ISSN 0867-3888
e-ISSN 2353-5962

AKADEMIA WYCHOWANIA FIZYCZNEGO
IM. BRONISŁAWA CZECHA W KRAKOWIE

FOLIA TURISTICA

Vol. 37 – 2015
Anthropology of tourism

KRAKÓW 2015

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Papers peer-reviewed

Adjustment:
Katarzyna Smith-Nowak, AmE Native – native speaker proofreading,
Stanisław Matusik – Statistical Editor

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Declaration concerning publication of primal version of the journal

We wish to inform that in relation to all papers published in Folia Turistica, the version which is considered to be primal is the printed one.

ISSN 0867-3888, e-ISSN 2353-5962

DTP: Ryszard Sasorski
Print: Drukarnia Eikon Plus Dominik Sieńko, ul. Wybickiego 46, 31-302 Kraków

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CONFERENCE REPORT

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SPIS TREŚCI

SPRAWOZDANIE Z KONFERENCJI

FROM THE EDITORS

The anthropology of tourism, as a sub-discipline of anthropology, emerged about 40 years ago in the circle of American anthropologists [Smith 1977]. The need to identify the theoretical basis for research on the experience of visitors-guests, their relationships with representatives of the host communities, and the impact of the development of the tourism industry on people and places was associated with the processes of democratization and commercialization of travel. Tourism ceased to be just a privilege of the elite, explorers and researchers, but became a universally accessible "product". Both trends have significantly influenced the development of travel patterns, themes and experiences of tourists. They also caused changes in various spheres of life of local communities, the number of which visitors dynamically increased from year to year: while in 1950 25 million international trips were recorded, in 1980, there were 278 million and in 2012, the number exceeded the magic limit of 1 billion [UNWTO 2015, electr. doc.]. The economic, ecological and socio-cultural benefits of the development of international tourism was accompanied by negative consequences of uncontrolled expansion, especially in the less developed countries of the Global South where the tourism industry is analysed also in the context of postcolonialism [see Tucker, Akama 2009].

Representatives of the humanities and social sciences have treated mass tourism for a long time with reserve and even with contempt: as trivial entertainment or an irresponsible activity, which results in the destruction of the traditional lifestyle and culture of the inhabitants. However, tourism theorists, deriving from different basic disciplines, have emphasized the fact that tourism cannot be assessed only in economic terms as a lucrative business and source of income, because it is inseparable from a human being and culture. Issues such as the relationship between hosts and guests; renegotiation of the importance of heritage while creating attractions and tourism products; irreversible transformation of the natural environment; ideas, images and communicative signs in the discourse of tourism; post-colonialism; globalization, etc. aroused the interest of anthropologists and scholars of other disciplines referring to ethnographic research. The desire for an individual to see a perfect place, to regenerate one's strengths and experience an adventure has become a part of a complicated tourist system. The attempt to make tourism more responsible, environmentally, culturally, socially and economically 'friendly' for places and local communities has contributed in the 1980s to the formulation of principles of sustainable tourism development [Weaver 2007; Krippendorf 1987].

Although the discussion on distinguishing the sub-discipline is ongoing, knowledge and experience drawn from anthropology are important from the point of view of researchers of contemporary travel. Repeatedly pointed to is the fact that the dynamic development of tourism in the second half of the twentieth century surprised the representatives of the social sciences and humanities. They did not foresee that this "individual consumer behaviour" would become an important factor in shaping social and cultural life [Franklin, Crang 2001; Podemski 2008]. At the same time, even then in the early 1970s, among the eminent anthropologists and sociologists from the so-called first generation of tourism researchers, there were comments that drew attention to the excessively one-sided and superficial treatment of tourism [see Nash, ed. 2007]. Their studies were much less institutionalized than those in the early twenty-first century, and critical views – more dispersed. For the second and third generations of researchers, tourism has taken efforts to build a more integrated and interdisciplinary field of knowledge [Phillimore, Goodson, eds. 2004; Tribe 2005; Alejziak 2008].

Nowadays tourism occupies a key position, both as a separate subject of study, as well as a useful tool for understanding the broader processes of civilization. The greatest interest in tourism is present in the field of social and cultural anthropology, as evidenced by, among others, this volume. However, representatives of linguistic anthropology, physical (biological) anthropology and archeology, also contribute to the understanding of this phenomenon. The essence of tourism is its interdisciplinary nature, which expresses the tendency to blur the boundaries between disciplines creatively inspiring one another. Anthropological studies are comprehensive, the result is a description of the network taking into account the interaction between the different spheres of human life and its relationships with others. Tourism covers the relations between the actors involved on the side of guests, hosts and organizers (tour operators). Behaviour, representations, and interactions of participants of tourist encounters are the subject of analyses carried out using such methods and techniques as participant observation, (in-depth) interviews, textual and visual analyses. With ethnographic methods, researchers try to present the point of view of representatives of the community, taking into account such factors as the inevitable ethnocentrism of the researcher and subjectively marked interpretation. Greater significance of qualitative methods and interpretive approaches in the social sciences and humanities stems from legitimizing paradigms such as constructivism and critical theory. Since researchers are expected to have a reflective approach to their own identity, ideology, subjectivity; to take a clear position regarding the various categories and cultural patterns, implicitly typed in the examination procedure, to identify the nature and knowledge-power structures and critically analyse discourse.

Anchoring research in different paradigms and in practice, favors the penetration of theoretical contexts and tools developed within the framework of political economy, (critical) discourse analysis, semiotics, feminist theories, development studies, etc. As a consequence, anthropology of tourism is "defined not by a unified theoretical approach, nor by particular topics, but by common interest in sociocultural phenomena that transpire in tourism-related settings" [Leite, Swain 2015; Graburn 1983; Leite, Graburn 2009]. Topics undertaken by anthropologists studying tourism over the past five decades reflect both the specificity of tourism development, as well as general trends emerging in the humanities and social sciences. It was already the first collective work that was considered as a foundation for the entire sub-discipline, and so the "Hosts and Guests: Anthropology of Tourism" [1977], edited by Valene Smith, indicated the clues which were followed by other researchers. As mentioned earlier, the massification of tourism at that time triggered the eruption of a number of phenomena that require in-depth scientific reflection. Good examples are the relations between strangers (in this case tourists) and local community considered in the context of hospitality and, on the other hand, the commodification of the hosts-guests relationships.

Extremely important in anthropological reflection have become considerations on the very essence of tourism. Fundamental questions about why people travel and why they do it in such a manner require different cognitive tools and categorization keys than those previously used by geographers and economists. The intuitions of researchers verified during field-work were different. They proposed an understanding of tourism as a secularized pilgrimage [Graburn 1977] or as a modern form of imperialism [Nash 1977] among others. Drawn up by the then binary perception of the tourist as a seeker of authenticity, spiritual experience, self-development, and on the other hand, the perception of him/her as a hedonist and escapologist not reckoning with the consequences of their actions is an approach whose echo can be found in the achievements of the following years. The desire to understand the "tourist as such," led to the opening of the broad mainstream of research on the motivation of a tourist and the tourist experience. And because, as it turned out, both the motives of tourists and their experiences are very diverse and complex, attempts were made to classify them in a way demonstrating the internal heterogeneity of travelers.

The anthropology of tourism did not avoid the big *turns* in the humanities and social sciences. Hence, the theme of the imaginary, visual and linguistic representations of the world, memory and history are reflected in anthropological study on tourism [Salazar, Graburn 2014; Selwyn 1996; Macdonald 1997]. On the wave of the overall return to research on physicality and materiality in the humanities, theorists began to change the way of thinking about the tourist experience, underlying that it is not limited solely to seeing and noted. Therefore, the presence of other senses as well as emotions should be taken into consideration [Urry 1990; Veijola, Jokinen 1994; Urry, Larsen 2011]. As a result, tourists ceased to be thought of as passive observers, and appreciated was the active and performative, embodied and gendered nature of their experiences. This allowed the redefinition of key concepts of authenticity [see Bruner 1989; MacCannell 1976; Selwyn 1996; Wang 1999], which were analyzed not only as an objective phenomenon ("like as in a museum"), but more attention was paid to the subjective dimension of the tourist experience [Wieczorkiewicz 2008].

Another important issue for tourism anthropologists has become the cultural change caused by tourist movement [Leite, Graburn 2009]. Starting with studying the people themselves, e.g. the involvement of local people in the service of tourists (as guides, souvenir sellers, hotel employees, and even sex workers) by changing social relations in local communities, moving onto gradual homogenization and ending with cultural globalization. In this approach, analysed are issues, among others, of ethnicity and tangible and intangible cultural heritage, which become both the subject of the promotion, recognition, conservation and preservation, thanks to the interest of tourists, as well as the basis for the creation of tourism products which, in turn, usually leads to renegotiating the importance of legacy and its commodification. These issues are crucial for the so-called 'difficult heritage' interpretation i.e. in Central and Eastern Europe [Macdonald 2013].

In this collection, we present ten texts written by authors representing different disciplines, research centers and countries; referring to various epistemological and methodological traditions. They consider the topics that make up the three main threads. The first, the most general applies to the tourist experience (**Dann, Jacobsen**) and reflective, critical approach to the study of that experience (**Szarycz**). Dann and Jacobsen, referring to the eight cases of various combinations of attitude and behaviour, which are distinguished based on the level of prevalence of selfishness or selflessness, postulate a more nuanced description of the tourist experience. Although this is a brief, conceptual inquiry, the article is undoubtedly a very useful context for empirical research. Similar recommendation can also be applied to the article by Szarycz, who recognized tourist experience as a conceptual category willingly used by the researchers of different provenance. The author analyzes how the word "experience" is used in tourism research, i.e. as evidence in the qualitative study of tourism. He explains the theoretical perspectives underlying such an understanding of experience, highlighting the benefits of the poststructuralist approach. In another article, an analysis of modern tourism shows inspiration by the theory of the Polish sociologist

Florian Znaniecki (**Murrmann**). The researcher cites examples of different forms of tourism, considering how they can contribute to the development of 'the world culture society' - the notion introduced by Znaniecki to determine the ideal type of global community, "a well-ordered world society, characterized by an active social solidarity (united political unity followed by cultural unity or the other way round)" (p. 56).

In the second part of the volume, the authors present the research carried out in different countries (Mexico, Indonesia, Kenya and France) and refer to such forms of tourism as culinary tourism (**Thome-Ortiz, Moctezuma-Perez**), religious tourism (**Mackowiak**), slum tourism (**Gutowska**) and leisure tourism (**Hoffmann**). Thome-Ortiz and Moctezuma-Perez propose an interesting case study on the traditional and popular cuisine in central Mexico – *barbacoa*. The authors try to combine food and tourism in local development strategies, as well as in the process of heritage recreation. The article pays particular attention to the phenomenon described by them as *food memory*, which, as they attempt to prove is an important element in shaping the culinary and tourist practices at the same time. Gutowska's article raises delicate issues of slum tourism. Based on field research in Kibera, the author concludes that, contrary to popular treatment of slum dwellers as victims used by ruthless tourism industry, trips to the slums offer the local population the opportunity to break with "the image of 'being Others' in economic, social, cultural and political sense in the eyes of visitors" (p. 99). Maćkowiak, based on her own experience of ethnographic research, provides a description of the relationship between religion, spirituality and tourism on the islands of Bali and Lombok. Both destinations have the image of a paradise inhabited by "deeply spiritual people" and therefore – the perfect place for people looking for their own spiritual center outside their own community and culture [see Cohen 1992]. The text by Marta Hoffmann is an interesting example of the use of popular, recognized semiotic approach to the study of the modern phenomenon of tourism language on the Internet. As noted by G. Dann [2007], the mediation of tourist experience *via* media, which is increasingly occurring thanks to the Internet, has significantly changed the relationship between tourists and the local population. Hoffman attempts to analyze the official websites of Nice showing, among others, the proportional share of the minority representation both in depicting the multicultural face of Nice as well as the different categories of tourists. The text undoubtedly 'opens the door' for a wider debate on the promotion of a location using virtual tools.

The third topic addressed in this issue is closely related to Poland. The first text presents the process of renegotiating the meaning of difficult heritage in certified tourism products (**Owsianowska, Banaszkiewicz**). The authors try to show that the definition of heritage is variable and is the result of different interpretations of existing entities in the knowledge-power relationship. Another article is about the discourse of tourist guides targeted at women and/or written by women (**Nieszczerzewska**). This article shows that the perception of gender-language in the discourse of tourism may lead to interesting reflections on the representation of femininity in culture in general. The last article discusses the role of major sporting events (here EURO 2012) in creating the image of Kraków (**Komusińska**). The so-called "mega-events" are an increasingly important tool in the development of tourism of a city, region or country. Regardless of whether they are of sports nature or religious (e.g. the upcoming World Youth Days), they are considered as an opportunity to promote the place. But it is worth reflecting on the real and long-term consequences of such events for the local tourism industry.

This issue of the journal also contains a report from the international scientific conference "Anthropology of Tourism – Heritage and Perspectives", which was held on 1-2 June 2015 in Krakow, organized by the Institute for Intercultural Studies at the Jagiellonian University and the AWF Krakow Department of Tourism and Leisure.

Magdalena Banaszkiewicz, Sabina Owsianowska

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SAVING OR SHARING TOURIST EXPERIENCES: SELFISHNESS OR SELFLESSNESS?

Graham M.S. Dann, Jens Kr. Steen Jacobsen***

Abstract

Purpose. To reach a greater conceptual understanding of tourist experiences.
Method. Via formalistic reflection attention focuses on the binary treatment of fundamental choices between saving or sharing so that, through typical instances, the theoretical base is prepared for the utilisation of a subsequent indicator approach.
Findings. Eight cases of various combinations of attitude and behaviour are examined: *Schadenfreude*, crabs-in-a-barrel, ego-tourism, role negotiation, dog-in-a-manger, anti-tourists, one-up-man-ship and secrecy. Subtle differences emerge.
Research and conclusions limitations. The research emphasises the need for theoretical awareness in obtaining a nuanced appreciation of a number of continua models underpinning tourism. However, no claim is made for mutual exclusivity or exhaustiveness.
Practical implications. By utilising the foregoing insights the ground is prepared for making informed appeals to corresponding differences in motivation and the ways that they can be tapped and targeted in promotion.
Originality. A Simmelian perspective is rare in tourism research. By adopting such an approach, the analysis is able to concentrate of the essences constituting the phenomenon of tourism.
Type of paper. Theoretical.

Keywords: Tourist experiences, saving or sharing, selfishness or selflessness, binary forms, reflection.

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Introduction

The following exercise is about understanding through reflection, where reflection itself is a form of introspection that allows scholars to attain knowledge through contact with essences or forms of a given phenomenon that transcend the limits of space and time, thereby permitting generalizability. Such was the thinking of philosophical sociologists of the Formalist and Phenomenological persuasions, persons of the calibre of G. Simmel [1968 (1908)] and A. Schutz [1972]. Yet few sociologists of tourism have applied their insights and methods to the field, the most notable exception being E. Cohen [1979].

Taking our lead from Cohen, we can say that, simply speaking, tourism comprises a stark twofold choice. It is either about the unique discovery of limitless, new places with related feelings of strangeness, or else it signifies the repetitious visiting of a proportionately small number of comfort zone destinations, with associated sentiments of familiarity [Cohen 1972]. Whatever the binary option facing any given tourist, we maintain that the resulting dichotomous experiences can be regarded as corresponding exercises in selfishness or selflessness, to be respectively saved as a secret or sympathetically shared with fellow tourists. Upon further reflection and inference, it follows that the former attitude of exclusion (i.e., where hoarding for self gain amounts to a virtual refusal to share with another) is evident in eight overlapping variants, most of which, on account of subtle differences, are only fully distinguishable from each other by specific nuance and emphasis. Among these variants, can be found the following eight combinations of attitudes and behaviour:

1. *Schadenfreude*,
2. Crabs-in-a-barrel,
3. Ego-tourism,
4. Role negotiation,
5. Dog-in-a-manger,
6. Anti-tourists,
7. One-up-man-ship,
8. Secrecy.

Even though this listing is not intended to be exhaustive or mutually exclusive (indeed it invites additions from readers), it is claimed that the foregoing identified categories are sufficiently typical as to throw additional light on understanding the multi-faceted and otherwise inordinately complex, phenomenon of contemporary tourism. Hence, an explanation of each itemised cluster of selfishness is considered necessary in order that its implied opposite of selflessness can be inferred.

Schadenfreude

First, there is the well known reality of *Schadenfreude* (literally harm/joy in German which, in turn, becomes a loan word within the repertoire of the English language). In general terms, *Schadenfreude* typically signifies "joy at the suffering of another". Victims, on account of their presumed corresponding lack of knowledge and absence of related skills, become the object of ridicule and hence are excluded from sharing the experiences of those who mock them from a position of undemonstrated and unchallenged intellectual and material superiority. An example from tourism would be the unfamiliarity of lower class tourists with the placement and use of cutlery at a banquet (or formal cruise ship dinner) while those born with "spoons in their mouths", and hence raised on etiquette, would find such discomfort in their lesser counterparts quite amusing.

It may also refer to those scenarios where the rich are regarded by the proverbial man-in-the-street (sic!) as receiving their *just* desserts. People feel more joy at the misfortune of others when they think those people deserve it, when it happens to people with higher social status or people they envy [Kuipers 2014]. Hobbes [2010, 2012], in his *Leviathan* refers to those with little success and scant ability as laughing the loudest at the pusillanimity of allegedly superior others [Tully 2015]. Another example can be found in Clive James's poem "The Book of My Enemy Has Been Remaindered" (i.e. left in useless piles of unsold work) in which the refrain is "And I am Pleased" and "I Rejoice" [James 2012 in: Tully 2015]. In the world of travel, the common passenger would also no doubt rejoice at a patrician being turned down from the business class section of the plane and being made to sit in tourist class. The continued use of such distinctions by the industry would make such a *Schadenfreude* task that much easier.

When it comes to open *Schadenfreude*, reference is made to *Hohn* (German): meaning public derision. An example was observed by one of us in a Greek harbour, where the owner of a large yacht went ashore in an expensive speedboat and crashed into a concrete pier, with subsequent mocking laughter from local fishermen and less privileged holidaymakers watching the event. Another instance of such scorn can be found in Byron's, [1812-1818] *Childe Harold's Pilgrimage* and his reference to a "Roman holiday" where the baying crowds take public delight in seeing a gladiator being butchered[1]. Here it should be noted that the English aristocrat's *magnum opus*, despite claims to the contrary, is largely autobiographical, to the ex-

[1] "…There were his young barbarians all at play;
There was their Dacian mother: he their sire,
Butchered to make a Roman holiday! …" (canto iv, stanza CXLI)
Childe, incidentally, was a mediaeval term for a candidate for knighthood who had to prove himself through pilgrimage.

tent that the wine-and-women-loving poet is so utterly pleasure-satiated and war-weary[2] in his own home society, that he looks for substitute distractions in other lands (the motivational underpinning of push-pull tourism?).

Surprisingly not explicitly mentioned by the hedonistic Byron is the *Schadenfreude*-associated mental representation of *delectatio morosa*, that peevish and morbid delight in deliberately recalling and mentally replaying former erotic situations. If brooding on the accompanying, evoked sexual imagery is pleasurable, and there is no attempt to dispel such evil thoughts that at times can border on the sadistic, then such a situation is deemed to be sinful by some[3]. Also omitted by the aristocratic bard is the deadly sin of envy[4] (unhappiness deriving from another's superior quality, possessions or accomplishment where the envious either desires the situation of the envied or wishes that the attributes of the envied were somehow removed or reversed).

Crabs-in-a-Barrel

The second variety of exclusion is the crabs-in-a-barrel syndrome so tellingly identified by Wilson [1995]. Often encountered among Afro-Americans and West Indians, although not strictly limited to people of African descent, the phenomenon comprises the selfless tactics employed by the least successful individuals of a given society against those more ambitious

[2] The German term *Weltschmerz* with its English equivalent of "world weariness" is closely allied to war weariness. World weariness has recently been explored by M. Tully [2014] who links it with melancholy (as in Keats) and nostalgia.

[3] A case in point would be mediaeval Catholicism.

[4] Aristotle refers to envy in the Greek term of Φθόνοζ. Envy can be malicious or benign. An example of the former, provided by B. Russell [1930], is the case of Snow White who was killed by the Wicked Queen so that she could become the fairest of them all. It is also reflected in a poem by R. Kipling entitled "My Rival" [Kipling 1885]. Here the scene is colonial India, where the British Raj used to take its summer season in the cool hill station of Simla. There nubile debutantes would compete for male attention, with the young casting older, more experienced women as their rivals in love. The first verse of "My Rival" which possibly speaks of Kipling's sister Trix competing against their mother Alice, is as follows:

I go to concert, party, ball –
What profit is in these?
I sit alone against the wall
And strive to look at ease.
The incense that is mine by right
They burn before Her shrine.
The blush that flies at seventeen
Is fixed at forty-nine.

Here the word "Her" is capitalised in recognition of her superiority just as the word "God" often receives similar treatment. Yet, envy can also be positive, as indeed can *Schadenfreude* when psychologically considered psychologically as an intrinsic part of our survival instinct, or as a driving force behind democracy and as an essential ingredient of a competitive society.

members of the same community, who selfishly want to get ahead at their expense. These reward seeking crabs, in attempting to climb out of the encapsulating barrel of life, see their efforts thwarted by those crabs below, attempting to pull them back down to their level of the lowest common denominator.

A similar "winner takes all" situation obtains in relation to tourism where, for example, those belonging to the élite *Travelers' Century Club* (for annually subscribing paid-up persons who have visited 100 or more different countries or territories) selfishly regard themselves as a cut above those selfless individuals who have journeyed less extensively. According to the TCC website, there are currently just over 2,000 members worldwide of this predominantly Anglophone organisation, comprising some 20 chapters (16 United States, 2 Canada, 1 United Kingdom and 1 Germany). Originating in Los Angeles in 1954, by 2012 there were 19 individuals who had visited all 324 listed territories. The youngest who claimed to have done so was Charles Veley, then aged 37. These most extensive travellers fall into the diamond pin category (300 plus destinations), which are followed in descending order by platinum 250-299, gold 200-249, silver 150-199 and 100-149 ordinary members. In spite of the fact that some of these countries/territories are not included in the United Nations classification system and that visiting a destination may only involve an airport fuel stop, thereby side-stepping the United Nations World Tourism Organization 24 hour minimum stay requirement, nevertheless to have journeyed to all these places, many of them quite remote, does not come cheaply. Among the listed benefits of joining the Travelers' Century Club are the "bragging rights" that membership can bestow, which some observers describe as "trip dropping", a touristic form of "name dropping" [Dann 1994]. There is also said to be a corresponding status enhancing advantage in sharing experiences with other well-travelled braggarts, nonetheless,though not of course not with those less well-travelled. Indeed, there is a dedicated forum catering to this élitist need, one that parallels the blog-filled offerings and special tips of guidebooks like *Rough Guides* and *Lonely Planet*. However, the main difference is that, while the latter have open access via the Internet, the travel forum of the Travelers' Century Club is only accessible via special passwords for members only. Finally, it is worth noting *en passant* that the ideology of the Travelers' Century Club is summed up in the mission statement: 'World travel, the passport to peace and understanding'. Yet, this is an axiom that several tourism academics find quite problematic [e.g., Crick 1989] since it implicitly speaks of a highly stratified activity that tends to ignore the presence of more "stationary" tourists [Fussell 1979] and to overlook the needs of the destination people of visited host communities. It further remains to be demonstrated how the ideological *Schadenfreudlich* leisure of the few can contribute to peace when so much of the world is at war.

The Travelers' Club also tends to nostalgically follow the patterned exploits of yesteryear where in which the upper classes used to "discover" places long before the proletarian hordes arrived, and where in which the Johnnies-come-lately, by their very presence as brash newcomers in their Cor' Blimey hats, fish and chip dinners and excessive intake of cheap booze, ruined what had previously been limited to those with taste (for instance, see Nash [1979] on tourism in the Côte d'Azur). Travel, thus, became an instrument of aristocratic social stratification, as opposed to the democratic equality of industrialised tourism [Aramberri 2010], historically and respectively reflected in the participants of the Grand Tour versus the socially controlled proletarian disciples of Thomas Cook. While the former sought to improve their ego-enhancing education through exposure to and parading of the finer things inof life as a form of conspicuous consumption [Veblen 1994], the latter, while lacking such privileged access to authentic cultural capital, became superficial nitwits, objects of laughter and ridicule.

Such an attitude of keeping the distance from others by running ahead of them sometimes also appears to contain the supposition that real travel experiences occurred only in the past, or with earlier transportation technologies — expressing a nostalgic longing for earlier, aristocratic and more exclusive modes of travel, of times "when the going was good", as Waugh [1981] would have put it. This also implies an interest in visiting places as early as possible, mainly before the organised tours arrive. Hirsch describes this tendency as an example of a positional economy, which relates to all aspects of goods, services, and other social relationships that are scarce in some absolute or socially imposed sense, or are subject to congesting or crowding through more extensive use [1977, p. 27]. The increased activity of the tourists at large deprives only one of their number of a satisfaction previously available, as no tour operator can provide charter flights to the past [Hirsch 1977, p. 28]. Hirsch also quotes an anonymous middle-class professional's comment in a newspaper, when cheap charter flights opened up distant and previously exotic places with the telling words, "now that I can afford to come here I know that it will be ruined".

Ego-Tourism

The third variety of exclusivity is the adversarial notion of "ego tourism", the clever *reductio ad absurdum* of "eco tourism" coined and made (in)-famous by B. Wheeller [1993]. Here, the well known arch-critic maintains that ecotourism rests unchallenged on the green nostalgic myth of the Golden Age of travel combined with a parallel return to nature. This eco-centrism which soon becomes a narcissistic ego-centrism, he argues, is a 'far cry' from the current promotional material of the media and marketing that insists on satisfaction and growth at all costs.

More recently, McKercher [2014] has re-visited the motivational component of travel since he maintains that traditional explanations based on the old distinction between tourist and traveller are unnecessarily complicated and no longer adequate for identifying the core elements that motivate travel. In fact, he believes that, quite the opposite occurs, since the real driver of contemporary tourism is selfishness. As he relatedly points out: 'tourism is one of the most self-indulgent expressions of human behaviour' [2014, p. 99]. People do not need to travel in order to survive; most information can be downloaded from the Internet without ever visiting a destination, and thus the so-called motive of exploration becomes *passé*. "Instead", he claims, "we travel to have selfish needs met … I am a tourist; therefore I can do what I want" [2014, p. 99]. Furthermore, McKercher claims that if there were no selfish benefits from travel, there would no longer be the need to participate in such an activity. Indeed, he continues, "the type of travel we engage in, or the destinations that we select, are tangible manifestations of a quest for the selfish" [2014, p. 99]. Hence, holidaymaking denotes freedom, "freedom *from* the drudgery of everyday life and freedom *to* engage in novel or forbidden behaviours" [2014, p. 100], emphases added). Even forms of tourism such as volunteer tourism have their so-called altruism masked, since the real (i.e., selfish) rewards come later. Moreover, he asserts, pure selfishness is reflected in the declaration of being set apart from the common, of being instead part of a unique group. Tourists represent others; travellers represent individuals. When applied to tourist studies, such a distinction between selflessness and selfishness has thus been in existence for over fifty years.

Role Negotiation

Fourthly, exclusivity is captured by the symbolic interaction framework of role negotiation [McCall and Simmons 1966] with the allied constituent processes of imputation of role to alter, alter-casting, modification of one's own imputed role and the (Goffmanesque) presentation of one's self [Goffman 1959], all which are particularly evident in those postcolonial holiday relationships that are experientially tentative and ambiguous. Where the two parties to the encounter agree to sink their motivational differences in order to achieve a working consensus that transcends the dichotomies of gender, race and class, while maintaining those of differential expectation, as for example in tourist–beach-boy interaction, then we have a problematic situation of anomaly that requires resolution (c.f. Karch and Dann [1981]).

In the foregoing scenario, the respective prior expectations of the tourist and beach-boy are quite at odds with each other. The former, who is predominantly white, middle-class and female, has little or no experience of the latter who is typically black, male and unemployed. Indeed, and in spite of her sometimes liberal upbringing, she may be quite unfamiliar with the concept of a gigolo who gets paid for sex. Consequently, she tends to impute to the beach-boy the simple role of a friendly native whose smile can be returned by her without any further innuendo or ulterior implications. The beach-boy, by contrast, who does not wish to be simply labelled as a friend (since that is bad for business), uses various cues and clues of availability in sizing up his mark. In imputing a role to alter, he takes into account such tell-tale signs of female willingness as scantiness, and hence provocation, of dress, the towel she is lying on (if it bears the name of an hotel it is less open to a relationship on account of heightened security in contrast to a more lax apartment hotel), sunglasses to hide facial identity, title of the book she is reading and whether it is adult in content, or and whether or she has an accent denoting her provenance and alleged libertarian attitudes (e.g., those from French-speaking Canada). Thus the beach-boy, instead of being regarded as a mere friend, wants to be cast in the role of Romeo so that the tourist in turn can be assigned the role of Juliet by him the role of Juliet. Indeed, the expectations are so fundamentally different in the first phase of the encounter — the imputation of the role to alter— that the potential relationship has to enter additional stages if it is to develop. In alter-casting, for example, the respective roles of client and lover need to be assigned if matters are to progress, and then there are the further possibilities in the phases of modification of one's own imputed role and presentation of one's self.

But who is selfish and who is selfless in this relationship? Although at first sight it would appear that the beach-boy is more hard-nosed, and hence more selfish, there is, nevertheless, a certain egocentricity in the client, to the extent that she can boast of her exploits to those fellow (female) tourists who admire them.

Dog-in-a-Manger

The fifth variety of exclusivity is encompassed by the attitudinal/behavioural cluster known as "Dog-in-a-Manger". This expression refers to someone who keeps a tight grip on something that s/he does not really want in order to prevent anyone else from having it. Some maintain that the expression derives from the French *manger*=to eat and the Latin *manducare*=to chew. According to this view, which is said to originate from none other than Aesop of fable fame [http://www.phrases.org.uk], a certain dog once occupied a manger (or feeding barn), not because he wanted to eat the hay (dogs don't as a rule), but in order to prevent other animals from so doing. In such a manner, and anthropomorphically transferred to humans, people thus often begrudge others what they typically cannot or would not enjoy themselves. It is therefore a churlish, spoil-sport, spiteful and mean-spirited trait exemplified by the dog barking and snarling at the co-present oxen and horses, scaring them away from what should be rightfully theirs. This is the vicious dog in the manger that stands in sharp contrast to any cosy counter-allusions to Martin Luther's Christmas carol of *Away in a Manger* featuring the contented "cattle a-lowing" along with the gurgling baby Jesus ("no crying he makes") in their midst.

Applied to tourism, the dog represents those selfish persons who want to deprive selfless others from enjoying experiences that are often associated with personal wealth (top dog). In order to prevent the relative poor from accessing signs of their privileged status, the (new) moneyed classes often surround themselves with security systems that are designed to keep the deprived at bay. Such is the situation of those increasingly popular gated tourism communities designed to keep common people out. Yet, the main purpose of gated systems is not so much to prevent crime, but to provide a perception of security and exclusivity. The gated community thus becomes like a private club where special access privileges are required [Goey 2015]. Interestingly enough, among the protective measures designed to keep residents safe are dog controls, with or without corresponding mangers.

Anti-Tourists

The sixth variant of exclusivity is demonstrated by the presence of anti-tourists, persons who reject the labels of tourists and tourism, (especially when they contain derogatory connotations), and in their stead substitute the notion of traveller. Tourists stand for shared mass activity and the means to achieve this end via the package tour. Travellers, by contrast, seek greater individuality and independence. Tourists are routinely asked where they come from; travellers are typically quizzed on as to where they are going. Their respective identities depend on the answers they give to these cliché questions and the extent to which they have internalised them.

Jacobsen [2000], who examines in some detail both the conceptual component and empirical base of anti-tourism (see below), finds that when tourists are asked in an open-ended question to describe a tourist in their own words, only 10% do so in negative (anti-tourist) terms. Although the study of anti-tourists goes back to the 1960s, it is now mainly a heuristic device that is critical of organised tour groups, their superficiality of place experience and the corresponding brevity of their stops at multiple locations. Anti-tourists cannot stand places frequented by tourists because tourists carry a stigma. In order to avoid such a stigma, anti-tourists patronise off-beat destinations at off-peak times, respectively where and when traditional organised tourists are absent. But just because they condemn tourists does not necessarily mean that they are anti-tourists. Anti-tourism involves role distance since there is an "I" that is distinct from all other occupants and players who are attached and committed to their roles. Anti-tourism accentuates allocentric individualism. It is a form of stratified, hierarchical consumption building on cultural capital. There is also a linked emphasis on searching for authenticity and what is culturally typical, as for example in exploring the spirit (*genius loci*) of new places, in the associated quest for local food, in creating their own excursions without a tour guide (even to the point of getting lost) or, and in avoiding the tell-tale purchase of souvenirs. In profile terms, anti-tourists tend to be non-repeaters, using off-beat operators and choosing humbler accommodation than the touristic gravitation towards luxurious international hotels. Anti-tourists are also generally younger, better educated, politically conservative, singles who are averse to holiday planning. They additionally tend to travel more frequently than traditional tourists. Although, there is often an unexplored nostalgic heroism underpinning anti-tourism, that corresponds to Cohen's [1979] experimental tourist, there are still some commentators who counter-argue that it is nevertheless impossible to be an anti-tourist today since, "we are all tourists and there is no escape" [Fussell 1979, p. 38].

A further distinction can be added to the foregoing scenario outlined by Jacobsen [2000] when it comes to variations that are based on destinations and their motivational corollaries. Here it has been noted, for example, that well informed and well travelled individuals tend to gain in status according to the severity of the conditions they endure on their way and upon arrival [Dann 2006]. In this regard, those who journey to cold water islands, for example, not only have to pay more in order to reach such extreme destinations by hardy, infrequent transportation, but they gain kudos through their, hands-on, anti-materialist, quasi-sacred experiences rather than via profane possessions. Their counterparts, by contrast, who patronise warm water islands to a greater extent, attempt to lord it over their compatriots by the luxury of their business class travel, their five star hotel and the status points they gain through the conspicuous consumption and parading [Veblen 1994] of enviable jewellery and designer clothes. However, because status markers of everyday living do not always work well in strange places [Jacobsen 2000, p. 287], this pre-trip/on-trip example may be an instance of where both parties are selfish, although for different reasons, (c.f. McKercher [2014]), the tourist more manifestly, the traveller, more latently.

Sometimes, however, anti-tourists attempt to achieve additional kudos to that realised through the condemnation of ordinary tourists, by metaphorically or literally looking down their noses at members of the *local* population (i.e., tourees). P. Theroux [1975)] exemplifies this position in what has been described about him as "disdain from the train" [Dann and

Jacobsen 2002, p. 220], a selfish combination of selectively ignoring or fraternising with the natives and ridiculing their slum-like living surrounds. One particular example of this open denigration is a reference to Indians squatting by the railway lines in order to defecate, thereby earning them the dubious Theroux [1975] accolade as citizens of the "Turd World"[5]. It is the similar sort of derogatory attitude that is displayed in the well-known phenomenon of Orientalism [Said 1978], where visited Asian people are portrayed as stupid, supine and sensuous in contrast to their supposedly serious and intelligent Western visitor counterparts.

One-Up-Man-Ship (sic)

The penultimate variant of exclusivity examined here is Stephen Potter's (sexist?) notion of one-up-man-ship following his dictum that "he (sic) who is not one up is one down". Experiences can, thus, be selfishly used to enhance cultural capital and hence, personal status, all the time giving the impression of superiority, for example by the supposed greater knowledge and appreciation of fine wines (wines-man(sic)-ship) than is displayed by mere beer swilling plebs. Matters can be improved by the one-up-man (sic) pretending that he (sic) has an extensive wine cellar from which the one-downer can hear him (sic) with taste clambering below (though in reality from a down-stair cupboard), only to emerge triumphantly wreathed in smiles and waving a vintage bottle for the admiration of his less culturally aware guests [Potter 1970, p. 253].

Many travel writers use this sort of approach to take their readers aside and analogously whisper recommendations and warnings to them from a savvy position of know-how [Dann 1992]. The advice, on occasion, may be quite simple and amount to no more than 'If I were you, I would …', for example, go early to the White House tours in order to avoid the later assembling crowds and tourist gridlock. Here, it is the greater experience of the travel writer that moulds and orders the subsequent experience of the tourist. The former informs, the latter obeys.

But such variations in experience are not limited to travel writers. They are also evident in those travellers with a superior knowledge of a place who stand in sharp ostentatious contrast to those with lesser information and experience. There are two reasons for this differential state of affairs. The first is that those with super-ordinate knowledge and experience can selfishly keep this cultural capital to themselves. What finally reinforces the great divide, is the notion of secrecy.

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[5] This expression was admitted by Theroux to have been borrowed from V. S. Naipaul's brother, Shiva. Here the irony rests on the realisation that there are approximately 650 million people in India who do not have water-borne toilet facilities.

Secrecy

Here, the founder of that branch of sociology known as Formalism, Georg Simmel, who attempts to understand society through its perennial, essence-like forms, explains that a secret (where one person hides information and the other seeks to discover it) is not so much enhanced in those relationships of intimacy (e.g., love or marriage) as it is more through the mediation of platonic friendship (i.e., acquaintances and their common intellectual pursuits, religious beliefs and shared experiences). Secrecy is, thus, for this philosophical sociologist "one of man's greatest human achievements" [Wolff 1908, p. 330], on account of the strong "we feeling" and enhancement of difference that it generates through the exclusion of outsiders, in a similar fashion to the ownership of a given private property, which other members of the public have perforce to do without [Wolff 1908, p. 332]. Hence, social structure permits and requires a high degree of secrecy which "contains a tension that is dissolved in the moment of its revelation…, all the while aware… that it can be betrayed" [Wolff 1908, p. 333]. Arguably, secrets are not so necessary in smaller groups because in them, more people are proportionately similar. A secret further depends on whether the relationship is dyadic or triadic and whether or not the secret is ever revealed to the detriment of a relationship. Thus:

> As long as the existence, the activities, and the possessions of an individual are secret, the general sociological significance of the secret is isolation, contrast and egoistic individualization. The sociological significance of the secret is external, namely the relationships between the one who has the secret and another who does not [Wolff 1908, p. 345].

Seen in this light and related to the current theme, secrecy on some occasions is more associated with selfishness than it is with selflessness; on others, the situation is reversed to the point where it is also useful for a relationship if one party displays feelings of guilt because here the guilty one is not only aware of the fault, but there is a corresponding accompanying wish to make up for it through selflessness, "none of which would ever occur to him (sic) had he (sic) a completely untroubled conscience" [Wolff 1908, p. 330, fn 3]. By way of summary, Simmel maintains:

> Man's desire to please his social environment contains two contradictory tendencies… on the one hand, it contains kindness, a desire of the individual to give the other joy; but on the other hand, there is the wish for this joy and these "favors" to flow back to him (sic) in the form of recognition and esteem, so that they be attributed to his (sic) personality as values. Indeed, this second need is so intensified that it militates against the altruism of wishing to please: by means of this pleasing, the individual desires to distinguish him-

> self (sic) before others, and to be the object of attention that others do not receive. This may even lead him to the point of wanting to be envied [Wolff 1908, p. 338].

In the foregoing regard, and related to tourism, the first of the two co-authors of this article on one occasion attended an editorial board meeting-cum-conference in Nicosia, a destination that most participants had not visited before, and of which they had limited information and experience. Here, when the business of the first day was complete, delegates' thoughts turned to dining out. At this juncture, a senior colleague let it be known that from a previous visit, he knew of a typical family-run restaurant that was off the beaten track and where the home-made cooking could not be surpassed. This constituted his privileged knowledge and about to be shared secret. However, the appeal of the secret soon dissolved when it was discovered on arrival that this particular dining establishment occupied one of the main squares in the capital of Cyprus, and furthermore, that it was serving far from extraordinary dishes, just the usual run-of-the-mill, cliché-like meze. The secret, thus collapsed, and with it the reputation of the colleague with alleged superior knowledge and experience.

Another self-confessed desire to maintain secrecy comes from a recent Internet blog lauding the culinary delights of the Millstream Restaurant in Hitchin, the United Kingdom [2014]. According to the writer, "Food was great and everyone was happy throughout — certainly a place to return to". Then came the secret and with it the confessed accompanying reluctance to divulge: "Almost don't want others to hear about it as it is a great secret place". The hesitation to reveal the identity of the eatery is captured by the word "almost". Yet, like the foregoing example from Nicosia, the writer, recommends ("will return ssooooonnn"), and, in the actual endorsement, the secret is transformed from a private act of selfishness to a public one of selflessness. That is the anti-secrecy nature of a blog — its selfless accessibility to all. However, without the blog, the ego-enhancing retention of the information and the corresponding dearth of tourists would simply remain an act of selfishness where secrecy implied secretion.

Conclusions

Throughout this brief, conceptual inquiry we have explored various dimensions of selfishness and their opposing concept of selflessness. Examples have been garnered reflectively and inductively from tourist experiences. There have been references, for example, to social class and its capability of distinguishing between U and non-U[6] experiences, as also the allied notion

[6] In this context U stands for Upper class.

of *Schadenfreude* with its respective ability to mock from positions of power or powerlessness. The crabs-in-the-barrel imagery also reflected these two positions, in particular the desire to prevent the high-flyers from flying too high. A symbolic interaction approach was further employed in tourist/beach-boy relationships to reveal the definitional boundaries of power (in the realms not just of class, but additionally gender and race). Dog-in-a-manger attitudes were examined, too, in order to highlight the exclusivity of selfishness, and anti-tourists as well as ego-tourists were contrasted with run-of-the-mill tourists [Aramberri 2010] in order to make a similar point. References were also made to the phenomenon of one-up-man-ship as a sort of status game where there was only one winner, and finally recourse was made to Simmelian secrecy in order to flesh out the foregoing ideas in specifically Formalistic terms.

Missing from the theoretical analysis, however, has been the crucial notion of possessiveness that saving or hoarding implies when placed in opposition to sharing. Moreover, there is an important linguistic difference in the two positions. Examples abound of the competitive use of the first person singular or plural where egocentric tourists score points over their less experienced counterparts whenever they refer to 'my hotel' or 'our hotel', 'my' or 'our train', 'taxi', and so on. Yet, the irony of this narcissistic situation lies in the realisation that no tourist possesses one iota of the tourist experience since all the components of most vacations are rented. Hotel rooms are rented, deckchairs and sun-beds are rented, taxis are rented; even a seat on the plane is rented. As most tourists own absolutely nothing of the essential ingredients of a holiday, it is not surprising that those selfless individuals who acknowledge such a situation are alienated from it by the presence of selfish others, and those selfish others who recognise it are living in a nostalgic world of fantasy, where many of the surrounding status symbols are lost in translation and where being a tourist and being simultaneously a snob are often highly problematic. Furthermore, such a fantasy is one that is self-induced since it is based on a false appropriation of reality and how that, in turn, is defined through the communicative power of language [Dann 1996]. Some of the theoretical argument has been spelt out here and in another place [Dann 2013]. The remainder needs to be postponed for a future agenda, an agenda which should optimally contain an empirical component that seeks to determine the acceptance or otherwise of the interpretative scheme that we have just outlined.

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DOŚWIADCZENIA TURYSTYCZNE – ZACHOWYWAĆ, CZY DZIELIĆ SIĘ: EGOIZM CZY BEZINTERESOWNOŚĆ?

Abstrakt

Cel. Osiągnięcie pogłębionego zrozumienia pojęcia doświadczeń turystycznych.
Metoda. Drogą formalistycznych rozważań uwaga została skupiona na rozdzielnym traktowaniu podstawowego wyboru pomiędzy zachowywaniem doświadczeń a dzieleniem się nimi, a dzięki podaniu typowych przykładów przygotowana została podstawa teoretyczna dla zastosowania podejścia wskaźnikowego.
Wyniki. Analizie poddano osiem kombinacji postaw i zachowań: *Schadenfreude*, *crabs in a barrel, ego-tourism, role negotiation, dog in a manger, anti-tourists, one-upmanship* oraz *secrecy.* Zauważa się występowanie subtelnych różnic między nimi.
Ograniczenia badań i wnioskowania. Badanie podkreśla potrzebę posiadania wiedzy teoretycznej dla pełniejszego zrozumienia modeli o charakterze kontinuum, leżących u podstaw turystyki. Nie twierdzi się jednak, iż modele te wyczerpują zagadnienie lub wzajemnie się wykluczają.
Implikacje praktyczne. Wykorzystanie wcześniejszych spostrzeżeń przygotowuje grunt pod odwoływanie się do różnic w motywacji oraz sposobów ich wykorzystania w promocji.
Oryginalność pracy. Perspektywa Simmla jest rzadko spotykana w badaniach nad turystyką. Podejście takie pozwala, aby analiza skoncentrowała się na istocie zjawiska turystyki.
Rodzaj pracy. Artykuł teoretyczny.

Słowa kluczowe: doświadczenia turystyczne, zachowywanie lub dzielenie się, egoizm lub bezinteresowność, formy binarne, refleksja.

Vol. 37 FOLIA TURISTICA 2015

A POST-STRUCTURAL CRITIQUE OF THE LANGUAGE OF 'EXPERIENCE' IN TOURISM RESEARCH

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Abstract

Purpose. This paper is an analysis of experience. More specifically, it is an analysis of the word 'experience' and how it is used in tourism research. Epistemological questions about the nature of experience underlie many of the issues fundamental to research in tourism and related fields.
Method. The analysis has two over-lapping sections. The first looks at how experience is used as evidence in qualitative tourism research. The second explicates the theoretical perspectives underpinning its use as evidence. Concluding remarks argue the advantages of using a poststructuralist view of the language of experience.
Findings. It is argued that a poststructuralist understanding of the language of experience in research opens up additional ways to analyse the relationship between the conduct of tourism research and certain cultural/political commitments. Post-structural approaches to the production and analysis of experiential narratives as a particular social practice maintain the strengths of experiential research alongside other, less frequently addressed, ontological commitments, visions of the person/self, understandings of research methodology and narratives of tourism.
Research and conclusions limitations. Notably, as experience and the understanding of it is so indigenous to cultural settings and/or language communities, it might be useful for future discussion to engage perspectives or "experience research" conducted in different languages. Further, this critique and reflection would apply to almost all qualitative tourism studies (and not necessarily tourism experience research).
Practical implications. This reflection and critique on qualitative tourism studies is timely, as is the proposition of seeing experience (and indeed authenticity, or tourism as freedom, etc.) as a way of talking (experience as linguistic). Both seem to have a useful perspective for future research.
Originality. Although a stream of research in hospitality, leisure and tourism has explored the subjective, affective, and especially, the experiential perspectives in these industries [Otto and Ritchie, 1996], it has not really dealt with the meaning of experience itself. It has concentrated on adding adjectives such as 'quality', 'flow', 'authentic' 'lived', etc. to experience but has largely neglected the meaning — or, more technically, the signifying work — of the noun. This article hopes to draw attention to the question of the meaning of experience in tourism research.
Type of paper. Theoretical article.

Key words: experience, language, post-structuralism, tourism, research.

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This paper is an analysis of experience. More specifically, it is an analysis of the word 'experience' and how it is used in tourism research. Epistemological questions about the nature of experience underlie many of the issues fundamental to research in tourism and related fields. Unfortunately, the wide variation in the use of the term is, to the author's mind, indicative of a general state of confusion about the construct [Larsen 2007]. In an effort to bring some clarity to these discussions, the primary goal of this paper is to identify a set of issues believed to accompany the use of the term 'experience', but which are rarely addressed in practise. These issues are embedded in a spectrum that includes ontological commitments, visions of the person/self, understandings of research methodology and narratives of tourism [Bruner 2005]. The conclusion is that this is perhaps too heavy a load to expect a single word to bear, and that it should be used more judiciously. The author's primary concerns are with politics and language. It is argued that a post-structuralist understanding of the language of experience in research opens up additional ways to analyse the relationship between the conduct of tourism research and certain cultural/political commitments [Scott 1992; Bellamy and Leontis 1993; Stone-Mediatore 1998].

The analysis has two over-lapping sections. The first looks at how experience is used as evidence in qualitative tourism research. The second explicates the theoretical perspectives underpinning its use as evidence. Concluding remarks argue the advantages of using a post-structuralist view of the language of experience.

Experience as Evidence

Tourism research literature is replete with articles on 'experience' or various groups' 'experiences of…'. A recent Google Scholar search for "tourism experience" identified over 1 million titles. Four arbitrarily selected examples are listed below:

1. Thomas, M. 2000, *Exploring the contexts and meanings of women's experiences of sexual intercourse on holiday*. In S. Clift and S. Carter (Eds.). *Tourism and sex: Culture, commerce and coercion*, pp. 200-220. London: Pinter.
2. Fluker, M.R., and Turner, L.W. 2000, *Needs, motivations and expectations of a commercial whitewater rafting experience*. Journal of Travel Research, 38, pp. 380-389.
3. Markwell, K.W. 1998, *Taming the chaos of nature: Cultural construction and lived experience in nature-based tourism*. Unpublished PhD thesis, University of Newcastle, NSW, Australia.
4. Carmichael, B. 2005, *Understanding the Wine Tourism Experience for Winery Visitors in the Niagara Region, Ontario, Canada*. Tourism Geographies, 7(2), pp. 185-204.

Although titles vary considerably, experience in tourism research is positioned in two major ways: sometimes the focus is on the people "having them" as in the above example 1 (note the possessive form, e.g. women's experiences) and sometimes on a phenomenon (thrill) or an event as in example 2 (e.g. white-water rafting). Sometimes, as in example 3, experience is modified by "lived" (which leads one to wonder what the alternative is: dead experience?). In these examples of tourism research, as in all those reviewed[1], experience is something about which a claim is being made: the researchers are arguing that experience has certain characteristics. But notice what happens if one deletes experience from the aforementioned titles. The research is now about contexts and meanings of sexual intercourse on holiday; needs, motivations and expectations of commercial white-water rafting; cultural construction in nature-based tourism; and winery tourism in the Niagara Region.

This highlights an important move: experience shifts the focus from the situation or event (often depicted as a 'phenomenon') to individuals. Crotty refers to this move as psychologizing phenomenology [Crotty 1996], and we will return to this issue in some depth below. But we gain further insight into this shift — and raise additional questions — when we look at the role of experience-as-evidence in research.

Researchers' claims concern shared characteristics of the experiences of study participants. These claims are derived from thematic or content-driven summaries of first-person statements — usually taken from interviews. The evidence offered in support of such claims is almost always derived from interviews, and presented in the form of quotations extracted from transcripts. Usually the argument is takes the form of inductive generalisation: sentences produced by individuals are synthesised into 'themes'. This opens a question about the relationship between language and experience: is experience linguistic? [deLauretis 1984; Bishop 2002; Dann 1996]. Although this question is answered in the affirmative (that is, yes, it is useful to think of experience as linguistic), closer analysis of these and similar, research reports reveals considerable ambiguity about what is being claimed.

Tourism research points in (at least) two directions. Sometimes, researchers write of 'analyses of experience' as in, for example, Mannell and Iso-Ahola's [1987] 'Psychological nature of leisure and tourism experience'; Li's [2000] 'Geographical consciousness and tourism experience'; or Quan and Wang's [2004] 'Towards a structural model of the tourist experience: an illustration from food experiences in tourism', suggesting that experience is both antecedent to and separate from its interpretation. Alternatively, experience is taken as pointing beyond itself, to an (extra-linguistic)

[1] See also studies by Cohen [1979a], Lipscombe [1999], Mannell and Iso-Ahola [1987], McCabe [2002], Milman [1998], Thomas [2000], Milman [1998].

event. In these latter instances, the subjects are positioned in the fairly conventional role of 'witness'. Again, notice what happens if one asks 'what happened?' (participant as witness) versus 'what was [your] experience of what happened?' (participant response as the object of inquiry). The use of experience-as-evidence, and the relationship between that evidence and the researcher's conclusions reproduce the same unmarked shift between individuals and events. This shift, as argued below, reflects a deeply seated and largely unexamined Cartesianism, which, in tourism studies in particular, has privileged disembodied accounts vis-a-vis a division between subjects and objects. Tourism theory has, unfortunately, remained within this tradition of Cartesian rationality, a speculative knowing that is exclusive of the 'other' (i.e. culture) and discarding new ways of knowing.

Perhaps not surprisingly, too, the way first-person statements are treated also reveals a lingering positivism: they are taken to be incontestable facts. This incontestability can be seen in a common methodological move, the use of 'member checks' to validate research findings. In this strategy, various textual forms (transcripts, quotations pulled from transcripts, summaries, drafts of final reports) are given to the subjects to see if the researcher 'got it right'. However, usually no methodological strategies are in place to see if the subjects got it right. Why is this? Conceivably, a number of factors contribute.

First, using the word experience shifts focus from the phenomenon to the individual. Second, the individual is taken to be a private mind [Manson 2002]. That is, statements about experience are taken as reports of what is going on in the individual's mind. Two corollaries of this are that only the individual has access to his/her mind, and that one cannot be mistaken about what is going on in one's own mind (or, at least, there is no way of checking to see if one is mistaken) [Butler 1997; Henriques et al. 1998; Martin 2002]. Sometimes, this view is signalled by referring to experience as subjective [e.g. Kim and Ritchie 2012; Cohen 1979; Hjemdahl 2003; Larsen 2007; Neumann 1992; Ryan 1998, 2002]. Third, on a political level, the subjects being interviewed are sometimes positioned as marginal, oppressed, ignored or silenced [e.g. Ryan 2001, on sex tourism; Puar 2002, on queer tourism]. Thus, challenging the potential accuracy of respondents' statements smacks of elitism. These factors often lead us to make claims that people are 'experts' about their 'own' experience, and to the related conflation of 'knowledge' and experience [Bellamy and Leontis 1993]. This further reinforces the concept of subjectivity as transparent access to a private mind.

Along these lines of reasoning, the conditions under which subjects' statements are produced (the interviews) and their management (analysis) disappear, positioning the researcher as an impartial ventriloquist, a scientist. The subjects speak through the researcher to the reader. This is also a political move, one that protects the status and position of the researcher relative to the research/ed [Mishler 1986]. Making the experience of subjects sacrosanct, and eliminating any legitimate role of the researcher as interpreter and judge firmly puts the research/er in the camp of knowledge revelation, as opposed to creative production. A researcher merely uses acquired, scientific skills to let the data and the subjects, 'speak for themselves'.

This paper challenges each of these moves by identifying what are herewith understood to be untoward consequences of their adoption. In other words, it is believed that these moves support values and political arrangements with which the author disagrees. The approach is not to rehash arguments about Cartesianism or positivism. These issues have not only been long discussed by tourism scholars [see for instance Capra 1975, 1982; Hannan and Knox 2010], but also anti-Cartesian and anti-positivist positions are often espoused by those conducting research on experience [Althiede and Johnson 1998; Leininger 1994; Szarycz 2008, 2009]. Certainly, a more comprehensive view on experiences has been promoted by critical theory, structuralism and other phenomenological approaches for some time. They all seek to avoid the dichotomous reductionism that comes with Cartesian thinking.

Notwithstanding, the author hopes to show how the use of experience has kept tourism more tied to Cartesianism and positivism than is perhaps desirable and turns to an alternative treatment of experience to redress the issue.

Before continuing, it is important to stress what is not being attempted. This paper is not engaged in an argument about what 'experience really is'. It is not claiming that some researchers have got it wrong and some have got it right. It is not even suggesting that research on tourism experience should cease. Instead, this paper is offering, to borrow a term from Rorty, a 'redescription' [1989] of experience research in tourism: suggesting that we regard experience as a way of talking.

Rorty, as a philosopher of redescription has a lot of antagonism and irony towards the attempt to redescribe philosophical texts. He writes: "Ironism, as I have defined it, results from awareness of the power of redescription. But most people do not want to be redescribed. They want to be taken on their own terms – taken seriously just as they are and just as they talk" [ibid.: p. 89]. The idea then, is that there are two cleanly distinguishable components in knowledge, the factual element given to consciousness and the constructive elements contributed by the mind and later by language. For Rorty, language without representation is a poetic tool that creates worlds and language can provide us with the description of this world, which is thoroughly contingent and historical in nature. Thus, for Rorty [1989, p. 9],

> "the method is to redescribe lots and lots of things in new ways, until you have created a pattern of linguistic behaviour which will tempt the rising generation to adopt it .... This sort of philosophy does not work piece-by-piece, analyzing concept after concept, or testing thesis after thesis, rather it works holistically and pragmatically. It says things like 'try thinking of it this way' — or, more specifically, 'try to ignore the apparently futile traditional questions by substituting the following new and possible interesting questions.' It does not pretend to have a better candidate for doing the same old things, which we did when we spoke in the old way. Rather, it suggests that we might want to stop doing those things and do something else."

He goes on to say, "Conforming to my own precepts, I am not going to offer arguments against vocabulary I want to replace, instead, I am going to try to make the vocabulary I favour look more attractive by showing how it may be used to describe a variety of topics" [1989, p. 9].

The Theory of Experience

Several assumptions about language underpin the remainder of the present argument. First, we must treat language as something fundamentally social: language is a social practice [Gee 1992]. We learn to talk in certain ways in particular situations with other people. We become social; indeed, to a large extent we become individuals through the acquisition of language. When we are speaking, we are doing something: persuading, promising, opposing, lying, explaining, teaching [Austin 1962]. Gee [1999] proposes that the two main functions of language are to scaffold relationships and institutions. This relationship- and institution-building view of language contrasts with the more familiar view that takes it to be a neutral conveyer of information, a means to reveal the world beyond words.

Second, we must regard interviews as complex social performances. People learn how to be interviewed and how to interview [Rapley 2001]. Most know how to talk about 'themselves' when called upon to do so — by priests, lawyers, teachers, therapists, parents or indeed, by interviewers [Silverman 2000]. They have learned many different things they can say and can make subtle distinctions about when and how to say them [Hardin 2003]. The research interview itself can be regarded as a rather strange social practice, requiring various formal introductions, reviews of consent forms and patterns of adjustment as the researcher and interviewer figure out how to keep the conversation flowing [Mishler 1986]. These two premises — about language as a social practice and interviews as complex social performances — highlight several features of research on experience: the first of these is that language is regarded as a mirror or looking glass. We are invited to look 'through' language at the contents of respondents' minds [Richard 1996; McCabe and Stokoe 2004]. Although seldom explicit, within this perspective, experience is usually regarded as pre-linguistic, as something the subject 'interprets' or 'ex-presses' (presses out) by putting it into language; the second feature is that subjects are viewed as transparent to themselves. Researchers treat participants as if they have direct and always-accurate access to their own minds, and to the experiences that are stored therein [Holloway and Jefferson 2000]. These views are linked to the third and final feature, namely, treating the interview as 'confession'. Confessional perspectives incorporate notions of both language-as-mirror and the self-transparency of speaking subjects. By ignoring the historic and social contexts of interviewing as a particular (and primarily western) practice, interviews are implicitly regarded as neutral media through which private minds are made public.

In this limited space, it is difficult to explore any of these three features of research on experience in any depth. Instead, what follows is a simple outline of key issues which point to literature that further develops them.

Language as a Mirror

This view assumes that language functions as a mirror or looking glass, a medium through which the world is reflected. A completely naïve realism might even view language as a window, an utterly transparent — but still intermediate — threshold between subjects and the objects they aim to describe. These ideas about language invoke a correspondence theory of truth, in which the value of any given linguistic event (such as an interview, or a research report) is judged by how fully it reflects or captures the essence of a prelinguistic experience [Rorty 1979].

The transparent self

In tourism research on experience, language becomes an analogous or reconstructed 'image' of a more immediate response to phenomena [Dann 1996; Phipps 2006]. Interview-based research invites the reader to look through language, in the form of quotations and thematic reductions, into the private minds of the participating subjects. This is as true for research that uses experience as evidence for 'external' phenomena as it is for those studies privileging human response. Researchers espousing a 'social constructionist' position of mutual, inter-subjective and linguistic world-building [e.g. Young 1999; Wang 1999; Burr 1995; Tribe 2005] are not immune to treating language in instrumental terms, as a transparent and neutral medium. Even if they agree that language does not provide unmediated access to an objective world of natural phenomena or things, they still feel safe in assuming that language does provide access to the internal life, the private mind of an experiencing subject [Henriques et al. 1998]. Perhaps this is because so many tourism researchers seem to simultaneously reject naïve realism and hold a conventional dualist view of a touring subject [Oakes and Minca 2004; Wilson, Ateljevic and Hannam 2008; Johnston 2001]. The latter is understood to be one who is placed in relation to one's 'self' by virtue of a split between the capacity to experience something and the capacity to observe and report on this experience [Craib 1998]. This split also has to do with the idea that, while we may stand in a mediated and therefore attenuated relationship to the external world of objects, events and other people, we are the medium of our 'selves', ex-pressed through language. Accordingly, the function of language, indeed our propensity to talk to one other, is based on its handiness for communicating these internal states, and on linking our ultimately individual and private selves into some form of social organisation. Our 'internal' sensations are thought to stand in immediate and transparent presence to our selves, and language fulfils the necessary function of communicating through ex-pression [Whitebook 1995; Schlegel 2002].

In particular, 'emotion' language demonstrates the tension between language as social practice and transparent, Cartesian subjects [Bigné and Andreu 2004]. In western culture, we speak of emotions as private, internal, and largely individual, welling up from within. Emotions are described in quintessentially subjectivist terms, as a fundamental form of human response [Heelas 1986]. Yet, any attempt to study emotional life objectively clearly requires a focus on descriptions of publicly observable behaviour.

Emotion, as a fundamental part of experience, is a form of felt activity. However, emotional experiences differ from other forms of felt experience (e.g., 'coldness', 'nausea', the prick of a needle) in that they exhibit intentionality [Bedford 1962; Merleau-Ponty 1945; Solomon 1976]. That is, they are about 'some thing' or directed toward 'some object'. One is not simply afraid, angry or excited; one is afraid 'to fly'; one is angry 'that it rained'; or one is excited 'to visit Japan'. As such, emotions consist of more than just a feeling tone. They operate like judgments, or involve judgments as part of their constitution. Emotions are composed of motive-relevant appraisals, a characteristic bodily experience or feeling tone [Kagan 1984] and a motive-action tendency [Frijda 1986]. Appraisals refer to ongoing assessments of the relationship between perceived events and a person's motives, goals and concerns [Frijda 1986; Scherer 2004].

Positive emotions accompany motive-consistent appraisals; negative experiences arise when events clash with one's motives. Feeling tone refers to the phenomenal experience of an emotional state. However, in emotion, it is often difficult for individuals to describe their felt states. When they do, persons often resort to telling a story about the circumstances under which the feelings arose [Sarbin 1989], describing the events that precipitate them (e.g., ‘‘It felt as if I were punched in the stomach”) or invoking metaphor (e.g., “bubbly”, “like walking on air” [Davitz 1969].

A common view of emotion — held by both laypersons and many scholars — states that emotions are private states that are accessible only to the person experiencing the emotion. From this point of view, a person ‘knows’ their emotional state through introspection or internal observation. Terms such as ‘happy’, ‘thrill’ or ‘joy’ are labels that gain their meaning through reference to the internal states of individual actors. Through introspection, individuals are able to identify their experiences and assign them labels. Thus, emotion words gain their meaning from introspection of internal states. Because third-person observers cannot experience the first-person states of others, observers can only make inferences about the experience of others.

Yet how do we know when the best account of our own interpretation is, for example, the term ‘thrill’ and not ‘fear’ or ‘authentic’ rather than just ‘interesting’? Do we know when it is proper (i.e. ‘accurate’) in an interview situation to say that we are feeling ‘angry’ or ‘upset’ as opposed to ‘irritated’, ‘perturbed’, ‘confused’, ‘envious’, ‘resentful’ or ‘annoyed’? Certainly more than merely a matter of semantics, we learn how to talk about emotions, how to read ‘ourselves’ and ‘others’, and we learn to make some pretty fine distinctions, by applying a complex set of rules that help us negotiate when and in what situations it is most effective to speak in a particular way. We also learn when and how to dispute emotional claims: someone may be described as ‘out of touch’ with his/her emotions or to be ‘in denial’ [Acker, Barry and Esseveld 1983; Bartky 1990; Allen and Hardin 2001; Shilling 2001]. These two related conventions — language as a mirror and self-transparency — certainly shore each other up. They also lend experience the discursive ‘kick’ needed to construct both objectivity and subjectivity in tourism research. In other words, using experience in research links the truth-value of a pre-linguistic world with a subject capable of having pre-linguistic access to it. As has been mentioned, the status of experience-as-evidence in research is largely ambiguous, using experience to point in two directions: to an event or to a phenomenon (‘what happened?’) and to the experiencing individual (‘what was your experience of what happened?’). It has also been noted that this ambiguity leads to unmarked shifts in the status of experience claims, and that such shifts propagate a pervasive Cartesianism.

One side of the experience signpost indicates naive realism; phenomena are just sitting outside language, waiting to be described, while the other simultaneously indicates the transparent Cartesian subject. Earlier it was referred to ‘lived experience’, an idiom common to sociological approaches to phenomena, including tourism research [e.g. Riley and Love 2000; Li

2000; Hultsman 1995]. The quip about 'dead experience', while tongue in cheek, does point to another sense; that 'lived experience' telegraphs — the notion of 'unlived experience'. This idea draws on the notion that there is a transcendental stream of phenomena existing 'out there', waiting for human intention/attention to turn it into experience (and ultimately, for disciplinary purposes, into 'human response'). This lurking double-sense in 'lived experience' is not far off from conventional objectivist epistemology, though it masquerades in thoroughly subjectivist terms. It is suggested that this point underscores how often qualitative research simultaneously appeals to the authority of subjectivity and the scientism of objectivity as the foundation that secures experience a legitimising function in research accounts [Riley and Love 2000]. And the interview as a social performance, and the confessional genre in particular, is the vehicle through which this is 'ex-pressed'.

Interview as Confession

The treatment of interviews offers another perspective on the ambiguity of what much tourism research on experience is claiming. An attempt is made to capture this through the notions of 'confession' and 'testimony'. When an interview functions as confession, its purpose is to reveal (make public) the private, internal workings of the psyche [Foucault 1983; Butler 1993; Butler 1997]. What the participant says is regarded as evidence of what s/he thinks or feels. When the interview is treated as testimony, its purpose is to tell us something about what happened; it provides 'testimony' about what the respondent 'witnessed'. The liberal use of such juridical vocabulary (of witness and testimony) is to make visible a range of criteria and processes we often use in daily life to appraise such accounts.

This apparent closeted Cartesian legacy makes it very difficult to explicate the confessional function. We take it for granted that individuals have private minds to which only they have direct access and we gain indirect access (in part) through what they tell us. This leads experiential research to afford the subject's words epistemological privilege. They have direct knowledge of their minds. Later, this is contrasted with political privilege — granting certain subjects relative freedom from contestation by the researcher. Epistemological privilege seems to make nonsensical the question of whether the subject's account is valid, truthful, or accurate [Foss and Foss 1994]. It explains why experience-oriented research has no methodologies to ask if the subjects 'got it right' [Spivak 1990]. In daily life and in research practice, however, we have ways to limit this exemption from scrutiny. Vocabularies such as 'informant defensiveness' [Fesenmaier, O'Leary and Uysal 1996], 'informant denial' [ECPAT; FSCE; Ministry of Culture and Tourism 2010] 'informed consent' [Finn and Elliott-White 2000; Li 2000; Ryan, Ritchie and Burns 2005], or even 'false memory' [Braun-LaTour and Grinley 2006; Finn and Elliott-White 2000], are social practices which assert we can be mistaken about our emotional lives and our claims to understanding ourselves. Similarly, the tension between writers and critics highlights social contestation about criteria for which interpretation of someone's words we should prefer [Allen 1995]. Why then are the confessional dimensions of an interview treated with such reverence?

One possible reason is confusion between epistemological and political privilege. Experiential research shares a history with studies of people who were taken to be marginal or disadvantaged in relationship to the researcher and/or some other public forum. Given a history in which informant accounts have been ignored and/or 'trumped' by more politically dominant groups, the goal is to let them 'have their say' (or, more problematically, 'give them voice' as if they were mute before the researcher arrived [Bannerji 1992; Mohanty 1992; Elam 1994].

Another possible reason is lingering attachment to the researcher as occupying the oxymoronic status of benign neutrality. At once, both 'good' and 'neutral', the researcher positions her/himself as a ventriloquist. While there are ideological reasons for being attached to this perspective (e.g. the alignment of professionalism and 'science' [Allen 1986], regarding the interview as confession almost necessitates being blind to two critical features: (a) the process of 'extracting' the confession and (b) the acquisition of language.

Extracting Confessions

Other than mentioning the situation in which the interviews were conducted and perhaps some of the questions used, experiential research rarely addresses the social process that produced the responses [Veal 2006; Riessman 1987]. And because it regards language as a neutral medium, experiential research cannot attend to the social consequences of being interviewed. These blind spots make it difficult to raise questions about how the language being presented as the subject's experience was negotiated or what the consequences are of getting someone to produce a certain story about themselves [Frank 1993; Dean 1994; Mann and Kelly 1997]. Thus, in this paper, it is argued for adopting another view of language, one that pays attention not only to how language works, but how language itself, as negotiated by speakers through social practice and performance, constitutes the conditions in which some ways of talking work, and others do not [Atkinson and Silverman 1997; McRobbie 1985]. This approach, and poststructural approaches in general, regard language as both 'structured and structuring' [Bourdieu 1991; Gee 1999; Allen and Hardin 2001]: it is both the enabling and constraining precondition for social practice (structured) and it (re)produces that practice (structuring).

In this approach to language, and by extension to research on experience, the individual is the wrong unit of analysis. We are born into language; we learn to speak [Allen 1996; deLauretis 1988]. This shifts analysis from the individual to the conditions of linguistic production within which it makes sense, given the opportunities and constraints of a situation, to speak in some ways but not others [Reynolds 2002].

Did you Always Talk that Way?

Regarding language as a social performance allows one to raise another set of questions that experiential research cannot. People learn how to talk, and they learn when to talk in some ways, and when not to, in others. Additional questions arise in interviews that are conducted in foreign languages, possibly because the conscious effort of communicating in another tongue produces unconscious vigilance over emotions. Yet, despite this, and despite a theoretical interest in language and the fact that much research today involves international data collection, methodological texts on qualitative interviewing are typically silent on the topic of foreign language use in interviewing [Kvale 1996]. Instead, a monolingual research environment tends to be assumed, usually implicitly [for exceptions see Marshall and Rossman 2006; Rossman and Rallis 1998]. Particularly in the field of tourism, but not exclusively, language barriers are frequently crossed but the methodological implications are not considered, or are limited to translation constraints when trying to establish equivalence of meaning across cultures – a traditional focus of quantitative research [see for example Craig and Douglas 2000; Harpaz 1996].

Although tourism scholarship has sustained a minor conversation about how tourists are recruited into talking about themselves, experiential approaches largely bracket this issue [Mumby 1993; Jones and Porter 1996]. The larger political and cultural questions about how groups and individuals come to talk about their needs and desires in the ways they do [Besley 2002], and the consequences of doing so, are all erased when language is treated as a neutral medium permitting access to prelinguistic subjectivity (confession) or preconstituted reality (testimony) [Chay 1993; Mulinari and Sandell 1999]. Of course, these issues are not exhaustive of the possibilities of further enquiry and, accordingly, other questions can and should be posed. Some have already been raised in the pages of this article. The answers to others require further research and discussion. The author *proposes future research* in this area and encourages debate within the broader scientific and academic community.

Conclusions

In the introduction, it was suggested that the language of experience in tourism research carries, and simultaneously obscures, a set of commitments that concern us: visions of the person/self, ontological assumptions, understandings of research methodology and the politics of tourism. Below, each is revisited briefly by outlining how post-structuralism might provide a preferable alternative.

Scott [1992] has argued that experience is linguistic and should be the beginning, not the endpoint of our research. The present paper modifies this position by emphasising not what experience is, but rather, why it is sometimes useful to regard the kinds of data and claims appearing in experiential research as a way of talking, a kind of narrative [Tribe 2005; Bruner 2005]. But it is generally agreed upon that it should be the beginning, not the bedrock. The lingering Cartesianism and accompanying ambiguity about experiential claims can be, if not eliminated, at least made more apparent by treating experiential accounts as narrative [Rickly-Boyd 2009; Rickly-Boyd 2011; Lin et al. 2012]. Western-European-derived cultures have elaborate vocabularies for talking about the 'self'. One needs only consider the miles of bookshelf space devoted to, for example, 'self-help' books — their function is to recommend some ways of characterising the self over others in the pursuit of some goal (e.g. happiness, success or intimacy). In the same way, we can explore the ways people who we think have been in similar situations talk about themselves. Or we can analyse how they talk about these situations. In either case, if we are clear that we are studying how they talk, then we can treat these accounts more rigorously by asking more questions, not just about what they said, but why they said it that way, and whether other ways of talking might be preferable in terms of certain goals. We can ask whether the way someone characterises themselves correlates with how others describe them (the tourist/traveller debate, ever present in tourism scholarship, for example), or predicts what they will do (or what others who talk similarly will do) in certain situations. Interviews, under these assumptions, still constitute valuable data about how people interpret their lives — something we often need to know in hedonically-driven service industries.

By treating interview data as narrative testimony leaves researchers room to interrogate both the conditions of production (how informants came to talk this way in general and in this interview in particular) and the utility of their reports (e.g. that these are contestable accounts). The juridical framework about confession and testimony introduced earlier thus allows us to tap a set of social practices that can be used to interrogate both kinds of talk. Just as we question 'confessions' in everyday life, treating them as potentially self-serving, or self-deluded, we question testimony by examining the conditions under which it is produced, recalled and reported, and its relationship to others' accounts.

Feminist methodologists, critical theorists and others have argued that subjects and researchers should occupy the same explanatory plane — we need to account for the role of the researcher in the production of research [Stone-Mediatore 1998; Bhopal 2001]. Similarly, we can put everyone's language on the same plane. By treating experiential accounts not as privileged access to private worlds but as negotiated social accounts, we can be clearer — and cleaner — about how we treat them. So, while we might consider epistemological privilege indefensible, we can also think that sometimes exempting accounts from challenge is politically defensible. And sometimes it is not. But at least the choices become more visible.

If tourism's Cartesian legacy is made more apparent and contestable by regarding experience as a kind of narrative, so is its positivism. Ways of talking, rather than unmediated revelation of prelinguistic internal/external worlds, surface questions about the production of speech. Do people talk about X in interviews the same way they talk about it with their loved ones? Their friends? Or their employers? How does the way in which the interviewer speaks influence the way respondents speak during discourse [Hymes 1996]? Do shared experiences between the researcher and the respondent change the outcome of the interview? If language is not the medium but the material, then analysis can move beyond the ventriloquist's summaries to linguistic, causal and historic levels. Returning to the question of how people come to talk in the ways they do under certain circumstances allows us to ask, in effect, 'whose language are they speaking?' Theirs or ours? And by extension, what cultural and political (and indeed linguistic) commitments does their vocabulary carry, and how well does that correlate with other commitments [Allen and Hardin 2001]?

In summary, the language of experience does both too much and too little. It makes unfortunate and blurry philosophical assumptions. It carries tacit commitments to unexamined epistemologies and ontologies. It perpetuates a certain epistemological ambiguity about what research is claiming. At the same time, it misses history and social practice. Post-structural approaches to the production and analysis of experiential narratives as a particular social practice maintain the strengths of experiential research, while avoiding these commitments and blind spots. Experience perhaps deserves a rest.

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POSTSTRUKTURALISTYCZNA KRYTYKA „DOŚWIADCZENIA" W BADANIACH NAD TURYSTYKĄ

Abstrakt

Cel. Niniejszy referat jest analizą doświadczenia, a mówiąc ściślej – podejmuje się analizy słowa „doświadczenie" i jego użycia w badaniach nad turystyką. Epistemologiczne rozważania nad naturą doświadczenia leżą u podstaw wielu kwestii kluczowych dla badań nad turystyką oraz dla dziedzin pokrewnych.
Metoda. Referat dzieli się na dwie połączone ze sobą części. W części pierwszej analizie poddany zostaje sposób, w jaki doświadczenie używane jest jako dowód w jakościowych badaniach nad turystyką. Część druga przybliża perspektywy teoretyczne przemawiające za ww. praktyką. Uwagi końcowe przedstawiają zalety analizy „języka doświadczenia" z punktu widzenia poststrukturalizmu.
Wyniki. Wysunięte zostaje twierdzenie, iż postrukturalistyczne spojrzenie na mówienie o doświadczeniu w kontekście badań naukowych otwiera nowe możliwości analizy związku pomiędzy sposobem prowadzenia badań nad turystyką a kulturalnym czy politycznym zaangażowaniem. Poststrukturalne podejście do tworzenia oraz analizy narracji opartych na doświadczeniu (tj. narracji jako konkretnej praktyki społecznej) zachowuje siłę badań empirycznych, wraz z innymi, rzadziej rozważanymi kwestiami zaangażowania ontologicznego, postrzegania innych osób lub siebie, sposobów rozumienia metodologii badań nad turystyką oraz narracji.
Ograniczenia badań i wnioskowania. Jako że doświadczenie i jego rozumienie jest tak różne dla różnych kultur czy społeczności językowych, przydatnym dla przyszłych dyskusji wydaje się, aby pod uwagę brane były perspektywy, czy też "badania nad doświadczeniem" stworzone w innych językach. Co więcej, niniejsza praca krytyczna miałaby zastosowanie w niemal wszystkich jakościowych badaniach nad turystyką (a niekoniecznie w badaniach nad doświadczeniem turystycznym).
Implikacje praktyczne. Niniejsza praca krytyczna dotycząca jakościowych badań nad turystyką jest bardzo aktualna, podobnie jak propozycja rozpatrywania doświadczenia (jak również autentyczności lub turystyki jako wolności, itp.) jako narracji, opowiadania (doświadczenie jako zjawisko językowe); wszystko to wydaje się być użyteczne dla przyszłych badań.
Oryginalność pracy. Pomimo faktu, iż badania nad gościnnością, wypoczynkiem i turystyką opisują subiektywne, afektywne oraz przede wszystkim empiryczne perspektywy w tych gałęziach przemysłu [Otto i Ritchie 1996] to tak naprawdę nie zajmują się one naturą samego doświadczenia. Koncentrując się na przydawaniu doświadczeniu określeń w rodzaju „wysokiej jakości", „uskrzydlające", „autentyczne", „przeżyte" itp. zaniedbały znaczenie tego rzeczownika, jego denotację. Niniejszy artykuł ma za zadanie przyciągnąć uwagę do kwestii znaczenia doświadczenia dla badań nad turystyką.
Rodzaj pracy. Artykuł teoretyczny.

Słowa kluczowe: doświadczenie, język, poststrukturalizm, turystyka, badania.

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REVISITING ZNANIECKI'S CULTURAL THEORY: DIFFERENT FORMS OF CONTEMPORARY TOURISM IN TERMS OF THEIR CONTRIBUTION TO "THE WORLD CULTURE SOCIETY"

*Julia Murrmann**

Abstract

Purpose. The paper wishes to offer a contemporary reading of a classic cultural theory of Florian Znaniecki and to highlight its relevance within the field of tourism studies: different forms of contemporary global tourism are analyzed in terms of their contribution to the development of "the world culture society."
Method. The article is partly of review character and contains a critical analysis of Znaniecki's legacy. Then, through an intuitive-logical process, the potential of the chosen adjectival tourisms within their contribution to "the world culture society" was measured.
Findings. After a detailed analysis of the important contemporary types of international tourism, we can acknowledge that the concerns of Znaniecki expressed in his text first published in 1952 were fully justified. Despite the potential ascribable to the travels, not every type of travel is a form of contribution to the growth of "the world culture society."
Research and conclusions limitations. New forms of tourism are continuously emerging and gaining popularity and the character of those existing may change.
Practical implications. The article is a kind of tribute to one of the most outstanding Polish culturologists and sociologists who was the early spokesman for the world society and to whom we owe, among others, the basis for research of modern culture and its changes.
Originality. This is an original work on a topic rarely undertaken by researchers.
Type of paper. Theoretical paper.

Key words: Znaniecki, tourism, world society, world culture.

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Introduction

Due to his outstanding merits within the social and cultural sciences, Florian Znaniecki (1882–1958) ensured himself a position as one of the founding fathers of modern sociology [Szacki 2007, p. 752; Sztompka 2012, p. 64]. His masterpiece, *The Polish Peasant in Europe and America* [1996, first published in 1918 (volumes I and II), 1919 (volume III) and 1920 (volumes IV and V)], co-authored by the American sociologist W. I. Thomas, is considered to be one of the classics of sociology, a milestone in the methodological development of social sciences [Ritzer 2004, p. 43] and a "classic landmark because it attempted to integrate theory and data in a way no American study had done before" [Bulmer 1986, p. 45]. Z. Bauman summed up Znaniecki's contribution to the social sciences in the following way: "Znaniecki, one would say, is *organically* present in today's sociology. He is a part, and a vital part, of its body. His ideas moved from the margin to the center" [Bauman 2000, p. 74]. Znaniecki's concepts are being systematically discussed in the context of current studies of globalization processes and multiculturalism, as articulated by R. Robertson [1992], I. Wallerstein [1979,1999], P. Donati [2000] and others. The resonance of his works is still visible in postmodern sociology and can be helpful in understanding the dynamics of cultural processes. However, the Polish scholar is customarily addressed in sociological literature as a "neglected classic" [Plummer 1983, p. 34], or an "unrecognized forerunner" [Hałas 1994]. Therefore, the present article, by referring to a less known work of Znaniecki [1952], wishes to pay tribute to this outstanding Polish sociologist and culturologist who was an early spokesman for the world society and to whom we owe, among others, the basis for research of modern culture and its changes.

The purpose of the paper is to offer a contemporary reading of Znaniecki's classic cultural theory and to highlight its relevance within the field of tourism studies: tourism has truly become a global social force and the United Nations World Tourism Organization (UNWTO) predicts its further development: international tourism arrivals will increase by 3.3 percent per year between 2010 and 2030 and reach 1.8 billion total arrivals by 2030 [http://www2.unwto.org/annual-reports; 20.05.2015]. While analysing, through an intuitive-logical process, the chosen forms of contemporary global tourism in context of their contribution to the development of the world culture society, we will refer to both the examples provided by Znaniecki (who was a frequent traveler himself and as such gathered a lot of experience [Abel 1996]) and the findings of the contemporary researchers of tourist activity (studies dedicated to reasons, patterns, consequences, modalities and characteristics of travelers' mobility).

Literature review

There were already a few attempts to offer a contemporary reading of the work of Znaniecki. His sociological legacy is multifold and has been extensively revisited by many researchers. Among experts on Znaniecki's output we must cite J. Szacki [1986], E. Hałas [1994, 2000, 2010] and P. Donati [2000]. We can equally mention some other successful attempts of papers inspired by Znaniecki's works. M. Łuczewski analyzed in his paper the affinities between R. Boudon's concept of axiological rationality and the theory of values developed by Znaniecki [1919; 1925; 1934; 1936]. Then, "armed with their conceptual tools", he wanted to show that the concept of axiological rationality and the theory of values can help us analyze emergence of national ideologies, i.e. peasant-into-Pole processes, on the example of the village of Żmiąca in Polish Galicia [Łuczewski 2009].

G. Sinatti [2008] referred to the masterpiece by Znaniecki and Thomas *The Polish Peasant in Europe and America* [1996], an extensive five-volume study on the transformations occurring in Polish society in their home country and among its emigrants in the United States. According to the sociologist, it should be emphasized that although the work was published almost a century ago, it offers a model of research that is exemplary and therefore should be valued for its theoretical contributions made to the understanding of migrations. Sinatti stresses that the book addresses a number of issues that have acquired new relevance today in the current era of an increasingly transnational nature of contemporary migration flows. Actually, already Znaniecki's daughter – Helena Znaniecka Lopata, also a prominent sociologist herself, explored the topic of migrations referring to her father's legacy [1996]. In *Polish Americans. Status Competition in an Ethnic Community* [1976] she examined the impact of post-communist changes in Poland and the presence of the third wave of immigrants on Polish communities abroad. She studied the community as a living entity, with internal divisions and conflicts, and explored relations with the home nation (Poland) and the country of settlement (United States) [Znaniecka Lopata 1976; revised and reissued in 1994]. With regard to the very same work by Znaniecki and Thomas [1996], irrespective of the fact that their theory of desorganization and reorganization originally concerned the processes of migration *par exellence*, there were already attempts to adopt it to the theory of tourism. According to the Polish tourism sociologist K. Przecławski, this theory can successfully function within the tourist reality [Przecławski 2004, p. 58].

Theoretical background

Referring to the former philosophical conceptions of unity of the universe Znaniecki outlined the perspective of dynamics of the global society. E. Hałas summed up the achievements of the eminent Polish sociologist in this domain: "Znaniecki's vision of modernity covers more than just the conception of the world society. Having transformed himself back into the philosopher that he was at the beginning of his career, Znaniecki constructed a model of a future civilization. It would be a secular one, but based on spiritual values, harmonious and flexible, permeated by innovative dynamism" [Hałas 2010, p. 207]. In fact, according to Znaniecki's cultural theory, there are different types of society, with a different status and different features. The old, preliterate 'tribal society' is gradually disappearing. The 'political society' (also known as the 'state society') has a common legal system and an organized, independent government controlling the inhabitants of a given territory. The 'ecclesiastic society' has a common and distinct literary, religious culture and an independent, organized church. The 'national culture society' has a secular culture and an independent organization enabling the preservation, growth and expansion of this culture [Znaniecki 1952, p. 21]. There is, however, another emerging type: "Perhaps we should recognize a fifth type of society - a world society [also referred to as a 'world culture society']. This ideal, long cherished by thinkers and leaders, has, I believe, begun to be realized" [Znaniecki 1952, p. 21]. Znaniecki believed that a united well-ordered world society, characterized by an active social solidarity (political unity followed by cultural unity or the other way round) is the future of mankind. World culture, i.e. the common possessions of humanity, is considered as a foundation of the emergent world society. The concept of world culture includes both past achievements and existing accomplishments (the common cultural heritage of mankind, i.e. works of art – architecture, sculpture, paintings, music, literature, philosophy, etc.) and future potentialities, because sharing common cultural products of the past is by itself not enough to stimulate and maintain active social solidarity [Znaniecki 1952, pp. 176-179]. World culture society can therefore be seen as the next step, an advanced stadium of permanent, functional and peaceful cooperation between national culture societies, together aiming at "universal human progress", which includes steady improvement of human health, technological advancement increasing the level of people's welfare, intellectual, moral and aesthetic development of human personalities through education, gradual functional integration of all the powerful social groups into one well-ordered world society, continuous collective promotion of creativity in every realm of culture [Znaniecki 1952, p. 181]. It can be noted that there are different types of social cooperation between nationalities: initialized, popularized and carried by different social groups or leaders. Here, among other forms, the prominent Polish sociologist highlights the role and potential of tourism.

> Travel to be sure, is the oldest and best-known method of becoming at least superficially acquainted with foreign cultures. But such superficial acquaintance does not always promote a positive valuation of those cultures. Far from it. When we read descriptions by travelers of their experiences and observations, we notice that, unless they originally aimed to understand and appreciate other cultures, negative rather than positive valuations of foreigners prevail. Modern tourists travelling rapidly and stopping briefly in foreign countries about which they know little frequently manifest negative prejudices, which are reciprocated by the attitudes of aborigines toward mutual understanding and positive appreciation of foreigners and their cultures. On the one hand, groups which want to attract tourists, whether for economic reasons or to promote national prestige, planfully try to make travel as attractive as possible to foreign visitors and to guide them in such a way as to acquaint them with only the best cultural products and patterns of the country which they are visiting. This was perhaps best exemplified by the treatment and guidance of foreign tourists in Soviet Russia before World War II. On the other hand, groups of tourist are being organized under the guidance of competent leaders who try to make their travel not only satisfactory, but also instructive, by helping them become acquainted with the most important components of foreign culture and learn to understand and appreciate them as well as can be done during the brief periods at their disposal [Znaniecki 1952, pp. 166–167].

In this short fragment dedicated to travel, Znaniecki pointed out very important features of tourist activity: 1) the fact that not every type of travel contributes to the understanding, tolerance and acceptance of other cultures and hence – in the long term – to the growth of world culture society, 2) the role of the groups, which organize tourism for foreign visitors (in other words – the expansion of the tourism industry), 3) the role of tour guides in the tourist experience (nowadays we often talk about culture brokers or middlemen). Znaniecki recognized potential in tourism, but some important conditions must be fulfilled in order to ensure positive impact on the travelers. Mobility *per se* does not guarantee any contribution to the promotion of world solidarity or peaceful coexistence. To the contrary, it can even lead to hostility and negative perception of the visited environments. It is therefore interesting to analyze different kinds of contemporary global tourism in terms of their contribution to the development of world culture society. However, as well known, today's tourism has many faces. It is enough to realize how many adjectival tourism forms we can distinguish (agritourism, ecotourism, enotourim, dark tourism, medical tourism, space tourism, sustainable tourism, wellness tourism – just to cite a few). Additionally, new forms of tourism are continuously emerging and gaining popularity, and the character of those existing may change. Considering the enormous variety of forms of travelling, the venture to analyze tourism on the whole – as a homogenous phenomenon – is doomed for failure. Hence, only an arbitrary chosen sample of types of contemporary international tourism regarding different specialty travel forms will be discussed in detail, and these are: 1) business tourism, 2) educational tourism, 3) language tourism, 4) thanatotourism, 5) sentimental tourism, 6) ethnic tourism, 7) religious tourism, 8) sport tourism, and last but not least 9) heritage tourism. Further forms of tourism can be analyzed by adopting the same procedure.

Results and discussion

The term ‘business tourism’ (also referred to as ‘meeting industry’) includes conferences, congresses, motivation journeys (also known as ‘incentive tourism’), fairs, exhibitions and business corporation trips. This type of tourism is typical for certain professional domains, such as commerce or trade entrepreneurs travelling to their contracting partners and business associates [Gaworecki 2010, p. 34]. This is not a new kind of tourism, but in the era of intensified international cooperation, it is experiencing its revival, or better – expansion. Nevertheless, Znaniecki was already mentioning the importance of such travels (not classifying them as ‘tourism’ though): “Every nationality participating in the Fair [New York Wolds’s Fair in 1939-40] had an opportunity to make the public at least superficially acquainted not only with samples of its technical products, but also with its creative achievements in art, music, literature, knowledge; its distinctive customs and mores; and its ethical and political ideals” [Znaniecki 1952, p. 158]. Indeed, business tourism is almost always accompanied by a very rich cultural program for the participants of the international meetings, which enables them to get acquainted with other cultures. It is to recognize that this kind of travel contributes to world society, as ‘business tourists’ are truly interested in dialogue and smooth collaboration with their contractors, even if it must be emphasized that this is underlined by economic motivation.

‘Educational tourism’ seems to be a perfect example of a form of tourism supporting the development of world culture. Znaniecki himself traveled frequently between different universities, giving lectures or participating in international conferences and meetings of sociological associations – T. Abel revealed that he was regularly asked to replace Znaniecki during his lecture [Abel 1996, p. 70]. This kind of mobility includes, above all, different kinds of pupil and student exchange programs consisting of a stay at a foreign school or university for a certain period, which is, in fact, a “continuation, or rather a revival, of the custom of medieval universities” [Znaniecki 1952, p. 149]. We should stress the difference between the role of the university and the university exchange programs: while "the theoretic function of nearly every university is to promote the creative growth of knowledge within its own national culture society by training students for creative work and offering teaching roles, with right to economic subsistence, to those who are making or are expected to make significant contributions to this growth" [Znaniecki 1952, p. 69], the university exchange programs should rather be seen as a factor promoting the growth of knowledge within world culture, as they involve the international collaboration of students and academic teachers. Such cooperation spreads the achievements and products of world culture and fertilizes national cultures though the feedback of the visitors in foreign academic centers (both visiting professors and students, both mentors and mentees). Considering the range and popularity of the phenomenon, we should emphasize that such a type of international cooperation promotes mutual fertilization: the host university (or other educational center, which receives the guests) profits as well as the sending university through the visiting scholars and professors coming back home after being trained abroad.

'Language tourism' (sometimes recognized as a sub-category of educational tourism [Bieńczyk, Łobożewicz 2001, p. 190]) is a kind of travel mainly dedicated to language learning [Mikos von Rohrscheidt 2007, p. 88]. International language (summer) courses are frequently organized by different universities or educational centers specialized in language and cultural training. Unlike mass tourism, linguistically-oriented travels are associated with a profound tourist experience based on immersion in the target culture. The process of language learning has many specific features and differs a lot from the traditional way of learning in one's home country. It is more practical, focus on speaking improvement and cultural knowledge is provided [Różewska 2008]. Language tourism is not just language learning, but a multi-layered touristic, educational and cultural experience that appeals to many people, not only those interested in language acquisition. Linguistic tourism creates an opportunity for inter-cultural training, which, considering the frequency of international relationships in the modern world, is indispensable for successful existence in social and professional life. The core of this type of tourism is a voluntary meeting of people from all over the world, who are additionally keen on harmonic coexistence and direct interaction [Murrmann 2012]. Thus, international summer language courses provide the unique chance to get acquainted with many cultures and consider one's own culture from a different perspective, which activates the process of making comparisons and recognizing limitations. Undoubtedly, linguistic tourism contributes to the growth of world culture. In this context, we can remember that Znaniecki recognizes language, especially literary language, as a very important component of national culture [Znaniecki 1952, p. 13]. The participants of the language course are acquainted with the literature of a definite target culture during the classes. At this level, it is promotion of a certain national culture. However, the 'linguistic tourists' do not only get to know the target language and target culture. Their community forms a so called "salad bowl" (mixture of the representative of different cultures) and the students acquaint themselves with many aspects of cultural and linguistic differences represented by participants from all over the globe. In this perspective, it is all about the promotion of world culture.

'Thanatourism', also known as 'dark tourism', attracts travelers motivated by the desire to visit death sites [Seaton 1999]. There are many types of such "black spots", to use the term coined by Chris Rojek [1997, p. 62]. "Traditional" destinations are concentration and extermination camps, for instance: Auschwitz-Birkenau in Poland, Mauthausen-Gusen in Austria or Dachau in Germany. Monuments such as the Lincoln Memorial in Washington or Nelson's Column in Trafalgar Square also belong to this category. Another important tourist attraction are cemeteries which contain the remains of celebrities, graves, disaster sites, suicide sites, murder sites [Rojek 1993, pp. 137–45]. Unfortunately, new "dark places" are emerging. Here, we can mention the Ground Zero site in the Financial District of Manhattan, the location where the original twin towers of the World Trade Center once stood. This memorial place became a "must see" in New York City. Interestingly, this kind of tourism should be recognized as contributing to the growth of world society. The visitors of the Ground Zero are not only Americans. Far from it. People from all over the world come to pay respects to the victims of the terrorist attack and to honor the lives of American heroes from the rescue team. The same can be said referring to the places of death (often tragic death) or burial places of the celebrities. Hundreds of bouquets are being left close to the place of Princess Diana's fatal car accident in Paris, not to mention special tours organized to the place of death of Grace Kelly or John F. Kennedy.

'Sentimental tourism' may be defined as all kinds of travels, in which the prime motivation of the tourist involves a desire to seek for his/her origins and ancestors and hence his/her own identity. It may also regard their original place of birth. This kind of tourism concerns in the first line emigrants, expatriates, and exiles who feel that they need to go back to their roots [Mikos von Rohrscheidt 2007, p. 110; Kurek 2007, p. 214; Jędrysiak 2008, p. 73]. In Znaniecki's terms we would rather qualify this kind of tourist movement as growth of national culture society.

We can define 'ethnic tourism' as all kinds of travels, in which the prime objective of the tourists is the desire to interact with exotic ethnic people [Gaworecki 2010, p. 47]. In Znaniecki's terms, it would be an encounter with a 'tribal society'. These kinds of tours would not be possible without tour guides, also known as culture brokers or middlemen. Their role merits particular attention: they facilitate the interaction between tourists and locals, i.e. native suppliers of exotic experiences. As ethnic tourists recruit mostly from developed countries, highly urbanized and industrialized places, they would not be able to understand tribal customs and ways of life which differ greatly from those back home. Thus, ethnic tourism consists in the encounter and relationship between tourists (guests) and natives (hosts), which should generally be brokered by a third person, because the authentic performance in local cultural *milieu* could be misunderstood. Here we can see the dark side of this kind of potentially "pure" tourism contributing to the world society. What 'ethnic tourists' get to know is a rather well-prepared spectacle. Local people place themselves "on stage". It is all "staged authenticity" to adopt the terminology of Dean MacCannell [1999]. Of course, the locals try to maintain the authenticity in the eyes of tourists so that their performance can even appear to the visitors as true, unmediated and spontaneous. However, it must be highlighted that in fact the ethnic groups modify their behaviors, way of dressing, methods of production and customary practices in order to attract tourists and intensify their experience. Additionally, brokers arrange performances and activities for tourists. All these practices are aimed at economic benefit. It can be argued that native ethnic groups are victims of the tourism industry, but in reality, they actively collaborate with brokers in the "show" in search of income. Ethnic tourism seems to be contributing to the dialogue between the developed and the developing world. Nevertheless, taking into consideration the "staged authenticity" this claim may be reasonably contested.

'Sport tourism' is an interesting case. We can consider here both its active and passive forms. By active sport tourism we mean all travels devoted to participation in different sport activities, both at professional and amateur levels, including different disciplines. There is also a passive form of sport tourism, which would be the movement of sport supporters cheering on their favorite team [Gaworecki 2010, p. 87]. The fans follow great sport events, like world championships and tournaments. To name a few, here we can list the World Cup in Football, Tour de France and, last but not least, the Olympic Games – the most important meeting of sportspersons from all over the globe. There is something particular about sport events which makes it impossible to judge unanimously, whether sport tourism (and sport in general) contributes to the solidarity of people (through the principle of "fair play" for instance) or divide them into national camps. Znaniecki divagated on this topic: "Such popularization of foreign cultures [Olympic Games] is designed to appeal to the masses rather than to intellectual specialists. Although sport is indubitably culturally patterned and new varieties have developed in recent times, yet, after all, sport is essentially play, not culturally creative activity. International meetings of sportsmen imply competition, not cooperation, between individuals or teams from different nationalities; their significance lies in the fact that they stimulate a common, world-wide interest in the individual sportsmen and teams of many nationalities and make the public aware that all of them conform with the same ethical principles of fair play" [Znaniecki 1952, p. 158].

'Religious tourism' appears in many forms, among which the most popular is pilgrimage [Gaworecki 2010, p. 61; Mikos von Rohrscheidt 2007, p. 147; Jędrysiak 2008, p. 86]. Pilgrimage is a sign of what Znaniecki would have rather called the development of the 'ecclesiastic culture'. Pilgrims united by the same faith, confession or Church (but coming from different countries) visit the same important spots. For example for the collectivity of Roman Catholic Church a common destination is the Vatican or Santiago de Compostela. However, it is important to realize that some destinations can attract adherents and representatives of different Churches, like Nazareth for instance.

In the tourism literature the theorists also distinguish 'heritage tourism', including all travels resulting from the interest in arts, history and culture and hence dedicated to visits in museums and heritage sites [Gaworecki 2010, pp. 64–70; Jędrysiak 2008; Buczkowska 2008]. Heritage tourists travel to experience the places, artifacts and activities that authentically represent the past. They take part in all kinds of cultural events, such as exhibitions, concerts, arts festivals and others. These attractions have a great tourism-generating power and are worth publicizing abroad, as economic impact studies have shown that the financial contribution of the cultural tourist may be significantly greater than that of the local attendee. At first glance, heritage tourism seems to be a particularly "pure" tourism, contributing to the growth of world culture society. However, it must be underlined that nowadays, we have to do with a distortion of this kind of tourism in the form of mass tourism, or more precisely – mass heritage tourism. A great tourist movement is observed in the direction of the most significant cultural sites, where huge numbers of tourist sector employees ('tourism industry' includes accommodation and gastronomic establishments as well as travel agencies and tour operators) are already impatiently waiting to take care of them. Mass tourists and mass tourist staff have both their own, sometimes even contradictory, purposes. Consequently, heritage tourism is being constantly commercialized: we describe it in terms of production and consumption of heritage attractions. Some new artificial sites are being created in order to fuel the tourist movement, otherwise the visitors would have to content themselves with those few historic constructions and outstanding monuments (concentrated mainly in Europe). On the other hand, the travelers are not really willing to immerge in the visited culture. They voluntary live in tourist enclaves, like five-star hotels, which also could be called "tourist ghettos". Tourists are closed – in D. Boorstin's [1964] terms – in an "environmental bubble", they are ethnocentric and concentrated on the standards in their culture. They do the typical sight-seeing tours, they agree to be shown the most important "must see-attractions" in order to take a couple of photos. J. Urry [2002] argues that it is all about visual consumption of the places and purchase of some souvenirs. Taking such practices and demeanors into account leads to the conclusion that the whole experience is very superficial. The visitors do not understand, they do not appreciate, they do not participate in the very meaning of the term "culture". Also here we can revisit Znaniecki's deliberations on travel: he in fact criticized the "superficial acquaintance" with the visited culture. Indeed, it is justified to question the positive impact of this kind of tourism and discredit it contribution to the development of world culture society.

Conclusions

After detailed analysis of the important contemporary types of international tourism, we can acknowledge that the concerns Znaniecki expressed in his text first published in 1952 (thus, several decades ago) were fully justified. Indeed, not every type of travel has the same potential within the contribution to the growth of world culture society. There is a very important question to be asked: are we going to witness an evolution in global international tourism leading to the growth of the world society and to the fulfillment of the prophetic idea formulated by Znaniecki? If so, the most important change should concern the attitude of the hosts and tourists, aiming at mutual cultural exchange. Tourism should support the smooth functioning permeated with interactions between hosts and guests, encouraging the processes of cultural relations, with significant implications for changing expressions of identity both among locals and tourists. Only then, can world culture be shared by all of mankind. There is still time to do this, in fact, we cannot expect that it is going to change overnight. The evolution of tourism is to be seen as a process. But also world culture is a long-haul endeavor.

> A world culture (…) is not yet ready and completed – and never will be. It is being slowly created and will continue to be created indefinitely. Its creation does not mean elimination of the present diversity of culture, for it cannot be created out of nothing: it grows and is expected to grow out of national cultures, just as national cultures grew out of older cultures – but with a difference. Whereas those older cultures were relatively static and hence became partly or entirely supplanted by national cultures as latter developed and expanded, national cultures are dynamic, and it is their continual creative growth which makes the emergence and growth of a "supernational" world culture possible [Znaniecki 1952, p. 176].

It should also be stressed that tourism is just one of the mechanisms through which the appearance of global society is emerging, but of course supplementing other – more powerful – mechanisms: economic, financial, political, studied in current theories of globalization.

A final remark is due: it is amazing that Znaniecki's deliberations cover the area that was so irrelevant in his times but so socially important these days. Even if the comments on tourism are rather rare and marginal compared to his other theories, they are of great importance and show the polyvalent interest of the pioneer of Polish sociology. It was therefore worth revisiting the "neglected classic".

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Z DOROBKU ZNANIECKIEGO: KONCEPCJA SPOŁECZEŃSTWA ŚWIATOWEJ KULTURY A WSPÓŁCZESNE FORMY TURYSTYKI

Abstrakt

Cel. W artykule proponuje się na nowo odczytać klasyczną teorię kulturową Floriana Znanieckiego i podkreśla się jej znaczenie w obrębie badań turystyki: różne formy globalnej turystyki są analizowane w kontekście koncepcji społeczeństwa światowej kultury.
Metoda. Artykuł ma charakter częściowo przeglądowy i zawiera krytyczną analizę twórczości Znanieckiego. Następnie, za pomocą procesów intuicyjno-logicznych zidentyfikowano potencjał poszczególnych, objętych badaniem, form turystyki w zakresie budowania społeczeństwa światowej kultury.
Wyniki. Po wnikliwej analizie wybranych form współczesnej turystyki międzynarodowej, można stwierdzić, że obawy Znanieckiego wyrażone w tekście opublikowanym w 1952 roku były w pełni uzasadnione. Pomimo potencjału tkwiącego w podróży, nie każda forma turystyki przyczynia się do rozwoju społeczeństwa kultury światowej.
Ograniczenia badań i wnioskowania. Powstają oraz rozpowszechniają się nowe formy turystyki, a także charakter tych istniejących może podlegać zmianom.
Implikacje praktyczne. Artykuł jest rodzajem hołdu dla jednego z najwybitniejszych polskich kulturologów i socjologów, który był wczesnym rzecznikiem społeczeństwa światowej kultury i któremu zawdzięczamy m.in. podstawy metodologii badań nowoczesnej kultury i jej przemian.
Oryginalność pracy. Praca na rzadko podejmowany przez badaczy temat.
Rodzaj pracy. Artykuł teoretyczny.

Słowa kluczowe: Znaniecki, turystyka, społeczeństwo świata, kultura światowa

Vol. 37 FOLIA TURISTICA 2015

LEISURE TIME AND FOOD MEMORY: AN ANTHROPOLOGICAL APPROACH TO CULINARY TOURISM IN CENTRAL MEXICO

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Abstract

Purpose. To analyze how memory and desire influence the configuration of tourist activities related to traditional cuisine.
Method. The ethnographic method was used with interviews with key respondents to obtain the family memories of *barbacoa* (pit roasted lamb or mutton) producers and consumers. Fifty-five in-depth interviews were conducted, of which 25 were with *barbacoa* producers and 30 with consumers. The sample was determined using the snowball non-probability method.
Findings. It was found that food memory is a determining factor for reproducing the consumption of traditional food linked to territory. This was confirmed using cases where *barbacoa* has been consumed for over three generations, creating close bonds between territories and between consumers and producers, while favoring spaces for recreation and family integration.
Research and conclusions limitations. The research only focused on consumers living in Mexico City.
Practical implications. The results can be used by *barbacoa* producer associations to promote traditional practices in the preparation and marketing of *barbacoa*.
Originality. This is the first paper written to link the food memory of inhabitants of Mexico City with the consumption of *barbacoa* produced in the city of Texcoco.
Type of paper. Empirical research.

Key words: Culinary tourism, food anthropology, gastronomic heritage, food memory, Mexico

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Introduction

The study of the link between food and tourism as a local development strategy and as a mechanism to reproduce heritage has paid special attention to the territorial origins of food [Bessière 1998; Bessière 2013; Cohen and Avieli 2004; Avieli 2013; Siti et al. 2014]. While food is a strong marker of territory, and of particular interest for tourist activity, this process of identification is not inherent to the food itself, but rather to the ability of individuals and social groups to forge links with it through food memory.

This paper addresses the case of traditional *barbacoa* from Texcoco, a product tied to the territory that denotes a solid presence in the food memory of central Mexico. This is confirmed by the established urban-rural relationship that includes generations of consumers and producers associated with this dish.

Mexico City is one of the four largest cities in the world, with over 20 million inhabitants. Its strong integration with global markets has greatly influenced the transformation of its cultural patterns and lifestyles [Ward 1998]. One such change is the transformation of food patterns, consisting of a notable rise in the consumption of industrialized food [García and Bermudez 2014].

Paradoxically, certain segments of urban consumers now show an interest in consuming food produced and transformed using traditional techniques, given that these represent an element of social differentiation [Bourdieu 1987a] while also indicating the role of cultural heritage in maintaining quality of life in contemporary societies [Di Pietro, Glugielmetti and Renzi 2013].

Such is the case of urban visitors who travel every weekend to the rural outskirts of the city to consume traditional *barbacoa*. Texcoco is a small community located 40 kilometers east of Mexico City and its reputation for preparing *barbacoa* extends all over central Mexico (Fig. 1).

This research consisted of a qualitative case study [Stake 2000] in which the objective was to understand how memory and desire influence the configuration of tourist activities related to traditional cuisine. For this purpose, qualitative information was used regarding the family memories of *barbacoa* producers and consumers which was analyzed from an anthropological perspective. In 2013 and 2014, 55 in-depth interviews were conducted, 25 of these with *barbacoa* producers and 30 with consumers. The sample was determined using the snowball non-probability method [Goodman 1968].

Producers were selected using three criteria. They needed to: 1) be from Texcoco; 2) use the traditional pit cooking technique; and 3) be able to demonstrate a commercial relationship of three generations with the family of one of the selected consumers. Consumers needed to have the following

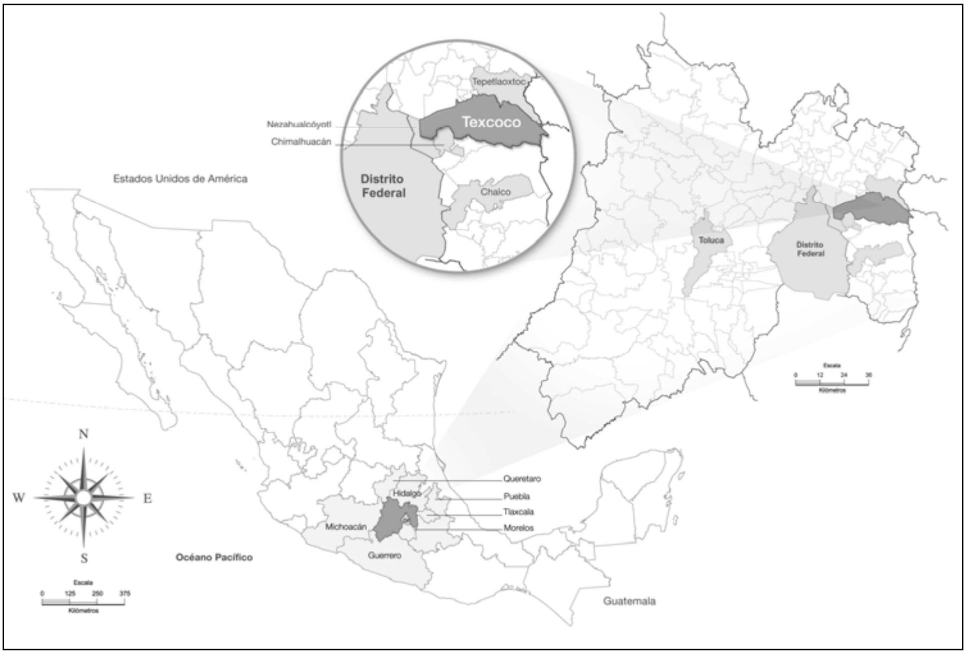

Fig. 1. Location of Mexico City and Texcoco
Source: Own preparation based on INEGI [2010]

characteristics: 1) to be from Mexico City; 2) to visit mainly for the consumption of traditional *barbacoa*; and 3) to have maintained a relationship of three generations with one of the selected producers.

The interview questions were answered according to the availability of each informant since they were members of a production unit (in the case of producers) or a family unit (in the case of consumers). The questions focused on: 1) family memories regarding the consumption and/or production of *barbacoa*; 2) consumption dynamics at the market; and 3) the relationship between producers and consumers. The Texcoco food market was selected as a study unit since it specializes in the sale of *barbacoa*, with producers who enjoy a tradition of over 100 years preparing the dish. In addition, it is less than 50 kilometers from downtown Mexico City.

The article is structured into four parts. The first offers an analysis of memory as a source of information regarding the food phenomenon from an anthropological perspective; the second discusses the relationship between food and tourism as a renewed interpretation of culinary consumption; the third covers the case of Texcoco *barbacoa*; and finally, the results of the research are presented and discussed from the perspective of the contemporary production and consumption of traditional cuisine.

The importance of this research is based on the idea that tourism can function as an economic activity that, while also having a multiplier effect, serves to reproduce the everyday heritage of developing countries where the economic circumstances do not allow for the design of specific policies for its conservation. Similarly, communities and local tourist businesses can benefit from the use of a scientific approach to objects and attractions that have occupied a marginal position in tourism studies [Timothy 1997].

It is concluded that nostalgia and memory are two important elements for maintaining the territorial identity of food. These aspects, as well as providing a spatial reference for the identification process of a local culinary heritage, represent a deep symbolic and psychological significance that influences the attraction exerted by local food on urban consumers through tourism. For this reason, analysis is constructed in the liminal space that exists between production and consumption.

The Anthropology of Food as a Perspective in Culinary Tourism Analysis

Since its emergence, social anthropology has focused on trying to understand all cultural manifestations of human societies. Food, understood as a biocultural process [Harper and Le Beau 2003], is a clear example of these manifestations. Studying the culture of a society through this biocultural process raises important issues for discussion, such as divisions between social classes [Weismantel 1988], ideas regarding the aesthetics of the human body [Pérez et al. 2007; Popenoe 2005] and the link between humans and their environment [González 2001; LaRochelle and Berkes 2003], among other.

From a cultural point of view, food involves a body of knowledge required to produce, store, cook and consume what a given society considers edible. Therefore, food reflects the identity of a territory or a population sub-group [González-Turmo 2001]. At the same time, there is a symbolic charge that allows for ways of eating to be self-reproduced [Adapon 2008] despite the innovation, adoption and adaptation of new elements as a consequence of globalization [Rebato 2009].

One way of approaching the consumption of food, beyond studies focusing on it as a way of making a living, is through culinary tourism. Anthropology has ventured into this field using two perspectives. Firstly, it studies the origin of certain forms of creating tourism in which the unit of analysis is the tourist [Kazimierczak and Malchrowicz 2013; Michalska 2014]. Secondly, it studies the impact of tourism through analyzing the local population in the tourist area as a unit [Stronza 2001; Gascón 2014]. This paper proposes a third argument which connects both units through food and memory [Holtzman 2006; Sutton 2010].

Food memory plays an essential role in the reproduction of cuisines of any scale. The clearest example of this comes from the relationship between identity and migration [Ayora 2010; Bajic 2013]. When individuals are located outside familiar territory, no matter what the reason, they may suffer a form of culture shock that materializes in the desire for foods they are biologically and culturally accustomed to. In other words, food culture reaffirms territorial identity. In this respect, food memory mobilizes cuisine, ingredients and people.

One of the references that helps construct identities inscribed in a given food system is the indissoluble anchoring of foods in their place of origin. The association between space and food heritage creates an opportunity to use territories in which an emblematic product serves as a tourist destination. This comes in response to growing demand related to increased interest in the combination food-authenticity [Bessière 1998].

However, it would be wrong to believe that the link between food and its place of origin is sufficient in itself to attract people in search of authentic products. Certain studies indicate that traveling is the result of the desire for an authentic experience, a return to origins, and an attempt to escape the stresses of urban life and re-encounter a forgotten culture [Bessière 2013; Cohen and Avieli 2004; Avieli 2013].

From the above it can be seen that food memory emerges from the consumption of food anchored in its territory of origin. This is formed by a private memory, a shared historical identity, and a reading of the present through the imaginary of the past, which at all times involve food [Holtzman 2006]. In this way, the preference for certain foods, ingredients or cuisines produces sensory experiences that settle into the subconscious of individuals [Berger and Luckmann 2011; Sutton 2010] and evoke a state of pleasure and comfort that can be either physical or psychological [Wansink, Cheney and Chan 2003].

Culinary Tourism: The Recreational Dimension of Local Cuisine in the Context of Globalization

The productive restructuring of rural space and the transformation of its relationships with urban space can be read from the perspective of globalization [Beck 1998]. The frame of reference for the global world allows us to understand the substantial changes undergone by rural areas that are no longer exclusively used for the production of raw materials since they now fulfill important environmental and cultural functions [*Millennium Ecosystem Assessment Synthesis Report*, 2005]. In the 21st century, these areas serve as an important counterweight to the increasing homogenization of society.

One of the principal cultural services rural areas offer society is as reservoirs of local cultural heritage, which in large cities is usually diluted due to the pressures of the global world. One of the most important expressions of this is food heritage, with the rural outskirts serving as one of the scenarios where it is possible to find this heritage in its most authentic form.

The loss of culinary knowledge in urban societies leads us to think about traditional foods from the perspective of cultural consumption. In this respect, the consumption of these foods, as well as their nutritional functions, become a culinary experience that involves entertainment [Warde and Martens 2000].

The above, when added to the crisis of the Latin American agricultural sector [FAO 2014], has influenced the use of rural space for tourism. One of the forms of rural tourism enjoying the largest growth globally is that occupying a space between the production and consumption of traditional cuisine. The development of this emerged from the reconceptualization of the economic and social functions of culinary resources, seen as tourist capital [Thomé-Ortiz 2015].

Culinary Tourism is understood as the pursuit of unique and memorable eating and drinking experiences that reflect local cuisine, heritage and culture. Local food as a marker of regional identity, combined with travels, can be effective tools for promoting tourism and rural development [Besière 2013; Timothy and Boyd 2006; Avieli 2013].

Food and Memory as Markers of Territorial Identity in Culinary Tourism

The tourism associated with traditional cuisine is inscribed within a set of cultural consumption practices involving the contemporary use of the past [Ashworth 2003]. Such consumption practices present a material bias of heritage, as a tourist resource, linked to a market focus predominant in general studies of leisure [Ashley et al. 2007]. In this study, however, our interest centers on knowing how a food resource is marked as heritage from the symbolic connotations of the consumption of leisure time in urban societies.

The study of memory as a component of personal history helps us to understand authenticity as a subjective construction conditioned by the social, economic and cultural position of the individual. This implies that the heritage value and the quality of traditional foods cannot be studied as an intrinsic quality of products, but rather as a more complex event influenced by the personal experiences of the consumer and the message transmitted by the tourism offer [Wall and Xie 2005].

According to Timothy and Boyd [2006], new trends in heritage tourism include the resignification of ordinary landscapes and ordinary people, with ordinary heritage being an object of tourist interest. This is where local food can be found. Also involved in this process is the need to place traditional cuisine on the scale of cultural consumption goods that operate as representations of cultural heritage and serve as territorial markers for the tourist, thereby becoming a focal element of contemporary urban leisure [Timothy 2005].

One of the areas that has been least studied in heritage tourism is the way personal heritage and individual identities influence tourist practices. In this respect, the link between the dynamics of leisure time and the family heritage held in memory is interesting [Timothy 1997]. Therefore, the study of culinary tourism invites an analysis of social, historical and psychological links between the heritage objects of tourism and individual identity [Timothy and Boyd 2006].

The personal scale of heritage carries a restorative effect from the past, connecting its heirs with simpler pleasures and reflecting uncommon values in today's societies [Squire 1994]. Tourism studies have dedicated significant space to the study of heritage, given that this is its fundamental material, but little study has been dedicated to personal heritage as a travel motivator in the context of a more personalized and interactive tourism [Strietska-Ilina and Tessaring 2005].

Family histories are a significant factor in any understanding of personal heritage linked to tourism since family journeys and their motivations are a vitally important material used for approaching the nature of certain forms of heritage tourism that have rarely been studied [Timothy 1997].

Traditional Texcoco *barbacoa*: A Territorial Specialty

Texcoco *barbacoa* is a dish with pre-Hispanic roots, whose meticulous preparation process and characteristic taste have resulted in a product highly valued in central Mexico and a source of income for its producers. It is a dish that complies with the characteristics of traditional cuisine indicated by Henchion [2014], based on the singularity of its culinary methods and with an emphasis on the traditional nature of its preparation.

Its peculiarity lies in the use of the Mayan slow cooking method called "pib," where a hole is dug in the ground and heated with firewood for three hours. Then, the entire animal is wrapped in maguey leaves and placed in the hole where it is left for six hours, during which time the meat is cooked and the consommé obtained [Thoms 2009]. *Barbacoa* is a festive food reserved for special occasions or weekends and is accompanied by the most characteristic products of Mexican gastronomy: corn, chili, beans, avocado, tomato and wild herbs [Rubio et al. 2004; Adapon 2008].

More than just a ritual, the preparation of *barbacoa* constitutes a culinary technique where quality is related to physical labor, mastery in the preparation and virtuoso knowledge of the product, all of which leads to the creation of an example of local culinary excellence. This has guaranteed the dish a place in the highest hierarchy of Mexican cuisine [Adapon 2008]. The product, the producer and the superiority of their knowledge are fundamental features of the traditional nature of this dish.

A study of the sensory evaluation of consumers, for which three types of meat were used (*criollo* sheep, crossbred and imported sheep) showed no significant differences [Rubio et al. 2004]. This helps to demonstrate that the quality of the *barbacoa* is directly linked to the skill in preparation rather than the type of meat used.

We can therefore state that the origin of this food has a sociohistorical character based on cultural memory, which is to be found in the know-how of the cooks who are usually men. This is a substantive feature when classifying the space as an enclave of culinary tradition, something that illustrates what was described by Moon [2008] in South Korea with regard to local dishes as territorial markers.

Barbacoa is relatively expensive and is sold at 20 to 40 dollars per kilo. Its distribution is exclusive to the traditional food markets, where at around midday the product is bought and sold. The high prices and exclusiveness of the distribution coincide with what was reported by Henchion [2014] in the case of traditional food in Ireland. This is a widely popular food that invites social interaction and for which consumption includes aspects of taste and economic position.

Culinary Memory through Leisure Time

Memories of Production

One aspect mentioned by the producers interviewed is how ingrained the practice of preparing *barbacoa*, or being a "*barbacoyero*", is in the family. The ability to produce high quality barbacoa serves as cultural capital [Bourdieu 1987b] incorporated through practices that are learned and become second nature within the families of producers:

> "As a child I helped my grandmother sell lambs feet and consommé. When I was older, I accompanied my grandfather to the Apan plains to get the lambs. He taught me which firewood to use and how to heat the maguey leaves, but you had to be stronger to do that."

Food memory, deployed in the preparation of *barbacoa*, functions on the basis of the transfer of a body of empirical and technical knowledge that is assimilated by producers. Therefore, the knowledge required to prepare the dish is translated into a set of physical skills and practical abilities. Very few aspects are verbalized in the teaching and learning process:

> "My father spoke very little; he was a man of few words. You had to pay a lot of attention to everything he did because afterwards he didn't want us asking questions."

When very young cooks are with more experienced ones, they must pay attention to the procedure until they can prepare their own *barbacoa*. The trade is passed down from generation to generation, like a mechanism for inheriting a way of making a living for younger family members. Teaching is reserved for family members or people related by marriage:

> "My father-in-law is the one who knows most about barbacoa. When I married my wife, he gave me a job and taught me all his secrets."

The preparation and sale of the product are activities that require a lot of work, so often all family members are involved in the process. The roles are clearly defined by age and gender, with young men in charge of preparing the dish, given that handling the lamb and preparing the oven require greater physical strength. Women and children usually take on tasks that have to do with preparing the accompaniments (tortillas, salsas, and *nopales* or paddle cactus) and serving customers. The most experienced male is in charge of cutting the meat in accordance with the preferences of each consumer:

> "We all work here. My dad dispatches the meat, my brother and I prepare the barbacoa, the women make salsa and tortillas and the children wait on tables. We're always short-handed on Sundays."

Each producer jealously guards the secret to preparing *barbacoa* with his personal stamp. Substantial differences can be seen in the seasoning of the meat, the type of firewood used, the preparation of the oven, the selection of the lamb and the temperature used for cooking. These processes help create a tenderer and juicier product with more or less fat and more or less salt, with each variation serving to satisfy the expectations of a clientele whose tastes are already identified.

> "I like cooking the meat medium rare. If it's cooked for too long it dries out. A lot of salt kills the flavor. It's important for the customer to know he's eating barbacoa, since that's what he's looking for in Texcoco."

The "*barbacoyeros*" cannot change their recipe, ingredients or how they prepare the meat. If they do, they run the risk of losing customers who, over time, have become used to a certain flavor since *barbacoa* is not only consumed with the senses, it is also consumed with the memory. As mentioned previously, the construction of sensory experiences that settle in the subconscious of consumers leads to the emergence of desire and combines with current demands (quality and service).

One feature inherent to the analysis of the sedimentation of memories associated with the production of *barbacoa* is directly linked to why Texcoco remains an enclave of culinary know-how. From our perspective, this is for at least three reasons: 1) it is a profitable activity that serves as a way of making a living for its producers; 2) the cohesion of producers' families guarantees the existence of a social structure in which culinary know-how is reproduced; and 3) the skill of a "*barbacoyero*" is positively valued, which fosters a sense of belonging and identity:

> "Before, everyone in the family made barbacoa. Now there are fewer of us, but those who dedicate themselves to this are never short of work. My nephews prefer to study and not get a job. I don't want that for my children. You can make a good living from this and you are your own boss."

In the case of Texcoco, it is important to point out that the motivation of visitors is related to the culinary know-how of the *barbacoa* producers, this being an immaterial resource linked to territory that persists in the collective memory of the families who produce this dish.

Memories of Consumption

Tourists who travel to Texcoco from Mexico City make the journey with their families, in other words, three to five people from the family unit. Food memory emerges from the moment the family decides to make the journey. Some respondents pointed out that when they were children they saw the journey from Mexico City to Texcoco as a way to enjoy their leisure time, often in the company of their families:

> "When we were children, my dad would take us to Texcoco to eat barbacoa. It was a really long trip for me. Each time I come back here, the memories of those times come flooding into my mind, as if my parents were here. Now I only come with my wife and daughter."

Today, urban families tend to be smaller. According to the National Institute of Statistics and Geography [INEGI 2010], the average number of inhabitants per home in Mexico is 3.9. The above is reflected in the reduced consumption of *barbacoa* per family unit. However, the family memories and the desire from the past preserve the custom of leaving the city to eat, which also performs a structural function in the cohesion of consumer groups, regardless of their size.

The consumption of *barbacoa* is related to the persistence of objects and spaces which, according to the respondents, has not substantially changed. The existence of these physical elements serve as points of support for maintaining memory:

> "Before, barbacoa wasn't sold at the market. The stands were set up in the arches and you could buy it by the kilo and eat a taco in the square or go somewhere else. When I walk through the arches and see them empty, I imagine what used to be there. It's as if you took everything that's now at the market and put it along the long corridors."

The taste for traveling and eating is acquired and transferred from parents to children. The respondents acknowledged that they eat the same *barbacoa* their parents ate, who in turn ate the same *barbacoa* with their parents. In other words, three generations reproduce a form of tourism that is conditioned by the experience of the journey and a taste for traditional local food. This point deserves special attention since it connects the know-how of "*barbacoyeros*" with the food memory of consumers:

> "Ever since I can remember we bought barbacoa from the Trujano family. They've known me since I was a child and always keep us a little bit of shoulder and some tripe. Since they know us, they weigh the meat properly and even give us a little extra."

The relationship established with *barbacoa* producers transcends the purely economic and, in some cases, is based on the existence of affective ties. The loyalty of consumers is linked to the trust built over several generations, based on treating them well and fairly, and the offer of a very high quality product. The same families of consumers keep buying from the same families of producers where, despite sociocultural changes, a system of traditional production has been maintained.

Conclusions

Mexico City, like many other megalopolises in the world, shows significant transformations in the food consumption patterns of its inhabitants. The above points to an imminent process of restoration of culinary heritage in the context of globalization, which is debated between the permanence of tradition and the processes of transformation.

The territorial origin of food is one of the most powerful markers for identifying what nourishes the human body and the social body, but this is not reduced to the location of the food in a given space, but rather involves analyzing the way in which identifying with local products triggers a strong psychological component that regulates the relationship between people, places and products.

Food memory is the element that links the past to the present through the celebration of practices, objects and spaces relating to self-defining foods. At the same time, tourism functions as a mechanism of cultural contact and the transfer of food culture. Together, food memory and tourism create close ties between the territories of consumers and producers, encouraging family interaction and community integration.

For the consumer, these kinds of tourist practices reflect a process of sociability that enables them to incorporate values from their identification with a food culture localized in time and space. Eating outside of the city not only involves the satisfaction of a physiological need, it also entails an experience that is usually related to a distant past which reproduces fragments of the personal history of consumers.

For producers, memory is a reservoir of empirical and technical knowledge whose intergenerational transfer contributes to the development of a sense of belonging, through which the territory becomes an enclave of culinary know-how translated into an intangible local capital able to attract visitors every weekend.

A subjective signification, which is food memory, corresponds to the spatial expression of the link between territory and food. It is a symbolic interior space that connects people with food and their places of origin, from a liminal relationship between production and consumption.

This case serves to illustrate how local culinary resources translate into significant experiences for urban visitors, an aspect that indicates the need for further research into future scenarios for traditional cuisine in the context of a changing world. Such research is necessary since it is assumed these resources and their associated knowledge will serve as substantial elements for the quality of life of future societies from a food, cultural and psychological perspective.

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CZAS WOLNY A PAMIĘĆ O JEDZENIU: TURYSTYKA KULINARNA MEKSYKU ŚRODKOWEGO W UJĘCIU ANTROPOLOGICZNYM

Abstrakt

Cel. Celem referatu jest zbadanie tego, jak pamięć i pragnienia wpływają na konfigurację aktywności turystów związanej z tradycyjną kuchnią.
Metoda. W rozmowach z kluczowymi respondentami, do uzyskania wspomnień rodzinnych wytwórców i konsumentów *barbacoa* (jagnięcina lub baranina pieczone nieco podobnie jak w przypadku barbecue) użyta została metoda etnograficzna. Przeprowadzono 55 szczegółowych rozmów, z czego 25 z wytwórcami, a 30 z konsumentami *barbacoa*. Próba została określona metodą kuli śnieżnej (doboru nielosowego).
Wyniki. Odkryto, iż pamięć o jedzeniu jest czynnikiem kluczowym dla powielania wzorców spożycia kuchni tradycyjnej związanej z danym terytorium. Potwierdzono to na przypadkach, w których tradycja spożywania *barbacoa* sięgała trzeciego pokolenia wstecz i przyczyniała się do wytworzenia bliskich więzi pomiędzy terytorium, konsumentami i producentami, z jednoczesnym faworyzowaniem miejsc służących rekreacji i zacieśnianiu więzów rodzinnych.
Ograniczenia badań i wnioskowania. Badanie dotyczyło jedynie konsumentów mieszkających w Mexico City.
Implikacje praktyczne. Wyniki mogą zostać wykorzystane przez związki producentów *barbacoa* dla promowania tradycyjnych form przygotowania i handlu *barbacoa.*
Oryginalność pracy. Niniejsza praca jest pierwszą pracą naukową łączącą pamięć o jedzeniu mieszkańców Mexico City ze spożyciem *barbacoa* produkowanego w mieście Texoco.
Rodzaj pracy. Badania empiryczne.

Słowa kluczowe: turystyka kulinarna, antropologia jedzenia, spuścizna gastronomiczna, pamięć o jedzeniu, Meksyk.

Vol. 37 FOLIA TURISTICA 2015

INTERNATIONAL TOURISM AND LOCAL RELIGIOUS TRADITIONS ON TWO INDONESIAN ISLANDS

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Abstract

Purpose. The main research project objective is gaining new academic knowledge concerning interactions between international tourism and religious traditions of two Indonesian islands – Bali and Lombok.
Methods. I used qualitative research methods. The article is based on analysis of texts. Moreover, between October 2011 and May 2012 I lived in Lombok and conducted field research through its classical components: observation and interviews.
Results. The research gives the description of interrelations between religion, spirituality and tourism in Bali and Lombok. These two neighbours are often compared to each other. However, they differ in terms of religious landscape, tourism market and the level of their development. Bali and Lombok have to deal with an ideal image of paradise islands which are inhabited by deeply spiritual people. This image is being used by the travel and tourism industry.
Research and conclusions limitations. The article gives a description based on qualitative research methods and is highly contextual. Therefore, the research cannot lead to generalisations. The research results are not representative.
Practical implications. The research was undertaken to obtain new knowledge.
Originality. Michael Stausberg has proved that relations between religion and tourism are close and important but insufficiently described by scholars [Stausberg 2011]. Many academic texts about pilgrimages have been written, however I am interested in tourists that are charmed by foreign religions. Several papers concerning this subject matter in the context of India and Spain have been published, but there are no academic descriptions of it in the context of Indonesia.
Type of paper. Case study.

Keywords: Bali, Lombok, religion, spirituality, tourism, travelling

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Introduction

Travellers are looking to experience otherness, they want to be charmed by exotic cultures and religions. Westerners seek spiritual experiences in distant places because it seems that authenticity is somewhere far away from the superficiality of their everyday lives [MacCannell 1976].

The most prominent terms in this article are: tourism and travelling, religion and spirituality. Defining them is not the aim of the text, Zinnbauer and Pargament thoroughly described the problem of defining religiousness and spirituality [Zinnbauer, Pargament 2005]. However, I need to emphasise that both of these pairs indicate similar objects, the difference between them is related to the attitudes of language users [Wulff 1997, pp. 5-6]. The term religion is associated with institutions, statics, uniformity and groups. Spirituality is regarded as individual and subjective. This opposition overlaps the disparity between travelling and tourism, according to Siv Elen Kraft,

> "Much like the «true traveller», the spiritual person is credited with depth, tolerance and open-mindedness. By contrast to the passive and organised conformity of religion (and tourism), spirituality (and travelling) connote independence, creativity and transformation. Like tourism, religion is based on package-deals. Like spirituality, travelling is unique and personal" [Kraft 2007, p. 238].

I have analysed interactions between international tourism and local religions in the contexts of Indonesia. The article concerns Bali and Lombok, neighbours that are often compared to each other.

Methods

In order to study interrelations between religion or spirituality and tourism on two Indonesian islands, I used several qualitative methods. On the one hand, I carried out analysis of academic and popular texts concerning relations between travellers and local religious traditions in Bali and Lombok. On the other hand, I conducted field research which consisted of its classical components: participant observations and interviews.

Famous Bali is the starting point of my study. The description of relations between tourism, religion and spirituality in Bali is based on narratives concerning three guides through the island: Gregor Krause, Walter Spies and Elizabeth Gilbert.

Bali's eastern neighbour, Lombok is less popular among tourists, and therefore advertised as the unspoiled, pristine island paradise. In 2011 and 2012, I lived in Mataram – the capital city of Lombok. I examined attempts to attract spiritual tourists in a small traditional *wetu telu* village, Barung Birak and during a popular festival of *Perang Topat* in Lingsar. Between October 2011 and May 2012 my ethnological study in Barung Birak was carried out. I observed a ritual of circumcision, a wedding ceremony and a Maulid celebration. I conducted eight in-depth interviews concerning the religious traditions of Bayan. The interviews did not have a homogenous structure, they varied, depending on who the interviewee was. I talked with a village head (*Kepala Dusun*), a *balian* (‘healer’, ‘shaman’), a sorcerer, aristocrats, a teacher from *pondok pesantren* – religious boarding school, and Muliadi, who will later be introduced. In December 2011, I visited Lingsar village, situated near Mataram, in western part of the island. In Lingsar, I observed the *Pujawali* festival and its culmination – *Perang Topat* or ‘the Rice Cake War’. The described studies also served as the basis for my M.A. thesis which included rich analysis of the relationship between religions and tourism in Torajan, Balinese and Sasak traditions [Maćkowiak 2013].

Literature Review

Michael Stausberg ascertained that “tourism [...] is a major arena, context and medium for religion in the contemporary world” [Stausberg 2011, p. 8]. Interactions between tourism and religion are close and significant, however religious studies and tourism studies have both ignored this fact [Ibidem, p. 16]. There are some academic publications concerning pilgrimages. However, the issue of tourism charmed by foreign religions and spiritualities is hardly touched by scholars. Few texts concerning this subject matter in the context of India and Spain have been written [Burdziej 2005; Kraft 2007; Norman 2011; Sharpley, Sundaram 2007].

A. Norman [2011] conducted field research in Rishikesh (India) and on the route to Santiago de Compostela (Spain). Norman studied the phenomenon of spiritual tourism. He defined spiritual tourists as individuals who seek spiritual progression and engage in spiritual practices during their trips. Contrary to religious tourists, spiritual ones are not necessarily connected with these spiritual practices by their affiliation [Ibidem, pp. 17-21]. S. Burdziej [2005] described the current revival of pilgrimages to Santiago de Compostela among religious and non-religious travellers. R. Sharpley and P. Sundaram [2007] examined ashram tourism which is practiced by westerners visiting Sri Aurobindo Ashram in India. S.E. Kraft [2007] described religious and spiritual references in *Lonely Planet India*, the guidebook that has affected so many travellers.

Results

Bali

"You can't get away from religion in Bali – there are temples in every village, shrines in every field and offerings made at every corner" [Berkmoes et al. 2013, p. 201]. This is the first sentence of the chapter on religion in Bali from "The Travellers' Bible" – Lonely Planet's guidebook to Indonesia. Balinese Hinduism charms so many tourists. This attractive, colourful religion is followed by 83 percent of island's inhabitants [*Penduduk Menurut Wilayah*...]. The Hindu island in the predominantly Muslim archipelago attracts crowds of tourists. In 2013, Bali was the destination of approximately 3.28 million international trips, and in 2014 this figure increased to 3.77 million [*The Number of Foreign*... 2015]. It makes Bali a crucial place in the touristic landscape of Indonesia, extra-ASEAN tourism arrival for the entire country reached 5.3 million in 2013 [*Tourist arrivals in ASEAN* 2015].

The history of intersections between Balinese religion, spirituality and tourism is long and complex. Therefore, I narrow the studied data by focusing on narratives concerning three guides: Gregor Krause, Walter Spies and Elizabeth Gilbert.

G. Krause played a crucial role at the pioneering stage of creating the image of Bali as a paradise island. He was working as a medical doctor in the army of Dutch East Indies, and he was keen on photography. In his and K. With's book from 1920, we can find many pictures of beautiful, topless Balinese women [Krause 1920]. Those photographs correspond with M. Stausberg's observation, "[...] The island paradises are stereotypically ascribed with a sensual form of spirituality with a focus on bodies and bodily movements and pleasures" [Stausberg 2011, p. 128]. Krause presented Bali as a place inhabited by noble savages, wild animals that are friendly, and kind, loving, calm Gods. On this paradise island

> The breath of the Gods is invisible but perceptible to all Balinese everywhere– these Gods who look down on their land from lofty thrones, or descend on the rays of the dawn or the gentle wings of the awakening wind to their woods, valleys and lakes, to rejoice in their possession in dignity and noble calm, as is fitting for the Gods. They love the day... they are sunny and friendly and always calm; they know no hatred and feelings of vengeance; they do not punish but reward and help those who, in innocence and with their permissions with to rejoice with them in the wealth and beauty of their island... [Krause after Lindsey 2008, p. 75]

The second guide – W. Spies – was much more famous. Thanks to him, Bali is what it is today. Spies was a truly fascinating individual. He was a Russian-born, German and Balinese painter, pianist, musician, choreographer and filmmaker. In the course of WW1, he interned in the Ural Mountains. Spies enjoyed the time he spent in a remote village in the Urals very much [Lindsey 2008, p. 76]. Back in Germany, Spies encountered Krause's book about Bali. He was looking for "[...] location for his attempts to re-create and improve upon his experience in the Urals" [Ibidem, p. 77]. In 1923, Spies once and for all left Germany, travelled to Yogyakarta, Java to work as a master of musicians in the sultan's palace. A few years later he received an invitation from the ruler of Ubud, settled down for the rest of his life in Bali and influenced the cultural history of the island [Lindsey 2008, p. 77; Pringle 2004, p. 132; Stepputat 2010, p. 268]. Living in Bali, Spies painted, made films and music, cooperated with local artists, hosted Hollywood stars, anthropologists and other important Westerners [Lindsey 2008, p. 78; Pringle 2004, p. 144].

A *kecak* dance is probably the most famous performance in Balinese culture, a must-see for many travellers. The name *kecak* originates from the syllable *cak, cak*, *cak, cak, cak, cak*... this absorbing vocal pattern is the base of the performance. "A *kecak* is performed by an all-male chorus of up to 100 men sitting in concentric circles around a kind of candelabra lit with fire [...]. The male voices are the entire music; there are no other instruments" [Stepputat 2010, p. 271]. In the middle of the *cak* chorus, leading dancers perform the plot based on episodes from *Ramayana*. *Cak* singers role play monkeys. *Kecak* performances vary from group to group and from year to year. Balinese dancers proudly acknowledge the relatively short history of this genre that can be traced back to the 1930s. Before the performance, tourists usually receive a brochure giving information about *kecak* [Ibidem, p. 275]. I kept one from the show prepared by Krama Desa Ubud Raja group, it links "*kecak,* known to Western world as «Monkey Dance» [...]" with Spies.

Spies was charmed by the *sanghyang dedari* exorcism and purification ritual which included *cak* singers and the medium possession of dancing young girls [Ibidem, p. 275]. He re-arranged it, took it out of context, and in a modified version, included it in the Victor von Plessen's film entitled *Insel der Dämonen* (Island of the Demons) from 1931. Spies together with I Wayan Limbak and artists from Bedulu begun the transformation from the *sanghyang* ritual dance into *kecak*, the artistic dance performance played as a tourist attraction: "Starting in the mid-1930s, new groups in other villages were founded, new elements included and very quickly the *kecak* became part of the tourism machinery. The 1930s witnessed the first boom of tourism in Bali" [Ibidem, p. 280].

It is not shocking that a *bule*, 'foreigner' is responsible for the development and spread of the authentic Balinese genre. Because, as M. Picard proved it, Balinese identity is a dialogic construction, "[...] The Balinese have come to search for confirmation of their 'Balineseness' in the mirror held to them by the tourists" [Picard 2008, p. 163]. Some of Balinese ritual dances have been adapted to tourism. In the touristic context, they also attract Balinese people, they are recognised by the locals as authentic, indigenous [Comaroff, Comaroff 2009, p. 19; Stausberg 2011, pp. 180–182]. Moreover, Balinese "[...] do not consider making a distinction between «real» and «touristic» performances but [...] they insist on performing all dances in the same manner" [Stausberg 2011, p. 181].

E. Gilbert's memoir about self-fulfilment entitled *Eat, Pray, Love* was published in 2006 [Gilbert 2007]. The story gained a lot of attention, over 10 million copies were sold around the world [*"Eat, Pray, Love"*]. And this is just the beginning of its popularity. A few years later the *Eat, Pray, Love* [2010] film adaptation was released starring Julia Roberts and Javier Bardem. *Eat, Pray, Love* tells the story of a woman that had everything – successful career, loving husband, a flat in Manhattan and a house in the suburbs. In spite of it all, she was not happy. She went through a crisis. She decided, with emotional and financial help from her publisher, to travel to Italy, India and Bali. There she found joy, spiritual development, love, self- and a book contract fulfilment.

Eat, Pray, Love is a memoire and its popularity have effected individuals that have been described by E. Gilbert. It have deeply influenced Ketut Liyer and Wayan Nuriyasih.

Gilbert is a spiritual seeker, she tried ashram tourism [Sharpley, Sundaram 2007] in India and later travelled to Bali where she tried shaman tourism. In this context of tourism, shamanism can be understood as a "[...] global [globalized] religious phenomenon [...] [which] has turned into something like post-modern «world-religion»" [Stausberg 2011, p. 159]. Ketut Liyer is portrayed as an elderly, funny, tolerant and mystical *balian* or shaman. Throughout the book, he gives a lot of simple advice in his elementary English:

> I have good idea, for if you meet some person from different religion and he want to make argument about God. My idea is, you listen to everything this man say about God. Never argue about God with him. Best thing to say is, 'I agree with you.' Then you go home, pray what you want. This is my idea for people to have peace about religion [Gilbert 2007, p. 260].

> Why they always look so serious in Yoga? You make serious face like this, you scare away good energy. To meditate, only you must smile. Smile with face, smile with mind, and good energy will come to you and clean away dirty energy. Even smile in your liver [Ibidem, p. 248].

Probably, Ketut Liyer devoted his life to divination, healing, exorcisms and other rituals. After *Eat, Pray, Love* he became a full-time member of the travel and tourism industry, with its benefits and drawbacks.

Wayan Nuriyasih was introduced in the book as a woman in her late thirties that runs a stall in Ubud where she offers herbal and vitamin treatments. Thanks to her close friend, Elizabeth Gilbert Wayan's shop in not so small anymore. Wayan Nuriyasih managed to get her spot in the Lonely Planet's guidebooks [Berkmoes et al. 2010, p. 313; Berkmoes, Stewart 2011, p. 140].

When I was in Ubud, Bali in 2011 and 2012 there were *Eat, Pray, Love* products and services on every corner. Now, the enormous popularity of *Eat, Pray, Love* spirituality is over. Ketut Liyer and Wayan Nuriyasih are still successfully running their businesses. Agency Spirit Quest Tours from Las Vegas has had *Eat, Pray, Love* trips in their offer for years, the next one scheduled for September 2015. For $3,995, one can follow E. Gilbert's footsteps and "enjoy Bali the way she did, like a native" [*Eat Pray Love Bali*]. The organizer wants to change your life,

> You read Eat, Pray, Love.* And you loved it. And you wanted to change your life, too. But who can take a year off to travel? How about a week to experience some of the marvelous changes author Elizabeth Gilbert* enthralled us with in her memoir? [Ibidem].

They encourage tourists to hurry to meet "the world-famous Ketut Liyer", "as Ketut is quite elderly, this is a once-in-a-lifetime opportunity to have your palm read, or ask questions of this charming, quirky wise one" [Ibidem].

Spiritual tourists who visit Bali can choose from a variety of herbal treatments, massages, meditation and yoga classes on rice fields... Following Gilbert's footsteps or not, with help from Ketut Liyer, Wayan Nuriyasih or other healers and *balians*, through package deals and individual trips, spiritual tourism is doing very well in Bali, especially in the island's centre of spirituality – Ubud.

Lombok

Lombok is situated about 30 kilometres east of Bali. The short distance between the island and its famous neighbour is noticeable. Lombok needs to deal with an image of a romantic paradise island, an image of a place that resembles old, unspoiled, pristine Bali. This image is propagated by the travel and tourism industry [for example: DeHart 2013; Wiseman 2011]. There is no available accurate statistical data concerning tourism in Lombok. However, the last few years, the travel and tourism sector have been developing intensively, the number of international arrivals has been growing rapidly [Patet 2014]. This trend is associated with the opening of the new international airport in 2011 [Ibidem].

Lombok is often compared to Bali, although only around 3.5 percent of its inhabitants adhere to Hinduism, the vast majority [95%] of islanders are Muslims [data from 2013, *Nusa Tenggara Barat...*]. Religious and ethnic identities are closely linked in this region: the religion of Sasaks – Lombok's indigenous inhabitants – is Islam, Hinduism is practiced by *Balok* – Lombok people of Balinese origin [Budiwanti 2014b]. Tour operators and representatives of local authorities present both, Sasak and Lombok Balinese traditional religions as tourists attractions.

The main attractions of the Bayan, region located in the northern part of Lombok, are Gunung Rinjani, Indonesia's second highest volcano which rises to 3,726 meters and the *wetu telu* tradition. The vast majority of the island's inhabitants are Muslims, but their beliefs and practices are far from being homogenous. The researchers studying the religious landscape of Lombok, most importantly E. Budiwanti [2000] and S. Cederroth [1995], distinguish Islam *wetu telu* from Islam *waktu lima*. *Waktu lima* in Indonesian means 'time' and 'five', this expression is a name for orthodox, international, *benar* ('real') Islam. On the other hand, *wetu telu*'s Islam is local, unorthodox, marginalized and syncretic. It has been affected by the belief in spirits, ancestor worship, Balinese Hinduism, old Javanese traditions, pre-Islamic indigenous religion and mysticism. *Wetu* refers to 'time' and *telu* to 'three' in the Sasak language. Some *Islam benar* believers suggest that Muslims *wetu telu* practice religion in the wrong way, pray only three times a day or recognise only three pillars of Islam [Adonis, pp. 88–91]. That makes local people from Bayan, who I interviewed, angry and sceptical about the term *wetu telu*. For example, Raden Gedarip told me: "There is neither *wetu telu* nor *waktu lima*. There is only one Islam". According to E. Budiwanti's informant, a local priest, *telu* ('three') should be associated with cosmological and philosophical views of Sasaks [Budiwanti 2000, pp. 136–139].

S. Cederroth, in his book from 1995, wrote, "[...] Almost all Sasak villages are said to adhere to orthodox *waktu lima* Islam, while the *wetu telu* syncretism continues to flourish mainly in the comparatively isolated northern parts of the island" [Cederroth 1995, p. 10]. Today, the w*etu telu* minority is still the target of purification movements, missionary activities that are led by *tuan gurus*, representing Islam *waktu lima* teachers and owners of *pondok pesantren* [Budiwanti 2014a]. However, the situation of the *wetu telu* tradition is changing. The northern parts of Lombok are not so isolated anymore and local syncretism has been recognised as attractive for tourists by some locals, officials and travel operators.

The emancipating power of tourism is perceptible in three villages of the Bayan region: Bayan, Senaru, and Barung Birak. In Bayan – the capital of the region [*kecamatan*], travellers can visit the oldest mosque on Lombok, bamboo *masjid kuno Bayan Beleq* [Marlupi 2004, pp. 10–19]. Senaru is a relatively new and prosperous village. Hikers usually start their Rinjani trek from there. Senaru's beneficial hospitality business is controlled by migrants, the great majority of them are *waktu lima* Muslims. However, the indigenous heritage serves as a tourist attraction [Schellhorn 2010]: "While the Sasak *wetu telu* supply their *adat* tradition and lifestyle as free attractions, it is outsiders and migrants who control the business of tourism" [Ibidem, p. 124]. The tiny village of Barung Birak recently emerged as a travellers' destination.

The village was introduced to tourism by Muliadi. When I visited Muliadi for the last time, in May 2012, he was living in Barung Birak, working as an English teacher and dedicating a lot of his free time to tourists: giving directions and tips, hosting them, telling the stories of his village and his region, serving as guide to Rinjani. He even made a huge *tourist information* road sign pointing to his house. When asked about religion, Muliadi told me that he was a well-educated "real" Muslim, a mildly devout adherent to Islam *waktu lima*. He claimed not to believe in ghosts, or the stones or trees which make one sick, but only in God. However, at the same time, he took part in indigenous rituals, attended circumcisions, weddings, funerals, Maulid celebrations in his village. He encouraged tourists to observe traditions that should be classified as *wetu telu*. Moreover, Muliadi could not perceive his behaviour as inconsistent. Because, according to him and many other Bayan people, *wetu telu* ought to be treated as *adat*, 'tradition', which is a non-religious category. I have already mentioned Maulid twice, and did not do this by chance. The commemoration of Muhammad's birthday is the most important religious festival in Bayan. According to my interviewees, Maulid should be recognised as a greater holy day than Idul Fitri or Idul Adha. Maulid is becoming popular among travellers. The eve of this festival offers remarkable tourism potential, due to traditional Sasak entertainment – fighting with a rattan stick – *perisian*. *Perisian* was described by Muliadi as a dangerous, bloody, spectacular, indigenous custom.

The next place I conducted observations was in the village of Lingsar – located in the western part of the island, near Mataram. *Pura* and *kemaliq Lingsar* used to be a shared religious site of Sasak Muslims and Balinese Hindus who conquered and controlled Lombok between the late 17th and late 19th century [Budiwanti 2004b]. Today, *Pura Lingsar* is the most important temple for the *Balok* minority [Harnis 2006, p. 42]. The tiny, old, Islamic *kemaliq* is usually empty, Muslims visit this place only for *Perang Topat*. The Indonesian word *perang* indicates 'war', *topat* means 'rice cake'. We should understand this name directly, literally, Balinese and Sasaks fight using rice cakes as a weapon. *Perang Topat* is a culmination of the annually celebrated festival of harvest and fertility called *Pujawali*.

According to Budiwanti, "During the past 15 years, the *Perang Topat* has become a popular tourist event [...]" [Budiwanti 2004b, p. 247]. She described it as "[...] the only war in the world fought without hatred, victims and casualties, and the only one symbolizing brotherhood and tolerance" [Ibidem, p. 247]. In my opinion, Budiwanti is exaggerating. Relationships between Hindus and Muslims have never been perfect, Balinese invaded and controlled the Sasaks, it is difficult to believe that they harmoniously coexisted for centuries. Moreover, *Perang Topat* is not very popular among tourists yet.

The peaceful interpretation of *Perang Topat* is used to attract travellers. Local and central authorities intensively promote this event. While observing *Perang Topat* celebrations in 2011, I encountered more reporters than tourists in *Pura Lingsar*. The event was well advertised – there were great billboards around the island, articles in the Jakarta Post (the Indonesian English language newspaper and website), in airline magazines, in the Lonely Planet's publications...

Perang Topat praises ethno-religious harmony in diversity, it is intensively promoted, very spectacular, exotic. It has everything to become a popular tourist attraction, everything except timing. It is celebrated on the 15th day of the sixth month in the Balinese calendar or on the 15th day of the seventh month in the Sasak calendar [Ibidem, p. 245], so in November or in the first half of December, probably the least popular time to visit Lombok.

Discussion

This article gives a narrative which is far from being complete, based on a qualitative research methodology, and contextual. I entered the path of analysing interrelations between international tourism and foreign religions or spiritualities. Travellers charmed by religious otherness is an issue hardly touched by scholars. There are few papers about it in the framework of India and Spain. Indonesia and other countries of the region popular among western visitors are so rich and diverse as far as religious landscape is concerned, that studying this subject matter in the context of Southeast Asia would be fruitful. Moreover, examining interactions between tourism and religion in a broad time perspective is needed. Future comparative research can explain how foreign travellers influence the local religious traditions of Indonesia.

Conclusions

We started our trip from popular Bali. For over one century, crowds of tourists have arrived there, charmed by the wonderful image of a paradise island, traditional dances, Balinese Hinduism... Local spirituality attracts especially travellers who choose Ubud. Some Balinese rituals, most importantly *kecak*, have been reinterpreted and taken out of religious context, but they did not lose their aura. Entering the tourist market did not ruin them, islanders still value them highly and regard them as authentic.

Gregor Krause, Walter Spies and Elizabeth Gilbert played crucial roles in creating and sustaining the attractive image of Bali as a paradise island where exotic rituals are performed on every corner, and people are noble and deeply spiritual. Krause visited Bali in 1912, his reports and photographs inspired many travellers. Spies lived there since 1927, and for years he had great impact on the island's art and culture, he promoted Bali incredibly, made it famous worldwide. Gilbert brought *Eat, Pray, Love* spirituality to Bali in the 2000s, and changed Ketut Liyer's and Wayan Nuriyasih's lives. Following the footsteps of these three guides, spiritual tourism is doing very well on the island. Intersections between religion and tourism can be constantly observed in Bali.

Lombok is much less popular than its western neighbour, however the travel and tourism industry is currently intensively developing there. Advertised as a quiet, unspoiled paradise island, it is attracting more and more tourists.

Lombok inhabitants, the majority Muslims, try to charm travellers by their indigenous, Sasak culture and local *wetu telu* Islam. The *wetu telu* tradition which has been marginalized for years is still vivid in the northern part of the island. It is currently emerging on the tourist market of Bayan. The *wetu telu* heritage is presented to foreigners not as *agama*, 'a religion', but as a non-religious category of *adat*, 'tradition', 'folklore'.

Perang Topat, the shared religious festival of Balinese Hindus and Sasak Muslims has almost everything to become a popular tourist event – attractive interpretation, exotic and spectacular character, support of the authorities. The problem is timing. Maybe the travel and tourism sector will overcome it and make *Perang Topat* a showcase of the harmonious managing of religious and ethnic differences.

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MIĘDZYNARODOWA TURYSTYKA I LOKALNE ZWYCZAJE RELIGIJNE NA DWÓCH INDONEZYJSKICH WYSPACH

Abstrakt

Cel. Ogólnym celem opisanego projektu jest uzyskanie nowej wiedzy naukowej na temat relacji pomiędzy międzynarodową turystyką i tradycjami religijnymi dwóch indonezyjskich wysp – Bali i Lomboku.
Metody. Posłużyłam się jakościowymi metodami badań. Po pierwsze artykuł oparty jest na analizie tekstów. Ponadto pomiędzy październikiem 2011 a majem 2012 mieszkałam na Lomboku i prowadziłam badania terenowe, składające się z klasycznych elementów – obserwacji etnograficznych i wywiadów.
Wyniki. Efektem badań jest opis związków pomiędzy religią, duchowością i turystyką na Bali oraz na Lomboku. Te dwie sąsiadujące ze sobą wyspy są często porównywane. Jednak różnią się znacznie pod względem krajobrazu religijnego i rozwoju turystyki. Bali i Lombok muszę stawiać czoła wyidealizowanemu wizerunkowi rajskich wysp, zamieszkiwanych przez głęboko uduchowionych ludzi. Ten obraz jest wykorzystywany przez przemysł turystyczny.
Ograniczenia badań i wnioskowania. Artykuł dostarcza opisu, który jest oparty na metodologii jakościowej i dotyczy konkretnej rzeczywistości. Dlatego badania nie mogą prowadzić do generalizacji. Ich wyniki nie są reprezentatywne.
Implikacje praktyczne. Badanie zostało przeprowadzone w celu uzyskania nowej wiedzy.
Oryginalność pracy. Michael Stausberg udowodnił, że relacje pomiędzy religią i turystyką są bardzo bliskie, ważne i w dużej mierze nieprzebadane [Stausberg, 2011]. Powstało wiele tekstów naukowych dotyczących pielgrzymek, jednak mnie interesuje badanie turystów, którzy są oczarowani obcymi religiami. Zostało opublikowanych kilka prac na ten temat w kontekście Indii oraz Hiszpanii, ale brakuje opisu tego problemu w kontekście Indonezji.
Rodzaj pracy. Studium przypadku.

Słowa kluczowe: Bali, Lombok, religia, turystyka, podróżowanie.

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GOING BEYOND POVERTY TOURISM? THE NARRATIVES OF KIBERA RESIDENTS AND THEIR MEANINGS CONSTRUCTED WITHIN THE FRAME OF SLUM TOURS

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Abstract

Purpose. The aim of the article is to broaden the understanding of slum tourism in Kenya by presenting the results of empirical research conducted in Kibera, Nairobi's largest slum.
Method. The author conducted ethnographic research in Kibera (participant observation, in-deepth interviews and group discussions) for three months in 2014.
Findings. The results of the research show that within the frame of slum tours, more varied vocabularies, semantics and meanings of poverty are produced. Inhabitants of Kibera are characterized less by apathy, stagnation and desperation, and more by economical industriousness, community, development and hope. Life in Kibera is normalized in the eyes of the visitors.
Research and conclusions limitations. Research is limited to Kibera tours organized by slum inhabitants in order to show their particular perspective. It cannot be referred to other Kibera tours organizers (bigger Kenyan or foreign tourism entities).
Practical implications. There can be practical implications for the Kenyan Tourism Board, however the research should be further developed on a broader scale.
Originality. The author focused in her research on Kibera inhabitants involved in the organization of tours around the place where they were born and raised, or where they lived for a large part of their life. They are often treated as passive victims of this kind of tourism. However, the results of the research reveal that they have fully internalized the idea of slum tourism and they use it in order to break the image of 'being others' in economic, social, cultural and political senses in the eyes of visitors.
Type of paper. Empirical article.

Key words: slum tourism, narrative, Kibera, poverty, fieldwork.

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Introduction

The aim of this paper is to broaden the understanding of slum tourism in Kenya by providing the perspective of slum inhabitants involved in the organization of Kibera tours. They claim that they want to show visitors the positive side of Kibera, Nairobi's largest slum. It is their home, the place where they were born and raised, or where they lived for a large part of their lives. The paper is divided into four parts. In the first one, I provide an introduction to slum tourism and research done on this phenomenon. In the second part, I provide narratives I have collected during my fieldwork within the frame of slum tours conducted in Kibera. I took part in them as an observer from June to August 2014. In this part, I demonstrate what these tours look like, taking into consideration not only their program but also numerous interactions with guides, representatives of visited organizations and slum inhabitants. In the third part, I outline the process of the construction of narratives. Moreover, I describe themes of stories and motives constructed and disseminated within the tours. In the last and concluding part of the paper, I attempt to answer the question of what is the Kibera tour, and if it can be framed beyond poverty tourism (meaning the experience in which poverty becomes a touristic commodity). The paper is an important input into the discussion on slum tourism, which is an emerging phenomenon in different cities all over the world.

From slumming to slum tourism

From the mid-1980s, we have observed the increasing importance of slum tourism in terms of both economics and the numbers of tourists visiting slums in many cities all over the world. The researchers trace the emergence of slumming back to the mid-19th century. At that time it was "a burgeoning practice of members of London's higher classes visiting East End" [Frenzel, Koens, Steinbrink 2012, p. 2]. While the interest in "slumming" increased in the second part of the nineteenth-century in London and other industrial European cities like Paris, slums became a touristic commodity in the case of New York at the turn of the century. However, it is worth noting that slumming was "carried in mental luggage" [Steinbrick 2012, p. 224] to United States by well-to-do tourists from England. In this period, first tour companies offering guided slum visits started to operate, and some guidebooks already recommended walking tours in the impoverished districts of New York as a touristic attraction [Frenzel, Koens, Steinbrink 2012, p. 21]. The Lower East Side was inhabited by poor immigrants such as Italians, Jews and the Chinese, whose ways and conditions of living inflamed the imaginations and attracted the better-off Americans and foreign tourists.

"Slumming in New York was about particular sites in the well-known immigrant colonies, from the darkened Little Italy basements to the Chinatown opium dens" [Freire-Medeiros 2012, p. 16].

The more recent version of this phenomenon started in mid-1980s in South Africa, then in the beginning of the 1990s in Brazil it is defined as "the touristic valorization of poverty-stricken urban areas of the metropolises in so-called developing or emergent nations, which are visited primarily by tourists form the Global North" [Frenzel, Koens, Steinbrink 2012, p. 1]. Looking at the definitions of slumming and slum tourism, the phenomenon became 'globalized' through popular tourism, and each slum tour encounter is co-constructed by the actors being opposite in more various ways than in the nineteenth century, e.g., in the case of Kibera: white vs. black, rich vs. poor, colonizers vs. colonized, powerful vs. underprivileged. This differentiation makes the phenomenon to be often questioned from an ethical point of view, easily judged and as a consequence, often misunderstood.

Going beyond poverty tourism?

At the beginning, it is important to underline that tours to slums, townships (term used for shanty towns of South African cities) or favelas (term used for slums of Brazilian metropolies) can be viewed and understood from various perspectives. There are many different social actors involved in the construction of the context of each tour. Middle-class Londoners and Kibera slum inhabitants define poverty, the main characteristic of this phenomenon, in a very different way. Moreover, the motivations of visitors vary greatly. Touring townships and favelas is a part of almost each organized travel to South Africa and Brazil, comparing to still niche tours around Kibera. Tourists, tour operators, representatives of visited organizations and slum residents, all have a different understanding of slum tourism.

Two terms, poverty "tourism" and "poorism" (blending poverty and tourism) are used as synonyms of slum tourism. They express morally dubious socio-voyeuristic aspects of making a touristic attraction out of poverty. According to field research conducted in Cape Town, South Africa [Rolfes 2009], Mumbai, India [Meschank 2011] and Rio de Janeiro, Brazil, [Freire-Medeiros, 2009, 2012], slum tour organizers are critical to voyeuristic safaris in the impoverished city areas. Their goal is to show informal settlements by relativization of poverty and all its characteristics. "Even though life there is presented as hard, nonetheless, positive impulses of development, success and normality of the situations of those living there are focused upon" [Rolfes 2009, p. 439].

According to the results of the field research on township tours around the impoverished areas of Cape Town, local tour guides in their narratives stress historical/political and cultural contexts of these places. Townships are the result of the ethnically segregated development of South African cities under the Apartheid regime. They were the areas of the Africans' struggle for equal democratic rights during this period. Therefore, historically significant sites are visited during these tours. The cultural context of life in townships is evoked by showing the real African lifestyle and culture. Tourists visit and can get consultations from *sangoma* – a traditional healer, and at the end of tour they go to an informal pub called *shebeen* where they can taste *umqombothi* – a traditional beer [Rolfes 2009, p. 437].

Julia Meschank conducted her research in Dharavi, the biggest slum of Mumbai. The impoverished area is shown as a place full of the economic activities of its industriousness and entrepreneur inhabitants. In the eyes of tourists, Dharavi's residents are very hardworking and enormously productive [Meschank 2011, p. 57]. There is a strong community understood as providing mutual support and assisting one another. Visitors are shown relatively good living conditions, and a well-functioning system of education. It makes them change their perception of the place. "More by chance, I might not automatically call it a slum, especially some of the areas. The area, where we saw the pottery and which he called the more Hindi area, seemed to be very clean, paved and with high-rise buildings" [Meschank 2011, p. 58].

The results of the field research conducted in the favelas of Rio de Janeiro follow the same pattern. Tours operators aim at showing relatively good standards of living, infrastructural equipment and a wide range of services. The guides make references to the traditional Brazilian cheerfulness, which is associated, for example, with the carnival and numerous samba schools. Favela is marketed as a place of "authentic" Brazilian culture, full of dance and music. However, Freire-Medeiros points out that "there is no 'touristic favela' as such, but only what all actors involved – tourism promoters, guides, tourists, artisans, residents, researchers and so on – define as being touristic. […] There are states of being that only make sense in relations to a series of interactions that are carried out within the touristic favela at the same time that 'makes it alive'" [Freire-Medeiros 2012, p. 170].

My research focuses on Kibera, the biggest impoverished area of Kenya's capital city, Nairobi. Slum tourism in Nairobi is a relatively new trend and there is a gap in research on this particular destination. There is at least one monograph I took into consideration in my research work: the book "Slum Tourism in Kibera, Nairobi, Kenya. Philantropic Travel or Organised Exploitation of Poverty?" written by Kennedy Magio Obombo from Moi University in Eldoret. This Kenyan scholar conducted research in the same field as me – Kibera. Obombo mainly studied the interrelations between three categories of social actors: tour operators, slum tour guides and local leaders as the representatives of the Kibera community [Obombo 2012]. The economic aspect of the phenomenon was the most interesting for Obombo, and the main conclusion of his research was to enhance the level of benefits for local communities in order to achieve slum tourism sustainability.

My research fills in various gaps in slum tourism studies. First of all, I use an anthropological approach which is rare among slum tourism researchers. Moreover, I focus on slum-dwellers actively involved in this activity because their perspective is often neglected by researchers, showing them as passive victims of this voyeuristic activity. My aim is to show their agency and efforts to build or strengthen their subjectivity disclosed not only in the involvement in slum tourism activity but also in very conscious deconstruction of the visitors' imaginaries of Kibera and its inhabitants.

Research method

"Good ethnography is often the effect of triangulation, that means the use of variety of gathering data techniques in order to justify proposed conclusions" [Angrosino 2010, p. 78]. I conducted ethnographic research in Kibera (participant observation, in-depth interviews, interviews, group discussions), which is aided with the use of mobile methods (review of portals and travel blogs, observation of travel agent/tourist profiles on social networking websites).

First and foremost, in order to better understand the perspective of slum dwellers, I lived in a slum with the family of one of the Kibera tour organizers (I stayed in Nairobi for three months, in January and from June to August 2014). A researcher undertaking ethnographic research has ultimately just one tool – him/herself. Therefore, I started the research with a reflexive approach. I strengthened my self-consciousness that enabled to understand myself in deeper ways, which lead to a better understanding of others. It allowed to identify the filters through which we learn the reality under study, and to get over the judgments that are inscribed in the social and cultural background of the researcher. It helped me to be aware of ethnocentrism, and allowed to consider the factors constructing my perspective in order to take them into consideration, because it will never be possible to get rid of them. Moreover, living in a slum is important in the process of understanding it. According to Hastrup, "an ethnographer in the field remains strangely unaware to which extent the experience is embodied. Almost mythical status of field notes as written observations darkened the stubborn presence marked by emotional "footnotes in the head" – unforgettable memories from the field" [Hastrup 2008, p. 107].

Secondly, within the frame of research, I became a volunteer of two non-governmental organizations - Kibera Hamlets offering tours, and the Power Women Group, which is visited by most tour organizers. Due to the fact that I was an outsider, and a white, rich, well-educated and relatively young woman, establishing relations was crucial in order to gather reliable data. My status slowly changed during the time I spent with people under my study. Initially, I was treated very objectively 'like a walking ATM', but after five months of the stay in Nairobi, I was treated more subjectively 'like a sister from another mother'. Moreover, I was often ascribed different roles by my respondents – a friend, a supporter, an attractive women. However, it is worth noting that entering into various roles as a researcher or non-researcher allows to gather different data and to discover new perspectives which allow to describe the experience more fully.

Thirdly, as an observer, I took part in ten tours organized by various entities, with visitors coming from different countries all over the World (New Zealand, United States, Australia, Japan, Finland, Taiwan and others). One of the characteristics of observation-based research is noting the details in the most possibly descriptive and objective manner, trying to avoid interpretations and drawing conclusions, and putting aside one's own opinions and prejudice. I noted the narrations of the guides and representatives of the organizations I was visiting. I tried to write down as many conversations, questions and comments as I could, also those exchanged between the tourists. I talked to the participants of the tours. I asked them what they were doing in Kenya and what inspired them to participate in such tours. In my notes, I tried to grasp various non-verbal gestures and behaviors. At the end of each tour, I interviewed the participants or conducted group discussions with them (if there were more than two visitors, we rather had group discussion). By asking various questions, I tried to invite the tourists to describe Kibera, its inhabitants and the experience of the tour.

Moreover, I interviewed slum tour organizers – guides, representatives of visited organizations (Power Women Group, Victorious Bones Craft) and some slum dwellers – community leaders (sixteen semi-structured, in-depth interviews). Some of the interviews were conducted in the form of oral stories. They were aimed at gaining a deeper understanding of the history of the interviewees and the history of their families, the reasons for which they live in Kibera, the manner in which they see this place through the prism of various life experiences, and the reasons for which they decided to show that place to visitors.

Kibera, the biggest slum of Nairobi

Nairobi is not only the capital city of Kenya, but also the most important city in the region of East Africa and home of the African United Nations headquarters. It has a well developed world-class infrastructure, which serves to organize conferences, summits and other gatherings of high-ranking officials. Nairobi's airport connects Africa with Asia and Europe. At the same time, there are many districts inhabited by the impoverished Kenyans who live in conditions that represent a blatant contrast to the five-star hotels, restaurants and other facilities. According to the estimates, around two million one hundred and fifty thousand Kenyans are settled in the slums of Nairobi [Pamoja Trust 2009, p. 15].

Kibera is situated in the southwest part of Nairobi. It covers an area of 2.5 sq. km and is divided into twelve villages: Gatwekera, Kambimuru, Kianda, Kisumu Ndogo, Laini Saba, Lindi, Makina, Mashimoni, Raila, Silanga, Soweto East, and Soweto West. The majority of the inhabitants of Kibera come from the Luo or Luhiya ethnic groups (living in western Kenya). For years, their number was estimated at even one million. According to the 2009 census, Kibera is inhabited by only around 170,000 people, as quoted by a *Daily Nation* journalist of Kenyan descent, despite the fact that it maintained the myth of the "largest slum in the world" for years [Karanja, 2010]. Other sources and slum dwellers themselves suggest that the total population may range from 500,000 to 1,000,000 depending on how Kibera is defined and who is defining it.

The beginning of slum tourism in Kenya can be traced back to the World Social Forum organized in Nairobi in January 2007. The idea of this international conference was to provide opportunities to meet and exchange ideas between social activists from all over the world. It was launched as an alternative to the World Economic Forum, in order to question the values of neoliberalism. The meeting in Nairobi brought together more than 20,000 visitors. A large part of them was accommodated in first-class hotels. The event was organized at a large football stadium, but the purchase of a ticket priced at 3 USD was required to enter the premises, which were guarded by armed policemen. In the act to protest against exclusion of the poorest from participation in the WSF, some delegates started to visit Kibera, known as 'the biggest slum of Kenya'. The tours were organized by local NGOs operating in the slum, and very soon became a 'must-do' for the WSF participants [Frenzel, Koens, Steinbrink 2012, pp. 54-55]. Kibera started to be not only imagined, but visited as well.

Since that time, the number of slum tour organizers and people interested in touring the poorest areas of Nairobi has increased. However, reliable data showing the development of slum tourism in terms of both the number of tourists and economics does not exist. I think the major problem is that the Kenyan government is denying the emergence of slum tourism in the country. I interviewed a few representatives of the Kenya Tourist Board – a government entity responsible for tourism development, who manifested their disapproval for this form of tourism in Kenya. Similarly, it is difficult to point out the exact number of slum tour organizers. First of all, some of them are still informal initiatives of one or a few people. In their recently published article, Frenztel and Blakeman have enumerated only three entities, namely Kibera Tours, Explore Kibera Tours and Kibera United for Everyday Slum Tours, and many no-name big tour operators [Frentzel, Blakeman 2015]. According to my findings, there are much more small entities which have emerged from Kibera Tours and Explore Kibera Tours, namely Diddy's Kibera Tours, Beyond Kibera Tours, Kibera and Beyond Tours or provided by NGO's e.g. Kibera Hamlets Reality Tours (Kibera Hamlets) or Kibera Social Slum Tours (Kibera Community Empowerment Organization), however, they have clients very rarely when compared to KT and EKT which are recommended by travel guides such as Lonely Planet and Rough Guide, and on the TripAdvisor portal.

Welcome to Kibera – "the friendliest slum in the world!"[1]

The meeting is scheduled for twelve in the afternoon in front of Java Coffee House – a café at the small shopping centre *Adams' Arcade* located close to one of the roads entering Kibera. Kevin, our guide, welcomes everybody – me and two vistors from Finland, Marta and Olen. Kibera Tours started operating in 2008. Its main goal is to show the positive side of Kibera because there are many negative images transmitted by the media. "The idea is to show how Kibera is in reality". We start the tour with a visit at TOI market – Kevin spells, "T-O-I". TOI is the second biggest market in Nairobi. "It is possible to buy everything there, apart from cars and guns" – Kevin laughs at his joke. We go through the market until we reach Kibera drive, the main road linking Kibera with other districts of Nairobi. There is *matatu* stop - small public transport buses which enable reaching different places in the city. Kevin asks the visitors if we know what matatu is. Marta confirms that they actually came to Adams Arcade's by matatu, so Kevin continues the introduction. Going along Kibera drive we get to the office of the Power Women Group. It is a community-based organization of fifteen HIV-positive women. Their aim is to support each other and fight the stigma targeted towards people being seropositive. The women produce and sell jewellery and ornaments. After that visit, we go to the *biogas* center. It serves five purposes. There is a toilet, a bathroom, a big social hall where different meetings take place and during the World Cup, football games are screened. There is a big water tank and lastly, in the biogas center, gas is produced for cooking. The biogas centre is situated at the edge of scarp, from which there is a panoramic view covering

[1] The parts of the article: Welcome to Kibera – "the friendliest slum in the world!", Toi Market, Power Women Group, A view on chocolate city, Victorious Bones Craft and The last points of the program, are based on my field-notes collected during field work in 2014. I have changed the names of all the people involved in the described Kibera tour.

a large part of Kibera. Among different things, which we are able to observe, there are blocks of flats which are the result of one of the projects aimed at upgrading living standards in the slum. The project failed, but Kevin provides details when we reach the place. The next place we go is the Victorious Bones Craft. They produce jewellery and ornaments from animal bones, mainly cows and goats – "No, not humans! You don't have to be afraid", Kevin makes a joke. The last place we visit is Frank's mother's house. It is a good opportunity to see how an average family in Kibera lives, if they have a bathroom, kitchen, and what kind of furniture and equipment is inside the rooms. Kevin points out that while walking, we will be sometimes accosted by Kibera residents because they are curious who the visitors are. They are very friendly, and there is nothing to be worried about, he adds. If the visitors want to take photos, they should communicate it to him or Charles, and they enable them to do so. Kevin finishes by introducing the possibility of asking questions. There are no questions, so we started the tour.

TOI Market

When we start walking, we divide into smaller groups. I join Marta, and Olen approached by Kevin and Charles. Once again, we introduce ourselves to each other. I ask her what she is doing in Nairobi. She says that she works as a United Nations volunteer, and has already been living in Nairobi for seven months. Olen is her boyfriend and came to visit her. They travelled around Kenya together. Moreover, she has already taken part in slum tours in Brazil and India. I was interested to learn that Marta had taken part in slum tours in different countries. I ask her how she would compare these experiences. Marta says that they were similar and different at the same time. The programs were constructed in a similar way, however, in Brazil, they mainly saw how the gangs operate, and in India the economic activities of slum residents. I conclude that it would be interesting to hear how she would evaluate the tour around Kibera.

We enter narrow paths between stalls. We follow one another. From time to time, Marta asks about some products arranged on the stalls. She points to a small fish, and asks for its name. Charles replies that it is *omena* from lake Victoria, a kind of a fish often consumed by Kenyans from the Western part of the country. Then, she asks about charcoal assorted in same-size heaps. Kevin says that it is used for cooking in the kitchen. We enter the second part of the market with shops arranged in small barracks. Each of them is divided into several parts. Shops with various products are in the part close to the path, in these more interior rooms, there are homes of tenants and their families.

We reach the main road, called Kibera Drive. Kevin points to small buses passing close to us, and explains that they are called *matatu*. We continue along the main road until we reach a church with the name OLYMPIC painted with white paint. We turn left, and after around fifty meters we turn right. Marta and Olen are talking to each other, while I am joking with the guides. Slowly, we reach the Power Women Group's shop.

Power Women Group

The shop is in a blue barrack, with the paintings of three women and the name of the organization close to the entrance. When we enter, we are welcomed by Eva. She quickly arranges plastic chairs in a circle and invites us to sit down. When all of us are seated, she starts her narrative. The women gathered in 2004 in order to fight the stigma and discrimination targeted at people who were HIV positive. Since that time, every Monday, the women organize meetings aimed at raising awareness of members of the local community. During these meetings, the women educate themselves about other diseases, how to prevent them and how to treat them. The organization operates due to the production of handiwork. It was registered as a Community Based Organization in 2008. Meanwhile, the women started other activities as well. They organize vocational training in hairdressing and tailoring, and run a day care for children at the age of 6 months to 2 years. However, Eva emphasizes that they have constant problems with financing their activities. Girls who take part in the training have very often dropped out of school because they could not afford it, so they do not have money to pay for the training either. Women who teach hairdressing and tailoring have to make money for their own livelihood and their families' expenses. However, they try to face daily challenges. The organization has the long-term goal to empower women in rural areas, from the places they come from. Eva finishes her narrative and encourages us to ask her questions.

Marta asks whose idea it was to establish the organization and start this activity. Eva replies that the idea came from one woman working for different organizations. She showed them that facing challenges was possible. The next question is about the sources of funding for the activities. Eva explains that they have money thanks to visitors and volunteers. Since the previous year, they have become a member of a volunteer network, which connects them with volunteers coming from different countries all over the world. The following question is about the activities of volunteers. They are mainly responsible for communication. They try to popularize the Power Women Group through Facebook page, Twitter and other channels. The former volunteers had an idea of workshops for some Europeans staying in Nairobi. Every Wednesday and Friday they organize them, and they are called, 'Cook like a Kenyan', during which newcomers to the country can learn how to cook Kenyan dishes. Marta's following question is about the biggest challenge in their work. Eva claims that most difficult is the constant lack of money, the amount insufficient for materials or food to feed the children. The women organize workshops which are free of charge, because otherwise, nobody would be able to afford them and the organization would have to stop its activities. The Power Women Group is sustained from the products they sell. At the end of each month, the women divide the earned money into four parts. The first one goes for food, the second one is for materials in order to produce jewellery and ornaments, the third one is put aside in case of emergency, and the last, fourth one is divided among the fifteen members of the organization. Marta interrupts that she has heard about Massai women selling their products via e-bay. I add that the Power Women Group sells its jewellery in the United States. Eva confirms that they sell their products in different countries through the network of their former volunteers. Marta suggests that she could buy something. She stands up and walks around the tables on which different products are displayed. At the same time, Olen plays ball with a small boy, who comes in during our conversation. Marta decides to buy a bracelet and necklace. She pays for them and we continue the walk.

A view of chocolate city

After fifteen minutes of walking, we reach the railway track. Kevin explains that people use trains in the morning and in the late afternoon to get to the city center. Marta is astonished because she did not know that there are trains connecting different locations of Nairobi. She only knew about trains to Mombasa. Kevin continues that trains are cheaper than matatu, but less comfortable. I add that during rush hour (early morning and late afternoon), the price of matutu is twice as high as in the middle of the day and it must be a big cost for Kibera residents. Kevin agrees with me, and we continue our walk.

We walk one-by-one through narrow paths. At one point Kevin stops. He points to the pylon with many wires around it. They are illegal connections to electricity. Many residents steal power from the Kenya Power Authorities. Due to this fact, there are many incidental fires in Kibera. Recently, one preschool, often visited by Kibera Tours, was burnt down, the children's parents are trying to renovate the classrooms, but they are still working on it, that is why the visit to pre-school was temporarily removed from the tour's program. When we talk, two other visitors along with Philip – another Kibera Tours guide, pass by us and we greet each other.

We reach the biogas center and Marta asks about the number of Kibera inhabitants. Kevin says that according to the latest estimations, there are one million inhabitants, however, more than one family lives in some houses, so it is difficult to state the precise number. Kevin shows blocks of flats located opposite to the place where we are standing. He explains that they are the result of the slum upgrading project, which did not succeed. People had to pay 5,000 KES (around 200 PLN) of rent per month, while before, when staying in Kibera, they paid 1,000 KES (around 40 PLN) or even 500 KES (around 20 PLN). As they could not afford the new accommodation, they got involved in sub-renting. People from far more expensive districts of Nairobi moved to the flats constructed for Kibera residents, while they came back to the slums sub-renting flats donated to them by the government for around 5,000 KES. Moreover, the project was not finished because of political reasons. It was started by Raila Odinga, a former Member of the Parliament from Langata (a larger area, covering Kibera), but as he was not reelected, the project was stopped in the middle. The project idea was not good because people could not continue their comfortable life in the slum. There are kindergartens, public and private schools, churches. Frequently, on weekdays buildings are used as schools and at the weekends, as churches. “What about toilets?” – Marta interrupts. Ken replies that he will talk about it while describing the functions of biogas center. Before that, he would like briefly introduce the history of Kibera.

At the beginning, this area was covered by a forest. The Masaais came as the first settlers in order to pasture their animals. Then, the area was occupied by the British, who used the Masaai word – Nairobi, meaning forest (in fact, Kibera means ‘forest’ and it comes from the Nubian language because some settlers of Sudanese origin were given this area from the British administration in the beginning of the 20th century). The British started to develop the industry and open factories, for which they needed workers. From all over the country, people started to migrate to Nairobi in search of work.

The biogas center was constructed a few years ago. It serves several purposes. It is a water tank used by around two hundred families, there are toilets and bathrooms, a social hall for various meetings, and it produces gas used for cooking. At the beginning of the 1990s, there were no toilets in Kibera, so while visiting the slum, people were advised to take umbrellas. “Do you know why?” – Kevin asks. We all reply together – “flying toilets”. Kevin confirms that at that time, people defecated into foil bags, which were afterwards throw away, and it was possible to be hit by the bag with excrements.

Kevin continues his story. There are three kinds of inhabitants in Nairobi, those who live from one day to another, those who work here, and those who own everything. The last category are politicians and wealthy land owners. The second category are people living in various districts, mainly in the blocks of flats, e.g. in the Parkside district (the area where

Marta lives). The first group, are Kibera residents. Some of these people do not know what they are going to eat the next day. “Who is the owner of the Kibera land?” – asks Marta. Kevin explains that the structures – houses, belong to Kibera inhabitants, but members of the parliament and government own the land. At any given day, they can tell the people to move from Kibera to somewhere else. “Where do the people get their clean water?” – continues Marta. The water is provided by the government through pipes. You can pay 5 KES (around 0.20 PLN) for every 20 liters, or 200 KES (around 8 PLN) monthly – this option is much more affordable. “Are there people, who are starving in Kibera?” is another question from the visitors. Kevin explains that those people who do not have work, are often starving. There is a huge problem with corruption in Kenya. Moreover, many Nairobi inhabitants do not know anything about Kibera. They think the slum dwellers are ‘bad people’. These stereotypes make it difficult for people coming from Kibera to find a good job. We continue our walk, and the conversation between visitors and Kevin continues touching upon different subjects.

Victorious Bones Craft

While talking, we reach the workshop of the Victorious Bones Craft. There are two barracks, a few men are working in front of them. We say hello to everyone and enter one of the barracks. One young man approaches us, introducing himself as Dan. The main activity of the Victorious Bones Craft is manufacturing ornaments out of animal bones. There are around forty men working in the workshop daily. They use the bones of camels, goats and cows. The process starts with the purchase of bones at the slaughterhouse. The next step is cutting them into smaller pieces and cooking them in order to remove the meat and hair. Dan shows us two different bones, one is cream color – just before being boiled, the second one is white – just after being boiled. The next step is to cover the bones with wax, and put color on them. Once the bones have dried, the craftsmen scratch out different patterns in them. At this moment, most ornaments are white and black. The last step is to polish the bones, make small holes and join different elements. They produce necklaces, earrings, bracelets as well as many other items which are later sold. They do not manage to sell everything they have produced. Dan suggests that when we come back to our countries, we could help them to establish cooperation with some entities. Dan invites us to ask questions. As we do not have any, we are invited to the showroom where the final products are displayed.

When we enter the showroom, Jacob welcomes us and gives us small shopping baskets. He asks me how I am and how my life in the Satellite is. I reply that I am really fine and Jacob asks visitors about their names and which countries they come from. They introduce themselves. Jacob is glad to hear that because they have a friend in Finland who is sells their products. He runs a website called *asantekoru*. Jacob invites us to buy something in order to support their activities. Marta looks at the earrings and at the same time, Olen asks how many ornaments they are able to manufacture in one day. It depends which item we take into consideration, e.g. they can produce 200 bracelets. Marta gives Jacob her shopping basket with some things inside. Jacob starts to count loudly, giving the amount of eight hundred. After a moment he adds – euro and smiles. Marta asks how much each item costs. They count together “this costs 150 KES, and this and this, and each of the two bracelets cost 200 KES”. That adds up to 750 KES Jacob summarizes and once again he adds – euro, and smiles. We laugh, Marta pays and we leave.

The last points of the program

The guides lead us to Kids Villa Education Center. Charles informs us that the school, which they often visit during the tours, is closed because it is Saturday. Kevin adds that even on weekdays, they often conduct activities in a different place because the building has recently burnt due to an illegal electricity connection. The guides suggest that we continue. While talking, we approach Frank’s mother’s house. It is the last point of the tour’s program.

How the narratives are constructed

Most descriptions of slum tourism provide the perspective of visitors. Bruner points out that the people who have power are the ones who have their stories. They decide on what stories should be told, by whom, when, and where. “Africans are seriously limited by the power of Western discourse, for there is no international forum for African narratives” [Bruner 1991, p. 241]. Bruner suggests that Africans have to base their stories on someone else’s. They construct their identity always taking into account Western imaginations and narratives.

The example of Kibera residents involved in the organization of slum tours partially contradicts Bruner’s analysis. On one hand, most of the tour organizers from Kibera that I have interviewed stated that they were inspired by the idea of slum tourism by their friends from the Netherlands, Canada or the United States who spent longer periods of time in Kibera because of a long adoption process or working as volunteers either in Kibera or in a different part of Nairobi. The outsiders were fascinated by the fact that life in Kibera was much different from what they had imagined before their first visit. They framed this experience as "eye-opening" and "perspective-changing". On the other hand, slum inhabitants aim at bringing new meanings to poverty. Slum tourism is an opportunity for the people from the margins of the society to define, describe and speak out for themselves within the frame of the encounters with outsiders.

Guides who construct narratives are often born and raised in Kibera or spent a large part of their life in the slum. Occasionally, there are guides who have lived in this area for a shorter period (e.g. during their university studies), however, they often intentionally prolong the period of their stay in Kibera while interacting with visitors. They are in their twenties and early thirties. Most of them still live in Kibera, but some moved to other parts of Nairobi – even though they do not avow it to visitors. They pay attention to their outfit, and in case of Kibera Tours, guides wear T-shirts with their name and the name of the company on the back. Before they started to show the slum to the foreigners, they often worked for various non-governmental organizations (e.g. Kibera Youth Programme or Kibera Youth Club), where they met people who inspired them and often supported their slum tourism activity at the beginning. Some of them are still involved in various initiatives, they are community mobilizers or leaders, project managers or have their own small businesses (e.g. a small computer center or a video game club). They stress that guiding is seasonal work (the peak season is from mid June to mid September) and they need to have different sources of income. However, people managing companies are more involved than the others, and often there are complicated power relations between them and other guides resulting in many conflicts. They are very much aware of the visitors' ideas and imaginaries about the slum, varying motifs behind their decision of touring Kibera, as well as how to make the visit most attractive to them. Visitors listen to the stories of the representatives of various organizations, however, who they are and what they do is quite well described in the above mentioned narratives based on field-notes collected during field work.

Slum-dwellers involved in the organization of Kibera tours aim at showing the positive sides of Kibera, nonetheless, each tour is the context of self-referential communications, which connect with and build up on one another. Tourist-host relations are processual. Social actors having different vocabularies, stories and perspectives construct each slum tour. Moreover, the process is highly influenced by 'mediascapes,' which refer to the production and dissemination of information and images, mainly in the form of television, films, CD, DVD, the Internet, and social media in particular. "The lines between the realistic and fictional landscapes [...] are blurred" [Appadurai, 2005, p. 35]. It is worth remembering that guides aim at contradicting images transmitted by the media and change the visitors' perception of Kibera.

The themes in the narratives constructed within the frame of Kibera tours

I understand narratives as longer stories provided by guides or representatives of visited organizations, which construct the main images of Kibera and its inhabitants, as well as of the tours. The narratives are mainly about Kibera, the history and daily life of its inhabitants. Guides provide many details, their narratives illustrated by points of the landscape, which helps to sketch the slum borders in terms of past and present. The guides try to normalize images of life in Kibera in the eyes of visitors. They emphasize that in Kibera, there are kindergartens, schools, healthcare clinics, numerous shops, restaurants and bars, as well as other places which enable people to function and to normally bring up children. Most of the houses contain several rooms with nice furniture and hi-tech electronic equipment.

The guides provide narratives about governmental and non-governmental programs and projects aimed at improving living standards in Kibera. They describe initiatives of the construction of blocks of flats or the biogas center serving several purposes, among others improving sanitation conditions by offering toilets and showers, and gas production. The representatives of the visited non-governmental organizations – the Power Women Group and Victorious Bones Craft provide the background of their activities, focusing on the income generating part of it. There are other numerous themes touched upon by the guides and the representatives of visited organizations answering tourists' questions. They refer to the education and healthcare systems in Kenya, the situation of and policies targeting youth, unemployment and the government's plan to reduce the number of people without jobs, and many others issues interesting to people visiting Kibera.

The narratives of guides around Kibera contrast the stereotypical perception of "poor people," they stress their action and agency while facing day-to-day challenges. The narratives of Kibera guides can be ascribed in aspects of agency distinguished by Ruth Lister. These are, 1) "making ends meet" or 2) "taking revenge" in everyday life, 3) "finding a way out of poverty" and 4) "organizing themselves" in order to make a change [Lister, 2007, p. 153]. The first two aspects express day-to-day and personal ways of coping with poverty, while the latter two are more strategic and long-term attempts to make a change. However, all of them are very much interrelated and interdependent. Without being sure that one can make a change in one's own life, the involvement in civic and political activities is not possible and similarly, the achievements in these spheres build up the personal sense of agency [Lister 2007, p. 159.].

"Making ends meet" or in other words, coping in everyday life is an active process of management of limited resources and multiplying them. This can be realized in long-term planning as well as living from one day to another, and in case of lack of resources, manipulating bills to be paid and debts. It is worth noting that another dimension of this aspect of agency deals with the attitudes associated with being treated in terms of "Other". Making ends meet requires such qualities like resilience and resourcefulness, as well as the skills of planning the budget, shopping and meals [Lister 2007, p. 167]. Personal resources can be enhanced by the social ones in the form of networks, which are support for their members, and offering daily care for small children can provide 'social leverage' for women who use this opportunity to find a paid job. According to some researchers, women most frequently have personal qualities and they are involved in supporting social networks necessary for realizing this form of agency [Lister 2007, pp. 167-169]. Mutuality, which is inscribed in most transactions in the social networks, is not a sufficient way of multiplying resources. It is often carried out through finding a paid job (full time, part time or causal, legal or black market) or turing towards crime.

"Making ends meet" is well illustrated by the activities performed by the Power Women Group. As mentioned above, they divide their income into four parts. The first one is spent on materials, the second on food (meals planning), the third one is put aside in case of emergency and the fourth is divided among the group members. It is a model example of budget planning. Moreover, they try to multiply their resources by the constant production of jewellery and ornaments. "Making ends meet" is realized through 'from hand to mouth' everyday slum dwellers' strategy of sustaining themselves. It means that Kibera inhabitants often buy alimentation products in small quantities, e.g. instead of a bottle of cooking oil, they buy a bag of 10 milliliters of it, which is just enough to prepare a few meals but is more affordable for them. They live from one day to another, trying to manipulate their limited budget. This strategy is well illustrated and described through narratives provided by guides while walking through the Toi market. There are small bags with sugar, salt, coffee, tea or cooking oil arranged in rows, which attracts the attention of Kibera visitors.

"Critics or taking revenge" is represented through everyday resistance or opposition to people who have power. These are informal activities which bring immediate profit or benefit, gained at the expense of those who are wealthy or have authority. Their aim is not a political change but almost always their own survival or perseverance [Lister 2007, p. 173].

Taking revenge in everyday life is presented in the narratives about slum upgrading projects, implemented by politicians in order to gain support during elections. The practice of sub-renting flats given to Kibera residents by the government is a good illustration of making a profit at the expense of people with authority. However, in this case, politicians lose their respect in the eyes of the citizens and international donors providing support to Kenya through the development cooperation programs, more than being affected by material loss. This strategy is narrated in the story about illegal electricity connections as well. Slum inhabitants connect to the pylons and use electricity without the permission of Kenya Power Authorities and do not pay for it.

Education and employment are considered to be the two most effective ways to enable 'getting out' of poverty. The causative potential is expressed by negotiations in ways such as acquiring or changing relatively good education or permanent employment. In this case, the agency of slum inhabitants is influenced by cultural and structural factors (e.g. lack of facilities enabling childcare or difficulties with public transportation), which can strengthen or limit its potential [Lister 2007, p. 178].

This strategy is illustrated by the narration of the Power Women Group activities aiming at helping young girls acquire practical training in tailoring and hairdressing. Women organize courses for young girls who have dropped out of school due to lack of financial resources, pregnancy or other various reasons. The participation in courses is free of charge and members of the group teach girls voluntarily. Moreover, the Power Women Group organizes daycare for children aged from six months to two years, so that their mothers can go to work and become independent. Similarly, Victorious Bones Craft provides work for the unemployed youth. There are around forty young men involved in different phases of the manufacturing process, from removing meat and hair from cow or goat bones, to cutting, curving, coloring and polishing them, all the way to joining different elements of necklaces or bracelets. The workshop of the Victorious Bones Craft is located in the middle of Kibera so high public transportation fees and severe traffic jams during rush hours in Nairobi do not prevent the youth from going to work.

The last aspect of agency of people living in poverty is "organizing themselves" in order to make a change in the public area. It may take on the form of self-help (this is a more organized form of the making ends meet strategy), or it can be directed to political actions, in some cases going beyond the local community. The sense of political efficacy and effectiveness is lower among less educated people, living in the poorest districts of the city [Lister 2007, p. 185]. One of the reasons is the lack of collective categorical identity constructed on the basis of being poor. That is what unites them - being in the similar situation, and it is more difficult for people who lack common sense of identification to take action. The basis for collective action may be the fact of living in a common area such as a district [Lister 2007, p. 187]. Another impulse triggering the joint action among poor people can be related to being treated as "Others", it can be stimulus to fight for their dignity and recognition.

The narratives about the Power Women Group activities aiming at fighting the stigma towards HIV positive people is a very good example of this strategy. The women started to be active because they wanted to raise awareness in the Kenyan society about HIV and AIDS. They still organize meetings once a week in order to share knowledge about different diseases and various ways of preventing them. Women struggle for recognition and respect each day.

Another aspect of this strategy is related to the fact that Kibera inhabitants started to organize themselves in order to show visitors the place they were born and raised in, or where they spend a large part of their lives. It is the willingness to reconstruct the image of people living in poverty as being "Others". Apart from the economic aspects of Kibera tours, which can be understood as their way to get out of the vicious cycle, its social dimension is the fight for their dignity and recognition through narrating stories about Kibera and its residents.

The motifs of the narrations constructed within the frame of the tours

The motifs used in the narratives within frame of Kibera tours are catchwords or slogans used as interludes or supplements of longer statements or stories. They are interjected by guides quite frequently, and at different moments in the frame of the entire tour. They are not inscribed into one longer narration, rather they build up or construct the general image of storytellers and Kibera and its inhabitants. I distinguished four functions that are fulfilled by the motifs recurring in the narrations. These are, 1) the motif of agency, 2) the motif of authenticity, 3) the motif of credibility, and 4) the motif of being attached to the place. However, it is worth noting that this categorization is fluent and some catchwords and slogans can fulfill several functions.

The motif of agency emerges through the use of slogans or very short stories depreciating effectiveness and efficiency of the Kenyan government and/or non-governmental organizations. The politicians are presented as corrupted criminals manipulating Kibera residents in order to gain as much as possible from them during the elections. The term 'NGO' – non-governmental organization, stands for "not good organizers" or "not well going on" in the narrations provided by Kibera tours guides.

The motif of authenticity is constructed through the use of such slogans like "I was born and raised in Kibera", "we are all products of Kibera", "Kibera is my/our home" or "we are Kibera". These catchwords build up the authenticity of the narrations – underling their inner, inside and local context, as well as strengthening the legacy of storytellers to produce and disseminate narrations about this place.

The motif of credibility emerges through statements underling the experience and/or expertise in the slum tour organization. Guides claim that they have "organized tours since 2009" or they make a reference to the opinions of 'external tourist experts' – authors of tourist guides like Rough Guide and National Geographic or the reviews of visitors who took part in their tours published on the TripAdvisor portal.

The motif of being attached to the place is constructed by the use of euphemisms describing Kibera. The most often used term is "chocolate city". It refers to the fact that Kibera is a self-sufficient part of Nairobi – "city within the city", and chocolate is the color of the roofs of the structures dominating Kibera's landscape as well as that of soil, which after heavy rains transforms into slippery mud. A different term used by guides is "the city of opportunities" which means that everybody can find income easily generating activities in Kibera. Sometimes storytellers name Kibera "lower Karen". Karen is the most upscale district of Nairobi neighboring Kibera, where the richest Kenyans and foreigners live.

The narratives are authentic because they are produced by slum inhabitants, the insiders share their local knowledge. Three out of four abovementioned motifs, authenticity, credibility and being attached to the place, construct or build up the authenticity of the narratives. MacCannell divides the social space into front and back regions. The front regions are meeting places of hosts and guests or customers like hotel receptions, beauty parlors or offices. The back regions are kitchens, executive washrooms or toilets, namely places not accessible to outsiders [MacCannell 1973, p. 590]. The division is particularly social, "based on the type of social performance, that is staged in a place, and on the social roles found there" [MacCannell 1973, p. 590]. Visitors are eager to see the life in a place they visit as it is really lived by the natives. Authenticity is based on the production of a new kind of social space, when a visitor is permitted to view details of the inner operation of a domestic, industrial or public institution. "Apparently, entry into this space allows adults to recapture virginal sensations of discovery, or childlike feelings of being half in and half out of society, their faces pressed up against the glass" [MacCannell 1973, p. 596].

Visting Kibera, "a part of Kenya unseen by most tourists" (www.kiberatours.com) or "unseen side of Nairobi" (www.explorekibera.com) can be understood as entering the backs region of the country or its capital city. Visitors have access to the perspective of slum inhabitants. They are provided with local and inside knowledge about the slum. They visit non-governmental organizations, gain information about their activities as well as observe them. Women show visitors how they produce paper beads, and let them try to make some themselves. They enter the workshop of the Victorious Bones Craft, where young men are working regardless of the visitors' presence. While observing the process of manufacturing jewellery, they can smell the unpleasant stench of cooked bones and hear loud noises of the machines.

The narratives of Kibera residents are 'real' for the visitors, because they are not produced by the media, but by people with whom they met and had the opportunity to interact with and talk. This aspect of the tour brings another meaning to the term 'authenticity'. From 'objective authenticity' which we want to contemplate during the touristic experience because we are overloaded with the media representations and references, we move away to 'existential authenticity', understood as 'hands-on experience' which enables us to be somewhere and interact with local communities [Freire-Medeiros 2012, p. 26].

Concluding remarks

> *"I believe in people learning from each other, seeing different realities and that… it really changes you … and I believe in this kind of experience whether done in respectful manner for people"* [a quotation from an interview conducted after the tour]

The goal of slum tourism is to visit and experience poverty – this meaning is assigned or even inscribed in the term slum. "The 'slum' has always symbolized the 'dark', the 'low', the 'unknown' side of the city; it has always been a projection surface. From the bourgeois perspective, the poor urban areas have constantly been constructed as areas containing 'the Other' [Steinbrink 2012, p. 218]. Visiting impoverished areas has been done in order to meet and experience the lives of 'the Other'. The construct of 'the Other' varied in different historical periods and depended on the respective social context in which it existed, however, 'the Other' always meant more than just the economic 'Other' – it also stood for the social, the political and the cultural 'Other' as well [Steinbrink 2012, p. 229].

Kibera is represented in the narratives of the guides first of all, as a place of poverty, but more varied and positive semantics of poverty is evoked. The images of life in Kibera are being normalized in the eyes of visitors. Residents of the slum are characterized less by apathy, stagnation and desperation and more by economical industriousness, community, development and hope. They have agency realized in life and narratives in the four strategies mentioned above: "making ends meet" or "taking revenge" in everyday life and "finding a way out of poverty" and "organizing themselves" in order to make changes in the public area.

Concluding with the words used by Kevin, the main goal of Kibera residents involved in the organization of slum tours is not necessarily contradicting the level of poverty they live in but showing "how Kibera is in reality". The word "reality" refers to the inner perspective of slum dwellers as well as to the production and dissemination of narratives not influenced by the media of Kibera residents and meanings of the place where they were born and brought up or spend a large part of their lives. Slum tours have become the opportunity for Kibera residents to change their image as the economic, social, cultural and political 'Others'.

> *"Critics have been there, people that have never taken a walk into a tour always think that we are exposing poverty, but … yes, Kibera people are living, some are living below a dollar a day but they can still afford to dream, they can still afford a smile and they can still work hard to be able to provide for their family the little that they can"* [a quotation from an interview with a Kibera tour guide].

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Netography

http://slumtourism.net/
http://kiberatours.com/
http://www.explorekibera.com/

WYKRACZAJĄC POZA ‘BIEDA’ TURYSTYKĘ? NARRACJE MIESZKAŃCÓW KIBERY I ICH ZNACZENIA KONSTRUOWANE W RAMACH WYCIECZEK PO SLUMSIE.

Abstrakt

Cel. Celem artykułu jest poszerzenie rozumienia turystyki po slumsach w Kenii poprzez prezentację wyników badań terenowych prowadzonych w Kiberze, największym slumsie Nairobi.
Metoda. Autorka przeprowadziła badania etnograficzne w Kiberze (obserwacja uczestnicząca, wywiady pogłebione, dyskusje w grupie) przez trzy miesiące 2014 roku.
Wyniki. Wyniki badania pokazują, że w ramach wycieczek po slumsie, bardziej zróżnicowane słownictwo, semantyka i znaczenia biedy są produkowane. Mieszkańcy Kibery są rzadziej charakteryzowani przez apatię, stagnację czy desperację, częściej przez ekonomiczną przedsiębiorczość, wspólnotę, rozwój i nadzieję. Życie w Kiberze jest normalizowane w oczach odwiedzających.
Ograniczenia badań i wnioskowania. Badanie dotyczyło jedynie wycieczek po Kiberze organizowanych przez mieszkańców slumsu, tak by pokazać ich perspektywę. Nie może być ono utożsamiane z innymi organizatorami wycieczek po Kiberze (większymi kenijskimi bądź też zagranicznymi podmiotami działającymi na tym rynku turystycznym).
Implikacje praktyczne. Wyniki badania mogłyby być wykorzystane przez Kenya Tourism Board (agenda rządu Kenii odpowiedzialna za rozwój turystyki), należałoby je jednak przeprowadzić na większą skalę.
Oryginalność pracy. Autorka skoncentrowała swoje badanie na mieszkańcach Kibery zaangażowanych w organizację wycieczek, po miejscu w którym się wychowali i urodzili, bądź też spędzili w nim znaczną część swojego życia. Często, mieszkańców slumsów traktuje się jako ofiary tego rodzaju turystyki. Wyniki badania pokazują jednak, że w pełni zinternalizowali oni ideę turystyki po slumsach i używają ją w celu zmiany obrazu bycia “Innym” w ekonomicznym, społecznym, kulturowym i politycznym sensie, w oczach odwiedzających.
Rodzaj pracy. Artykuł prezentujący wyniki badań empirycznych.

Słowa kluczowe: turystyka po slumsach, narracja, Kibera, bieda, badania terenowe.

Vol. 37 FOLIA TURISTICA 2015

MAKING NICE NICE: VIRTUAL VISITING CARDS OF NICE FROM A CONSTRUCTIVIST PERSPECTIVE

*Marta Hoffmann**

Abstract

Purpose. Presentation and critical interpretation of texts and pictures included on official websites of Nice.
Method. Website content analysis was used, mainly focused on pictures and texts included on them. The article relies on the assumptions if the constructivist paradigm.
Findings. The research showed that the self-image of Nice is predicated on a classic model of tourism policy aiming to attract a specific, highly profiled group of tourists. The discussed profile refers, above all, to spheres of culture (expectation of acceptation if so called western cultural values by potential guests) and economy (high financial possibilities of visitors). Moreover, among the "virtual visiting cards of Nice" were observed such phenomena as: commitment to natural beauty of the region, treating a touristic stay in Nice as an almost existential experience, willingness to get potential tourists involved in the life of the city and logocentrism, emerged from prevalence of verbal messages over pictorial ones.
Research and conclusion limitations. The research referred only to official websites. Moreover, research results are the hermeneutical interpretation of given information treated as complex opinions of the subject about itself.
Practical implications. The purpose of the article does not have practical implications. Rather, they are of epistemological character connected with answering the question regarding the way in which subjects of tourism policy create their own image and, thus, strengthen their brand.
Originality. The article fills the gap in specialist literature, that is, a lack of empirical research referring to a model of tourism policy led by such a meaningful touristic resort as Nice.
Type of paper. An article presenting the results of empirical research.

Keywords. Nice, constructivism, images, Internet, host-guest relations.

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Introduction

The main aim of the article presented below is to analyse a picture of Nice included in official websites of the resort. Scientific literature written within the discipline of the anthropology of tourism is full of works referring to the nature of current tourism, "host-guest" relations, travelling experience and cultural aspects of being a tourist [Nash et al. 1981, p. 462]. More recently, an economic approach is gaining respect among scholars, following David Greenwood's stance [Burns 2004, p. 10]. I will focus especially on relations between hosts and guests, while taking the hosts' side into account. It is necessary to mention that the vast majority of literature connected with these two points of view on tourism experience concerns, above all, are from the guests' perspective [Cohen 1984, p. 376]. The earliest works in this topic concentrate on tourists' motivations and attitudes towards travelling, their ways of thinking about hosts and the effects of their presence on local culture [Cohen 1984, p. 376 also 1972, 1979]. Often tourism consumption appears as a linguistic frame [Dann 1996; Selwyn 1981, p. 49]. Similar studies taken from inhabitants' point of view are relatively rare and focused mainly on the economic aspects of such a "cultural contact". There are multiple reasons for that. Firstly, an assumption that the nature of hosts is rather passive regarding contact with guests. In many studies, hosts are treated as those who have to, above all, look after tourists during their leisure time and, eventually entertain them [Aramberri 2001, pp. 741-745]. In the vast majority of tourism studies over relations between locals and tourists, the former are defined as specific subjects of tourist epistemology. They are perceived by visitors, their customs are observed and their everyday life is experienced, but it seems that they themselves do not have much to do apart from ensuring a tourist with the best possible conditions of rest. This kind of reasoning is a bit anachronistic, since hosts are responsible for creating cultural frames within which tourists spend their leisure time. If we treat a "cultural contact" as a kind of a system within the anthropology of tourism, then its parts, namely, hosts and visitors, have a set of crucial functions to perform. From this point of view, hosts are not only responsible for ensuring material facilities such as hotels, gastronomy, entertainment and the whole process of planning tourists' free time, but are also entirely responsible for their safety and well-being. Some studies on the subject are even quantitative in nature [Gursoy, Rutherford 2004]. Hosts also create cultural frames in which their guests will move and, thus, an overall picture of their country is dependent on what they will show them as their "visiting card". Focusing on the host side of a given touristic relation means to characterise mechanisms by which the former influence the shape of holiday memories created by the latter. I have the intention to grasp this mechanism and analyse semiotic tools such as official websites by which representatives of a host community, that is people responsible for the international image of Nice, sketch a specific picture in which the city appears as a real "Paradise Regained". This kind of analysis would not be possible without using a constructivist theoretical perspective which led me to draw a number of conclusions.

Theoretical perspective

Constructivism is a theoretical approach within the social sciences which has been developing since the 1960s. Anthropologists, political scientists, sociologists and psychologists taking a constructivist point of view derive their positions from the philosophical assumptions of G. Vico and I. Kant. Kant tried to overcome philosophical dualism between subjectivism and objectivism on epistemological ground and proposed a compromise which would probably be defined nowadays as intersubjectivism. He assumed that the subject of knowing – a reasoning man – cannot be sure if the world outside him exists or not because the dilemma is not solvable. The only fact we can observe is that people perceive objects around them in the same way. Kant stated that it would not be possible if people's minds did not function in the same way, that is, did not perceive reality in two basic categories of time and space. This specific human feature let them see a chaotic stream of impressions as ordered unity [Kant 1996, p. 43]. Modern constructivists are also firmly focused on epistemology which plays a key role in searching for answers to questions connected with the nature of society and its cultural objects, relations between its parts and mechanisms of social change. Many theoreticians also point out J. Dewey's contributions to the constructivist stance. The American philosopher was interested in the mechanism of producing knowledge by students [Dewey 1910, pp. 157-201]. He assumed that the style of the learning process influenced the way in which society behaved in the future. That is why he proposed introducing a learning programme in which pupils and students would notice the practical consequences of studying school subjects. The utility of learning and closeness to social practices became the main tenets of American pragmatism in which Dewey's reflections were the philosophical base. The foundation stone of today's constructivism was Peter Berger and Thomas Luckmann's famous book "The Social Construction of Reality. A Treatise in the Sociology of Knowledge" from 1966 in which the two authors defined the distinctive features of constructivism, such as an assumption that the world around us has entirely social roots through which its objects gain meaning, discursive nature of social phenomena, the role of culture when analysing different attitudes created collectively, towards the same objects, dynamic character of social reality, active stance of a subject of learning process and inter subjectivist epistemology [Berger, Luckmann 1966, pp. 33]. For the purpose of this article, I will not analyze the history of development and internal differentiation of the discussed perspective. It is sufficient to bear in mind that since the 1970s, constructivism has been divided into two orientations. The first is the more radical: its representatives claim that the reality around us, as well as its material objects, is socially constructed and there are no objective things like a storm, a flood, fire or war. The second is more moderate since it states that the process of constructing includes some natural phenomena and almost all social ones. Meanwhile, constructivism appeared in many scientific disciplines like sociology, psychology, anthropology, culture studies and political sciences. E. Gellner and B. Anderson are among the most commonly recognised constructivists within the humanities. And again, for the purposes of this article, I have chosen some characteristic features of a constructivist scientific perspective which helped me in formulating hypotheses about Nicean virtual visiting cards. Firstly, cultural facts and artifacts are treated as texts which can be read, interpreted and reinterpreted [Von Glasersfeld 1995, pp. 5]. Secondly, these texts are subject to semiotic deconstruction [Von Glasersfeld 1995, pp. 5]. Thirdly, hypotheses about possible motivations of message senders are created inductively [Lesh, Doerr 2003, p. 362]. Fourthly, apart from the official information included in analysed websites, pictures and texts also contain hidden messages which reveal the specific cultural code of a message sender and, finally, the constructed image is usually interpreted by message addressees who read it through their own cultural prism. Thus, the final image of a host community differs a bit the from originally constructed one [Young 1999]. From this point of view, choosing semiotic analysis as a method of interpreting texts was the consequence of the above discussed theoretical perspective.

Research method

In order to explain my methodological stance, I would like to present the similarities and differences between content analysis and semiotic analysis. Content analysis is a method which lets a researcher look more carefully into texts appearing in such mass communication channels as journals, TV broadcasts, articles or websites [Pudliner 2007, pp. 46-59]. Some scholars point out traces of first content analyses in the 17^{th} century, but in fact, the method was used for the first time by P. Lazarsfeld and B. Berelson between the 1940s and 1950s of the 20^{th} century for analysis and interpretation of press messages [Berelson, Lazarsfeld, McPhee 1955]. Bearing in mind that the anthropology of tourism also includes semiotic studies of touristic brochures and releases [Santos 2004], as well as investigating current trends within the tourism industry [Santos 2000; Dann 2004; Dann 1981], it is necessary to know that content analysis has always been a useful methodological tool while searching for hidden messages. [Bhattacharyya 1997; Cohen 1995; Crompton 1979; Walmsley 1998; Yates 1988]. Crucial features of the method are: objectivity understood as reading and interpreting a given text from a neutral position without identifying either with a sender or an addressee, systematicism can be defined as the internally ordered process of collecting and coding data so as to avoid blurring the borders between scientific research and literary criticism and inter-coder reliability [Weber 1990, pp. 17]. This refers to the extent to which content analysis conducted by more than one researcher will give the same results and, finally, scientific accuracy connected with the extent to which the researcher's interpretation corresponds with the original text. On the contrary, semiotic analysis concerns mainly qualitative framework and focuses on those meanings which are hidden not only in textual messages, but also in pictorial ones [Bell, Milic 2002; Thurlow 2007; Mehmetoglu 2004; Smith 2011]. This method leads a researcher towards the concept of a sign presented by F. De Saussure and some consequences of such an approach, for example, concentrating on semiotic mechanisms of creating a meaningful message [Cullum-Swan 1994, pp. 464-466, Zhen, Wei 2015; Echtner 1999; MacCannell 1999; Owsianowska 2008, pp. 117-139]. Semiotic analysis is not so closely connected with the quantitative aspect as in the case of content analysis. It accentuates the role of images which appear in a reader's mind after receiving a linguistic message containing a set of culturally constructed symbols [Echtner 1999, pp. 49-50; Jewitt, Oyama 2004, pp. 134-136]. Semiotic analysis is used while focusing on works of artists, media messages and other types of human activities expressing one's self. The method uses well-known ideas such as discourse, denotation, connotation and myth as analytical framework and defines texts and images as a kind of activity independent – to some extent – from non-linguistic reality [Cullum-Swan, Manning 1994, pp. 464-466]. Compared to content analysis, "Semiotic analysis has the advantage of enabling a richer analysis of texts by focusing on the objective formal relationships, which to some degree account for differences in what, and how, images mean" [Bell, Milic 2002, pp. 203-204]. Within the described theoretical framework, it seems necessary to use this methodological approach rather than content analysis which would not allow me to rely on interpretation and intersubjectively shared cultural meanings. The most useful advantages of the method are: firstly, an idea of "code", that is, a set of interdependent signs which brings some meaning only to its users. Secondly, an assumption that messages basing on a specific code are constructed according to non-verbally expressed norms of combining signs together. By virtue of that, a message is understandable by language users. Thirdly, a concept of "symbolic power" of a message sender over a message addressee who simultaneously, is an active interpreter interpreter [Molina, Gómez, Martín-Consuegra, 2010; Echtner, Ritchie 1993]. Fourthly, semiotic analysis is a useful approach for visual anthropologists because of accentuating the qualitative side of a message rather than formalized and quantitative procedures of content analysis which are not proper while looking for qualities difficult to operationalize. In this sense, my analysis follows the feature of accuracy instead of reliability [Babbie 2015, pp. 49-50].

In the article, official websites of Nice were taken into account, such as: www.nicetourisme.com, www.nice.fr, www.en.meet-in-nice.com and www.france.fr. These official websites of the city have been treated as its "virtual visiting cards". It means that they are virtual emanations of Nice, a kind of a textual as well as pictorial face which the city's officials intend to present to the world outside, above all, represented mainly by large groups of tourists. For the purpose of this article, such a "virtual visiting card" is a virtual message [Edelheim 2006] which contains basic information about the city and its inhabitants and its main function is to influence potential tourists' views of Nice so as to make them want to visit it. It is worth mentioning that official websites as well as tourist brochures are "mirrors of their views of the society, reinforcing ideas, values and meaning systems" [Edelheim 2006]. This set of pictures, namely photographs and short texts about the city, is characterised by choosing the most positive sides of being in Nice. It is nothing new that the choice of proper features (described as "advantages") has an entirely cultural background. What is a valuable hallmark for the French, for other nations may be treated as a definite drawback being in conflict with another set of cultural patterns of behaviour. In this context, it is worth mentioning that there are numerous scientific works of French researchers who present a French point of view on the anthropology of tourism [Boyer 1996, 1999, 2002, 2009] and touristic identity of the French Riviera and its beaches [Duhamel, Knafou 2015; Coëffé 2010; Voiron-Canicio, Lizard 2009; Urbain 2003].

The author analysed the above mentioned websites between February and July 2015, visiting them twice a week and focusing mainly on the included texts and pictures and the impressions they trigger. Only official websites were taken into account, since they are interesting examples of the cultural policy of the city's officials [Govers, Go, Kumar 2007, pp. 15-23]. Thus, message senders are representatives of local government, local administrative officials, entrepreneurs from the tourism and services industry as well as people responsible for the Nicean image. I did not find any information provided by the websites' administrators which would have indicated that textual materials were created by, so called, "an invisible author" who would be a third party of the analysed discourse. Nevertheless, assuming that the Nicean Tourism Office is not entirely responsible for the websites' content does not undermine the basic theses of my article. Even if "an invisible author" appeared in this case, Nicean officials are responsible for messages which are sent to potential tourists. If their marketing campaign is not effective or causes controversies, they will have to resign. For the purpose of the article, the most useful question answered is not: "Who is the author of the analysed messages?" but "Who is responsible for website messages?" The results of such an investigation are presented below.

Results

Nice is located in "Le Côté d'Azur [*Azure Coast*] Region" in the South of France. The area is famous for its beautiful resorts, the colour of the Mediterranean Sea and golden beaches. The Sun shining there is characterized by a specific depth which has been inspiring artists for years. The city prides itself on touristic traditions dating from the beginning of the 19th century when thousands of rich English and Russian aristocrats visited this place and made it the main tourist destination of the highest social classes [Nash 1979]. According to officials, Nice is the second most popular tourist destination in France after Paris and has the second largest airport [Source: http://www.meet-in-nice.com/10-bonnes-raisons (30.06.2015)]. It is estimated that the city is characterized by the largest concentration of museums and art galleries in France, visited by approximately 2 million tourists per year [Source: http://www.nice.fr/fr/le-tourisme-d-affaire (30.06.2015)]. Generally, messages included in virtual visiting cards of Nice are divided into texts and pictures. Texts were analysed through the message sender's identity (who?), the expected addressee's identity (to whom?) and the cultural values and included political orientation (says what?). Generally, both kinds of messages can be characterized to some extent by exclusiveness, presence of European and specific French set of cultural and political values, Eurocentric attitude towards a potential message addressee and traditional sightseeing model of tourism policy[1].

[1] Tourism policy, for the purpose of this article, is treated as a precisely formulated at a governmental level set of goals and activities within the touristic sphere used for achieving given political interest. More: M.C. Shone, P.A. Memon, *Tourism, Public Policy and Regional Development: A Turn from Neo-liberalism to the New Regionalism*, "Local Economy", 2008, vol. 23, no. 4, p. 296; *Pro-poor Tourism: Who Benefits? Perspectives on Tourism and Poverty Reduction*, ed. by C.M. Hall, 2007, Channel View Publications, pp. 126-140; C.M. Hall, J.M. Jenkins, *Tourism and Public Policy,* 1995, London.

Texts in virtual visiting cards Message sender's identity

The message senders responsible for creating proper image of Nice seem to be very responsible and caring towards future guests. All the communiqués are divided into a few sections such as short descriptions of the city, lists of hotels and restaurants, weather and entertainment. This is not surprising since many resorts around the world include such information. Nice visiting cards are exceptional, because their authors not only care for the material infrastructure, but also attempt to integrate tourists with locals. Pieces of information about the closest beach are combined with those connected with news referring to inhabitants. People coming from Nice use almost the same way of searching for news as tourists trying to find an interesting event.

Fig. 1. Practical information tab (trans. *Nice pratique/Je suis: Senior, Nouveaux Niçois, Touriste, Personne de situation de handicap, Entrepreneur/J'habite…/Je veux…;* Nice practically/ I am: Senior, New resident in Nice, Tourist, Person with disability, Businessman/ I live…/ I want…)

Source: www.nice.fr (30.06.2015)

What is more, texts in official websites are highly precise and sensitive to new fields of tourism. Guests are not an anonymous mass of various people who stay in Nice by accident. Families with little children, the LGBT (Lesbians, Gays, Bisexual and Transsexual), the handicapped, the seniors, cyclists and heterosexual pairs are given specific information about the city adjusted to their possible subjects of interest. For example, parents are ensured with a specific guidebook with places they can go with children and activities they can take part in together. LGBT communities are given all the useful clues about private and public hotels and gay parties, whereas cyclists are informed about bicycle paths in the city. It seems that there are no excluded groups. However, some of the messages seem to be selective. For instance, there are no references to people coming from non-European countries. The author was not able to find any useful information about places and types of entertainment which could be interesting for visitors from China, Saudi Arabia or Morocco, even though many of them choose Nice as their holiday destination.

A crucial feature of these website texts is the subjectivisation or anthropomorphism of places. Very often, it is not people but hotels or restaurants that "propose", "offer" or "invite". Moreover, the most commonly used grammatical form is the third person: "Nice invites…", "Nice is blessed with a charm…" or "The Nice Convention & Visitors Bureau Team wishes you a very romantic escapade". A message addressee is surrounded by the place which seems to live a life of its own. References to people (officials, guides, owners of restaurants, managers) are rare and appear only when a potential guest would like to check out Nicean traditions and customs. Nice should be discovered as a place endowed with an unusual energy and personality with which a tourist is able to have an almost intimate relation [Trauer, Ryan 2005, pp. 483-485].

Many texts from official websites accentuate the natural beauty of the place: closeness to the sea and the mountains, beaches, Mediterranean plants, characteristic geographical location of the city and its climate. All these characteristic features are often described as its "natural wealth", which can be treated as an appeal to those groups of tourists who are rather affluent. It can be treated as the city's tourist strategy combined with so called "professionalization" of services which is "to preserve and enhance the area's reputation and thereby ensure the long-term benefits of a continuous and growing flow of tourists" [Cohen 1984, p. 380]. It is worth mentioning that there are also traces of willingness to make Mediterranean nature more "elastic", for instance, by presenting *handi-plages* [beaches adjusted to needs of the disabled] with special paths and facilities for those who would otherwise not be able to enjoy the natural beauty of the place.

Textual messages have subtle examples of Nicean pride in its beauty, well-being and culture. Reading them has some traces of enchantment analysis, described by T. Selwyn [Selwyn 2007]. For instance, the official www.nice.fr website is written only in French, although it is visited by inhabitants as well as tourists. Very often the word "Nice" is connected with the word "discover", which means that the city is not a subject of visiting, but a subject of a specific journey combined with searching for treasure. Discovering Nice, not the place itself should be a final goal for tourists. However, the phrase *L'art de la vie en Nice* [The art of living in Nice] is not rare. To visit the city means, above all, to experience its atmosphere, to perceive it through all senses and to be a part of the life led by locals.

Addressee's identity

It seems that communications in official websites of Nice are rather adjusted to European than cosmopolitan patterns of culture. For instance, if a potential tourist wanted to learn something about Nicean cultural traditions and visited the page entitled *Les fêtes niçoises* [Nicean celebrations], s/he would find a few examples of religious celebrations connected with traditions of the Roman Catholic church, although it also has many secular festivals. As it has been said before, diversity of potential guests is a bit selective, since it refers mainly to the type of personal relations between people (families, pairs and the LGBT) and a distinction between people with or without disabilities. Differences between cultures influencing the touristic profiles of guests are omitted. It is possible that this fact is a simple consequence of an accepted profile of a tourist who would feel comfortable in Nice.

It is necessary to add that almost every page which can potentially be useful for future guests includes addresses of hotels, restaurants and shops. The vast majority of them is luxurious and expensive, which means that Nice is not a tourist destination for students or poorer families who cannot afford the various types of Nicean entertainment such as spas, swimming pools, private beaches or shopping in the city center. In order to enjoy every aspect of life in Nice and feel its unforgettable atmosphere, a visitor should be financially prepared.

As we can observe, a potential addressee has the possibility of visiting one of the most wonderful places in the world and spend the most charming holiday there, provided that s/he is ready to accept European patterns of culture, feel the European (or a *citoyen* [citizen] in the case of Europeans) and spend a lot of money. This role can be described as "active spectator", who is invited to come to Nice and admire its natural beauty and traces of long history of the city following given and traditional touristic paths such as monument sightseeing, visiting forests, gardens and parks as well as going to shops and night parties. The institution of a "Nice Greeter" appearing in official websites is worthy of our attention. It is an inhabitant who voluntarily accompanies tourists and is a guide for them. S/he is registered with a special association gathering greeters and is known by name and surname. They are presented as people who are "in love with their city" and would like to present its attractiveness to guests. Also, they have a specific "Decalogue" connected with their attitude towards their home city and tourists which in turn, influences our perception of them as people with an internal moral code who, with real engagement, want their guests to feel comfortable in Nice. They can be described as so called "culture brokers" – a term introduced in the 1950s and 1960s [Adams 1951, Press 1969], that is, "Multilingual and innovative mediators that can control or manipulate local culture for tourists' purposes" [Burns 1999, p. 100]. This example indicates that within relation to Nice-tourists, the former is more "active".

Cultural values and political orientation

It seems to be undeniable that one of the most important cultural values visible on the websites is political equality understood as equal representation of different cultural groups in political life mirrored in its presence in mass media communication. Special communications and the touristic programme for LGBT as well as for heterosexual pairs are very meaningful in this sense. Also the fact that the same website is visited by locals looking for some documents and by guests who just want to learn something about new educational paths in Nice is proof that French officials do not intend to introduce any "us" and "them" divisions [Lauring 2013, pp. 219-220]. Considering the issue pragmatically, the natural richness of the city and many of its monuments is free of charge. The problem appears when it comes to economic equality which is a bit questionable, taking into account the financial accessibility of some Nicean places and touristic services. Nevertheless, Nice presents itself as a wonderful place to live and if one is really determined to know *L'art de la vie en Nice* [The art of living in Nice], then s/he will manage to do so, since there are also cheaper ways to visit Nice, by bike for instance. In this sense, like Fuenterrabia [Greenwood 1971, p. 83], it is definitely a place for "tourists" not "tramps" – using Bauman's terms [Bauman 1994, pp. 21-33].

Respect and protection of natural environment are other crucial features of Nicean visiting cards. Official website authors pay a lot of attention to the natural beauty of Nice and present public parks and gardens as an important part of the city. Apart from short, informative messages describing the green areas, we can find information which combines them with the sphere of sensual experience. Colours, sounds and scents are accentuated in order to make potential visitors able to imagine this unusual palette of impressions. Nature gains an almost artistic sense and its presence in official communicates is proof that Nice made it a part of its cultural heritage and identity. The fact that every beach is carefully described in a separate tab is also of some meaning. Every one of them is a single microcosm which blurs the borders between nature and culture and is incomparable to any other beach. The huge amount of information referring to Nicean beaches makes the thesis possible that experiencing Nice is inseparable from visiting its *plages* [beaches].

Another crucial feature of virtual visiting cards analysed above, is accentuating European integration's value. France, together with Germany, for quite a long time has been inspiring the process of economic integration within the European Union and it still leads political efforts to deepen and strengthen economic ties with other members of the organisation. In the city's official website, "Nice 2020" referring to the European Union's strategy "Europe 2020", is a separate tab where one can find information about past, present and future projects co-financed by the EU. Many of such projects are intertwined with tourism policy, because their results – parks, centres, infrastructure, museums – influence the tourists' feeling of comfort while taking a holiday in the city. It is also worth noting that the EU is one of the main factors of Mediterranean neoliberal market reforms, bearing in mind the Euromed Heritage programme [Scott 2012, p. 1; Bianchi 2005].

The logic of a free market also appears behind official messages. It is an essential part of the tourism commodization process and making cultural heritage a new model of production [Scott 2012, p. 2]. Shopping is quite an important section when Nice presents itself by Internet websites and is simultaneously a part of every travel. Long lists of shopping galleries and luxurious shops appear quite often and are natural consequences of the fact that tourism also has an economic aspect and for many tourist destinations it remains a basic source of income. Moreover, this fact influences Nice's international image as a centre of luxury and well-being which, in turn, complements its cultural landscape as a real "Paradise Regained"; nonetheless, it is not for everyone.

Pictures

Another part of the analysis are pictures appearing in the official websites of Nice which are an imminent part of a virtual visiting card. The first image of any tourist destination in a guest's mind is of pictorial character as well as flashes of memories from a holiday. It is worth mentioning that in the case of the analysed websites. the amount of text exceeds the amount of pictures, which can be described as a characteristic feature of the so called "culture of a word". From inventing the mechanical movable type by J. Gutenberg, a word has become a fundamental part of Western identity and has replaced a picture as a tool of social communication. Nowadays, more and more virtual advertisements, blogs, websites and portals rely on pictures and videos. In this sense, websites of Nice are exceptional, since the majority of messages is textual as in case of traditional guide books. Pictures, if they appear, are rather small and additional to texts. As M. Rouzrokh and H. Mair put it, their main function is to enrich the understanding of a place's atmosphere [Rouzrokh, Mair 2013, pp. 84-86]: "There are number of reasons for this; one has to do with the stagnation of the Mediterranean's traditional: "sun, sea and sand" tourism. As a result of this, tour operators and national governments have started to push the packaging of “culture” and “heritage” for a more diversified “up-market” product to attract higher-spending tourists to the region’s cities and rural hinterland” [Scott 2012, p. 1]. Nevertheless, we may make some conclusions about images appearing there.

Firstly, the vast majority of pictures presents natural environment, such as beaches, palm trees, the sea and the sun. The main colours are blue, gold and white, referring to the characteristic palette of Nicean *paysage* [Nicean landscape]. Landscapes are usual forms of photographs and are taken from a distant point of observation so visitors could admire the whole view of natural beauty mentioned above. On www.nicetourisme.com,

Fig. 2. Nice description tab (trans. *Littoral;* Sea coast)
Source: www.nice.fr (02.07.2015)

there are webcams by which we can observe what is happening at a given moment. They are also situated on a high building from where an observer is able to enjoy the Mediterranean blue of the sea.

Secondly, the other important pictorial theme is culture, understood as monuments, churches and streets in the city. It is worth mentioning that the presence of people is rare. Usually they appear as little silhouettes walking around the city or lying on the beach. We can only observe their backs, so they remain anonymous for a potential visitor of the website. Thus, it is possible that the richness of the city is in its natural environment and cultural heritage, not its inhabitants who almost do not appear in pictures. It somehow corresponds with the above mentioned persona-

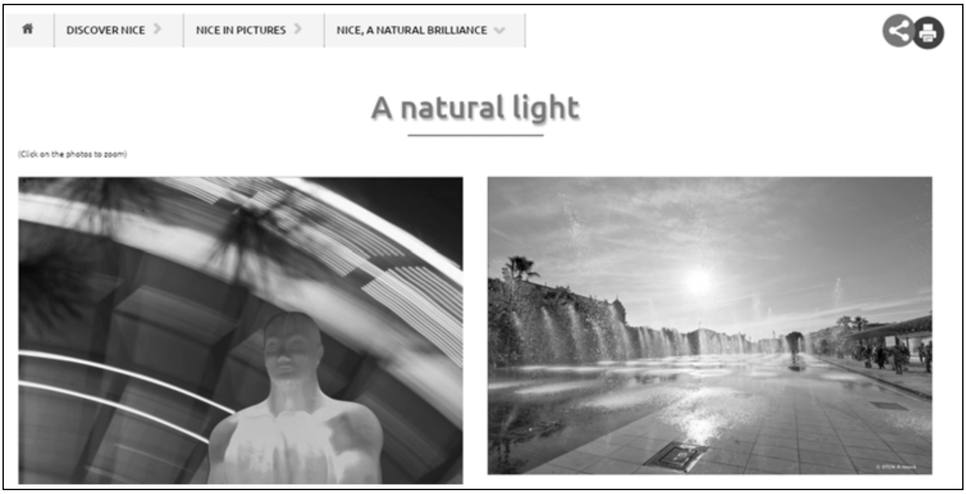

Fig. 3. Natural beauty of Nice tab
Source: www.nicetourisme.com (24.03.2016)

Fig. 4. Nice monuments tab
Source: www.nicetourisme.com (24.03.2016)

lisation of the city. Even the Greeters tab shows faces of potential tourists instead of inhabitants, which could be caused by a willingness to present the city as a place open for guests and avoiding concentrating on itself too

Fig. 5. Greeters tab
Source: www.nicetourisme.com (24.03.2016)

Fig. 6. Blue chairs of Nice
Source: www.nice.fr (02.07.2015)

much. It is a phenomenon of exposing guests "to exaggerated advertising literature from tour operators promoting the friendliness of the natives" [Burns 1999, p. 99].

Thirdly, there are some motives which appear quite often and can be described as symbols of holiday rest in Nice. These are blue chairs and big umbrellas standing on local beaches, mainly as a background of a website. We can see their backs as if we were sitting behind them and admiring a wonderful panorama of the sea. People who eventually appear in photographs always sit on chairs enjoying their leisure time. It means that spending holiday time in Nice is rather passive and can be described as "come and admire" which corresponds with the traditional model of tourism from the 19th century, when rich representatives of higher social classes travelled to such resorts in order to take a breath of fresh air and exchange urban surroundings for the charming area of Nice. They do not have to make a lot of effort there: just to let the city bewitch them. In this sense, it seems they lose their authenticity, since they appear "more spectacular, exotic and titillating attractions" [Cohen 1988, p. 372], touched by modernity, as put by E. Cohen [Cohen 1988, p. 374].

Conclusions

Summing up, we can say that virtual visiting cards of Nice present a traditional picture of a wonderfully beautiful place where time changes into a wonderful stream of sensual impressions, where a visitor is in a specific way looked after by the city which has its own pace of life and personality, and where s/he does not have to do anything beyond relaxing and enjoying good weather. Moreover, s/he does not meet inhabitants as they are, but rather as guides and people working for them. In this sense, visitors are subjects of tourism, but on the other hand, they are objects of the city's wonderful influence, as could be seen in pictures. It does not matter if the history of Nice as a resort or natural conditions made it possible, the city's virtual visiting conditions still have the charm of *La vieille Nice* [The old Nice]. This leads us to the conclusion that the Nice tourism policy presented in images refers to a model of tourism policy in which a tourist is a passive receiver of luxurious facilities prepared especially for him/her. Nicean officials see a tourist as elitarian clients rather than visitors. Of course, the logic of a free market is fundamental while designing tourism policy of a resort and this is quite visible in the analysed messages. The highly précised social profile of potential tourists, a set of luxurious places to visit, a great deal of information about shops, clubs and spas, relatively high level of tolerance of minorities within the discourse and predictable types of entertainment could be its possible indicators. Nevertheless, this is not a critical stance. Nice is situated in an objectively beautiful natural environment which gives it exceptional charm. From this point of view, the main aim of Nicean officials should be transforming its surroundings into cultural capital. And such semiotic mechanisms for achieving this goal were presented in my article.

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Netography

www.nice.fr
www.nicetourisme.com
www.meet-in-nice.com
www.france.fr

TWORZENIE „MIŁEJ NICEI": WIRTUALNE WIZYTÓWKI NICEI W PERSPEKTYWIE KONSTRUKTYWISTYCZNEJ

Abstrakt

Cel. Przedstawienie oraz krytyczna interpretacja obrazów i tekstów zawartych na oficjalnych stronach internetowych Nicei.
Metoda. Zastosowana została semiotyczna analiza zawartości oficjalnych stron internetowych miasta Nicei pod kątem zamieszczonych w poszczególnych zakładkach obrazów oraz tekstów w paradygmacie konstruktywistycznym.
Wyniki. Badanie pokazało, że własny obraz Nicei oparty jest na klasycznym modelu polityki turystycznej, zmierzającym do przyciągnięcia określonego, ściśle sprofilowanego grona turystów. Ów profil dotyczy przede wszystkim płaszczyzny kulturowej (oczekiwanie akceptacji przez potencjalnych gości tzw. zachodnich wartości kulturowych) oraz ekonomicznej (duże możliwości finansowe przyjezdnych). Co więcej, wśród „wirtualnych wizytówek Nicei" zostało zaobserwowane m.in.: przywiązanie do naturalnego piękna regionu, traktowanie pobytu w tym miejscu jako przeżycia niemalże egzystencjalnego, chęć wciągnięcia potencjalnego turysty w życie miasta, a także logocentryzm, przejawiający się w przewadze komunikatów słownych nad obrazami.
Ograniczenia badań i wnioskowania. Badania dotyczyły jedynie oficjalnych stron internetowych, co więcej, wyniki badań mają charakter hermeneutycznej interpretacji źródeł zastanych traktowanych jako złożona opinia przedmiotu badań na swój własny temat.
Implikacje praktyczne. Cel artykułu nie ma implikacji praktycznych, ale epistemologiczne, związane z próbą odpowiedzi na pytanie w jaki sposób podmioty prowadzące politykę turystyczną tworzą swój własny obraz i, tym samym, wzmacniają swoją markę.
Oryginalność pracy. Artykuł wypełnia lukę w literaturze przedmiotu polegającą na braku praktycznych badań odnoszących się semiotycznych działań zmierzających do wykreowania określonego wizerunku tak znanego ośrodka turystycznego jakim jest Nicea.
Rodzaj pracy. Artykuł prezentujący wyniki badań empirycznych.

Słowa kluczowe: Nicea, konstruktywizm, obrazy, Internet, relacje goście-gospodarze.

Vol. 37 FOLIA TURISTICA 2015

DISSONANT HERITAGE IN TOURISM PROMOTION: CERTIFIED TOURISM PRODUCTS IN POLAND

Sabina Owsianowska*, Magdalena Banaszkiewicz**

Abstract

Purpose. The aim of this article is to present how different attractions, after having been certified as 'The Best Tourism Product' by the Polish Tourist Organization, become, to some extent, accepted as heritage. In other words, the paper examines how the system of certification supports the process of heritage commodification.
Method. Qualitative research. Multimodal analysis was applied to investigate verbal and visual sources: descriptions, photographs and other graphic elements of the catalogues published by the Polish Tourist Organization, as well as websites presenting in detail tourism products which have received awards.
Findings. Analysis of the gathered research material reveals the methods of (re) interpreting heritage in tourism promotion.
Research and conclusions limitations. The research is a typical case study, which sheds light on cultural phenomenon, but cannot provide any general theory on heritage interpretation. We have limited the focus of the study to the Polish context. Furthermore, the heritage commodification is a very dynamic process, therefore it needs further exploration which would take new tourism products appearing in the region into consideration.
Practical implications. The analysis provides potential avenues of enquiry adopting the perspective that heritage must be investigated in a performative context. It opens a discussion on how the Polish heritage is shaped and which stakeholders participate in this process. The awareness of the fact that discourse authorized by institutions shapes a preferred interpretation in which the values considered important for a given section of society are displayed, may be helpful for the different stakeholders who participate in the process of heritage commodification.
Originality. The article adopts the concept of dissonance in heritage interpretation to the Polish context. The case study highlights the thesis that practice definitely overtakes theory when we weigh up the issues concerning the creation of heritage.
Type of paper. The paper is based on the empirical research

Key words: heritage, dissonance, interpretation, commodification, multimodal analysis

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Introduction

Of the sources of the past, a small part is considered as heritage. That which is seen as heritage is the accidental combination of many factors whose actions possess a synergetic or exclusive character. In the first case, certain actors – owners and managers, representatives of the local community, tourism organizations and cultural institutions, monument conservation officers, funders, lawyers, historians, politicians, etc. – work together while their cooperation develops in a harmonious manner. In the second case, the shaping of heritage is related to a process of (turbulent) negotiation, questioning and countering of the activities of the remaining participants in the debate. The number of actors is not a static quantity and may change. Moreover, one must not forget that the role of certain objects is different and, depending on the scope of competence and the possibilities of placing pressure, their part in the creation of heritage will be greater or lesser.

In the process of heritage selection, the actors often come to face dilemmas whose solution leads to the creation of a particular final product [Tunbridge, Ashworth 1996]. A basic question concerns just how much heritage should satisfy general or particular interests, meaning how much a product should be homogenous or heterogeneous. In selecting a heterogeneous product, the decision-makers risk over-simplification, which is reflected in the possibilities of creating a nuance in the narrative and the presentation of the complexity of the issues and, as a consequence, may lead to the exclusion of groups whose perspective does not fit into the product concept. On the other hand, 'homogenous products satisfy a homogenous market' [Tunbridge, Ashworth 1996, p. 20], and therefore, it is an attractive product for a broad range of recipients and has the opportunity for generating more profits than a heterogeneous product, albeit one which is more niche. Tunbridge and Ashworth [1996, pp. 10-14] emphasize the role of consumers who are interested in a given type of heritage and in the selection as well as interpretative process. In accordance with this view, one may state that heritage is created in order to satisfy the needs and expectations of certain visitors, which is related to various consequences for the shaping of memory.

The aim of this article is to present how different attractions after having been certified as 'The Best Tourism Product' by the Polish Tourist Organization, become, to some extent, accepted as heritage. At the outset, it is worth outlining the key issues regarding the subject of this article. First is the concentration on those parts of the resources of a given place/region which achieve the status of heritage – according to various criteria which we will attempt to outline further on – and become highlighted as the core of attractions and tourism products. The Polish Tourist Organization often uses the terms 'attraction' and 'product' interchangeably, although they are not synonymous. According to Kruczek [2011, p. 18], attractions "are all the component parts of tourism product (value of place, events, objects and authentic artefacts of the 'high culture') which are marked as special and which are able to attract tourists and influence their decision to choose this particular region and not the other". Since our goal is to point out a cultural phenomenon rather than precisely analyse the differences between attractions and tourism products, we do not aspire to decide which of the examples presented in this article should be treated as products and which should be defined as attractions. Therefore, we assume that if, they were certified by POT as tourism products, we can accept this interpretation without additional exploration.

Second is the process of heritage creation itself on the basis of historical events, be they centuries or decades in the past (on which there will be further discussion), refer to the distinction between cultural memory and communication memory postulated by Jan Assman [Assman 2008]. These categories justify a different treatment of history going beyond the communicative scope of relationships between successive generations. The very distant facts which are, to a large degree, acceptable by a given group are treated differently from the relatively recent ones which are still at the core of a lively inter-generational transfer: between participants and witnesses to events, between descendants and heirs of memory (cf. the category of post-memory [Hirsch 1997, 2008]). Thirdly, the issue of authorized discourse concerning the topic of heritage has become absolutely crucial [Smith 2006]. In the official materials of institutions responsible for information and promotion, a preferred narrative is highlighted while in the background, alternative stories concerning significant places, events and figures are put aside. In further sections of this article, these three aspects will be outlined, while being anchored in the theory regarding the selection and criteria of heritage categorization presented in certified tourism products of the Polish Tourist Organization.

Memory and (dissonant) heritage in the process of creating tourism products

The triad comprising of heritage, memory and identity outlines an area of analysis concerning the phenomenon of memory in a globalizing world [Nora 1989]. One of the losses to the social sphere which individuals and communities must bear as a result of the progress of civilization is the weakening of inter-personal and inter-group bonds. The consequence is that people are deprived of community support at times of life crises, the experience of trauma, loss, grief, forgiveness and compensation, at individual, family, ethnic, national and global levels. According to the author of the concept of *lieux de mémoire* [Nora 1989], we are still at the beginning of a long road "on which further groups and generations of victims (as well as the descendants of victims) of totalitarian, colonial systems, as well as those representing cultural and social minorities, the marginalized, those excluded from the official discourse, from the version of history written by representatives of the dominant culture, by the oppressors and the victors will appear" [Owsianowska, Banaszkiewicz 2015, p. 11; see Nora 1989].

Various methods of 'past presencing', bringing back overlooked events into the realm of public debate and symbolic practices (i.e. performances, pilgrimages, cultural tourism) facilitate confrontation with dissonant heritages.

Referring to the phenomenon of memory in Europe, it has found its expression in, among others, the work of Sharon Macdonald [2009; 2013]. Indeed, Macdonald develops the concept of 'past presencing', outlining various forms of this process: from official commemorations of important historical events, through traditional museum exhibitions, as well as the ideology connecting commemoration with entertainment in battle reconstructions and up to the irrational attitudes typical of folk culture, such as the belief in ghosts [Macdonald 2013]. As one may easily notice, the creators of tourism products eagerly use various methods of 'past presencing'. The history of Europe has resulted in attention to the past and the serious treatment of memory both becoming a *sine qua non* in order to understand this region – a region, which Macdonald writes, is simply possessed by an 'obsession' with its own memory. The events of recent years, such as the significant increase in fringe nationalistic social attitudes and political parties, have shown just how greatly accurate this thesis is. Also deserving of one's attention are those events which "potentially may be a threat to the continuity of a sense of identity", as well as those which affirm their identity or present the possibility of going beyond national identity and the expression of a more cosmopolitan identity in the future [Macdonald 2013, Introduction].

However, the question may be posed regarding how to manage a (controversial) heritage in a more contemporary fashion, in order to bring its value and significance closer together, watch over its commemoration while, at the same time, as a consequence of attempting to popularize and satisfy the various needs of consumers – not trivialize, distort or commercialize it in an uncritical manner. One may identify the areas of potential conflict between the various actors during the creation of heritage by referring to the model proposed by Tunbridge and Ashworth [1996, pp. 7-9]. Each of these stages may generate conflict as to the meaning of heritage. Firstly, they may concern sources, and thus "a mixture of past events, personalities, folk memories, mythologies, literary associations, surviving physical relics, places, sites, landscapes" [Tunbridge, Ashworth 1996, p. 6]. Secondly, they may concern the process of transformation, meaning the transformation of selected resources into a product thanks to interpretation and thirdly, the final heritage product.

The unavoidable state of conflict in the case of heritage relates to, in the opinion of Tunbridge and Ashworth [1996], a lack of agreement or understanding concerning its meaning. They see the process of commercializing heritage as one source of dissonance (and thus, the creation of a cultural and tourism product from it), during which selected aspects are highlighted while others are marginalized with the aim of offering a product which best suits the needs of a visitor. A second important reason for conflict over heritage is the basic fact of its belonging to an accepted narrative, and what is taken into account or omitted. Particular attention should be paid to the situation of 'heritage without heirs', heritage with multicultural roots or a potential common heritage whose interpretation may give rise to understandable emotions and clash with various positions [Purchla 2006]. From the point of view of analyzing certified tourism products, there are interesting conclusions as to the possible resolutions of conflicts at a strategic level: the formulation of project guidelines (the result of which is a product) while agreement regarding the narrative and presencing on the discourse concerning controversial historical events is in progress.

In regard to the way events from the past are described, this is decided by the discourse which may operate in terms of a dominant, alternative or marginalized narrative. Undoubtedly, an official source of information, supported by the authority of institutions responsible for its construction, is worth being the subject of analysis. National, regional and local tourism organizations provide such examples. Laurajane Smith [2006] has introduced the term Authorized Heritage Discourse (AHD) into the theory of heritage, describing the mechanisms of its creation and the basis of its legitimacy. As the main organization responsible for the promotion of Poland and determining the best products, the Polish Tourist Organization (Polish acronym POT) is the authorized voice in the discourse on heritage. In the case of awarding-winning tourism products, it confirms their status, value and significance as important tourist attractions. The results of the discourse analysis constructed by the creators of tourism products is presented in the following section of this article.

The Polish Tourist Organization and the certification of tourism products

Quality control of attractions has played a crucial role from the time of apodemical treatises, where one can find suggestions and recommendations regarding places which are more worthy of attention of travelers than others. The recommendation of historic monuments, restaurants and places offering accommodation became an inseparable part of travelling in the age of the Baedeker, and which in recent decades has especially intensified regarding mediatization. Alongside the valorizing systems created by the institutions responsible for tourism promotion, there are tourism organizations, journalists and guidebook authors while, nowadays, the opinions of travelers themselves play an ever greater role. Regarding the virtual sphere, valorization methods which are well known from the tourism literature are used - present at the verbal and visual source level (evaluative linguistic remarks; the order of the presentation and display of the most important sites; rankings; star ratings, photographs, etc.) [Dann 1996]. In a situation where every tourist may award a grade, as well as share his or her opinion with millions of readers of portals such as Tripadvisor, a system of recommendation by 'recognized authorities' takes on particular significance. Insofar as the judgment of other tourists is assumed to be subjective and its reliability doubtful, the recommendation of an 'authority' is connected with specific criteria which a given place or building must fulfill.

The Polish Tourist Organization (POT) is one of two hundred organizations around the world which are responsible for the development and promotion of tourism of given countries, both in the domestic market and the international arena. Founded on the basis of a law passed in 1999, it began its operation on 1st January 2000. POT has offices (ZOPOT) in fourteen countries which allows it to run promotional campaigns adapted to local needs, as well as establish close contact with local representatives of the tourism industry. The structure of the tourist organizations is a result of Polish administration divisions. In Poland itself, POT works with regional (ROT) and local (LOT) tourist organizations with relations between particular offices structured along the lines of a pyramid. Although the initiatives of local and regional organizations are included in national projects directed by the central office, they operate on a smaller scale matching the needs of the given administrative unit.

In the maze of suggestions and opinions which are available due to new media, a recommendation of attractions by credible sources (sanctioned by the authority of the state as in the case of a national tourism organization) has significant consequences because it registers in the perception of tourists. Thus, this justifies the idea of POT to award certificates of quality to tourism products which – as they are determined by a competition – rival with each other for the title of 'the best' in a given calendar year. This competition is aimed at showing the most attractive, innovative and 'tourist friendly' tourism products[1] and, in effect, their promotion, as well as support for regional and local initiatives, thanks to which tourism products are created.

[1] These may be sites, cyclical events, tourist service packages, trails and spaces, in accordance with the definition of a tourism product accepted in Jacek Kaczmarek, Andrzej Stasiak, Bogdan Włodarczyk, Produkt turystyczny, Polskie Wydawnictwo Ekonomiczne, Warszawa 2005, p.75.

Candidates for the above-mentioned competition may be entered by POT, as well as regional and local tourist organizations, local government offices, tourism product developers, associations, foundations, entrepreneurs, along with tourism organizers. Due to such a broad group of institutions and individuals representing both the public and private sectors, the competition may feature proposals of a local nature. Nevertheless, it is the regional tourism organizations which are responsible for selecting no more than three candidates for their region, meaning that in reality, only those gaining the positive recommendation of a ROT office may compete at a national level.

Apart from annual awards (certificates) for the best tourism product, since 2008, 'golden certificates' in recognition of exceptional promotional activities have also been awarded[2]. Products which have missed out on winning a certificate may be, however, highlighted by receiving an 'honorable mention.' A certificate entitles one to promote their product in POT campaigns, to be placed on the organization's website, as well as to be featured in various info-promotional materials (i.e. its annual catalogue). One may also use the certificate logo for one's own promotional needs.

The competition for the best tourism product began in 2003 - since then over 180 tourism products have been awarded certificates, golden certificates or honorable mentions. It is worth pointing out that the distribution of these products lines up with the most popular tourist regions. The undoubtable leaders are the regions of Małopolska (19 products), Pomerania (16 products) and Silesia (15 products), while the weakest performing are those in south-east Poland (8 products in each of the two voivodeships), as well as the Opole region (just 3 products). Being awarded a certificate means that an initiative which had been previously appreciated at a local or regional level, now takes on a national significance and is recognized as representative, in a given category, for the whole of Poland.

Of over 180 certificates awarded to tourism products from 2003 to 2014, we selected 100, taking into account those which may lie within the orbit of interest of the cultural tourist (regarding contemporary cultural tourists' motifs [cf. Buczkowska 2014]). We acknowledged that in the light of the quoted definitions, these products may be described as heritage with their character decidedly better suiting the needs of learning rather than recreation. The criteria detailed in the POT promotional catalogue (*Poland's Best Tourism Products*, 2003-2012), following the competition regulations, are quite broad while at the same time being imprecise and vague.

According to the competition organizers, a tourism product should be:

- "an attractive offer for everyone,
- ensuring great fun and unforgettable experiences all year round,

[2] Each year 10 certificates and 1 golden certificate are awarded.

– the most innovative and tourist-friendly”[3].

However, a nominated product should be rather homogenous, given that it has to be attractive ‘for everyone.’. As a year-round attraction, it has to deliver ‘an unforgettable experience’, as well as comprise of ‘wonderful entertainment.’ Finally, it should be ‘innovative’ (a buzz-word currently appearing repeatedly in projects and which is commonly understood as a synonym for good quality and modernity), as well as ‘tourist friendly’, which perhaps comprises the most imprecise semantic criteria.

During our analysis of tourism products which have been awarded certificates up to 2014, we determined four categories. The selection was decided on the conviction that they best illustrate the process of negotiating the meaning of dissonant heritage. In earlier sections of this article, the ambiguous nature of the concept of heritage was mentioned several times. In the classic interpretation, heritage means any kind of relic of the past. Currently, this category includes not only material remains but also intangible and natural heritage. Our aim is to show how objects, events and places which bring about controversy or raise doubts regarding their significance, become, in a certain sense, accepted and joined into recognized heritage due to the awarding of the POT best tourism product certificate. Of course, this is a long process and we cannot, at the moment, unambiguously determine the influence of neither the competition nor the POT promotional campaigns on the perception of these elements of heritage in the future[4]. Nevertheless, the fact itself that the awarding of certificates to such proposals over others, indicates trends occurring in Poland (and beyond Poland, which is shown by reading documents presenting the megatrends in international tourism and the consequent placement of POT activities in a broader context of the development of tourism both in Europe and the world at large [cf. ETC – the European Tourism Commission, http://www.etc-corporate.org/?page=report&report_id=7; accessed December 2015].

Multimodal analysis [Francesconi 2014] was applied to investigate verbal and visual sources: descriptions, photographs and other graphic elements, corresponding with the recommended *a posteriori* analytical categories:

1) heritage related to Poland, including modern history with a communicative dimension of memory of World War 2 and the Communist period, and thus the events of which judgments are ambiguous and continually being agreed upon (cf. cultural and communicative memory by J. Assman [2008]);
2) postindustrial heritage, related to industrial buildings which have lost their original function and have been revitalized and transformed into

[3] www.poland.travel/en/brochures/ [Accessed: July 2015].

[4] There are several methods of evaluating the quality of an attraction; one of them is the examination of visitors’ attendance [see Kruczek*, Frekwencja w atrakcjach turystycznych*. Raport dla Polskiej Organizacji Turystycznej, Kraków-Warszawa 2014, http://pot.gov.pl/do-pobrania/l/materialy-do-pobrania/badania-i-analizy/ Accessed: July 2015].

cultural institutions or tourist attractions/products (NB – it was this particular category in which the greatest number of certificates was awarded during the period concerned);
3) intangible heritage, being the expression of customs and habits of a given group related to everyday life (e.g. language, the tradition of storytelling as a source of knowledge and experience), work (e.g. trades and crafts), the sacral sphere (beliefs, ceremonies of a religious and secular nature, e.g. dance, etc.);
4) multicultural heritage whose character results from the co-existence in a given area – currently and/or in the past – of various cultures, as well as that resulting from globalization (including the so-called *westernization* of culture).

The subject of this research was a catalogue published in the English language [http://www.poland.travel/en/brochures/; accessed December 2015], as well as websites presenting in detail tourism products which have received awards. Analysis of the gathered research material reveals the methods of (re)interpreting the inheritance of the past – both the distant past, reaching back to prehistory (such as the Biskupin settlement), as well as that which is relatively recent (the communist period) – in the promotion of places as tourist attractions and the commodification of heritage. A key element in the transformation of a historic building, event or location in a tourism product is a change in function which occurs during the above-mentioned process; for example, from utilitarian to aesthetic or from cognitive to ludic, etc. Although the competition requirements impose the direction of the activities of tourism product creators, this does not release one from reflecting on the possible limitations, e.g. of an ethical, aesthetic or educational nature: May everything be commodified? How should one deal with sources demanding the need to take the various, frequently opposing viewpoints and narrative nuances into consideration? How does one create so-called 'dark attractions' [Hartmann 2013; Jamal *et al.* 2010]? These are merely examples. It seems that many cases confirm the point made by Tunbridge and Ashworth that practice definitely overtakes theory when we weigh up the above-mentioned issues concerning the creation of heritage [Tunbridge, Ashworth 1996; Tunbridge 2013; Long, Labadi 2010].

Certified tourism products related to the history of Poland

The first category details these products, whose main characteristic is history understood as a narrative of the past. Such products represent a certain period in the history of Poland, showing its culture, most important events or figures. They often take on the form of reconstructions. In the view of Vida Bajc [2006], this type of "cultural spaces of memory" is described as “particular kinds of environments within which specific objects are arranged to make them conducive to visitors awareness of experience of a particular narrative” [Bajc 2006, p. 9]. The past reflected in a tourism product allows one to newly define something recognized as heritage, that should be salvaged from the past if we recognize it as valuable.

In order to better illustrate this process, we refer to Assman’s [2008] concept of cultural and communicative memory which was earlier discussed. In the case of heritage, which is related to cultural memory, the situation is, as a rule, less complicated. The most important facts for a given group are those it accepts as held in common and as a basis for identity. The past, which concerns cultural memory, is not linked with such emotional contemporary positions as its narrative is mediated and sanctioned by authority figures. Examples may be the Piast Route, the Center of Slavs and Vikings or the Archaeological Festival in Biskupin presenting the distant past and its heritage which we acknowledge as important in the shaping of national identity. They do not usually cause controversy among recipients, beyond the circle of experts commenting, for example, on the authenticity of the presentation. The Battle of Grunwald Re-enactment, even though it refers to one of the most important European battles, does not raise doubts regarding how the version of history should be taken into consideration as it has the character of a festival to which tourists come seeking entertainment.

However, other places on Poland’s tourist maps have products which refer to communicative memory, to the recent past, particularly to World War 2 and Communist periods. Such memories, shared by individuals with others and usually carrying a strong emotional charge within, are ambivalent, incomplete and are the subject of continual negotiations, as various people present their own versions, opinions and experience. Bajc draws attention to the fact that “[M]emories can be abused, repressed, made forgotten, misinterpreted, ignored, or otherwise left outside the transmission practices of the tourism industry” [Bajc 2006, p. 11].

We may speak of an opposite process when places provoking discussion, causing ‘pain and shame’, and giving rise to conflict as heritage, gradually become accepted as a result of their transformation into a tourism product or attraction. Indeed, the Mysterious Underground of Głuszyca City – Osówka Complex[5] may serve as an existing example of this process. This building, its operation initiated in 1943, comprises a massive system of corridors, reinforcements and halls. Although the aim of this enterprise was kept secret, some historians believe that it was to be the secret quarters of Adolf Hitler, while others take on the view that it was to serve as an underground weapon factory. Most of the labour was carried out by

[5] http://www.osowka.pl/ [Accessed: July 2015].

prisoners from the concentration camp in Gross-Rosen. It is important to point out that the tourism product based on this complex won first prize, having been acknowledged by internet users as 'the Pearl in the Crown of Lower Silesia'. This example displays a characteristic trend in utilizing buildings from the World War 2 period for tourism purposes. Among other types of this product which have been awarded POT certificates, one may find the 'Shelter at Konewka' tourist trail (Łódź region), the bunkers and bat reserve (Lubuskie region) and the Warsaw Rising Museum which has become the subject of emotional debate since the moment it opened its doors[6].

Also appearing among the products awarded prizes are those referring to Poland's communist past, which may be termed as 'unwanted past' [Light 2010] or 'difficult heritage.' For example, the northern pavilion (previously the coach-house) of the 18th century Zamojski residence in Kozłówka[7] is the seat of the only Gallery of Socialist Realistic Art in Poland, in which tourists may view, among other things, a statue of Lenin which, during the communist period, was on display in Poronin. At the same time, in Szczecin, an Underground Tourist Trail (in shelters) has been marked out concerning two thematic paths namely, 'the Second World War' and 'the Cold War – the Communist Era.' Due to the their having been awarded certificates, such places are gaining in popularity. Although the Gallery of Socialist Realist Art in the Zamojski palace displays exhibits which had literally been thrown on the rubbish heap at the beginning of the 1990s, they have currently, in fact, become the main attraction of the residence for many tourists.

The support of an authority such as POT, results in the existence and promotion of this type of site becoming more legitimized and gradually starting to be accepted as part of heritage. Certificates for the above-mentioned products show the changing relationship regarding Poland's most recent past. While tourism products created around the Second World War or Polish communist-era history narrative still arouse much controversy, they are a symptom of the phenomenon of adding an inheritance to the national heritage which was, up to recently, overlooked or rejected as painful, 'uncomfortable', foreign or imposed [Ashworth, Tunbridge 1990; Hollinshead 1998]. At the same time, it is worth noticing a progressive 'Disneyfication' [Bryman 2004] of difficult moments of the past which – being employed in the creation of tourism products – take on an ever more pop-cultural and entertainment character.

[6] The cause of controversy is judgment presented as fact [Chodakiewicz, online], as well as the place of the rising in contemporary pop culture [Karpiuk, online] or the way museum exhibits are presented [Relative of WW2 Nazi to sue Warsaw Rising Museum, online].

[7] http://www.muzeumzamoyskich.pl [Accessed: July 2015].

Table 1. The examples of certified tourism products related to the history of Poland

Region	Certified Tourism Product	Year
Lower Silesian	The Mysterious Underground City - the Osowka complex	2007
	The fortress of Srebrna Góra	2011
Kuyavian-Pomeranian	Archaeological Festival in Biskupin	2004
	Fort IV - „Yorck - Żółkiewski"	2009
Lubelskie	The Zamoyski Museum in Kozłówka	2004
	Jagiellonian Fair in Lublin	2009
Lubuskie	Military bunkers and bat reserve	2003
	Museum of the Allied Prisoner War Martyrdom in Żagań – The Great Escape	2008
Łódzkie	Tourist track „Shelter at Konewka"	2006
Małopolska / Lesser Poland	On the trail of Cracow's European identity – The tourist route under the Main Square	2012
Mazovian	The Warsaw Rising Museum	2014
Opolskie	Nysa Fortress Day	2009
Podkarpackie	The Great Manoeuvres of the Good Soldier Švejk in the Przemyśl Fortress	2008
	Underground Tourist Route in Rzeszów	2012
Podlaskie	The Amber Castle	2003
Pomeranian	Meeting history in the Gniew castle	2003
	Adventure game entitled „Feast with the Grand Master"	2003
	The Siege of Malbork Castle – historical ourdoor event	2005
	Vivat Vasa	2007
	The Centre for Education and Regional Promotion in Szymbark	2008
	Subjective Bus Line and Lech Wałęsa's Workshop	2010
Silesian	Ogrodzieniec Castle – the history locked in the stone	2009
	The Trail of the Eagles Nests (Golden Certificate 2012)	2010
Świętokrzyskie	The Świętokrzyskie Blommery Festival	2003
	Jagiellonian Fair and Knights' Feast in Sandomierz	2009
Warmian-Masurian	The Battle of Grunwald Reenactement	2004

Wielkopolskie	The Piast Route	2012
	The Poznan Gate – the Heritage Center of Cathedral Island	2014
West Pomerania	The Center of Slavs and Vikings (Certified also in 2009)	2004
	Świnoujście – Fortress on the Islands	2005
	The Szczecin Underground Tourist Routes	2008

Source: Own elaboration on the basis on the catalogues: *Poland's Best Tourism Products 2003-2012* [http://pdf.polska.travel/certyfikaty-pot/en/ Accessed: May 2015] and *The Best Tourism Products 2014* [http://pdf.polska.travel/ebook%20certyfikaty%202014_EN/#p=8. Accessed: May 2015].

Certified tourism products related to post-industrial heritage

The second category which we accepted into our study is that of post-industrial heritage. Since the end of the 1980s, a tendency has been observed in Europe that buildings which have lost their original function are adapted for tourism purposes. Two benefits flow from this. Firstly, the buildings do not fall into ruin but take on a 'second life', also helping to develop the local economy [Morrison 2011]. Secondly, they often begin to fulfill an educational role, witnessing a past which is completely unknown to tourists. Moreover, they do not limit themselves to just presenting the building itself but construct a story about the social and cultural consequences of industrialization [Xie 2015].

Of the one hundred tourism products we selected for analysis, as many as thirty were deemed to be qualified into this category. Although most have been adapted for tourism purposes in recent years, it is worth remembering that the prime example of the Polish industrial heritage namely, Wieliczka Salt Mine, was included on the first ever UNESCO World Cultural Heritage List in 1978.

The possibilities for developing post-industrial cultural tourism are determined, of course, by their potential. The undoubted leader in this regard is the region of Lower Silesia which is developing tourism on the basis of mainly industrial heritage (of the nine certificates awarded to products located in this region, four were given to post-industrial sites). Apart from typical revitalization of the sites (e.g. the adaptation of former mines such as Chełm's chalk undergrounds – the Old Chalk Mine or the Underground Tourist Route of the Gold Mine in Zloty Stok), thematic trails have begun to be established (the Petroleum Route), as well as events (Industriada – the Festival of the Industrial Monuments Route). The appearance of tourism

Table 2. The examples of certified tourism products related to post-industrial heritage

Region	Certified Tourism Product	Year
Lower Silesian	The Underground Tourist Route – Gold Mine in Złoty Stok (Certified also in 2008)	2003
	The Museum of Papermaking in Duszniki Zdrój	2009
	Julia Crystal Factory in Piechowice	2014
Kuyavian-Pomeranian	Venetian Night with Steam Locomotive	2009
Lubelskie	Chełm's chalk undergrounds – Old chalk mine	2006
	Trail of Iron and Blacksmith Traditions	2010
Łódzkie	Manufaktura in Łódź (Golden Certificate in 2010)	2006
Małopolska/ Lesser Poland	The undeground escapade – an adventure trip (in Wieliczka Salt Mine)	2004
	The Saltworks Museum in Wieliczka	2007
	Bochnia Salt Mine tourist route with undeground multimedia exhibition	2012
Mazovia	History complex of the factory settlement in Żyrardów	2010
Podkarpackie	The Petroleum Route	2005
	The Bieszczady Forest Railway	2011
	The Glass Heritage Centre in Krosno	2013
Podlaskie	Augustów Canal – The Papal Trail (Golden Certificate in 2009)	2005
Pomorskie	Subjective Bus Line and Lech Wałęsa's Workshop	2010
Silesian	Zabrze – the city of industrial tourism	2003
	The Historic Coal Mine Ignacy in Rybnik	2004
	The Industrial Monuments Route (Golden Certificate in 2008)	2007
	Industrial Monuments Route Festival - INDUSTRIADA	2013
	Historic Silver Mine	2014
Świętokrzyskie	Kuźnice Koneckie	2004
Warmian-Masurian	Elbląg Canal Land	2004
Wielkopolskie	The Steam Locomotive Shed in Wolsztyn	2006
	The Underground Tourist Route in the Kłodawa Salt Mine	2009

	TurKol.pl Rail Tourism – TurKol.pl Brand Tourism Product	2013
West Pomerania	The Museum of Technology and Transport – the Art Depot in Szczecin	2011

Source: Own elaboration on the basis on the catalogues: *Poland's Best Tourism Products 2003-2012* [http://pdf.polska.travel/certyfikaty-pot/en/ Accessed: May 2015], *Najlepsze Produkty Turystyczne Polski 2013* [http://pdf.polska.travel/certyfikaty-pot-2013/pl/ Accessed: May 2015] and *The Best Tourism Products 2014* [http://pdf.polska.travel/ebook%20certyfikaty%20 2014_EN/#p=8**.** Accessed: May 2015].

products of industrial character also indicates the changing aesthetic value of post-industrial buildings. Indeed, their value has ceased to be based only on judgments concerning their previous function (despite having lost their original significance) but have begun to refer to them as architectural works to which the non-utilitarian category of beauty may be applied.

Certified tourism products related to intangible heritage

It should be emphasized that intangible aspects of heritage should also be linked to tourism products, as mentioned earlier. It should also be stressed that this is defined by UNESCO as heritage "which includes traditions or living expressions inherited from the ancestors and passed on to the descendants" [Convention for the Safeguarding of the Intangible Cultural Heritage, 2003; Smith, Akagawa 2009]. As required by this classification, we accept as expressions of intangible heritage all of those initiatives which are concentrated around the customs and habits of given groups (e.g. dance, language, trades and crafts, music, ceremonies and beliefs). The appreciation of intangible heritage is a milestone when considering heritage in general. Traditions related to customs or work and which are gradually disappearing as a result of social transformation, have started to be protected or reconstructed. Although the customs belong to regional cultures, often for local people they are no less exotic than those of the traditions of far-off lands. Such products as 'the Mirror of the Past', which includes, among other things, a Trail of Disappearing Skills, reveal that heritage is something more than material objects.

Intangible heritage, when treated as a product, also allows one to add variety to the tourist space through an interactive element in which tourists become involved. Craft workshops are opportunities to learn skills threatened with extinction; courses in dancing, singing, languages, cookery, etc., also create an opportunity to get to know the achievements of a given group and become aware of the potential losses.

Table 3. The examples of certified tourism products related to intangible heritage

Region	**Certified Tourism Product**	**Year**
Lower Silesian	The Agate Summer in Lwówek	2004
	The Boleslawiec Ceramics Festival	2006
Kuyavian-Pomeranian	The Living Museum of Gingerbread in Toruń	2008
Lubelskie	Trail of Iron and Blacksmith Traditions	2010
	The Magician's Carnival in Lublin	2012
Lesser Poland	Jewish Culture Festival in Kraków	2003
	The Tatra Bonfire	2007
	The Malopolska Festival of Taste	2011
Mazovia	Kurpie Honey Harvest Festival	2004
	The Chronicles of Narwia	2011
Opolskie	The Mirror of the Past	2006
Podkarpackie	The Pottery Route	2007
Podlaskie	Folk Fair in Suwalki	2006
Pomorskie	Fisherman's Day	2006
Silesian	The Beskid's Culture Week	2004
	Silesian Tastes Festival	2007
Świętokrzyskie	The Land of the Świętokrzyskie Legend	2006
	Jagiellonian Fair and Knight's Feast in Sandomierz	2009
Warmian-Masurian	Regional Culinary Events – the Culinary Heritage of the Warmia, Masuria and the Powiśle Region	2012
Wielkopolskie	The Museum in Szreniawa – interactive dissemination and exploration of exhibits	2004
West Pomerania	The Museum of Bread (Bread Ethnographic Park) in Ustronie Morskie	2006

Source: Own elaboration on the basis on the catalogues: *Poland's Best Tourism Products 2003-2012* [http://pdf.polska.travel/certyfikaty-pot/en/ Accessed: May 2015] and *The Best Tourism Products 2014* [http://pdf.polska.travel/ebook%20certyfikaty%202014_EN/#p=8. Accessed: May 2015].

Certified tourism products related to multicultural heritage

Although currently, Polish society is considered to be relatively homogenous, the same may not be said regarding heritage. For centuries, after all, Poland was a multiethnic and multi-religious society, which of course, finds reflection in the discovery of the multicultural nature of heritage in the tourism industry. Diversity is particularly promoted in relation to the emphasis on local identity in opposition to the processes of globalization and homogenization of cultures [Ashworth *et al.* 2007; Owsianowska 2010; Diekman, Smith 2015]. Multiculturalism often provokes conflict between people and the institutions involved in creating the product, clearly showing to which degree dissonance is an inherent trait of heritage. The organization of such events, e.g. the Jewish Festival in Cracow or the Festival of Four Cultures, requires cooperation between various entities representing different cultures, either due to background or those promoting them out of interest or education. Indeed, it is the experts and fans of a given culture for whom it is especially important that the achievements of a given culture are not lost.

Tourism has become an opportunity for minorities to more strongly emphasize their presence in a region (e.g. The Podlasie Tatar Trail began on the initiative of the Muslim Religious Association in Poland), but may also be a chance to promote many cultures in a given region at once, usually by public administrative institutions (the Suwałki Folk Fair, the Beskidy Culture Week). Apart from the question of who is responsible for the creation and development of heritage, the issue of the quality of the interpretation itself appears. In the process of satisfying the tourism space with the virtues of multiculturalism, the risk that heritage is trivialized may also appear, becoming a manifestation of so-called 'boutique multiculturalism' [Fish 1997, p. 378] promoting only superficial cultural contact, one which spreads stereotypes rather than taking in the richness of the depths of different culture [Xie 2010]. Especially susceptible to this are tourism products highlighting only selected aspects of a culture, taken out of a broader context, such as culinary festivals (e.g. Regional Culinary Events the Culinary Heritage of Varmia, Masuria and Powisle Region, the Silesian Tastes Festival, The Malopolska Festival of Taste, etc.). Indeed, promotion as an opportunity to get to know the culinary traditions of a region may change into a fair of stereotypes, despite the ambitious intentions and popular slogans. The difficulty of multicultural heritage rests, therefore, on balancing proportions in celebrating otherness, in order for exoticness to not change into just *glitz*.

A further issue concerns the scope of what we understand by the concepts of 'our own' and 'foreign'. One interesting trend which we have noticed from the example of the certified tourism products rests on the implementation of western elements in the Polish cultural space. Thus, products

Table 3. The examples of certified tourism products related to multicultural heritage

Region	**Certified Tourism Product**	**Year**
Lubelskie	The Magician's Carnival in Lublin	2012
Łódzkie	Festival of Dialogue of Four Culture	2004
Małopolska/ Lesser Poland	Jewish Culture Festival in Kraków	2003
	The Wooden Architecture Route in Małopolska	2009
	The Malopolska Festival of Taste	2011
	On the trail of Cracow's European identity – The tourist route under the Main Square	2012
Mazovia	The Chronicles of Narwia	2011
Podkarpackie	The Wooden Architecture Route	2004
Podlaskie	Folk Fair in Suwałki	2006
	The Podlasie Tatar Trail	2006
	Hospitable City of Białystok	2007
Pomorskie	The Centre for Education and Regional Promotion in Szymbark	2008
Silesian	The Beskid's Culture Week	2004
	Silesian Tastes Festival	2007
Warmian-Masurian	The Warmińska Inn in Gietrzwałd	2003
	Regional Culinary Events – the Culinary Heritage of the Warmia, Masuria and the Powiśle Region	2012
Wielkopolskie	Olandia - Conference Centre and the Haulander Open-Air Museum	2011

Source: Own elaboration on the basis on the catalogues: *Poland's Best Tourism Products 2003-2012* [http://pdf.polska.travel/certyfikaty-pot/en/ Accessed**:** May 2015] and *The Best Tourism Products 2014* [http://pdf.polska.travel/ebook%20certyfikaty%202014_EN/#p=8. Accessed: May 2015].

synonymous with the West have appeared (the Western City Them Park, Twinpigs Western City) giving one the possibility to 'touch' something far away without the necessity of taking a trip. Hybrid cultural products are also being created, which globalize native traditions in order to make them more attractive for the recipient. An excellent example is Witches' Sabbath, a musical stage production, which has been organized since 2010 and whose storyline, atmosphere and script relate to the legendary Sabbaths which took place in Lysa Gora in the Holy Cross mountains. It is a festival of pop culture, which takes place during the weekend closest to St. John's Night and to which, above all, female vocalists well known in the media are invited (in 2015 the main star was Conchita Wurst). Although tourism products such as the Mragowo Country Picnic express a desire to be a part of western civilization, one may pose the provocative question as to what we regard as 'ours' within this scope.

Conclusions

The discourse authorized by institutions shapes a preferred interpretation in which the values considered important for a given section of society are displayed. An analysis of this discourse reveals how the heritage sector interprets events from the past and communicates with its recipients. An additional plane of analysis is also the fact that the products entered in the competition are created and described according to the recommendations of the organizers *a priori*. Thus, initial acceptance of a suggested source of information is a necessary condition in order to have a chance of being awarded a certificate and its resulting benefits. One may acknowledge that the possible dilemmas appearing in relation with the dissonance, which is after all inherent in heritage, are settled in ways guaranteeing the fulfillment of the criteria described in the initiative. As Tunbridge [2013] correctly points out, ignoring, trivializing or contesting the conflict in heritage carries a risk, especially when we act in such a way as to apply an interpretation to the expectations of authorities, funders making grants dependent on the ideological context of the initiative, valorizing institutions or, finally, those awarding prizes and certificates.

To conclude, it is worth returning to the statement which appeared at the beginning of this article. The complexity of heritage and simultaneously, the dynamic nature of the process of its interpretation are inseparably connected with the changes in the identity of subjects identifying themselves with heritage. Due to the fact that identity succumbs to transformation under the influence of various factors, heritage must also be investigated in a performative context. In our opinion, research on the incidents of the transformation of heritage allow one to better understand just who his or her heirs are, and alluding to the metaphor employed by Marc Augé [2004, p. 17], whether this includes the 'gardeners' themselves: "Remembering or forgetting is doing gardener's work, selecting, pruning. Memories are like plants: there are those that need to be quickly eliminated in order to help the others burgeon, transform, flower".

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Trudne dziedzictwo w promocji turystyki: Certyfikowane produkty turystyczne w Polsce

Abstrakt

Cel. Celem niniejszego artykułu jest przedstawienie, jak rozmaite atrakcje – po zakwalifikowaniu ich jako „Najlepszy Produkt Turystyczny" przez Polską Organizację Turystyczną - stają się, w pewnym sensie, częścią dziedzictwa. Innymi słowy, ukazano, w jaki sposób system certyfikacji wspiera proces utowarowienia dziedzictwa.
Metoda. Badania jakościowe. Analiza multimodalna została zastosowana do zbadania werbalnych i wizualnych źródeł: opisów oraz fotografii i innych elementów graficznych z katalogów „Najlepsze Produkty Turystyczne Polski 2003-2012", „Najlepsze Produkty Turystyczne Polski 2013" i „Najlepsze Produkty Turystyczne 2014", opublikowanych w języku polskim i angielskim przez Polską Organizację Turystyczną, a także ze stron internetowych dedykowanych nagrodzonym produktom.
Wyniki. Analiza zebranego materiału badawczego ujawnia metody (re)interpretowania spuścizny przeszłości w procesie promocji miejsc i atrakcji turystycznych oraz utowarowienia dziedzictwa.
Ograniczenia badań i wnioskowania. Badania są typowym studium przypadku, które rzuca światło na zjawisko kulturowe, ale nie może być podstawą formułowania teorii na temat interpretacji dziedzictwa w ogóle. Analiza dotyczy polskiego kontekstu. Ponadto, utowarowienie dziedzictwa to bardzo dynamiczny proces, który wymaga dalszych badań, m.in. z uwzględnieniem nowych produktów turystycznych występujących w danym regionie.
Implikacje praktyczne. Analiza wskazuje na nowe potencjalne kierunki badania dziedzictwa w kontekście performatywności. To otwiera dyskusję na temat sposobów interpretacji polskiego dziedzictwa, w tym – roli aktorów uczestniczących w tym procesie. Świadomość tego, że dyskurs instytucjonalny kształtuje interpretację, w ramach której wartości szczególnie istotne dla danej części społeczeństwa są eksponowane, może być pomocna dla różnych podmiotów biorących udział w procesie utowarowienia dziedzictwa.
Oryginalność pracy. W artykule znana koncepcja dysonansu dziedzictwa kulturowego została zastosowana w polskim kontekście [Tunbridge, Ashworth 1996; Macdonald 2013]. W prezentowanym studium potwierdza się teza, iż praktyka zdecydowanie wyprzedza teorię w procesie tworzenia dziedzictwa.
Rodzaj pracy. Artykuł przedstawia wyniki badań empirycznych.

Słowa kluczowe: dziedzictwo, Polska, dysonans, interpretacja, utowarowienie, analiza multimodalna.

Vol. 37 FOLIA TURISTICA 2015

FEMALE-ORIENTED TOURIST GUIDEBOOKS: POLISH CASE STUDIES

*Małgorzata Nieszczerzewska**

Abstract

Purpose. The purpose of this study is to explore the construction of the narrative in travel guidebooks for women written or published in Polish, and to investigate how femininity of the tourist is constructed in these tourist texts, how the female-oriented knowledge about the tourist destination is characterized here and in what ways the cities and tourist destinations are gendered.
Method. The article presents the results of initial qualitative analysis (content and discourse analysis) of four female-focused guidebooks, the only ones which are published or written in Polish, and hence, available for female tourists in Poland. The analysis focuses on particular elements of the guides (such as vocabulary – especially adjectives and metaphors, photographs and other visual elements, types of description), which underline either the gaining of peculiar female-oriented knowledge about the tourist destinations, or describe sensory and bodily practices of urban exploration. The author paid particular attention to the tourist activities and urban destinations which are noticeably gendered and described as being strictly feminine or characterized as feminist.
Findings. The authors of the analyzed guidebooks mostly try to underline the main features of the city which are the most typical for the tourist destination seen from a "feminized" point of view or refer to the feminist approach. Their purpose is to propose some unconventional modes of touristic experiences and as a consequence, try to convince the readers that signs, symbols, myths and fantasies privileged within tourism marketing are not only male-oriented but, simultaneously, they see female tourists as sharing some essential qualities, a particular kind of knowledge and a specified identity. But both the feminine and the feminist approach is presented in the guidebooks quite stereotypically.
Research and conclusions limitations. The article focuses specifically on sources of research written in or translated into Polish.
Originality. The article is located within a theoretical analysis of the tourist space which affirms gendered identities and sexualities but explores a new area of research, which ensures its originality. The subject of the article is aimed at broadening the issue of women as city tourists.
Type of paper. The article is of overview character and forms a case study.

Key words: travel guides, female tourists, femininity

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Introduction

One of the main characters of Forster's book *A Room With a View*, written in 1908, states in characteristic words: "Women like looking at a view, men don't" [Forster 1978, p. 25]. On the back cover of the late-twentieth-century tourist guide the following sentence can be found: "Even if you visit historic sites, remember, that you are a woman" [Letondor and Berthet-Pimor 1993]. These two opinions share the common belief that the tourist experience of the city space depends on gender. The subject of the article is partly ained at broadening the issue of women as (city) tourists. The problem has been investigated by a number of researchers; some of them consider the general question of gender issues in tourism [Swain 2005; Aitchison 2005], the question of gender, tourism and employment [see e.g. Sinclair 1997], gender and leisure activities [see e.g. Nakata and Momsen 2010; Kuoni Report 2011], gender, nationality and tourism attitude [see McKercher, Pang and Prideaux 2011], female solo travelers [Jordan and Gibson 2004; Jordan 2008; McNamara and Prideaux 2010], female travelers and consumer practices [see e.g. Anderson and Littrell 1995; Timothy 2005], women and sex tourism [Jeffreys 2003; Borzyszkowski 2012]. Nishimura et al. [2006] point out that despite the widespread interest in travel information sources, generally travel guidebooks (described simply as "guidebooks") have been underrepresented in literature and academic research. The authors find it surprising because empirical studies have repeatedly identified guidebooks as being one of the most important sources of information for tourists [see also Wong and Liu 2011]. A similar situation concerns the issue of gender-oriented guidebooks. The topic has been acknowledged in a field of academic enquiry [e.g. Wilson et al. 2009], albeit the studies conducted by Polish researchers and based on Polish sources are very hard to find [Nieszczerzewska 2010]. The example of such an approach is not quite new. Stratigakos in *Women's Berlin* [2008] analyses one of the first guides to the city written by and for women – the innovative *Was die Frau von Berlin wissen muss*, published in Berlin in 1913. In her opinion, after two centuries of housewifery manuals that instructed women on their family and home duties, this book encouraged women to find their lives and identities in the streets and institutions of the modern city.

> Led by the reassuring voices of female experts, readers embarked on a voyage to the terra incognita of an anatomy classroom, political assemblies, and newspaper offices, among other traditionally male realms. Alongside these incursions, the book described the rise of a visibly different gendered landscape as female patrons and builders began to define and construct architectural spaces for women [Stratigakos 2008, p. 1].

The guide promised readers a view of Berlin from an "artistic, scientific, literary, political, theatrical, musical, and social standpoint". The research done by Stratigakos brings to light the fact that the guidebook to Berlin, in contrary to other modern guides, was in reality a novelty, which represented a cartography of the female agency in the industrial metropolis.

Wong and Liu [2011] state that there are hundreds if not thousands of travel guidebooks on the market. Different publishers focus on different things, and so the contents of books will vary. Travel guidebooks can be categorized by destination and theme. Gilbert and Henderson [2002] describe them as more than practical instructions for visitors, because a successful guide divides the world into visible attractions and invisible spaces between them. Lew noted that guidebooks not only help shape expectations, but also the destination behavior of tourists. He also stated that possibly more important than factual information, guidebooks provide a framework for experiencing a place [see Nishimura, Waryszak and King 2006, p. 13]. While the tourism industry ramped up their focus on female travelers many years ago, it took much longer for the publishing industry. Albeit, quick research including Internet websites leads to the conclusion that female-oriented guides written by women are becoming more and more popular, just to mention such examples as *The Single Woman's Travel Guide* by J. Simenauer and D. Walfield [2001], *100 Places Every Woman Should Go* by S. Elizondo Griest [2007], *50 Best Girlfriends Getaways in North America* by M. Bond [2007] or one of the newest *Naughty City Guides. A Lady's Guide to the Sexy City*, written by eight local female experts and journalists [2012]. Female-oriented guides are the effect of the conviction that women as travelers have other expectations of the visited cities and prefer different consumer practices than men. This opinion seems to be shared by the authors of the Canadian guide *Her Own Way* [2011], which indicates that women travel for countless reasons, whether to discover new frontiers, pursue business opportunities or simply to rest and relax. But when it comes to health and security, and how travelers are affected by the religious and cultural beliefs of the foreign countries they visit, there is a huge difference between women and men. The guides for women are examples of books in which, according to a motto found on the website of the tourist agency Travel Gallery, "women inspire women" and encourage them to have, at the end of the day, something for themselves.

Methodology

The article is located within a theoretical analysis of the tourist space which affirms gendered identities and sexualities. The scope within which I am able to demonstrate the problem is necessarily limited. The article presents the results of initial qualitative analysis based on bounded empirical material of four female-focused guidebooks published or written in Polish, and hence available for female tourists in Poland. These are two serial guides: *Paryż – przewodnik turystyczny dla kobiet* [*Paris – The Guidebook for Women,* 1993; translated from the German edition], written by Pierrette Letondor and Beatrice Berthet-Pimor and *Londyn – przewodnik turystyczny dla kobiet* [*London – The Guidebook for Women*, 1993] by Anita Frei; the newest publications *Polska według kobiet. Przewodnik turystyczny* [*Poland According to Women. The Tourist Guidebook*, 2010] and *Kraków kobiet. Przewodnik turystyczny* [*Women's Cracow. The Tourist Guidebook*, 2011]. In the paper I use English translations of the titles to simplify the understanding for non–Polish [trans. M.N.] readers.

The guidebooks chosen for critical commentary are primarily considered as texts or signs. Although I am conscious of the fact that they are much more than that (e.g. they are constitutive parts of the tourist, publishing and heritage industry or could also be treated as elements of social prestige – e.g. in the 19th century they were created for the new social groups: the middle class, women or entire families), for obvious reasons the issues of the article are necessarily limited. As Marso suggests [2006], femininity is always articulated, therefore, I have decided to consider the female-oriented guidebooks as texts which can be a part of such a literary articulation; all the more it is obvious that the tourism industry is in the business of selling experiences and "selves" [see e.g. Bosangit, Hibbert and Mc Cabe 2015]. The article examines how the femininity of the tourist and the "feminine face" of the city are then constructed by the authors of the above-mentioned guidebooks. According to Holmes and Marra [2010], the term femininity always invokes a stereotype, and it is a negative one for many feminists, and a problematic and uncomfortable one for many academic women. As Williams Rundstrom [2007] suggests, femininity appears to be more of a continuum and individuals may attempt to use language to place themselves somewhere along the continuum rather than at one extreme or the other. The content and discourse analysis of the guidebooks focuses first and foremost on the question of the language used to describe places or urban practices which constitute the tourist experience [about the gender differences in language see e.g. Newman et al. 2008]. Therefore I paid particular attention to elements of the narratives of the guides such as vocabulary (especially adjectives, adverbs and metaphors), images (photographs, maps and other visual elements) and the mode of constructing the narrative (types of descriptions, formality and informality of the language) which, in my opinion, underline either the gaining of peculiar female-oriented knowledge about the tourist destination, or constitute sensory and bodily practices of urban exploration (e.g. looking, walking, smelling and listening). All the above-mentioned elements of narratives are thought by the authors of the guides to re-engage women as tourists with the "female spirit of a place". That is the reason for the arbitrary choice of tourist attractions, made by the authors, described in the guides and mentioned and analyzed by the author of the article. In that case, the aim of this article was to investigate the ways the cities and tourist destinations are gendered, therefore I focused on the tourist activities and urban destinations which are peculiarly described as being feminine or feminist. It is obvious that many tourist practices are a way of searching not only for an authentic, real life of other groups, but the authentic "self" of a tourist as well [MacCannell 1999; Urry 2002; Wieczorkiewicz 2008]. For the readers, the narrative of the city guides create a feeling of being a special *female* tourist that differs from masculine tourists and disposes of the "unique tourist gaze". Thus, the aforesaid books lack all the attractions that are obvious and taken for granted when cementing the city's tourist landscape, or they are mentioned very briefly. The feeling of the extraordinary female tourist experience is emphasized then, through the choice of such places, buildings, activities and stories, which, according to the authors of the guides, every woman should go to, see, do and listen to.

Feminized landscape of the city: guidebooks to Paris and London

The suggestions that women differ from men as tourists appear on the cover of the guidebooks written by Letondor, Berthet-Pimor and Frei [1993] as well. Paris and London guides concern the cities according to female fancies and weaknesses only. The city space is at the same time touring, commercial, recreational and gossipy. The guidebook is full of women's advice, proposals and curiosities. And, what seems the most important for the authors, "it fits in every handbag". The travel guides to Paris and London, written by Letondor, Berthet-Pimor and Frei in the late 80s, are examples of pocket-size guidebooks. Considering the time of publishing, the guidebooks are actually out of date and can be analyzed only as a curiosity (although they are still available from some e-web stores). The cover drawings are very conventional. We can see a portrait of a woman against the background of the Eiffel Tower or Big Ben. An interesting notion appears when one pays attention to the fact that in both cases, the woman's face is in the greater part hidden behind a stylish hat. It may suggest that the image on the cover portraits an anonymous travelling woman – an *every* woman, or at the same time – a coquette. Women on the covers are represented as highly desirable as objects of, according to the feminist approach, a male gaze [see Pritchard and Morgan 2000; Mulvey 1992]. In contradiction to many other city guides it contains only black and white photographs and what seems more important, they picture mainly women inhabiting the city space.

The quick research indicates that tourist urban imagination is here still first and foremost stimulated by sight. The first, most popular tourist activity is then sightseeing, for a long time controlled by the most known guidebook of modern times – the famous Baedeker - which Gilbert and Henderson call "obvious, plagiarizing, formulaic, even cannibalistic" [2002, p. 122]. The sightseeing, therefore, was determined only by visual contact with the city environment in the process of exploring the space according to Baedeker's routes and recognizing famous places and buildings which every tourist, *irrespective of gender*, must have known. This kind of tourist experience was described by Forster as "touching only the surface of things" [1978, p. 36]. According to Stratigakos, the women's guidebook to Berlin also imparted topical information needed to navigate the city at a local level, such as in a chapter on public transportation, but against Baedeker's linear and grounded trajectories, gave the impression of "floating its readers through the more diffuse and complex spheres of a new world" [2008, p. 3].

It should then not be surprising that the tourist adventure in the "female Paris or London" begins with a stereotypical view, the "picture" of the city that appears like a panorama, the invention which revolutionized the tourist view in the 19th century [see e.g. Friedberg 1994; Harvey 2003]. The opening chapter of *Paris - The Guidebook for Women* includes a fragment underlying the relations between women and city views that reminds us of Mr Emerson's sentence mentioned in the introduction: "Paris is a city, which you must first see with a bird's eye. It doesn't mean if you are on the Eiffel Tower or Montmartre, you'll have a wide panoramic view lying at your feet" [1993, p. 31]. According to many other fragments of the guide's narratives, the female city experience seems to be not complete if tourists do not admire "a beautiful view of the whole of Paris", "an amazing view on Seine River and Notre-Dame" [pp. 32-35], or an amazing view from the top of a red bus [Frei 1993, pp. 31-32]. The streets of the city, as Fyfe reminds us, have always been of particular fascination for those interested in the city and are the places where social identities and social practices are shaped by people's experiences of being in the street [Fyfe 2006, pp. 1-9]. The authors of the guidebooks to Paris and London encourage female tourists to discover the beauty of the streets and create their own routes as a contemporary *flâneuse* [about the term see e.g. Wilson 1991; Pollock 1988; Gleber 1999; Parsons 2000], to make their own "long poem of walking", according to the theory of Michel de Certeau [1984, pp. 91-111], which means working against the "imaginary totalizations" produced by those who seek to render the city readable and totally controllable [see also Rossiter and Gibson 2004]. Rendell uses the word "to ramble" to define this particular, "accidental" activity bound up with discovering the secrets of city space. The rambler traverses the city, looking in its open and interior spaces for adventure and entertainment. Therefore, he creates a kind of conceptual and physical map of what the city is [2006, pp. 74-90]. Letondor and Frei encourage women to be producers of their own urban texts, to construct and occupy urban space inventively, even though they create the "controlled narrative of the city space" at the same time. When we consider the question of female *flâneurie* as one of the tourist practices present in the guidebooks, we can notice that first and foremost, these include rambling in the spaces of nature in the city "alternative, green and silent corners" or the spaces of urban consumption. Frei argues, that the tourist parts of London are predicted for rambling and therefore, it is a city especially interesting for women because there are many streets full of shops, historic monuments, beautiful parks and quiet corners. Even a lonely woman can feel cozy and very comfortable in the city [p. 29]. Rambling, in contradiction to the stereotyped meaning of sightseeing, assumes a multisensory experience of the visited places. Therefore, the experience of "tourists wearing skirts" is not only a visual one. The constructed representations suggest different ways of experiencing the city, using the senses of taste as well as smell. Urry [2004] reminds the argument of feminist writers that concentration upon the visual sense overemphasizes appearance, image and surface, and the preponderance of the look over the smell, taste and touch has brought about an impoverishment of bodily relations. Hence, the female authors suggest that there are various ways of experiencing the city, and use the term "consuming places" not only in a metaphorical way. Women as tourists find a prescription - how to "smell" and "taste" the city space as well, for the narrators create their own, culinary topography of the cities filling them with all the odors, fragrances and flavors (first of all the delicate and sweet ones) which are meant to be particularly feminine and stimulating for the female tourists' imagination. The most interesting places to inspire the sense of taste are the restaurants, cafés and tea-rooms either founded by women or with female cooks or chefs [Letondor and Berthet-Pimor 1993; Frei 1993].

An interesting notion appears if close attention is paid to the epithets found in various fragments of the guidebook descriptions. According to some research, women have been found to use more intensive and positive emotional adverbs [Newman et al. 2008, p. 213]. Both the landscape of the city and individual sights, e.g. museums are then described as beautiful, pretty, charming, fairy-tale-like, amazing, cozy, idyllic, harmonic, romantic, nice or … rural. Particular parts of the city space are thus conceptualized as oases full of specific charm or enchanting corners. Frei quotes Margot Walmsey, the main editor of a women's magazine; according to the question "What do women find the most interesting in London?" she responded: "Plenty of flowers, trees and parks" [1993, p. 76]. It appears then, that one of the most important tourist preferences accredited to women is: the search for beauty, grace and coziness, even homeliness, and the authors point out the places which are to fulfill these programmed expectations. To make use of the phrase that Pritchard and Morgan quote in their article, they rather create not “female” but artificially “feminized landscape” [2000, p. 886]. It is not difficult to ascertain that the aforementioned descriptions and epithets were typical for the romantic discourse on the natural landscape in the travel literature of the past.

Albeit, the schematic view of the city is consequently tried to be overcome. The phrase “view of the city” can also be treated as a metaphor of a different kind of tourist experience [see Stratigakos 2008]. Urry [2004] argues that many writers (especially the feminist ones) particularly emphasize the significance of aural traditions in women’s lives as talking, listening, telling stories, engaging an intimate detailed dialog or gossip and the use of the metaphor of “giving voice”. The authors of the guidebooks also use this approach. The space framed in a panoramic view is at various points replaced by the image of the city narrated by women who inhabit the city, e.g. a sculptress from Saint-Germaine, an author of many novels, the oldest bookseller in Paris, a famous fashion model, the main editor of a women’s magazine, the most famous philosopher, an actress or singer, a handicraft artist, a jewelry seller and so on. The authors name these small narratives “portraits of the city” which contain e.g. such questions as: “What do you – as a woman – miss in the city?”. One can find the following interesting answers:

> To a large extent no one recognizes femininity in a woman. In Paris, women are forced to look best and the most sexy. In New York women not only want to be their best, but first and foremost interesting. And in London? Nobody cares! [Frei 1993, p. 183]

Tourist “gender trouble” also means schematic involvement in consumer practices. The analysis of the aforementioned guides for women leads to the conclusion that women not only like looking at views, women as tourists love shopping as well. The authors encourage the readers to begin the consumer adventure in the city with a nostalgic visit to passages and department stores – the perfect places to buy things that are to be personal city memorabilia. As Frei claims, a tourist with an *educated* gaze can easily find what she is looking for [1993, p. 112]. Women are also inspired to overcome the stereotypes bound up with a collecting obsession (such as buying postcards or miniatures of the Eiffel Tower) and provide themselves with buying “original” objects, as follows: costumes, shoes and jewelry reminding the fashion of the 50s, silk flowers and proper flowerpots, old umbrellas and wraps, nice wooden toys, bags, old and new hats, old-fashioned pencils and pens, beautiful perfume bottles, art deco posters, beautiful old glass, pearls, laces and buttons, dolls, odd tea pots and other domestic items, old suitcases and travel bags. Thus, the female tourist described by Letondor, Berthet-Pimor and Frei is able to make her own collection of “silly things”, which can stimulate her tourist urban imagination. As Sommer [2004] has noted, we collect things which are always the same, to which we can ascribe a term that helps us with our choice and can assist us in the arrangement of the collection. The things to be collected must then have something in common, at least one of the features: outlook, form, function, provenance, history; on the other hand, it is us who have to choose an aspect – a term – that discovers their resemblance. In the imagination of the female tourist, things can become similar first and foremost because they are old, beautiful or delightful and, above all, “feminine”.

Letondor, Berthet-Pimor and Frei seem to create a perfect but, at the same time, very traditional and sensual model of femininity. Although they underline cultural stereotypes of feminine behavior, appreciate and emphasize the unique characteristics and qualities, they believe women always have some parts of the guidebooks narratives directed straightly to the feminist approach, hence many women and places receive a “feminist” attribute as well. Frei directly names a tourist exploring London as an “emancipated woman” [1993, p. 62]. To be an unusual tourist, a travelling woman should thus visit, among others, a feminist library, a bookstore for women, where she can find many feminist literature positions or books about women, a first fashion house whose inventors were women, restaurants and shops run by women, women’s theatres and cabarets, museums for women and so forth. On the contrary, one can find the following paradoxes in the guides:

> There are thousands of bars and restaurants in this city, but no one of them is in particular for the feminists. (…) Elisabeth Badiner, one of the most known female philosophers in France, tries to answer this question: (…) ‘Thank God, the situation looks like this! Separating the sexes doesn’t fit the French temperament. (…) What a terrific perspective it would be!’ [Letondor and Berthet-Pimor 1993, p. 117].

Pritchard and Morgan claim that the language of tourist promotion constructs rather a sensual than intellectual link between tourists and the landscape of the tour [2000, p. 892]. The authors fuse different kinds of tourist experiences and different languages which should describe them in a peculiar way. On the one hand, they portray city landscapes in feminine and beauteous terms. Representations of city landscapes are thus grounded in the gendered power relationships which characterize societies: woman becomes nature and nature woman, as Rose stated [quoted in Pritchard and Morgan 2000, p. 892]. On the other hand, they try to use a feminist approach (albeit, also schematically understood) to give some reflexive and intellectual ground to the female tourist experience.

Gender of cities: guides to Poland and Cracow

Taking into account the idea and content of *Poland According to Women* we can deduce that it is located somewhere between the aforementioned guides to Paris and London and the guidebook *Women's Cracow*. The suggestion that women differ from men as tourists can also be found in the opening chapter of this guidebook:

> In the whole world women make products and services addressed only to themselves, such as insurance companies, clubs, restaurants, beaches – places reserved only for women. While in Poland new female tourist agencies appear one after another, it is about time for the first tourist guidebook [2010, p. 5].

An opinion about the separate tourist experiences is also highlighted within the female reader's comment placed on the Internet, where we can read as follows: "The idea of the guide really fulfilled my expectations. The title inspired me with its straightforward manner. I felt privileged, that's why I bought the guidebook. And it didn't let me down." (http://www.cartablanca.pl/produkty/61/polska-wg-kobiet)

"What kind of features distinguish the book from 'a typical masculine guide'?" – such a question appears in one of the internet reviews. The answers are not surprising: the book is tastefully edited, including a "harmonic tourist narrative", professional photographs and an astonishing number of maps and drawings. The reviewer finds the female subjectivism very important, since it indicates "looking at places not universally but through the female eyes" (http://slask.naszemiasto.pl/artykul/243247,polska-wedlug-kobiety,id,t.html).

The guidebook is probably thought of as a popular guide, but certainly there are some niche attributes added. The cover image relates to the similar schema as mentioned in the forgoing part of the article. We can see a young and beautiful woman wearing a rucksack and a sun hat, with an enigmatic smile on her face. The portrait of the woman schematically relates to the tourist clichés, although her figure looks a little bit informal and suggests rather the activity of spontaneous travelling than involving in schematic tourist practices. The contents are characterized by plenty of colorful photographs, drawings images (both of exteriors and interiors of buildings), maps (the reader cannot get rid of the common opinion that women get lost everywhere) and of women. As it concerns the whole touristic landscape of Poland (both cities, villages and places of nature), the volume of the book is quite sizable. The content is organized not thematically but geographically.

Poland According to Women is a guide that tries to give both a feminine and feminist attitude to the subject of female tourism. On one hand, the authors celebrate traditionally womanliness and feminine attitudes such as looking at the city space and admiring the landscapes, rambling in "cozy, beautiful and charming streets and corners". They also use language that evokes a socially recognized identity.

> Kłodzko is a magical city (…) it is a place appropriate for female daydreamers (there is a view terrace which enables a beautiful panorama of Kłodzko), for lovers of history (museum expositions) and enthusiasts of adventures (underground labyrinths). I recommend Kłodzko to all women searching for a fairy-tale-like atmosphere and getting away from it all [*Women's Cracow*, 2011, p. 300, trans. M.N.]

On the other hand, the female authors of the guide try to overcome the schematic attitude towards women as tourists, which indicates shopping. The stereotypical relation between women and shopping is tried to be overcome here, therefore the authors do not give many hints as to where to go and what to buy. Albeit, what seems interesting, such expectations appear in a reader's comment on the guide to Poland, which we can find on one of the websites: "The book is very good, but except for descriptions of tourist attractions we would expect some information about the shops in every city – we love also rambling and looking for things" (http://www.cartablanca.pl/produkty/61/polska-wg-kobiet).

Instead of giving souvenir-buying tips, the authors encourage female tourists to "ramble across the history" of the visited cities. In that case, the tourist imagination is stimulated by stories of women who lived in the city a long time ago or have their own, uncommon memories and experiences of the city. Every place in Poland is described by women which are mostly known to the Polish TV audience or women's magazines readers. "Tittle-tattles, photos and maps are accompanied by the passionate stories of 75 women. Among the authors one can find popular and beloved celebrities" [2010, cover]. In case of the legends and short stories such a role is played by mostly unknown, "women from the past". This refers to the fashionable discourse of so called story-telling, as mentioned by Bosangit et.al., which should indicate that a tourist guidebook for women is just more than a kind of "trip advisor" or a partial discourse of "history of art":

> One way in which these processes are revealed is through the stories that people tell about their tourism experiences (…), especially once-in-a-life-time trips such as back-packing, which might be considered amongst the most intense and meaningful consumption experiences in a person's life (…). Story telling is principally a post-consumption activity. Consumers present stories to others to relay memories of events and activities as well as their significance in terms of identity [2015, p. 2].

The readers come across a similar situation in the guide *Women's Cracow*, which, in contradiction to the guide to Poland, is in fact an alternative historical book about the city. The opening chapter of the guide clarifies that the book was written with a specific feminist approach. This female-oriented guidebook presents itself as a niche, innovatory, alternative guide for particular activities or identities within the city [see e.g. Gilbert and Henderson 2002]. First of all, unlike the foregoing guidebooks, the image on the cover does not portrait a woman, but a fragment of a city map. It is a groundbreaking tourist guide to Cracow that cumulates and brings out the stories about women, which influenced the history of the city. Similar to the London and Paris guides, it is described as a stimulus to ramble in the city, but opposite to them, it means searching for its new,female historical face. Maximally long essayistic narratives and black and white photos of Cracow's architecture are characteristic of the guide. The content is organized thematically. Cracow is often called the city of kings, students, artists and saints (masculine ones of course). The authors (five women and uniquely, one man) use this well-known mindset as organizing the guide, but they simultaneously change this view upside down and propose the tourist their own, female routes: The Route of Queens and Princesses, The Route of Artists (The Women of The Academy of Arts and Cracow's Bohemia), The Route of the Saints and Mystics, The Route of Jews and The Route of Suffragettes and Academics.

The language used by the authors in these historical essays about women is much more neutral than in the guidebooks analyzed above. It also concerns a rather intellectual than sensual approach. The so called feminist approach is here highlighted first and foremost by the use of "feminized" names of women's professions in the above-mentioned routes. The authors change their grammatical gender, in Polish traditionally masculine in form. Although in many situations such forms may sound surprising (there are nouns in Polish which are unable to be changed this way, or if changed, they sound ridiculous), the authors of the guide try to avoid the language and conceptual pitfalls. Whereas the greater part of women in Poland still present conservative attitudes to such a use of language, for many of them sounding unacceptable, but as mentioned, the guidebook is probably thought of as a niche, alternative guide for a peculiar audience, and not a popular city guidebook.

We can go further and claim that *Women's Cracow* can easily be inscribed in the contemporary ideological discourse on the cultural change in Poland and treated as a its part. According to the authors of the guide, the history of Cracow's women is not adequately represented by the street names or statues. The routes delineated by the female authors include the places in which the tourist should set her imagination in motion and find "another Cracow". Artist Marta Deskur describes it more literally:

> It is a very important book convincing me about the fact that Cracow is not only a man, or the Pope, or the King. It makes the readers realize that the

> city was created and built up not only by Wanda, Bona or Queen Jadwiga – as three rotten apples among millions of fruits – but by many more great Queens, Mystics, Jews or Poles, not because of their titles, but because of the talents and natural power of authority [*Women's Cracow*, 2011, cover, trans. M.N.].

Sentences encoding traditional femininity are here transformed into sentences encoding the so called "empowered femininity" [Williams 2007, p. 132]. The above-mentioned quotation is also worth noticing, since its author assumes that not only the tourist but the city space itself has sex/gender. The issue is much more interesting when one realizes, that the name of the city – Kraków (Cracow) – is a masculine form in Polish. Therefore, the considerations about female tourist urban imaginary can be easily inscribed within the problem of sexuality and space [see e.g. Colomina 1992]. Although, as Lico puts it, the gendering of architecture (and city space) is not straightforwardly visible since the values and ideologies architecture embodies claim to have an universal status and are normally taken as gender-free [2001, p. 31]. While reading short and brief stories about acts, problems, loves, affaires and troubles of women who had inhabited the city in the distant past, female tourists are encouraged to discover normally hidden and unknown facts, to find a mysterious and mainly forgotten image of the city, its gender or "female face". They are inspired to look at the fragments of the city through the eyes of women who are no longer alive, but whose mainly fictive and often thrilling stories should stimulate the female tourist imagination of the readers.

Opposite to the guides of Paris and London, the authors of the two above-mentioned books make an attempt at creating a new version of the history of the cities, which are the tourist destinations. Gajewska [2008] points out that the main aim of the history presented from the feminist perspective is to reconstruct matriarchal knowledge about women, which seems to be a research model. In the guide to Cracow, the issue of changing historical knowledge is very visible.

> What is *Women's Cracow*? (…) If we listen to the voice of the history, we can admit that the most hearable and dominant are the stories about the Polish nation which favors the acts and experiences of men. (…) But we shouldn't forget, that 'women's Cracow' existed from the beginning, inseparably bound up with 'men's Cracow', but unseen [2011, p. 9, trans. M.N.].

Therefore, the memory, history and identity of a city is here not to be understood as the emanation of an enclosed, hermetically sealed, "pure" group and their past, but the ongoing social construction of people with diverse histories whose lives intersect in a specific place [Bloomfield 2006, pp. 45-46]. The authors claim that the tourist experience of emancipated women should rely on the "politics of memory". The guide is a pleasurable incentive to ramble in the streets of Cracow and restore the memory of its female inhabitants, which were marginalized or unknown.

Conclusions

The above exploration of four female-oriented guidebooks leads to the conclusion that female tourists should not only find the answer to the main question of what it means to be a tourist, but what it means to be a woman as well, according to the narratives made by the authors. Parkins [2009] argues that in modern times women left their homes in search of new places and new ways of experiencing the world. The journey was first and foremost a chance for women travelers to create a different self by going somewhere else. While reading the guides for women it can be noticed that the above mentioned situation seems to be quite different, for the female authors of these narratives create their own city map encouraging female tourists to find *themselves*, to feel just like a woman. "My book is about how to celebrate being a woman", says Griest literally. "This is a pro-woman travel guide". (http://www.gonomad.com/womens/0804/travel-guides.html#ixzz2BiCkw3wE). Taking the above-mentioned opinions for granted, it can be assumed that women constitute a separate category of tourists, therefore they see tourist destinations in different ways and other inspirations stimulate their imagination. In that case, tourism experiences are not only framed as multi-sensory and emotional, but *transformational* as well [see Bosangit, Hibbert and McCabe 2015, p. 3].

Examining the aforementioned guidebooks' narratives as the literary and social imaginings of a place leads to the conclusion that the female authors mostly try to underline the main features of the city which, on the one hand are the most typical for the tourist destination seen from the "feminized" point of view, and on the other refer to the feminist approach. They simultaneously define the right of access to particular places in the visited city, particular activities or urban practices and create the identity of the reader as a perfect tourist, who is at the same time to some extent a perfect woman.

Although the authors try to refer to the discourses either of empowered or traditional femininity, or create some specified hybrid discourse, the guidebooks are actually neither feminine nor feminist (especially if we consider a third wave of feminism or post-feminism). First and foremost, in this case, the conventionality of classic Baedeker is replaced by another one underlining the existence of women's "gender trouble", or more literally, "female trouble". Although, theoretically – opposite to modern times - women have a right to intimate and original contact with the city they intend to visit, the boundaries and elements of tourist experience have changed to other barriers of the stereotype because the urbanity constructed in the guidebooks corresponds to the imaginary effect that makes female tourist citizens part of some peculiar "world of women". This alternative urban and tourist imaginary doesn't include any "other" than women, which are certainly a privileged group and have the only right to discover and "inhabit" the city they visit as tourists. The concept of male tourism landscapes which, especially by feminist researchers, are considered to be constructed to "celebrate masculinity and patriarchy" and which exclude women [see Pritchard and Morgan 2000, p. 886], is here replaced by the opposite one. On the one hand, the characteristic for the guides' "women only" approach, marginalizes women as peculiar species [Swain 2005, p. 247]. On the other, it indicates that places do not exist in a sense other than culturally, and as a result that they can appear and disappear, change in size and character according to the way in which people construct them. Places understood this way have no objective reality, only one that is inter-subjective [see Pritchard and Morgan 2000, p. 885]. Therefore, a constitutive feature of the urban imagination in the guidebooks is so called "feminine spirit", and female tourists should search for confirmation, or even verification of their femininity in the visited city space.

According to Pritchard and Morgan [2000], an analysis of industry-produced marketing materials aimed at potential tourists reveals that the language and imagery of promotion is a privilege of the male gaze above all others. The narratives of the guides written by and for women are created to give new senses to the well-known cities and places within them. Therefore, a particular sense to the places in the city gives nothing but the terms "female", "feminine" or "feminist", artificially prescribed to every activity, practice and fragment of the city space. One might paraphrase the words of Elisabeth Grosz and state that if the city is a significant context and frame of gender, the relations between gender and cities are more complex than realized in the guides [Grosz 1992, p. 243] or, maybe, much more simple. On the one hand, the authors try to overcome the touristic routine and define a new canon and mode of perception, on the other, they "separate the sexes" again by overusing the aforementioned terms in their narratives, and thereby enclose the "unique" tourist experience of the guided city. If one compares the analyzed guides it can be noticed that the most "feminine urban imagination" is the one created by Letondor and Frei, and the guide *Poland According to Women* seems to be the most neutral one. The space designated here as feminine does not actually differ much from the "masculine norm" (if we, of course maintain this uncertain acknowledgment). In the case of *Women's Cracow,* the formula of the tourist guidebook seems to be rather an excuse to re-write a history of the city in a popular way by remembering the stories of women (from the saint to the scandalous ones) which were, according to female authors' view, very important to Cracow.

The activity of tourism is also here meant as feminist emancipation, although the idea of womanhood is presented in a quite stereotypical way as well. The authors do not seem to recognize that travelling women might have nothing in common with feminist postulates and may not even accept them, therefore, the guidebooks can be recognized as niche books for a peculiar audience. Although all the guidebooks' narratives were written after the 1980s, they still emphasize the idea of a mythical "female sisterhood", nonetheless, the term was undermined by many researchers in academic publications [see e.g. Hannam 2007]. The authors try to convince women that they propose unconventional modes of touristic experiences, as a consequence trying to convince the readers that signs, symbols, myths and fantasies privileged within tourism marketing are not only male-oriented but, simultaneously, see female tourists as sharing some essential qualities, a particular kind of knowledge and a specified identity [Marso 2006, p. xi]. It is quite obvious that "femininity" (examined in both kinds of approaches) can be considered as just a quasi-economic factor that stimulates women to buy a guidebook as "something new, original and surprising". In other words, the term is just used as a brand in tourism marketing discourse. This view, as strictly adequate to many tourist guidebooks, still underlines that women as tourists are consumers, not acknowledging that they can play an active, co-creative role in generating the experience and can be "self-directed, self-expressive and firmly placed in the driver's seat" [Bosangit, Hibbert and McCabe, 2015, pp. 2-3].

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PRZEWODNIKI TURYSTYCZNE DLA KOBIET: POLSKIE STUDIUM PRZYPADKU

Abstrakt

Cel. Głównym celem artykułu jest próba analizy narracji wybranych przewodników turystycznych dla kobiet, napisanych lub opublikowanych w Polsce oraz zbadanie, w jaki sposób konstruowana jest w tych narracjach kobiecość turystek, kobieca wiedza na temat destynacji turystycznych oraz w jaki sposób miejskim atrakcjom turystycznym przypisana jest konkretna płeć.
Metoda. Artykuł prezentuje rezultat wstępnej analizy jakościowej (analizy treści, analizy dyskursu) czterech przewodników napisanych lub przetłumaczonych dla polskich turystek. Rozważaniom poddane zostały poszczególne elementy narracji przewodników (takie jak język, w szczególności przymiotniki i metafory, charakter opisów atrakcji turystycznych, fotografie oraz inne elementy wizualne przewodników), których celem jest, po pierwsze, podkreślenie sposobu zdobywania wiedzy na temat turystycznych destynacji przez podróżujące kobiety, po drugie natomiast, konstruowanie sensorycznego, cielesnego doświadczenie w ramach turystycznej eksploracji miejskiej przestrzeni. Szczególna uwaga poświęcona została tym aktywnościom, miejscom i atrakcjom turystycznym, którym autorki przewodników przypisały w szczególny sposób kobiecą płeć, konstruując przewodnikowe narracje z jednej strony z „typowo kobiecego", z drugiej natomiast, „feministycznego" punktu widzenia.
Wyniki. Autorki poddanych analizie przewodników starają się przede wszystkim podkreślić główne cechy miasta, które ich zdaniem, są najbardziej typowe dla "kobiecego" punktu widzenia lub odwołują się do feministycznych teorii, próbując w ten sposób wykreować, w ich mniemaniu, niekonwencjonalny rodzaj turystycznego doświadczenia oraz przekonując czytelniczki, że znaki, symbole, mity i wyobrażenia wpisane w turystyczny marketing są nie tylko "zorientowane na mężczyzn", lecz, jednocześnie, można wyodrębnić turystykę kobiecą jako obszar,

w którym podzielane są pewne niezbędne jakości, specjalistyczna wiedza i specyficzna tożsamość. W konsekwencji jednakże, zarówno ten „typowo kobiecy", jak i „feministyczny" punkt widzenia zawarty w analizowanych przewodnikach został ujęty w sposób bardzo stereotypowy.
Ograniczenia badań i wnioskowania. Analizie zostały poddane jedynie źródła polskojęzyczne.
Oryginalność pracy. Założeniem autorki było uzupełnienie teoretycznych założeń polskojęzycznego dyskursu dotyczącego przestrzeni turystycznej, podkreślającego jednakże zależność doświadczenia turystycznego od płci podróżującego podmiotu. Tematyka badawcza stanowiąca punkt wyjścia poniższych rozważań poszerza zagadnienie kobiet jako turystek w przestrzeni miejskiej.
Rodzaj pracy. Artykuł, z jednej strony, ma charakter przeglądowy, z drugiej natomiast, stanowi studium przypadku.

Słowa kluczowe: przewodniki turystyczne, kobiety-turystki, kobiecość.

Vol. 37 FOLIA TURISTICA 2015

IMPACT OF EURO 2012 ON THE PERCEIVED ATTRACTIVENESS OF KRAKÓW AMONG FOREIGN TOURISTS

*Jagoda Komusińska**

Abstract

Purpose. The purpose was to establish if the organization of the football championship by Poland had any influence on the perceived attractiveness of the most important Polish tourist destination – Kraków. Research started when Kraków withdrew its bid to become the host of the Winter Olympics. The research aids evaluation of the potentially lost profits and costs of hosting the Olympics by discovering if the games could upgrade the perceived image of the city.
Method. Paper-and-pencil quantitative survey (744 respondents)
Findings. Kraków is mostly associated with its cultural heritage. Its attractiveness lies in its "originality", which refers to its heritage. The city does not currently have a "sporty" image, but it has a strong positive image. Hosting the Olympics would imply a shift in city branding policy (neglecting its strongest assets).
Research and conclusions limitations. The research was only conducted on a specific group of visitors and cannot be extrapolated onto the general population of incoming tourists. It was representative for the given group which constitutes an important sector of the general population of incoming tourists. The key question was aimed at measuring the declared, potential future change in a respondent's approach towards the city, and such declarations are unreliable.
Practical implications. Findings can be used by the municipality in establishing the city's branding policy because they reveal the strongest perceived assets which should be exploited
Originality. There exist only very few ex-post analyses measuring the influence of sport mega-events.
Type of paper. Results of empirical research.

Keywords: branding policy, sport mega-events, Barcelona effect, travel decision-making.

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Introduction

In June 2012, Poland together with Ukraine, hosted the Union of European Football Association championship, renown as the third most important sport event in the world [Columbus 2012]. From the moment of the announcement of the elected hosts in 2007, the possibility to stage the event was considered a success by the media [Woźniak 2011]. According to government line (presented in the [Impact Report 2010]), UEFA EURO 2012 was an occasion to accelerate infrastructural reforms, through accelerating the construction of highways, railways, reception venues and sport facilities. The acceleration, in turn, was supposed to be beneficial for the rate of GDP growth. Another positive facet of hosting the championship was the fact that the games would draw international attention to the host. Poland as a tourist destination was supposed to gain in attractiveness in numerous ways. It would be physically visited by thousands of football fans during the games, and those visitors would visit not only football stadiums but also take advantage of other local attractions. Thanks to the wide media coverage, Poland would be asserted as an interesting place (the so-called "putting on the map" effect) in the minds of millions of TV-spectators who had known nothing/little about it before. The awareness raised should result in an increase in the numbers of incoming tourists in the following years. In an ex-ante "Impact Report" analysis commissioned by the Ministry of Sport and Tourism, the overall impact of EURO 2012 on the Polish image abroad was dubbed the "Polish effect", which was an adaptation of the notorious "Barcelona effect". In fact, the size of the expected additional influx of incoming tourists that should visit Poland thanks to EURO 2012 in the years 2013-2017 was greater than that noted in Barcelona in the years that followed its organization of the Summer Olympics in 1992. According to the updated version of the Impact Report [2012, pp. 25-28], in 2011 Poland was visited by 2.7 million foreigners visiting for recreational purposes [Intur], whereas their number in 2014 was supposed to be greater by 592,000. Altogether, the authors expected an average additional 766,000 incoming tourists yearly in the period of 2013-2020, attracted to Poland by the EURO (including about 25% of them to visit the Małopolska region).

The generally positive associations that were shared about the UEFA EURO tournament were supposed to create accordingly positive associations connected with its host. In other words: the image of Poland as a tourist destination was expected to be upgraded and associated with the image of the event of UEFA EURO. Such adjectives as: dynamic, vibrant, young, energetic, optimistic, well-organised [Dębski 2011] were used very often in the official speeches by state and local governments to describe the desired image that should be conveyed to the world about Poland through the organization of this event. Choosing and underlining these characteristics implied that the current vision of Poland shared by foreigners did not include them at a satisfying level [see: POT 2014].

Being elected to host the world's third most important sport event meant that the country's branding policy for the next years would be determined and dominated by the requirements and limitations of this event. For years, offices responsible for setting up the Polish branding policy could only play on the fact of staging UEFA EURO to exploit all its potential. It also meant that other paths of country branding policies were very narrowed, as paying attention to a different dimension of branding policy simultaneously with building on the potential of UEFA EURO would be incoherent and pointless, as such dispersed actions could not be strong enough to exert any international influence. In fact, the moment Poland was elected as a host was a strategic turning point: the strength of identity and image of the event overshadowed and blocked possibility of an independent strategic branding policy based on country-specific resources. Those country-specific resources, which create the uniqueness of each country as a tourist destination and build its unique brand [Hollcomb 1999, pp. 54-56], were used in the promotional materials distributed in the media which accompanied the event, but their role was of accessorial nature. Polish nature, heritage sites, ambient and all other elements of *genius loci* were presented within the frame and as complimentary to a "dynamic, well-organised, vibrant, active, sporty" place. What is more, this narration was not limited to the overall country branding policy, but was also narrowed to branding policies for particular Polish cities. The matches were played in Warsaw, Gdansk, Wrocław and Poznań, but all larger cities were engaged in the event – also Kraków, for example by staging "fan zones" in large green areas where public match transmissions were organised. The presence of particular cities in international media was escalated, but only through the lens of the games.

The status of Kraków at the time of EURO 2012 was complicated: it was not chosen as one of the host cities, but was boldly present in all official country-promoting spots to be aired during advertising breaks. It was also widely and positively covered in practically all articles produced in the foreign press that dealt with describing Poland as the host [Majewski 2013 p. 40-80]. During the tournament, Kraków was visited by 25.8% of all the supporters who attended a match in a different city [Intur 2012, p.12]. Therefore, Kraków did not only not suffer a plunge in perceived attractiveness compared to other Polish cities, but its comparative position was unrivalled. This was possible because the city had a very distinct and strong brand. Kraków is a fascinating destination as a city and its hinterland also features other world-famous locations, including historic salt mines and the notorious site of the ex-concentration camps Auschwitz-Birkenau. In the 2014 set presenting 57 top-ranking cities worldwide prepared by Saffron Consultants [Guardian 2014], Kraków was the only Polish city, ranking 54/57. In a similar 2008 set it was 32/72 cities in terms of assets and 42/72 in terms of brand strength (altogether 51/72 rank in terms of capitalising on the assets). Warsaw was lower on the strength of its assets, but much better at capitalising on them (24/72) [City Brand Barometer].

The fact that indeed the organization of EURO 2012 was objectively carried-out successfully (without scandals that would affect international recognition of the event) inclined the local authorities in Kraków to make a bid to the Olympics Committee so that Kraków could become the host of Winter Olympics in 2022. The city council argued that Kraków could continue on capitalising on the image upgrade that Poland owed to EURO 2012.

Kraków's identity is historically grounded in its "academic" and "cultural" atmosphere, associated with the still large student and academic community. The nature of the above-mentioned resources would not be exactly synonymous to the "modern, dynamic and active". Both "heritage" as well as "modernity" in a city's brand profile generally raise positive associations, and from a longer perspective, concentrating only on either one might be too narrowing for a city's successful brand creation. Some kind of a blend of the two aspects would be optimal [Kavaradsis, Warnaby, Ashworth 2014], but should have such a comprehensive policy been adopted in 2014 by Kraków's council? The vital question that needs to be answered is: how tightly is Kraków actually associated with its culture and heritage in the view of the western visitors who decide to visit it? What is the main driver behind the incoming visitors' motivation? Would it make sense for Kraków's tourism industry to invest large sums of money and attention in "modernising" the brand of Kraków through a sport event? Maybe branding a location through sport might be a good opportunity for a city which has a weak or already sport-associated brand [Chalip and McGuirty 2004]?

Literature review

On the theoretical side, the concept of "sport tourism" is central. On the basis of the classics system introduced by Gibson [1998], Ross [2001] distinguishes three dimensions of performing tourism activities that relate to/engage sport: active tourism (which involves practicing sport – for further details and motivations for this form of sport tourism see Vehmas [2010]), sport event tourism (engaging as a spectator) and the associated nostalgia/celebrity sport tourism (visiting sites famous for their sport-related history). The three can coincide or appear separately. In the case described below, the nostalgia/celebrity tourism shall prevail. When assessing the effect of a mega sport event on local tourism, the "Barcelona effect" or legacy effect theory should be employed in the first place. Since the 1990s, it has been universally assumed that a good organization of a mega sport event can have a "legacy effect" on the host, because the country/region/city can promote its tourism attractions, which generates positive connotations in the minds of the viewers and ignites curiosity about the host. The legacy effect is demonstrated in undertaking the actual decision to visit the host in following years. Literature on the subject of the "legacy effect" is very vast, including both theoretical works as well as studies analyzing given examples of cities/countries which have strived to repeat Barcelona's success [see for example Preuss 2009, Chalip 2004]. The theory of legacy was employed by the author to discuss research about EURO 2012 in detail in Komusińska [2015]. One of the important analytic approaches to creating and sustaining the legacy of mega sport events pays attention to destination-event brand congruence. The theory of destination-event image fit was developed by Florek and Insch [2011a, 2011b] in the face of ubiquitous local policy of branding any given city through sport events. According to the authors, a local brand is a multifaceted concept, but arguably its most important aspect is the strength of the relation between the deliberately chosen features that are officially presented as most important and the reception of the image in the minds of foreigners. Within this frame, choosing improper assets by the policy-makers will result in destructive tension between officially promoted features and the subjective, personal reception of the local brand. Florek [2014] argues that if only the "perceived" image is positive, the branding policy should be orchestrated to it accordingly. Such a way of thinking about branding policy is required by the paradigm of client-oriented Organization. Organizing sport events can either help or act to the detriment of a perceived brand of its host or it can be misleading, depending on how the event is handled, however, a desirable event-destination match occurs when important dimensions for an event category are identical with perceived destination strengths.

The abundant literature regarding heritage and cultural tourism is well in place here as well. For purposes of setting the proper branding policy for Kraków aimed at attracting western visitors, it should be established if the persons who would potentially respond to campaigns are mostly general-interest tourists or special-interest tourists wanting to discover the culture and heritage of the place [Ashworth 2011]. Usually cultural tourists as special-interest tourists are defined by two dimensions: the strength of the influence of culture-related factors in their decision to visit the destination and the depth of their cultural experiences [Trauer 2006, McKercher 2002]. The special-interest tourists are more eager to immerse in the authentic local cultural environment and seek unique, quality experiences. The profile of a special-interest tourist is particularly tempting for destination managers as they are more likely to be well-educated, well-earning adults [Hall and Weiler 1992]. They are not likely to feel invited by staging a sport mega event. Given the uniqueness and popularity of Auschwitz-Birkenau camps, a special aspect of cultural tourism should be considered as well, namely dark tourism/thanatotourism. Thanatotourism involves visiting places known for drastic cases of death that had happened there (mass deaths, catastrophes, etc.). It is often in the form of a pilgrimage to pay tribute or derives out of pure curiosity and "disturbed" pleasure [Seaton 1996]. Visiting Holocaust-related museums is yet a special form of thanatotourism [Miles 2002]. Studies [Hanink and Stutts 2002, Yuill 2003 and Thi-Le 2009] have already tried to assess the role of thanatotourism-related sites in the decisions to visit a destination. The Kraków-Auschwitz case is coherent to their basic theses that thanatourism-related sites located close ("on route") to large population centres are more frequented than others, which implies that they are rather not the principal "attraction". Diem-Trinh Thi Le, in his study on battlefield tourism in Vietnam [2009], distinguished three groups of visitors of "dark tourism" sites: (1) the enthusiasts who decided to visit Vietnam because of battlefields, (2) the opportunists who visited the battlefields because of convenience of the location and (3) passive tourists.

The most important empirical studies on tourism in Kraków and the Małopolska region include the annual representative tourism movement MOT research [Borkowski et al. 2014] and the regional tourism movement research [Urząd Marszałkowski 2014]. The number of foreign tourists in Kraków in 2014 was 2,500,000 (2% more than in 2013). When asked about the main reasons for visiting, 44.6% declared that it was to visit monuments and another 18% indicated leisure and entertainment [Borkowski et al. 2014, pp.188]. When asked what should be changed so that they would like to remain in Kraków for a longer period of time, they pointed to: developing clubbing areas (30%), cafes and restaurants (75%) and also expanding the monument (26.7%) and museum (27.8%) sectors [Borkowski et al., 2014, p.239]. This shows relatively high attachment to cultural tourism. However, according to this research, only 40.5% of foreign visitors pay a visit to the Wieliczka Salt Mine and 49% to Auschwitz-Birkenau [Borkowski et al., 236]. In the regional annual research, 69% of the visitors said that the historical parts of Kraków were the main attraction of the region, another 18% declared that they were mostly attracted by the capital of the Tatra Mountains – Zakopane, the third most popular answer pointed to Wieliczka Salt Mine and only 8% indicated Auschwitz-Birkenau camps as the prime attraction.

The impact of EURO 2012 was measured during its enactment in 2012, also in Kraków [Intur 2012]. It turned out that 42% of those visitors who identified themselves as football supporters said that the principal reason for the visit was sightseeing monuments and that they treated EURO 2012 as a pretext. They pointed to the Old Town (1) - Wawel Castle (2) and Kazimierz (3) as main attractions of the city. Similarly, a study conducted by the Polish Tourism Organization [Kruczek 2014, p.42] estimating locations with the highest tourism potential puts Kraków city centre in first place, Wieliczka Salt Mine as second and Auschwitz as third.

Other important studies include the research of the perceived Polish tourism brand among foreigners interested in visiting Poland [POT 2014]. The study showed that the strongest association to the word "Poland" was the one referring to rich cultural heritage and history (465/500 points) and the fact that it was "worth discovering" (469/500 points). A slightly lower result was obtained for "modern" (383) and "vigorous" (414). 51% associated Poland with UNESCO heritage sites, 67% with museums, 39% with cultural events, 68% with "city break". However, 28% of visitors did visualize their visit to Poland through some form of active/amateur sport tourism. The tendency to associate the country with culture dominated the sport-related associations, but the latter ones were clearly present.

Method

The author conducted all the research personally, on 40 random days between May and September 2014, after a pilot study in April 2014. The paper-and-pencil questionnaires (available in English, French, German, Italian and Spanish) were handed out to the respondents as they were entering a bus at their hotels and the surveys were consigned as the respondents were leaving the bus, after 20 to 80 minutes. The questionnaires were composed of 13 closed and 2 open questions. They were filled-in during journeys headed for the two most important local tour destinations: Wieliczka Salt Mine (50%) and Auschwitz-Birkenau (50%). Almost all (96%) respondents visited both destinations. All the respondents were clients of a local tour operator called Discover Cracow, which offers one-day package tours. The author was working as a tour leader for the company, which had a positive influence on respondent's participation. All respondents were picked-up from the lobbies of the hotels at which they were staying. Discover Cracow cooperates with a wide range of middle- and high-tier hospitality venues in the city as well as some youth hostels. The respondents were lodged at 42 different venues which represent the spectrum of types of commercial high-tier hospitality venues. 32% of the respondents declared that, in their opinion, they stayed at 3-star hotels, 38% at 4-star hotels and 9% at 5-star hotels, which 'over-represents' the share of visitors using such expensive forms of accommodation, as compared to the general population of foreign visitors. Persons of Polish origin or having Polish relatives, and all those visiting friends or family in Poland were excluded as their decision to visit Poland was less likely to have been affected by any branding policy. The researched group was composed of western visitors and Germans, who with a few exceptions, were representing countries that are non-neighboring Poland. Their perception of Poland therefore, might have been too vague and susceptible to be influenced by media (also EURO 2012 coverage) because they were geographically and culturally, relatively distant. Given the fact that they all used commercial, quite expensive accommodation and chose to also spend money on organized one-day culture-related tours that diminished their stress about organizing free time in an unknown environment, they represented the sector of incoming tourists that is very profitable to the city's tourism economy.

The research can be benchmarked against the annual tourist movement survey [Borkowski et al. 2014]. The number of respondents fulfils the requirements of representativity at a significance level of 97% and estimate error of 4% for the group of about 1,760,000 foreign visitors to Kraków who did not have Polish relatives/ancestors (87.8% of all foreign visitors), and came from the countries listed in Table 1 (79% of the general population of foreign visitors).

Table 1. Composition of respondents by country of residence

country	**UK**	**USA**	**ES**	**NO**	**IT**	**BE**	**SE**	**NE**	**FI**	**DK**	**AU**	**FR**	**IR**	**DE**
Respondents [%]	18,1	9,4	9	6,5	6	5,7	5,6	5,5	4,7	4,5	4	3,5	3,3	3
General population [%]	17,1	4,3	10,8	0,6	10,2	2	1,6	2,9	0,6	0,7	1,3	7,1	3,9	16,5

Source: own calculations, based on Borkowski et al. 2014, pp. 47-48

Results

The central question of the questionnaire aimed at determining if the respondents consciously undertook the decision to visit Poland (Kraków) in the light of the information they encountered about Poland regarding its staging of EURO 2012. The respondents were asked to choose one of four answers that best described their feelings about the role of EURO 2012 – related news in their travel decision-making process (Table 2). Only 6 out of 744 persons declared that staging the event and the media coverage it inspired in the respondent's country of residence was of crucial meaning in their decision and that without EURO 2012, they would not come to Kraków. Another 35 persons presented the answer that they were well aware of the fact that Poland was organizing the championships and apparently, the conveyed image of Poland was positive enough so that it was the ultimate argument for them to decide to visit the country. 34% of all respondents presented a nuanced approach – they acknowledged that they were aware of EURO 2012 but would not point to it directly as the reason for making their travel plans to Kraków.

Table 2. Do you think organization of EURO 2012 was of any significance in your decision to visit Poland?

I wanted to visit it before, but the information I heard about it during EURO2012 helped me make the decision	5%
I think I never thought of Poland before. The information I got during EURO2012 was of crucial importance	1%
I remember EURO2012 was covered in the media, but I wouldn't say that this influenced my decision of visiting	34%
I don't think I heard anything about Poland regarding EURO2012 that would make me want to visit it	60%

Source: own calculations

Later, as a complementary question, the respondents were asked if in their subjective opinion, Kraków would become more attractive if it hosted the Winter Olympics. This question measured the level of sport-oriented associations about city which they already knew and the scope of knowledge about natural attractions of the Małopolska region such as skiing facilities. The answers (Figure 1) showed that there were 5% of potential active sport-tourists among the respondents who would like to use the infrastructure for active tourism. As much as 23% of the answers indicated a potential upgrade in the perception of Kraków attractiveness attainable through staging the Olympics, but on the other hand, 8% presented potential crowding out effects, meaning persons who thought that the Olympics would harm the identity and imaginative assets of the destination.

The second crucial question was designed to check the hierarchy of culture-related activities of the respondents during their stay in Kraków. They could all be counted as cultural tourists because they did engage in a heritage-related one-day excursion and did not limit their visit to sightseeing the city alone. The respondents were asked to assign points to the list of most popular destinations in the region (from 0 - if something did not interest them at all, to 7 - if the location was the most important thing to see; they were allowed to use one cipher more than once). On this basis the ranking, a "Number one" attraction was created, using the frequency of assigning a destination with a "7" mark. It turned out (Figure 2) that 65% of all respondents considered visiting Auschwitz as the most important. 420 persons marked Auschwitz alone with a "7", the other 63 ranked it as equally

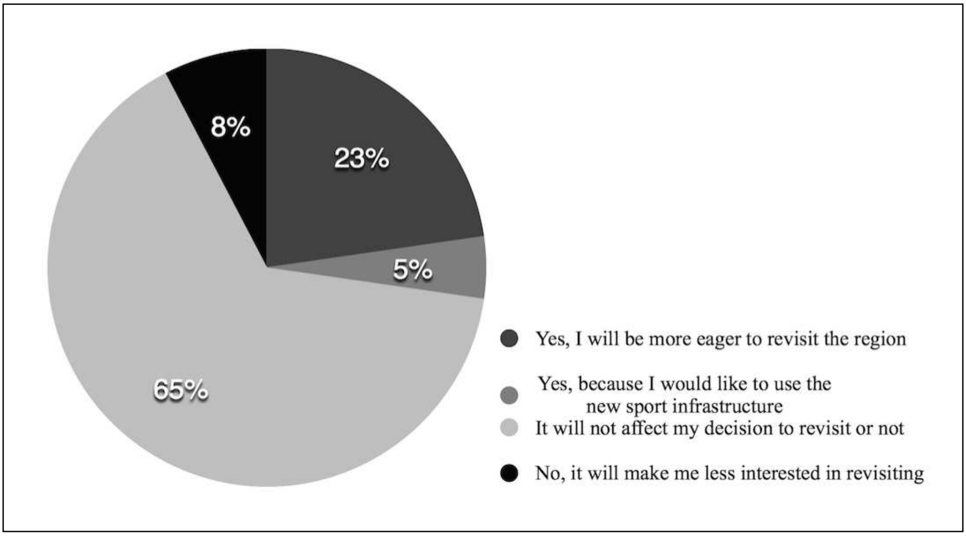

Fig. 1. Do you think Kraków and its hinterland will become more attractive if it hosts the Winter Olympic Games?

Source: own calculations

important to Kraków (old town or Kazimierz) or Wieliczka. The Old Town (counted together with Wawel Castle) was placed as the second most important. This shows that among those persons who decide to visit Auschwitz, it is the main magnet attracting visitors to see Kraków "on route", not the other way around. However, it can be also clearly seen that the position of Auschwitz-Birkenau camps is as controversial as it is important to some visitors. There were many answers indicating adverse feelings about visiting it. Given the fact that almost all respondents did actually visit the site might mean that they were involuntarily accompanying the persons strongly driven to the ex camps. The cumulative number of points assigned to particular attraction is much higher for different areas of Kraków and the difference between Auschwitz and Wieliczka was much smaller than could be inferred from the number it was considered principal attraction (Figure 3). These results diverge from the studies researching general population [Urząd Marszałkowski, Kruczek] in which central Kraków was always the most desired attraction and Auschwitz was pointed to as the third [Kruczek] or fifth destination choice. The respondents were also encouraged to freely write down other attractions in the region that were particularly important for them. Among such voluntary open answers were: art, concert, second-hand shops, Lost Souls House of Horror and street food were each written once, two persons mentioned the Lady with an Ermine painting and two persons rafting along the Dunajec River.

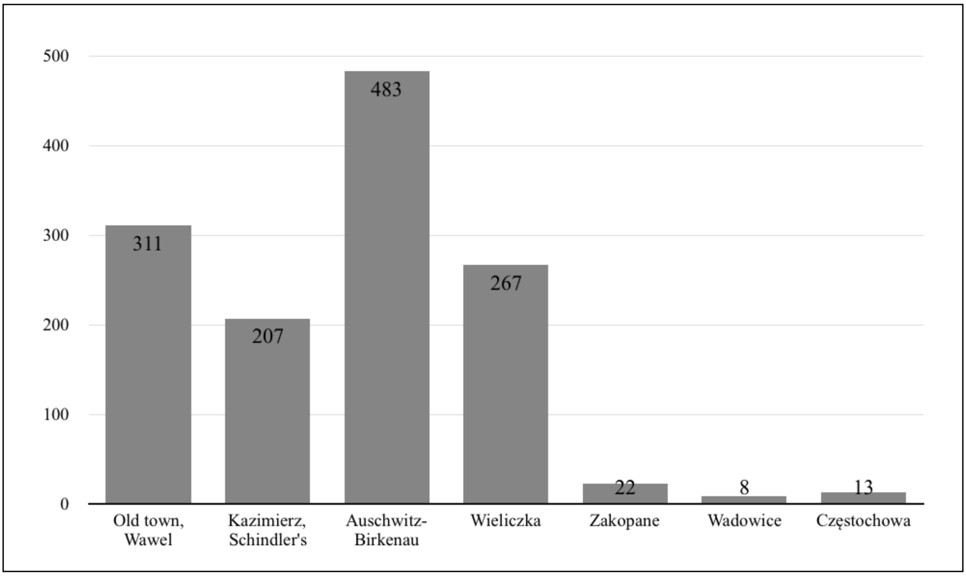

Fig. 2. Number of times the destination was chosen as most important.

Source: own calculations

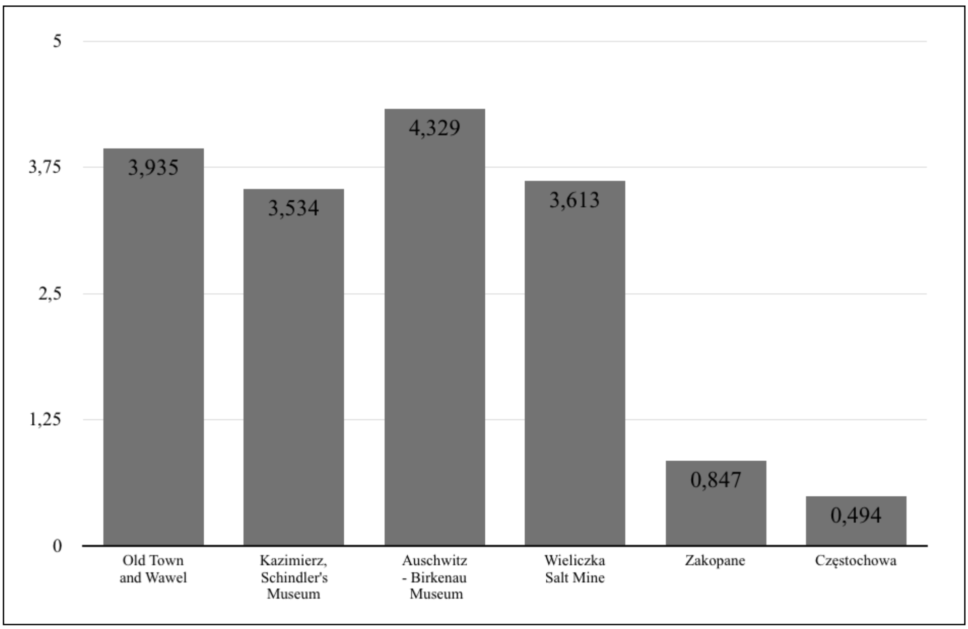

Fig. 3. Cumulative number of points assigned to each destination (max. 5,208).

Source: own calculations

The questions regarding Kraków and its relations to the EURO 2012 campaign were completed with the part of the survey that dealt with Poland-visiting patterns to Kraków. The aim was to evaluate if the motivation for visiting Kraków differs from the motivation for visiting other locations that had been intensively advertised through the organization of EURO 2012. This part was composed of two questions: one estimated the respondent's willingness to visit one of the Polish EURO 2012 host-cities and the extent to which the decision regarding particular cities was motivated by the championship. The second question regarded the second host of the games – Ukraine. Although a visit to this country was practically

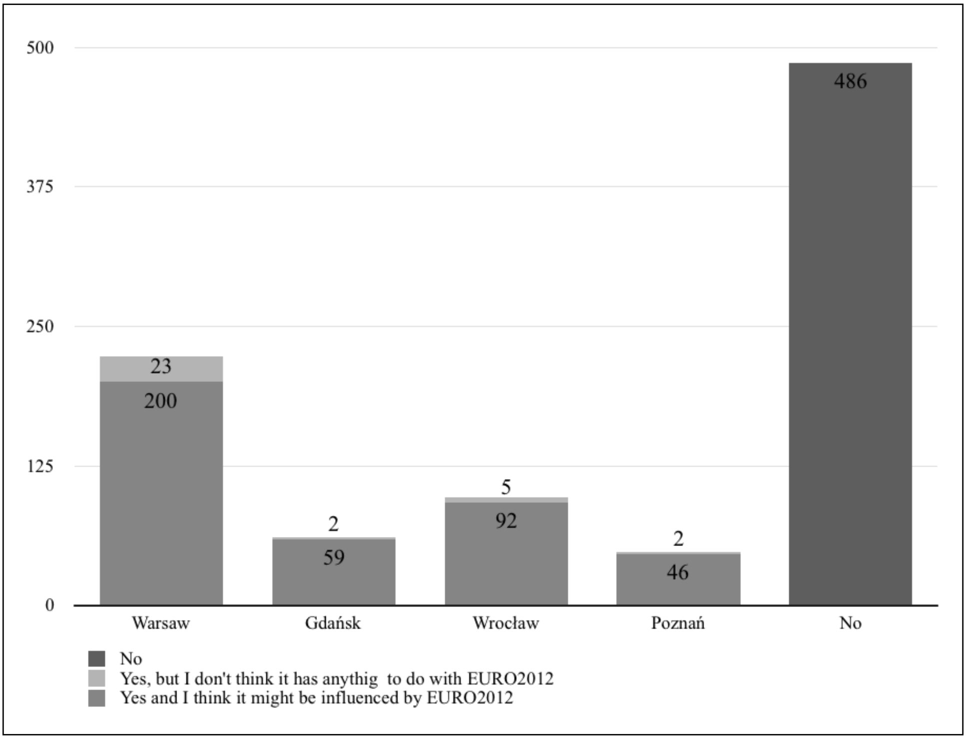

Fig. 4. Do you plan to visit any other city in Poland?

Source: own calculations

impossible at the time of the research, the respondents were asked about their potential willingness, conditioned by a change in the political situation. Considering that most of the respondents were from distant (non-EU) countries, theoretically, there could be a large margin of considering Poland and Ukraine to be alike. This assumption was falsified. More than

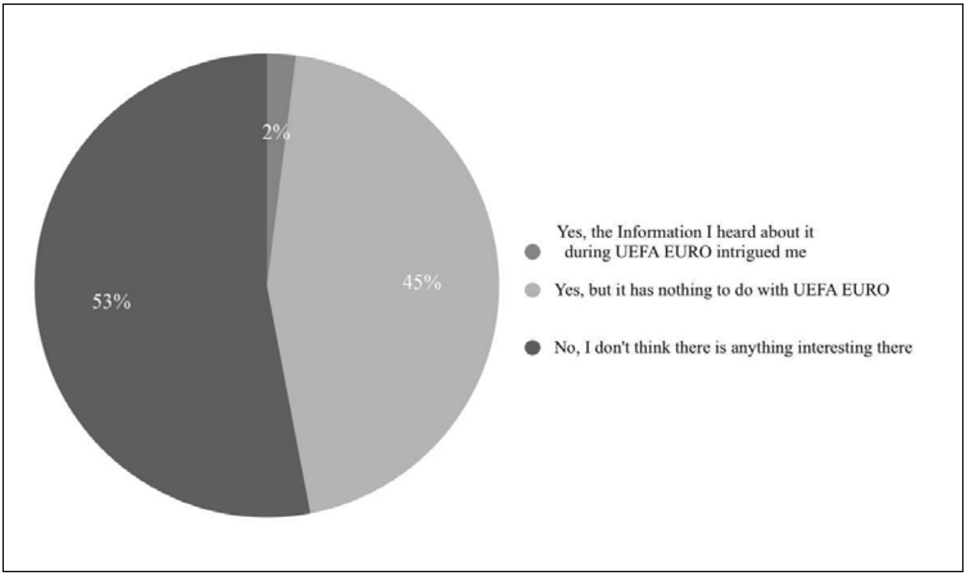

Fig. 5. Would you potentially be interested in visiting the Ukraine (provided that the political situation relaxes)?

Source: own calculations.

half of the surveyed visitors did not perceive Ukraine as an attractive destination, regardless of the EURO 2012 message (Figure 5). Together with the poor results obtained for declared willingness to visit other cities in Poland, proved is the strength and superiority of the brand of Kraków as a city (Małopolska as a region surrounding Kraków) compared to other neighboring regions. 65% of the respondents came solely to Kraków and did not wish to travel around Poland (Figure 4). Among those who wished to know Poland in dimensions other than those of Małopolska, Warsaw was the dominating choice, ticked by almost all of those who wished to see any city other than Kraków (223 out of 258). Also, only in the case of Warsaw can a stronger influence of EURO 2012 be noted - 11% of the respondents actually going to the capital declared that their decision was motivated, at least partly, by the games. This means that for Warsaw, organizing mega sport events might be a more effective branding policy than for Kraków. The results obtained for other major Polish cities show that EURO 2012 was of little insignificance to travel decisions of the respondents - they oscillate at the level of around 2-3%. Those respondents who pointed to being attracted to visiting the Ukraine because of EURO 2012 belonged to the group who declared that the championship influenced their visit to Kraków as well.

Discussion

The travel motivation of the western-resident visitors to Kraków remains to be delved into more deeply. The principal purpose of the presented research was to locate the actual scope of the EURO 2012 impact on the influx of incoming individual western tourists whose travel spending patterns make them precious to any city in the world. It is only assumed that Kraków would like to compete to acquire more visitors of this type. The research does not provide a decisive answer as to what extent the local branding policy should be based on the strongest, but controversial heritage-related assets and to what extent it should blend with elements that introduce more ”modern”, “dynamic” associations. The level of co-branding between Kraków and other EURO 2012 related sites was relatively low, which might suggest that the city should rely on its own, unique branding policy rather that joining other regions in larger projects.

Also, there are other important aspects of analyzing a mega-events legacy for internationally recognized destinations with an established tourism tradition, as described in detail by Newman [1999] which were not tackled in the article. The interpretation that Newman uses to explain the tourism success of the 1996 Winter Olympics that were held in Atlanta recalls the city’s long-built tradition of developing hospitality businesses. This method, including the historic background of the destination, could also be implemented in the case of Kraków in order to better evaluate the influence that the potential Olympic Games might have had.

Finally, whether Kraków could effectively build its international brand in tourism on some kind of sport tourism (potentially active tourism) remains an open question. The chances of using the area’s natural resources were not thoroughly analyzed in the survey. Possibly, developing active sport tourism could become a policy to balance the “old” vision of a “heritage city” instead of mega-event tourism.

Conclusions

The outstanding results of the Auschwitz-Birkenau camps might indicate that those Kraków visitors who decide to visit Auschwitz could be attributed to the “enthusiasts” group according to the scheme invented by Thi-Le and used to categorize motivations of persons who decide to visit thanatousim-related sites. This means that there are relatively few “casual” or “accidental” Auschwitz-Birkenau visitors, although such “unwilling” persons also visit the site, probably as companions. For a large portion of western visitors, the vicinity of Auschwitz-Birkenau is a decisive factor in visiting Kraków.

The recognition of significance of the organization of EURO 2012 in the travel decision-making process was at a level that was much lower to what was claimed in the "Impact Report". The numbers regarding increased influx of visitors predicted by the report seem highly overestimated. However, EURO 2012 did not pass unnoticed and it can be reliably assumed that the message conveyed about Poland (also Kraków) through various media coverage of the event was encouraging. Nevertheless, the event and everything relating to it in terms of branding the city, was not a decisive factor. The championship rather served as a supplement to all other assets of Kraków's tourist offer.

The answers obtained to the question of the potential future willingness to re-visit the city/region must be treated cautiously: all questions regarding declared willingness to future deeds are usually met with overvaluing answers that will not be later actualized. However, they serve as a good proxy for estimating the potential for Kraków to brand itself and its hinterland through sport-related features. Provided that sport is treated integrally with other attractions and does not dominate the discourse around the city, it seems that it could be included in creating a comprehensive branding policy. At the same time, a policy more focused on sport-related features might work better for Warsaw – its unique and heritage-related assets are not as compelling as those characteristic of Kraków.

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WPŁYW EURO 2012 NA ATRAKCYJNOŚĆ KRAKOWA W PERCEPCJI TURYSTÓW ZAGRANICZNYCH

Abstrakt

Cel. Ustalenie, czy współorganizacja przez Polskę mistrzostw piłkarskich miała wpływ na to, w jaki sposób odbierana była przez turystów zagranicznych najpopularniejsza polska destynacja – Kraków. Badanie ankietowe przeprowadzono tuż po tym, jak władze Krakowa wycofały kandydaturę miasta jako organizatora Zimowych Igrzysk Olimpijskich. Pomaga oszacować, jakie potencjalne korzyści i straty miasto mogłoby ponieść, gdyby zostało organizatorem igrzysk (turyści wypowiadali się, jak wydarzenia sportowe wpływają na ich ocenę Krakowa).
Metoda. Badania ankietowe (744 respondentów)
Wyniki. Kraków jest kojarzony głównie przez pryzmat dziedzictwa kulturowego. Turystów zagranicznych z krajów wysokorozwiniętych przyciąga unikalność jego historii. Obecnie miasto posiada silny i pozytywny wizerunek wśród turystów, jednak nie kojarzy się ze sportem. Organizacja Igrzysk wymusiłaby wprowadzenie znaczących zmian w kreowaniu marki miasta, które oznaczałyby zaniedbanie najsilniejszych stron.
Ograniczenia badań i wnioskowania. Wyniki nie mogą być uogólniane na populację turystów zagranicznych w Krakowie, choć badanie było reprezentatywne dla istotnej dla gospodarki lokalnej grupy turystów. Główne pytania dotyczyły deklarowanego stosunku turystów do pewnej potencjalnej sytuacji w przyszłości. Na deklaracjach co do przyszłości nie można polegać.
Implikacje praktyczne. Wyniki mogą być wykorzystane przez władze samorządowe do kreowania polityki wizerunkowej Krakowa, ponieważ ujawniają najsilniejsze atuty destynacji tak, jak są one postrzegane przez odwiedzających.
Oryginalność pracy. Istnieje zaledwie kilka analiz ex-post sprawdzających faktyczny wpływ organizacji dużych wydarzeń sportowych na turystykę.
Rodzaj pracy. Wyniki badania empirycznego

Słowa kluczowe: polityka kreowania wizerunku destynacji, mega-wydarzenia sportowe, efekt barceloński, proces decyzyjny w wyborze destynacji

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CONFERENCE REPORT

REPORT FROM THE INTERNATIONAL SCIENTIFIC CONFERENCE "ANTHROPOLOGY OF TOURISM – HERITAGE AND PERSPECTIVES"

Magdalena Banaszkiewicz, Sabina Owsianowska***

On 1-2 June 2015, the International Scientific Conference "Anthropology of tourism – heritage and perspectives" was held at Auditorium Maximum of the Jagiellonian University. It was organized by the Institute for Intercultural Studies at the Jagiellonian University and the University of Physical Education Department of Tourism and Leisure in Krakow, as well as the Doctoral Society of the Jagiellonian University and the Council of Scientific Circles of the Jagiellonian University. The honorary patronages of the conference were: Undersecretary of State Thomas Jędrzejczak from the Ministry of Sport and Tourism, The Rector of the University of Physical Education Prof. Andrzej Klimek, Ph.D. and the Rector of the Jagiellonian University Prof. Wojciech Nowak, M.D.

Contribution to the organization of the conference were two round anniversaries. In 2014, 40 years had passed since the historical meeting of anthropologists – members of *The American Anthropological Association*, who during the congress in Mexico City provided the groundwork for the emergence of a new specialization: anthropology of tourism. The second occasion was the 40th anniversary of the Faculty of Tourism and Recreation at the University of Physical Education in Krakow, whose activities were presented during the opening ceremony of the conference by the Dean, Prof. Ryszard Winiarski, Ph.D. The development of tourism anthropology shows how traveling has become an important element of culture in the last few years, both in terms of physical movement and virtual migration. The organizers of the conference came to the conclusion that almost half a century of experience is a good time

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to summarize the main trends and identify the key issues underlying the study of tourism from the perspective of anthropology.

The aim of the conference was therefore, to outline the framework of the sub-discipline which is anthropology of tourism. The basic premise adopted by the organizers was to find a dialogue between researchers coming from different fields of knowledge, epistemological traditions and – generations. Agreeing with Dariusz Czaja (2013, p. 7) that anthropology "goes beyond the narrow specialist standards, crosses borders, enters areas reserved for other disciplines", the organizers decided that they would consider reflections within the framework of anthropological knowledge that became open for researchers from various disciplines of the humanities and social studies, rather than the orthodox dimension of a particular method and theory. The central axis around which discussion took place was the relation of the human being-culture-world in the context of travel and tourism. The conference was intended not only to present theories and concepts that have long been treated as a paradigm for the anthropology of tourism, but also confront them with the latest, often critical views. Similarly as traveling is considered a dynamic phenomenon, the anthropology of tourism can be seen as a process of attrition views and assumptions, and the results of research bring us closer to a better understanding of human existence in the world.

The conference was held to create an opportunity to present the achievements of non-English speaking researchers in the international arena. For a long time, it has been postulated that the Anglo-Saxon perspective – the dominant narrative in global academics, enriched with the point of view of local researchers, whose research expertise is often ignored – are more globally overlooked due to the fact that their publications often appear outside mainstream English literature. The organizers agreed that the meeting in Krakow would be a great opportunity to exchange views, present their experiences and create prospects for future cooperation. An expression of this approach was the last but not least important assumption adopted by the organizers, namely to confront the different generations of research, not only during the plenary sessions and thematic panels, but also during the so-called. "Master Workshops", i.e. discussion sessions devoted to particular issues, and conducted by eminent tourism scholars. These discussions were aimed at presenting the achievements of experienced researchers able to provide assistance and give advice to "adepts", just beginning their scientific careers.

Due to the high interest in the conference, it was necessary to allocate the accepted papers to ongoing parallel panel sessions, which were divided thematically. Some were held only in English, others only in Polish, but some were simultaneously translated (including both plenary sessions: "Master Workshops" and "Post-tourist Workshops").

The conference, opened by Monika Banas, Ph.D. – the director of the Institute for Intercultural Studies, and Prof. Ryszard Winiarski, Ph.D. – the head of the AWF Krakow Department of Tourism and Recreation, inaugurated the speech of the doyen of tourism studies – Prof. Nelson Graburn from the University of California at Berkeley, who gave a lecture titled "Tourism Studies and the Problem of Disciplinarily". The Polish scientific community was represented by Prof. Anna Wieczorkiewicz, Ph.D. from the Institute of Ethnology and Cultural Anthropology at the University of Warsaw who, during the plenary session, presented a paper titled "Map and Landscape in the tourist experience".

The first panel session related to the phenomenon of traveling, and the speakers embraced the issue from philosophical, sociological and educational perspectives. The second panel was devoted to perhaps the most classic topic of discussion in the anthropology of tourism, thus the issue of relations between hosts and guests. The panel was an opportunity to exchange views on the development of tourism, among others, in places such as India, China and Malta. The next session tackled the issue of crossing borders and negotiating meanings. Of the speakers' interest were extreme forms of travel, such as, among others, dark tourism, slum tourism or space tourism.

The panel entitled „Forms of Tourism" aimed to present studies relating to different types of travel. Considered were not only the issues of pilgrimage and religious tourism, but also the issue of the presence of handicapped persons in tourism and senior citizens as beneficiaries of tourist activity. The extension of this session was "New Dimensions of Cultural Tourism", indicating the evolution of forms of cultural tourism and the latest challenges as a consequence of this development. Speakers embraced the tourist experience in the context of redefining cultural heritage, the new museum phenomenon, film and culinary issues. The next panel was dedicated to the tourist experience, the participants focusing on discovering new dimensions of traveling through the sense of taste, sound perception or thanks to slow tourism.

The last point of the first day of the conference included workshops on tourist neo-colonialism, organized by the creators of the Post-turysta.pl portal and were led by Paweł Cywiński, M.A. and Maria Złonkiewicz (University of Warsaw). The Post-turysta.pl is one of the most important initiatives in Poland concerning promotion and education aimed at sustainable and responsible tourism. In addition to the portal, which is a rich collection of popular scientific articles depicting an interdisciplinary view on tourism, the creators of the project organize workshops and training sessions designed to explain, inspire, and help to travel in a more conscious, ethical and responsible manner. The workshop organized within the framework of the conference initiated a lively discussion about the possibilities of popularization of anthropological knowledge in promoting travel which is not detrimental.

The second day of the conference began with a plenary session moderated by Prof. Nelson Graburn. The role of the keynote speakers was assumed by Prof. Tom Selwyn from SOAS University of London, who presented his paper entitled “Learning from Bethlehem, Palestine, About Anthropology of Tourism” and Prof. Cara Aitchison from the University of St. Mark & St. John in Plymouth, who presented the issue – “The Place of Tourism Research: A Nomadic Subject Field in a Discipline-Based Academy”.

Similarly as on the first day, the remaining papers were divided into thematic panel sessions. During the first panel, the presented papers concerned research in Central and Eastern Europe, conducted by local researchers. It is worth noting that the achievements of many scientists from this part of Europe are not known in the circle of English-speaking researchers, therefore, the conference proved to be an excellent starting point in presenting the non-Anglo-Saxon perspective to a wider audience. Another panel focused on issues related to the relationship between new media and tourism. There is no doubt that today’s tourist experience is largely mediated by the virtual world, which makes traveling a new dimension – besides the physical, it is also becoming “travel in cyberspace”. The topic of the next session was associated with the creation of images in tourism, by drawing attention to a broad spectrum of research in the field of the semiotics of tourism. The next panel shed light on the relationship between gender issues and the study of tourism. Travelling women as a research issue was neglected for decades, hence the emergence of the session indicates its inclusion in the regional academic practices in the broader currents of world science. The issue of the relationship between hosts and guests in different geographical areas was presented during the last panel: beginning with Marrakech and New Caledonia, moving onto Peru, and ending with Afghanistan and Russia.

The recapitulation of the conference and an opportunity to present the participants considerations, opinions and doubts which arose during their two-day deliberations was called “Master Workshops”. Their open formula allowed the keynote speakers to inaugurate discussions, which became the quintessence of the topics discussed by the speakers; and this also encouraged participants to raise theoretical, epistemological and methodological issues which should be the subject of special attention in the future to freely exchange ideas, questions and answers. From the point of view of Polish researchers, especially the younger generation, this was undoubtedly a valuable lesson on debate at the highest academic level, held among international scholars.

The conference was the first large event in Poland bringing together tourism researchers from around the world. Undoubtedly, the debates themselves were a great opportunity to get to know one another both through discussions accompanying the speeches, as well as through the social program fulfilled by the meeting. Evidence of continuing cooperation and at the same time, the material fruitfulness of the meeting is reflected in the articles written on the basis of the presented papers (or inspired by the theme of the conference), published in the pages of the "Folia Turistica" and two monographs: In 2016, a Polish-language 40th Anniversary book will be published by the Department of Tourism and Leisure, presenting the achievements in the field of humanity studies on tourism in Poland and the directions of further development, with particular emphasis on the anthropological perspective (AWF publishing house). In preparation is also the monograph titled "After the Iron Curtain. Anthropology of Tourism in Central and Eastern Europe", which is scheduled for publication in early 2017 (Lexington Books publishing house).

Reviewers in the year 2015

1. **Prof. David Airey** – University of Surrey, United Kingdom
2. **Dr Bożena Alejziak** – University of Physical Education in Krakow, Poland (Akademia Wychowania Fizycznego w Krakowie, Polska)
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INFORMATION AND INSTRUCTIONS FOR AUTHORS

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1. The Editorial Office accepts for publication only original empirical and review papers that address tourism from interdisciplinary points of view, such as theory of tourism, cultural anthropology, philosophy, sociology, geography, law, psychology, history, economics, management, and marketing.
2. Submitting a paper for publication is construed as transferring the copyright to the Editorial Office. This means that neither the paper nor a part of it can be published in other journals or digital media without the Editorial Office's written permission.
3. The article should be prepared according to the "**Instructions for authors preparing academic articles",** found below. Otherwise, the article will be sent back to the Author(s) for correction.
4. Do not provide personal data or any other information that could enable identifying the Author(s). Instead, provide personal data in a separate **Author Form**, available on the Journal's website, and submit it together with the article.
5. The paper, together with a filled Author Form, should be submitted to the Editorial Office's e-mail address: **folia.turistica@awf.krakow.pl**.
6. The Editorial Office will not accept papers that show signs of scientific dishonesty, such as *ghostwriting* and *honorary (guest) authorship,* for publication. The Editorial Office will disclose any recognized cases of dishonesty; this includes informing institutions employing authors, scientific associations, etc.
7. All papers are reviewed by at least two independent reviewers (the review form is available on the Journal's website) and maintaining full anonymity. In other words, a double-blind review process will be implemented; otherwise, the reviewers are obliged to sign a declaration that there exists no conflict of interests between them and the authors of the paper. The Editorial Board will accept the paper for publication or reject it based on the reviewers' opinion. This procedure is in accordance with guidelines provided by the Ministry of Science and Higher Education.
8. The Editorial Office reserves the right to modify the style makeup of submitted papers.
9. The author of the paper will receive an electronic version of the Journal issue in which the article was published, free of charge.

Instruction for Authors Preparing Academic Articles

I. PREPARING TEXT

1. The volume of submitted papers should not exceed 20 pages of normalized manuscript, i.e., 40,000 characters (one author's sheet).
2. Text files should be created in the Word 6.0–XP editor in DOC format.
3. Page setup:
   – paper size: A4;
   – margins: all margins 2.5 cm;
   – line spacing: 1.5.
4. Title: use 14-point Times New Roman font, bold. Capitalize the entire title. Insert a 14-point line of space following the title.
5. Abstract in English: between 1500 and 2000 characters (including spaces); use 10-point Times New Roman font.
6. The abstract should comprise the following, clearly separated (presented in the form of a list) parts:
   – Puropse.
   – Method.
   – Findings.
   – Research and conclusions limitations: comment on the representativeness of your research and its potential limitations due to cultural, environmental, geographical, or other conditions.
   – Practical implications.
   – Originality: describe how your research (results and opinions) differs from other publications on the subject.
   – Type of paper: specify whether your article presents empirical research or theoretical concepts or whether it is a review, a case study, etc.
7. Key words: 3-6. Insert a 12-point line of space following the key words.
8. The paper should include elements listed below. Titles of elements may be changed if justified by content. Furthermore, especially in the case of review articles, the paper may have a more complex structure, i.e., it may comprise more elements or have a given element subdivided further (such as the Literature Review section).
   A. For empirical papers:
      – **Introduction** (subject of research, aim of the article, and justification of the aim),
      – **Literature review** (a review of Polish and foreign publications presenting the aim of the article and describing current knowledge on the subject matter),
      – **Method** (aim of empirical research, research hypotheses and questions, and a description of methodology and how the research was conducted)
      – **Results** (research results, including the answers to the research hypotheses and questions),
      – **Discussion** (a discussion of the study results in view of results obtained by other authors in Polish and foreign publications on the subject matter),
      – **Conclusions** (conclusions from the study results and their discussion, including practical implications and suggested directions for further research on the subject),
      – **References.**
   B. For review papers:
      – **Introduction** (subject of research, aim of the article, and justification of the aim),
      – **Literature review** (a review of Polish and foreign publications related to the aim of the article describing current knowledge on the subject matter),

- **Discussion** (a discussion of current knowledge on the subject matter, including critical analysis based on Polish and foreign publications),
- **Conclusions** (conclusions from the discussion, including its practical implications and suggested directions for further research on the subject),
- **References**.

9. Headings of each part of the paper: use 12-point Times New Roman font, bold, centered. Number the parts with Arabic numerals. Insert a 12-point line of space following each heading.
10. Running text: use 12-point Times New Roman font and 1.5 line spacing. First line indent: 1 cm. Use tools available in the editor to format the text rather than the space bar, as using space bar makes markup and typesetting difficult.
11. Do not use the bold face, capitals, and underlining in the text. Italics should only be used for titles listed in the footnotes and the References section and for letter symbols in the running text. Insert a space after punctuation marks, not before them.
12. Use an en dash (–) to indicate breaks in a sentence and between numbers that denote close values not provided precisely (such as time periods); do not use a hyphen (-) or an em dash (—). Examples of use:
    - "Secondly – as tradition dictates – every student should wear formal attire tomorrow".
    - "The years 1914–1918, or the times of World War I, is an extremely important period in the history of Europe".
    - "Relevant information can found on pages 12–24 of the aforementioned publication".
    - Most waters in the area of Wysowa belong to the sodium-bicarbonate type and have a high concentration of carbon dioxide.
13. Footnotes can be used (sparingly) to complement the running text: use 10-point Times New Roman font with 1.0 line spacing.
14. References in the running text should be formatted according to the Harvard System (i.e., provide the last name of the author of the quoted or referenced publication, the year of publication, and the page or pages you refer to in square brackets within the running text). Do not place a comma between the name and the year. If two or more publications are referenced in the same parentheses, separate them with a semicolon.
15. The References section, located at the end of the article, should only include texts that are quoted or referred to in the article. References should be given in an alphabetical order with full bibliographic descriptions. Guidelines for and examples of bibliographic descriptions can be found in Part III of these instructions.

II. PREPARING TABLES AND ILLUSTRATIONS

1. Tables and illustrations (figures, charts, and photographs) should be included in separate files and described in detail. Mark their locations in the running text through centered titles, as in the example below:

Table 1. Tourist activity inhibitors
Tabela 1. Inhibitory aktywności turystycznej

2. The entire article should use the division into tables and figures (i.e., everything that is not a table, e.g. charts, diagrams, or photographs, is considered a figure). Refer to figures in the abbreviated form ("Fig.").
3. Place titles of tables above tables, and titles of figures below figures.
4. Write the titles of tables and figures in 10-point Times New Roman font.
5. Under each table/figure provide its source (using 10-point Times New Roman font).

6. Figures should be scanned at a resolution no lower than 300 DPI (optimal resolution is 600 DPI) and saved as line art files in TIFF format.
7. Charts should be created in black. Gray tints or textures are allowed.
8. Digital photographs should be saved in TIFF or JPEG format at full resolution. Do not use compression.
9. If the article includes figures, tables, etc. taken from other academic papers, the author is obliged to obtain a reprinting permission. The permission should be sent to the Editorial Office together with the article and other attachments.

III. PREPARING THE REFERENCES SECTION

1. The References section, located at the end of the article, should only include texts that are quoted or referred to in the article. References should be given in an alphabetical order with full bibliographic descriptions.
2. References to papers of different types should be prepared to according to the guidelines below. Note that all references should be provided in a single list (the division into types, found below, is meant only to provide examples of referencing different sources).
3. For two or more papers written by the same author and published in the same year, add subsequent lowercase letters to the year, as in: (2014a), (2014b), etc.
4. List Internet sources (webpages) for which the appropriate elements of a full bibliographic description cannot be provided in a separate Internet Sources section. The list should provide URL addresses of the referenced webpages in alphabetical order, described as in the following sample:
   http://www.unwto.org/facts/eng/vision.htm (08.09.2014).
5. For articles to be published in the English issues of the Journal, provide English translations of the titles of non-English publications (in square brackets), as in the following sample:

Winiarski, R., Zdebski, J. (2008), *Psychologia turystyki* [*Psychology of Tourism*], Wydawnictwa Akademickie i Profesjonalne, Warszawa.

Sample references to different types of papers in the References section

A. Books:
Urry J. (2001), *The tourist gaze*, Sage, London.
McIntosh R.W., Goeldner Ch.R. (1986), *Tourism. Principles, Practices, Philosophies,* John Wiley & Sons, New York.
B. Edited books and joint publications:
Ryan C., ed., (2003), *The Tourist Experience*, Continuum, London.
Alejziak W., Winiarski R., eds. (2005), *Tourism in Scientific Research*, AWF Krakow, WSIZ Rzeszow, Krakow-Rzeszow.
C. Chapters in edited books and joint publications:
Dann G.M.S. (2002), *Theoretical issues for tourism's future development*, [in:] Pearce D.G., Butler R.W., eds., *Contemporary Issues in Tourism Development*, Routledge Advances in Tourism, International Academy for the
Study of Tourism, London, New York, pp. 13-30.
D. Articles in scientific journals:
Cohen E. (1979), *A Phenomenology of Tourism Experiences,* „Sociology", Vol. 13, pp. 179–201.

Szczechowicz B. (2012), *The importance of attributes related to physical activity for the tourism product's utility*, „Journal of Sport & Tourism", Vol. 18 (3), pp. 225–249.

E. Articles in trade magazines and trade newspapers:

Benefits tourism not OK (2014), [in:] „The Economist", Nov 15th.

F. Papers without a stated authorship, including research reports and statistical yearbooks:

Tourism Trends for Europe (2006), European Travel Commission.

Tourism Highlights. 2010 Edition (2011), UNWTO.

G. Legal acts:

Act on Tourism Services, of 29 August 1997, Dz. U. of 2004, No. 223, item 2268, as amended.

H. Publications available on the Internet:

International tourism on track to end 2014 with record numbers, http://media.unwto.org/press-release/2014-12-18/international-tourism-track-end-2014-record-numbers (20.12.2014).

GENERAL INFORMATION FOR AUTHORS PREPARING ACADEMIC REVIEWS AND POLEMICS

1. Only original reviews of Polish and foreign monographs, academic articles, and handbooks, as well as other types of academic and didactic papers, such as research reports, doctoral theses, and habilitation theses, will be accepted for publication.
2. The Journal publishes reviews of papers on the theory of tourism, as well as papers that address tourism from the viewpoint of cultural anthropology, philosophy, sociology, geography, law, psychology, economics, management, marketing, and other academic fields and disciplines.
3. Submitting a paper for publication is construed as transferring the copyright to the Editorial Office. This means that neither the review nor a part of it can be published in other journals or digital media without the Editorial Office's written permission.
4. The article should be prepared according to the "**Instructions for authors preparing academic reviews and polemics",** found below. Otherwise, the article will be sent back to the Author(s) for correction.
5. The review should be submitted to the Editorial Office's e-mail address: folia.turistica@awf.krakow.pl.
6. The Editorial Team reserves the right to modify the style makeup of submitted reviews.
7. The Author of the review will receive an electronic version of the Journal issue in which the review was published, free of charge.

Instruction for Authors Preparing Academic Reviews and Polemics

1. Text files should be created in the Word 6.0–XP editor in DOC format.
2. Page setup:
   - paper size: A4;
   - margins: all margins 2.5 cm;
   - line spacing: 1.5.
3. Name of each Author: use 12-point Times New Roman font, bold. Insert a 12-point line of space following the name(s).
4. Provide each Author's academic degree or title, affiliation (i.e. name of the institution represented by the Author, in this order: university, faculty, department, etc.), phone number, and e-mail in a footnote. Footnote formatting: use 10-point Times New Roman font and 1.0 line spacing.
5. Samples of title formatting:
   1. REVIEW OF "INTERNATIONAL TOURIST ORGANIZATIONS" BY WIESŁAW ALEJZIAK AND TOMASZ MARCINIEC.
   2. AN OPINION ABOUT "POLAND'S MARKETING STRATEGY IN THE TOURISM SECTOR FOR 2012–2020".
   3. RESPONSE TO THE OPINION… etc.
6. Title: use 14-point Times New Roman font, bold. Capitalize the entire title. Below the title, provide a full bibliographic reference for your article, including ISBN and the date of submission to the Editorial Board.
7. Format the titles of responses to reviews or other forms of academic polemics according to the guidelines above (e.g. Response to the Opinion…).
8. Insert a 14-point line of space following the title.

9. Headings of each part of the review (if appropriate): use 12-point Times New Roman font, bold, centered. Number the parts with Arabic numerals. Insert a 12-point line of space following each heading.
10. Running text: use 12-point Times New Roman font and 1.5 line spacing. First line indent: 1 cm. Use tools available in the editor to format the text rather than the space bar, as using space bar makes markup and typesetting difficult.
11. Do not use the bold face, capitals, and underlining in the text. Italics should only be used for titles listed in the footnotes and the References section and for letter symbols in the running text. Insert a space after punctuation marks, not before them.
12. Use an en dash (–) to indicate breaks in a sentence and between numbers that denote close values not provided precisely (such as time periods); do not use a hyphen (-) or an em dash (—). Examples of use:
    - “Secondly – as tradition dictates – every student should wear formal attire tomorrow”.
    - “The years 1914–1918, or the times of World War I, is an extremely important period in the history of Europe”.
    - “Relevant information can found on pages 12–24 of the aforementioned publication”.
    - “Most waters in the area of Wysowa belong to the sodium-bicarbonate type and have a high concentration of carbon dioxide”.
13. Footnotes can be used (sparingly) to complement the running text: use 10-point Times New Roman font with 1.0 line spacing.
14. Illustrative materials (tables and figures) should be formatted according to the same guidelines as academic articles (see **“Instructions for authors preparing academic articles”**).
15. References in the running text should be formatted according to the Harvard System (i.e., provide the last name of the quoted or referenced publication, the year of publication, and the page or pages you refer to in square brackets within the running text. Do not place a comma between the name and the year. If two or more publications are referenced in the same parentheses, separate them with a semicolon.
16. The References section, located at the end of the article, should only include texts that are quoted or referred to in the review. References should be given in an alphabetical order with full bibliographic descriptions, prepared according to the same guidelines as for academic articles (see **“Instructions for authors preparing academic articles”**).

Folia Turistica is a specialist forum for exchanging academic views on tourism and its environment, in its broadest definition. It is one of Poland's leading academic periodicals, published continuously since 1990. The magazine publishes articles in the field of tourism studies, from a broad interdisciplinary perspective (humanist, economic, geographical/spatial, organizational, and legal issues etc.). Apart from articles presenting the results of empirical research, the journal includes original theoretical, overview, and discursive pieces. The separate headings contain research reports, announcements, and bulletins, reviews of academic works, information on conferences and symposia, and discussions and polemics.

***Folia Turistica* is indexed on the Polish Ministry of Science and Higher Education list of point-earning academic publications. In the parametric system of evaluating academic work, authors and the institutions they represent receive 11 points for publishing works in the journal. It is also indexed in the Copernicus International Index database (ICV: 69,11).**

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