
- Jack (British citizen)
- Conde Marimon (Owner of Auberge Bolivar)
- Madama Lexima (Voodoo 'Ougan')
- Madame Thoby (Owner of Hotel Sambo)
- Aubelin Jolicoeur (Haitian journalist)
- Nino Cinelli (Italian)
- Etc.

are mainly the one who has been described as:

- Information givers
- Sources of knowledge
- Mentors
- Surrogate parents
- Pathfinders
- Leaders
- Mediators
- Cultural brokers
- Entertainers

For Cohen (1985), Dekadt (1979), McKean (1976), Nettekoven (1979) and Schuchat (1983), all the above are part of the duties of the guide. In a non-established tourist destination the role of guide is performed by the locals and professional tour guides. Based on our findings we tend to agree with Heidegger (1996) that interpretation is a personal exploration of how individual understands the destination. Ian Thomson has been quite an active participant in his interpretation of Haiti as he was immersed in the culture what does not involves standing around listening to tour guides interpret experience for you or reading brochures and labels (Reisinger & Steiner, 2006). Thomson's experience of tour guiding in Haiti can be mapped as follow:

At the end of the travel writing Thomson finally gives us an overall feedback on his image of Haiti:

> ***'Haiti is a country of incredible intensity and extremes – One of the most astonishing places on earth' (Thomson, 2004, p. 364)***

A country of incredible intensity: Probably due to the peculiar history of the destination and the very nature of the Haitians.
A country of extremes: Probably due to the fact that the best as well as the worse can be seen and experience in Haiti (tour guiding, accommodation, encounters, etc.).
Because travel writings are tales of experience, Thomson's vision of Haiti can therefore be trusted (Woodside & Megehee, 2010; De Ascaniis & Grecco Morasso, 2011).

Now we have analysed the role of the tour guide in Haiti and the impact on the image of the destination, we are now going to discuss the type of discourse the tour guide should give to visitors.

Talk the talk, walk the walk

The key question of this section is to identify what should be told to the visitors when coming to Haiti. Should the visitor be told the truth about the destination or shall the tour guide tell them about the Haiti he would like to tell them about?

Environmental overview of Haiti
Between 1800's and 2009, the service sector moved from less than 5% to 60% of the GDP of Haiti. The move from the primary sector as being the main sector of the economy of the country to the service sector is mainly due to a change of activity of a huge part of the population. The service sector in Haiti can be described as follow:
a) A sector mainly orientated toward services to the community (not services to businesses), with a large number of MSEs. In the rear country the service sector includes under its 'umbrella': market sellers, grocers, retailers, etc. Much of the commerce is craftware and sometimes contraband whisky (Thomson, 2004, p.33). In general, the individuals involved in this type of businesses don't have any particular qualification. In cities or towns, the

service industry includes restaurants like 'Cafe Napoli' described by Ian Thomson in *'Bonjour blanc, a journey through Haiti'* (Thomson, 2004, p.24), Hotels like the Oloffson (Thomson, 2004, p.44) cybercafé, pharmacies, etc.
b) Businesses of the service sector are in general informal or unofficial meaning they do not abide to any law. This illegality is kind of the norm in the sector in Haiti. This is the 'extralegal norm'. Because this sector operates in the 'dark', it is very difficult to have specific data.
c) The sector is dominated by microenterprises with a low productivity as the owners of the businesses are in general very poor and uneducated.

In Haiti, the move from primary sector to service sector did not come with an increase of the income of the population or with an improvement in their standard of living. Moreover, because the service sector in Haiti is mainly geared toward service to the community and not toward the companies, the income generated by this sector is not significant to the economy (Benedique et al., 2009). The type of businesses developed by the Haitians in the service sector is only profitable at a microeconomic level and not at a macroeconomic level. The tourism industry, as part of the service sector plays an important role in the economy of Haiti. It is the main source of income of the country (27, 76% of the GDP) just ahead of agriculture (25.09% of the GDP)[1]. As mentioned earlier, the whole primary sector does not contribute more than 23% in the GDP, whereas the service sector represented roughly 60% of the GDP in 2009 (Paul et al., 2010). This is what Benedique et al. (2010) called the 'tertiarization of the Haitian economy' in other words, an irreversible move from the primary sector being a key contributor to the GDP to a role played by the service sector. Within the tourism industry, the hospitality branch is a dynamic sector and probably the way forward for the tourism industry in Haiti.

The tourism sector in Haiti
Haiti used to be the most popular tourist destination in the Caribbean between 1940s – 1960s (Séraphin, 2010) and as such attracted an international jet set. Mick Jagger, Charles Addams, Jackie Kennedy, etc. were among those who popularised Haiti (Thomson, 2004). Nowadays, Haiti is mainly known as one of the poorest and dangerous country on earth (Higate & Henry, 2009). It is also now a country with a very low 'touristicity' (Théodat, 2004). When Ian Thomson went to Haiti in 1990, to write *Bonjour blanc, a journey through Haiti,* Jean-Bertrand Aristide was about to become the country's first democratically elected president since Jean-Francois Duvalier (aka Papa Doc) in 1957. Haiti was also at this period the least visited country of the Caribbean mainly due to the high level of insecurity (Charles, 1994).
We argue the fact that *Bonjour blanc, a journey through Haiti* functions as a microcosm about life in Haiti. The richness of symbolic allegorical structure in *Bonjour blanc, a journey through Haiti* provides a wealth of different readings and appropriations.

Tour guiding: A powerful tool?
Séraphin (2012) established the fact that *'Bonjour blanc, a journey through Haiti'* as a travel writing has some kind of influence on visitors decision to visit or not Haiti. Séraphin (2012) also established the fact that it is very important for Haiti to take ownership or control of its image via a marketing strategy as a strategic management approach for dealing with tourism crises is the key to speedy recovery (Hai & Chick, 2011). In this paper we are going to argue the fact that guided tours can have a similar function (Hypothesis 1). In the same line, Dahles (2002) mentioned the fact there is argument that guided tours could be effective instruments used by governments to control tourists and

[1] http://www.ccih.org.ht/haiti/economie.php

their contacts with a host society and to disseminate images and information preferred by the authorities. The last section of the statement from Dahles (2002) backs up our view that tour guiding can be used to transfer an image to visitor. In another word, guided tours can be considered as marketing tool. Concerning the content of their discourse, Ap and Wong (2001) have indicated that tour guides may have their own agendas based on their country's sociocultural, historical, political and economic contexts or on their employment situation. Their interpretations may be self-serving or conformist narratives. In *'Bonjour blanc, a journey through Haiti'* the two guides: Enoch and Michael described Haiti to Ian Thomson adopting a conformist narrative approach (see table 2, 3). Ian Thomson at his turn gave us a trustworthy description of Haiti as he pointed out all the good and negative sides of the destination, giving the reader the possibility to make up his own mind. The travel writing ends up like Samuel Johnson's novel *Rasselas prince of Abyssinia* (1759) with a conclusion in which nothing is concluded. The content of the discourse of the tour guide as well as his role is overall a matter of ethic: A moral principle or a code of conduct that actually govern what people do (Hammond & Wellington, 2012).

Conclusion

The evolution of tour guide as a profession is associated with tourism development and with economic growth. There is also an ethical and moral dimension associated to the development of the tourism industry. It is therefore very important to take into account social values and practices when planning (Meliou & Maroudas, 2010). The Ecole Hoteliere d' Haiti has opened an 18 months guiding tour training programme (Mars, 2013) aiming to professionalise tour guiding and improve the quality of the service provided to visitors. This implies that changes must be done equally in all the sectors of the tourism industry in Haiti that represent (an external) challenge for tour guiding (see table 2) since successful development doesn't depend only on isolated training programmes (Meliou & Maroudas, 2010). Haiti has a master card to play, namely its authenticity. It is one of the latest untouched territories of the Caribbean. The tourists are guaranteed to get 'authenticity' as opposed to staged performance (Séraphin, 2013). If the tourism development is handled appropriately, broader social goals can be achieved that contribute to the overall well-being of society (Meliou & Maroudas, 2010).

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Section 3
EXPERIENCE OF PLACE & SPACE IN GUIDED TOURS

Still Walking - Objectives and Observations

Ben Waddington
Still Walking
ben.waddington@me.com

An account of the genesis and delivery of a walking festival in a large, post-industrial city lacking guided tours.

Keywords
walking, festival, Birmingham, tourism

Still Walking was a programme of guided tours that took place in Birmingham, UK in Spring 2012. There were 16 events, each with a different angle on what tourism can be about. I was the director and programmer of the festival. The festival came about because of my frustration about the lack of guided tours in a large city with a long history. My background is in fine art and more recently in local history, rather than in tourism or events management. Creating the festival led to some unexpected partnerships, helped me to rethink my own practice and my relationship to the city.

In 2010 I was commissioned by the Flatpack Film Festival to lead a guided tour in Birmingham which I called Invisible Cinema. The tour visited the locations of former cinemas which had since closed and been absorbed back into the fabric of the city. Some had closed recently, others many decades ago. The walk also visited the site of the invention of celluloid in 1862. The tour surprised people about their city and incidentally prompted many memories about cinema going, even memories of some of the very old cinemas. That year, the weekend of the Film Festival weekend coincided with Fierce, the city's live arts festival. On the morning of the Invisible Cinema tour, I joined Kira O'Reilly's Silent Walk, a performance piece exploring flocking behavior when human beings walk together, silently and with no prescribed route or designated leader. The experience that day was pivotal in the genesis of the Still Walking festival: the very different approaches we each had to leading a tour, and the outcomes of the events, made me reflect on what we as tour guides had in common.

Later I told Ian Francis, the director of Flatpack, that I had envisaged a walking festival - more than a programme of guided tours but a festival really exploring the different ways of understanding and experiencing the city. Over the next few months, I continued to notionally add tours to the programme: a foraging tour, the Black Sabbath story, mediaeval Birmingham, subterranean spaces, a meditative tour led by Buddhist monks, the moss tour...the ideas became suffused with a sense of a duty to create it. I decided to take a year's sabbatical and attempt to put something together. I was apprehensive about managing a medium sized event, having only experience of leading individual tours, but the absence of venues to hire, technology to oversee or catering to worry about convinced me to try it. Another compelling strategy was that I was being open in treating the venture as a pilot project, rather than a carefully devised undertaking.

At this point, it might be useful to say a few words about Birmingham for anyone who hasn't visited. It is the second largest city in the UK after London but culturally, it is not perceived as being the "second city". There is fierce debate about which city should claim that title. Manchester, Liverpool or Edinburgh will cite cultural achievements, while Birmingham will provide population data to trump its rivals. Birmingham has been a metal working and manufacturing town since its beginning, is known historically as the Workshop of the World and is arguably the birthplace of the Industrial Revolution. In Victorian times, the city's inventive industry was developed and celebrated: factories, workshops and utility buildings looked more like palaces or civic buildings.

In recent years, the focus of the city's identity has been resolutely commercial. The industrial past is regarded with something like embarrassment. The Museum of Science and Industry closed in 1998 and never reopened. Many of the once magnificent buildings now stand neglected. The public squares are largely free of seating: tired shoppers must sit on steps or on the edge of a fountain. In 1999 a gigantic public TV screen was installed in the main public square, showing news reports, sporting events but also soap operas and daytime TV, to the annoyance of local office workers. It now stands unused, having overrun its allotted planning approval time: the city now fining itself for its continued existence. Last year, the city scrapped its only city-funded arts festival and announced there would be no foreseeable future funding of the arts in any form the city. It quietly dropped its bid to be City of Culture 2017.

This description is not to soapbox my dissatisfaction with how the city is run, but to highlight the fact that it is considered to be a shopping destination, rather than a tourist destination. There are few programmed official guided tours; those that do operate cover the grandest of the civic buildings, statues of Victorian philanthropists, the commercialised canal side areas and "ghosts".

My own involvement in researching the history of Birmingham is usually in connection with creating guided tours. My starting point is to begin research at street level. I want to be able to illustrate my narrative by including visible archaeological remains - explaining what they did and why they are still there. My experience is that presenting a tangible connection with the events I am describing has a greater impact with the tourist than merely visiting the sites of events. The technique goes back to my earliest days as an art student when I would walk the city streets, simply looking at my surroundings. I would be fascinated by very ordinary but hard-to-identify post-industrial detritus or by extraordinary ornamentation in unexpected places, seeing patterns and themes that I would then research further. I got to know the city and its history well - but only if something tangible remained. The move from artist to historian was a natural transition but it was much later that I began to look closely at why this was.

I would be surprised by people describing Birmingham as boring, featureless wasteland, and by non-visitors having this perception of the city. The reason for this eventually became clear to me: I had been looking at the city starting at the "wrong" end of the scale. I became interested in architecture long after I became interested in industrial remnants, tiles, mosaics, bricks, iron work and other decorative elements. I later became interested in town planning and urbanism. Perhaps the usual impression gained of a city comes from seeing it at once from the train, or from initial impressions of its most visible buildings. I would become engaged when I found something interesting rather than stop when I found something boring. I remembered the interesting things.

My initial guided tours of the city took place after 12 years of living there. I realised I enjoyed sharing my discoveries and research with friends, and that they seemed to appreciate my efforts. The first guided walk was about John Baskerville, the eighteenth century Birmingham type designer and printer. Tickets sold out very quickly. I do not think its success was because the people of Birmingham cared especially about Baskerville - he is rather a forgotten hero there. It was rather that people liked being shown around their own city by someone who knew and cared about their subject. They liked liking their city.

I learned how to improve the tours just by doing them regularly and seeing what worked, and by going on other people's walks when I travelled. Eventually I ran out of subjects I could talk about convincingly. I recognised that there is an important difference between learning a tract of information to include on a tour and knowing the subject inside out. My plan was to create new guided tours by encouraging training an expert or enthusiast to deliver the tour rather than training a tour guide to be expert or enthusiastic. I felt this was a more productive and economical approach. In the UK, certainly in Birmingham, it's a rare ambition to be a tour guide. Guided tours are a relatively rare means of sharing information: the standard is to write or lecture about it. Birmingham has two successful drama schools, but neither has a guided tour module. Asking people to create a guided tour meant encouraging them to have faith in themselves and their subject: they would sometimes question whether their subject warranted a public guided tour. My starting point was that if one person was fascinated in a subject then so too would others.

I learned how to identify when someone felt they may benefit from creating a tour and when they were merely trying to help me create the festival. How to manage their confidence and to rethink their knowledge from an outside perspective. How to communicate what information, and where to do it. How to manage the audience, warm them up and turn the walk into a social occasion.

My friend ran a bicycle workshop and was interested in the history of the local cycle manufacturing industry. The sites of the various factories were quite remote, so that event naturally became a cycling tour.

Another friend was looking for volunteers to collect examples of hand lettering around the city for her PhD - creating that guided tour recruited more volunteers. I asked a local mapping software designer, Martin Parretti of WalkIt.com, if he would like to showcase his creation for the festival. He wanted to be involved but preferred to create a tour about Birmingham's involvement in cinema history. Jon Bounds created Brumicana: Myths and Legends to celebrate some of the myths and urban legends associated with Birmingham. Mark Wilson told me about his "On Location" film and TV tour: backdrops and locations around Birmingham that have been used on screen over the years. Rob Horrocks needed a platform for his Black Sabbath tour. The band grew up together in Aston, Birmingham in the 1950s and 60s, and are probably Birmingham's most successful export since Boulton

and Watt's reciprocating steam engine in 1788. The band schooled, worked, rehearsed and performed within a mile radius, naturally allowing a comprehensive guided tour to develop. Surprisingly, such a tour did not already exist.

Other tours were closer to performance art: a blindfolded guided tour of the textures, sounds and smells of the business district, and a tour by a sound artist demonstrating how we experience the world acoustically: both these events sought to move away from the notion of sight-seeing.

I did not have a curatorial policy of any sort: I just wanted to showcase different subjects. It seemed difficult to come up with a subject that could not be turned into a guided tour. I became aware that the festival was being shaped by chance encounters and that I was the common element, but I was keen to remain a low key presence and not base the programme around my own interests.

The festival was very successful: nearly everything sold out in advance, and some events sold out in a day or two. It helped that it fell between two other supportive festivals (Flatpack and Fierce) with whom the festival had thematic overlaps. Efforts to fund the festival largely fell through, from the Arts Council to Walkers Crisps, but in reality the festival was relatively cheap to run and came to just a few thousand pounds. I was aware of the ratio of the impact the festival would have to how much it cost to run. In the lead up to the festival, the London listing magazine Time Out ran a favourable preview and there was a noticeable excitement around the city about the festival - if no actual coverage in the local papers.

For those three weekends the city felt different. Everything I was doing during that time felt like an event and had a "Still Walking" quality, by which I mean everything was worth looking at and thinking about. This reflected a comment that I would regularly hear after the walks: "I've lived here for years and had never noticed the things on this tour" or "I will see the world differently now". I felt I greater connection with the city, both living in it and with its people, as a result of the experience.

Every morning, my email inbox contained new opportunities and suggestions for future events. People would volunteer their help without prompting and there were many instances of good will, guides waiving fees and people doing design work for free. All the events took place as advertised. Of sixteen events there was only one complaint, about the title of one of the walks.

After the first weekend, there was no doubt that the festival would run again with many suggestions for future walks and people offering to lead them. My experience of reconnecting with the city was shared by many and the easy transition into guide from being a tourist meant they could become directly involved in future events. I was particularly pleased with lasting friendships and associations from doing the festival and how this was achieved without building or buying anything new, but rather creating everything by rearranging existing materials.

After the festival I took time to evaluate what had happened. I wanted to understand what people gained from the events to make it a success. To do that, I realised I needed to understand what guided tours are and what they provide. By far the most presumptuous aspect of the festival was that I would be able to train people quickly to communicate their knowledge and passions, without being trained myself. Nevertheless, people expressed a great satisfaction with the events. I believe this reflects a desire to be excited and engaged

in the city we live and work in and a suspicion of the notion that any city cannot support a tourism industry. I directly challenged preconceptions of a what a guided tour programme should include by creating a programme based on what I saw people around me being interested in. I felt a great strength of the festival was to commission untrained guides and trusting that their apparent interest would buoy the events. Making this strategy transparent and indeed making the opportunity accessible to anyone gave the festival a direct and open feeling. There was clearly no corporate agenda, specific political outlook, cultural message or even a curatorial policy for events or participants to adhere to. There was no product for sale. People recognised this openness and endorsed the brand. They perhaps also saw the rarity of gathering like-minded individuals on what is closer to a social event than educational or purely entertaining. Often the events would conclude with an impromptu social moment of sharing information, opinion and conversation amongst former strangers.

I had not anticipated the complexity of many of the outcomes of the festival and am still examining the possible reasons for them. What seemed in theory to be a simple procedure in reality exposed many unexpected human traits, behavior and desires. My intention is to use the next outing of the festival as an opportunity to further explore specific possibilities suggested by last year's events, and to be ready with a robust feedback and evaluation method to identify motives and outcomes as they take place. I hope to better understand the complexities and possibilities of the guided tour as a format by creating more events becoming more familiar with existing research, and to work towards a conclusion based on a fuller understanding of the medium and exposure to future events.

Halifax: From Agit Prop to Tasting Tours

Barbara Lounder, PhD
Nova Scotia College of Art and Design
blounder@nscad.ca

Abstract
In the Canadian province of Nova Scotia, tourism has been officially promoted by the government since the 1930's. The tourism policy and industry have promoted a benign and stereotypical image of the province and its inhabitants, one that relies heavily on a constructed Scottish heritage that is referred to in critical writings as "tartanism".[1] This ideology aligns with notions of "the folk" [2] and their role as producers of authentic cultural products such as music and handicrafts.[3] In recent years, artists in Nova Scotia have challenged and provided alternatives to these dominant narratives, in many cases employing the guided walking tour as a method.

Keywords
artists, alternative guided walking tours, Nova Scotia

Bob Roual, Town Crier from East Hants, Nova Scotia.

Oy-yea… oy-yea… oy-yea![4]

Gather round and hear my news from Halifax, Nova Scotia. What kinds of guided tours have artists been leading in this city?

From the 1980's until recent days, Halifax artists have explored forms such as street theatre, backwards walking, nighttime explorations, and pedestrian kitchen tours.
What is compelling artists to engage in such wanderings? And to drag unsuspecting, innocent members of the public - simple bystanders - along with them? Can we not, as the Nova Scotia government tells us to in this year's tourism campaign, just "take ourselves there"? [5] Would you want to "take yourself there"?

What is "there" in Nova Scotia? Pubs and pirates? Bagpipers and beaches? Fog? Folk? Yes! Anything else? How about a harbor full of nuclear submarines and sewage? Yes! We have that! And more! Fish? Not so many! And those quaint folk playing the fiddles, and bagpipes along the quayside… are probably not even Scottish!

We are grateful for the artists who give guided tours, and provide much-needed relief from the tyrannical predictability of official tourism in Nova Scotia!

Canada Games Pipe.

Nova Scotia's economy has relied heavily on tourism, especially in recent decades, when resource industries such as the fisheries, forestry and mining have been in sharp decline. Tourism first became a focus for provincial government attention and policy in the 1930s, under Liberal Premier Angus L. Macdonald. He was one of the first politicians to see the potential in marketing heritage, specifically Scottish heritage, on behalf of the province. This played an important role in the development of "tartanism", a concept which I will return to. Today, tourism represents 2% of Nova Scotia's gross domestic product, is currently valued at $2 billion/year, and provides over 30,000 jobs. The sector has declined in the past decade, however, with 9% fewer visitors than 10 years ago.[6] Nova Scotia government studies indicate that most visitors are from other provinces in the region, and then, from other parts of Canada, the US, and other countries. The majority of visitors are repeat tourists, returning year after year, and most travel by private car. They come for vacations, to have fun and enjoy the locale, and to visit friends and family.

Since the 1930's, the motto for Nova Scotia has been "Canada's Ocean Playground", and it is based on our reputation for good times, beautiful coastlines and beaches, and a slower, more relaxed pace of life. The motto is printed on Nova Scotia car license plates, along with an image of the Blue Nose, the famous, beautiful and fast wooden schooner

built in Lunenburg NS in 1921; its iconic image is also seen on the back of every Canadian 10¢ piece.

Canadian Dime with Bluenose.

Money and heritage are linked together in the political economy of tourism. The original Blue Nose has been extensively repaired and rebuilt twice since 1921. The most recent version, launched last year, contains almost none of the original wood fibres; it is a ghost ship from a mythic past, like seafaring itself. As noted, most visitors travel to Nova Scotia by car, and car-dependent activities such as golf, scenic highway tours of the Cabot Trail, and heritage entertainment such as the music festival "Celtic Colours",[7] are becoming the mainstay.

Celtic Colours is a sort of road rally / Scottish music festival that takes place in various Cape Breton locations every October, when the maple trees in the highland forests display their seasonal reds, oranges and golds. It's a powerful signifier of "tartanism"; another is the Gaelic phrase *ceud mile fàilte* , meaning "100,000 welcomes", which is seen on billboards and paper placemats across the province, especially Cape Breton Island, and perpetuates the stereotype of friendly, hospitable Nova Scotian "folk".

Bagpiper (wearing Nova Scotian tartan) at Peggy's Cove.

What is "tartanism"? Historian Ian McKay has pointed out that this prevailing ideology behind tourism and heritage in NS between the 1930's and today is based on the inaccurate belief that Nova Scotia's population is primarily Scottish in origin. It links this invented Scottishness with qualities such as hard-working earnestness, family and clan loyalty, and musicality. Its origins lie in part in England, with events such as Queen Victoria's 1842 Scottish visit, which saw the mainstream marketing of romanticized Highland culture and heritage - from tartan fashions to Robbie Burns and Walter Scott poetry, stag hunts and whiskey. In Canada, tartanism grew in the post- WW1 period. During the Great War, a number of "Highland Regiments" from Canada fought for Britain, and the carnage they endured in battle contributed to the nation establishing its independence, transitioning from a dominion to sovereign country with its own constitution.[8]

Tartanism in Nova Scotia flourished from the 1930's onward, in part because of a government program of "racialization" in the service of tourism, a newly-recognized economic sector at that time. A 1936 government pamphlet[9], promoting Nova Scotia for the first time as "Canada's Ocean Playground", identified five "native [sic] types": Highland Scottish, English, Acadian, Irish and Hanoverian. The most promoted type has been the Scottish, despite the fact that, historically, Nova Scotians of Scottish origin have made up less than 1/3 of the population; 50% are of English origin. Tartanism reached a frenzy in the mid-1950's with the creation of the official Nova Scotia tartan, created by a Halifax woman, Bessie Murray, who was of English origin. Coupled with the construction of a stereotypical "folk", in part through the promotion of "handicraft" tartanism became a powerfully anti-modernist ideology.

How have artists in Nova Scotia positioned themselves in relationship to the official strategies around tourism? By looking at Halifax artists' walking tours, we observe a shift from artist as provocateur or agent of intervention, to artist as teacher and guide. McKay, (2009, p. 276) writes

> ***...there are some significant countervailing tendencies. A limited but important democratization of cultural life has loosened the grip of the market on representations of the province, and in this freer cultural environment some of those who grew up in rural Nova Scotia have begun to talk about their experiences in ways that undermine a Folk romanticism. Moreover, the overextension and commercialization of Folk forms has attenuated their aura, and the potential exists for alternative ways of seeing.***

My position is that artists have provided these alternatives ways of seeing, challenging the dominant narratives, by using creative strategies such as vocal intervention, public spectacle, co-creation, and the use of non-visual sensory perception. As ship cruises and car tours become more popular, walking itself presents more and more of an alternative. Artists' walking tours have taken the form of oppositional street theatre in the 1980's, to more nuanced experiences in recent projects. Artists are now making walking tours less as direct interventions in the prevailing narrative, and more as relational[10] and co-created forms of engagement with the public. Artists present tours and experiences that rely more on individual, unmapped and non-scripted interactions, and those experiences are more often non-verbal than in conventional tours.

Popular Past Times Tour Guide.

In 1985, a Halifax-based popular theatre artists group, the *Popular Projects Society,* presented a street theatre piece, staged as a guided walking tour, that exposed the underside of our history; the history of slavery and racism, oppression of indigenous peoples, complicity with first British then US militarism, and unchecked degradation of natural features such as the harbour. Entitled "Popular Past Times"[11] it was written in the style and spirit of 1920's and 30's communist-influenced agit-prop[12] theater: collectively authored, use of a non-professional troupe, decentered narrative, and expressive theatricality.

Political Agitator, Popular Past Times.

The production moved through the historic core of the city, gathering onlookers and followers along the way, and delivering scripted polemic, satire and witty repartee at three different locations. The characters were two guides, an American executive from "Nobil Oil", a guileless woman tourist, a Quebecois political agitator, and a Nova Scotian local.

Popular Past Times, with Bluenose in Halifax harbour.

By hijacking the appearance and civic space of mainstream walking tours, Popular Past Times succeeded in presenting a "counter cultural" narrative of our city. The limits to this agit prop approach were the requirement to stick with a script, and the engagement of an unaware audience for the duration of a 45-minute performance.

In recent Halifax projects, artists have used strategies drawn from socially-engaged public art practice and relational art methods in walking tour projects. In these works, there is a move away from fixed scripts and routes, with artist and audience sharing the role of creating a walking experience. Artist Eryn Foster presented a public walking tour entitled "Going Backwards, Moving Forwards", in November 2009. This group walk, open to public participation, proceeded from Point Pleasant Park, to the top of Citadel Hill, Halifax. The group travelled several kilometres through the historic core of the city, going backwards past the statues of Sir Walter Scott and Robbie Burns, then crossing in front of the gates to the Public Gardens and stopping for a spontaneous chant of "Stop Going Forward! Stop Going Forward!"

Going Backwards, Moving Forwards on Citadel Hill in Halifax.

The event was part of a Foster's walking and art residency in Point Pleasant Park, entitled "Wander in the Yonder", which featured weekly public walks and tours. In discussions with the author, Foster says she began thinking about how "the idea of progress is always this forward movement. I liked the absurdity of it, still walking in a forward direction, but your body is turned around and going in reverse. I see this walk as a kind of absurd gesture. It questions this idea of progress and how we're always trying to get ahead and move forward, moving faster into the future." Foster's conceptual framework echoes some of historian Ian McKay's points on the relationship of postmodernism to tourism and heritage (McKay, 2009, pp. 274-309).

Relational and socially-engaged art practices acknowledge the role of the participant as equal co-creator alongside the artist. These genres of art-making also blur the distinctions between the gestures of art making and the activities of everyday life. These characteristics are seen in the walking-based initiatives of Halifax actor and entrepreneur Emily Forrest. From May to August 2010, Forrest carried out a remarkable, province-wide project entitled Forrest Walkabout.

Forrest Walkabout, Hantsport Nova Scotia.

Her mission, according to interviews and her social media site,[13] was to get Nova Scotians walking. She used community-building tools, including broadcast and social media, to connect with the public as she walked the 3010 km coastline of Nova Scotia, covering approximately 40km a day, stopping in over 88 communities. She was billeted by strangers on all but 4 nights during that summer. In her social media site, she says that
"the aim is to motivate Nova Scotians to discover the magic of walking and encourage them to consider both the physical and mental benefits of walking within their communities. It's about changing the way we think about walking - putting feet back on the streets and walking back in the hearts and minds of Nova Scotians". Two years later, in 2012, Emily started a business that merges her love of walking, good food and people - a walking tasting tour enterprise called "Local Tasting Tours".[14]

Local Tasting Tours, with Emily Forrest.

She tours local cafés, markets, bakeries, breweries and food shops with small groups of tourists, bringing them into back kitchens and engaging them in conversations with local growers, chefs and proprietors. Her destinations are diverse, multicultural and local at the same time, and include an Acadian fishmonger's stall at the local market, a Japanese sushi restaurant in a residential neighbourhood, an Italian pizzeria and a French café. This is in keeping with recent Halifax and Nova Scotia tourism strategies which increasingly showcase locavore food and beverage production and service in their campaigns.[15] Forrest's tour destinations also reflect the evolution of the official Nova Scotia tourism policies on multiculturalism.[16]

Strategies of dialogue, co-creation and emphasis on local communities are also seen in a recent walking tour project by Trinidadian/Canadian artist Michael Fernandes. His project for the Nocturne: Art and Night Festival in October 2012, called "Dennis Building", is described as a "Walking tour of the Dennis Building's outside walls and the history of specific markings discovered there in 1990. The Dennis Building is one of the few remaining Halifax historical buildings that retains a noticeable history on its outside walls, since other historical buildings have had their outer surfaces cleaned off. Thinking of the building as a living "body", this tour will introduce visitors to the stories its "skin" can reveal about its connection to the past."[17]

Nocturne is a night time art event throughout Halifax, with galleries and museums all open and free, and many other events, installations, works of various sorts created specifically for the night. It is modeled on *Nuit Blanche* in Paris and similar art happenings in Montreal, Toronto, New York, and other cities. In Halifax, upwards of 10,000 people take in Nocturne, making it a very successful celebration of the arts in the city. Fernandes' project took place at the Dennis Building, a late 19th century edifice across from Province House (the legislative seat of government), and the former home of the Halifax Herald newspaper. What attracted the artist to this site was the existence of mysterious textured markings on the granite surface of the building - the only historic façade in Halifax that has not (yet) been sandblasted.

Dennis Building with Town Crier. Photo: Eliot Wright.

Employing a town crier to help him gather a crowd, Fernandes led members of the public on a slow, intimate, exploration of the building's surface, tracing the scratched marking with fingertips and the beam of a flashlight. He engaged with people (some of them former workers on the site) in stories about the edifice, and surmising about the markings. In his words (from the Nocturne website), he was "using the markings to tell a story from the early 19th century, when people drove horse buggies, smoked a lot, and hung out at street level in downtown Halifax".

Michael Fernandes, telling story of Dennis Building markings. Photo: Eliot Wright.

This was a guided tour of the barely visible imprint of daily life from our past. Fernandes conjectures that the marks were made over many years, by pressmen striking their matches against the granite, as they stood outside during smoking breaks while employed at the newspaper.

Dennis Building, touring façade with crowd. Photo: Eliot Wright.

The building was named after William Dennis, former publisher of the local newspaper, the Halifax Herald, and later a Senator in Canada's parliament. Like Angus L. Macdonald, he was an enthusiastic promoter of Nova Scotia's Highland Scottish heritage, and an early advocate for the tourism sector. Coincidentally, his daughter Clara Dennis became a recognized travel writer on Nova Scotia, publishing three books and creating thousands of photographs of Nova Scotia during the 1930's.[18] An adventurous woman, she drove around Nova Scotia by herself every summer, in her own car, visiting many remote and far-flung destinations with her cameras and note books. In some ways, Clara Dennis' belief that Nova Scotians needed to become their own best tourists resonates years later in Emily Forrest's aim of getting us on our feet again in our own communities, making and telling our own stories.

Artists' guided walking tours, whether in the form of scripted agit prop interventions or open-ended and relational wanderings, have offered new ways of experiencing and interpreting our communities and their histories. Employing colour, costumes and props, they have been very visible signs in the landscape, observed by onlookers, media as well as participants. The scripted, witty but dogmatic correctness of 1980's agit-prop has now given way to approaches in which given meanings are not simply lampooned, but replaced with new possibilities. Artists' tours now are embodied and participatory, and perform polyvocality and diversity, thereby challenging the assumptions about who Nova Scotia "folk" are and what their origins might be. They produce that "limited but important democratization of cultural life" signaled by historian Ian McKay (2009). This has been accomplished by artists such as Fernandes and Foster by strategically turning away from the clichés represented in such images as the Bluenose and tartan, thereby defying the strong tendencies towards nostalgia, in favour of opening up spaces for narratives that are sensorial, diverse and at times contradictory or literally "backwards". Their tours require tactility, tasting, sound, odors and aromas. Taking place in twilight or the dark, or requiring everyone to walk backwards, they disrupt our comfortable sense of place in Halifax's history and present. As with Forrest's tasting tours, we are being guided by these artists towards tasting the unfamiliar, with its raw saltiness, cold and heat, new aromas and mouth feel.

Town Crier outside Dennis Building. Photo: Eliot Wright.

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Notes

1. McKay and Bates, 2010, 253-316
2. McKay, 2009, Chapter 1
3. McKay, 2009, Chapter 3
4. This introduction is in the form of a town cry, modeled according to the advice provided in "A Gentle Guide to the Art of Town Crying, or What Should the Town Crier Say", by Perth, Ontario Town Crier Brent McLaren, retrieved March 18, 2013, from http://perthtowncrier.com
5. "Take yourself there" Nova Scotia tourism ad campaign, Canadian Broadcasting Corporation News, retrieved March 13, 2013 from http://www.cbc.ca/news/canada/nova-scotia/story/2013/03/13
6. Nova Scotia Department of Economic and Rural Development and Tourism, Tourism Industry Facts brochure, retrieved January 16, 2013, from http://www.gov.ns.ca/econ/tourism/docs/IndustryFacts2010-11final.pdf
7. "Cape Breton Island is home to a unique combination of music and culture, inspired by 19th Century settlers from Scotland and Ireland, and influenced by the Aboriginal Mi'kmaq people, the island's physical geography, and the waves of immigrants who populated its communities during industrialization. Generation after generation of

settlers, from the Scottish and Irish to the French who came before them, were able to maintain their culture and traditions in this new land due in part to the island's isolation and subsequent lack of outside influences. Music, language, dance and community played an important role in each of these cultures and continue to do so today." From "About Celtic Colours", retrieved April 18, 2013, from http://www.celtic-colours.com/about-celtic-colours/

8. McKay, I, (1992). Tartanism Triumphant: The Construction of Scottishness in Nova Scotia, 1933-1954. Acadiensis, Vol.XXI, No. 2, 15.
9. McKay and Bates, 2010, 4
10. "Relational art" and "relational aesthetics" were first described and theorized by French critic Nicolas Bourriaud in his 2002 book Relational Aesthetics.
11. The Popular Projects Society was active in Halifax from 1982-84, and included Rose Adams, Robert Bean, David Craig, Barbara Lounder, James MacSwain, Cathy Quinn and Yves Thibeault. The script for "Popular Past Times" was jointly written in 1983, and is unpublished.
12. Bojko, S, 1980, 72-78
13. Forrest Walkabout, retrieved April 18, 2013, from http://www.facebook.com/pages/FORREST-WALKABOUT/226171773121
14. Local Tasting Tours Halifax, retrieved April 18, 2013, from http://localtastingtours.com
15. Halifax on the Menu, Destination Halifax, Halifax Regional Municipality, retrieved April 18, 2013, from http://www.destinationhalifax.com/culinary
16. MacPherson, D, 2007, 64-78
17. Nocturne Art at Night, retrieved April 18, 2013, from http://www.nocturnehalifax.ca/NOC_guide_2012.pdf
18. The Nova Scotia Archives holds the Clara Dennis fonds, and features many of her photographs in a publicly accessible web-based Virtual Archive. http://www.gov.ns.ca/nsarm/virtual/dennis/

Section 4
GUIDED TOURS & TECHNOLOGIES

Outside-In: Guided Tours with C&T's (im)mobile Map App

Kris J. Darby
Department of Drama, University of Exeter, United Kingdom.
kjd211@exeter.ac.uk

Abstract
This article illustrates how psychogeographic exercises, working in conjunction with applied theatre, have contributed to the development of a guided tour web platform used by young people. In it I will demonstrate the potential of such an application and how I, through my research and praxis, assisted in its eventual implementation.
As a researcher in pedestrian performance, I was asked to coordinate a workshop in London for a group of C&T's animateurs, who each work with groups of young people in their respective areas of the UK. My brief was to introduce them to a host of possible means in which technology can be utilised within the guided-tour model. With no firm base of operations, the workshop took place mostly on foot, throughout the streets of the city. The following day, the material collected was developed into a workshop coordinated by the animateurs for a group of schoolchildren in Romford. This workshop culminated in a guided tour of their town, all taking place within the classroom, utilising the technologies provided by C&T.
What this workshop illustrated was a productive partnership between the material walking of place and imaginative journeying, facilitated by theatre and technology. In addition to utilising mobile technologies, C&T here highlight the merits of immobile alternatives, in which a journey walked can be remapped and performed by others elsewhere.

Keywords
C&T, Guided-Tour, applied theatre, technology

Technology and place-based learning

The incorporation of technology into guided-tours has assisted in a layering of place, augmenting reality as we move through it. Aside from audio systems such as Quiet Vox, smart phone applications such as Tourpal, Guide Me Tours, and Go Explore, raise questions concerning the need for a human guide to be physically present. Furthermore, browser-based applications such as Google Street View, are seeking to capture more remote locations 'off-street', providing a form of touring that is led by the computer mouse or touch screen (Cellan-Jones, 2013). Such technologies prompt tour guide leaders to query: what are the additional benefits of touring far off places as if we were actually there?

The field of applied theatre, particularly drama therapy, has continued to incorporate the 'elsewhere' as a theme, with drama teachers and facilitators encouraging children and young people to imaginatively journey to new and exciting places that often draw from myth and fantasy (Bouzoukis, 2001; Lindqvist, 2003). The guided tour has proven to be a useful structure for such ventures, facilitating the roleplaying of children as they move through these imaginative locations. However, as Christine Hatton (2003) observes, often such tours are led by the teacher, who takes the children to places they believe to be the most appropriate (p. 147). Hatton argues that instead, rather than touring to such remote locations, we "need to find the places we know as individuals just as exotic as the far off destinations of our programmed drama journeys, so that we begin to see our own *backyards* as worthy destinations for our own home-grown adventures" (p. 154). This is echoed by

David A. Gruenewald and Gregory A. Smith in *Place-Based Education in the Global Age* (2008), who argue that some schools actually encourage "many youth to reject their home communities and to look elsewhere for the good life depicted by media advertisers and the entertainment industry" (p. xv). This suggests a need for a more localised focus for guided tours which still invite exploration from children and young people.

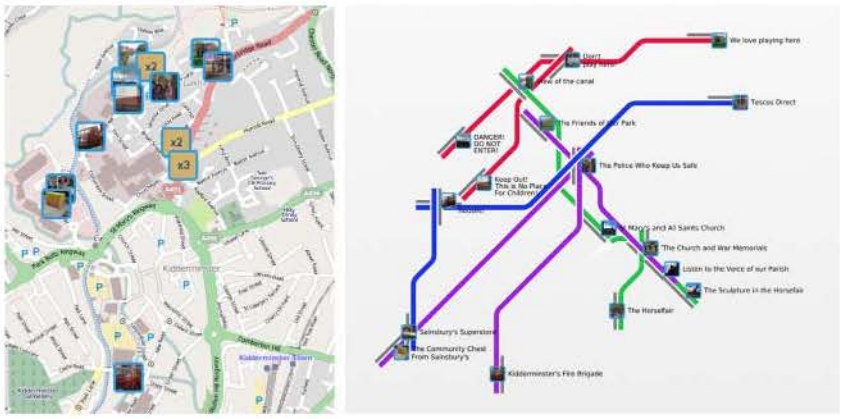
In answer to this, there are a number of examples of where children themselves have acted as tour guides, seeking out places and constructing walking routes to share with others. Such a model has proven successful in a variety of settings, including schools (Shepherd, 2010; RHS, 2007), historical sites (Dikici, 2008; Linlithgow Primary, 2012), public footpaths (Bourne, 2011) and art galleries (Jeffers, 1999; Weier, 2004). Having a child as a guide provides a unique perspective for a tour group, but it also instills within the child a useful set of skills relating to how they articulate their understanding of place.

In this article, I wish to discuss the introduction of technology into such a model, evidenced by my role in the development and implementation of a guided-tour web application to be used in schools. Within this, I will illustrate how technology was utilised in conjunction with applied theatre, to help young people re-engage themselves with their own 'backyards' remotely.

C&T & Stratar

Founded in 1988, C&T are an international applied theatre company based in England, which mix "drama, learning and digital media to create a new online utility for shaping collaborative educational drama experiences" (Sutton, 2012, p. 603). Working in both formal and informal education settings, the company have developed a series of self-contained process drama applications which have evolved to adapt to the 'app' culture of recent times, acting each as packages to be accessed by schools and other institutions. These applications allow young people to engage with subjects such as literacy, citizenship, geography, culture studies, engineering, and maths, through a combination of applied theatre and technology.

In order to aid the implementation of each application within a specific area, C&T provide an animateur[1], an individual who works with schools, to demonstrate how these apps can fill in the gaps of their technological knowledge (Sutton, 2006, p. 9). With the creation of the C&T network, schools across the globe can share their praxis with one another, in which the technological tools and devices provide a means to sustain dialogues.



St. Mary's Primary School's Stratar map, featuring both its 'map mode' and 'stratar mode'.

1 One of the reasons this term was chosen by C&T was because it suggests "digital media processes" (Sutton, 2006, p. 38).

Stratar, is a recently developed application of C&T's that allows individuals to compose their own digital route maps. Through an online map, the user can select and 'pin' a series of locations, layering them with a variety of media, including photographs, audio recordings and video (C&T, 2013). In a bid to retain its simplicity, the user can also oscillate between the 'map mode' interface and a simple, plain 'stratar mode' that gives prominence to their own *Stratar* map. These online maps can be accessed from desktop computers, tablet devices and smart phones, catering for different levels of mobility.

The Workshop

Whilst the application offers a degree of flexibility in the positioning and layering of these pins, it does of course work within quite a rigid digital architecture. In a bid to enhance the potential applications of *Stratar,* I was asked by the artistic director of the company, Paul Sutton, to coordinate a workshop in London with some of C&T's animateurs. My brief: to introduce them to a host of possible means in which technology can be utilised within the guided-tour model. For this, I devised a series of exercises influenced by the "playful-constructive" (Debord, 1981, p. 50) ideas of The Situationists and artist-academic collective Wrights & Sites. C&T's desire to map young people's perceptions of place appeared to have some resonances with the practice of psychogeography, a Situationist term adopted by many artists and performers, which documents the aesthetic and psychological responses to urban space (Richardson, 2011, p. 2).

During this day's workshop the animateurs went on psychogeographic drifts of central London, getting a feel of the city and drawing their map from memory afterwards. They also recorded audio tours whilst walking each other's maps, experimenting with the layering of place through technology. This would become intrinsic to their later utilisation of *Stratar*, acting as a digitised version of what Mike Pearson and Michael Shanks (2001) refer to as a "deep map" (p. 158).

The principal exercise of the workshop concerned us collecting material for the following day's class with secondary school children. Travelling to the large suburban town of Romford, we began drifting as a group, each of the animateurs tasked with documenting a specific aspect of this place through a smart phone. There was the Sight Collector, who snapped images of interest; the Sound Collector, who captured ten second clips of interesting audio; the Text Collector, who typed up snippets of language, overheard or seen; finally there was the Character Collector, who noted down people in the community who had a story to tell.

Our drifting group took on the form of a mobile network, a model which, for Anthony Burke and Therese Tierney (2007), is qualified by "parameters of performance, related to flexibility, self-organization, and adaptability" (p. 25). Each of us became a node in this network, sharing a task whilst connected remotely. At moments we would go our separate ways, drawn towards a particular sound or sight. At other instances we would converge on a certain place together, documenting a single moment through a variety of means.

The resulting documentation was immediately transferred to a series of tablet devices for use in the workshop the next day. It was now it was up to the animateurs to reflect on all that they had experienced and to synthesise it into a workshop for secondary school children. My role now shifted from being a workshop leader to that of an observer.

Romford Re-Discovered

The school in question was Royal Liberty School for Boys in Romford, which already had a resident animateur from C&T. The workshop would last only one hour, which meant that logistically it would be easier to remain in the drama studio rather than conducting a tour into Romford. This provided an unexpected advantage, in which technology helped tap into the heritage of the guided tour within applied theatre.

Posing as tourists and outsiders, the animateurs asked the children to take them on a tour through Romford without leaving the drama studio. This is what Paul Sutton (2006) refers to as a Concept Ludic Narrative (p. 80), in which a narratological framework is created for the children to play within. What gave weight to *this* particular narrative, was that the animateurs were actually outsiders. Such a status shift was influenced by the work of drama teacher and academic Dorothy Heathcote, and her model, 'Mantle of the Expert'. Through this the animateurs, like Heathcote, put themselves into a situation in which they clearly signalled to the class that the group knew more than they did (Wagner, 1999, p. 96). The children were able to consult the material gathered by the animateurs in the previous day's drift, in groups selecting one sound, one setting, one piece of text and one character as inspiration. All of this material was housed on a series of tablet devices for the children to swipe through. Many of them were confused by the documentation we provided, unable to place it within their home town. Despite this, they were constantly reminded that *they* were the experts, the locals, who knew the *real* Romford, the Romford which we as tourists wanted to visit. They were also told to think in three dimensions, to create a piece of environmental theatre for an audience to interact with and explore rather than a traditional demarcated space between them. This particular instruction was supported by Sutton's later observation, that young children in particular find it easier to perceive place as something looked *through* rather than looked *down* upon, such as in a conventional map (personal communication, February 15, 2013).

When the children presented their work, we the 'tourists', on entering the studio, were greeted by our guides who took us on our tour. I was taken on a walk through a sports shop, where I watched people try on and buy trainers; into a beauty parlour where I watched a woman having her nails painted, whilst complaining about her husband; before heading along an underpass where some homeless people were fighting; before witnessing some builders grumbling about work. As tourists we would use our camera phones to frame the performance for ourselves, adding an extra layer of documentation to the project and prompting our guides to point out what for them were the key areas of interest.

This exercise presented a synthesis of the two types of guided tour, as illustrated at the beginning of this article. It gave the children the opportunity to conduct their own guided tour, however, their devising process was dependent upon the fragments of Romford that we ourselves captured as tourists. Whilst they had the advantage of being locals and insiders, we had the advantage of knowing exactly where these fragments originated from. What followed then was a process of re-contextualisation, in which the children assembled these fragments into their own Romford as they see it. Place was not just being re-located, but also being re-mapped and re-imagined.

Carol Jeffers' (1999) observation of children guides within art galleries gives credence to such a development. Some of the children she discusses in her article were not too disconcerted by their lack of knowledge of the paintings on display and in fact "were more excited about making and interpreting their own discoveries" (p. 50). Therefore, our role as outsiders proved advantageous, in encouraging the children to act as our guides, in which they could discover Romford as if for the first time.

What struck me the most about this exercise was the locations the children chose to re-imagine as the 'real' Romford. The interior environment of the drama studio allowed them in a sense, to visit places that they would not usually visit, either by themselves or on school trips. They presented a cross-sectional slice of life, part fact, part fiction that said just as much about them as locals as it did the place itself.

Since the workshop, this school became the first to pilot *Stratar*, creating a map to explore local history, linking local museums, businesses and members of the local community (Davies, 2012). At Dixons Allerton in Bradford, *Stratar* has been utilised as a means to make a map of "notable scientific and engineering discoveries in the Yorkshire area" (P. Sutton, personal communication, February 11, 2013). Across the Atlantic, in New York

City, ten schools are joining together to create a *Stratar* map of the varying Broadway theatres and their respective histories (P. Sutton, personal communication, February 11, 2013). These particular examples involved children using technology to collate documentary material, as we did in Romford, to be later arranged into a tour map to be interacted with by local residents and families.

The application has also found use in closed communities as well. For example, in the English town of Malvern, *Stratar* has helped young people to gradually explore the unfamiliar world beyond "their back garden", touring place remotely through technology (P. Sutton, personal communication, February 11, 2013).

However, it is important to note that some teachers have been reticent to incorporate *Stratar* into their teaching[2]. On the whole this was either because they were not comfortable in applying the guided tour model to existing curricular frameworks or that actually the application itself did not provide any additional learning benefits to students (p. 3). Although the applications offered by C&T are self-contained process dramas, they require the 'human touch' of the animateur to find the most suitable means for their usage.

Conclusion

Therefore, rather than taking centre stage, technology really acted as a catalyst, a means in which to document and perform place in a variety of ways. In this instance, technology allowed the students to perceive their own 'backyard' remotely, encouraging them to reappraise themselves of their roles as *locals* by being made to perceive their hometown as *outsiders* – a place that was just as exotic as the fairy tale landscapes of traditional teacher-led guided tours. It was this playful spirit of psychogeography that helped the animateurs and later the students, deviate from the rules of both the architecture of the city and of *Stratar* itself, exploiting gaps within both – creating their own journeys and narratives. *Stratar* allows young people to leave a mark on place without damaging it, to trespass without prosecution and to dissect the varying layers that make up their community. Allowing children to act as guides is echoic of Cecily O'Neill's view of the teacher having to lead the way whilst walking backwards (in Taylor, 2000, p. 41). Handing over the decision-making process to children allows them to take ownership of the map and as guides both re-discover and share place with others.

C&T's use of technology here highlights the merits of getting a distance from place, thus accommodating school groups that do not possess the same freedoms. Place can still be performed and toured without a need to be physically present within it, prompting a form of mapping that is much more personalised and playful. However, rather than removing the guide, *Stratar* actively requires that face-to-face relationship, combining the remote locations glimpsed through technology with the close proximity of the human tour guide. The animateur acts as a guide for the guides, introducing children and young people to technology and its capacity as a tool for them to guide others themselves.

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Old Voices, New Platforms: Community as Mobile Guide

David Smith
University of the West of England, United Kingdom
david.smith@uwe.ac.uk

Abstract
This paper presents an overview of the interactive multimedia project "Sediment". This is a location-based multimedia work that explores the layers of Victoria Park, a public park in South Bristol, and the community that surrounds it. In doing so this paper will also open the discussion on how such multimedia walks can act as tour guide for a community, inviting visitors and residents alike to look afresh at a physical space with which they may be unfamiliar or sometimes take for granted.

Keywords
community, place, locative media, deep mapping, GPS

The title of this paper acknowledges the fact that a community voice has always been speaking out in one form or another. It is also acknowledging that voice, where the identity of any community is strong enough, adapts itself to meet the growing numbers of platforms through which it can speak. From the oral tradition, through print to the variety of electronic media that exist today, communities do not just switch from one means of communication to another, but combine them to get their messages across.

In this paper I present "Sediment", a series of interlocking mobile app journeys that focus on Victoria Park, in South Bristol. I will also explore some of the techniques employed in these location-based multimedia walks in order to "abrade" the layers of landscape (Walker Barker, 2006, p.17), and create a form of community tourism.

In this project I have worked with a number of groups who make up the larger community of The Victoria Park/Windmill Hill area of Bristol. The walks unravel the layers of the physical space, Victoria Park. By utilising the techniques of *deep mapping* (Biggs, 2010, p.5), I am attempting to unpick the contribution the park makes to the lives of the people that live around it, and to open up a deeper understanding of a space that is well-used and loved by locals and visitors alike.

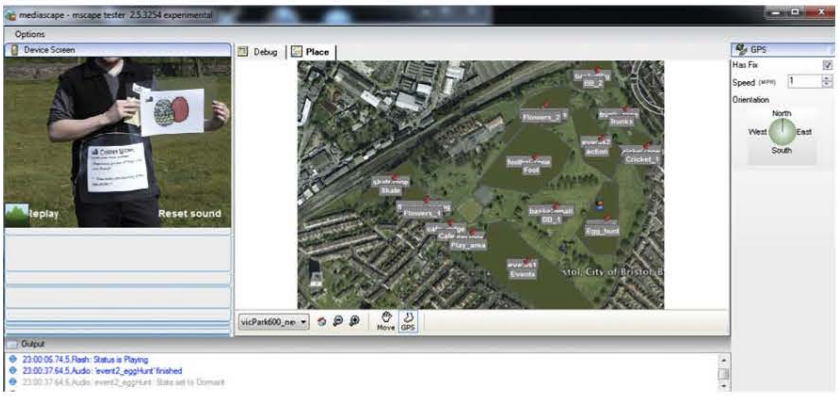
The park, which opened in 1891, is a little over 59 acres (Drummond, 2008, p.6) and is roughly a mile around the perimeter. It sits on the edge of the Bedminster shopping area, and is surrounded on the other three sides by housing. It therefore represents a significant green space in the south central area of Bristol, albeit one that has become masked by the surrounding urbanisation.

The project's general themes of community, regeneration and place grew out of a green mapping project that was set up by Katie White of the Southville Community Centre, in 2007. There was a physical map created for the project, but the project was also to include a series of locative multimedia journeys that would encourage walking and raise awareness of community issues. The community group, the Victoria Park Action Group (VPAG) kindly made themselves available for this project.

The formation of VPAG, by local families, was initially to raise money, and work with the city council, to build a new play area for small children as the old facility had fallen into disrepair. After securing the necessary funds to achieve that aim, the group found alternative ways to encourage families back into the park, by the means of arranging a number of events through the year, and again working with local councillor's, who sit on the VPAG committee, to renovate and build facilities in the park.

The aim of the VPAG walk was to alert people to the work of the group, the facilities that they have raised money for (such as the aforementioned children's play area) and the events that they organise every year.

Sediment takes the form of GPS- enabled interactive walks. The program that I initially used, developed by Hewlett Packard, was called mScape (short for mediascape)[1]. mScape worked on devices running the Window CE mobile system, specifically HP iPaq handheld devices. With the GPS signal tracking the walker as they journey around the physical space, predefined regions act as triggers for events, audio or visual material on the device.



The original aim of mScape was to provide a free authoring environment for schools and community groups to download and use. This also meant that great care was taken to create an easy drag-and-drop interface to enable people with little computer experience to create media rich location based apps. As the program developed, it introduced a coding environment so that those with more experience could engage more deeply with the software to create more elaborate walks. It also contained the ability to work with triggers other than GPS; RF signals, infrared, QR Codes (for devices fitted with cameras) and Bluetooth signals all provided the means to move such projects indoors. There was also the ability to create non-location specific projects, a subject to which we shall return later in this paper.

In order to focus the walker on the work of VPAG, I provided small point of view animated sequences in the skateboard park and the children's play area. Representing transitory events, such as the Easter Trail or Fun Day, in their location with appropriate field sounds in some cases has also been employed. The system does support video, but I was also mindful of the issue of file size, and use this sparingly – focussing more on audio and photographic imagery.

Interviews and informal conversations with VPAG members gradually revealed a rich history of the park. Local historian Barb Drummond had already researched the early

1 For more details of mScape see *http://www.pmstudio.co.uk/project/mscapes*

history and conducted public walks around the park. As a result we collaborated on a mobile version of the research she had undertaken.

The history walk was an opportunity to place Barb Drummond's research in the park. Barb Drummond's book, *Victoria Park: A People's Park* (2008) was written, as the app was authored. The multimedia piece included recorded interviews that I had conducted with Barb, and integrated the substantial collection of early postcards in the Victoria Park action group archives. This is the most obvious example of an augmented reality[2]. In the case of the park, landmarks such as the cannon and the ornamental drinking fountain are long gone, but the chance to see them on the screen in the place that they once stood offers the opportunity to alter the perceptions of the walker to their environment and provide some back context to what they see around them.

At the time, mScape presented a very limited means of distribution as iPaqs had a relatively small market share. In some ways the limited distribution of the walks provided some benefits. I was greatly supported by the makers of mScape who had a policy of supplying handheld iPaq devices for events. As the walks were location specific, delivery of the walk during this time was limited to the Art on the Hill art trail, which took place around the Victoria Park/Windmill Hill area. This time-limited delivery drew a greater number of people to a single spot in the park where I could distribute devices and discuss the work to an open and curious audience.

The VPAG and history walks were created first, but had a limited distribution amongst the interested parties. The first walk that was publicly launched on the Art Trail weekend of October 2008 was a virtual art walk. This was a curated virtual art trail. There is a strong artistic community in South Bristol and taking the park as the subject or source of inspiration, the virtual trail invites the walker to see the park through the eyes of artists who live in the area. It does so by presenting artworks and interview materials on the handheld device in contrast, or as a complement, to the environment.

2 "Tom Caudell, a researcher at aircraft manufacturer Boeing, coined the term "augmented reality" in 1990. He applied the term to a head-mounted digital display that guided workers through assembling electrical wires in aircrafts. The early definition of augmented reality, then, was an intersection between virtual and physical reality, where digital visuals are blended in to the real world to enhance our perceptions." (Chen, Brian X., 2009, http://www.wired.com/gadgetlab/2009/08/augmented-reality)

Many of the visitors were local to the area, but feedback suggests that they were sufficiently engaged with the material to look afresh at their environment. There were issues with the technology, which could be mainly attributed to a poor signal, but for those who filled in the feedback forms it was easy to engage with the technology and was an overall enjoyable experience.

One walker wrote of the 2008 art walk:
"It was like being blindfolded but with your ears – the dog's barking *[a sound element of the walk]* made me jump and then I was anticipating it so it was like being led blindfolded and having to trust someone."

One of the drawbacks with using handheld technology is the poor performance of the screens in daylight. Stark contrasts, particularly the black and white of the early postcards and the strong colours of the paintings of the art walk worked well within the limits of the medium. As the feedback above indicates there can be deep responses to the audio soundtrack. As far back as 1999, artist Teri Rueb combined audio narratives of memorial and loss against the backdrop of the Yoho National Park in British Columbia in her locative walk, Trace[3].

The soundscape, launched at the 2009 art trail, was an attempt to play to the medium's strengths; letting the physical location work in harmony or in contrast with the soundtrack of the park's life. Binaural recordings, the immersive recording technique that places the listener in the centre of a 3d sound map, provided some interesting opportunities here. Time shifting plays it's part, as sounds from the past (sometimes recreated) mix with sounds from the present.

There is also the unplanned joy of sounds in the environment mixing with the recorded sounds of the media piece. Referring to such 'magic moments' (Reid, Hull, Cater & Fleuriot, 2005), although sometimes intrusive, one person noted:
"Windy day … though the wind blended in with the sounds to deepen ambience".

3 http://www.terirueb.net/trace/

I have been slowly gathering interview memories to help build a picture of recent history. Feedback from the soundscape walk suggests that this was an element that walkers particularly engaged with. Much of the feedback stated a desire to see more of the history of the park in future versions

When exploring the background history of place, there is a cautionary note from Malcolm McCullough when assembling this material:
"Perception of place may be subjective and fleeting, but grounding life in effective contexts remains absolutely necessary. Resorting to nostalgia hardly helps in doing this, however; there is little to be gained from understanding place mainly as something lost." (2006, p.29)

The images of a full size swimming pool may lend itself to nostalgia, but it is the hope that with appropriate historical context it will lean towards a fuller social history, in particular to the apparent civic commitment to exercise and public health at the turn of the twentieth century.

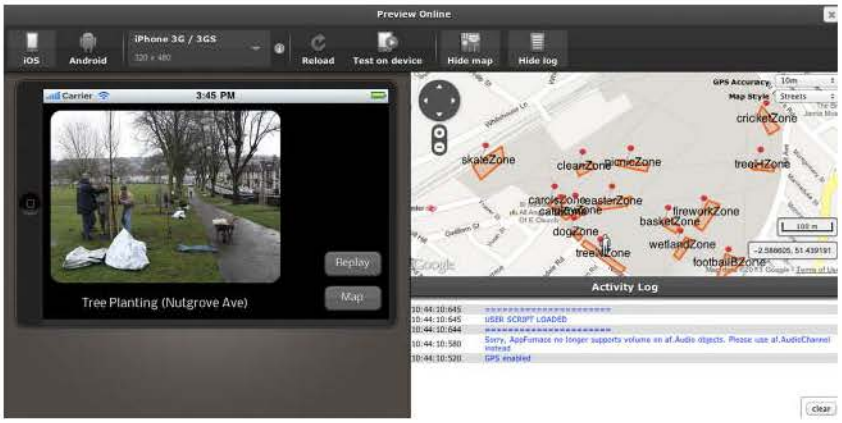
My own recollections and conversations with others testify to a park during the 80s that was used but perhaps not as respected. I personally witnessed regular instances of burnt out cars as I passed through on my way to work. This didn't end suddenly although the last instance I can recall, and recorded as part of Sediment, was in 2007.

In recent years the reintroduction of a regular local park keeper, a post that ceased during the 1980s, has provided regular care in the park once again. VPAG arranges the clean-up day, which brings families out to help and gives a sense of ownership of the space.

Combining these events as part of a public archive, the historical context and the perspective of fellow residents, especially if it's presented in the specific location, can help to contextualise the park and its current condition, and encourage people to use and appreciate their surroundings.

HP shut down development on mScape. The developers of mScape have since moved on to create an online authoring environment called Appfurnace[4], through their company, Calvium. The authoring tool produces apps that can run on Apple iOs and Android systems, which has broadened the reach of such programs considerably. Within the online authoring system, elements of accessibility and flexibility have been imported from the mScape project.

I am in the process of repurposing the existing walks of the Sediment project to this new platform. The work of the Victoria Park Action Group is the first walk to be updated to this platform.



The switch of platforms may seem an arcane point to dwell on, but, as technology so often does, this has had a profound bearing on the planning and development of the project.

In the summer of 2012, I produced an app for the Art on the Hill art trail. It provided a location-based catalogue of participating artists for that year. This walk, in contrast with the other walks to date, included an 'armchair mode' feature – the ability to browse the content in the home as well as in the target location. It is an open question as to whether an 'armchair mode' is appropriate for projects such as Sediment. Frauke Behrendt raises an important point when discussing the National Mall project by musical duo Bluebrain (2011).

> ***… National Mall discriminates in terms of the geographical location of the user. You have to be in the specific city (Washington DC), in the very park (the National Mall) to experience the music – this highlights the highly locative nature of the service, and how site specific these experiences are … (T)his also illustrates the tension between the anywhere/anytime promise of mobile media and locative media's potential to engage with very specific sites. (Behrendt, 2012, p.291)***

Since there are already park-related websites including my own[5], it could be argued that the issue of such discrimination is dealt with by other means. It is the case that the purpose of the app is to encourage to people to visit the park and to immerse themselves in the surroundings. The physical space of the park itself is an integral part of the experience. This very much lies at the heart of the community tourism that is the aim of the project.

4 www.appfurnace.com
5 www.treasuremind.org

Conclusion

The recording of the park's early histories and recalling of living memory can be a potent combination to energising people's perceptions of place, as feedback from the Art on the Hill art trails indicates. There is certainly evidence from the feedback I received at the Art Trail events that this form of multimedia delivery is an effective way to engage people.

The intention is that the walks, although initially developed as separate entities, will be integrated to create a more immersive, multilayered experience and the collection of recorded interviews will continue. Feedback strongly suggests a desire to learn more about the history of the park.

The walks have introduced a news and diary feature, and a newly established Twitter feed can also be integrated. In this way the app may feature regularly updated information. At the time of writing *(2013)* VPAG is currently looking at ways to secure some heritage funding for the park, and it is a hope that the work begun here will in some way form a part of that development.

Although the walks have been described as apps, they are currently played through Calvium's player, which itself is downloaded from the online app stores, Google Play or iTunes. It is the intention that the apps will have their own presence in the app stores in time.

It is not the suggestion of this paper that such walks are an effective replacement for the human interaction between a tour guide and the tourist. The physical presence of a guide with all their experience and ability to interact with their tourists is irreplaceable. I would just like to pose the possibility that walks such as this provide the opportunity for community groups to create guided tours, where none has existed before.

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http://www.wired.com/gadgetlab/2009/08/augmented-reality

mScape

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Rueb, Teri: Trace

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Tour guiding products for small communities - an overall perspective for Maramures Land (Romania)

Gabriela Ilies, PhD
Marin Ilies, PhD
Babes-Bolyai University in Cluj-Napoca, Extension of Sighetu Marmatiei, Maramures, ROMANIA
gabriela.ilies@geografie.ubbcluj.ro, marin.ilies@geografie.ubbcluj.ro

Abstract
Small communities, traditional villages, towns under 50000 inhabitants etc, even if they encourage tourism activities through development strategies, do not have the critical mass to develop tourist products with an incorporated research. That is why the university can be involved in developing products which will trigger multiplying effects in tourism activities such as tour guiding products (classical or virtual). The overall objective of this paper is to examine the features of several basic components of virtual tour guiding products, in order to establish the most effective points of intervention. Virtual tour guiding (VTG) products are the main core of this research; advanced technologies and a large variety of geo-communication methods made them popular amongst the young generation. This study does not aim to compare VTG with the traditional tour guiding products. The findings constitute the answers to several research questions. To what extent VTG products show or suggest the work of a professional in tourism? Which part of a VTG product incorporates geographical research that could be targeted by the university? What could be the impact of open access and crowd sourcing products on VTG products for small communities? The study area is a land-type region, with cultural and natural heritage sites and a well established tourist destination image.

Keywords
virtual tour guiding, Maramures

Introduction
Tourism is a fast growing economic activity in Maramures Land (Romania). Small communities, traditional villages, towns under 50000 inhabitants etc. encourage tourism activities through development strategies. Nevertheless, they do not have the critical mass to develop tourist products with an incorporated research. That is why the university has been involved for over a decade in developing products which triggered multiplying effects in tourism activities. The overall objective of this paper is to examine the features of several basic components of virtual tour guiding products, in order to establish the most effective points of intervention.

Virtual tourist guiding (VTG) products are relatively new in comparison with other "virtual reality", "augmented reality" or "second life" products with which they tend to be assimilated. VTGs are becoming popular amongst the young generation; they demand good quality and accessibility. Therefore, the applied university research could target the need for VTG products developed for small communities.

The state of the art in the field of VTG research is the level of knowledge and development achieved in tour guiding research, in mobile technology and applied geography. All three vantage points have different degrees of demand-push or technology-pull. The term "demand-push" refers here to the interest of tour operators, managers and professionals in the process of meeting the needs of a tourist (derived from surveys, trip advisor forums

etc). In consequence, they encourage and finance exploratory research projects and the development of VTG products; the level is in accordance with the stated specifications. "Technology-pull" is a general term for researches dictated by the speed of development in hardware sector (mobile devices, coverage), and in the software sector (platforms for both "virtual" and "augmented" reality).

From a ***scientific perspective,*** the researches on the role of virtual reality within the tourism sector tackle several fields. Tourism planning and management benefitted first; afterwards it became suitable for spatial visualization, accessibility assessment, marketing, education, and for heritage preservation purposes (Guttentag, 2010). Virtual tours delivered by Internet or mobile devices started to be research topics since the year 2000. More significant work was done in relationship with virtual museums (Sylaoiu, Liarocapis, Kotsakis, & Patias, 2009). Tourism geography studies that focus on the role and functions of tour guiding, on new approaches in youth tour guiding (Cohen, Ifergan, & Cohen, 2002), tourism and generation Y (Benckendorff, Moscardo, & Pendergast, 2010) highlight the importance of the link between traditional tour guiding and VTG. Studies on tourism destination image and the Internet (Pan & Li, 2011) have also been taken into account. Studies speculate that visiting tourism destinations in virtual reality may encourage real visitation (Guttentag, 2010). The computer-science research and GIS data is now integrated in software and products freely accessible (from open source), due to high competition in the field. Geoweb 2.0 has its own contribution (Roche & Ilies, 2011) by enabling the transition from classical web cartography to "mashups" or crowd sourcing innovation such as Wikimapia (www.wikimapia.org).

The level of development in VTG is also influenced by mobile technology, tour guiding being movement and quality experiences. ***Supporting devices*** have sensors which allow high mobility - from GPS navigation devices to tablets, laptops, PDAs, mobile and smart phones, head-helmet mounted displays (HMD), thus enlarging the range of availability. Content management systems, narrative systems, enable users to establish geographic, thematic and epoch related links between the contents/stories (Heritage Alive, 2008). Human-computer interactions and interface design is considered crucial in VTG, as shown in several behavioral studies (O'Hara *et al.*, 2007) published in a Special Issue of JCSCW on Leisure Technologies.

From a ***practical point of view,*** the access point problem is always solved by posting the products on the internet. There are two kinds of websites hosting virtual tour guiding products: e-tourism sites, which integrate tourist offers, information about destinations, searchable databases with accommodation, and events etc. (http://www.360travelguide.com; http://www.italyguides.it); and sites dedicated to virtual guiding products (Alive, 2008; Lungu, 2005-2012). Romanian activities related to virtual tour guiding are focused mostly upon cultural heritage sites and museums, located in tourist destinations (Mateescu & Tugui, 2007). Provision of localization services can direct the type of product to be used. Tourists have to choose between a product requiring GPS, GSM, 3G etc. signals or working offline. Energy-saving products (auto shut-down) and autonomy are appreciated by users.

The study area, Maramures Land (fig.1), is situated at the northern border of Romania; it covers 3310 km^2 and has around 195000 inhabitants (insee, 2011). Maramures lowland is encompassed by mountain ranges (Oas, Gutai, Tibles, Rodnei - 2303m, and Maramures - 1954m). The Tisa River and its tributaries drain this depression, favoring a specific land organisation along the valleys – Iza, Viseu, Cosau, and Mara etc. Maramures Land was the study area for human, regional and tourism geography studies (Ilies M. , 2006; Ilies G. , 2007) starting from the "lands" - regions which better preserved the features of rural space. In co-ordination with ethnography research, these studies show that the rural architectural heritage in Maramures Land has a strong regional imprint, especially the wooden churches and the households (wooden houses, gates, annexes). Synthesizing the

regional specificity in style, building materials and techniques, wooden churches became landmarks and synonymous with the civilization of Maramures (Cristea & Dancus, 2000). Tourist attractions generate the following forms of tourism: rural (heritage, gastronomy and crafts), eco, mountain and spa tourism. UNESCO also contributed to the shaping of the flows, by grouping eight old wooden churches on the World Heritage List, to represent at least 50 across the region, and bringing officially the subject from local to worldwide scale.

Fig.1 Maramures Land (Romania). The study area.

Approach and methods

The study starts with the most important research question: to what extent do VTG products show or suggest the work (as author) of a professional in tourism? The answer to this question can greatly deepen the understanding on the nature of these products and enable the researcher to develop a more accurate strategy. This will also allow identifying which part of a VTG product incorporates geographical research that could be targeted by the university. Having in mind the evolution of web cartography, availability of geo-location services and the functions of a tour guide, we could speculate what would be the impact of open access and crowd sourcing on VTG products for small communities.

Basic components of virtual tour guiding products are examined using a three level approach:

- Cross-analysis of the existing products, declared as virtual tours,
- Case study of the most relevant: the Memorial Museum,
- Availability of open Geoweb data for the study area, as well as mashups and open collaborative projects, from crowded source to tour guiding.

Cross-analysis methodology has the usual stages: data collection, ontology-based representation and the cross-analysis work. This paper performs the cross-analysis on the VTG products available for Maramures Land. Data were collected starting with a quick desktop research, followed by field work at several accommodation units, institutions or public bodies with specific or tangential tourism activities, and semi-structured interviews with staff members. The ontology-based representation is the result of the conceptualization and specification of the meanings. Concepts are refined and structured under the "Types of VTG" category. The meanings are derived from metadata and represent the description of all dimensions of the concept: age, technical features, authorship, budget, availability. In this case the representation has the form of a table (Table 1). The cross-analysis itself consisted of grouping the data per concept and per subject, in order to extract the general

features, to trace a portrait for each subject. Despite the limited number of VTG products for each concept, a balanced distribution by subject allowed some conclusions. For a deeper understanding of the structure, the most relevant VTG product was also tackled as case study. Finally, the impact assessment is left at an open project level, mostly discussing the statements about the large availability of orientation products worldwide, regardless of scale.

Results and findings

Cross-analysis of the existing tour guiding products

Cross-analysis of the existing tour guiding products for Maramures Land was conducted using a set of "terms of reference" derived from the *Virtual Tour Guide Implementation Experience* (Pereira & Strasser, 2008) and www.heritagealive.eu: development and implementation, technology and navigation, presentation and content. This, in conjunction with data on authorship, budget, stakeholders and scope, revealed some interesting results. The products available (see Table 1) on the Internet and on CD/DVDs can be found under the title "virtual tour" or similar. The majority of them are panoramic photos aiming to present accommodation businesses and local attractions. Bigger institutions as The Memorial Museum in Sighetu Marmatiei or the Culture and Patrimony Department of the Maramures County Council, have a wider range of virtual tours, including real renderings and good quality photo materials as background or additional information.

Table 1. Existing VTG products for Maramures Land area, ontology-based representation

Type of VTG	Subject	Year	Technical Features	Funding	Authorship
Panoramic photos, spherical with additional info	UNESCO monuments	2011	Swf file, visible controls, additional info on the monuments, high resolution	institutional	Private consulting firm
Panoramic photos, spherical, 5-10 sets	Accommodation units (BB's)	2008-2009	Canon 350D+Sigma 8 3.5mm, Stated as virtual tours	private	Photo service business,
Panoramic photos, spherical, 6-8 sets	Attractions, monuments	2008	Flash file, high resolution	test	Private/testing the market, as portfolio,
Gallery , 5-30sets single photos	Attractions, museums, activities, infrastructure	2004-2008	Scrollable or slideshows stated as virtual guides	institutional	Private/expert
Street view	Town center	2009	NORC type street view, photo base, no rendering, user control on navigation	private/adds	NORC copyrighted
3D virtual tour guide	Memorial Museum	2008	3D rendering + photo background Additional audio guiding	institutional	Copyrighted for the Fundatia Academia Civica (Museum), conceived by private firm

VTG products for the study area were developed by private companies/businesses. Internal resources were used only for the testing products, eventually leading to a contract. Developers are in the communication and photo-visual arts' domain. Ideas came as technology-push, the projects were implemented with the clear aim to increase tourist flows (the new media marketing approach). The only VTG implemented in order to preserve heritage and yet increase accessibility (due to physical dimensions and poor lighting of the interiors) concerns the eight UNESCO wooden churches (available on the web at www.cultura-maramures.ro, 2011). Informal discussions with the stakeholders in tourism (at regional level) revealed also a demand-pull side of the matter, since tourists asked for more visual information on rooms, infrastructure and attractions. These are in accordance with studies cited by Guttentag (2010).

Good quality virtual tour guides are related to high definition information retrieval equipment and graphical software. Authors describe their equipment and specify the software they used in order to add importance to their offers and portfolios (see Table 1). Navigation tools apply to the controls used to move around the viewpoint, in most cases. Flash type files offer a wider possibility (to move up or down) by changing the window's position. 3D rendering with navigation possibilities are available only for the Memorial Museum's product, developed in a 3D environment and DirectX was used to view CAD files.

Graphical quality is a sensitive issue, depending on the access point, namely the internet. Older products have a hard time to run. The present cross-analysis approaches the layout features, the quality of imagery, and the relevance. It does not tackle the age (because some landscapes have changed). The products featuring the eight UNESCO churches have a wide layout, a central point, accessible controls, good lighting of the interior painting, and high resolution components (fig. 2-5).

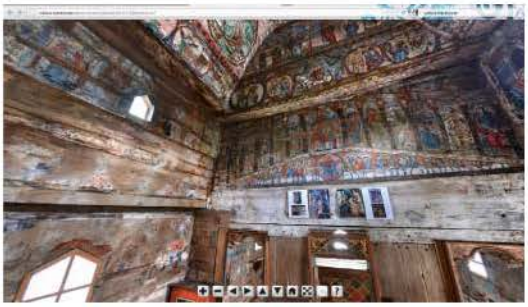

Fig.2 Wooden church in Barsana. Spherical panorama, swf.file, 3MB on web (www. cultura-maramures.ro, 2011).

Fig.3 Memorial Museum. 3D rendering, cad file played in DirectX on Take-Away Museum, DVD, 2008 (Fundatia Academia Civica, 2008).

Fig.4 Doina's Pension. Spherical panorama with tourist info and hotspots, www.dxn.ro (Godja, 2008).

Fig.5 Street view. Photo rendering, NORC style, with 3D glass option (sighet-online, 2008).

The Memorial Museum in Sighetu Marmatiei. Case study

"The Memorial of the Victims of Communism and of the Resistance" is a memorial to the struggle against communism. It consists of the museum and a Centre for Studies on Communism - the museum is often perceived as "*The* Memorial". In 1993 the idea of a memorial museum began to gain shape. In 1998 the museum was nominated among the three most important places for European remembrance, alongside with the Auschwitz Memorial and the Peace Memorial in France. Since then, the Memorial in Sighet became a hotspot on the map of dark tourism in Europe, with over 25000 visitors per year. Exhibitions present here, on the basis of interdisciplinary research, pieces of oral history, records, evidence, objects and photographs (Fundatia Academia Civica, 2008). Scientific tourism is also present; the museum organizes workshops, summer schools and symposia on the subject.

The case study of the Memorial museum tries to trace the history of a virtual tour guiding product and to compare its outcomes with the 3D tourism mapping projects.

The memorial museum has a large collection of documents, with texts, copies of original paperwork etc, very interesting but time consuming. Researchers and docents constituted the first group which demanded a CD/DVD or a book in order to deepen their knowledge about the exhibits. This was acknowledged in 2007-2008, when after studying the feed-back messages from tourists, the management of the museum decided to take a step. First, audio-guiding was installed, books and booklets were edited.

In the spring of 2008 the Foundation "Academia Civica", the initiator of the Memorial, started and funded the project for "The Take-Away Museum" on copyrighted DVD. In the summer of 2010 it was available at the museum bookshop, but it got little attention from the public due to the high price (20 Euro). When adjustments were made, it was also added on the website and when on-line purchasing was made available, its popularity increased.

The virtual tour guide is organized in three sections: the virtual visit, the document library and the presentation of the museum (history and components), all in Romanian, English and French (fig.6). The virtual visit has full controls, similar to gaming products. A navigation map is provided at request. Zoom functions enable closer reading of the documents displayed in the museum. It has audio background and testimony recordings. Very interesting is the section dedicated to children; the goal is to keep their attention without frightening them with horrifying details. 3D renderings have textures resembling with the actual walls, floors, windows. Imagery has photographs adjusted to the perspective (sometimes a little forced). The presentation and content is accurate, users can adjust reading settings.

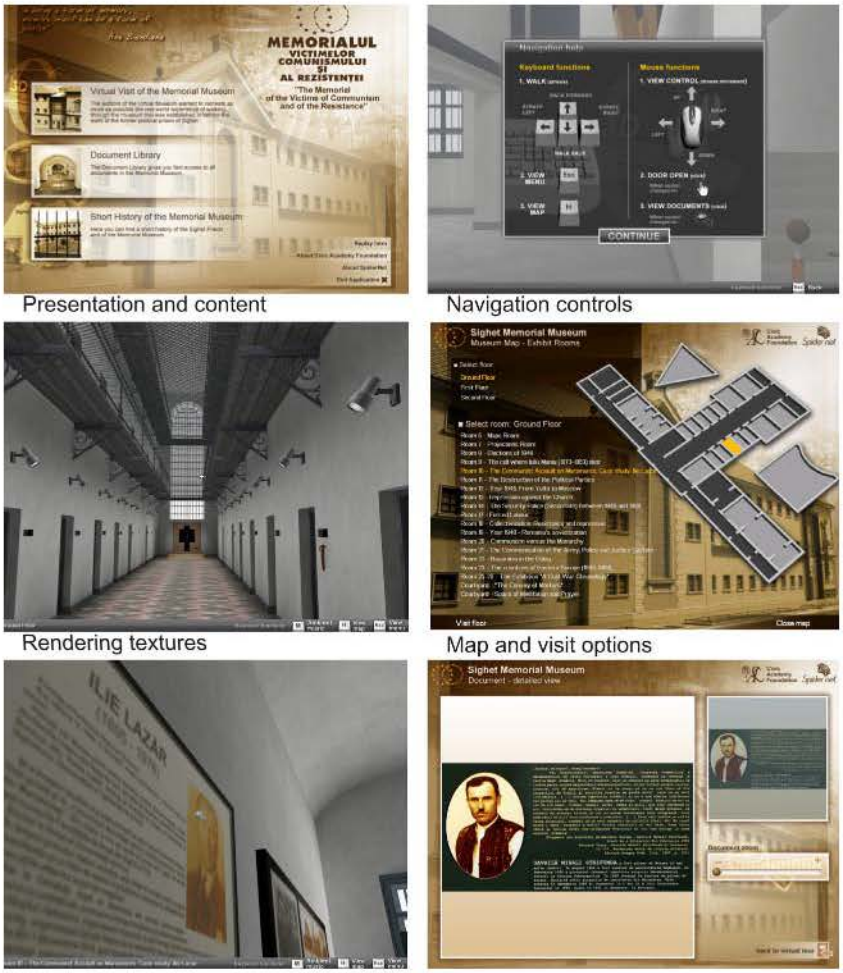

Fig.6 Important features for "The Take-Away Museum" virtual tour guide DVD (Fundatia Academia Civica, 2008).

Availability of open Geoweb data for the study area

The new media development came with large numbers of freely available products, mainly with the emergence of Geoweb (2.0). Smaller communities may fully benefit from open access to information. Geodata and geocoded material is accessible and usable also in tour guiding. As well as in the "neo-cartography" concept (Roche & Ilies, 2011), anyone interested in sharing tourist information can join a wiki project, like Wikimapia (encyclopedia plus map, www.wikimapia.org), leading to neo-tour guide projects. Exactly like in cartography, innovation in this field concerns the methods, instruments, contents and good-practice regulations. Wiki projects such as wikitravel (www.wikitravel.org, 2003) and wikivoyage (www.wikivoyage.org, 2003) are crowdsourced, but for the study area they are at a very incipient stage. Their English versions are better, but still incomplete and twisted. Open maps such as OpenStreetMap (www.openstreetmap.org, 2008), Google maps (google maps, 2008) and Bing (www.bing.com, 2008) etc, with tourist map features can display some tourist info and icons, but for the study area street views are unavailable as well. Apps, smart maps, for mobile devices have valuable information about accommodation and other businesses but specific guiding for the region is not yet available.

Location based services did not trigger the development of specific tour guiding products in the study area. This is strictly dependent on the GSM coverage and GPS signals (because the study area is at the border of the EU, with strict regulations and interference). At this

stage, in order to provide VTG products for smaller communities, university projects can combine the skills acquired in tourist thematic mapping and classic tour guiding.

Conclusion and future plans

Virtual tour guiding products for Maramures Land were tackled from an integrative perspective. The main research objective was reached. Cross-analysis revealed the overall features of existing products. They were rated and compared, excluding the age, even if in the analysis there is information about the period of development. Results show that tourism businesses recognize the opportunity and constantly contract panoramic products for the virtual tour section of their website. Several institutions (cultural, museums, local authorities) display information about assets and attractions in a very professional way; some feature VTG photo galleries or slideshows. Street views are copyrighted; they are not available on open mapping platforms for any community in the study area; live webcams tend to fill this gap. 3D renderings are very professional for the museum sections.

Future plans are directly linked to the location based products, first with the completion of a crowd sourced travel guide with geo coded imagery and information. The second project is to connect thematic cartography to virtual tour guiding, crossing through all the scientific achievements on way-finding.

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Section 5
MANAGING & MEASURING THE GUIDED TOUR

Talk about the passion: The relevance of positive emotion measurement to tour guiding

Ondrej Mitas, PhD
NHTV Breda University of Applied Sciences, The Netherlands
ondrejmitas@gmail.com

Introduction

Emotions give tourist experiences their exceptional value. In fact, positive emotions, such as joy, love, and awe are often discussed as the *raison d'etre* of holidays (Nawijn, 2010; Mitas, 2010). Tour guides have a central role in creating emotional experiences (Bowie & Chang, 2005). Because tour guides create the reality that tourists temporarily inhabit, assessing and managing positive emotions is indispensable in their work (Min & Peng, 2012). This paper argues for the use of comprehensive positive emotion measurement techniques in tour guiding contexts. I illustrate the use of these techniques in the challenging tour guiding context of a Civil War battlefield tour in the United States. First, the state of the art in emotion research generally and in emotion research within the tourism context are discussed.

Emotions

Emotions are intense, short-lived, multi-component responses to a human's environment (Rosenberg, 1998). The components of an emotional episode include its context (what causes it), its phenomenology (how it "feels"), its physical and neurological sequelae, and its action tendency (what the emotion makes a person want to do). Importantly, every emotion also has a valence—an extent to which it feels pleasant or unpleasant. Unlike moods, emotions occupy one's attention. An individual cannot forget that he or she is "having" an emotion. Thus, emotions have power to directly and powerfully affect behaviour.

Emotions have long been of interest to psychologists. The prominence of feelings such as anger, sadness, and fear in mental illness as well as in daily life inspired decades of descriptive, experimental, and cross-cultural research. A number of key findings have emerged concerning evolutionary and neurological foundations of emotions (LeDoux, 1998), the association of facial expressions with emotions in a way that transcends cultural differences (Ekman, 2007), the regulative relationship between emotions and thoughts (Baumeister, Vohs, DeWall, & Chang, 2007) and the two-dimensional structure of emotion as consisting of valence and arousal (Russell, 1980). Until 2000, unfortunately, these findings and their applications were overwhelmingly focused on negative emotions. Thus, emotion theories often presented complex and subtle conceptualizations of emotions such as fear (LeDoux, 1998) and disgust (Ekman, 2007), yet dismissed positive emotions as unimportant or settled on a single positive emotion vaguely defined as happiness. Research in the richly positive context of holiday experiences based on these theories was thus rare and difficult (Mitas, 2010).

Over the past 12 years, a new movement in social psychology, termed positive psychology, has created momentum for research of positive emotions. A number of findings that have revolutionized social psychology as well as tourism research have emerged. It is now known that positive emotions are just as complex as negative emotions, encompassing not

only joy, love, contentment, and interest (Fredrickson, 1998), but also compassion, awe, and many others (Keltner & Haidt, 2003). Positive emotions come and go, but chronically emotionally positive people experience life to the fullest, even in times of difficulty (Fredrickson, Tugade, Waugh, & Larkin, 2003), as positive emotions foster the building of long-term resources, such as healthy habits and quality friendships (Fredrickson, 2004). Thus, positive emotions not only carry inherent value that is characteristic of tourism experiences, but link tourism to individuals' quality of life (Mitas, 2010), although the quality of life impacts of holidays may be short-lived (De Bloom et al., 2010).

Importantly for the context of tour guiding, positive emotions have been found to be readily measurable by questionnaires (Fredrickson, 2010; Mitas, Yarnal, Adams, & Ram, 2012a), participant observation (Mitas, Yarnal, & Chick, 2012b), photo-elicitation interviews (Mosch, 2012), and experience sampling (Kahneman, Krueger, Schwarz, & Stone, 2006), now made easier with smartphone applications (Nawijn, 2013).

Four important guidelines for measurement of emotions have been specified (Fredrickson, 2000). First, emotions should be measured as close to their occurrence as possible, because substantial recall errors exist. Second, when recall errors are unavoidable, strong or meaningful emotional episodes should be selected for measurement, as these "peak" episodes are recalled more easily (Fredrickson, 2007, p. 577). Third, because a single day contains a variety of emotional episodes, emotions should be measured as frequently as possible without burdening participants (Kahneman et al., 2006). Simply put, most people become emotional on numerous occasions over the course of a single day, with each of these episodes taking on a somewhat distinct emotional flavor—anger at being cut off in traffic, irritation with a tinge of excitement at incoming emails, excitement and warmth at seeing a long-absent colleague, and so forth. This complexity is deepened when on holiday, as new sensations and ideas abound (Mitas, 2010). Fourth, self-response measurements are sensitive to the specific emotions addressed, so the list of specific emotions measured should be fairly complete for the study purpose (Mitas, 2010).

As could be expected, these guidelines have challenged tourism researchers interested in positive emotions. Nevertheless, a substantial body of tourism research on positive emotions exists, and the findings not only reveal the emotional signature of various types of holiday experiences, but also suggest innovative measurement methods to accurately capture tourists' positive emotions.

Tourists' emotions

The general approach tourism scholars to positive emotions stems from the groundbreaking research of Clawson and Knetsch (1966) and Hammitt (1980) in the context of nature-based tourism experiences. These early researchers conceptualized tourism as an emotional process during which distinct feelings arise and develop at each "stage" of the experience, including anticipation before travel has begun and reflection after return home. Since then, studies have taken this processual approach to measure emotions over the course of holidays of varying length (e.g., Nawijn, 2010) and before as well as after holidays (e.g., Strauss-Blasche, Muhry, Lehofer, Moser, & Marktl, 2005; Nawijn, Marchand, Veenhoven, & Vingerhoets, 2010). These studies all used emotional self-reports on Likert-type emotion questionnaires designed by the researchers, and quantitative data analysis. In keeping with the obvious threats of recall errors, the cited studies include efforts to measure as frequently as conveniently possible.

Nevertheless, these studies all feature several weaknesses in measurement. The lists of emotions measured are not comparably similar from study to study, and rarely appear

complete enough, given the emotional complexity reported in ethnographic research on toursits' experiences (e.g., Foster, 1986; Yarnal & Kerstetter, 2005). More seriously, the measurements are often not nearly frequent enough, representing too limited and too distorted a picture of the emotional process of tourism. In frequency and breadth, the measurement methods used in these studies falls short of the state of the art in positive emotion measurement (e.g., Cohn et al., 2009).

In contrast, the ethnographic participant observation approach taken by some tourism researchers (e.g., Foster, 1986; Wickens, 2002; Sharpe, 2005; Yarnal & Kerstetter, 2005) has been fruitful in measuring positive emotions frequently and in detail. These researchers followed groups of tourists throughout their entire experiences, travelling with them to the destination, staying at the same accommodation, and participating in the same activities—while systematically verbally recording their observations. The advantage of this method is the elimination of recall error and the pretense of objectivity when, in reality, researchers cannot avoid reframing participants' emotions in her or his own words. As a result, the cited ethnographers succeeded in representing complex emotional processes and making subtle distinctions between different kinds of positive emotions such as enjoyment and excitement.

Ethnographic studies of tourists' emotions come with their own limitations, however. Because emotions are interpreted and explored rather than measured, emotional experiences cannot be quantitatively compared between individuals or occasions. Furthermore, the cited studies simply did not focus on positive emotions, thus making incidental rather than substantial contributions on the topic.

These limitations suggest that a more comprehensive approach to recording tourists' emotions was needed in the emotionally intensive context of tour guiding. If emotional measurements are to be useful to tour guides, who must make subtle and refined distinctions between phases and individuals in a guided tour, quantitative Likert-type self-response questionnaires and ethnographic participant observation are each insufficient on their own. Therefore, the present study combined these methods to accentuate the advantages of each in an integrated approach. Furthermore, this methodological complexity addressed the requirements of measuring positive emotions frequently, close to the moment of occurrence, with a focus on memorable episodes, and with distinctions between related but different emotions. The objective of the present study was to test a comprehensive, integrated mixed-method emotion measurement approach in a guided tour context, and to demonstrate the revelance of the detailed findings from such an approach to the management of participants' emotions.

Context

In the fall of 2009, I tested a comprehensive, integrated mixed-method approach to positive emotion measurement in the context of a guided tour. The specific tour in question takes a reverent, educational, and detailed approach to presenting a United States Civil War battlefield to approximately 80 mature adult tourists. Arranged by a tour operator within a large, public university in the eastern U.S., the tour (henceforth the CW tour) lasts three days, including two full days of walking battlefield sites with interpretation throughout, bookended by two half-days of lecture and discussion in hotel classrooms.

Because the tour emphasizes history and education, participants are invited to read hefty historical literature in preparation, then presented with correspondingly hefty information on the tour itself. Naturally, the political and strategic contexts of war are discussed, but the content of the tour regularly delves into expert-level discussions of names, dates, divisions,

regiments, and other details of interest to amateur historians rather than lay persons. The tour guides are professional military historians that work for the university, U.S. military, or freelance. In the strictest sense, they are not full-time professional tour guides. The CW tour has visited various Civil War battlefield sites annually for 18 years. The sites that offer the most coherent experiences and the most popular guides, in the view of the tour operator, are repeated frequently. Three to four guides accompany most CW tours.

The participant group of the CW tour includes a community of "regulars," comprising half or more of all participants, who return to the tour annually, health and other obligations permitting. These regular participants go to great efforts to include new participants (including irregular or unusual participants, as I was) into group discussions and into the overall sense of community. Tour guides were also participants in this integration process, and I paid roughly equal attention to it in my observations as to the historical interpretation aspects of the tour.

Methods

I used a combination of a daily questionnaire diary and participant observation to measure positive emotions among CW tour participants. The combination of these methods was aimed at measuring sufficiently close to the moment of relevant emotion episodes, focusing on memorable episodes where recall was necessary, measuring emotions frequently, discriminating between relevant emotion types, and focusing on positive emotions in particular. While all CW tour participants and tour guides were subjects of participant observation, 13 participants (16%) participated in the quantitative daily questionnaire portion of the study.

The goal of the quantitative daily questionnaire was to build a base of data that could be compared across individuals and occasions. The diary assessed participants' emotions using the modified Differential Emotions Scale (mDES, Cohn et al., 2009) The mDES is demonstrably valid and reliable as a daily emotion measure (Fredrickson et al., 2003; 2008; Cohn et al., 2009). The mDES contains 19 emotion terms easily understood in common language, covering a variety of clearly distinct positive, negative, and neutral emotions.

For quantifying emotions using self-response questionnaires, daily measurement is considered sufficiently frequent but not sufficiently close in time to the emotion episode. Therefore, based on the recommendations of Fredrickson (2000), I asked participants to rate the *strongest experience of each emotion* on the given day. Because such emotional peaks are more memorable than other emotional episodes, this prompt is believed to reduce recall error (Fredrickson, 2000). Compared to other validated emotion scales such as the PANAS (Watson, Clark, & Tellegen, 1988), the mDES is complete and broad, especially in terms of positive emotions.

Nevertheless, any researcher-generated list of positive emotions inevitably restricts the findings and threatens to exclude conceptualizations of emotions that are native to participants' minds. To address this limitation and to document positive emotions closer to the moment of occurrence, I also engaged in participant observation during the CW tour experience. My participant observation was specifically focused on positive emotions to avoid the limited, incidental salience of emotions in other participant observation studies of group tours.

I closely followed the procedures of Emerson, Fretz, and Shaw (1997) as well as Yarnal & Kerstetter (2005) in my participant observation. I immersed myself in tour activities including reading background materials, walking the battlefield with tour guides, listening

to their lectures on and off the field, taking notes on the factual content discussed, and conversing with participants on a variety of topics during unstructured time. According to the model of Yarnal and Kerstetter, I interrupted my participation at least five times each day to write down the easily-forgotten details of preceding episodes and interactions. During the CW tour, moments between lectures and bus trips between distant parts of the battlefield were especially opportune for these jottings. In the evenings, I took one to two hours to flesh out my notes into typed fieldnotes. After the tour, I took a day to read through the notes and fill in memorable details that could not be completed within the time constraints of my tour participation. The resulting fieldnotes comprised about 5000 words of data.

Findings

In-depth analyses of the data, derived for the purpose of extending academic knowledge about tourists' experiences, are published elsewhere (Mitas et al., 2012a; Mitas et al., 2012b). As the present study concerns the *usefulness of these data* rather than the full extent of the findings, only a description of the data is given here.

The psychometric data obtained from the daily emotion diaries shows a striking difference between the tour and participants' daily lives. In fact, the two weeks of data gathered show three distinct "peaks," a large "peak" corresponding to the CW tour and smaller "peaks" corresponding, not surprisingly, to the non-tour weekends. Growth modeling of diary data showed that interest was the strongest of the positive emotions experienced (Mitas et al., 2012a). Other specific positive emotions analyzed included love, joy, and contentment. As the graph shows, joy and contentment approximated the overall positive emotion average, but love did not show any response to the CW tour experience in these data.

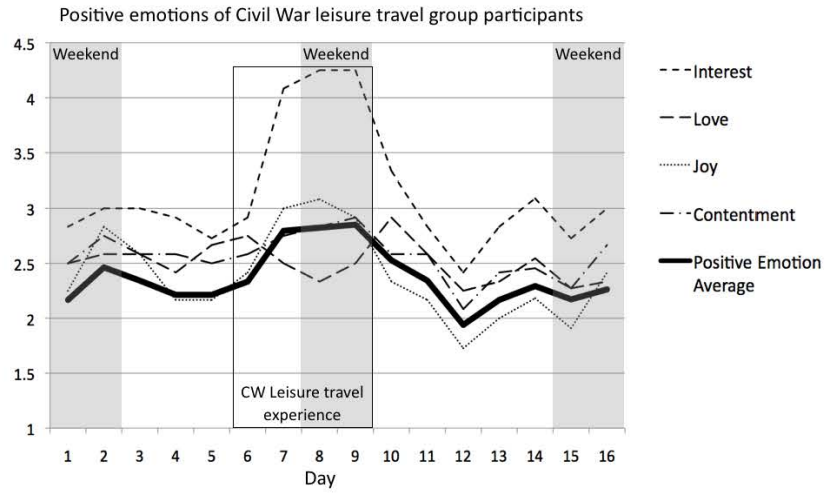

Figure 1. Graph of two weeks of daily emotion measurement, including four days of CW tour (in central rectangle).

Participant observation data showed that the CW tour was characterized by a passion, shared by participants and guides alike, for extremely detailed knowledge of historical facts and military processes. Findings revealed four processes that create positive emotions—interest in activities, warmth from social relationships, amusement from humor, and sublime reactions to loss (Mitas et al., 2012b). While interest and amusement are specific and singular emotions, and warmth refers to a feeling of platonic bonding or friendship, the sublime emotions observed in reactions to stories of loss were somewhat complex. As

expected, stories of loss such as death, widowhood, and military defeat prompted sadness, but positive emotions such as awe and compassion always moderated this sadness and gave a positive emotional overtone to relatively negative topics of discussion.

Key informant interviews revealed the strategies that tour guides used to stoke these positive emotions (Mitas, 2010). Specifically, the tour guides addressed specific strategies they use to manage each of the processes above. Interest in activities initially comes from participants and their preparation for the tour, but tour guides flood them facts and figures to reward their preparation and create a fertile context for interest-based discussion. The rhythmic variety in which facts and occasional stories are presented is calculated to maximize interest across the participant group. Warmth from social relationships is based on a sense of community that the tour guides and organizers foster in the group. Over half of participants are repeat participants, and many go every year. Thus, the tour is organized so that time not spent on historical education is dedicated on socializing and "catching up." From the arrangements of tables at dinner to birth and death announcements, tour organizers and guides use deft interventions to stoke group bonding.

Of the four processes discussed, humor features the most direct intervention from tour guides. Jokes in the narration were carefully scripted to occur at contextually appropriate moments, but also to relieve the challenging flow of information and the generally "dark" theme of war. The periodic alternation of jokes and information from tour guides created a steady rhythm of amusement and focused attention in participants. Furthermore, the head tour guide and the head organizer of the tour improvised many jokes and humorous anecdotes during transitions and downtime. They cited the value of their decades-long friendship as making it natural to be funny with each other, spreading a norm of humor and joking throughout the group. They also used calculated infusions of humor in difficult situations where unexpected problems (e.g., tour bus breaking down) threatened the positivity of the experience.

In a tour about war, discussions of death, loss, and suffering are inevitable. The head tour guide explained that she gives discussions of these themes complex and subtle treatment to create the sublime feelings that I observed in my time with the tour. She saw two main topics with potentially negative content: loss and casualty figures, which have to be discussed to elucidate the strategic process of the battle, and personal stories of loss and suffering, which are part of the battle's human context. The head tour guide indicated that measured use of loss and casualty figures induces positive feelings of awe and respect among some participants. A majority of regular CW participants are military veterans. Having been to war and survived, figures of those who did not survive are not dry facts, but rather powerful and significant emotional information. The personal stories of loss and suffering, in turn, serve to involve all participants in the mixture of admiration and sadness that surrounds war history. Again, the tour guide's strategy involved constructing these stories in a way that was contextually appropriate, temporally spaced throughout the tour, and personally meaningful given the backgrounds of participants (as parents, husbands, wives, political activists, historians, and human beings).

Discussion

The quantitative daily emotion data revealed the CW tour to be an experience rich in positive emotions, strongly contrasting to participants' daily lives, with the emotion of interest playing an especially important role. The participant observation data revealed that this interest is prompted by the tour's focus on education and information and, more specifically, by the interpretation methods of lecture, explanation, and discussion

implemented by tour guides. The participant observation data also revealed other emotions to have a central role, including amusement, warmth, and sublime reactions to loss.

The use of participant observation extended the findings from the quantitative data. The imposition of the researchers' perspective on participants in such quantitative data collection would otherwise underemphasize, in this case, the importance of amusement, warmth, and sublime emotions. Furthermore, the quantitative diary data alone do not show *how* tour guides affect the rich palette of positive emotions that participants experienced. The participant observation data revealed that rhythmic timing of emotional devices such as jokes, and subtle interventions in participants' social contexts, were key in creating positive emotions.

These findings make transparent the effects of tour guides' behaviour on the emotions of their participants via processes that may be applicable to other types of tours and tour guiding contexts. Such comprehensive emotion assessment of tour participants holds promise to uncover, transfer, and even improve the value of guided tour experiences. The fact that quantitative questionnaires and ethnographic participant observation of participants' emotions tell distinct yet complementary stories show the importance of measuring guided tour participants' emotions comprehensively. In doing so, the present study progresses beyond the rather coarse emotional measurement of studies such as Strauss-Blasche et al. (2004), Nawijn (2010), and Hammitt (1980) to the detailed assessments found in positive psychological studies such as Cohn et al. (2009). The findings also reveal the complex social processes underlying positive emotions, which studies such as Cohn et al. (2009) miss due to a purely quantitative, researcher-driven data collection strategy.

Previous ethnographic studies of tourist experiences captured social processes underlying positive emotions (e.g., Foster, 1986; Yarnal & Kerstetter, 2005). The present study extends their findings by focusing on positive emotions, rather than discovering them by accident, so to speak. The focus on positive emotions reveals not only which emotions appear in participants and why, but also shows *how* tour guides deliberately and carefully intervene to prompt positive emotions. Furthermore, the findings of the present study, as seen in Mitas et al., 2012b, marshal more varied and profound evidence to support the emotions observed than previous ethnographic studies of tourist experiences.

Implications

The goal of this paper was to bring attention to emotions, specifically measurement of positive emotions, to the world of tour guiding. It is not difficult to imagine that in a guided tour context that falls short of the CW tour's success, such a comprehensive positive emotion measurement could reveal unintentional gaps in the experience or in the application of tour guides' emotional skills (Min & Peng, 2011). With the importance of emotions in the (guided) tourists' experience now well established, the present study suggests that a comprehensive emotion assessment could give a more profound picture of a tour's success than simplistic consumer behaviour constructs such as satisfaction.

Operators of guided tours may wish to replicate this procedure to assess tour guides, product changes, sites, and relationships with stakeholders. While it may seem intensive to do such a data collection, it is more costly in terms of participants' time and energy rather than money. I found that CW participants were enthusiastic to share their feelings. In a sense, I only had to ask. To be sure, it costs less to measure emotions thoroughly than to rescue guided tour products that fail to create the intended positive emotions among tourists. At the same time, smartphone technology promises to make comprehensive, just-in-time positive emotion assessment even less costly and convenient.

An interesting next step may be to bring notions of tour guiding to research on emotions. In a groundbreaking ethnographic study, Bediner-Viani (2005) invited participants to express their emotions by designing guided tours of emotional neighborhood experiences. In this sense, the guided tour became a method to study emotions, rather than emotion measurement being a method to study guided tours. As the importance of emotions gains recognition across a variety of social science disciplines, such methodological innovations hold much promise to understand how and why positive emotions, the feelings that make life worth living, develop.

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Tour Guides as a Source of Tourism Performance Data

Areej Shabib Aloudat, PhD
Yarmouk University/JORDAN
arige12@yahoo.co.uk

Abstract
Tour guides have previously been ignored as a source of tourism performance data compared to managerial representatives working higher up in the tourism employment hierarchy. Yet their day-to-day contact with the tourist during the actual consumption of the tourism experience, their involvement in tourism itineraries, and their 'expert' knowledge gained from the daily contacts with most of the tourism stakeholders allow them valuable "grounded level" insights into tourism, not available to managers more remote from the operational levels of tourism.

However, research on tour guides rarely has used them as key informants on tourism issues. In particular, no study has examined tour guides' significance as a source of data on tourism performance of a destination. This paper explores tour guides' values as providers of qualitative data on the tourism performance of Jordan.

The study used the grounded theory approach because of its appropriateness in generating knowledge in an area where little is known. The investigation process was conducted through a focus group interview, in addition to a series of in-depth individual interviews with tour guides in Jordan. To analyze the data and theorize the findings two analytical procedures of grounded theory were used. These are theoretical sampling and the constant comparative method.

Based on the findings, the study breaks new ground in exploring and assessing the utility of tour guides as tourism data providers. The findings indicate that tour guides were able to give a set of facts about the performance of the tourism sector in Jordan. The paper concludes with the following hypothesis: (1) Tour guides' perceptions may be regarded as an informative source that may be utilized by tourism agencies in a given destination, (2) Tour guides' perceptions are characterized by practical rather than theoretical knowledge.

Keywords
tour guides, tourism performance, grounded theory

Introduction

Tourism performance can be defined as data gathered on tourists' numbers, their profiles, motivations, complaints, and the overall satisfaction of tourists in the host country. Therefore, tourism performance may relate not only to the demand side but also to the supply side and include data on tourism services, their availability and quality. The evaluation of tourism performance is a vital process for any destination. To measure such performance, tourism bodies collect information on the tourism supply and demand sides at their destinations. The data related to the supply side often incorporate feedback on the availability and the quality of tourism infrastructure, facilities, and services provided by the public and the private sectors in a given destination. Demand-related data is normally about tourist numbers, their composition and economic value; their profiles and trip patterns; and visitor perceptions of, and satisfaction with, the host country.

Kozak (2004) identified a number of quantitative and qualitative measures that could be applied to evaluate the performance of tourism destinations. The quantitative measures, which are often used, refer to numerical indicators. Qualitative measures refer to the contextual measures of the performance of destinations such as: "tourist motivations, satisfaction, comments, complaints, and the intention of repeat business and recommendation" (Kozak, 2004, 55).

To obtain such qualitative and quantitative data, national tourism organizations (NTOs) and other destination agencies (DAs) use different sources, including: visitor surveys; returns from accommodation institutions; analyses by central banks; government arrivals and departures statistics; and consultants and academia. All these sources have been mainly deployed for macro-evaluations of tourism performance only on an intermittent or annual basis, because they are time consuming to conduct, take time to complete, and there is always a gap between the collection, analysis and publication of results. As a result they have been of little use for ongoing, short-term understanding of tourism performance, week by week, or month by month during a season.

Moreover, tourism is a fast-moving industry affected by a multitude of structural and short-term factors which may routinely include economic conditions in the source countries and the host destinations, tourist tastes and motivations, and ongoing competitive conditions (Holloway & Taylor, 2006). In addition, tourism may be affected by more short-term factors such as weather, as well as being influenced by unanticipated, external crises and events in the world such as wars, diseases, natural disasters, and terrorism (Hall, Timothy & Duval, 2004). Therefore, it is difficult to evaluate tourism performance depending solely on previous published data such as statistics, which are often out of date for monitoring crisis situations and emergent tourism trends (Ritchie, 1993).

In responding to and managing this variety of influences, the standard periodic measures adopted by NTOs/DAs on an annual or intermittent basis may be inadequate since they are subject to delays, and can never be used to monitor short-term developments affecting tourist demand which may arise. To overcome this limitation some NTOs have monitored tourism on a regular, more short-term basis through different kinds of "tourism barometer". These have typically been individual assessments of current tourism performance by different kinds of key informants from the tourism industry asked to provide individual opinions, based on their expertise in, and knowledge of, their own sectoral or product markets. Such key informants have almost exclusively comprised senior managers and staff from specific tourism product sectors, e.g. attractions, transport, accommodation, tour operators/agents etc. Lower level tourism staff has rarely contributed as key informants for tourism barometer readings. Tour guides are among the many lower grades of tourism staff whose perceptions and perspectives have been ignored as sources of tourism performance data. This study thus, explores tour guides' values as a source of data on the tourism performance of Jordan.

Literature review

Tour guides play critical roles in general tourism as well as in its more specific forms such as ecotourism, cultural and adventure tourism. "Through their knowledge and interpretation of a destination's attractions and culture, and their communication and service skills, have the ability to transform the tourists visit from a tour into an experience" (Ap & Wong, 2001, 551).They were described as front-line employees who can have a considerable effect on the overall tourism experience of tourists within a destination (Ap & Wong, 2001). However, despite the considerable functions that tour guides perform in the tourism system, they are among the neglected groups by the tourism academic community

(Ap & Wong, 2001; McDonnell, 2001; Black, Ham & Weiler, 2001; Black & Ham, 2005; Yu & Weiler, 2006; Scherle & Nonnenmann, 2008; Huang, Hsu, & Chan, 2010).

Direct literature concerned with the subject of tour guides has concentrated on two issues: First, tour guides' function for tourists in conveying information, providing explanations and facilitating understandings, second, tour guides' training.

Among the first to study the functions of tour guides is Holloway (1981) who viewed a tour guide as an information giver, an instructor, motivator and initiator into the rites of tourist experiences. This pedagogic role also assumed that the tour guides were ambassadors for their countries, entertainers or catalysts for the group, confidant, shepherd, group leader and disciplinarian (Holloway, 1981, p: 385-386). Cohen (1985) and Pond (1993) have also suggested that guides have multi-roles and functions to play within the tourism system. In a study of the development of the function of tour guides, Cohen (1985) argued that the contemporary tour guide role has emerged from two antecedents: the pathfinder and the mentor. Among the most quoted and relevant works in most of the literature on tour guiding is the work of Pond (1993) who has suggested that tour guides mainly have five inseparable, 'interwoven' roles: the leader, the educator, the public relations representative, the host and the conduit. The role of tour guides as cultural brokers has been documented in several researches (Holloway, 1981; Pearce, 1984; Cohen 1985; Pond, 1993; Gurung, Simmons & Devlin, 1996; Ap & Wong, 2001; Weiler & Ham, 2001; Smith, 2001; Dahles, 2002; Christie & Mason, 2003; Macdonald, 2006). These studies have in common emphasis on the mediation activities of guides: "mediation among hosts and guests, mediation between the tour operator / travel agency and tourists, mediation among the tour leader and the local tourist scene, mediation between the hotel sector and the tourist" (Dahles, 2002, p. 784).

In the field of eco tourism tour guides have been viewed as major contributors to the success or failure of an ecotouristic trip, and promoters of positive behaviors and practices toward the environment (Pond, 1993; Stewart et al.[1998] as cited in Christie & Mason, 2003; Pierra, 2000; Weiler & Ham, 2002; Christie & Mason, 2003).

The importance and need for training has been evaluated as a tool for increasing the awareness about the environmental and socio- cultural impacts caused by ecotourism (Ap & Wong, 2001; Black et al., 2001; Christie & Mason, 2003). Appropriate guide training provides tour guides with necessary skills and knowledge that enables them to ensure the "safety of visitors, to provide accurate and compelling interpretation of sites and modeling appropriate environmental and cultural behaviours"' (Black et al, 2001, p.147). On the other hand, development of tour guides' skills may enhance their career opportunities and increase their levels of pay and conditions of work (ibid).

Christie and Mason, (2003), have argued that much of eco-tour guides' training is competency-based, focusing heavily on knowledge and skills. They assumed that the suitable sort of guides' training enables them to satisfy the needs of their customers during the trip with a probability to give the tourist the chance to alter their own attitudes.

It can be noticed from the review of literature on tour guiding that tour guides have been researched in relation to their roles in the tourism system. The other part of literature emphasized the importance of training in enhancing and developing the professionalism and the quality of guiding. Additionally, the literature on tour guides in general is sparse especially on their utility as a source of tourism data. There has been only one aspect that

was investigated through tour guides, but this was focused not on tourism performance, but on cross-cultural differences in tourist behavior.

Pizam and his co-authors have asked tour guides from Britain, (Pizam & Sussmann, 1995); Korea, (Pizam & Jeong 1996); Israel, (Pizam, & Riechel,1996); and Holland, (Pizam, Jansen-Verbeke, & Steel, 1997) about their opinions on similarities and differences in tourist behavior between tourists from different nationalities. The findings in the four different contexts of the studies of Pizam and his co-authors were that tour guides perceived that tourist behavior is affected by nationality, thus confirming to a certain extent the results obtained in other studies (Pi-Sunyer, 1977; Wagner, 1977; Boissevain & Inglott, 1979; and Brewer, 1984, as cited in Pizam, Jansen-Verbeke & Steel, 1997) which showed that local residents and tourism employees perceive that tourist behavior is affected by nationality culture. Yet, while the works of Pizam and his colleagues are useful in providing significant insights into national differences in tourist behaviors, they do not look in any detail at tour guides nor do they explore the value of tour guides as main informants in their studies. No single word was traced on the role importance of tour guides or the reason for choosing them exclusively in their works. Nevertheless, the findings of these studies showed that tour guides were able to provide reliable and valid data about tourist behavior issues.

Methodology

The methodology selected in this research is the grounded theory (GT). In the context of tourism research, GT remains relatively uncommon and slightly used by tourism researchers (Hobson, 2003). However, it was employed to explore a number of issues (Tear, 1994; Riley, 1996; Goulding, 1999; Goulding, (2000); Hobson, 2003; Woodside, MacDonald & Burford, 2004; Hardy, 2005; Jennings, 2005). Additionally, Jennings & Junek, (2007) offered a number of examples of GT usage in tourism and hospitality (Connell & Lowe, 1997; Jennings, 1997; Jennings, 1999; Hillman 2001; Johns & Gyimothy, 2002; Mehmetoglo & Olsen, 2003; Junek, 2004; Deangbuppa, et al., 2004, as cited in Jennings & Junek, 2007).

For instance, GT was used to investigate: the travel experience of cruisers, (Jennings, 1997); the leisure activity of visiting heritage sites by visitors (Goulding, 1999); the emic perspective of tourists' interpretations of authentic and inauthentic experiences (Mehmetoglo & Olsen, 2003); and the analysis of stakeholder facilitation of sustainable tourism (Hardy, 2005).

In this paper the GT methodology was used as the qualitative approach to research the tour guides' as a of tourism data. GT is a methodology that moves beyond description to discover/develop theory that is grounded in data systematically gathered and analyzed. A key idea is that this theory-development does not come "off the shelf" but rather is generated or "grounded" in data from participants who have experienced the process (Strauss & Corbin, 1998).

Methods and Sampling

The data collection process in this research was accomplished through three phases. The first phase was in the pilot study. The data were collected to explore and bring out themes that may be used as main areas to be further explored. Consequently, purposive sampling was used in this stage. A focus group interview was conducted with 7 tour guides. Thereafter, the theoretical sampling technique was used. Two other tour guides and two tour operators were interviewed in an effort to discover more themes and to compare the different perspectives. The second phase was the start of the main field work. The data

collection was driven by the early analysis of data. The researcher started to collect the data relevant to the early categories that had begun to emerge through the pilot study. The collection and analysis of data were interrelated. In a GT study the researcher "jointly collects, codes and analyses his data and decides what data to collect next and where to find them, in order to develop his theory as it emerges" (Strauss & Corbin, 1967, p. 45). The sampling technique at this stage remained purposive. The researcher conducted the first interview based on the previously revealed themes then analyzed it. More interviews were carried out and analyzed. The data analysis of this stage involved a comparison between data and data, between data and concepts, and between concepts and categories. This technique is called systematic constant comparison. The purpose of this comparison is to sensitize the researcher to the dimensions and properties in the data (Strauss & Corbin, 1998, p. 95). The sampling process thereafter was theoretical sampling. It was driven by the emergent concepts and the need to clarify the data, and to compare and verify the research categories. Therefore, the rest of the interviews in this stage were conducted either to confirm previously emerging categories, or to fill gaps and to gather the necessary data. At the end of this stage, three categories were identified. In this paper only the sub-category relating to the value of tour guides as tourism data providers is discussed. In the third phase, the data collection was more focused. Follow-up semi-structured personal and telephone interviews were used to ask special focused questions. The researcher in the final stage continually sought to determine whether the research schedule had reached that point where conducting more interviews and performing more analysis was only generating the same concepts and categories that had already been revealed. The aim of this stage was to reach saturation point where no new data was emerging in any further interviews. This point was the beginning of abstracting the substantive theory from the findings. Moreover, three interviews were conducted to employ the member checking technique.

Findings and Discussion

This section presents the findings which emerged from this study regarding tour guides as providers of tourism performance data. The findings demonstrated how tour guides perceived the performance of tourism in Jordan in terms of development, needs, challenges, and opportunities, in addition to the performance of tourism stakeholders in Jordan. The tour guides are theorised as observers of the national tourism performance using three concepts, namely; "tourism trend trackers", "product performance analysts", and "critical evaluators of stakeholders".

Tourism Trend Trackers

Tourism trends can be defined as the traceable changes of a destination in terms of the demand-supply interaction. Through their remarks, the participants traced tourism trends in Jordan from its past to its current status, usually supplementing it with a vision of the future.

Tourism in Jordan was perceived by tour guides as growing on both demand and supply sides. This means a development in tourism infrastructure and services and an increase in tourist numbers and tourism revenues. The main indicators that they depended on to judge this growth were: the development in tourism services and the diversity in tourist source markets for Jordan. The testimonies of tour guides were made from their own observations or derived from the accounts of their guide colleagues. Guide (4), who has been working as a tour guide for 22 years and is an administrative member of the Jordan Tour Guide Association (JTGA), described the past status and the development of tourism in Jordan as follows:

> ***...tourist numbers were less than today, now the numbers are increasing. There are various nationalities of tourists...***

To describe the development in tourism infrastructure and services, the same informant added:

> ***...when I started to work in 1987 the number of tour guides was countable, the total number was 300 guides but now the number is increased to reach around 700 in 2008... [there] was one bus company ... The hotels, I remember that in Petra in the 1980s there were two... now Petra is full of hotels...***

Tour guides' remarks on tourism development in Jordan were compared with the opinions of stakeholders from the public and the private sector, and with the literature on Jordanian tourism. Three different sources – the testimony of a tour operator, the statistics of the Ministry of Tourism and Antiquities (MOTA), and the literature on Jordanian tourism (Royal Scientific Society, 1996; El-Roudan et al., 2000; Al-Raimony & El-Nader, 2004; Reid & Schwab, 2006) – all supported the view of tour guides that tourism is developing and growing in Jordan. According to MOTA, the tourism sector has experienced progressive growth in terms of tourist numbers, tourism revenue, and availability of infrastructure and services. Within the previous period of tourism in Jordan, tour guides identified some key years that negatively and positively affected the tourism sector in Jordan, recognising the years 1994 and 1995 as significant. The importance of these years was attributed to the "peace process" between Jordan and Israel in 1994, which had a positive effect on the political stability in the region and in turn on the economic sectors including the tourism sector. The years 1994 and 1995 were considered as noticeable in terms of the increase in tourism demand. Tour guides' workload and their own incomes were key indicators they relied on to distinguish these years. All the guides were satisfied about their earnings and still remember how their savings differed to other years. Guide (2), who was one of the first few female tour guides in Jordan, said:

> ***...in 1994, 1995, after the peace process, we had incredible earnings... an increase in tourist numbers especially the Americans and the Israelis...***

According to MOTA, the peace treaty led to a growth not only in the number of Israeli tourists but also in overall tourist arrivals (Gray, 2002; MOTA, 2008).
However, tour guides referred to some other years that influenced the tourism sector in Jordan negatively. For instance, after 9/11, the tour guides were dramatically affected by this international event as the number of foreign tourists dropped severely between the years 2000 and 2002 (MOTA, 2000; Reid & Schwab, 2006), and that in turn affected the number of their working days and their income. This issue forced some of the tour guides in Jordan not to renew their licences or even to search for another job instead of tour guiding. Guide (3) said:

> ***...we stayed three years without working after 11 September, not only me but all the guides. They didn't put one penny in their pockets... there are a lot of guys who took loans, sold their cars or left the job...***

According to the statistics of MOTA, the relative change in the number of tour guides in the years 2001/2002 fell by 16 percent (MOTA, 2002).

Product Performance Analysts
The tour guides in this research offered an extensive analysis of the tourism product of Jordan. Their analysis demonstrated the key elements that characterize Jordanian tourism. A number of factors that support the attractiveness of tourism in Jordan were recognized by

the tour guides. However, weaknesses points of Jordanian tourism were also highlighted by tour guides. The most vital strength points are: the various iconic natural and cultural assets in Jordan; the relative safety and stability of the country; and the hospitality of Jordanian people. For instant the responses of tour guides asserted the safety and security in Jordan that are fundamental to tourism, and without a peaceful environment tourism cannot develop and flourish. Tour guides considered safety as a strong point and even a "pull" factor for tourists to come to Jordan. Guide (5), who is an administrative member in the JTGA, commented on the safety and security in Jordan as follows:

> ***...the most important pillar in the tourism industry is the political stability... it is the backbone of the tourism work... even if there are many attractions in the country, without stability no one would come to it...***

According to the major weaknesses of the performance of Jordan tourism, the most crucial points are the lack of services, and the unbalanced distribution of tourism volume between the tourism attractions in Jordan. For instance the responses of tour guides on the lack of services revealed that some attractions are in need of services and other, particularly busy sites, required upgraded services to meet the increasing demand. In pinpointing the lack of services, Guide (6) noted:

> ***... The services are below average, they have declined... because of the increase in tourist numbers, and there is no monitoring of services, there are insufficient services...***

In addition to what is mentioned by tour guides on tourism necessities in general, they made a point on the need for other services that are related to the customer profile. For example, there is no consideration for the older aged tourists who, according to tour guides, constitute the majority of tourists who come to Jordan in terms of age groups.

Guide (7) commented on services and visitors' needs saying:

> ***... In Jerash the distance from the visitor centre to the gate is too long and some tourists suffer from this especially that they have to walk the same distance when entering and leaving the site...***

The perceptions of the tour guides on the weaknesses and strengths points of the performance of Jordan tourism revealed some potential tourism development opportunities. For instance, to overcome the over-dependence on core attractions, the tour guides suggested some new ideas, the most important of which were to diversify the tourism programs and to meet the needs of the Arab market. Guide (1) reviewed the currently promoted programs and noted the absence of many viable tourism sites in Jordan:

> ***...the tourist itinerary as an average is seven days, which covers the top sites in Jordan, but there are other important sites as Erhab church, which is the oldest church in the world...***

The tour guides proposed the adoption of new schedules for tourism itineraries by adding the less-promoted sites to the tourism program which would result in: distributing the flow of tourists to all the attractions of Jordan from the north to the south; affecting positively the overall tourism demand; and lengthening the tourists' stay in Jordan. The tour guides' view on rescheduling the currently promoted programs reflects their awareness of

sustainable tourism. Based on their practical work in the field, the tour guides promoted sustainable tourism principles through their suggestions for minimizing the disparities in tourism volume, and thus spread the economic benefits of tourism among the three parts of Jordan that in turn ensure the achievement of the economic and cultural sustainability.

Other activities were also proposed by the tour guides to develop and enhance the tourism performance of Jordan. They suggested building more museums, and organising cultural festivals that would familiarise the visitors with the culture of the country and give local communities the opportunity to involve themselves in the tourism process and benefit from it. Guide (8) spoke of the need:

> ***...After visiting the sites, the tourist has nothing to do in the evening... The tourist is not here to sleep... Most of the tourists ask me where I can go to listen to national music....***

Critical Evaluators of Stakeholders

The data elicited from this research revealed the perceptions of tour guides towards tourism stakeholders. They reflected criticism of the organisations responsible for the tourism sector in Jordan including the public sector, represented by MOTA and the Jordan Tourism Board (JTB), and the private sector, represented by the inbound tour operators in Jordan. The nature of tour guiding as a freelance career allowed the tour guides to talk freely and neutrally. The participants work with different agencies, and for that reason, they were not constrained to adhere to any agency line, as is the case with employees in the public and private sectors who are restricted by the policies of their organizations. The tour guides evaluated the tourism bodies and regarded them as remote from the actual situation and the needs of Jordanian tourism.

Guide (17) briefly described his view of the performance of public tourism bodies as:

> ***... Unfortunately, the work of the decision makers is not in the field, it is an office-based work...***

The tour guides identified a number of major problems and challenges they believe the tourism public and private bodies in Jordan face. These include: lack of promotional activities; lack of qualified tourism staff; ineffective monitoring and management issues; tour operators' domination; and the insufficiency of cooperation between the tourism stakeholders in Jordan. For instance in responding on the lack of promotional activities, all of the participants acknowledged the inadequacy of these activities for the Jordan tourism product. They asserted the need for activating and intensifying the promotional responsibilities from the people who are in charge. Guide (19) noted the weaknesses of the advertisements designed to promote Jordan:

> ***... the promotion is weak and the evidence is that many tourists come to Jordan and have in their minds that Jordan is a desert, tents and camels... despite that 90 percent of the population live in the north and not in the desert and they are not Bedouins ...***

Discussion

The findings introduced in this study offered an exploration of the value of tour guides as data providers on the performance of a tourism destination. The findings confirm that none of the studies on tour guides actually related to the role of tour guides as informants on the destination performance. Thus, this study makes visible the value of tour guides as

informative sources on tourism performance of a destination. The study has provided an overview of the operational knowledge of tour guides on the performance of Jordan as a tourism destination. The respondents provided responses that suggested that they were able, through their work, to assess tourism trends and to identify key characteristics of the tourism sector in Jordan. The responses demonstrated critical awareness among the guides of the strengths and weaknesses within the Jordanian tourism system, in relation to both the public and private sectors' contributions, and highlighted a number of areas that might be improved. Tour guides' perceptions derived from these responses conformed to a large extent to performance indicators obtained from other sources. Moreover, the tour guides' testimonies shed light on the chief potential opportunities to develop the tourism sector in Jordan. It is thus possible, from comparatively aligning the tour guides' responses with the other key sources of tourism data, to attribute a hypothesised credibility to their common conclusions that is based, in effect, on a triangulated consensus. The implications of this are considerable, since they suggest that the observations and perceptions cumulatively acquired by tour guides in their day-to-day contact with tourists may offer significant insight into national tourism performance that could be a significant source of data for national tourism planners. Precisely because of their location at the "sharp end" of tourism as the sole agents who mediate tourism itineraries "on the ground" to visitors, they appear to be in a position to provide "ground level" insights on current and evolving issues in the delivery of the tourism experience that may be less apparent or available to managers more remote from the operational levels of tourism. From an academic perspective the tour guides are theorized in this study as key informants on the destination performance. The key informant is defined as "an expert source of information [about a topic of interest]" (Marshall, 1996, p. 92). In view of these definitions, the tour guides can be presumed to have current, "expert" knowledge about tourism issues (Collins, 2000).

What does all this suggest?

It is thus possible that organizations concerned with tourism matters in the public and private sectors may refer to the tour guides to give feedback on both the demand and the supply sides. One possibility is that of distributing questionnaires to be completed by the tour guides after every trip they conduct. The questionnaire may contain questions on the important variables such as the demographic profile of tourists, the itinerary itself; problems that encountered the guide during the trip, among others. Another possibility to make use of the practical experience of the tour guides is to analyze their itineraries. This strategy may generate information on: the distribution of tourism volume by identifying the places more or less visited, and the length of stay in each part of the destination, therefore, it would help precise identification of the core and peripheral areas within a destination. Additionally, the tour guides' views may help in assessing the quality of the food and beverage services because they regularly go to the tourism restaurants so they have the opportunity to closely assess food services - an opportunity that may not be available for the people responsible for monitoring the delivery of tourism services in the destination. In addition to their opinions, the tour guides can relay the perceptions of their clients on such services and therefore disclose tourists' dissatisfaction or satisfaction to relevant parties. Furthermore, the use of tour guides has very minimal cost implications, compared to some of the more formal marketing research initiatives used by tourism boards and organisations. To conclude, tour guides' remarks could be added to the other tourism data collection methods such as visitor surveys; returns from accommodation institutions; analyses by central banks; government arrivals and departures statistics. The inputs of the tour guides may be regarded as more practical than other sources which deploy evaluations of tourism performance on an intermittent or annual basis, and there is always a gap between the collection, analysis and publication of outcomes. As a result they have been of little use for the ongoing understanding of tourism performance.

Conclusion

This study study contributes to the body of tourism and travel literature and specifically to the tour guiding literature as there is no previous knowledge on the utility of tour guides as tourism performance observers. The research provides new insights and understandings into tour guides, an occupational group who is central to the tourism industry, but has been largely neglected by academics, and it is argued, undervalued by the industry itself. Particularly, the findings answered the question centred on: how the tour guides experience the performance of a tourism destination.

Providing the detailed perceptions of tour guides concerning tourism performance makes it possible to abstract the minutiae of detail they represent into general propositions on the potential value of tour guides as a source of data on the tourism performance at a destination as follows: (1) Tour guides' perceptions may be regarded as an informative source that may be utilized by tourism agencies in a given destination, (2) Tour guides' perceptions are characterized by practical rather than theoretical knowledge.

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The impact of the experience management perspective on tour providers

Anita Zatori
Corvinus University of Budapest
anita.zatori@uni-corvinus.hu

Abstract
The purpose of this paper is to investigate the strategies and management tools of tour providers, especially to examine the application of experience management in the context of tourism. It argues whether tour providers aim to enhance tourists' experience, while also investigating the different aspects of experience management they apply; and which of their methods and strategies can be characterized by an experience-centric perspective, particularly by the co-creation and the staged experience approach. The study has been realized through complex research methods of qualitative and quantitative techniques. The paper presents findings from data conducted by interviews with tour provider companies. Different types of tour providers and tours are involved in the sample – (A) standard sightseeing tours, (B) alternative sightseeing tours, (C) hop-on hop-off type of tours, and (D) incentive tours.

Keywords
tourist experience, tour provider, tour guide, experience management concept, co-creation, staged experience

Introduction

As people of today's society travel more frequently, they desire more intense and better tourist experiences, or even an endless flow of experiences. Tour providers and other tour companies are continuously innovating and developing alternative, new forms of products to meet the evolving needs of both the market and their consumers. Modern digital and web-based technologies allow companies to abandon the usage of tour guides, which, on the other hand, facilitates customization and co-creation. Customer trends – such as the demand for authenticity and deeper experiences – have also influenced product development and strategies of tour companies. New tour types have emerged, and the variety has become more colourful. Consequently, the latter fact raises a question whether it is the management perspective and the product design of the tour company, or the style and quality of the tour guiding which have a more influential impact on the tourist experience.

The paper aims to define how experience management concepts can be implemented into the context of tour organizers and tour providers. Moreover, it examines the extent to which tour provider companies take consumer experience into consideration when creating tours and program offers. How much emphasis is put on the experience factor of the whole service chain? Do they aim to plant the seeds of a co-created consumer experience? The customer experience management strategy and methodology are analysed by applying the marketing and management concepts of the co-created experience and the concept of the staged experience. Other items of tourism experience management literature have also been considered, while the implementation of the aforementioned theoretical aspects was put into practice by examining tour providers. After the conceptualization and characterization of the theoretical framework, primary qualitative data are analysed in groups of four

different tour types: (A) standard sightseeing tours, (B) alternative sightseeing tours, (C) hop-on hop-off type of tours, (D) incentive tours. The primary data were collected through 13 interviews with tour providers based in Budapest, Hungary.

Theoretical framework

Tourism is a pioneering example of the experience economy (Pine & Gilmore, 1999). Even before the introduction of the experience economy concept, the tourist experience has been investigated (MacCanell, 1976; Cohen, 1979). Perhaps the cause of experience management has not been well served by its application by a range of management writers and consultants each offering their own recipes for business transformation (e.g. Schmitt, 1999, 2003; Shaw & Ivens, 2005). In contrast, very few academic authors researched the managerial aspect of the consumer experience paradigm, as opposed to its behavioural, sociological and psychological aspects (Morgan, 2010). This was initially true in tourism. King (2002, p. 107) criticized destination marketing organizations for being too focused on promoting the physical attributes of the destination, despite travel being *"increasingly more about experiences, fulfilment and rejuvenation than about places and things"*. Williams (2006) called for a change of emphasis which was less on destinations and more on the consumers themselves. Tourism and hospitality, he wrote, have failed to take up the fundamental challenge of the orientation of marketing that the experience concept offers. Experiences are argued to be subjective, intangible, continuous and highly personal phenomena (O'Dell, 2007). According to Oh et al. (2007) experiences from a consumer perspective are enjoyable, engaging and memorable encounters for those consuming these events. In McIntosh and Siggs' view (2005), tourism experience is unique, emotionally charged, and of high personal value. Based on Uriely (2005), tourist experience is currently depicted as an obscure and diverse phenomenon, which is mostly constituted by the individual consumer. Pine and Gilmore (1999) argue that only by creating unique and memorable experiences for its consumers can any service organization achieve a lasting competitive advantage.

Staged experience concept. Engaging experiences are the central value propositions in an experience-based economy (Pine & Gilmore, 1999). Experiences need to be carefully designed, produced, organized, foreseen, calculated and priced in order to provide new strategic opportunities for destinations and tourism providers (Stamboulis & Skayannis, 2003). This requires a good understanding of what consumers desire or associate with extraordinary and meaningful experiences, and what the role of marketers is in creating such experiences. The aims of the business are expressed as a drama, in harmony with what the organization does. This drama is the interaction between the company and its customers that creates the experience. Pine and Gilmore (1999) say that, as in drama, the result of the interaction is personal development, so that the service experiences that create the highest value are those that offer some kind of personal transformation (e.g. education). Some authors have criticized the Disney-led concept as being superficial and product-centric rather than customer-centric. According to Nijs (2003, as cited in Morgan et al., 2009)), it is too concerned with sensation and too deeply-rooted in US masculine culture. She argues that in more feminine European cultures, the experience needs to be grounded in the social and environmental values of the company in order to create added emotional value for the customer. Prahalad and Ramaswamy (2004, p. 89, as cited in Morgan et al., 2009) write about the need for strategic thinking to go beyond *„experiential marketing 'a la Disney' . . . which is still company-centric and treats the customer as 'human props in a carefully- staged performance'"*. Morgan (2010) sees this certain criticism as unfair to Pine and Gilmore, who in fact stress that experiences are events that engage individuals in a personal way and the most valued forms of experience do not just entertain, but offer the prospect of some kind of personal transformation.

Prebensen & Foss (2011) also employ the metaphor of drama to describe tourist experiences. The drama concept was adopted in a variety of consumption-related contexts, including consumer experience (Holbrook & Hirshman, 1982) and services (Grove & Fisk, 1989). Morgan et al. (2009) discuss the interaction between the servicescape provided by the management and the 'superobjectives' of the customers. According to them, the tourist often becomes the — or one of the — actor(s) on stage in the show and the manager's role is to provide the space in which the experience is co-created. The tour company can provide the tourist with a scene, with other actors, but it is the customer's mood and state of mind, her reactions to — and interaction with — people and events that make an experience (Csikszentmihalyi, 1990; Pine & Gilmore, 1999; Anderson, 2007; Morgan et al., 2009). It is the individual ability and need to participate and relate (co-create) in these circumstances that influence feelings.

Morgan et al. (2009), based on a literature review, identified a number of key recommendations for management which these authors derive from the 'work is theatre' metaphor:

- The importance of the setting, the design and ambience of the service environment or servicescape;
- The importance of staff / customer interaction;
- The need for the staff to put something of their personality into their roles;
- An emphasis on charting and scripting each stage of the service encounter, often using metaphors from drama and storytelling; and
- A view of service delivery as an integrated production in the cinematic (continuity management) rather than the factory sense of the word (i.e. a concern that each time the customer encounters the brand they should get the same high-quality experience).

Table 1 summarizes and presents the theoretical foundations of the staged experience in the form of a conceptual framework.

Table 1 Conceptual framework of staged experience

- Staged experience is the source of added value.
- Drama should be the focal metaphor of business. Company is viewed as a „theatre", workers are „actors", customers are an „audience" or „guests", physical environment is a „stage", and „show" is performed by experience (service) providers.
- Finding the value of an experience for a customer is significant, and it also forms an essential element of a competitive brand.
- Drama marks the interaction between a company and the customer. The engagement of the customer and the importance of the experience depend on the level and quality of interaction. Consequently, deeper level of customer involvement is the company's priority.
- Optimal experience environment and its props enable higher level of interaction and deeper involvement into the experience.
- Sustainable competitiveness can only be reached by creating unique and memorable experiences. The most valuable form of experience does not only entertain, but insures the possibility of personal development.
- The company standardizes the creation of experience, so heterogeneity of the service is reduced.
- Frontline workers should build their personality traits into their roles.
- Scripts should be written in case of each interaction situation, and for all stages.
- Metaphors of drama and storytelling should be applied.

More recently, Prahalad and Ramaswamy (2004) have called for a strategic approach based on shared values, allowing customers to co-create their own experiences in search for personal growth. The emphasis thus shifted in recent debates from the narrow conceptions

of staging or production to the broader notions of experience creation, involving a wider range of agencies and processes (Sundbo, 2009).

The co-creation experience concept. Gentile et al. (2007) posit that the best experiences are often co-created. For Graefe and Vaske (1987), the key characteristics of tourist experience are emotional involvement of the tourist, significant interaction between tourists and the tourism system, and active participation in the experience.

Today we see that consumers want context-related, authentic experience concepts and seek a balance between control by the experience stager and self-determined activity with its spontaneity, freedom and self-expression (Binhorst & Dekker, 2009). The customer wants to be viewed as an active participant rather than a passive consumer. Morgan et al. (2009) cite Suvantola (2002), who said that tourists do not simply encounter the physical space of a destination, but construct their own experiential space from it according to their motivations and interpretations. Consumers gain increased satisfaction through continued improvement of their capabilities, skills, and knowledge required for the activity. Within this context, the concept of creativity is used by several authors to explain why consumption is increasingly driven by the need for self-development (Florida, 2002; Richards & Wilson, 2006).
Binhorst & Dekker (2009, p. 312) argue that the solution for creativity, innovation and involvement can be found in the concept of co-creation, "co-creation will increase value for human beings in the experience economy". As Gibbs and Ritchie (2010) say, customers may require differing experiences and differing levels of staff support and interaction across a range of situations. Experience management needs to move from a focus on staging performances to one on creating the space in which customers can stage, or co-create, their own experience (Lugosi, 2007; Morgan et al., 2009; Prahalad & Ramaswamy, 2004).
Table 2 summarizes and presents the theoretical foundations of experience co-creation perspective in form of a conceptual framework.

Despite the advance in research on the importance of the consumer role in adding value to the final consumer experience (e.g. Payne et al., 2008), few have explored how the consumer actually adds value to the final experience of the product or the service. Prebensen & Foss's (2011) research addresses the question of how a tourist deals with, becomes involved in, and performs in various vacation situations. Tourist consumption of experiences is perceived by them as the way the tourist copes and co-creates in various situations and with various people. Their results show that interaction, participation and involvement in various activities all create more positive customer feelings in various settings and situations (host–guest, guest–guest and guest–family), and thus enhance the value for the participants. Binkhorst and Den Dekker (2009) report that today's tourists want context-related, authentic experiences, and seek a balance between control by the experience stager and self-determined activity with its spontaneity, freedom and self-expression as well as self-development.
Flourishing discussions have been taking place about which of the two concepts is more relevant in the light of the recent tourism consumer mindset, however, by comparing and finding the similar and differing aspects, an elevated conceptual framework can be schemed, which leads to a definition of experience-centric management perspective and its aspects (Table 3).

Table 2 Conceptual framework of co-creation experience concept

- The individual and his/her experience co-creation are in the centre of the value creation process. The consumer and the company co-create the value, so experience co-creation is the basis of value.
- Consumer co-creates the experience with the organization and other consumers, while she is an active participant in value searching, producing and abstraction.
- Consumers do not stand alone, they form a consumer community.
- Involvement of consumer into experience co-creation and unique value creation is at the organization's best interest.
- To enhance experience co-creation with the consumer, organizations should cooperate and form a network.
- Interaction between the consumers and the organization is the locus of value co-creation.
- Creating an experience environment in which consumers can have active dialogues and co-construct personalized experiences; product may be the same but customers can construct different experiences. The organization should allow an experience variety for the consumer.
- The organization should effectively innovate its experience environment to allow variety of experience creation.
- The context and the level of consumer involvement contribute to personal meaning formulation and the perceived uniqueness of experience co-creation.
- The essential building blocks of experience co-creation are dialogue, access, transparency and risk-benefits.
- Products and services are parts of experience environment, where individual consumers participate in experience co-creation.
- Products and services are only intermediaries of (co-created) experiences.

Table 3 Conceptual framework of experience-centric management perspective

- It is a management of experiences, and not products.
- Treats experience as content, formable and developable, and not only as a part of a product, nor simply as a context.
- Believes that on the consumer side, travelling is increasingly about experiences, fulfilment and rejuvenation.
- Enhancing active participation and involvement of the consumer.
- Assigns a high importance to interaction with the consumer.
- It results in a knowledge-intensive process, which is not possible if the organization's main focus is on service provision.
- Consumers' anticipated experiences and points of interest are investigated.
- These anticipated experiences and points of interest are utilized in product, method and experience environment development.
- New experience themes are in the centre of innovation.
- Its strategy builds on intangible resources and utilization of goodwill, rather than on material resources.
- Experience-centric perspective demonstrates itself through investments and marketing activity, too.
- Believes that the creation of myths and stories ensures a steady foundation for successful experiences. Narrative should overcome facts and script.
- On destination level, encourages active participation of local community in creating tourism experience.

Methodology

The aim of the research was to explore the extent to which tour providers are influenced by the concepts outlined in the literature review in their understanding of their visitors, their strategic thinking and its implementation. Interviews were conducted with representatives of different types of tour providers. The interviews were semi-structured (Bryman, 1995)

and an interview guide was used to control the data collection. The interview guide specified relevant themes and questions. The interviews are a part of a more complex study, also containing observations and questionnaires. The interviews were realized between June 2012 and August 2012. The companies were selected randomly, through lottery, but first, four categories were defined, and tour providers were listed under each category:

A. **Standard tour providers:** NET Travel Service, Liberty, Pannon Tourist Service (PTS), CRB Cityrama, Tivoli IE
B. **Alternative tour providers:** Imagine Budapest, Unique Hungary, Beyond Budapest
C. **Hop-on Hop-off tour providers:** Eurama, Program Centrum
D. **Incentive tour providers:** IMS Incoming,Program DeLuxe, Weco Travel.

The companies in each category were chosen based on their main profile; however, some of them organize a larger variety of tour types: Unique Hungary offers alternative and incentive tours, Tivoli IE and PTS organize standard and incentive tours. Further on, the names of the firms might be used in a shortened form.

The number of standard tour providers is overwhelming in Budapest. The service providers in this category differ from each other, so they could be diveded into further groups – from DMCs (Destination Management Companies) to small-scale providers, who specialize solely in city tours. What is common in these types of tour providers is that they offer classic city sightseeings with an emphasis on the main "must-see" tourist attractions. Several means of tranport are employed during sightseeing, but buses are usually preferred. Typically, a tour guide is leading the group, providing information related to the given sights.

The alternative tour defined in this research project differs from a standard tour in its scale, theme, program elements, size, means of transport, and the technology and tools in use. It is small-scale (the number of participants tends to be less than 20); in most cases, it is a walking tour centered on a certain theme (e.g. hidden gardens of the city), and various tools are used during the tour – e.g. iPad, pictures, and games. The majority of the participants are locals, not foreign tourists, but some of these tours are also organized for an international audience. These type of tours, which enable locals to experience the city as tourists, is a rather new phenomena, having been present on Budapest's tour market only for the past 5 years.

Hop-on-Hop-off tours are available in Budapest since 2005. Altering market trends gave life to this genre of flexible and multi-functional tour type, satisfying the needs of efficiency-centric, short-on-time individuals. It offers 24, 48 or 72 hour tickets, and the buses with fixed schedules and stops can be used for sightseeing or simply for transportation between two points of the city. Most of the companies and their buses offer audioguiding for the tourists. Some of the tickets include hop-on hop-off services usable on boats, a lunch and a drink in a restaurant, and discount coupons usable at various shops.

Incentive tours are provided for organized groups, where sightseeing is, more often than not, only (and not even necessarily) a part of the program; which contains activites resembling team-building methods having the characteristics of, for istance, a sport or a game. Typically, it is the most interactive of all tour types.
The main focus of the interviews was to explore:

- To what extent are experience management concepts were implemented into the strategies and operations of tour providers?
- How tour providers take consumer experience into consideration when creating tours and program offers, and do they try to enhance the experience?

The collected data were analysed through the marketing and management concepts of the experience perspective, and more specifically through the experience co-creation concept and the concept of the staged experience.
The interviews were taped and transcribed, and the preferred language was Hungarian. The content of the interviews were analysed thematically, using the conceptual framework previously outlined (Table 1). The study is of an exploratory nature, as little previous research exists on the topic.

Findings

The findings will be presented along the four investigated tour types. First, findings of standard tour providers will be described and analysed; second, alternative tour providers; third, Hop-on Hop-off tour providers; fourth, incentive tour providers.

Standard tour providers, depending on their function and position in the value chain, show diversity in their business perspectives.
DMCs main focus is on their business partner, who they depend on:

> ***"We are putting effort into satisfying the needs of the client as much as possible." (Liberty),***

> ***"The client's [business partner's] satisfaction is more important from a business point of view, while customer satisfaction only provides professional satisfaction for us." (PTS)***

About product development they said that *"We offer ideas to the headquarters, but they decide..." (NET Travel)*. They all agreed that there is no escape from stereotypical products *"Puszta, paprika... because clients demand them." (Liberty)*. Also, *"The price competition is so strong that there is no demand for special things." (PTS)*.

They do not think memorable and unique experiences are the key to a sustainable competitive advantage, according to PTS *"what keeps the business partner is a quality standard program"*.

They customize their tours, and, based on nationality and culture, they offer slightly different programs.

According to NET Travel: *"[t]he experience is what a customer wants to enjoy... we are not the ones to provide it, the tourist has to find it"*. They also argue, that *"[f]actory is the right metaphor for our company... we cannot get involved in the methodology [guiding]"*.

To conclude the gist of the previous paragraphs, big-scale standard tour providers, who also operate as DMCs, do not put a significant emphasis on the experience management perspective. The 'factory perspective' might be one of the reasons, but the trust they put in the tour guides should be highlighted, even if there is a lack of quality control most of the time, and the desire for guest feedback is absent.

Firms belonging to the **'small-scale DMCs and only tour provider' subcategory** focus on consumers to a bigger extent:

> ***"Close communication with the client is critical, to get to know the group of customers and their needs." (Tivoli)***

"We try to convince the partner which program is better for the group." (Tivoli)

"Our aim is to provide a unique and memorable experience to the tourists." (Cityrama)

One of them admitted that regarding product development they were inspired by an alternative tour provider *"We were inspired partly by Beyond Budapest… so we involved local people in the tour… who, as participants and survivors, talk about the 1956 revolution"(Tivoli).*

They also let the tourist get off the bus and do unusual things: *"At the end of a three-hour-long city tour, we take them to Central Kavehaz (Central Café) and inform locals who would like to practice Italian language to come and join us" (Tivoli).*

"Our aim is to innovate and improve… to make the tour more experiential" (Tivoli). Cityrama provides – beside the standard tours – tours which offer a unique, authentic experience – e.g. a tour by Trabant (a typical car during the Communist era in Hungary), Dictatour, Dinner behind the Iron curtain or a Photography tour: *"We like to innovate… we think about the consumer experience when we do it" (Cityrama).* They are present on the main relevant online sites such as Trip Advisor, so they pay great significance to guest feedbacks. *„A notable experience for the guest is important for us" (Cityrama).* At the same time, Tivoli argues, that *"even the offer has to be experiential"*, and for them, word of mouth is also important: *"they used to recommend us"*.

These companies provide standard tours; however, they do it in a creative way while emphasizing the guest experience; they offer innovative products, which enable active participation and involvement of the customer. One of them encourages the active participation of locals. Regardless, they believe that a lot depends on the tour guide's performance; they do not put much effort into quality control or training. They use pre-written scripts on some tours, but to a certain extent, tour guides are given a free hand to customize them, and on other tours, tour guides can alter the route or the schedule. They agree that tour guides should build their personality traits into their roles. Providing memorable and unique experiences are in the centre of the business strategy, even if the realization might be halted by the lack of quality control. Experiential offerings and innovative products are a part of experience management. They offer a wide-scale palette of tours from which the customer can choose, but the questions remain: to what extent do they get involved, and if they do, is the involvement active or passive?

Alternative tour providers unanimously put the consumer to the centre of their business activity:

"We want to know our customers' opinion" (Imagine),

"The most important thing is to listen to guests" (Unique)

They have many regular customers, "[*w*]*e call our loyal customers friends" (Imagine).* They involve the local community during the tour, every time when it is possible, sometimes as a part of the program, sometimes spontaneously. *"Our aim is not giving a history lecture, but rather providing an insight to Hungarian mentality and culture… people meet uncle Pista and aunt Mary during the tour" (Unique*). All of them declared that they are open for spontaneous events, and allow small changes during the tour – therefore they are open to co-creation.

The product innovation is realized mainly through brainstorming and customers' suggestions.

"Important aspect…is to visit places guests couldn't get to without us" (Unique).

They believe that *"[t]he most valuable form of the experience we might provide is when the customer's point of view is altered… we want to raise a responsible resident… we want to show how beautiful their city is" (Unique)*. While another company, Beyond Budapest, aims to make the participants of their tours socially more sensitive by giving an insight into others' culture, history and everyday life: *„[w]e encourage visitors [mostly locals] to experience Hungarian reality and the city in a different way and to be positively surprised."*

They believe in co-creation, but emphasize the company's role in it: *"[w]ithout the customer, there is no experience… but we should create and manage the experience" (Unique)*. Imagine Budapest argues that the sort of tour they offer is a special type of experience: *"[w]e turn locals into tourists. It is a huge experience to get to know the sights from a different perspective."* They all agree that the participants on their tours are actively involved. At the same time authentic sources (old pictures and articles, witnesses, guides with specific knowledge) are included in the program. Guests are encouraged to interact through games, tasks and questions, so co-creation occurs during the tour. Moreover, guests might even add to the program *"if they share their personal stories, which we include in the guiding" (Unique)*. On certain tours, Imagine Budapest includes actors: *"[o]n Crime and Literature Walks we have actors in costumes appearing 4 times for 3-5 minutes during the tour"*. They all agree that narrative is very important *"[p]eople love to hear stories, legends…" (Unique)*, and they heavily rely on it during their tours. The founders themselves and most of the guides they work with are not guides by profession, but professionals of a certain field (e.g. arts, architecture, social workers). One of the tour providers, Unique Hungary, gives a 50-hour-long training for new guides. The other two do not train, they work with guides who can create and lead the tour authentically with enough knowledge and experience about a certain area or theme. In this case, the tour is tightly connected to the person that is the guide.

The experience is in the focus of the business; they treat the experience as content. They assign a high importance to consumer interaction. New experience themes are in the centre of innovation, guests are asked to provide feedback and ideas. They are actively building their social media profile and their customer community. It can be argued that alternative tour providers are clearly experience-centric in their business strategy and operations, while applying the methods and tools of experience co-creation and staged experience perspective.

In the view of Hop-on Hop-off tour providers', they already offer the best sightseeing product *"sightseeing in the most efficient and cheapest way" (Program Centrum)* which is suitable for anyone and enables a higher level of customization and freedom. The business focus is clearly on the product. This type of tour is a guaranteed program with a fixed price, and lacks a specific target group.

Eurama – Giraffe Hop-on Hop-off agrees that experiences have an increasing dominance in society and particularly in tourism, but still declares that *„we cannot change [the concept], we introduce the major city sights"*. They regard the experience concept only as a product element, and not as putting the customer experience in the locus of business thinking. Product innovation concentrates on the assortment of languages, on

technology improvement (Wifi, GPS, interactive pen, mobile application etc.), and on the optimalization of the product package elements (food, beer, discounts etc.). They apply questionnaires time to time which ask suggestions for the language assortment. The quality of the guiding performance is standardized by audioguiding in more than 20 languages, which can be perceived as an advantage, and, at the same time, it makes the tour the least possibly interactive. Eurama states that their customers prefer the audioguide because: *„[y]ou cannot expect a guide to give the same performance all the time... and on each bus there would be a different guide, what would result in a different quality, style, and content"*. To maintain consistency, this type of tour is considered to be better with an audioguide. However, Program Centrum, the other tour provider from the sample, also offers this tour with live guiding, and argues that it has the potential to create a better experience on account of the human factor. Program Centrum entered the Hop-on Hop-off market when they realized that the demand for quality, standard tours has started to decline. They promote themselves e.g. on Expedia or Trafalgar, so customer feedback is significant for them, even if the majority of tickets are sold on the streets by mobile agents. They provide constant employee training, which is mostly about sales techniques. The text of the audioguiding is the same in all languages, with little respect to intercultural differences. The guiding also includes music at certain sights.

This type of tour cannot be viewed as a staged experience, since it has an automatized nature – the contribution of the audioguide. It can be argued that the product is in the focus of their business strategy, however, they give the tourist freedom and enable her to (co-) create her own experience in the experience environment. They allow the tourist to actively participate in the sightseeing, but do they also enhance it? The question remains: to what extent do Hop-on Hop-off tour providers ensure and support experience co-creation of the consumer?

Most of the **incentive tours** are well-known as having an active, interactive and engaging character. However, incentive tour providers face a two-side impact. On one hand, they try to create a unique, highly involving and memorable program; on the other hand, there is an intensive competition that affects the price creation: *"Each penny might be crucial" (Weco Travel)*. According to them, *"the program should be created and offered according to the client's taste, but its success depends on who the consumer is"* – other companies from the sample also share this view. Copyright problems are a common issue in the case of this tour type, so *"the uniqueness can only be sustained by constant innovation" (Weco Travel)*. During program planning and its execution, consumers and their experience are accentuated, but in the current market situation, the emphasis is on business relationship marketing. PTS views incentive products as the most experiential because *"they involve services and products which add extra costs, so they will only be marketable as incentive products"*. Among incentive tour providers DeLuxe works with a special concept, and they specialize on comprehensive Budapest, including three elements in each tour: innovative technology, arts and gastronomy. PTS openly admits that *"alternative tour providers are cool"* and their ideas serve as an inspiration for their incentive programs.

The incentive tours have a highly-staged nature, because games, riddles and group tasks have to be carefully designed and introduced on the scene. For example, Unique Hungary's most popular incentive tour is Budapest Code, which is based on the infamous novel, the DaVinci Code. Sometimes program elements are offered in which participants interact with locals or local entrepreneurs. IMS puts a special emphasis on experiential packaging and branding, they used to create unique, creative brochures. Tivoli also highlighted the importance of experiential offerings (program, packaging, brand etc.). They all agree that interaction is ever-important, but they complain about the communication between

partners on this specific market *(DeLuxe, Weco Travel)*, which might be influenced by the highly competitive nature of this market. In IMS's perception *"experience equals the quality"*, and *"the tour should provide drama and theatre, ending with catharsis"*.

To conclude, incentive tour providers apply the experience management perspective, mainly the tools and principles of the staged experience concept. During their programs, they emphasize the high level of consumer involvement, and consequently co-creation between the participants and the tour provider can occur. New experience themes along with new product themes are in the centre of innovation, while the experience-centric perspective demonstrates itself in the marketing activity. The program acknowledges the customers' characteristics, which should be accompanied by an intensive knowledge process and information transfer between partner companies, but some shortcomings are present in this area. Incentive tour providers manage an experience for consumers, but a product towards for their business partners. This duality characterizes the recent market, where the intense price competition does not let the management concept to move fully towards the experience management perspective.

Discussion

As emerged from the examined data, the alternative tour providers' business concept is experience-centric. A number of standard and incentive tour providers have learned from their ideas and techniques, which approximates them to the experience management concept both in theory and practice.

The results show that elements of experience centric management tools are being applied by tour providers, which might coincide with the highly experiential nature of the provided service. The type of the tour and its group size influence how the tour provider approaches the management issues and how much the end-customer perspective is emphasized. Function and position in the value chain also influence the management perspective: tour providers who directly interact with customers tend to apply the experience perspective to a bigger extent. Tour providers, who offer their services for individual tourists, (previously) non-organized group of customers, focus more on customer experience than those who deal with organized group of tourists. Social media undoubtedly strengthen the importance of experience centric management, while online accessibility and its rising number of users serve as a soil for small-scale tour providers or freelancer tour guides. Many differentiate themselves by providing something new and different than other tours. No wonder alternative tour providers are characterized by the highest level of innovation on the market. Incentive tour providers can be considered as innovators as well, but here another driving force accounts for it, namely the intensive competition. Small group tours are more flexible in their schedule and show higher interactivity. Standard tour providers, especially those functioning also as DMCs, practically outsource the tour to a freelance tour guide, and give him a free hand to decide the details of the tour, which indicates that the tour guide has a major impact on the tourist experience.

The findings of the research demonstrate how experience centric management tools are applied in practice, more specifically in the context of the sightseeing tour market, which represents its main implication for tourist experience theory. The relevance of the research is supported by the results which prove that this relatively new management concept, although not yet widely-known in the business, is being used, even if in an unconscious way.

The presented findings were conducted through qualitative interviews, and have a number of limitations – they might not be fully generalized, nor might they be valid in other context

(e.g. because they are place-specific). Specific market conditions and business cultures can also determine the findings, consequently, similar investigations in other destinations are advised.

The paper has presented the main findings of interviews with tour providers. These findings are perceived as the first, exploratory phase of a more complex study of tourist experiences created on tours in an urban environment. Due to the exploratory nature of the study, it carries also other limitations. To complete the answers: to what extent are these tour providers experience management-focused in the case of certain tour types, and how the experience co-creation perspective, the staged experience concept, or other experiential tools manifest themselves during the realization of the tours. The research should be taken to the next level, possibly in the form of tour observations, and interviews with both the tour guides and the participants of the tour.

The role of tour guides is arguably of high importance in experience creation during the tour; especially when it comes to standard tour providers, who do not aim to particularly influence the realization of the tour, the tour guide's performance, or the itinerary. How do the tour guides influence the participant's experience during the tour? What kind of techniques and methods enhance the levels of involvement and active participation? A research should reveal the significance of tour guides' and tour providers' role in the consumer's tour experience. Is it the guiding or the circumstances created by the tour provider that has a bigger impact on the tourist's experience? Furthermore, it raises another question: how to measure tourist experience? Qualitative methods might provide large quantities of data, but these are not fully employable for a comparison, which indicates the application of quantitative survey.

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Section 6
GUIDED TOURS FOR DIFFERENT COMMUNITIES

Guided tours in the context of religious tourism: the case of "Dobročinstvo" travel agency of the Serbian Orthodox Church

Branislav Rabotić, PhD
College of Tourism, Belgrade, Serbia
rabotic@EUnet.rs

Abstract
Religious tourism is a thriving niche of contemporary global tourism. It is one of the oldest holiday types, since travelling to holy places existed long before tourism became an important part of human lives. A typical example is the pilgrimage, a phenomenon present in the world's major religions. In today's condition, group pilgrimage is frequently made in the form of guided package tours with functional, emotional, social, epistemic and symbolic value for the participants. This paper deals with the tours organized by *Dobročinstvo* travel agency of the Serbian Orthodox Church, the only specialized tour operator within Eastern Orthodox Christianity. These tours - day or multi-day trips - are promoted and generally perceived as a form of pilgrimage and religious tourism.

Keywords
religious tourism, pilgrimage, guided tour, Serbian Orthodox Church

Introduction

Guided tours are a form of organized tourism. According to Pearce (as cited in Jafari, 2000, p.269) they take place when someone gives instructions to a group of people while interpreting the setting: "They can vary from a short structured presentation by a tour guide in a particular setting for a limited time period, or they may involve extended contact between a guide and a tourist group, lasting days and sometimes weeks". Schmidt (1979, p. 466) also accentuates various types "from microtours of one particular attraction to macrotours of many attractions". Guided tours are generally thought to orchestrate a superficial tourist experience from the safety of an "environmental bubble" (Cohen, 1972).

Historical origins of guided tours can be traced to the era adequately called *Grand Tour* (Adler, 1989), although it was already in ancient times when *exegetoi* or *mistagoi* stopped visitors at sanctuary entrances to offer services of showing and interpreting the sights (Casson, 1994; Perrottet, 2002). In contemporary conditions, the package tour originally occurred in England in 1841. According to Seaton (2002, p. 311), Thomas Cook's tours were guided in a twofold manner:

> ***First, in that participants were conducted by a common form of transport that effectively created them as a closed community on the move; secondly they were conducted, in being led and managed by a guide who acted as cultural broker and mentor to them as an acolyte community.***

The experience offered by a guided tour includes a guide, tourists and environment (setting) and it may occur when all three elements interact in the same point of time and space

(Pastorelli, 2003). It is an occasion to establish various relationships between audience and setting, the guide and audience, the guide and setting and all three parties, respectively.

Cohen's (1985) opinion is that the role of professional guides consists of social mediation and cultural brokerage. Indeed, two aspects of guiding in the context of religious tours are particularly influential on the tourist experience: interpretation and managing group dynamics. Responsibility for the group and relations among its members, are considered as an important function of a guide by participants of guided tours. With all tours, and especially pilgrimage, the sense of belonging and social equality *(communitas)* is the constituent of a shared experience.[1] Successful management of group dynamics may represent the guarantee for achieving a certain degree of satisfaction among the tour participants (Quiroga, 1990). Hence, guides have influence upon the quality of products of tour operators and travel agencies offering guided tours (Mossberg, 1995). The nature of contact with clients and the high level of interaction it entails, influence customer perceptions on guides' personal traits and their interpretation as an integral part of the service quality (Rabotić, 2011).

Williams and Soutar (2009) argue that from the perspective of adventure tourism, the value of group tours is a complex synthesis of functional value blended with socio-psychological aspects. They notice that consumers' perception can be interpreted through four value categories: functional, emotional, social and epistemic. Nevertheless, some guided tours, such as religious ones, may also subsume a symbolic function for participants.

This paper deals with faith-based tours of *Dobročinstvo* (Benefaction) travel agency operating within the Serbian Orhodox Church. In the first part of the paper, we give a brief insight into the literature on pilgrimage. The second part is focused on some specific characteristics of the travel agency and its operation. In the third part, we present the results of observation based on participation in one of the monastery tours. Since there are arguments against the religious character of *Dobročinstvo* tours, this paper contributes to the debate on whether they could be considered as a form of religious or cultural, *i.e.* heritage tourism.

Pilgrimage and religious tourism

A specific form of religious tourism is pilgrimage, an old religious and cultural phenomenon which at an individual level, both symbolically and spiritually, represents a *life* journey of a person asserting one's identity of belonging to certain religion. The term pilgrimage can also refer to a journey focused on secular values – natural, cultural, historical or artistic ("New age pilgrimages", Timothy, 2011), a tourist thus experiencing profound awe or emotional connection with a place, events or persons. Examples of secular pilgrimages are, for instance, some group visits to mausoleums and tombs of famous people, such as the *House of Flowers* in Belgrade (Rabotić, 2012). An interesting example, mentioned by Katz (1985), are field trips in Israel guided by "teacher-guides" who help their compatriots, the tour participants, to make a spiritual connection with some parts of their own country, satisfying their interest in archaeological sites and ancient history. These tours can be viewed as a type of secular pilgrimage, with the guide being a kind of "civil religion mentor", "encourager of faith" and "the interpreter of the scenes and their meanings, above all their national meanings" (Katz, 1985, p. 63). Hence, the notion of pilgrimage has both traditional and contemporary implication (Digance, 2003).

In any case, for participants such a journey is more than "ordinary tourism" and expectations are primarily directed to the peak experience (Quan & Wang, 2003), as a contrast in relation to daily experience or as their absolute opposite, whereas experience

caused by extending daily routine on a tour (accommodation, meals, transportation), the so-called supporting tourist experience is of secondary importance. Even when satisfied with such services the tourist will have a ruined experience if the primary reason for his setting out on a journey has not been satisfied. The same applies to all forms of special interest tourism, especially religious one.

Interestingly, researchers hold two different views on perceiving pilgrims as tourists (Ţîrca *et al.*, 2010). The first emphasizes similarities between these groups as parts of the same continuum. For Turner and Turner (1978:20) a tourist is half a pilgrim, and a pilgrim is half a tourist. A tourist is a pilgrim, in abstract, when tourism is seen as a sort of "religion", *i.e.* spiritual journey which structurally and functionally resembles the pilgrimage. Tourist experience in contrast with daily life of post-modern society offers a possibility of personal "metamorphosis". With regards to Cohen's (1979) existential tourist, the quest for "holy" sites elsewhere is analogous to the pilgrimage and the meaning of the Absolute. For MacCannell (1999), tourism is also a form of pilgrimage, especially with a profound and meaningful experience pilgrims have. In addition, religious tourism is viewed merely as a part of cultural *i.e.* heritage tourism (Timothy, 2010), since religion and sacral monuments are the creation of past and tradition.

The other approach accentuates the polarity between pilgrims and tourists' identity ensuing from sacral-secular dichotomy. Given the behaviour of both groups, Čomić (*In:* Stamenković, 2005) notices that the pilgrim tenderly and affectionately approaches a holy site, whereas tourists' principal aim are well taken photographs.

The core difference between pilgrims and tourists lies in the nature of their motives. Cohen (2004) claims that pilgrims are motivated to travel towards the "centre" of their world (foundations of their religion), whereas tourists journey away from their centre to a pleasurable periphery. Vukonić (1990) distinguishes terms *religious (ser.* religijski) and *devotional (ser.* religiozni*)*. The tourist-believer (devotional tourist), convinced of his religious beliefs, fulfils religious duties on a regular basis. The religious tourist is more like a conventional tourist who visits sacral attractions out of curiosity and thirst for knowledge. Nevertheless, "[s]ome tourist journeys can be filled with respect and worship of their goal to such an extent that they can be freely identified as modern forms of pilgrimage. On the other hand, some formal pilgrimages can be completely void of faith, respect and worship, so that their essence of pilgrimage can be denied" (Kalmić & Čomić, 2012).

Various dynamic processes experienced by individuals point to the fact that there is seldom a dominant motive to explain why people travel at different points in their lives (Digance, 2003). Many tourists, religious as well, could be motivated in various ways. Smith, Macleod & Hart Robertson (2010) detect that tourists with special interests are focused on pursuing personal and interpersonal rewards (Dun Ross & Iso-Ahola, 1991). Faith-based tours are founded on one's need for self-improvement and new experiences as well as pursuing spiritual compensation as an intrinsic psychological reward, and that is spiritual rebirth and the establishment of a new identity (Digance, 2003).

Dobročinstvo travel agency

The travel agency within the Serbian Orthodox Church, also the only official tour operator in Orthodox Christianity, was founded in 1990 under the name *Dobročinstvo* and is seated in Belgrade. In the twenty years of its operation, specialized exclusively in "religious tourism", the agency has provided services to more than 50.000 customers in over 35 domestic[2] and 15 outbound package tours (Austria, Hungary, Russia, Ukraine, Croatia, Romania, Bulgaria, Italy, Montenegro, Greece, Turkey, Georgia, Egypt, Israel and

Jordan)[3]. Despite being primarily oriented at outgoing business (travel of domestic tourists in the country and abroad), the agency has had a significant number of foreign tourists interested in medieval monasteries and sacral architecture. Most of these tourists were Orthodox Serbs from diasporas, but there were also Roman Catholics – from Italy, Austria, Slovenia, Anglicans from the UK, Protestants from Germany and the USA etc.[4]

The agency pays attention to a specific kind of faith-based tours (a kind of pilgrimage) under the single trade name *In Pursuit of Spiritual Origins*.[5] Tours to Serbian monasteries and churches, being the cornerstone of Serbian history, give participants more thorough insight into the origins of Serbian spiritual and national identity. Accordingly, package tours are specialized and intended for the worshippers of religious and spiritual values and are recognizable as such in the Serbian tourism market.

The most popular destination of religious tours is the Monastery Ostrog (Montenegro), founded in the 7th century. It is the biggest sanctuary of the Serbian Orthodox Church, while the cult of Saint Basil is very much spread in all Serbian regions. At weekends, from late May until late November, the agency organizes coach tours for one or two groups. As for outbound tourism, the greatest interest is the Holy Mountain in Greece.

The agency's important feature is quality service and expert tour guiding. Since its early days, attention is paid to the ways excursions are organized, being entrusted to guides knowledgeable in this field, especially Byzantology and theology. Interpreting the history of monasteries, architecture and iconography requires theological knowledge which many guides lack. Sightseeing is full of details accompanied by commentaries of accentuated educational nature leading tourists towards a particular meaning, *i.e.* "preferred reading" (Macdonald, 2006) of Orthodox Faith and its sacral monuments as a symbol of national and religious identity. Naturally, it conceals the possibility of (un)conscious mythologization (not infrequent in post-colonial and post-Communist countries, see McKercher and Du Cros, 2002) or subjective interpretation of dissonant heritage. Namely, in Serbia, there are different views on the Communist past of the country (and thus consequences on the Orthodox tradition) and a dispute about what "actually happened".

The fact is that during the decades of Josip Broz Tito's rule, generations were brought up with scarce knowledge of the Orthodox Faith.[6] Only recently has theology been introduced as a school subject (elective) and much time is needed to raise religious awareness to a greater extent. Apart from a religious educational mission, the initiative to establish this travel agency could have also been taken by the Church to "convert" as many secular tourists interested in sacral heritage as possible (see Timothy, 2011, p. 398). On the other hand, the official statistics indicating that only 5% of the entire population in Serbia do not consider themselves religious are quite surprising - atheists, agnostics, people of unknown religious orientation (Marković *et al.*, 2009).

Being within the Church, the agency wins the reputation in other Orthodox countries and opens the way for places where other visitors have restricted access *(back stage)*. Such non-public spaces are monastery treasuries or other specific sections (residence, refectory, library etc.), but also encounters with distinguished clergymen. Thus, potential customers can also recognize the added value ("VIP access") of *Dobročinstvo* tours, and the brotherhood or sisterhood of monasteries a "guarantee" that their sacral building will be presented respectfully. It gives the agency a somewhat monopolistic position, since allegedly other tour operators with similar programs cannot offer "the extent and depth" of visits as *Dobročinstvo*.[7]

The attitudes and results of the empirical research published in the first doctoral thesis on religious tourism in Serbia (Nikolić, 2010) caused different reactions and polemical reviews, especially regarding *Dobročinstvo* travel agency.[8]

Nikolić (2010) surveyed 400 monastery and church visitors, concluding that 77% of them travel independently, 3.25% via agency *Dobročinstvo*, and 2.5% use services of other agencies (ibid., p. 279). One third of the surveyed (29.25%) is motivated for sightseeing of monasteries as cultural and historical monuments (ibid., p. 283). Having analyzed opinions of the surveyed on the motives of their visit, the author comes to the conclusion that 4.25% of them believe it belongs to religious tourism, 40.5% that it is a chance for further spiritual growth and 47.25% see it as a way to get to know cultural heritage better. Nikolić concludes that "with regards to visitors' motivation, monastery tours round Serbia neither belong to religious tourism nor pilgrimage, but cultural tourism, which is caused by the [former] Communist treatment of monasteries as cultural and historical treasure" (ibid., p. 310).

Interestingly, Nikolić (2010) argues that as far as *Dobročinstvo* is concerned, we should even dismiss the idea of tourism as such since its offer is mostly restricted to same-day tours. The author strongly criticizes the "exclusiveness" of *Dobročinstvo* tours, which affects the prices: "Serbian Orthodox Church should not turn the blind eye to the fact that it has an expensive and exclusive agency specialized in spiritual cultural tourism and not faith-based tours" (ibid., p. 314). She believes that from the perspective of Orthodox Religion, faith-based tours cannot be tourism just as from a tourism point of view there is no genuine religious tourism within the Church: "Religious tourism cannot be bound to Serbian Orthodox Church for its contradiction to the Orthodox dogma and practice... [R] *eligious tourism within Serbian Orthodox Church does not, cannot and should not exist"* (emphasized in original; ibid., p. 318).[9]

Observing a monastery tour

Are the packages of *Dobročinstvo* travel agency forms of pilgrimage? What can travellers expect, what are their reactions on the spot and to what extent are they satisfied with the tour? In order to get more direct insight into the nature of these tours, participant observation is applied as the research method.

Study Method

Participant observation enables direct (first-hand) insight into the ways tourists make experiences because a researcher joins the tour and talks with the participants or guide (Lugosy & Bray, 2008). By observing and conversing *vis-à-vis* with passengers, it is possible to determine tourist motivation and satisfaction (Hsu, *In:* Chang, 2008). The results obtained through participant observation significantly depend on the researcher`s ability to percieve a phenomenon, define the subject matter and the time of observation, and to record what is noticed. This method was employed by Holloway (1981), Dahles (2002), Seaton (2002), Bowie and Chang (2005) as well as Lugosi and Bray (2008) in their respective studies of guided tours.

The author of this paper, professor of the College of Tourism, conducted research with a student who worked on her final paper (Ilijev, 2012). Both the mentor and the candidate set the modes of carrying out the observation procedure. Just like any other customer, the student booked a two-day excursion *Moravska Srbija/Moravian Serbia* (23-24th July 2011) with visits to four significant medieval monasteries in the central part of Serbia in the valleys of the Great and West Morava rivers and their tributaries as well as a visit to a profane attraction – Resava Cave. She paid the full price, and her role as a researcher

was not revealed to anyone. The principal reason for adopting covert observation was the nature of the research context and the type of data that was gathered.[10] During the tour, Ilijev (2012) made careful notes and talked to the group members over dinner, after sightseeing and on the coach, whenever the chance permitted.

Findings and Discussion

The group consisted of 26 people (two married couples, a three-member family and 19 solo travellers), 16 women and 10 men in total.

The tour operator engaged a middle-aged guide, PhD in History of Arts who also obtained a tourist guide licence according to the rules and regulations of the Republic of Serbia. He was both the tour escort and "domicile" guide interpreting sacral monuments on the spot, whereas another local guide, already working in the site, was hired for a visit to the cave. The main tour guide was experienced, having worked at *Dobročinstvo* for a long time, competent and knowledgeable. Some of the passengers had known him before and had been satisfied with his work performance. He proved to know the itinerary, local roads and all the monasteries listed in the itinerary very well. The interpretation was well structured, interesting and diverse (the history of Serbian people, architecture and iconography of monasteries, the meaning of faith and faith-based tours, as well as the current situation in the country). He established good communication with the group, initiated interaction and was open for discussion not related to the tour. Furthermore, in the place of their overnight stay, he took those who wanted to go out to a rock concert in a local club. Since he was an interesting interlocutor, some of the passengers were envious of people in the front seats as they had more chance to communicate with him. He proved to be a successful guide because almost everyone showed respect and listened to him carefully, and at the end of the tour he was rewarded with applause. Undoubtedly, he met tourists' expectations, especially those who got used to the high quality of guiding.[11] Those who had already travelled with *Dobročinstvo* made comparisons. Only one passenger saw this guide's performance as weaker than of those guides' in previous tours.

On the other hand, the local guide in Resava Cave was received with disapproval since she did not allow one of the visitors to use their camera. She apologized for not being dressed up, her tousled hair and tired looks as she had been to a rock concert the night before. Even though the cave is a very impressive and well-equipped speleological attraction, tourists were noticeably dissatisfied at the end of the visit. This situation left the group with negative feelings, almost ruined the good atmosphere on the tour and endangered its success.

Interestingly, the above mentioned negative impression of a professional service was soon diminished by a small episode, the encounter with an elderly woman who sold home made souvenirs at the nearby waterfall. She was simple, kind and straightforward. Tourists commented on this among themselves, comparing the common peasant woman with the guide at the cave. Thus, quite unexpectedly, an anonymous elderly lady raised the spirits in the group.

In the practice of group tours misunderstanding and incidents occur as a consequence of objective circumstances, organizational oversights or, quite rarely in the case of pilgrimage, as individual reactions to being the part of the group. This tour group was also characterized by such "episodes" and here are some extracts from the researcher's field notes:

There is etiquette for entering monasteries; women have to wear long skirts, long-sleeved blouses and they need to cover their heads with scarves, whereas man must wear long

trousers. Some of them broke the rules (religious people are well-acquainted with these rules) with an excuse of warm weather, whereas others managed somehow, so some of the female visitors wore improvised cloaks on the spot and small colourful summer hats.
The traveller Z.Z. behaved rather strangely. He asked the guide to stand in the bus during the ride (which is against the rules), and upon coming to the first monastery he lay on the bench near a drinking fountain and fell asleep. On the second day, he insisted on having breakfast in the hotel, he was reluctant to show solidarity with the rest of the group who agreed to a packed lunch due to early departure.

Having checked out from the hotel and being seated in the coach, they realized a passenger was missing. S.P. was almost half an hour late. *"I couldn't take a shower because there was no hot water! I'm terribly sorry"* – he addressed the guide and other passengers who were a bit angry.

D.S., a youth from Belgrade wanted to take communion at all costs in the morning liturgy in the Ravanica Monastery. The priest declined this since the youth had not been fasting. It made him angry so he yelled at his mother in the monastery shop because she bought things he did not like.

The results of observation have proved that passengers' expectation level was linked to previous travel experiences and perceptions of guided tours. Initially, both passengers who joined the tour for the first time and those with former unpleasant experience were distrustful. However, the tour guide's performance as well as the interaction with fellow travellers helped to diminish their initial distrust.

> ***"This is the first time I'm travelling with the agency and my first religious tour. I'd like to see Serbian monasteries and I expect to spend this weekend in prayer and peace" (single traveller).***
>
> ***"A month ago I went on a tour to Studenica Monastery [the most significant Serbian monastery inscribed in the UNESCO World Heritage List] with 'Dobročinstvo' and it was really tremendous. But now I think this tour won't be that good, because Studenica is so special. Anyway, I hope to have a great time" (single female traveller).***
>
> ***"I've been travelling with 'Dobročinstvo' all along. Last time, I went to Israel and it was divine. With 'them' the tour must be great, so I'm convinced that this journey would also be very nice" (a female travelling with her female friend).***

The tour participants expressed satisfaction as they were well treated by the agency (quality services in the package), and some of the expectations were even outdone, especially in terms of the hotel and guide. Conversation done, one could conclude that they would keep this tour in great memory. Some of them stated that they would travel again with the same agency.

This research has also shown that most of the tourists did not like travelling on a tight schedule and that unlike research results in the case of a Greek faith-based tour to Israel (Triantafillidou *et al.* 2010), they needed time at leisure on the site. Most of them believed that visits to monasteries should have been longer in order to get to know and talk to clergymen and for personal prayers: they obviously lacked a first-hand religious experience. The only negative remark was precisely related to this. The itinerary did not entail religious services, *i.e.* attending the service as well as time for individual

prayer, which should be understood in faith-based travel.[12] In other words, tourists could not experience transformation expected in a religious tour – peace of mind, inner joy and fulfilment of wishes or relieving aching body (Radisavljević-Ćiparizović, 2010). Anthropologically speaking, they did not reach the liminal phase in the ritual of pilgrimage where one crosses the threshold of everyday life and experiences spiritual transformation and enrichment: they were rather participants in a thematic tour than religious pilgrimage, monastery visitors and not genuine pilgrims.

The observed two-day tour *Moravska Srbija* was well organized. The tour guide, transportation, accommodation choice for overnight stay, itinerary as well as the program of visits obviously fulfilled participants' expectations. In fact, at the organizational level, everything ran smoothly. However, there is a dilemma to what extent this tour could be considered religious? In essence, it was based more on learning about Serbian cultural heritage (the monasteries as monuments of great cultural and historical importance) than finding one's faith and spiritual peace.

Conclusion

Dobročinstvo is a small specialized tour operator under the patronage of the Serbian Orthodox Church. Its tours are generally perceived by public opinion in the country as a type of religious tourism. However, there are customers who are not religious, but are highly interested in sacral heritage. By observing one of the Serbian monastery tours (typical for that operator), one can conclude that they are mainly of educational and cultural character and could be considered more as secular than religious pilgrimage. The content and the way the tour was carried out points to similarities with the Israeli concept of *tiyulim* (Katz, 1985), participants being offered a spiritual connection with some areas of their own country, at the same time satisfying their interest in history, culture and religion. The tour guide plays an important role in it, arising as a creator of new knowledge by assisting tourists in locating, perceiving and understanding different features of tourist attractions, both religious and cultural. In the case of the observed *Dobročinstvo* tour, the guide also made an effort to be the "encourager of faith" (ibid., p. 69), through his ritualized presentation of monasteries and interpretation in the form of narrative and performative sacralization (Fine & Speer, 1985). Metaphorically speaking, he named, framed and elevated (MacCannell, 1999) certain monuments and their details, thus encouraging Christian Orthodox, national and cultural identity of the tour participants. However, their "pilgrimage experience" was rather based on observation than participation; it was more passive and subjective than active and shared with fellow travellers in the atmosphere of *communitas*. It can also be noted that some of the participants behaved more as *tourists* than *pilgrims*.

Nevertheless, *Dobročinstvo* tours contribute to raising cultural as well as religious awareness in post-Communist Serbia. Despite some criticism against "exclusiveness", "monopoly status" and "questionable religious nature", these tours are a *sui generis* and welcome case in Serbian tourism.

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Notes

1. As noted by Sharpley (2009, p. 245), "[w]hile personal transformation and enrichment may be the outcome of sole journeys, it is the common sharing of the journey..., and enriching moments amongst the members of the group... that may provide the most significant or spiritual reward".

2. These were mostly the same day tours. There are currently 29 such tours, but also eight multi-day tours. http://www.dobrocinstvo.spc.rs/index_files/Page1002.htm [accessed on 10 December 2012].
3. http://www.dobrocinstvo.spc.rs/index_files/Page501.htm [accessed on 10 December 2012].
4. http://www.danas.rs/dodaci/biznis/verski_turizam_otporan_je_na_svetsku_krizu_.27.html?news_id=152914 [accessed on 10 December 2012].
5. Even though the term *faith-based tour* is used in Serbian Orthodox Christianity, there is no academic definition. In practice, for religious people the term implies travelling to a shrine to show one's awe. The term in Serbian *(pokloničko putovanje)*, stems from the verb "to take a bow, show one's devotion, faith", as well as the noun "bow, mark of respect, giving", thus "faith-based tour" could be interpreted as expressing appreciation for something as well as giving oneself to God. Hence, Nikolić (2010:42) concludes: "Faith-based travel, accordingly means travelling to a holy place to acknowledge God as one's master, time and time again" Orthodox Christianity is different from Catholic, which researchers sometimes fail to notice. Andriotis (2009:68) provides examples of an author who misjudged that 90% of visitors to Mount Athos were not pilgrims only because they "do not walk the long, steep, often relentless paths, so that inner change, for the production of which walking is an essential element, cannot take place in them". Orthodox pilgrims cannot be recognized in this way since they are not required to test physical endurance.
6. Josip Broz Tito was a revolutionary, statesman and the president of the Socialist Federal Republic of Yugoslavia until his death in 1980.
7. The agency's manager (who is both theologist and tour guide by profession) is the most responsible for maintaining the high standard of tourist guiding. For the press, he explains what sort of customers are in question: "We are so fortunate to have pleasant and well-mannered people travelling with us, so that there is no misunderstanding in agency-guide-passenger relations during the journey. Those are people of different age, education and financial status. As for our travellers, they range from primary school pupils to those older than 80. When it comes to education, it is a great variety, from farmers to university professors". http://www.danas.rs/dodaci/biznis/verski_turizam_otporan_je_na_svetsku_krizu_.27.html?news_id=152914 [accessed on 10 December 2012].
8. One of these reviews was published online at the website of *New Serbian Political Thought*, an influential journal for political theory and social studies (13.01.2011) http://www.nspm.rs/crkva-i-politika/prikaz-doktorske-disertacije-qverski-turizam-ili-zaobilazenje-vereq.html [accessed on 10 April 2011]
9. According to Stamenković (2005), the Orthodox Religion has no view on tourism since their interconnection has not been examined enough, *i.e.* due to a lack of exact data to evaluate it as positive, accetable and tolerable, or negative and intolerable. Theological thought generally neglects the idea of religious tourism since accepting the notion would mean that religion can assume some other sense apart from the religious (Vukonić, 1990; Cohen, 2004).
10. In the case of observation on a tour two particular concerns appear, ethical and methodological (Lugosi and Bray, 2008). The ethical problem arises when the researcher's role is concealed, as it may represent an invasion of privacy of the group members and their guide who have not given their consent to be subjects of the research. On the other side, revealed presence of the researcher might be a detriment to the guide in particular, causing self-consciousness, anxiety and forced behaviour. The methodological (technical) problem arises because of mobility as a feature of the (walking) tour: the reseracher is hardly able to record his observations constantly, especially if the reason of his presence is covert.

11. First of all, today's religious tourists prefer to have as tour guide someone who has the same views of Christianity they can respect and relate to (Timothy and Olsen, 2006). The interviewed Greek pilgrims visiting the Holy Land (Triantafillidou *et al.*, 2010) stated that operators specialized in religious tourism have to know which tour guides are adequate and experienced, and listed the following features of an ideal guide - experience, local language fluency, knowledge of history, piousness, education and culture as well as "analytical" skills.
12. *Globus/Cosmos* includes prayers in programs of such tours: http://www.globusfaith.com/Faith/About/ [accessed on 12 December 2012]. Similarly, Greek faith-based organized tours are commonly escorted by clergymen.

Re-imagining the city tour and activating the tourism experience

Kaspar Wimberley
kaspar@treacletheatre.co.uk
Arttours Stuttgart
info@stuttg-arttours.de

Prologue

Stuttgart Marketing is a subsidiary company contracted by the local government to promote Stuttgart. In 2008 they released a promotional video entitled 'Enjoy the city'[1]. 'Enjoy the city' presents a highly selective and carefully constructed portrait of Stuttgart, of opulence, glamour and wealth, of vineyards, expensive cars and high-art. This is how Stuttgart Marketing chooses to strategically position and profile the city – Stuttgart as a product.

This approach to attracting visitors and investors can be placed alongside what appears to be an intensifying attempt to control and monopolise access to information and the range of opportunities that are made available to tourists visiting the city. Stuttgart Marketing are first creating and then trying to confirm expectations. This strategy fails to recognise the importance of confounding expectations, to discover something new and unexpected, to make tourism the exciting, challenging and provocative experience it should and was intended to be.

Both Stuttgart Marketing and the tourist information office in Stuttgart refer to themselves as the 'official' source of information, despite the process of privatisation that has transformed a former government-run department into a limited company. Cultural providers wishing to present their programme in the tourism information office are required to fulfil certain obligations, financially and strategically, to align themselves with a corporate identity.

Given time to reflect on this situation, would local residents be comfortable with the use of public funds to filter and regulate how their city is presented to the outside world and what local cultural providers are permitted to publicise their events?

Arttours – The project

Arttours was established in 2011 to explore the potential role of tourism in Stuttgart and provide an alternative to the existing hierarchy, the process of privatisation and the commodification of the city experience. Together with a group of local and international artists we developed a series of tours, walks and experiments that have been offered to both visitors and local residents.

The traditional expectations surrounding a 'city tour' and the role of the tourist[2] were redefined and playfully subverted. The consumer became the service provider, visitors became guides, the foreign became the familiar, the mundane became the attraction, and destinations became places of departure.

1 www.youtube.com/watch?v=vrMkFCStOew

2 We understand 'tourists' as those who are going on a tour or taking part in a form of tourism. This can include local people who are revisiting and rediscovering their day-to-day living environment

One of the focal points of our work has been an attempt to create guided tours in which the tourist is an active participant, rather than a passive recipient – guiding that is more about stimulating than leading.

We have moved away from an emphasis on the spoken word and linear 'fact' based narratives that are conventionally used to describe a given place or event, towards physical, sensual, intimate and unpredictable encounters with the city and its inhabitants. We want to encourage and nurture an analytical, playful and adventurous approach to exploring a city. Tourists that don't have the city read to them, but who discover or create their own narrative or set of relationships.

We believe in the need for non-commercial approaches to the practice of guiding, to move away from the consumption of tourism as a product or reproduction, towards a culture of tourism as a live, immediate and experimental experience.

Arttours – The programme

To date we have presented over 25 unique tours, walks and experiments. Further events are planned for 2014. Tours include an aerobic work-out-tour through the city centre, an underground adventure to a city that doesn't exist, a street sweeping ritual rewarded with coffee and cake, a drive in the slowest Porsche in the world, familiar songs in unfamiliar places, a political palimpsest of Athens and Stuttgart, an audio tour for lazy days and blisters, and an excursion to the moments that write the every-day history of the city. All of our tours are offered on a donation basis.

The following pages summarise a selection of projects that illustrate our approach towards creating an alternative tourism experience. Projects have been split into three categories: exchanging roles and relationships, alternative attractions and projects that respond to the tourism industry and the constructed image of the city.

More information is available at http://www.stuttg-arttours.de

1. What happens when we exchange or subvert traditional roles and relationships?

A walk with Amy

Tourist > Guide

At an agreed time Amy Sharrocks in London calls a participant in Stuttgart on their mobile telephone number. Together they take each other on a 30-minute tour of your respective locations. They collaborate to choose which way to go, describing the places and people they encounter and the surroundings they find themselves in. 'A walk with Amy' functions as an urban drift, in which each participant is simultaneously a spectator and travelling companion, tourist and tour operator. What is worthy of attention? The intimacy of an unknown voice leads to unexpected insights and connections, noticing details that might otherwise have been overseen, as cities are shared across a remote landscape.

A walk with Amy.

We will kehr for you

Tourist > Service provider

The Kehrwoche was introduced in the 15th century to regulate the cleaning of communal areas, and is often a compulsory condition to renting an apartment. Residents take it in turns to clean the street in front of their house, the backyard and the stairwell. "We will kehr for you" offers a visitor the opportunity to take part in this weekly routine. Tourists are provided with a map, guiding them to residents in Stuttgart who are next in line to do the Kehrwoche. Here they meet their thankful hosts who provide instructions and the necessary equipment. Armed with a dustpan and brush the tourist is left to complete the Kehrwoche cleaning ritual, before being rewarded with a cup of coffee and cake. The consuming tourist becomes the service provider.

We will kehr for you.

A tour of tourists
Tourist > Attraction
In exchange for a nominal fee, tourists are invited to have their voices recorded, responding to a series of questions about themselves, based on the language used by the regional tourist board to describe Stuttgart and attract visitors to the city – sophisticated, enticing, inventive and relaxing. The answers to these questions are then edited together and offered to residents of Stuttgart as an audio tour, transforming the tourist into a subject and product, to be consumed by a city of people whom they do not know. By pressing start, stop or pause on the audio tour, the resident can give the tourist presence or remove them at will, while focusing on the tourist as an individual, rather than a source of revenue or inconvenience.

The Tour of all Tours
Tourism > Attraction
A group of people is taken on a tour, the subject of which is the guided tours that are on offer in the city, a parasitic self-referential tour that follows existing routes and texts and covers the most visited locations in the city. The Tour of all Tours analyses and contextualises over 100 tours that are offered by the regional tourism board and independent tour operators in Stuttgart, exploring their relationship to the nature and history of the tourism industry in Baden Württemberg.

2. What constitutes an attraction?

Postcard Walks
An address
A selection of old postcards is bought at the flea market, addressed to people who once lived in Stuttgart. These addresses are then used to create a route through the city, linking one postal address to the next and transforming seemingly everyday buildings into a destination with a history and a memory. In an exercise in social archaeology each postcard becomes a catalyst for interaction, encouraging participants to engage with local residents to find out more about both the past and the present, connecting once-upon-a-time travellers, the recipients of the postcards, the people who now live at the same address, and those who follow the trail.

Postcard Walks.

Sitehearing in Stuttgart

A concentration

Sitehearing in Stuttgart provides an opportunity to discover the sounds of the city, inviting participants to experience a parcour of sonic impressions, while documenting this experience in the form of a manuscript. By the end of the tour participants have collected their cartography of sounds that can be read out to invoke the atmosphere of the locations visited; an alternative score of the city. Sitehearing in Stuttgart is a chance to concentrate on the often-neglected soundscapes that can be extracted at some of the city's most popular ‚sights'.

The Eye Walk

A moment

A spectator and performer go for a walk. The spectator closes their eyes and the performer guides them through the city. During their walk, the performer selects locations and focal points for a series of ‚snapshots'. Aiming the spectator's body the performer asks the spectator to „open" their eyes. The opening time of the eyes corresponds to the opening of a camera shutter: long enough for the picture to be taken. The Eye Walk creates a movie out of reality, composed as a spontaneous collaboration between the site, the moment and the guide.

The Eye Walk.

Stuttgart Intim: Four seasons and one funeral

An encounter

City tours for tourists usually concentrate on places and narratives of perceived historical significance and importance, so what happens if we divert our gaze towards the stories and events that write the every-day life of a city, the apparently mundane in amongst the spectacular? The artist collective qujOchÖ invites you to a tour of private and public events. Each tour is unique, following the events of the day and the moment. You might listen to a private concert by a student practicing for their exams, stumble across a children's birthday party with Ronald Macdonald, stroll into a public consultation in the town hall, experience the birth of a child, sit in on a civil court case, join a wedding celebration, watch as an ambulance delivers a new patient, or take a ticket at the Armenian Consulate.

Stuttgart Intim.

Tune into Stuttgart

A relationship

Music can have a profound effect on our experience of space, stirring and evoking emotions, thoughts, places and people. When we listen to music that we are familiar with, foreign places feel more familiar and disconcerting places appear more forgiving. Participants are asked to send Sylvia Winkler and Stephan Köperl a song of their choice. The artists listen intensively to this song and search for a location in Stuttgart that they believe is a perfect match. At an agreed time participants travel to this location, where their song is played using a mobile pop-up sound system to its exclusive audience of one; A familiar song in an unfamiliar place.

Tune into Stuttgart.

3. An alternative image for the city

i-punkt+

Unofficial information

i-punkt+ are unofficial tourist information offices, located in independent shops and service centres that are not usually associated with the tourism industry. This could be a shoe shop, an electrical supplier, a bakery, a record store or a chemist. Anywhere in which the employees are willing to share their own personal knowledge and point of view with any tourists who happen to wander in. Here you can ask for unofficial tips, unofficial directions, and unofficial information; the city presented to you by local residents rather than sales representatives and marketing strategists.

i-punkt+.

FERDINAND GT3 RS (the slowest Porsche in the world)

Another luxury

FERDINAND GT3 RS is a tandem bicycle mounted inside a replica carousel of the Porsche 911 GT3 RS. For the first time FERDINAND came to the home of Porsche and a city that is often referred to as the 'car-city'. For one week we offered 30 minute test-drives through Stuttgart, travelling at an average speed of between 2 and 4 km per hour. A prized status symbol regulated the flow of traffic with a slowness that took your breath away, subverting and re-imagining the image that marketing strategists have constructed to represent the city of Stuttgart, while offering an alternative vision for the future.

FERDINAND GT3 RS.

TOUR

Political palimpsests

TOUR sounded like a conventional tour of the city centre, pointing to places of interest, and describing their historical significance. This information was gradually interwoven with events that have taken place in Greece over the last two years, following the austerity measures imposed on the country by the European Central Bank and the International Monetary Fund. There were no geographical references to Athens or Greece, so the inference was that the events, the debt-crisis and the austerity measures are things that happened in Central Stuttgart. This displacement of an event from its original context challenged the sense of history being something singular, remote or disconnected from political narratives in other parts of the world.

Conclusion and future plans

Our audience over the past two years has been surprisingly mixed, old and young, visitors from abroad and local residents. To date we have hosted over 1000 people on over 300 separate tours or events. Some participants have sent us feedback, which can be found on our website under http://stuttg-arttours.de/guestbook/

The city marketing department Stuttgart Marketing has not actively supported or welcomed our work, but they have tolerated it! To avoid negative press they have little choice. This puts us in a position to take certain liberties, such as using and subverting protected logos, symbols and signage. Each year we meet with Stuttgart Marketing to discuss potential cooperation and remind ourselves of our differences. We see this ongoing dialogue as an important part of the project.

It is hard to say if Arttours has affected mainstream tourism practices in Stuttgart, only time will tell, but for two years we have offered an alternative. Perhaps we have inspired others to think about new and future forms of tourism experience. Since we began to offer tours in 2011, Stuttgart has seen an explosion of independent tourism providers offering alternative guided tours, and mainstream institutions exploring new formats. All of these ventures are commercial interests and many reflect global trends, such as Segway tours, costumed tours and night time ghost tours, but it has served to diversify the opportunities available to tourists in the city.

Arttours will continue to programme new events for a third year, before taking time to evaluate and reflect on our experience. We hope to produce a concluding publication covering the strategies that we have employed, documentation that has been generated and responses that we have received – a resource for other initiatives interested in exploring alternative approaches towards tourism or the notion of a city-tour.

Section 7
THE PAST AND GUIDED TOURS: FACTS, FICTION AND INTERPRETATION

Tour guides, facts and fiction in heritage interpretation: The case of Sintra National Palace

Carla Braga, Miguel Brito, PhD, & Margarida Soares
ESHTE – Estoril Higher Institute for Hotel and Tourism Studies, Portugal
carla.braga@eshte.pt; miguel.brito@eshte.pt; margarida.soares@eshte.pt

Abstract

Sintra is a small town near Lisbon, which became a World Heritage Site in 1995, with the special status of cultural landscape. Besides all the monuments and parks scattered on the hills of Sintra, in the centre, there is a royal palace that is visited by crowds of tourists coming from Lisbon every day. Tour guides escort most groups of tourists.

The goal of this paper is to understand the strategies tour guides use in the interpretation of Sintra National Palace in three different dimensions: cognitive, emotional and behavioural. The research instrument used in the study is a questionnaire administrated to tour guides who answered several direct questions about their interpretation techniques by e-mail. This study shows the results of several analyses and aims to distinguish facts and fiction in tour guides speech; find out the emotions tour guides convey; understand if the 3 Tilden principles are put into practice (provoke, relate, reveal); analyse the establishment of cultural communication and; value the ability of tour guides to give enjoyment during the visit and create the motivation to participate in other guided visits.

The text is divided into the following parts: introduction, with a short explanation of the guides' work in the palace; methodology, including a description of the instrument and sample; findings, according to data analysis and; conclusions.

Conclusions assess the quality of tour guides' interpretation of the National Palace in Sintra, as well as the most significant strategies that are used during its visit.

Keywords

professional tour guiding, interpretation goals and strategies, intercultural communication, Sintra National Palace

Introduction

Sintra is a small city with around 33.000 inhabitants in the west of Portugal and only 25km to the west of Lisbon (101 directions, 2011). Due to its amazing "cultural landscape", Sintra was listed as a UNESCO World Heritage Site in 1995. It consists of an area of nearly 930 hectares and was the first landscape to receive such a classification in Europe. The reason for the accumulation of all the cultural and historically valuable buildings is its unique microclimate, which made it an attractive summer holiday location for kings and aristocrats in former times (Monte da Lua, 2012). The parks and palaces in Sintra are the Pena Palace and Gardens, the National Palace of Sintra, the Moorish Castle, the Park of Monserrate, the Capuchos Convent, Regaleira Manner house and gardens, Seteais hotel and gardens, among others. Although Sintra has such a varied cultural and natural heritage to offer, locals and tourists, who rather stay in Lisbon overnight, only perceive it as a day-trip destination. Actually, most tourists visit Sintra as part of a half-day or full-day package tour and only stay about one hour and 30 minutes in the town – one hour to visit the palace and twenty minutes/half an hour of time at leisure.

The most visited monument in Sintra is by far the National Palace in the centre of the town. All around the palace there are many handicraft shops, restaurants and coffee shops

where tourists can taste the famous Sintra pastry. The palace itself has Moorish origins and the Portuguese kings inhabited it as a summer residence, especially in the 15th and 16th centuries and in the 19th century. The tourists visit fifteen rooms. The most important asset of the royal palace is the glazed tiles from different times, but also the furniture and the architecture itself attracts people for its uniqueness, being a mixture of Moorish, gothic and renaissance styles.

The object of this study is Portuguese tourist guides interpretation of the Sintra National palace. Other guides, who are not certified, or other heritage in Sintra will not be considered. The questions are

Which are the interpretation strategies that tourist guides use when they explain the palace? Does their experience contribute to enhance intercultural communication competences and interpretation strategies?

The goals are to analyse how official tour guides distinguish the facts and fiction in their speech; find out the emotions they convey; understand if the three Tilden principles are put into practice (provoke, relate, reveal); evaluate the establishment of cultural communication and; value the ability of tour guides to give enjoyment during the visit and create the motivation to participate in other guided visits.

It seems that the role of guides is changing. Recently, new roles have been attributed to guides whereas others are declining in importance. This is especially the case of two roles – pathfinder and information giver. Today, tourists easily access the GPS system, the Internet, I-phone, Podcast or any other new technologies, which help them in finding any tourist spot; maps, tips and all the kinds of spot specific information that have now become constantly available.

On the other hand, the communication/interpretation roles (the psychosocial roles that encourage value changing), the mediation role (avoiding misunderstandings and conflicts), the leadership role (especially in the sphere of protection and security), the role of sustainability (as manager and protector of resources) and the role of education (in an intercultural perspective) are becoming increasingly relevant. These roles are complementary and when the guide performs all of them together, service quality is likely to improve (Brito, 2010).

Interpretation and intercultural communication competences are the core business of guiding. The term competence has been defined as "the proven ability to use knowledge, skills and personal, social and/or methodological abilities, in work or study situations and in professional and personal development" (European Commission, 2008, p. 11). According to Freeman Tilden, interpretation is "an educational activity, which aims to reveal meanings and connections through the use of original objects, direct experience and illustrative means, instead of simply to communicate factual information" (Tilden, 1977, p. 8). In this well-known concept of interpretation, Tilden distinguishes information and interpretation, opposing facts to meanings of a resource and connections to the audience. Interpretation answers the question why (things are as they are) and gives significance to the object that is being explained. But in order to be understood, the guide has to know exactly how to translate the implicit culture of the resource into the culture of the tourist that is looking at it. In other words, s/he has to translate the unacquainted culture of the destination, not simple facts and words, into a familiar culture for the tourist (Jonasson & Scherle, 2012).

This means that the intercultural competence is crucial for guiding. Huang & Wang's (2007) study on the tourist perceptions versus the intercultural competence of the tourist guide indicates that tourists expect guides to have cultural knowledge of the host destination. Additionally, and according to Pereira & Mykletun (2012), a deep understanding of the tourist culture is needed as it opens up the possibility for guides to customize their tours, and therefore, improve the level of satisfaction of the tour participants.

The fact is that language expertise does not go side by side with cultural knowledge (Huang & Wang, 2007), appropriate attitudes and correct behaviour. For instance, Yu, Weiler & Ham (2001) found that Australian tourist guides who were originally from China did not have enough knowledge of the Australian culture. Therefore, a professional guide has to be proficient in both the language and culture of the tourist and the host destination, no matter her/his nationality.

In its Internet site, the NAI (National Association for Interpretation) defines interpretation as "a communication process, which is based on the mission of establishing emotional and intellectual connections between the interests of an audience and the meanings inherent to a resource..." (www.interpnet.com). In this definition we find out that the connections guides create with their public are both intellectual and emotional. Thus, the NAI definition adds a new role to the guiding: to convey the emotion of the resources. Since interpretation depends on the tour guide, the resource and the context, then it is always personal, not repeatable and offers a unique character to guides speeches. Finally, interpretation is critical for tourism mainly because if tourists feel at home, they will come back again. In addition, they will recommend the destination to their friends who will come and visit.

Providing efficient and appropriate interpretation requires the use of strategies. Meged (2010) divides them into four types: rhetorical, intercultural, intimacy and logistical strategies. Rhetorical strategies are related to logos (logics and reason; enthusiasm and humour), pathos (feelings and emotions) and ethos (ethics and moral). They often include comparisons, metaphors, analogies and other figures of speech.

Intercultural strategies are based in cultural presuppositions about the Other's culture, which the guides confirm or dismantle; or in fixed topics, which are appealing to some nationalities, but not to others. The use of this strategy implies that the guide assumes the tourist or the destination part or both, changing character according to the needs of the occasion.

Intimacy strategies can be physical (touch), verbal (dialog), spiritual (sharing values and beliefs) and intellectual (sharing reflections and knowledge). These strategies are related to the fact that during a tour, people not only want to receive, but they also need to give. So they exchange intimacy and show their a little of their privacy.

Logistical strategies are connected with the environment, thus with the management of time and space in order to make the experience of the tour a successful one. They include pace, safety and the efficient control of the party.

Besides these strategies guides also use storytelling and drama, questions and props to illustrate their interpretation. Nevertheless, they do not use all the strategies at the same time. Besides, they use their strategies in accordance to their audience, the circumstances of the moment and their own personality.

Method

The present study adopted a qualitative and descriptive case study approach (Yin, 1989), due to its exploratory nature, the limited availability of information on the topic and the limited number of questionnaires. It started with a review of literature related to guiding, interpretation skills and intercultural competences of tour guides and follows now with data analysis based on questionnaires, filled out by tourist guides.

The questionnaire is based on the model especially created for heritage sites proposed by Weiler & Sam (2010). The strategies used by the guides described in the previous section were listed, selected and analysed according to Meged (2010) and Brito (2010) and besides the social demographic data, the following categories were established:

1. Concerns of cognitive transmission of the message
2. Appeal to emotions during interpretation of the palace
3. Stronger and positive attitude in heritage preservation
4. Revelation of knowledge that can be a discovery for visitors

5. Interpretive strategies
6. Concern to maintain a good level of enjoyment during the visit
7. Relationship between the interpretation and the visitor's life
8. Provoke the desire to buy a local product or souvenir
9. Promote the "word of mouth"
10. Cause the desire to continue to stay in place
11. Make visitors wanting another guided tour

Procedure

The questionnaire was adapted to a survey programme available on the Internet and sent by e-mail. Guides were invited to answer the survey disseminated with the help of a professional association (AGIC) and the guides Guild (SNATTI). It was also published on the guides' Facebook, to which only certified tour guides have access, or directly sent to the guides' private e-mail. Each guide should answer only once, because the survey programme doesn't allow a second answer coming from the same e-mail. The questionnaire was available on-line from January 11 to 26 March 2013. Collected data were analysed, categorized, selected and evaluated.

Instrument and sample

The questionnaires were filled in anonymously in Portuguese by 169 licensed tourist guides who usually visit Sintra's National Palace with tourist parties of different origin, age and culture. Although 169 guides began their questionnaire, only 149 finished them. Thus, 20 questionnaires were not completed, maybe due to a technique error (they all finish at the same question), or because some guides were not patient.

Table 1 Socio-demographic variables

Demographic Variables	No answer	Frequency	%
Gender	19		
Male		29	19,3
Female		121	80,7
TOTAL		*150*	*100*
Age	19		
Between 20-29		23	15,3
Between 30-39		49	32,7
Between 40-49		41	27,3
Between 50-59		27	18
More than 60		10	6,7
TOTAL		*150*	*100*
Education	19		
Higher education (guiding course)		69	46,6
Additional training (other courses)		81	53,4
TOTAL		*150*	*100*
Professional Experience	19		
Less than 4 years		16	10,6
Between 5-9 years		26	17,4
Between 10-14 years		23	15,3
Between 15-19 years		26	17,4
Between 20-24 years		24	16
More than 24 years		35	23,3
TOTAL		*150*	*100*

Source: authors (2013)

Most tourist guides are women (80,7%) and most of them (60%) are aged between 30 and 49 years. It is interesting that slightly over 50% have additional training. Finally, only 40% of the guides have been working for more than 20 years, meaning that most of them don't work very long as guides.

When analyzing the open question on additional training, we reach the conclusion that the prevailing areas are History, History of Art and Cultural Heritage, as well as Tourism Management, and Foreign Languages or Literature. The following areas are also of interest to tourist guides, although less predominant: Public and International Relations; other Social Sciences; Natural Heritage; Islamic, Hebrew and Asian Studies; Conflict Management; Gastronomy and Wines; Health and First Aid; Events. A small percentage search extra knowledge in Conferences, Seminars and specific visits for guides. 91 guides didn't answer the question. A number of guides have other Post Graduation Courses (10 guides), Master Degree (5 guides) or PhD (2 guides).

Table 2 Tourist guides' working languages and spoken languages (%)

Languages	*Working Languages*	*Spoken Languages*
English	83,4	97,3
Portuguese	74,6	98
French	57,4	73,2
Spanish	51,5	68,5
Italian	33,7	40,3
German	19,5	26,8
Others	7,7[1]	10,1[2]

Source: authors (2013)

From a total of 169 guides who participated in the investigation, 150 answered the language questions. Note that the column "working languages" always shows inferior percentages comparing to the column "spoken languages". This can be maybe related to the notion of language proficiency guides have.

First of all, bilingual (and bicultural) guides must be taken into consideration and secondly, the use of a certain language may be related to the circumstances of its use (work, family, school, country)[1]. Therefore, while working, a guide may be more proficient in a certain working language (connected to the context), than in his/her mother tongue. That is why in the first row of the table 74,6% of the guides use Portuguese as a working language, whereas 98% speak it, i.e. some guides don't work in Portuguese. There may be two reasons for that: some guides are not Portuguese; some guides make mistakes in their mother tongue, because they don't use it in a working context.

It is also interesting to notice that there are more guides working in English than in Portuguese. Most people agree that English is the language of tourism, so everyone has to speak English, that became a sort of "globish" – the language spoken not only with people from all nations that have it as mother tongue, but also as a communication language with tour leaders and tourists coming from nations that have less spoken languages. English is useful for a number of markets such as Asian, Arabian and Eastern European for instance. Portuguese is relevant as a working language due to the increasing Brazilian market. Other well-represented working languages are ranked as follows: French, Spanish, Italian and German.

About 8% of guides also work in Dutch, Danish, Japanese, Turkish, Romanian, Brazilian, Swedish and Norwegian.

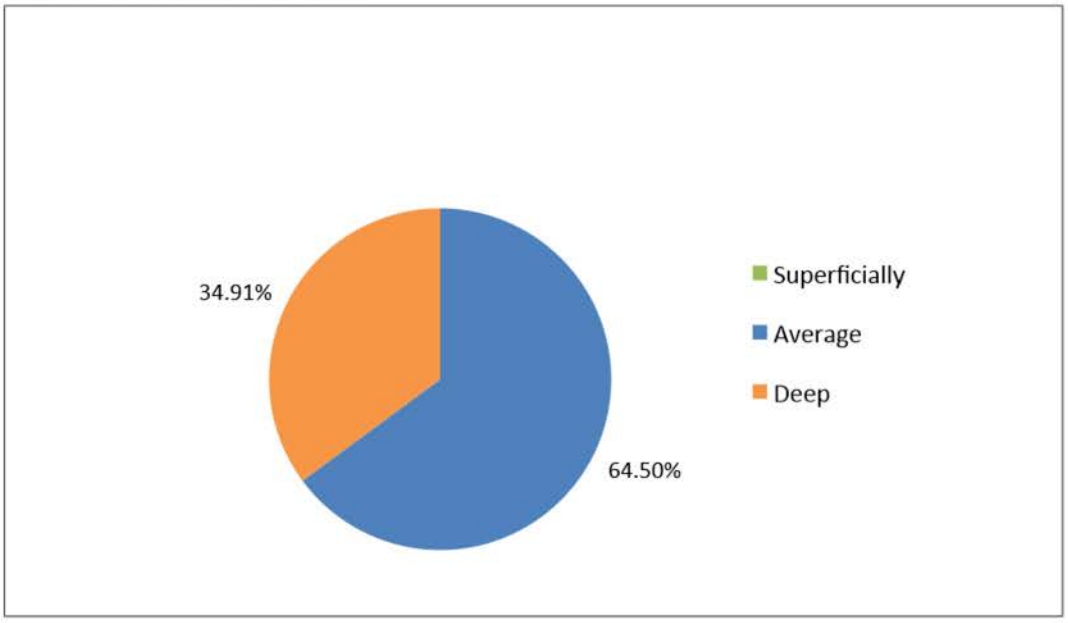
1 Some scientists understand and sometimes express themselves in English in the context of a congress connected with their work, but can hardly select what they want to eat from a menu or they have trouble talking with a museum guardian.

One last note about the fact that guides speak more languages than they use in a working context. There are two reasons for this: 1) oral interaction and oral production competences develop slowly and are easily forgotten. Many guides learned a language but they don't dare to speak it anymore in a working context, because they don't feel comfortable with it. 2) On the other hand, sometimes they feel they never reached a satisfactory level.
We don't know how many licensed tourist guides work in Portugal. The 169 questionnaires should represent the opinion of about 28,1% of the guides actually working in Portugal, estimated to be around 600 by the SNATTI. Half of the total number of guides probably works in the region of Lisbon. Therefore, the percentage represented by the sample increases to 56,3%.
The questionnaire had two parts: Part A – Interpretation section – included 11 indicators. Part B – Socio-demographic section – was divided into 5 closed questions. The 11 indicators in part A included 19 questions. All questions should also be answered in a four-point *Likert*-type scale. Question 4 (emotions conveyed through interpretation) was divided into 10 items. Question 9 (interpretative strategies) was divided into 17. Question 14 (products acquisition) was divided in 4 items.
Thus, the questionnaire was composed of 40 closed questions, plus 7 demographic questions (3 multiple-choice questions; 2 yes/no questions and; 3 open questions).
The survey was planned to be short because guides are not patient, when they are asked to fill in questionnaires.

Results and Findings

In order to facilitate the questionnaire analysis, interpretation and evaluation, the questions were divided into 5 groups:
L. Interpretation of the palace (10 questions)
M. Heritage preservation (3 questions)
N. Promotion of Sintra (4 questions)
O. Promotion of guided tours (2 questions)
P. Socio-demographic characteristics of the sample (8 questions).

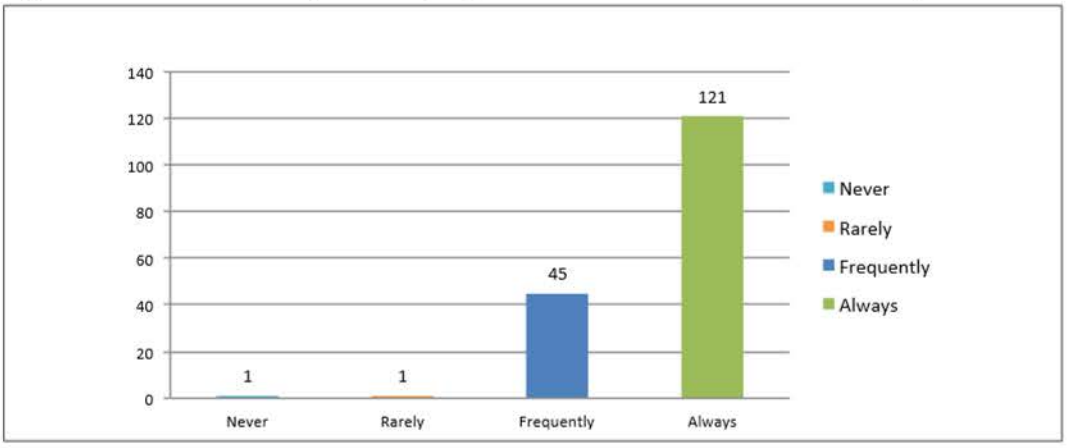
Figure 1 General interpretation



Source: authors (2013)

In order to better understand the way guides develop interpretation strategies when visiting the National Palace of Sintra, 10 questions were presented. From a total of 168 answers, guides state their tourists get deep (35%) or standard (65%) information about the National Palace.

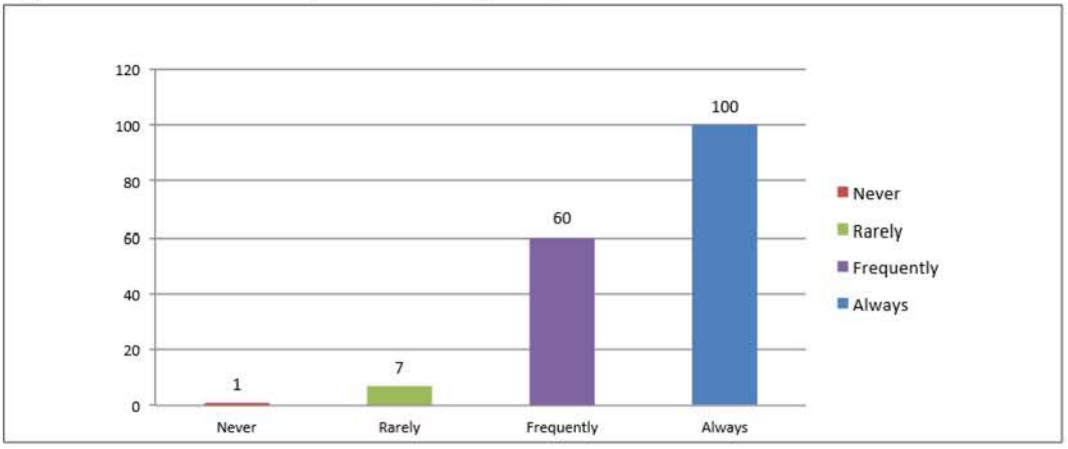
Figure 2 Intercultural competence I (adapt to sociocultural level of the audience)



Source: authors (2013)

Intercultural strategies are important when visiting the Palace. From 168 answers around 73% of the guides always adapt their speech to the audience's sociocultural level and about 27% of the guides frequently adapt it.

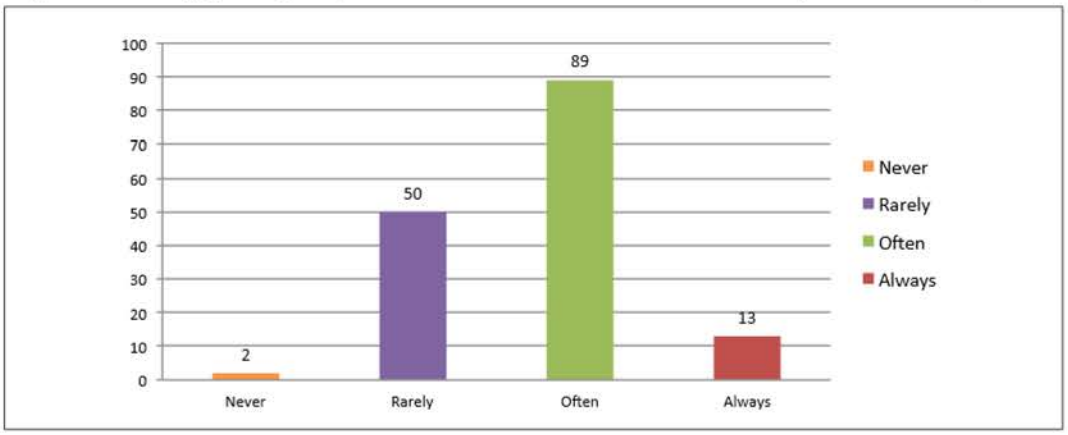
Figure 3 Intercultural competence II (adapt to age of the audience)



Source: authors (2013)

The speech is also adapted according to visitors age: about 60% of the guides always adapt their speech to the different ages of the visitors, 36% frequently adapt it, and only about 4% never or rarely adapt their speech.

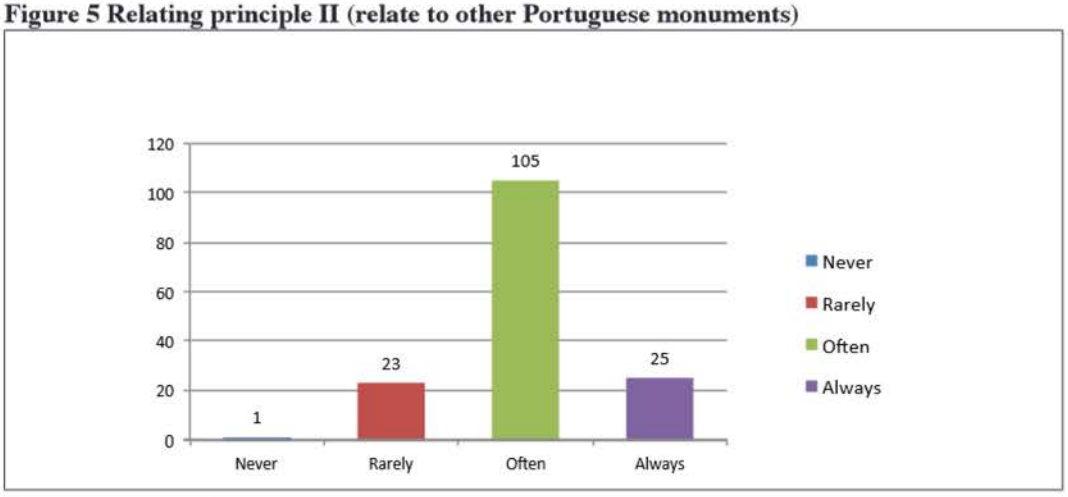
Figure 4 Relating principle I (relate to other monuments in the country of the tourists)



Source: authors (2013)

The National Palace can be related with other monuments in the countries where the tourists come from. In a total of 154 given answers that relation is often presented by around 58% of the guides, whereas 33% of the guides rarely do it, around 8% always mention it and 1% never do it.

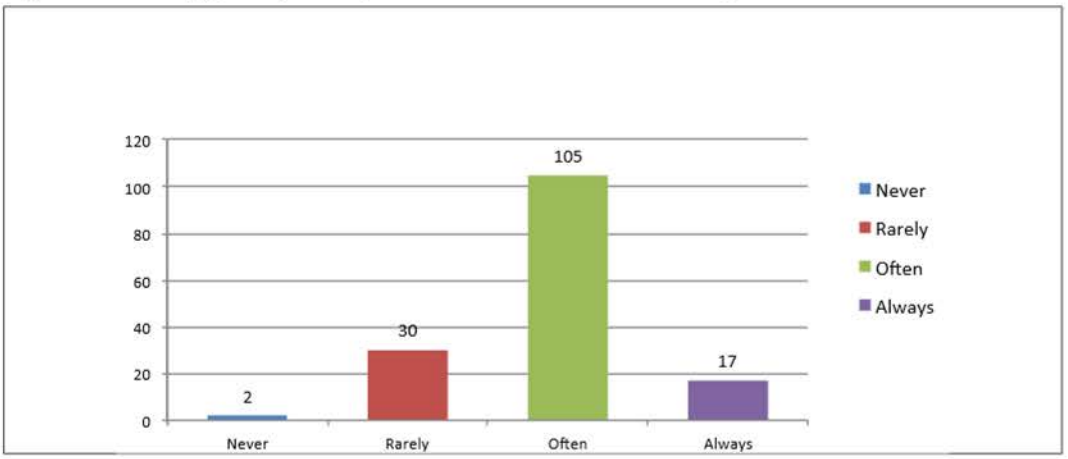
Figure 5 Relating principle II (relate to other Portuguese monuments)



Source: authors (2013)

According to figure 5, 68% of the guides often relate the National Palace to other Portuguese monuments, about 16% always relate it, around 15% of the guides rarely do it and 1% never establish any connection.

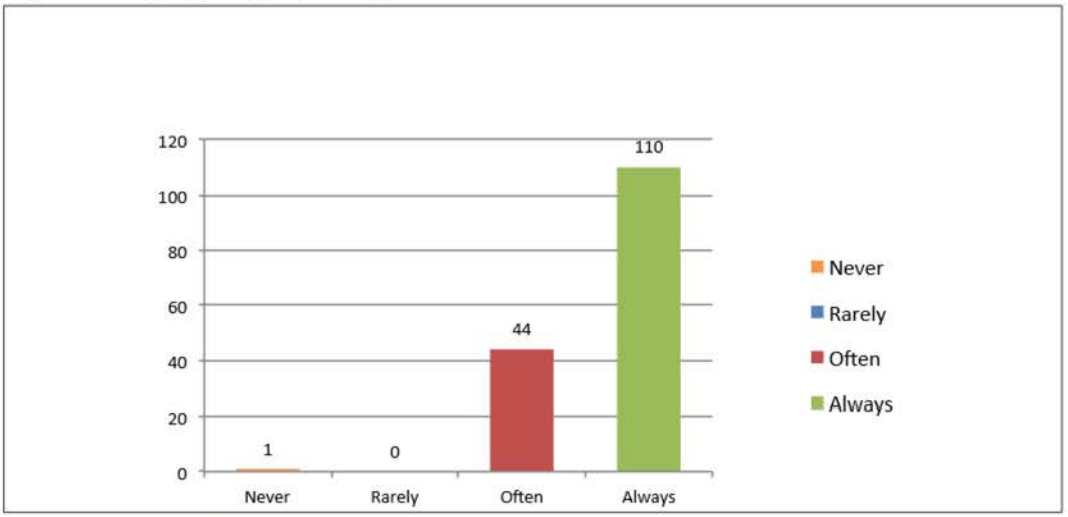
Figure 6 Relating principle III (relate to culture of the audience)



Source: authors (2013)

Figure 6 asserts that 154 answers were given about relating life of the National Palace to the culture of the audience: 68% often present this relation, around 11% always present it, 20% rarely do it and 1% never do it.

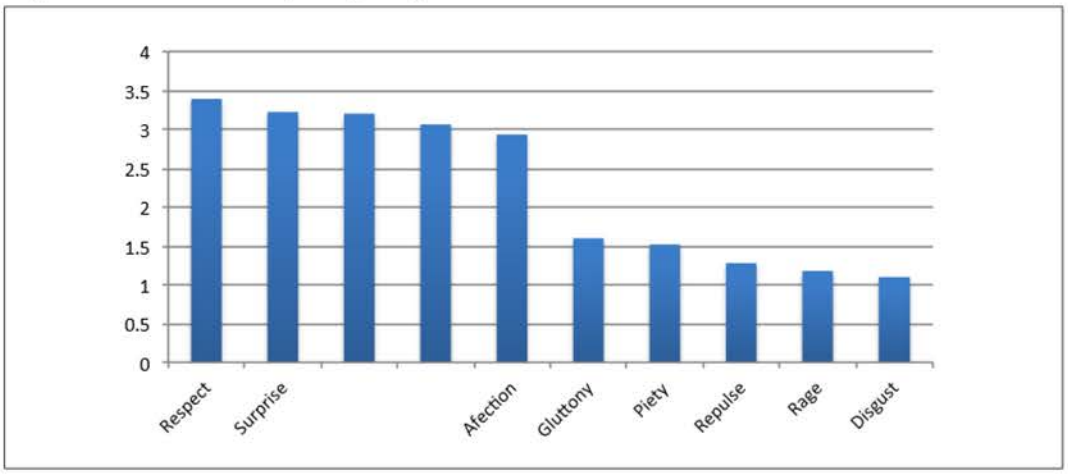
Figure 7 Keeping the party in a good mood



Source: authors (2013)

Within a total number of 155 given answers, while visiting the National Palace about 71% of the guides are always aware that the spirit of the group should remain high and that people should be in a good mood, 28% of the guides state they are often aware of that and 1% never think about it.

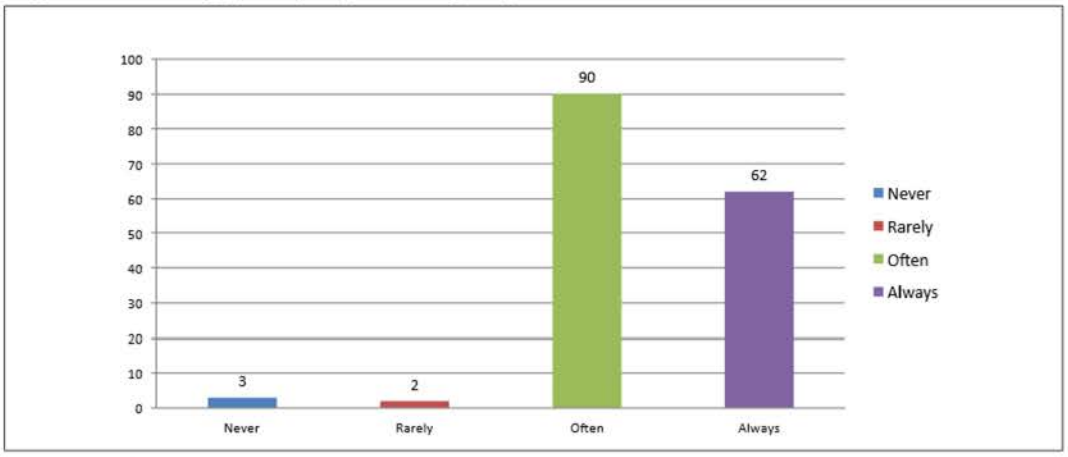
Figure 8 Emotions conveyed by the guides



Source: authors (2013)

Analysing the emotions conveyed through interpretation while visiting the National Palace of Sintra, we notice that 5 positive emotions are highly ranked (respect, surprise, admiration, joy and affection) whereas 5 other emotions are never or rarely present (gluttony, pity, repulse, rage, disgust).

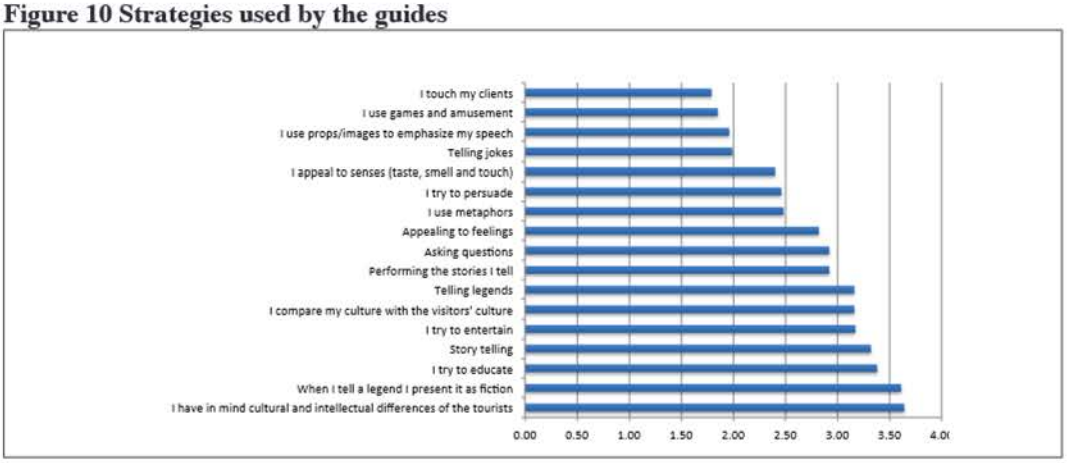
Figure 9 Revealing principle (provoking surprise / astonishment)



Source: authors (2013)

When visiting the Palace, provoking surprise or even astonishment during the visit is often a concern of about 57% of the guides in a total of 157 given answers on this specific feature and around 40% state it is always a concern to them. Only 2% are never concerned about it, while 1% rarely is.

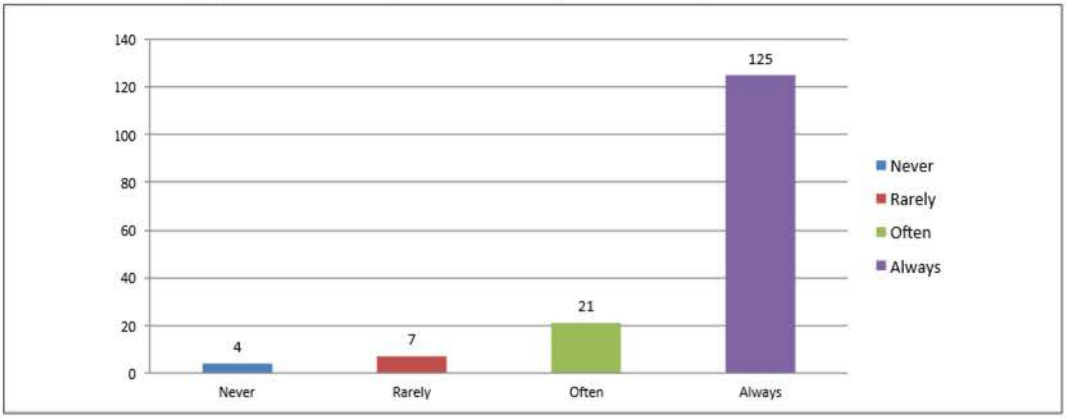
Figure 10 Strategies used by the guides



Source: authors (2013)

According to figure 10, which rates the importance of different strategies when guides visit and interpret the Palace of Sintra, we realize that they should be ranked as follows:
1st I have in mind cultural and intellectual differences of the tourists
2nd When I tell a legend I present it as fiction
3rd I try to educate
4th Storytelling
5th I try to entertain
6th I compare my culture with the visitors' culture
7th Telling legends
8th Performing the stories I tell
9th Asking questions
10th Appealing to feelings
11th I use metaphors
12th I try to persuade
13th I appeal to senses (taste, smell and touch)
14th Telling jokes
15th I use props/ images to emphasize my speech
16th I use games and amusement
17th I touch my clients

Figure 11 Heritage preservation I (concern with preservation)

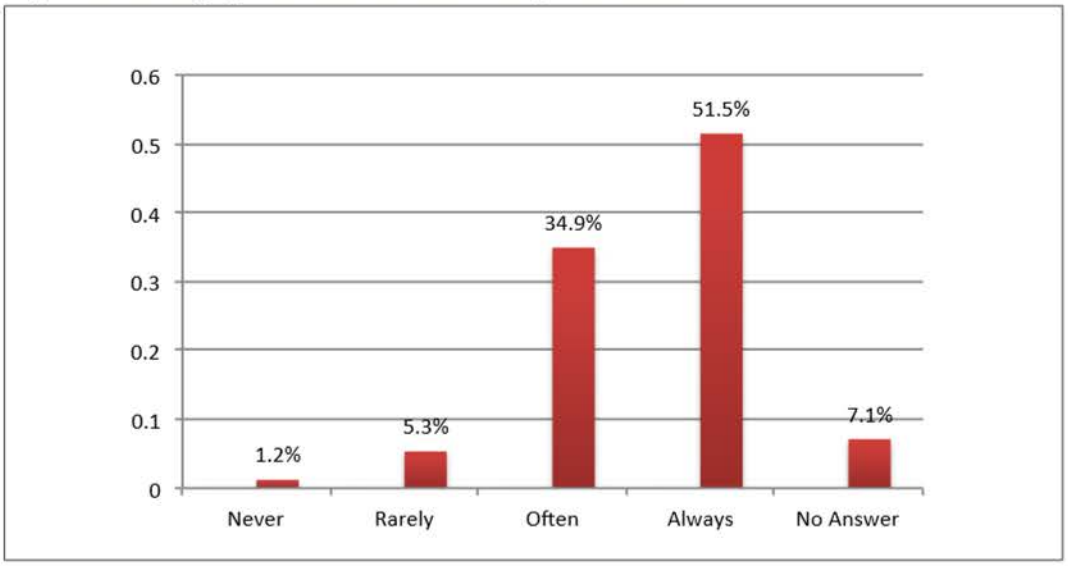


Source: authors (2013)

One of the goals in this study is to understand if guides are concerned with heritage preservation. In order to understand how guides preserve the heritage within the palace,

they were asked if they prevent tourists from damaging the objects or values exposed. From 157 answers, we can observe that 125 guides (74%) always prevent, 21 (13%) often prevent it, 4% rarely do it and 3% never do it.

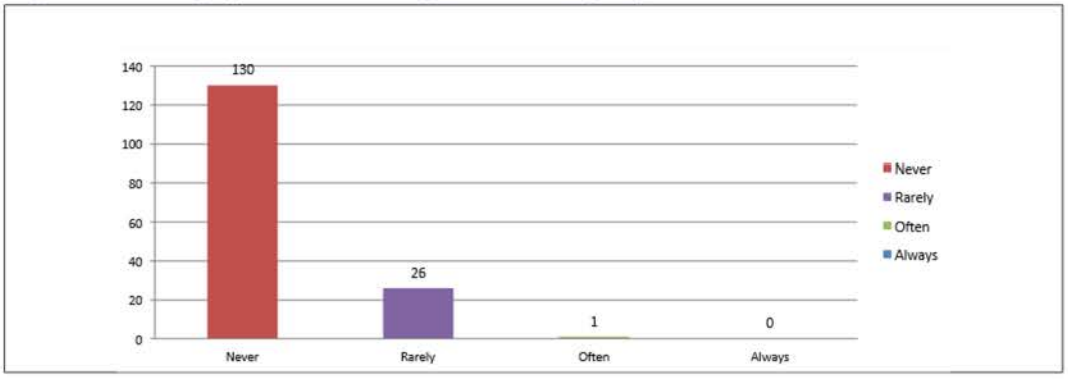
Figure 12 Heritage preservation II (talk about preservation)



Source: authors (2013)

When analysing figure 12, to understand if guides talk about the importance of heritage preservation, we obtain 157 answers, showing that 87 (55%) guides always explain it while 59 (38%) guides answer they often do it, 6% rarely do it and 1% never does it.

Figure 13 Heritage preservation III (guides touching objects)



Source: authors (2013)

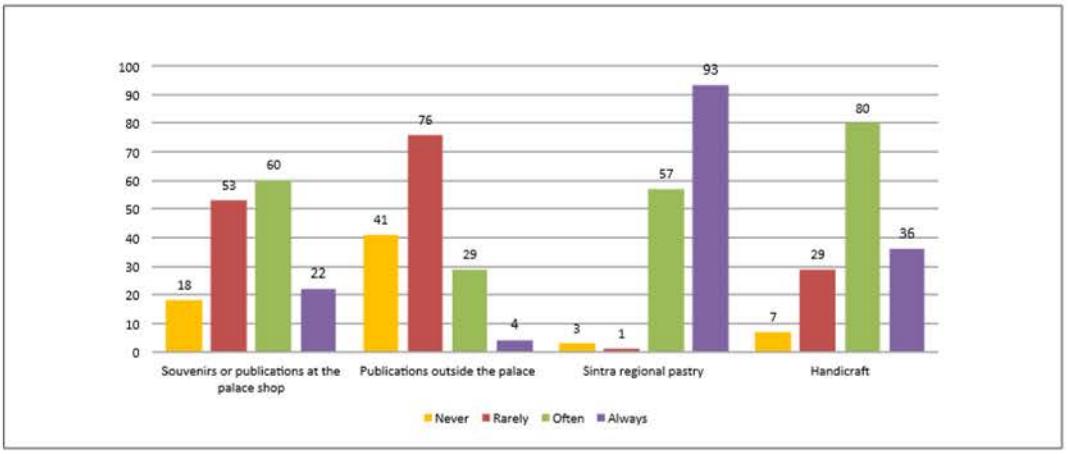
157 guides answered the question if they touch the objects exhibited or applied to the walls. 130 (77%) guides answered that they never do it, 26 (16%) rarely touch and only one answer that s/he often does it.

As mentioned before visitors only stay one and a half hour in Sintra. There are several cultural and natural monuments to be visited and in many cases tourists would like to stay longer and visit other heritage.

To find out to what extent guides promote Sintra, 4 questions were asked. The first one was about advising visitors to buy publications or souvenirs; the second question was if guides suggest visitors to recommend Sintra and its palace to friends and relatives; the third one was if guides tell visitors it would be nice staying longer in Sintra; and the last question

was if guides tell their tourists that there is still much to see and that they should return to Sintra for other visits.
The first question can be divided into 4 parts, according to the different items asked. The question was if guides at the end of the visit of the Palace invite visitors to buy: a) souvenirs or publications at the palace shop; b) publications outside the palace; c) Sintra regional pastry; d) handicraft; e) other.
So, we will analyse the 4 items separately.

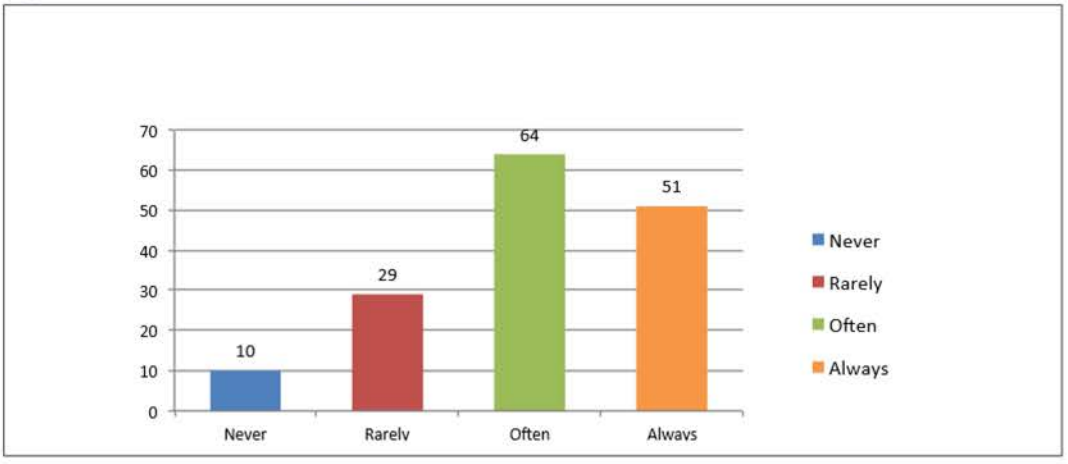
Figure 14 Promotion I (shopping)



Source: authors (2013)

From 153 given answers about inviting tourists to buy souvenirs or publications at the palace 60 guides (39%) replied they do it often and 53 (35%) rarely.
For the second item, about inviting tourists to buy publications outside the palace, from the 150 answers, 76 guides (51%) told they rarely advise and 41 (27%) guides never recommend it, 29 (19%) of the guides often recommend buying them, whereas 4 (3%) always do it.
The question about suggesting tourists to buy regional pastry was answered by 154 guides, from which 93 (60%) declared they always suggest it and 57 (37%) do it often.
The same question was asked about handicrafts, and the number of answers was of 152. In this case, the answers were quite different: 80 guides (53%) answered they often recommend, 36 (24%) always do it, but 29 guides (19%) declare they rarely do it and 7 guides (5%) never suggest it.

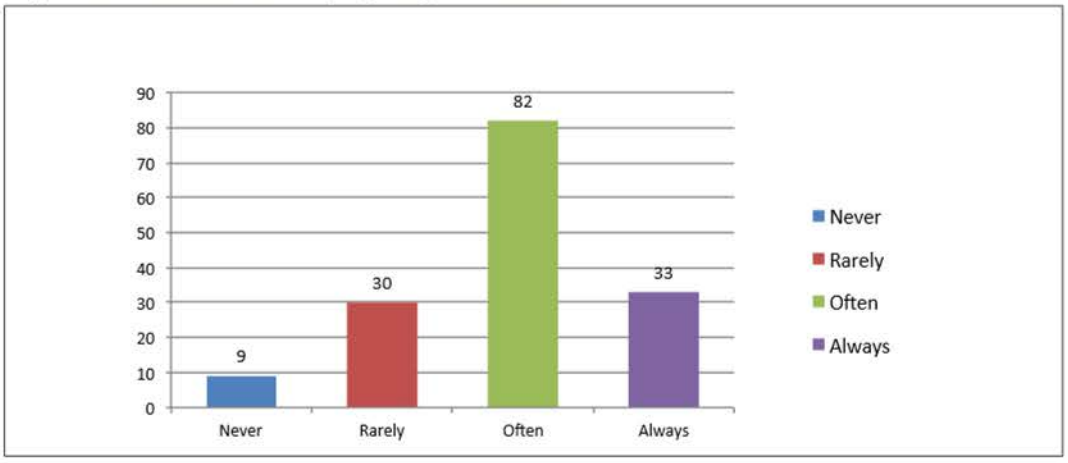
Figure 15 Promotion II (recommend Sintra)



Source: authors (2013)

According to 154 answers to the question on whether guides suggest visitors to recommend Sintra and its palace to friends and relatives, 64 guides often suggest it, and 51 always do it, 29 guides only rarely suggest and only 10 persons never suggest it.

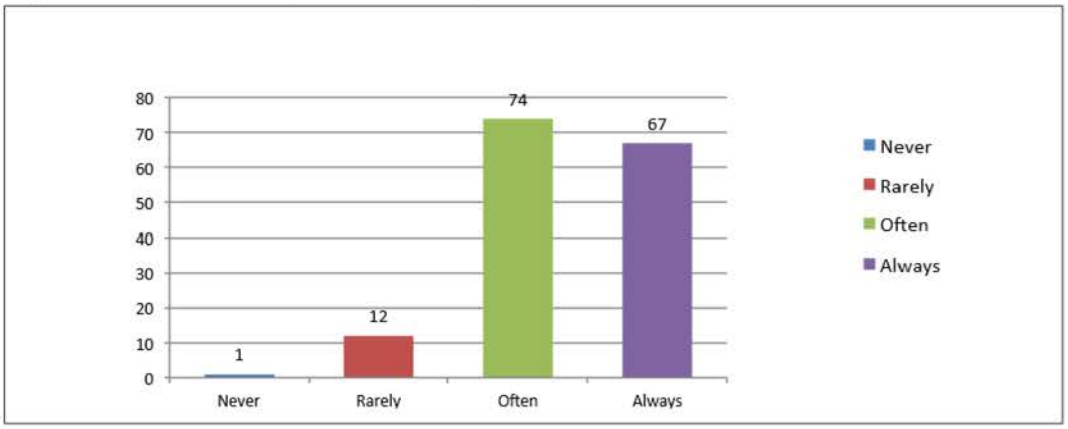
Figure 16 Promotion III (staying longer in Sintra)



Source: authors (2013)

It was asked if guides tell visitors it would be nice staying longer in Sintra. From the total of 154 answers, 9 guides never say it; 30 guides rarely do it; the larger number is by far represented by those who often say it (82 guides), and 33 guides always say it to visitors.

Figure 17 Promotion IV (return to Sintra)

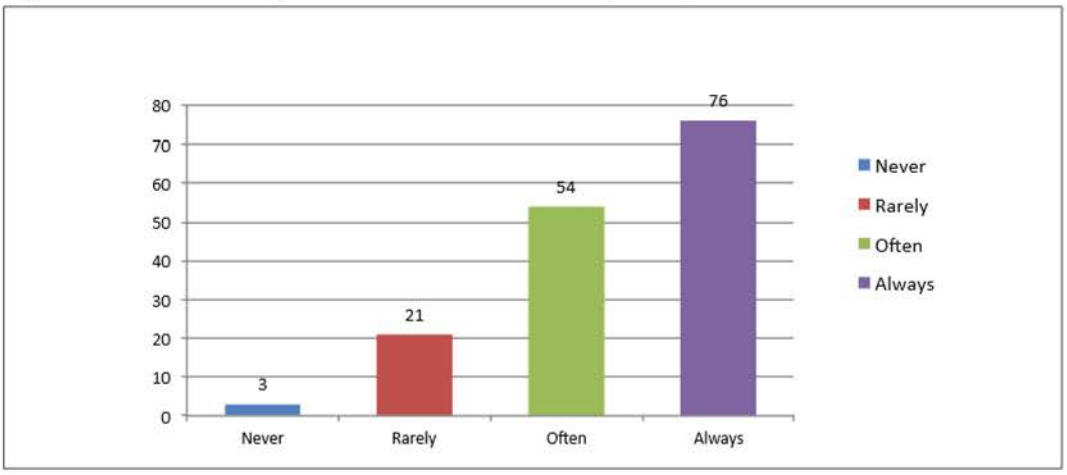


Source: authors (2013)

The following question was if guides tell their tourists that there is still much to see and that they should return to Sintra for other visits. From a total number of 154 guides, 74 answered they often say it to clients and 67 guides always say it. So, 92% of the guides tell tourists to return to Sintra and visit other heritage.

Two questions were included in this questionnaire in order to perceive to which extent guides promote themselves.

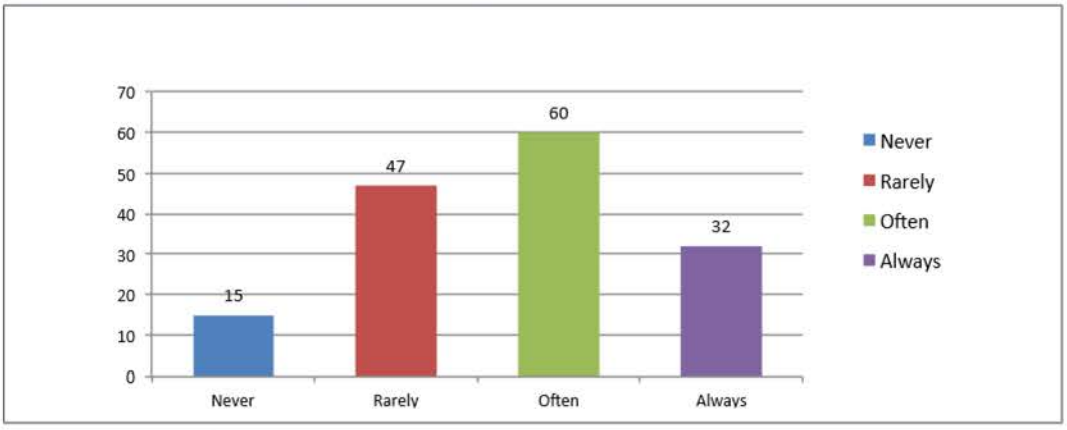
Figure 18 Promotion V (tourists discover more when guided)



Source: authors (2013)

As to the question whether guides stress that visitors get to know more when they are accompanied by a tourist guide, out of the 154 answers, 76 guides always do it and 54 guides often mention it. So, 84% of the guides promote guided tours in an active way.

Figure 19 Promotion VI (guide's own image)



Source: authors (2013)

The last question was if guides promote their own image before the public to get more work. From 154 guides, we can realise that 15 never do it and 47 guides rarely do it; the larger number of guides (60) answered they often promote their image and 32 guides always promote it before their public.

Conclusions

We didn't manage to obtain a reasonable number of answers from guides, which reinforces the idea that guides in Portugal are still not aware of the importance of this type of research about their own profession.

The sample used in the study is heterogeneous in age, working experience, training and spoken languages, although English and Portuguese are the most important ones.

English is useful for a number of markets such as Asian, Arabian and Eastern European for instance. Portuguese is also relevant as a working language due to the increasing Brazilian market. Moreover, the first two languages are followed by the three most important languages for Touring in Europe: French, Italian and German.

After a 3-year Graduation Course in Tourism – for tourist guides in Portugal – they show little interest in additional training. Nevertheless, formal education should assume more relevance having in mind the global society we live in, and the quick evolution of scientific research.

The National Palace is permanently visited by groups of different nationalities, which means different behaviors. Different parties need specific strategies to correctly convey the messages about cultural heritage. However, while visiting this Palace, guides show a common pattern of strategies. They

- Adapt their speech to the cultural and intellectual differences of the tourists
- Compare their own culture with the visitor's culture
- Tell legends being aware they should be presented as fiction
- Tell stories and sometimes even perform them
- Entertain, educate and persuade
- Ask questions and use metaphors
- Appeal to feelings and senses (taste, smell and touch)

Therefore, they use rhetoric, intercultural, logistical, story telling, drama and questions.

Some strategies are rarely or never used by the guides in the Palace. They usually don't

- Tell jokes neither use games and amusement
- Use props/images to emphasize the speech of guides
- Touch visitors

Therefore, they don't use intimacy, animation and props.

If we analyse the strategies used by guides we reach the conclusion that they feel their mission is not to entertain while educating; their purpose is to educate entertaining. For example, it is interesting to notice that, visiting the Palace, guides like to entertain but they don't feel they should tell jokes. Edutainment is in fact what guides are expected to do. Their strategies are mainly related to intercultural interpretation.

Moreover, this may be also connected to three features of the Palace:

1. Memory (this is announced as one of the oldest and best preserved medieval palaces in Europe)
2. Structure (tiny rooms, many flights of steps, labyrinth)
3. Timing (visits last for 45 to 50 minutes normally and groups have a scheduled time to remain, because of the large number of parties)

As far as edutainment is concerned it seems guides clearly separate facts from fiction for instance when telling a legend about the palace or a story about one of its characters.

Education includes preservation. According to this study, guides are not only heritage caretakers but they also convey preservation messages.

The questionnaire proved to be sufficient to realise that two Tilden principles are, no doubt, put into practice by guides: they are able to connect the resource with the visitor and to reveal new facts and meanings in different and even surprising ways. Nevertheless, the questionnaire was insufficient to prove if guides realise the importance of Tilden's "provoking principle", which demands specific preparation and training.

While visiting the Palace guides rather bring up emotions related to positive attitudes such as respect, surprise, admiration, joy and affection; instead of recalling emotions which are traditionally connected with negative images and concepts such as disgust, rage, repulse, pity and gluttony.

Most guides are aware that they are active elements while promoting a tourist destination and guided tours. In the case of Sintra, they actually promote local pastry and handicrafts, but they don't encourage the acquisition of books and publications either in the palace or out of the monument.

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Notes

1. Other working languages: Dutch (6); Danish (3); Japanese (2); Turkish, Romanian, Swedish, Norwegian and Brazilian Portuguese (1)
2. Other spoken languages: Dutch (7); Danish (3); Japanese (3); Turkish (2), Romanian, Swedish, Norwegian (1)

We Feel YU: (Re)construction of the Yugoslav Period through the Socialism Experience Tour

Marko Gams
Velenje School Centre - Higher Professional School
Velenje, Slovenia
marko.gams@guest.arnes.si

Urška Gaberšek
Municipality of Velenje – Tourist Information Centre Velenje
Velenje, Slovenia
urska.gabersek@velenje.si

Abstract
This article discusses the issues of heritage and values from the Yugoslav era in order to be used for the purpose of a thematic tourist product, which is currently still being developed. The guided tour with elements of "edutainment", which is being prepared by a group of regional partners in cooperation with the Town Municipality, will take place in Velenje. The town had grown into the fifth largest town in Slovenia due to the increased coal demand in the second part of the 1950s and soon became a showpiece of Yugoslav self-management system. The greatest challenge in the (re)construction of the Yugoslav period for the purposes of the thematic product is to impartially treat the issues of Tito's Yugoslav heritage which causes strong emotional responses in the Slovene public. A part of it is nostalgically reminiscing the "good old times" and the rest are strictly opposed to being reminded of the symbols of the "totalitarian system".

Keywords
guided tour, experience, socialism, Yugoslav heritage

Introduction

Socialist heritage tourism as a market niche of cultural tourism in ex-socialist countries of Central and Eastern Europe started with the fall of the Iron Curtain. Tourists who are interested in experiencing the more or less distant past are visiting the surviving material remnants from the period of socialism, walking the tourist paths and enjoying themselves in theme parks. Velenje, a typical example of a socialist town with its modernist architecture and post-war period monuments, represents a strong tourist potential.

This article is aiming to present how we interpret the Yugoslav period heritage for the purpose of themed guided tours and what problems we face in the process. It is important to add that in terms of terminology (such as socialism, totalitarianism etc.), this article is using the terminology as normally used in other similar tourist products and is not aiming to (re)define them.

Why "We Feel YU"? Many specialists believe that the current slogan promoting Slovenian tourism, I Feel Slovenia, with the word LOVE emphasised, is not convincing. On the other hand, many youths in Slovenia feel emotions linked to the country they did not know themselves and also pensioners feel nostalgia for the times of "good old Yugoslavia". As we are dealing with the product of experience tourism, the word "feel" is the key.

Making use of socialist heritage for the purpose of tourism: pro & contra

The fall of the Berlin Wall and the liberalization of migration facilitated the marketing of the post-war period heritage of the former Warsaw pact countries. Already the early nineties saw the attempts of awakening and marketing of the heritage of the regime that was buried not long ago. There is no doubt that the socialist heritage has a strong tourist potential, as many tourists are willing to experience the past before it finally disappears (Richards & Wilson, 2004).

Tourist agencies and individuals on the territory between Albania and the countries of the former Soviet Union are offering guided tours and other tourist products based on the heritage of the recent past. The website of the Bulgarian national tourist organisation, for example, presents a thematic programme of experiencing the period of socialism (Socialist Tour, 2012), Bulgarian travel agency Nvision Travel offers communism tours (Communism Tours in Bulgaria, 2012), Absolute Tours offers a "Hammer & Sickle Tour" (2012), travel agency Art of Your Travel offers a "Vintage Trabant Tour" (2012) of Prague, while Crazy Guides from Poland offers "Trabant tours" of Nowa Huta, a typical socialist town near Krakow (Communism Tours, 2012). Themed products based on the heritage of socialism differ in contents. In many products that come from private business initiatives, the economic interest is stressed, and the contents are adapted to the taste of the tourists, who are most frequently searching for the experience. On the other hand, the products that come from state institutions prioritize the educational role: to present the anti-democratic nature of the former system and to warn the young people who did not experience that period by themselves. In the countries that arose on the territory of former Yugoslavia, evocations of memories and traditions of the "Tito period" are also strongly present and highly popular among specific segments of population. The House of the Flowers (Tito's mausoleum) is one of the most visited tourist attractions in Belgrade. On the anniversary of the former Day of the Youth on 25th of May, the birth house of Josip Broz Tito is visited by thousands of "pilgrims" (Horvat, 2010).

In Slovenia, there are only a few products based on the heritage from the Yugoslav period. In the National Museum of Contemporary History, for example, the heritage of the post-war period is presented through the exhibition "Slovenians in the 20th Century". A military watchtower, which the Yugoslav army placed in Vrtojba in 1948 with the aim to control the border between Yugoslavia and Italy, was turned into a small museum by the Goriška museum in 2006 (Malnič, 2009). There has been no thematic package tour which would be based mainly on the heritage of the Yugoslav period in Slovenia yet. An important obstacle hindering the development of more products is the fact that many are considered as "pro-Yugoslav" and as such ideologically problematic in Slovenia. Branko Šuštar from the Slovenian School Museum points out that today (again) the museum presentation of school traditions from the socialist times is under the ideological influence. In 2001, within the framework of the permanent exhibition of educational history, the School Museum presented a "correct and professionally immaculate lesson from the socialist period, which, according to the evaluation from the ideological point of view, became so distracting for the new and different ideological order that it had to disappear from the museum programme in 2006" (Šuštar, 2009). Jože Dežman from the National Museum of Contemporary History claims that the scope of objects and monuments of "Titoism" is remarkable: from the revolution monument in Ljubljana to the tunnel of St. Barbara in Huda jama (a mass burial place of prisoners of war and civilians who were killed unjustly after the end of the World War 2). The author asks himself which heritage in its typology can be called socialist and is specific enough to receive a clear, professionally categorized definition. Are those the monuments of partisan movement, revolution monuments or hidden mass murder locations (Dežman, 2009)? Almost 70 years after the end of World

War II, Slovenians are still ideologically divided, and this also affected the creation of the Socialism Experience Tour in Velenje.

The rise of "the ideal town of the new social order"

When Velenje is mentioned, many residents of Slovenia first think of an industrial city that was established only after World War II – in the period of socialism and rapid industrialization of the Šalek Valley. In the decade before the bloody breakdown of Yugoslavia, the town was named after the first president of the Yugoslav federation, Josip Broz Tito. During the first years after the World War II, Velenje was only a small market town. When, after the year 1950, the demand for coal increased, Velenje started to develop rapidly, and the problem of the lack of residential buildings became central. Once a local project, it now became a national one: with the help of "voluntary" high-impact work the "ideal town" of the new social order was built (Kljajič, 1999). The town centre, dimensioned for the scale of the whole region, symbolized the new peoples' authority. Already during its construction, Velenje became the showpiece of modern architecture and urbanism of socialist Yugoslavia, which was admired by masses of school students and domestic tourists (Poles, 1999). The socialist "miracle" town Velenje was proudly presented to world leaders. Among the most influential political figures who visited Velenje, besides Tito, were former Soviet leaders Brezhnev and Khrushchev, Romanian leader Ceausescu and president of the Polish labour party Gierek.

Famous architects and urban planners were involved in the planning of the architecturally modern "town in the park". The town centre with the main buildings is known as one of the most beautiful monuments of modern architecture and as such is also protected (Kljajič, 1999).

In the 1970s, the Slovenian attitude towards Velenje changed drastically: the development of the town was no longer wanted. The decision was made that Velenje cannot be the regional centre, which was soon reflected in the architecture as well. The principle of quantity started to overpower quality, and money became more important than functionality and aesthetics. The physical image of the town started to move away from the original concept of the "modern" town, and its symbolic image stared to change as well (Poles, 1999). Nowadays, Velenje, a sort of architectural concentrate, is most often experienced as a "mixture of admiration and nostalgic repulsion" (Vrbič, 1999).

Tourism potential of the socialist heritage in Velenje

Velenje, as a typical example of a modern socialist town with its architecture, monuments and maintained traditions from the socialist period, represents a great potential in the field of cultural and heritage tourism. In terms of the very essence of heritage phenomena, it confirms the widely accepted opinion that heritage is being constructed by people, in accordance with our current needs. In other words the heritage of the socialism period could not be actualized without any real demand in society.

Therefore, what resources for the creation of such heritage production could we use in this context? In the 1970s the prevalent idea was that a beautiful city depends not only on architecture, but also on various accessories, flowers and monuments. In the years 1970-1980 half of the public monuments in Velenje were set up (Križnič, 2008). That brought a new ideological layer to the townscape. In 1977 they set up a super-sized monument of Tito at the Tito square. It dominates the square figuratively as well as literally. By setting up a monument to the father of self-management socialism, Edvard Kardelj, on the Kardeljev trg square, a strong ideological axis was created. Next to the old axis that links the castles as the symbols of feudalism, a new axis appeared that connects the ideologists of the new era – Tito and Kardelj (Poles, 1999).

After Slovenia claimed its independence, some local residents wanted the Tito monument to be removed and the name of the Tito square to be changed. As an answer to this, a graffiti "You are not Tito's, Tito is ours" appeared on the bottom of the monument.
The Velenje Museum is displaying a collection called "When Velenje was becoming a town". With the help of photographic materials it reflects the development of a modern town in the period of 1945 to 1960. The memorial room of the signing of partial German capitulation is located in the nearby popular spa town Topolšica. The DK Restaurant with the red five-point star symbol, which derives from the symbol of Yugoslavia and socialism as well, is located in the premises of the former Workers' club (Delavski Klub) that used to be a popular meeting place of workers.

The holidays and traditions from the Yugoslav period continue to be a strong element in the identity of Velenje and also in independent Slovenia. Celebration of the "Youth day", formerly dedicated to the birthday of Tito, is still living its story as a festival named "Days of youth and culture" under the organization of the local students' club. Traditionally, the festival is opened by the "relay of wisdom" (formerly "relay of youth" – a word game in Slovenian: "štafeta modrosti" and "štafeta mladosti"), which starts in Tito's birth place Kumrovec, Croatia, close to the Slovenian border, and ends in Velenje. Velenje is still nurturing the tradition of working brigades. During the 50th anniversary of the town, a voluntary working brigade was organized: 40 volunteers renovated the abandoned open-air cinema near the Škale Lake (Delovna brigada, 2009).

The local environment expresses strong support to the conservation, promotion and marketing of the socialist heritage. In the autumn of 2012 the international project ReNewTown – "Revitalising New Towns in Central, East and South-East Europe through community-building and tourism development" was ended, which aimed at establishing a network of socialist towns of south-eastern Europe. The purpose of the network is to "change the negative image of socialist towns, promote socialist architecture as tourism potential, which is still lacking attention as an important element of European cultural history and identity" (ReNewTown, 2012). The voluntary work action awakened the same kind of high-impact work that marked the rapid development of the new Velenje town fifty years ago. At the moment, Velenje is taking part in the international project ATRIUM – "Architecture of Totalitarian Regimes of the 20th Century in Urban Management" (2012). The main goal of the project is the promotion of architectural remnants of totalitarian regimes of 20th century through culture. In Velenje, the purpose of the project is to create an architectural path and an architectural guidebook.

In the SWOT analysis of cultural heritage and tourist offers in the context of the current strategy of development of tourism of Velenje in 2009-2013, the advantages include "the largest Tito monument in the world" and "Tito's town", and the opportunities include "integration of Tito in tourist products" and "marketing of Tito" (Projektna skupina UP FTŠ Turistica, 2009, p. 47). The strategy claims that tourism should also be developed in the field of experience, also in connection with the political heritage of socialism and Tito. As written in the strategy, Tito's heritage should "speak out about socialism, its political, economic and social dimensions in a kind and instructive way" (Projektna skupina UP FTŠ Turistica, 2009, p. 83).

Challenges in creating the product of experiencing socialism in Velenje

Despite its marketing potential, the tourism market does not yet know a specific product, dedicated exclusively to the heritage of the socialist or Yugoslav period in Velenje. Apart from the 1960s when Velenje was visited by numerous groups, individuals and highly esteemed guests to feel and experience the power of "socialism in practice", the modern

era has not seen any comprehensive tourist products of the socialist era in Velenje. Local experts believe that a themed tourist product would contribute to better recognisability of Velenje as a tourist destination and, as a consequence, attract more visitors. Contemporary history expert Vinko Mihelak points out: "The Velenje of today is, more than any other Slovene town, 'a socialist era child'. Such a tourist package would most definitely belong in such an environment. I think we should be aware that the most problematic part is the guided tour of the town, because due to many urban planning interventions, Velenje has lost the essence of the former "town in the park", which means it has also lost its special appeal in comparison with other Slovene towns. The average tourist will not be able to understand what makes Velenje so different from other towns" (V. Mihelak, personal communication, December 9, 2012).

The principal challenge in creating this tourist product is the interpretation of the complex heritage of the Yugoslav period. The product would undoubtedly impress a part of the Slovene public and media space, and trigger an avalanche of negative criticism from the others. Peter Groznik, head of the project European Culture Capital 2012 – Partner town Velenje, points out: "The product should treat the historical facts reliably and objectively, and at the same time reflect a critical distance towards them." (P. Groznik, personal communication, December 17, 2012).

The proposed product started as an idea of a group of school students. For the purpose of a school project, the short video (which is available on http://www.youtube.com/watch?v=bIO-Na7RB0I) in which the Yugoslav iconography is stereotyped to a great extent, was designed. The song dedicated to builders of Velenje which is used in the video became an anthem of Velenje in 2009 – on the 50th anniversary of the town. As strong support from local authorities and local public existed, a group of local and regional partners, who will assure sustainability and enforcement of the product on the market, was soon created.

The themed product, which is still in the development phase, consists of a guided tour and simulation of a school lesson from the Yugoslav period that includes the Pioneers initiation ceremony. The guided city tour is based on the architecture heritage of Velenje, but nevertheless includes the necessary elements of iconography of the Yugoslav period. The guided tour explains why and how the town arose, defines the design of the town that is typical for the socialist period, and refers to the specific characteristics of the period. The phases of building the town are shown, emphasizing the difference between the modern Velenje and typical workers' colonies of the pre-war period that are so characteristic for some other coal mining towns. Deviations in the development in the socialism period are stressed, especially the visible architectural digressions from the concept of modernism starting with the 1970s, the most misguided examples of functionalist architecture, where a block of flats served basically as a "machine" for living. The biggest challenge was the creation of the materials for the lesson from the period of Yugoslavia. The purpose of the lesson is "edutainment" of young attendants who did not live in the socialist period themselves and to invoke the memories of "the good old days" in older visitors. The lesson was constructed based on the key elements of the Yugoslav socio-economic system. The goal is to present the positive values of the former system and government, such as "voluntary work" and "fraternity between nations". Besides being educational, the lesson also aims at being fun. The fun part of the lesson is based on the stereotypical image of relations between the "modern" socialist system and the "exploitative" capitalist system and on the relationships within the "broader homeland" in the form of "fraternity and equality" among the Yugoslav nations.

The lesson also contains elements of irony, which is a very common part of interpretation of the socialist period in general, and elements of criticism. Criticism is not only aimed at the former system, but also the current consumer mentality and chasing after material goods. This is how we wanted to draw some parallels between the former lack of critical thinking and total lack of thinking in the current society. The culmination of the lesson is the Pioneers initiation ceremony, which is, because of its very emotional and nostalgic nature, a very important element of the whole product, especially for the older participants from the former states of the federation.

For whom is the product intended? It has great potential for education in history, geography and sociology (M. Pritržnik, personal communication, December 8, 2012). The period of Yugoslavia is very poorly represented in school curriculums. Pupils in the final years of elementary school, high school students and university students can take field trips to acquaint themselves with the construction of a modern post-war town, the architecture of modernism, public monuments and the contemporary history heritage (V. Verdnik, personal communication, November 22, 2012). This product will round up the existing offer of educational tourism in Velenje. Since Velenje is well-known for its urban planning and architectural design, the product is also interesting for the (Slovene) professional public (A. Hudarin, personal communication, December 11, 2012). As a multicultural and multinational town, Velenje with its products is also attractive to visitors from former Yugoslav republics and other foreign tourists interested in the socialist heritage. Local experts believe that such a tourist product would enrich the existing tourist offer of Velenje and distinguish it from the offer of other towns.

Because of the extremely different attitudes of various social groups towards the Yugoslav period heritage, we had to create different tourist products for different target groups. A group of older people may feel nostalgic towards the period of Yugoslavia, while for the youth, this period is completely alien. Foreign tourists (especially from the West), on the other hand, might expect to experience something "exotic". A very important informative role here is played by the title of the tourist product:

- "Experiencing Socialism in Velenje" is the basic title of the project and is used primarily for administrative as well as legally formal purposes of naming the project.
- "It's wonderful to be young in our homeland" is the title of the patriotic song that was written for Slovenian Pioneers. While describing the equality and chivalry, it idealizes the post-war socialist period in Slovenia. Besides the time reference the title also reflects the emotive note - nostalgia. It denotes the period in which the older generations were younger and often did not care about the political system of the state. For these target groups we need to show the socialist period in a very subtle and emotive way. The attribute of nostalgia could be a humorous, yet instructive comparison of two periods – socialism and capitalism.
- "Velenje EX" carries a touch of the English language and as such can be defined as a "trendy" name. Due to its combination of Slovenian and English words it appeals mostly to the younger generations. The word EX also has associative impulses in the relative words that are used quite often in the slang of the young people. These target groups were born in the period of strongly developed computer and internet technologies and a multilingual combination of words is something they are familiar with. The period of socialism is very specific and historically distant for the young generations. Therefore it is necessary to present the period as something that is "retro" and as such very "cool". It is very important to advertise the product on different social networks.
- The use of the title »Velenje Socialism Experience« (originally in English) is intended to be used for the foreign tourists. This product should be strengthened by as many

impulses of socialism during their stay in Velenje as possible, extending the basic tourist product to the everyday life experience.

- The concept of the product »Long live socialism in Velenje« hides two homonyms that are connected with historical facts from the socialist period. The word "Long live" (or "Živel" in Slovenian) was very often used for the worshipping of the cults that kept the socialist system together. It often complemented the greeting: "Long live comrade Tito!" ("Živel tovariš Tito!") or "Long live the republic of Yugoslavia!". The combination of this word is used ambiguously for expressing the past and political states that are in fact explained and promoted by the project (In terms of marketing, this project name speaks mostly to the target group of school directors, teachers and professors (B. Pavšek, personal communication, January 24, 2013). An obstacle in marketing the product for school groups might be the circular of the Ministry of Education, Science, Culture and Sport to nursery schools, elementary schools and high schools from May 2012, which specifically emphasizes that any "praising of the communist totalitarian regime is unconstitutional and especially unacceptable in the school environment, which is meant to raise children in the spirit of the constitution, respect of human rights and democratic freedoms" (MIZKŠ, 2012).

Conclusion

Velenje with its modern architecture, public post-war memorials and preservation of Tito's tradition, together with the coexistence of ethnically mixed nations, still offers its visitors an impression of "a small Yugoslav Republic" even twenty years after Slovenia claimed its independence. Planned projects, various events and the current strategy of tourism development indicate the willingness of the Town Municipality and inhabitants to take advantage of the heritage of the Yugoslav era for tourism purposes. Positive values such as companionship, voluntary work and fraternity among nations are emphasized while the Yugoslav period is being reconstructed for the purpose of the thematic product. Besides historical facts and educational elements, the guided tour with a simulation of a lesson also includes elements of irony and contrasts between now and then. Their aim is primarily to encourage critical thinking (especially in young participants) about the values of two different historical eras and two different social and political systems.

The key target groups of the planned product are school groups for whom a strong educational role of the product would be emphasized, groups of tourists from former Yugoslav republics who would mainly be able to experience the (Yugo-)nostalgic emotions of life under socialism, and groups of foreign tourists to whom we would present not only the stereotypical images of life "East of Eden" but also the positive values of the socialist system.

Besides its marketing potential and emotional nostalgic elements, the presented tourist product also carries an (unplanned) media and political charge. The product will probably cause a negative response in a certain segment of Slovenian and Velenje residents. Targeting pupils and students is a particularly sensitive subject. It makes one wonder whether it is entirely impossible to illustrate this fairly recent historical era to the pupils and students without the product being characterised in advance as "pro-Yugoslav" and inappropriate for young thinking individuals. It is necessary to state that the tourist product does not aim at praising the role of socialism, Yugoslavia or leaders of the former system, nor is the project ridiculing this historical period or political and economic system – despite some necessary elements of irony. The proposed product will make use of the tourist potential of the heritage from the period that had such a drastic impact on the development of the fifth largest town in Slovenia. As a result, the preparation of the product is taking place with a certain distance and respect towards this typical example of dissonant heritage.

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"Truth becomes fiction when the fiction is true,
Real becomes not-real when the unreal is real"
Dream of the Red Chamber (around 1860), Cao Xueqin (2010)

Producing the "real China" for foreign friends: tourists and tour guides in the 1950s-1980s China

Dineke Koerts
NHTV Breda University of Applied Sciences, Breda, The Netherlands
koerts.m@nhtv.nl

Abstract
In the 1950s, '60s and '70s, thousands of Europeans, Americans and Australians travelled to China to witness the progress made under socialism. These visitors consisted of both communist delegations and "fellow-travellers": academics, journalists, religious leaders, representatives of trade unions and other leftists who sympathized with the communist cause. Where in the 1920s and 1930s fellow travellers journeyed to the USSR, now they could visit a new - and even more exotic - revolution. Most of them returned with the feeling that the Chinese had made great strides towards socialism and a better society. Their publications tried to correct the negative images of China that prevailed during the Cold War. The Chinese "techniques of hospitality" (Hollander, 2009) - of which the presence of the ubiquitous tour guide-cum-interpreter was one – directed their gaze in such a way that mostly positive socialist "realities" were perceived. The paper is based on a literature study and uses Cheong and Miller's (2000) ideas for framing tour guides as one of the Foucauldian agents of tourism power as a conceptual framework.

Keywords
tour guides, tourism brokers, China 1950s – 1980s

Tour guides: foucauldian agents of tourism power

The publication of *The Tourist Gaze* in 1990 by John Urry (Urry, 2002) introduced Foucauldian concepts in tourism theory, thus stimulating the thinking on relations of power in tourism. Cheong and Miller (2000) use Foucauldian notions of power to demonstrate that power is everywhere in tourism and not just in the "tourist gaze". Power, according to Foucault, is not "a certain strength with which people are endowed" (Cheong & Miller, 2000, p. 374) but " 'a complex strategical situation', consisting of 'multiple and mobile fields of force relations' that are never completely stable" (pp. 374-375). Furthermore, power is inextricably linked to knowledge. The main features of Foucauldian power, according to Cheong and Miller, then are:

- its omnipresence - power is everywhere, in all relations, in all institutions, in all situations;
- its form as relationships; Foucault emphasized the individual's place or position within a network of power relations. This does not deny human agency ("for individuals are always in the position of simultaneously undergoing and exercising this power" [p. 376]) and the idea of specific and multiple relations of power also moves beyond simplistic ideas of dominators and the dominated. In examining power relationships, the first task is to examine the "differentiated positions of individuals in a localized

institution / system" (p. 376) and identify them as Foucauldian *targets* or *agents*. The *target* is "the subordinate actor in power relationships" (p. 376) who exists in relation to the agents but has the choice of refusal or revolt. The *agent* is "responsible for [phenomena of repression or exclusion]" (p. 376); these are not created by sheer force but by deploying "tactics and strategies" (p.376) to make the *target* behave in a certain way;

- its gaze; "Foucault's agents perform their power via the construction and exertion of knowledge, normalizing discourse (what is acceptable and what is not acceptable) and an 'inspecting gaze' " (p. 376). "The agents construct the gaze as they observe the target. In this process, the target ends up internalizing the gaze to the point that he is his own overseer" (p. 377)[1];
- its repressive and productive aspects. The repressive aspects of power consist of rejection, exclusion, refusal and other such mechanisms. The productive aspects concern potentially beneficial aspects from an expansion of discourses, disciplines and bureaucracies.

Applying these ideas to tourism, Cheong and Miller (2000) state that while tourism is often seen as consisting of two components - hosts and guests (or locals and tourists) - a very important third party is often overlooked. These are the brokers: "those who derive a living (receive monetary remuneration) for an involvement with tourism production" (p. 379). There are several categories of brokers such as tour operators, guides, hotel owners, but also city planners, media and academics researching tourism. Power relations between these three parties are dynamic and constantly changing, as hosts can become brokers, tourists can become hosts and brokers can be tourists. Rather than seeing tourists as the Foucauldian agents who mainly exercise power as Urry originally did, Cheong and Miller (2000) perceive tourists as predominantly "targets" or the subordinate party in this tri-partite system. From the time they start to plan their trips until they return home, tourists are - to different extents; the package tourist the most and the independent tourist the least - influenced by "the Foucauldian agents of tourism power" (p. 381): the brokers and the locals. According to Cheong and Miller, locals are often portrayed as "victims" in tourism relations but they might be considered Foucauldian agents when they resist or endorse tourism. And in more subtle ways, locals can control the behaviour of tourists via "informal face-to-face interaction" in a process of "socialization of tourists to local traditions and manners" (p. 382).

Brokers can be considered agents of tourism power since - through strategies of "education, instruction, persuasion, advice, interpretations, surveillance and coercion" (p. 383) – they influence the consumption of tourism; they determine to a large extent where tourists can go, what they will see and what not. No better example of such an agent than the tour guide: "tourists see through their eyes, as they [the guides] choose the objects of interest to be viewed" (p. 384) or decide what to ignore. Through their special position as local experts, they construct the gaze and "throughout the guided tour, thereby, tourists are socialized to the agendas of guides by the gaze" (p. 384). In China this certainly was the case from the 1950s to the 1980s.

Tourism to the people's republic, 1949 - 1978

In the People's Republic of China (PRC), both domestic and international tourism were virtually non-existent from 1949 to around 1978. Travel out of the country was mostly limited to diplomats and government officials (and the occasional sports team and arts troupe [Nyíri, 2010]). Inbound visits were restricted to overseas Chinese nationals and "foreign friends" (Guo, Turner & King, 2002; Zhang, Pine & Zhang, 2000). Initially, these came mostly from the Soviet Union and the socialist countries in Eastern Europe. However, as tensions between China and the Soviet Union grew and Beijing "felt proud

of its revolutionary successes" (International Institute of Social History & Landsberger, 2013a), the government turned to tourism as a means for promoting the communist cause and trying to win the sympathy of the international community (Airey & Chong, 2011). Carefully selected supporters of socialism and communism were invited and given a VIP treatment. They had meetings with officials and model workers; they were taken on visits to model factories and communes (Zhang, 1995; Sofield & Li, 1998; Guo et al., 2002) in order to admire the achievements of socialism. Tour guides accompanied their every step and contact between them and local people was strictly regulated (Sofield & Li, 1998). During this period, as Zhang (1995) phrased it, "it was the destination which selected the tourists rather than the tourists who chose the destination" (p. 9).

In the 1950s most of these international visitors came from Europe and Australia. Amongst them historian and Africa expert Basil Davidson, Jean Paul Sartre and Simone de Beauvoir (Hollander, 2009). Famous Australians included Myra Roper (principal of Melbourne University's Women's College), Ross Terrill (China expert and Harvard professor) and writer Dymphna Cusack (Kendall, 2004; Sobocinska, 2008).

The modest international travel business that had come into existence in the '50s and early '60s had to change its mission during the Cultural Revolution (1966-1976). Both American imperialism and Soviet revisionism were heavily attacked and cadres working in tourism were accused of having followed a "reactionary bourgeois line" and of using tourism to make money instead of generating support for the socialist cause (Yang Zhiyuan, cited in Sang, 2009). From 1967 to 1971, China, "as the self-styled leader of newly independent and developing nations, the so-called Third World" (International Institute of Social History & Landsberger, 2013b), invited only "leftists" to visit the country: delegations of the Japanese Red Army, the Black Panthers, African liberation movements and the Palestinian Liberation Front came and went during the Cultural Revolution years, with all expenses paid by the Chinese government. They met with Red Guards to exchange revolutionary experiences and were not called tourists but "study" or "inspection" groups (Yang Zhiyuan, cited in Sang, 2009). Some also spent time at guerrilla warfare training centres at the Nanjing and Wuhan Military Academies (Brady, 2003).

Revolutionary friendship - Friends from Asia, Africa and Latin America visit the Museum of the Chinese revolutionary army.

Source: International Institute of Social History & Landsberger (2013c)
Designer: Shen Jialin
Year: 1964, OctoberPublisher: Shanghai renmin meishu chubanshe

Around 1971, when the worst phase of the Cultural Revolution was over (and many heritage sites and cultural relics had been destroyed), tourist operations were resumed. These were, at that time, called travel (*lüxing*) rather than tourism (*lüyou*) activities. In 1973, China International Travel Service (CITS) hosted 3,500 tourists: 400 "leftists", 114 "right-wingers" and the rest ideological "middle-of-the-roaders" (Yang Zhiyuan, cited in Sang, 2009). By 1976 this number had increased to some 50,000 - mostly from the USA and Japan (Airey & Chong, 2011).

Huey Newton (Black Panthers) meets Chinese premier Zhou Enlai, Beijing 1971.

Source: Chandan, S. (2012).

Especially after President Richard Nixon's visit in 1972, a trip to China became possible and highly desirable for American intellectuals. Visitors included John Kenneth Galbraith, Barbara Tuchman, John K. Fairbank, Tom Hayden, Shirley MacLaine and Orville Schell for example (Hollander, 2009). Most of them came in self-funded tours, but could not decide themselves where to go. CITS selected the mostly revolutionary sites and sights that could be visited and guides supervised their activities and made sure that the right political conclusions were drawn.

Once the bonds with the United States improved, more and more countries established relations with the PRC. This trend continued when the Open Door policy was initiated in 1977. Tourism greatly expanded but also changed in nature with cultural and natural heritage gaining in prominence. Visits to the "monuments of socialism" became less important in visitor's itineraries, although communes and factories were still on tour groups' schedules at the end of the 1980s.

Foreign friends[2]

In 1955, at the Bandung Conference for non-aligned countries, Zhou Enlai had invited "the world" to come and witness the changes in China. Among the first to receive an invitation were Jean Paul Sartre and Simone De Beauvoir who visited the country for six weeks in the autumn of 1955. With their expenses paid by the Chinese government, De Beauvoir – who produced a lengthy book, *The Long March. An account of modern China* (originally published in 1957 as *La Longue Marche*), on her experiences – stated in her introduction that she did not feel under any obligation towards the Chinese government "except to be fair" (p. 15).

De Beauvoir and Sartre welcomed in Beijing, 6 September 1955.

Source: Beauvoiriana - Chinese Press.

One of the highlights of their stay was a meeting with Zhou Enlai and Mao Zedong[3]. As part of the celebrations of October 1st - the proclamation day of the PRC - they were invited to watch the fireworks:

> ***We sit about little tables on which there are teacups, cigarettes, fruit, candies; . . . Chou En-lai moves amid guests, exchanging words, shaking hands; then similarly at ease Mao Tse-tung, by himself, with quiet unostentation makes the rounds of the tables. What is so winning about all the Chinese leaders is that not a one of them plays a part . . . . Mao, Chou are not comedians. They have this inimitable naturalness you scarcely find anywhere save among the Chinese – a naturalness which perhaps comes from their profound ties with the peasantry and with the soil - and the serene modesty of men too involved in the world to worry about their television appearance. (De Beauvoir, 2001, pp. 429 – 430)***

Simone De Beauvoir was not the only one to fall for Mao Zedong and Zhou Enlai. When Hewlett Johnson, English priest and Dean of Canterbury who visited China three times in the 1950s, met Mao he was struck by "something no picture had ever caught, an inexpressible look of kindness and sympathy, an obvious preoccupation with the needs of others: other people's difficulties, other people's troubles, other people's struggles . . ." (Johnson, cited in Hollander, 2009, pp. 329-330). Which, in retrospect, seems rather naïve, to say the least.

The American foreign friends of the 1970s also returned deeply impressed with what they had seen – or with what the government had wanted them to see. Most of them were convinced that life really had improved for the majority of the Chinese. They praised the cleanliness, the frugality and the dedication of everyone they met to the cause of the revolution. Carol Tavris, an American psychologist, commented in 1974:

> ***When you enter China you walk through the looking glass into a world that reflects a reality antithetical to ours. You leave Watergate, the energy crisis, crime, privacy, dirty movies, cynicism and sex at the border, and step into safety, stability, enthusiasm, clean streets, clean talk and positive thinking. (Tavris, cited in Hollander, 2009, pp. 292-293)***

It was not that there were no critical comments on China at that time. Lorenz Stucki, Swiss journalist and political commentator, noted in 1965:

> ***It is impossible to find out or even sense what is in the mind of the people . . . . There is no personal contact, hardly even a glance, a smile or a gesture. One experiences nothing, discovers nothing, learns nothing that is spontaneous, unrehearsed, natural and open . . . . (Stucki, cited in Hollander, 2009, p. 292)***

And Jacques Marcuse, French journalist, wrote in 1967: "The special correspondent is given the VIPP (Very Important Potential Propagandist) treatment: . . . . you do not allow visitors to see anything but that which you want them to see" (Marcuse, cited in Hollander, 2009, p. 287).
But these critical notes had little impact on the fellow travellers during the 1950s, '60s and '70s. It was only by the end of the 1970s, after the death of Mao and when the new leaders embarked on a different course, that doubts about China's developments were taken more seriously in these circles and that previously available information (for example Simon Leys' hugely critical *Chinese Shadows* [1978], originally published as *Ombres Chinoises* in 1974) was seen in a new light.

Tourists of the revolution[4]

A valid question is why so many Westerners were so irresistibly drawn to communist China and why - for more than 25 years – they consumed everything that was presented to them uncritically, blind to the repression and disasters of this era. Part of the answer lies in the mental predisposition of the fellow travellers, a combination of idealism, a longing for the exotic Other and nostalgia. But equally important were the Chinese "techniques of hospitality" (Hollander, 2009) which were used to stage a socialist "reality" that went down very well with foreign friends - an issue which will be dealt with in the next paragraph.

Looking for Utopia

Hollander (2009) has pointed to the alienation of many intellectuals from their own societies as an important reason why they went looking for Utopia in China (or the Soviet Union) and were determined to find it. This was especially the case in the USA in the 1960s and '70s when the country was deeply involved in the Indochina war and divided by racial conflict and student demonstrations. Orville Schell, writing about the apparent lack of enthusiasm amongst his Chinese audience for his introduction on the USA, revealed his own attitude towards his home country very clearly: "We are a model of decline, which, for those living in a land of socialist reconstruction, holds little fascination" (Schell, 1978, p. 187).
What charmed most of these "tourists of the revolution" was the notion of equality, or at least what they thought to be equality: intellectuals and students were sent to the countryside to work side by side with the peasants and learn from them, implying that manual and intellectual labour were equally respectable. Other reasons for evacuating these - potentially critical - groups from the cities to the countryside, where most of them struggled to survive and thus posed no threat to the CCP, escaped their notice.
They were also struck by what they thought were the visual manifestations of equality such as the fact that everybody dressed the same (not noting the difference in materials or numbers of pockets on the "Mao suits"). De Beauvoir (2001):

> ***What is most striking about the tranquil and gay crowd at one's side is its homogeneity. Men are not all of the same station in China but Peking offers a perfect image of a classless society. Impossible to tell an intellectual from a worker, a charwoman from a capitalist's wife. (p. 53)***

Not only was China going to be a better society, it was as if a better human species was in the process of being created here: selfless and not pre-occupied with material gains

(which in any case were not available in the 1950s and '60s due to the disasters of the Great Leap Forward and the Cultural Revolution). Or as John K. Fairbank wrote in 1972: "under Mao the Chinese Revolution has become not only an advance in the industrial arts . . . but also a far-reaching moral crusade to change the very human Chinese personality in the direction of self-sacrifice and serving others. . . ". (Fairbank, cited in Hollander, 2009, pp. 297-298). And in this process the Cultural Revolution was celebrated by many visitors as "a climax of idealism and a society-wide spiritual renewal" (Hollander, 2009, p. 298).

Feelings of "post-colonial guilt" also played a role in wanting to see a successful and rejuvenated China (Sobocinska, 2008). From the 1840s Western powers, and in the 20th century Japan as well, had encroached upon China's territory, exploited the Chinese ruthlessly and turned many of them into opium addicts. They were, in short, responsible for "creating the appalling conditions which had driven the Chinese to revolt" (Sobocinska, 2008, p. 324). So what right did people in the – Cold War - West have to question China's efforts at Utopia when they had not cared about it at all during its "century of humiliation"?

Nostalgia

To many, a visit to China also seemed a journey to a more pure – and puritanical – past that was lost in the West. Here no blatant materialism or pornography; here people were poor but happy. Most of them were still peasants and all had a sense of purpose: they were dedicating their lives to the commendable cause of creating a socialist society. Journalist Harrison Salisbury commented in 1973:

> ***As we drove deeper into the countryside, the feeling grew in me that I was experiencing not a prevision of the world's future but a retrospective glimpse into our own American or European past, - the world in which men and women labored with their own hands, with a few animals, a few primitive implements – experiencing a life so simple, so integrated with the land, the weather and the plants that its symmetry seemed almost magical. (cited in Hollander, 2009, p. 312)***

These feelings of nostalgia, a "yearning for a different time – the time of our childhood, the slower rhythms of our dreams" (Boym, 2001, p. XV), definitely played a role in a positive evaluation of the China of this period.

Exotic Others

Not only was China an embodiment of the Orient, it was now also a communist Orient. Whereas the pre-communist Chinese had been described as ". . . undisciplined, lazy or duplicitous, cunning and cruel . . . " (Kendall, 2004, p. 378), now they were seen to be authentic, simple, hard-working, with high moral standards, friendly and hospitable (Schell, 1978; Hollander, 2009; Kendall, 2004). In the process of recounting their experiences in China, many revolutionary tourists - falling into the trap of Orientalism and perceiving the Chinese once again as "a mass sharing one mind and one ambition" (Sobocinska, 2008, p. 327) - thus replaced one set of cultural stereotypes with another. However, many of these stereotypes were not just about the Oriental Other but as much about the communist Other: maybe "the communists", rather than "the Chinese", were the hard-working, well-organized people who were dedicated to the cause of bettering the world (Enzensberger, 1982). China in the 1950s – 1980s, then, was exotic not only because it was Oriental but also because it was communist. On top of that, the lack of information and the travel restrictions added a touch of mystery and a feeling of privilege when one was allowed to enter (Enzensberger, 1982).

Different emotions made the tourists of the revolution receptive to positive experiences in revolutionary China. But the institutional side of travel to socialist countries, the delegate

system, was just as important in turning them into willing propagandists for the Chinese cause (Enzensberger, 1982; Hollander, 2009).

Producing "the real china" for foreign friends

The delegate system was created in the Soviet Union in the 1920s and should be understood in the context of the disturbed relations between socialist countries and the rest of the world, a time when visits were possible only by invitation. It was not necessarily invented to "pull the wool over the foreigners' eyes" (Enzensberger, 1982, p. 166) - travelling as a foreigner in 1920s and '30s Russia or China was a high-risk if not impossible enterprise. Enzensberger (1982) summarizes the essence of the system as follows: potential delegates needed an invitation first. Their expenses were usually covered by the inviting country, putting them immediately at a disadvantage when it comes to maintaining a critical attitude. The delegate's position, furthermore, was a privileged one: "when there is a shortage he enjoys precedence over the natives; hotel rooms, seats in public transportation, cars and chauffeurs are reserved for him" (Enzensberger, 1982, p. 165). Delegates were always dependent on some organization which arranged a busy programme from which there was no escape.

The delegate was put under - subtle - surveillance and usually received "a personal guide who functions as a translator, nanny, and watchdog" (Enzensberger, 1982, p. 165). The result of the whole setting was that delegates felt "spoilt and impotent" at the same time (p. 165). But the delegate system was highly successful: "no cheaper and more effective means of influencing the outside world has ever been devised . . . " (Enzensberger, 1982, p. 166). It is perhaps in China that the various ingredients of the delegate system reached their ultimate perfection.

China's waishi system

The delegate system emanated from the Chinese Communist Party's (CCP) general take on foreign affairs, or *waishi*. According to Brady (2000), "*Waishi* is an abbreviation of the full term *waijiao shiwu* (diplomatic matters) which has become a term in its own right" (p. xii). *Waishi* "is both a system for managing the foreign presence in China and China's contacts with the outside world, as well as having an implicit role in controlling the Chinese population" (Brady, 2003, p. 249). It is concerned with state-to-state diplomacy but also with laws on where foreigners could live in China, marriage regulations and tourism. It must be understood against the backdrop of China's century of humiliation mentioned above and the need to be in control of "the foreign":

> ***It is a defensive response from a society that has felt its worldview, a sense of the greatness of Chinese society and culture, profoundly challenged. It reflects a cultural crisis, a reaction against events such as the Opium War, the treaty port systems, . . . , the Japanese invasion, the Cold War, and in more recent years, the Western response after the events of 4 June 1989, ... (Brady, 2003, p. 249).***

According to Brady (2000, 2003) *waishi* shows a mixture of ideas of Mao and Zhou Enlai as well as Soviet – as noted above - and traditional influences (such as a strong sense of insiders and outsiders). Two *waishi* concepts in particular were important in the strategies of inviting foreign guests and turning them into propagandists. These were (Brady, 2000) "make the foreign serve China" (*yang wei Zhong yong*) and "using foreign strength to propagandise for China" (*liyong waili wei wo xuanchuan*). The CCP started using these policies in the 1930s when it became clear that journalists such as Edgar Snow (1978), the author of *Red star over China* (first published in 1937), could create a large amount of goodwill for the communist cause.

Gradually a network of organizations and offices was developed that dealt with "the foreign"; handbooks were created with instructions on how to cope with foreigners; guides were recruited and trained – the Beijing Foreign Languages Institute was one of the main universities from which *waishi* cadres were selected. Not only languages were taught, political education and the party line on foreign affairs were also part of the curriculum as were courses on how to be kind to foreigners (Brady, 2003).

Waishi cadres understood the importance of the "mystique of personal experience" (Hollander, 2009, p. 353) very well. Especially journalists, writers and academics, priding themselves on their critical faculties, could not imagine being deceived or presented with staged realities. They had, after all, seen everything "with their own eyes": the new housing, the factories, the happy children, the construction works carried out without modern equipment, and it was generally assumed that "popular enthusiasm was the mainspring of these impressive undertakings" (Hollander, 2009, p. 316).

However, since anything was justified to further the socialist cause, reality was often "rearranged" in order to show visitors "things the way they are going to be, not the way they are" (Hollander, 2009, p. 389). While most visitors accepted what they were presented as "real", some at times felt perplexed by what they saw, but could not quite figure out what was going on. Orville Schell (1978) noted after a visit to the Shanghai Electrical Machinery Plant Workers' Children's School, that the children behaved exemplary, the teachers were cheerful and answered all the questions of the American delegates and yet he felt uncomfortable:

> ***It is not that I feel we have been duped by some prerehearsed performance calculated to impress foreigners. It would indeed be easier to understand such a class if one suspected that it was simply a staged production arranged to hide some flawed inner reality. But actually I intuitively suspect that no reality exists other than what we have seen. (Schell, 1978, p. 168)***

Which was true enough: by that time most Chinese citizens, out of necessity, had become actors in the "national theatre of socialism" (Zhang Xian, writer and theatre director, personal communication, July 6, 2008) and the process of staging Maoist China had come to resemble "a theatrical production. Each little play carefully staged and rehearsed" (Loh, 1962, p. 153). Robert Loh, a "national capitalist" who had been educated in the USA, was often called upon in the 1950s to play host to Western visitors. He describes how on these occasions his house was fitted out with a gramophone, records, a car, luxury foods, imported cigarettes and so on to give the impression that he was doing very well. During these meetings the guide-interpreters

> ***noted down everything that the visitors and I said and did. I myself had to write a full report on what had transpired between my guests and me. All the reports on what I had said and done were searched for discrepancies which, if found, were investigated immediately. (Loh, 1962, p. 156)***

This staging was by no means unique: several factories were "specially equipped and operated to illustrate socialism's industrial triumphs" and "the workers were carefully picked and trained; they almost always made the proper responses and gave the planned impression that they were working hard and enthusiastically for the regime" (Loh, 1962, p. 162). Like everybody else they had to perform their assigned roles and "to put on that peculiar act, a mixture of prudery, industriousness and childlike simplicity, which the Communists expect from the working class" (Loh, 1962, p. 163). Apart from the rearranging of reality, several other techniques were used to produce the desired outcome -

positive publicity – of visits by foreign friends such as a busy itinerary, creating a pleasant experience and the use of well-trained tour guides.

The itinerary

Most visitors spent some three weeks in the country (Walker, 1957) with a heavy schedule and large distances to cover. Their days were filled with visits to model factories, communes, kindergartens, construction projects (dams, bridges), and the occasional touristic highlight such as the Great Wall. Because they visited mostly "new industrial plants, new housing and model installations even the most cynical observer is likely to get the impression that the Communists are accomplishing wonders, that everything is new, that progress is the only thing to report about China" (Walker, 1957, p. 35). The fact that many Western intellectuals and journalists had no clue about the state of Western industrialization also played a role in their positive reports on Chinese progress; many of them did not know that more modern factories could be found in practically all Western countries as well as in Japan (Schmid, 1956; Walker, 1957).

The programme was complemented by receptions and meetings with carefully selected outstanding workers, model teachers, veteran soldiers and more or less elaborate banquets depending on the status of the visitors. Programmes could also be adapted to include visits to a prison, a hospital or university to allow doctors or academics "to investigate the Chinese 'reality' in an area of their specialisation" (Sobocinska, 2008, p. 328). The itinerary and the large number of activities left ". . . little time for the visitor to reflect, let alone engage in unscheduled, unsupervised, or random sightseeing" (Hollander, 2009, p. 375) and "even the most intrepid traveller soon grew too tired to ask questions" (Sobocinska, 2008, p. 330). Orville Schell (1978) commented: "Tonight we are weary. But our usual agenda of three events a day – morning, afternoon and night - continues" (p.85).

A pleasant experience

According to Brady (2003), key to understanding the VIP treatment of foreign friends are the cultural concepts of *ganqing* (feeling) and *guanxi* (relationship); "one cannot have *guanxi* without also creating *ganqing*. At the same time, one can develop a relationship by means of building *ganqing* between people" (Brady, 2003, p. 15). *Ganqing* can be created by "hosting banquets, toasting, giving gifts, and the use of honorary or affectionate titles" (p. 15). For establishing *ganqing* with foreign visitors the CCP relied heavily on official hospitality. Not only banquets, but also welcoming banners, the best hotels, special train compartments, flattery (Simone de Beauvoir [2001] mentions that she was told that "the Chinese people have been impatiently awaiting our arrival" [p. 12]) were all part of the process to make the tourists of the revolution feel important and good about themselves. Hospitality was "political" (Brady, 2003, p.15); its purpose was to create warm feelings for China and its leaders because:

> ***It is difficult, for most of us, not to have a favorabe view of those who treat us nicely. It is also difficult to believe and to imagine that those who are kind to us can be unkind to others. Correspondingly, it is hard to envisage the representatives of a political system allowing their own citizens to lead wretched lives if they are successful in creating the most agreeable living conditions for us (even for only a short time). (Hollander, 2009, p. 350)***

While a few visitors were critical of this special treatment, overall this strategy was hugely successful and the general feeling is well summarized by Harrison Salisbury when he said after another excellent meal: "it must be a fine country where such meals are provided" (Salisbury, cited in Hollander, 2009, p. 362).

The tour guides

Lorenz Stucki, Swiss journalist and political commentator, commented in 1965:

> ***Even more forbidding than the walls within walls is the official Chinese travel agency . . . the foreign visitor is made utterly dependent on it; he cannot escape its ministrations, and soon he realizes that the attention lavished on him is a device meant to isolate him from everyday China. Whether visiting a nursery school or a university, a factory, hospital or people's commune, the routine is invariably the same; the visitor is shown to a reception room where the chief administrator or his deputy, in the presence of at least two other men or women, delivers a standard talk . . . . (Stucki, cited in Hollander, 2009, p. 292)***

The "Foucauldian agents of power" of this "official Chinese travel agency" were the tour guide-cum-interpreters who were crucial in "isolating" the foreign visitor and in directing their gaze in such a way they could draw the "right conclusions" about life in socialist China. They made use of various techniques to accomplish this goal.

First they had to establish friendly relations with the foreign visitors – Roland Barthes (2012) noted in 1974 that "the guide talks to us as if we were close acquaintances" (p. 11) - and to create *ganqing* and build *guanxi* as noted above. *Waishi* staff were instructed to do this by getting to know their clients and to focus on finding "common points" to talk about as Mao Zedong had recommended:

> ***. . . Mao Zedong said, "We should become intimate friends with our readers." What is intimate friendship based on? It is based on common points . . . . When we talk to other people travelling on a train, what do we talk about? We talk about things we have in common: children, hobbies, work, things we have seen and heard, experiences and events. When we find a point in common then we have something to talk about. Propaganda toward foreigners is like this too. We first have to understand the audience's interests, find a common language, and only then will our articles be victorious. (Brady, 2000, pp. 954-55)***

It was easy to find these "common points" as most foreigners came to see a revolution in progress. Since the progress made was rather poor in several areas, the tour guides' tasks comprised much more than the usual guide role of mediating between the visitor and the destination: they were key-figures in "the production or authoring of this Maoist other world" (Kendall, 2004, p. 383).

They not only had to create feeling, they also had to keep foreigners away from aspects of reality which contradicted the claims and messages of the CCP; spontaneous meetings had to be avoided at all costs as did certain topics (such as the violence of the Cultural Revolution or the failure of the Great Leap Forward). Hollander (2009) also mentions "the pervasive spirit of un-spontaneity" (p. 390) that was symptomatic of all socialist countries, and Roland Barthes (2012), in his *Travels in China*, complains about the rigid structure of meetings (characterized by "the Set Theme" and "The Speech") and of having to submit all questions their delegation wanted to ask beforehand and in writing.

The other main tour guide task was to direct the tourist gaze to the progress made under socialism by comparing the old to the new, for example, by highlighting the improvements in people's lives since 1949, the new respect for the working classes or the healthcare and education made available to them. Barthes (2012) called it the "Set theme of Society Before" (p. 30) and summarized the words of his guide Zhao as follows: "In the past, women: housewives, at home, objects. Now (nods at the workshop), they are liberated; not for money, for emancipation, building socialism" (p. 28).

Guides were expected to "correct" wrong impressions and engage in political discussion if necessary. Orville Schell experienced this. When caught taking pictures of "backward" but highly picturesque sailing junks, his guide was most unhappy and tackled him later about this issue. He told Schell that there was "no such thing as a photograph or film without a political viewpoint" and that he could take pictures of anything he wanted, "but they must show the future as well as the past" (Schell, 1978, p. 175).
It is not really surprising then, that the qualifications for tour guides were, in order of importance:

> ***1) membership in the Communist Part or Young Communist League, wholehearted devotion to socialism and political alertness, 2) good presence and manners, 3) knowledge of at least one foreign language. After they were engaged, they attended frequent political lessons . . . . they had to submit a written and verbal report to the committee and discuss any problem which might have arisen during the day, such as unsympathetic attitudes or questions by the foreigners or clumsy behavior by any Chinese. (Loh, cited in Hollander, 2009, p. 378)***

Schell (1978) also noticed the political dimensions of the tour guide's work; the guides who accompanied him and his fellow travellers met every day to

> ***discuss the trip, its problems, us and what political approaches are correct to follow. It is not uncommon in one day for two or three interpreters to find time to sit down next to the same person on a bus or during a meal, and all raise the same point. It is never crassly direct. But after a while, the process becomes inescapably clear. It is a kind of political education. If one is resistant, one feels a distinct coolness – a withdrawal of approval, and even friendship, during these probationary moments. (p. 174)***

Being a tour guide was obviously not an easy task – it carried a huge political responsibility but also great personal risks. Loh (1962) recalls how, on one occasion, a visitor pressed him to tell if, as a businessman and capitalist, his enthusiasm for the regime was real or feigned. He found it difficult to understand that people could be so naïve and told the man passionately that he loved the Communist Party and the government more than his life. It is no wonder that the "guides were happy only when they knew we were safely in our rooms or in the sleeping compartment of a train, with our cameras stowed away for the night. . ." (Roy, cited in Hollander, 2009, p. 380).

Concluding remarks

Judging by the amounts of positive propaganda for the new China that resulted from the visits of foreign friends between the 1950s and the 1980s, it must be concluded that the delegate system or the "techniques of hospitality" - in which tour guides played a pivotal role - did a great job in producing a "real" China that had little to do with reality but responded very well to the emotions of those foreigners who visited the country with the intention of finding a successful revolution.

Although many of the authors and journalists cited in this paper later changed or adapted their opinions on China, as "tourists of the revolution" they can be considered the Foucauldian "targets" in the network of power relations consisting of tour guides and the other elements of the *waishi* system. This does not imply that they had no choice but to become propagandists for the Chinese cause, "for individuals are always in the position of simultaneously undergoing and exercising this power: 'They are not only its inert or consenting target. Individuals are vehicles of power not its points of application'

" (Foucault, 1980, cited in Cheong & Miller, 2001, p. 376). The fact that "no one who returns from a sojourn in socialism is a genuine part of the process he tries to describe" (Enzensberger, 1982, p. 159) in itself is not problematic. It only becomes problematic when the visitor does not exercise his power by asking himself why his expenses are paid by the government, why he is surrounded by luxury while the people are poor, or why he is denied access to places and people. Jan Myrdal, author of *Report from a Chinese Village* (1962), was one of the few visitors who did exercise his power as a target to some extent by refusing to have his expenses paid for by the Chinese government; he thought this system had "a perverting influence on the intellectual morals of the writer, it runs counter to the free expression of ideas" (Myrdal, cited in Enzensberger, 1982, p. 182). Most of his colleagues did not.

While the tour guides can be perceived as the "Foucauldian agents of tourism power" (Cheong & Miller, 2000, p. 381) in the production of the "real" China, they simultaneously were the targets of higher ranking cadres under surveillance of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs under which most of the *waishi* policies resorted. And perhaps of the occasional revolutionary tourist who dared to question their interpretations of reality. For the guides, however, exercising power was a far more complex and dangerous situation than for the foreign visitors and few had the opportunity to flee the country as Robert Loh did in 1959.

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Notes

1. The concept of the gaze comes from Bentham's (1791) architectural model for a prison in which the Panopticon, the central guard tower, is designed in such a way that no one can escape the eye of the prison warden. "The world is thereby left with Foucault's conceptualisation of the panopticon as the eye-of-power/the eye-of-authority/the new-power-of-universal-surveillance which inhabits each and every institutional setting" (Hollinshead, 1999, p. 13).
2. Foreign friends (*waiguo pengyou*) were those with a positive attitude towards or potential usefulness for China. Being called a foreign friend brought with it an "unspoken moral obligation to act in a 'friendly' way, meaning not to harm China's

interests" (Brady, 2003, p. 15). The opposite of friends were the foreign imperialists or foreign spies - there was nothing in between.

3. Whereas in this paper the Pinyin system for transcribing Chinese characters is used, many of the citations quoted here make use of an older transcription system. Zhou Enlai is thus spelled as Chou En-lai, Mao Zedong is Mao Tse-tung.
4. *Tourists of the Revolution* is the title of an essay by Hans Magnus Enzensberger (1982) in which he takes a critical look at Western intellectuals' journeys to socialist countries such as Cuba, Russia, China and Vietnam in the 20th century.

Section 8
THE "QUALITY" TOUR GUIDE

Risk Perception Management Training for the Adventure Activity Guide

Ann O'Connor
Masters Research Student
Institute of Technology Tralee, Tralee, Co. Kerry, Ireland
ann.oconnor@research.ittralee.ie

Abstract

This paper sets out the importance of risk perception management training for adventure activity guides and presents a four stage risk perception management training strategy. The aim of this strategy is to aid the adventure activity guides to deal with the complexity of risk perception within the context of commercial adventure tourism activities.
For the purpose of this study the term 'guide' will be used to represent the guide, the instructor and the leader of adventure tourism activities. The term 'provider' will be used to represent the operator, business owner, manager, and sole trader of adventure tourism activities.

Keywords

risk perception, management, adventure activity guiding

Introduction

The Adventure Tourism Industry is a customer service industry where product development and presentation is propelled by the clients' needs and desires. The majority of people who participate in adventure tourism activities are novices and have no prior experience or relevant skills. It is this market of 'no skills required' which is the focus of the commercial adventure tourism industry. As there are inherent risks involved in all adventure activities, risk, risk perception and risk management are key skills for the Adventure Activity Guide. Risk is multidimensional, made up of components of physical, psychological and social risk (Weber, 2001). It is important therefore, to understand not just the physical risk component, prominence needs to be given to the other components also. By understanding all the components of risk, the adventure activity guide can gain a better understanding of perceptions of risk and adventure. This will better prepare the guides in the management and marketing of adventure tourism activities.
Adventure activity tourists hand over a significant part of the responsibility for risk management to the guide (Cater, 2006). The role of the activity guide is paramount to the clients' perceptions of risk, safety and control. The guide through safety briefings, instruction during the activity, playing up or down the risk level can enhance the adventure activity experience for the client (Morgan & Fluker, 2006; Williams & Soutar, 2005). The underlying principal of the development of good guides is the necessity for extensive experience levels, sound judgement and good interpersonal skills (Cloutier, 2003). The clients' expectation is the guide will possess a higher level of skills and background knowlegde which exceeds their own (Cloutier, 2003). Clients will rely on management and guides to give a safe and enjoyable adventure experience. Cater (2006) identifies trust as being a very important part of the client experience, as clients will only participate in the adventure experience if they trust the guide. This brings into focus the need for competent and trained guides skilled in the activity, people management and risk perception management.

Every individual is different, therefore their perceptions of their surrounding environment will differ. Perception itself is very much influenced by the society in which we live, thus risk perception is very subjective. Morgan (2000) suggests if the client's perception of the risk is acceptable then the client will take part in the adventure activity. But what happens if this risk perception is flawed or important information is absent or based on biased information? According to Morgan (2000) the client will face unexpected risks, which can result in injury or a negative adventure activtiy experience.
In order to manage risk perception one must first be able to identify the potential gaps between expectations and reality which may arise for the client and the guide, within the time frame of the adventure activity. It is important for the guide to address the gaps identified and the possible reasons and so enhance the overall safety and positive outcome of the experience.

Risk Factors in Adventure Tourism Activities

Risk: "A situation involving exposure to danger. The possibility that something unpleasant or unwelcome will happen" (Oxford Dictionaries, 2012).

Today, in the developed world, in our everyday lives we try and reduce our exposure to risk and harm. We use seat belts when driving our cars, we have life assurance, travel insurance, house insurance. These are present in our everyday lives so as to reduce our exposure to unpleasant outcomes from unforeseen events. However, when it comes to holidays and leisure times there is a growing percentage of the population who actively take part in what society sees as risk activities or adventure activities (Cater, 2006). These adventure activities are largely catered for by the Adventure Tourism Industry, in the selling of adventure tourism programs. These programs involve a high level of planning and risk management that reduces the real levels of risk and uncertainty (Dickson & Dolnicar, 2000). However, adventure, by definition, involves an element of risk with an uncertain outcome.

The types of risk most frequently referred to in outdoor and experiential learning literature are depicted in figure 1.1 and defined as follows:

- Absolute Risk: Where there are no safety controls present.
- Real Risk: The actual risk that is present at a certain moment in time. It is the absolute risk adjusted by safety controls.
- Perceived Risk: An individual's subjective assessment of the real risk present at a certain moment in time (Haddock 1993, cited in Dickson & Dolnicar 2004).

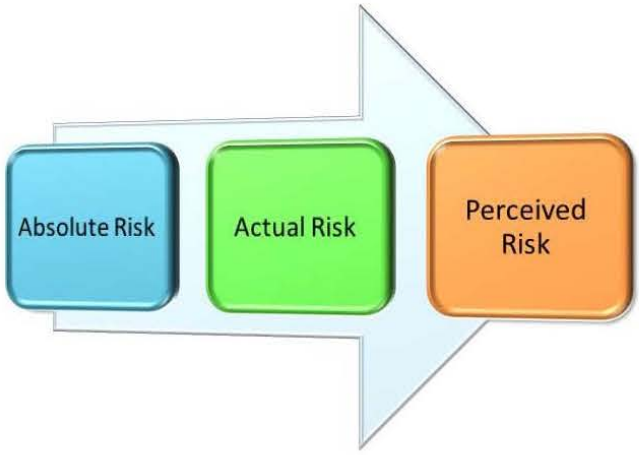

Figure 1.1 Risk Types.

According to Weber (2001) the concepts of absolute, real and perceived risk are not widely explored in adventure tourism literature. However, authors of Adventure Tourism literature have in more recent years further developed the concept of risk by suggesting that risk can be viewed as:

- Positive Risk: "a risk that is actually desired and actively looked for by tourist" (Dickson & Dolnicar, 2004, p. 2). This positive risk can also be termed as desired risk. Swarbrooke, Beard, Leckie, and Promfret (2003) view 'postivie risk' as a perception of challenge by the participant, something the participant can control. They also state the inverse is valid, that of 'negative risk' which is perceived by the participant as dangerous and can not be controlled by the participant.
- Expected Risk: People have different views and tolerance of risk which in turn influences an individual's level of satisfaction. This risk tolerance is affected by the individual's competence and their awareness of and control over the level of real risk (Prayag, 2011).
- Satisfaction Risk: "refers to the experience not fulfilling the adventurer's needs for thrill and excitement" (Prayag, 2011, p. 716).
- Perceived Risk: Risk expectation and risk satisfaction play an important role in risk perception in adventure tourism activities (Prayag, 2011).

These risk factors are very important for the adventure activity guide to be aware of, to understand and to be able to manage within the timeframe of the adventure activity. These four risk factors, positive, expected, satisfaction and perceived risk can be presented in a "Subjective Risk Wheel", as shown in figure 1.2. In this Subjective Risk Wheel, the identified types of risk are interdependent and during the time frame of the adventure activity they can be altered with proper management strategies.

Figure 1.2 Subjective Risk Wheel.

Cater (2006) acknowledges that for commercial adventure tourism activities, the participants hand over the majority of risk control to the providers of the activities and as such this "displaced responsibility alters competely the balance of that risk" (p. 318).

Therefore, the need for constant monitoring of all risk factors and especially those risk factors which make up the subjective risk wheel are paramount to the delivery of a safe and enjoyable adventure activity experience to the clients. However, one must acknowledge that Postive / Desired Risk, Satisfaction Risk, Expected Risk and Perceived Risk, are all very subjective. The view of the client versus the view of the guide is also highlighted by Dickson & Dolnicar (2000), "if we were to begin to look at risk through the eyes of participants what differences would there be in what is defined as risk and thus our assessment and management of those risks" (Dickson & Dolnicar, 2000, p. 10). Therefore, in order to manage client risk perceptions the adventure activity guide need to understand these types of subjective risk. In order to do this, the adventure activity guide needs to be mindful of the adventure activity timeframe, as these perceptions can change during this timeframe.

The Adventure Activity Timeframe

According to Morgan and Fluker (2006) there are three elements which make up the adventure tourism experience and are within the operators' area of responsibility: the client; the environment / setting; and the management practices of the provider. Trauer (2006) states the 'Tourism Product' is made up of the adventure activity, the setting and also the 'Tourists' (individual). The importance of the role of the guide in the adventure experience is also acknowledged by several studies (Cloutier, 2003; Morgan, 2000; Morgan & Fluker, 2006). Therefore from the adventure tourism activity perspective, the main players in the adventure activity are the client, the provider and the guide. Also the adventure activity has a timeframe and the relationship in terms of risk perception and the management of these perceptions between the main players can change during this timeframe, see figure 1.3. By taking this framework and applying it to Risk Perception Management Training for the Adventure Activity Guide, it is envisaged that risk perception management can be realized by the guide.

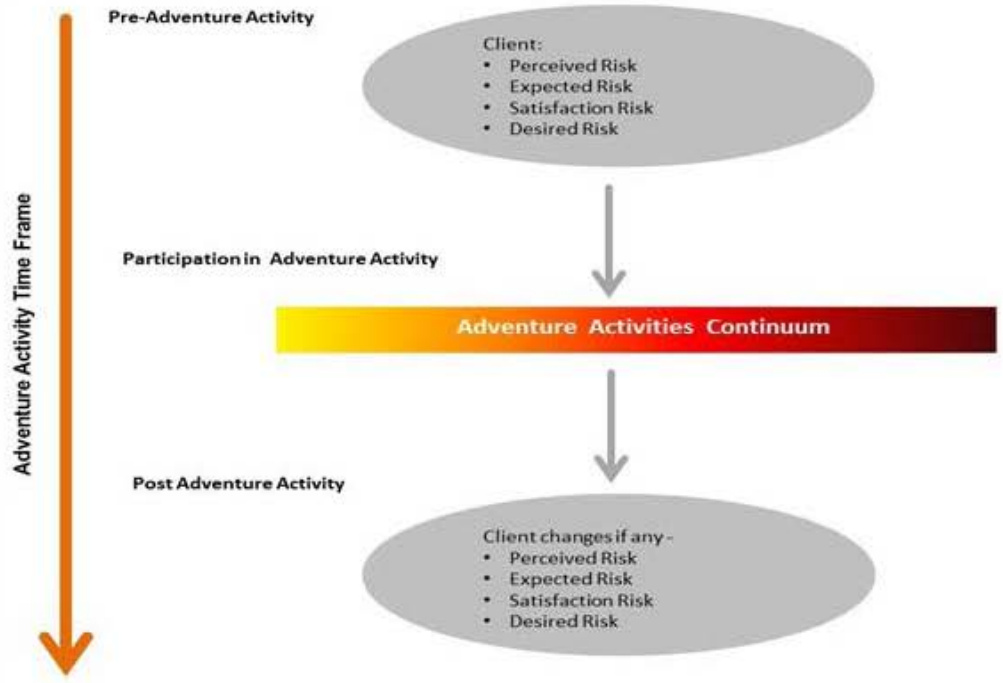

Figure 1.3 Adventure Activity Time.

Risk Perception Management Training

This paper proposes there are 4 main stages when addressing risk perception management training for the adventure activity guide. The first 3 stages correspond to the 3 main phases in the adventure activity time frame as depicted above in figure 1.3, and the fourth stage deals with the process of reflection of the delivered adventure activity by the guide.

Stage 1 – Pre adventure activity
Stage 2 – During the adventure activity
Stage 3– Post adventure activity
Stage 4 – Reflection by the guide on the delivered adventure activity

Stage 1 – Pre adventure activity

According to Williams and Soutar (2005) and Morgan and Fluker (2006), the role of the activity guide is paramount to the clients' perceptions of risk, safety and control.
At the pre adventure activity stage the guide needs to be aware of and have an understanding of the risk factors (as shown in figure 1.1) and the subjective risk wheel (as shown in figure 1.2). The guide by being cognisant of these can then address risk perception management at the pre adventure activity stage.
At the pre adventure activity stage the guide needs to address the following:-

- the activity brief
- the safety brief
- a client assessment (if necessary)
- equipment checks

It is at this stage, especially in delivering the activity brief and safety brief, the guide needs to build the clients' trust and also for the guide to establish authority. Cater (2006) identifies trust as being a very important part of the client experience, as clients will only participate in the adventure experience if they trust the guide and trust the outcome of the experience. It is important for the guide to develop communication and presentation skills in order to gain the clients trust and establish authority.

Stage 2 – During adventure activity

The guide through safety briefings, instruction during the activity, playing up or down the risk level can enhance the adventure activity experience for the client (Morgan & Fluker, 2006; Williams & Soutar, 2005).
Stage 2 is concerned with creating an environment of emotional and physical safety therefore enhancing the clients' adventure experience. In order to accomplish this the following needs to be addressed by the guide:

- build a rapport with the clients
- monitor the clients, both verbally and non-verbally
- good and appropriate decision making during the activity
- instruction during the activity session

By building a rapport with the clients, the guide continues to build on the trust that was established at stage 1. The guide also needs to be aware of the communication both verbal and non-verbal emanating from both the client and from the guide. The guide then needs to be able to react on the basis of the information received and observed. For example, the verbal communication from the guide needs to match the non-verbal communication originating from the guide. If the guide tells the clients that everything is ok, then their visual expression and actions should match their words, otherwise, this will result in mixed signals being communicated to the clients. The guide also needs to actively listen to what the client verbally reveals about their worries, fears or lack of acknowledgment of the risks being highlighted by the guide. However, it must be acknowledged the client may

be reluctant (due to social and peer pressure factors) to say what they feel therefore the guide needs to be adept at reading the non-verbal signs which will alert them to potential client issues. This area has been termed in other studies (adventure therapy and outdoor education studies) as the need for the guide to have a level of "emotional intelligence" to be an effective guide. Emotional intelligence consists of core skills and higher order skills (Feldman, 1999), as shown in table 1.1. According to Feldman (1999) the combination of these two sets of skills can lead to a greater awareness of others' needs and the ability to react effectively to a range of situations.

Table 1.1 Emotional Intelligence.

Core Skills	Higher Order Skills
Knowing oneself	Taking responsibilty
Maintaining control	Generating choices
Perceiving others accurately	Embracing a vision
Communicating with fexibility	Having courage
	Demonstrating resolve

A study on "Outdoor Leader's Emotional Intelligence and Transformational Leadership" done by Hayashi and Ewert (2006) found there was a strong correlation between the emotional intelligence of outdoor instructors and the instructors outdoor experience. Cloutier (2003) also emphasises the importance for the guide to have a broad level of experience and good judgement. Therefore, if the guide possesses comprehensive experience, then the guide will be better equipped to deal with and make the appropriate decisions during the adventure activity.

Stage 3 – Post adventure activity

This stage involves reviewing the activity session with the client, in terms of meeting the clients' needs, expectations and perceptions. Any guide training must include the development of the guide's competence in conducting a thorough review of the activity with the client as well as building on the guide's ability to reflect on their own performance. The post adventure activity stage would involve:-

- Reviewing the adventure activity experience with the client
- Discussing the next level of adventure activity appropriate for the client (if required)
- The client's evaluation of the adventure activity

In this guide client review, the guide needs to ascertain if the objectives of the session were achieved in relation to meeting the client's motivations for participating in the activity, such as fun, challenge, rush, thrill. Were the client's expectations met in terms of the setting of the activity? Was the activity the correct duration? Was the physical and mental challenge of the activity correct? Did the client feel safe during the activity? By getting answers to these questions, the guide will be able to ascertain whether the client felt they were in an environment of emotional and physical safety and whether this enhanced their overall adventure experience.

In order to establish how the client may progress in their chosen activity, the guide must first be aware of the client's perception of fear and risk and how this will impact on their

future engagement with the activity. One model the guide could use is Morgan's (2000) Adventure Tourists Control of Fear (ATCOF) model, as shown in figure 1.4. The ATCOF model represents the "interaction of the adventure tourists' perceptions of fear and control as they relate to the adventure experience" (Morgan, 2000, p. 82). In the ATCOF model the clients of the adventure activity have the potential to experience three conditions of challenge, that of 'play, ascendency, and distress'. Which of these conditions of challenge will be experienced by the client is based on how the client copes with the fear of the physical hazards of the adventure activity and the control of this fear. The ATCOF model deplicts the client as experiencing 'play' before ever reaching the condition of 'ascendancy' or the condition of 'distress'. However, there can come a stage where the clients level of control over the level of fear will either result in the client experiencing the condition of 'ascendancy' or the condition of 'distress'. If the guide can gain a better understanding of tourists' perceptions of the adventure experience this has the potential to improve the adventure experience for all clients.

To complete this stage of the post adventure activity process, the client should be given an activity evaluation questionnaire, to fill out independently and anonymously. This will allow for the client to give feedback which they may not have been comfortable providing in a face-to-face review of the session with the guide. The information gained from these evaluation questionnaires can provide vital feedback which can be used by the guide and the provider to develop and enhance the activities they provide and the management and marketing of these activities.

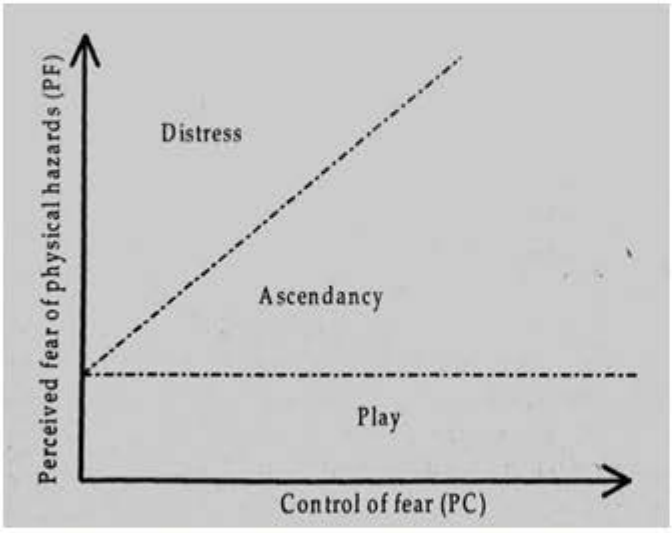

Figure 1.4 The Adventure Tourist Control of Fear Model (source: Morgan 2000, p. 83).

Stage 4 - Reflection by the guide on the delivered adventure activity

Reflective practice is an essential skill for any guide in order for them to develop safe practices and build up a mental inventory of possible risk outcomes in different situations. This reflective practice will encourage the guide to look at both the positive and negative aspects of their performance and the ability to learn from both, especially from any mistakes. This in turn will assist in the building of the guide's experience and their judgement in-action with a positive effect of creating an environment of physical and emotional safety for their clients. This reflection on the delivered adventure activity (as shown in figure 1.5) will result in the creation of a "mindful" approach to guiding and will create an overall positive effect on the development of the adventure activity experience.

Figure 1.5 The Reflection Process.

Conclusion

Every individual is different, therefore peoples' perceptions of their surrounding environment, their experiences and their interpretations can differ. Thus, in terms of the adventure tourism experience, guides play an important role in controlling the subjective risks that clients are exposed to by attempting to balance the level of risk with the level of client ability and experience. This paper highlights the need for risk perception management training for the adventure activity guide. It is important for the guide to understand the risk factors associated with the adventure activity and how these risks may alter during the time frame of the adventure activity. This paper proposed four stages to risk perception management training. Stages one to three are set within the time frame of the adventure activity and stage four places emphasis on reflection by the guide on the delivered adventure activity. The result of this will be the creation of a "mindful" approach to guiding and will create an overall positive effect on the development of the adventure activity experience.

The author acknowledges the risk perception management training presented in this paper is only the initial stage in the development of a robust training module. In order to further develop a quality training module, the author is presently conducting research titled "Managing Risk Perception in Adventure Tourism Activities – what are the perceptions and how are they managed". The research strategy of the study is descriptive research with an inductive approach. In order to manage risk perception three points of view will be addressed in the study, that of the clients, that of the providers and the guides of adventure tourism activities. Taking this approach, the study will address the clients' motivations, expectations and risk awareness associated with the clients' chosen adventure activity. The study will also address the providers and guides perceptions of risk, their awareness of the clients' motivations and risk perceptions and what management strategies if any are implemented by the providers and guides to deal with risk perception in their commercial adventure tourism activities. By studying these three relationships and changes, if any, in these relationships during the timeframe of the adventure activity, the research question of the study "Managing Risk Perception in Adventure Tourism Activities – what are the perceptions of risk and how are they managed?" will be answered and will aid in the development of a quality risk perception management training module.

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In pursuit of quality tour guiding: A review of tour guide quality assurance and regulatory mechanisms

Rosemary Black, PhD
School of Environmental Science, Charles Sturt University, Albury, NSW, Australia
rblack@csu.edu.au

Abstract
The role of the guide has gained prominence in facilitating a quality tourist experience yet some studies have highlighted problems associated with current tour guiding practices, including inadequate skills and unethical behaviour of tour guides. Previous research shows that in some areas guides are performing well and delivering a quality tourist experience, yet they are under performing in other areas. The tour guiding discourse is punctuated by calls for more professionalism, training programs, and quality assurance and regulatory mechanisms to improve tour guiding practice. A range of mechanisms can be used to address these issues of performance and quality. Three outcomes that mechanisms should aim to achieve to improve and maintain tour guide performance and standards are identified. The mechanisms discussed are, awards for excellence, licensing, professional associations, codes of conduct, professional certification and training and education. Each of these mechanisms is discussed and assessed in relation to its usefulness in meeting the three outcomes, as well as their advantages and disadvantages. The paper concludes with recommendations for industry and further research.

Keywords
quality, tour guide, professional certification, codes of conduct, licensing, professional associations, training and education, awards of excellence

Introduction
In the past twenty years the tourism industry has seen an increasing focus on quality with consumers becoming more discerning in their desire for high quality experiences as well as an increase in niche tourism such as ecotourism that often includes guided experiences. These trends point to the need for high quality tour guide experiences. However, studies of tour guiding across a number of different countries including Australia, Hong Kong and Macau (Ap & Wong, 2001; Australian Tourism Export Council & Tourism Queensland, 2001; Mak, Wong, & Chang, 2009) have highlighted problems associated with current tour guiding practices such as unethical behaviour and inadequate or unethical human resource/employment practices of tour operators. At the same time other studies have demonstrated that some guides are performing poorly in some roles and not fulfilling their potential to deliver quality visitor experiences (Weiler & Crabtree, 1998). Over the past twenty years there have been calls in tour guiding literature for more theoretical bases, benchmarks, best practice principles and standards (Christie & Mason, 2003) as well as more professionalism, comprehensive training programs, and increased monitoring and enforcement of standards (Christie & Mason, 2003; Dioko & Unakul, 2005). These trends suggest the need to develop and implement quality assurance and regulatory mechanisms to address some of these issues. Black and Weiler (2005) examined six tour guiding quality assurance and regulatory mechanisms that have the potential to improve guide performance with respect to guides' key roles such as interpreter, leader and social mediator. These mechanisms included codes of conduct, professional associations, awards

of excellence, professional certification, accreditation and licensing and training and education. Their framework has subsequently been used by other researchers to analyse specific tour guide quality assurance mechanisms such as professional certification, as well as quality assurance mechanisms in other countries including Japan (Yamada, 2011) and China (Huang & Weiler, 2010). However, these studies have tended to be descriptive and there has been little research to assess the effectiveness and impact of any of these mechanisms on actual tour guide performance and standards.

It is therefore suggested that these mechanisms should aim to achieve the following three outcomes:

A. awareness, appreciation and documentation of the importance, positive impacts and value-adding of tour guiding for all stakeholders including visitors and guides themselves
B. a minimum standard of tour guiding required by all guides across the industry
C. advanced levels of tour guide performance

This paper updates the work of Black and Weiler (2005) and focuses on the mechanisms and not their capacity to meet tour guide roles. Each mechanism is briefly discussed in turn with respect to its characteristics, advantages and disadvantages and capacity to achieve the three outcomes outlined above:

- Professional associations
- Professional certification
- Licensing
- Codes of conduct
- Awards of excellence
- Training and education

Professional associations

It has been suggested (Black & Weiler, 2005) that professional associations may have the capacity to help to facilitate guides fulfilling their various roles and improving guide performance (Pond, 1993; Weiler & Ham, 2001a, 2001b). Professional associations can provide professional support and other benefits that can assist in raising guiding standards (Finlayson, 2000; Harris & Jago, 2001; Sheldon, 1989), however this may vary across associations. Associations can offer a wide range of services including quality assurance mechanisms such as training, certification and codes of conduct for their members. At the same time associations are also involved in other membership activities and play an important role in representing the profession and providing expert advice and input to training organizations and government. Depending on the breadth of services the association offers they have the potential to achieve all three outcomes through strategies such as marketing and promotion, developing tour guide standards, professional development and certification programs. However, their influence can be constrained by their small membership numbers and limited resources.

Professional certification

A review of the literature suggests that professional certification is being increasingly used in some countries (Huang & Weiler, 2010; Yamada, 2011) to raise guiding standards and performance, however there has been little evidence to demonstrate its efficacy and is an area requiring further research. Professional certification is used to formally recognize an individual's skills, knowledge and attitudes as defined by some standards (Altschuld, 1999; Morrison, Hsieh, & Wang, 1992). In the tourism industry professional certification is usually voluntary and is a process whereby individuals are tested to see if they have the required professional skills and knowledge. Tour guide certification programs exist

in many countries and cities around the world (Black, 2002; Black & Ham, 2005; Pond, 1993). Black's (2002) comprehensive study of the Australian EcoGuide Program critically analysed the Program's development as a basis for building a best practice model for tour guide certification (Black & Ham, 2005). The proposed model has three components – a general process model for developing a tour guide certification program, key process principles and key program elements (Black & Ham, 2005).

Utilising Black's tour guide certification model (Black & Ham, 2005), Carmody, King and Prideaux (2010) critically examined Savannah Guides, a certification program for ecotour guides based in northern Australia. They found that Savannah Guides met most of the characteristics identified by Christie and Mason (2003), Black and Weiler (2005), and Black and Ham (2005) as being essential for good guiding practice.

Using the six mechanisms identified by Black and Weiler (2005), Yamada (2011) in a study of ecotour guiding in Japan found that professional associations, awards of excellence and training had already been implemented, but professional certification, licensing and codes of conduct could also be used to improve tour guiding standards in that country.

A professional certification program may vary depending on a number of factors including its aims, assessment, and level(s) of certification. Most tour guide certification programs are based on generic core competencies such as communication, leadership and interpretation, that in turn are based on an analysis of guide roles. According to Crabtree and Black (Crabtree & Black, 2000) an advantage of certification for the individual is that it provides a portable and nationally recognised industry 'qualification'. At a wider industry level, certification establishes minimum standards that professional guides must meet and maintain through recertification. However a number of studies have shown there are some disadvantages of this mechanism (Mak, et al., 2009; Mak, Wong, & Chang, 2011) and despite the implementation of certification problems still exist in relation to unethical and unhealthy tour guiding practices. Depending on the structure of the certification program they have the capacity to achieve all three outcomes through program promotion and benefits, establishing minimum standards and providing a range of performance levels. However, they are costly to establish and manage (Black, 2002; Black & Ham, 2005) and some guides may be excluded because they do not meet the eligibility criteria.

Licensing

In contrast to professional certification, licensing is a mandatory legal requirement for some professions to practice (Hoskins, 1986; Morrison, et al., 1992; Pond, 1993). The intention of licensing is often to restrict a profession to those who are considered competent or to delimit the scope of practice for a particular profession (Hoskins, 1986), thereby protecting consumers. Many countries around the world require a license to practice as a guide, including Singapore (Henderson, 2002), Macau (Mak, et al., 2009), Indonesia (Bras, 2000), China (Huang & Weiler, 2010), Israel and the United Kingdom (Pond, 1993; Guild of Registered Tourist Guides, 2001).

In some countries guides must complete a training course before they can be licensed to work as a tour guide (Wong, Ap, Yeung & Sandiford, 1999; Bras, 2000). For example, the U.K. Blue Badge licensing program requires guides to complete an intensive training course prior to obtaining a license. The advantages of licensing are that it enforces through law or regulation minimum tour guiding standards and provides some consumer protection (Henderson, 2002). Some disadvantages of licensing are that it may only require a minimum standard to be met, does not necessarily encourage excellence and may be a blanket approach that is inappropriate for specialist guides. Other issues include

how and who undertakes the monitoring and enforcement of the licensing process, and the stringency of the application and renewal procedures (Henderson, 2002; Mak, et al., 2009; Mak, et al., 2011; Pond, 1993). Licensing can set minimum guiding standards as well as offer advanced levels of recognition.

Codes of conduct

Codes of conduct or codes of ethics are a commonly used mechanism that may contribute to guides performing their roles (Font & Buckley, 2001; Issaverdis, 2001; Mason, 2007; Pond, 1993). The past twenty years has seen a proliferation of such codes within the tourism industry (Font & Buckley, 2001; Issaverdis, 2001) though many aimed at the operator and visitor rather than the guide (Mason & Mowforth, 1996). Some consider codes are only useful as awareness-raising tools rather than as a form of quality control (Font & Buckley, 2001; Issaverdis, 2001; Weaver, 2001; Weiler & Ham, 2001a) and are often criticised for being 'vague, voluntary and based on a system of self-regulation' (Weaver, 2001, p. 658). The advantages of codes are that they have the potential to apply fundamental principles across a sector, and their generally voluntary nature which provides moral suasion amongst members of professional organisations.

In general tour guide codes of conduct address a range of guide roles such as safety, navigation and access (Pond, 1993; Guild of Registered Tourist Guides, 2001) or in the case of specialist guide codes may refer to other roles such as interpreter, motivator of conservation values, role model and cultural broker (Savannah Guides, 2009; The Ecotourism Society, 1993; Bras, 2000; Crabtree & Black, 2000). The main disadvantage of codes of conduct are they are difficult to enforce (Mason & Mowforth, 1996), and they may not be disseminated widely or multilingually and therefore not fully understood due to cultural or other differences. In Mak et al.'s (2011) study of guides in Hong Kong and Macau they found that codes of conduct in both countries were considered to be 'workable' yet their study findings suggest the codes are failing to prevent unethical and poor tour guiding practices in either country. Codes of conduct have the potential to achieve awareness and appreciation of the positive impacts and value-adding of tour guiding for all stakeholders including visitors and guides through promotion and awareness raising strategies to guides and visitors.

Individual awards of excellence

Awards of excellence target individual guides and their advantages are that they can recognise and reward outstanding individuals, provide role models for the industry, promote excellence in guiding to the industry and the wider community, provide a benchmark for 'best practice', and give an incentive for other professionals to improve their skills and performance (Toplis, 2000). The disadvantages are that they focus on rewarding individuals (Buckley, 2001), in contrast to professional certification and licensing that may apply to all guides. In his review of tourism awards, Toplis (2000) found little research had been undertaken to evaluate the effectiveness of the many tourism awards systems in Australia. Many government and non-profit organisations around the world have developed awards of excellence programs aimed at individual guides including Australia (Gaborit, 2001; Tourism Council of Australia Western Australia, 2000) and China (Huang & Weiler, 2010). Awards of excellence have the potential to achieve awareness, appreciation and documentation of the importance of guiding for all stakeholders using promotion, marketing and supporting best practice guiding.

Training and education

The final mechanism that has the potential to raise and maintain tour guiding standards and performance is training and education. This may be provided by a range of organisations

such as professional associations, tertiary institutions, and private education providers. The content of training and education programs may vary as well as delivery and assessment strategies. Some certification and licensing programs require training prior to gaining formal recognition, such as the UK Blue Badge Guide. Some evidence suggests that training can increase levels of customer satisfaction (Roggenbuck, Williams & Bobinski, 1992). The advantages of training and education are that it can facilitate employment into the field and can provide a range of levels of training (basic to advanced), as well as improving guide performance and standards. Disadvantages are that it may not guarantee achieving minimum standards and may not be delivered consistently across institutions. This mechanism has the capacity to achieve the three outcomes through promotion and marketing of courses and their benefits, delivering program content and skill development that meet minimum guiding standards and offering a range of different levels of educational programs from a certificate to diploma levels.

Discussion and conclusion

This review demonstrates that each mechanism has its advantages and disadvantages in terms of how it can assist in improving tour guide performance and standards and meeting the three outcomes outlined in the introduction. The review suggests that professional associations, professional certification and training and education are the three mechanisms that have the potential to achieve all the outcomes. While professional associations may have the capacity to meet these outcomes there is no guarantee they can provide all the necessary services and support due to limited resources. Professional certification and training and education also appear to have potential but there is limited evidence of their efficacy in improving tour guide performance and ensuring high guiding standards. An ideal approach for industry would be a combination of mechanisms that could meet the three outcomes and would benefit guides and other stakeholders, an approach supported by other authors in different countries (Huang & Weiler, 2010; Yamada, 2011).

This review illustrates that, to date, most research has focused on specific mechanisms such as certification and licensing (Black, 2007; Calvo, 2010; Huang & Weiler, 2010; Yamada, 2011) rather than the more general issues of professionalism. Much of the research has been largely descriptive, with some examples in recent years of model and theory-building (Black & Ham, 2005; Black & Weiler, 2005) and critical analysis (Carmody, King, & Prideaux, 2010; Yamada, 2011). However, here is a clear need for more critical and comparative research on the efficacy of different quality assurance mechanisms in meeting the three outcomes across a range of guiding contexts in developed and developing countries.

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Section 9
THE "EDUCATED" TOUR GUIDE

The Role of Tourist Guides in a Fast Changing Environment

Wilja Siebe[1]
Vice president & head of training division, World Federation of Tourist Guide Associations (WFTGA)
wilja_siebe@planet.nl

Introduction

The World Federation of Tourist Guide Associations (WFTGA) is a non-profit and non-political Organisation (NGO) and is represented in 80 countries with over 150.000 members. It is an Affiliate Member of UNWTO and in official relation with UNESCO and ICTP.

Our mission is:

- The enhancement of professional tourist guides worldwide
- Establishing the highest standards of professionalism by improving the quality of the tourist guide profession through education and training (EN15565, the European Standard for this)
- To promote a universal Code of Ethics and Skills

In this article I will review the role of Tourist Guides against the background of a fast changing environment within tourism and the consequences this has in their practical professional life.
This is the main objective based on data, observations, experience and discussions with colleague tourist guides.

We will look into several aspects like:

- The tourism market
- Consumers
- Providers
- Technology

Tourism Market

Tourism is one of the sectors within the economy – global as well as on a national level – that is considered in many countries as key for fast and steady growth. According to the latest UNWTO Tourism Barometer International Tourism[2] receipts grew with 4% worldwide in 2012.
In the so called BRIC countries (Brazil; Russian Federation; India and China) incoming as well as outgoing tourism plays a very important role. According to this UNWTO report the number of Chinese travellers has grown from 10 million in 2000 to 83 million in 2012. Chinese travellers' expenditure jumped 40% from USD 73 billion in 2011 to USD 103 billion in 2012. For the Russian Federation there was an increase of 32% in 2012. Brazil moved from the 29th place in 2005 to the 12th place in 2012 with an expenditure of USD 22 billion[2].

Due to an increase in average income, a better-off middle class has emerged and now has the opportunity to travel. As UNWTO Secretary-General, Taleb Rifai said "the impressive growth of tourism expenditure from China and Russia reflects the entry into the tourism market of a growing middle class from these countries".

Another important aspect within tourism is – especially in the Western Hemisphere – the increase of a large and fast growing group of well to do retired people that now has the opportunity to travel more than ever before!

In the past 25-35 years a phenomenon called "mass tourism" has developed. This has been enormously enhanced by another feature within tourism which is considered the most booming part within tourism worldwide and that is the cruise industry! From 1990 on we have seen an average annual growth of 7%. Where in 1990 around 3 million passengers were counted, this has grown in 2010 to over 19 million and is expected to pass 23 million cruise passengers worldwide in 2015. Worldwide the cruise market is estimated at USD 36.2 billion [3].

Consumers

From a consumers' perspective we have seen some remarkable changes in the past 25-30 years. Whereas in the past travelling was the "privilege" of the "happy few" who enjoyed travelling in a most luxurious way, now people with a reasonable and average income can afford to travel. For sure these people originate mainly from the "rich" Western countries and the upcoming BRIC countries.
In these groups a distinction can be made between:

1. Elderly / retired people looking for a pleasant and convenient way of travelling. They are often experienced travellers in their former professional life who like now to travel in a group (North Americans / Australians).
2. Groups of 45-60 years old and still working but who like to combine a business trip with holiday/leisure. Often they also want to go back to places where they spent their summer holiday as a youngster and backpacker. Now they can afford to do the trip in a more convenient way!
3. Elderly Europeans and less experienced travellers mainly from East Germany / European countries as well as from France, Italy and Spain. They tend to favour especially bus tours and the cheaper (river) cruises.
4. Youngsters travelling by themselves or with a few friends and staying in cheap hostels / hotels.

The above mentioned groups can be defined under the umbrella of "mass tourism".
Within these groups we can distinguish some trends in the past years such as:

- Better informed (internet) and often high(er) educated customers than ever before.
- Having increasingly high expectations and demands regarding service standards. They know exactly what providers have offered and whether they fulfil their promises or not.
- Price shoppers: they have checked and compared prices carefully of many suppliers.
- Low customer loyalty: people change easily from one provider to another based on price and service.

In this mass tourism market with a well informed and educated clientele we see that consumers are seeking the utmost value for the lowest possible price.

However, a counter tendency is surfacing: the niches in the tourism market.
Private and / or very small groups definitely do not want or even refuse to be part of a large or larger group travelling around. And this group is willing to pay a premium for that.

Providers

The above also impacts the providers. We see that they operate in a steadily increasing "fighting" market environment. Competition is very high and customer loyalty has almost disappeared. In these market circumstances providers are confronted with:

- Shrinking margins. They have to accept lower profits to keep up with their competitors.
- The need to offer discounts to "regular" customers or to offer "two or the price of one".
- Competitors who carefully watch each other and even follow what they are doing and (not) offering in the market.
- A strong demand for transparency of costs within the whole supply chain.

This cannot be without consequences. Providers need to find a way to survive and this means on the one hand that they have to cut costs where and whenever possible. On the other hand we can see that in order to attract customers they tend to overpromise and in this way create excessively high expectations with their clients. For example, providers offer a very full itinerary/program which looks very appealing to customers but during the trip their customers find out that they have no time at all to see and enjoy the offered sites properly.
Another feature of mass tourism is that they tend to rely on the "standard packages" only with little drive for innovation or customer offerings.

Technology

Within tourism new technology and the new social media play an important role. Some examples are the use of whispering systems; walking microphones; I-pads and I-phones.
Each of these can be used to the benefit but can also have negative effects. Whispering systems can be very helpful during a guided visit to a museum/site or walking tour. All clients wearing the earphones can enjoy the explanation even from a distance. However, in the past the maximum number of participants in a group used to be 15 people but now tourist guides will have at least 25 30 people. Imagine standing in front of a painting that is being explained; the quality of listening has improved but the opportunity to see what is being explained is a different matter with such large groups of people.
Some tourist guides use "walking microphones" so their clients can hear them very well but… so do all other people around them without the possibility to escape from the explanation they do not wish to listen to.
I-pads and I-phones have the option to download apps and use them as a source of basic information.
During walking tours they can be used to check weather conditions to decide when is the best time during the day to do the walking tour and to escape the rain if possible. For profound information and real local "inside" information these devices are less suitable.

Tourist Guide's Role in a fast changing environment

With regards to the changes within the group of consumers and their high(er) level of information and education tourist guides need:

- To have a very high and broad level of education and information
- To be trained in practical skills
- To invest permanently and lifelong to keep up with the latest information, news, written publications as well as those published on the internet and the newest technology
- To be aware of the latest trends within the tourism market (bikes; Segway; boats)
- To focus more and more on specific customer needs/demands/expectations (young; elderly and / or disabled people).

Their role has also changed from a person who was mainly accompanying people and who gave more or less basic information into someone, who gives a well-balanced presentation of facts and fiction, legends and storytelling while making a clear distinction between those. Todays' consumers expect this to be presented in a pleasant and entertaining way and they do not want to be lectured.

Tourist guides have to explain, clarify and give interpretations of customs and traditions (the cultural heritage) of a country, region, site and / or city. But visitors also like to get an understanding of daily life: the living, working and social conditions of the place they visit.
Guides need to display a profound knowledge in combination with practical and communication skills which are vital to be successful in the job. This requires also a great awareness of cultural diversity and cultural sensitivity as well as knowing how to manage smaller and larger groups of people and have a basic knowledge of group psychology.
But above all they need to give their clients the "insights" and the "local touch" feeling leading to a sense of "unique and personal experience" for them.

Taking all this into account and looking at the tourist guide's current position we see that:

- They have to invest more and more in themselves and work harder and longer than ever before and for less money[1].
- They are mostly independent workers instead of being on a pay role with a tour operator or tour agent
- They have to pay high costs for social security and insurances
- They have no full year employment and they depend on the tourist season which lasts 8 to 9 months at a maximum.

The question is: does the tourist guide profession have a future? YES!!!

Conclusion

The tourist guide profession certainly has a future but tourist guides are required to be more proactive and conscious about:

1. Using modern technology and the new social media (Facebook; LinkedIn; apps etc.)
2. Seeing these modern technologies as an additional tool instead of a threat
3. Anticipating and becoming more proactive instead of following the latest trends within the tourism market
4. Seeking the niches in the market and creating one or more "specialities"; besides being a "generalist", they have to become a "specialist" in some specific area(s) too.
5. Marketing themselves better by:
   - underlining that they are the interpreters and best ambassadors of the national and/ or regional cultural heritage in the area they work
   - stressing the importance of their interactive role as a tourist guide with whom their client(s) can discuss and exchange information.
6. Being on good terms and working in good collaboration with the authorities and institutions in charge of tourism.

Last but not least tourist guides need to show in all possible ways that they are professional and highly qualified, caring about their customer's well-being and satisfaction.

UNWTO reports[2] that one billion tourists (business and leisure) crossed international borders in 2012.

Why should tourist guides not have a slice of this cake??

Notes

1. Wilja Siebe studied economic and social history at the University of Amsterdam; she has 15 years' experience as a tourist guide in the Netherlands and is a member of Guidor, the Netherlands Guides Organization.
2. Source: www.unwto.org

3. Sources: www.cruisemarketwatch.com; www.clia.com; www.wftga.org
4. The tourist guide's income is under pressure due to severe competition amongst providers and their need for cost cutting.
   A. Most fees have not been increased in the past 3-5 years. So no inflation and/or price compensation has been incorporated in these years. Another reason is that most tourist guides have not increased their fees, fearing not to be asked anymore and so to run out of work.
   B. Some providers have actually decreased the fee for museum guiding with 20% in Amsterdam.
   C. Providers do not pay anymore for travelling hours as they used to do in the past when a tour started somewhere outside of town.
   D. Extra's like commissions paid to tourist guides in shops, factories etc. go now directly to some providers and/or cruise companies.

conference PROCEEDINGS

3RD INTERNATIONAL RESEARCH FORUM ON GUIDED TOURS
4-6 APRIL 2013, THE NETHERLANDS

From April 4th till 6th 2013, the 3rd *International Research Forum on Guided Tours* was held at NHTV Breda University of Applied Sciences in The Netherlands. These Proceedings contain 19 of the papers which were presented at IRFGT 2013. Together they demonstrate that guided tours and tour guides are highly relevant, yet under researched, subjects in Tourism Studies which can be addressed from a wide variety of angles. This collection of articles covers such diverse topics as tour guiding as a tool for sustainable tourism, the contribution of tour guides to destination image and heritage interpretation, performativity and guided tours, quality assurance and regulatory mechanisms for tour guides, and guided tours and technologies. It will leave the reader with a deeper understanding of the guided tour as a potent, changing, multi-facetted cultural phenomenon and a promising research subject.

NHTV Breda University of Applied Sciences